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THE HISTORY OF THE TWO AMERICAS

Complete.

PERSICO'S COLUMBUS

FROM THE GROUP AT THE CAPITOL WASHINGTON

CHICAGO:

A. L. COBURN & CO.

1878.

HISTORY

OF THE

TWO AMERICAS,

WITH APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A HISTORY OF THE POLICE

OF

NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN.

THE

TWO AMERICAS.

THEIR COMPLETE HISTORY,

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY THE

"FATHERS OF AMERICAN HISTORY."

CONTAINING, WITHOUT ABRIDGMENT,

BELKNAP'S BIOGRAPHIES OF THE EARLY DISCOVERERS; GRAHAME'S HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA; DR. ROBERTSON'S HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA; AND RAMSAY'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

AND AN APPENDIX BY PROF. H. L. WILLIAMS, BRINGING THE HISTORY OF BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

HUBBARD'S HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS IN NEW ENGLAND,

AND "A GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN NATIONAL WEALTH, IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AGRICULTURE, AND MINING, TOGETHER WITH DETAILS RELATING TO THEIR SOCIAL PROGRESS, THEIR SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND THE MORAL ADVANCEMENT OF THE PEOPLE."

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY P. C. HEADLEY.

ALSO, A

FULL CHRONOLOGY—HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND GENERAL—DATING FROM THE YEAR 458 *TO THE PRESENT TIME.*

AND

A COPIOUS GENERAL INDEX.

THE WHOLE FORMING A HISTORY OF THE TWO AMERICAN CONTINENTS, UNSURPASSED FOR FULNESS AND UNEQUALED AS A BOOK OF REFERENCE.

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TO

THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA,

WHOSE

EFFORTS IN THE CAUSE OF POLITICAL LIBERTY GIVE A PECULIAR CHARACTER TO THE RECORDS OF THE PAST CENTURY,

AND BY WHOM

THE GERMS OF FREEDOM INHERITED FROM THE OLD WORLD HAVE BEEN MADE TO DEVELOP FRUITS THAT ARE A BLESSING TO CIVILIZATION,

AND

A Powerful Influence in the Progress of the Human Race,

THIS WORK,

RECORDING THE NARRATIVE OF THEIR HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST TO THE LATEST TIMES,

IS FAITHFULLY

Dedicated.

PREFACE.

In this volume we present to the public a history of the two American Continents, from the pens of our ablest historians, continued in each instance by competent writers to the present time. For purposes of reference, and in order to render the design as complete as possible, we have prefixed to the portion which is more purely historical, the excellent biographies of the early discoverers which were written by the accomplished scholar and divine, Dr. Belknap. The record of those men must not be forgotten. For the early history, from the first voyage of Columbus, through the stirring events that signalized the settlement of Central and South America, the great work of Dr. Robertson possesses claims which are pre-eminent. It therefore fitly occupies the next place, but with an additional chapter, wherein are traced the gradual development of the several South American Republics, and the formation of Brazil into a separate Empire. We follow the chain of events in North America from the period of the early settlement, down to that of the English revolution of 1688, aided by the impartial pen of Mr. Grahame; henceforth relying upon a number of equally accredited authorities till we reach the last fourth of the eighteenth century. At this eventful point in our history, we have had recourse to the lucid narrative that has come to us from the pen of Mr. Ramsay. But the result of his labors extends only to 1807. For subsequent history we have therefore adopted the same course as in perfecting the continuation of Dr. Robertson's work on South America. Rich materials lay in abundance before us in both cases. We have used the best means at our disposal to gather them together, and, with the most suitable of them, to produce a work which shall be at once authentic and as far as possible complete.

It has been said, that ours is the only nation which has no age of fable. This is only partly true. It is true of the United States, but it is not true of America. The history of that time which preceded the great discovery by Columbus is a page which has yet to be written. Perhaps it never can be fully written. But it refers to an age of fable than which no part of the world offers any that is more interesting, or probably more marvellous. We cannot lose sight of this, for we are treating not only of this Republic which has no such fabulous epoch, but of the entire American continent; and our work begins, at the moment when the fabulous portion of that history ends. Our aim has been to construct, upon a combined chronological and geographical basis, a narrative of all the leading events in American history, wherewith to secure at once a work of reference upon the widest scale, and at the same time a volume of pleasant interest which shall be acceptable to the people. The life of a nation should mark the moral and intellectual progress of its inhabitants; and if that be true, the story is one which surely none of us can well afford to leave unread.

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COMMENDATORY LETTER

OF

BENSON J. LOSSING, Esq.

The Ridge, Dover Plains, N. Y., March 4, 1878.

Gentlemen—I have carefully examined your work entitled "The History of The Two Americas," and can commend it as a most valuable book for the student of the marvelous story of the discovery, settlement, and progress of the Western Continent. The value of the portion treating of the history of earlier events here, is fully attested by the fact that it contains, in complete form, Belknap's Biographies of the Discoverers of America, and of the Early Founders of the North American Colonies; Robertson's History of South America; Ramsay's History of the American Revolution; Grahame's Colonial History of the United States, and Hubbard's History of the Indian Wars in New England. These works have stood the tests of criticism and subsequent investigations, the first three for a greater portion of a century, the fourth for about forty years, and the fifth for two hundred years. Rev. Dr. Belknap's biographical work has been a standard authority since its publication in 1798. Rev. Dr. Robertson's qualities as a historian have been lauded by scholars for more than a hundred years. George the Third appointed him Historiographer of Scotland in 1764, and afterward offered him compensation if he would undertake a History of England, notwithstanding Hume's History had lately been published. James Grahame's Colonial History of our Republic is a later work, but is regarded by scholars as one of the best of its class; and Dr. David Ramsay's Story of the Revolution, in the scenes of which he was a participant, has received the highest encomiums for its fullness and accuracy. General Greene vouched for its truthfulness, and Lafayette said: "He has put everything into it; he abbreviates like a Florus." Rev. William Hubbard's Indian History, published in 1678, has been copiously used as a standard authority by writers on the subject ever since.

Your book, containing the text and annotations of all these works, with a continuation of each to the present time by competent pens, is a volume of rare intrinsic value, not only to the *students* of American History, but to all *readers* of the same. It was a felicitous idea to combine, with a History of the United States, a full account of the southern portion of our continent, for its discovery and early settlement were coeval with that of North America, and intimately associated with the history of the latter. Besides, the Empire of Brazil and the important republics of South America are daily becoming more and more intimately associated with our current history, our commerce, and our social life, rendering a more intimate knowledge of the past of those republics and of that Empire essential to our well-informed people, especially the portion engaged in traffic.

Robertson's History of South America extends from the discovery to 1772, and has been continued to the present time by a competent hand. The same may be said of Grahame's History, continuing from the Revolution until now in a well-written and well-arranged condensed History of the United States down to the present time. In addition to the historical portion of your work, there is a compact statement of the present condition of our country, compiled from the National Census of 1870. Altogether, nothing seems wanting to make it, as its title imports, a complete *History of America.* * * * * I hope its circulation may be adequate to its merits.

BENSON J. LOSSING.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

AMERICA! To comparatively few has it been possible to know well the grand significance of that single word. The sources of information were not accessible to ordinary readers. When Dr. Smith, without a thought of its perennial popularity, wrote his national hymn, he sang,--

"My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above:"

his poetical genius swept only the boundaries of that belt across the northern half which is included in our great Republic. Of this

"Sweet land of liberty"

we have excellent histories, and their record of the little more than two centuries since the germ of our nationality was planted on these shores, is studied in our common-schools.

But AMERICA is a hemisphere, stretching from pole to pole, with the thrilling annals of nearly a thousand years, and with every variety of climate, scenery, and resources. Columbus was not the first to discover this continent of wonders in nature and in civilization. Almost five hundred years before the Genoese looked upon America, amid his mutinous crew, Bjarni (or, as sometimes written, Biron), son of the brave old Icelandic navigator, Hurjulf, saw its wild, mist-curtained coast! And in 1006, Gudrid, the beautiful wife of Thorfin, whose galley followed in the wake of Bjarni's, gave birth to the first "live Yankee" on the shores of Massachusetts! The boy was named Snorri, and in his noble manhood founded one of the most distinguished families of Iceland, then the abode of princely Scandinavians, with their retinues of armed followers. An American, with the best blood of Europe in his veins, upon its Arctic Island, nearly nine hundred years ago!

Standing by the rude cradle of Snorri, upon the sands of Buzzard's Bay, in this colony of one hundred and fifty-eight persons, seven of whom, including Gudrid, his mother, were women, we look down the ages to the present hour. Columbus, Americus Vespucius, Cabot, Cartier, De Soto, Gilbert, Raleigh, Gosnold, Smith, Champlain, Gorges, Hudson, and the Puritans, pass in stately procession before us, as they succeed each other along the coasts of rocky islands and stormy mainland, and up the majestic rivers of North America, in which the grandest Republic of the past is now attracting the gaze, and, by its marvelous progress, threatening the stability of the monarchies of the world. We turn the view southward, and the dashing Cortez and Pizzaro lead the adventurous colonies of the warmer latitudes into the sunny plains of Mexico, the home of the Montezumas and the golden realm of the Incas of Peru, whose ancient and marvelous inhabitants, and their achievements, are lost in fascinating mystery.

Visions of exhaustless treasures, dazzling pageantry, sanguinary battles, and magnificence beyond the descriptive power of pen or pencil—of forests, mountains, and rivers, haunt the imagination. The narrative of all these lands, their people, and the empires and republics which they have created, together making up the annals of the Western Hemisphere, for the first time has been gathered from libraries, new and old, and with unsparing research and loyalty to truth, in a single volume within the reach of all.

THE TWO AMERICAS

is this marvel of clearly-written, logically-arranged, and indispensable information, to the man or woman whose boast is, "I am an American citizen."

The essential facts of this vast and varied continent are grouped by masters in historical writing, whose authority is not questioned by critics. One has only to enter the largest private or public libraries, and let the eye glance, till it is weary, along the shelves, to discern clearly the investment beyond the means of the many, necessary to purchase the volumes which would furnish the historical facts, biography, and descriptive sketches contained in this elegant quarto.

From ten hundred and two, to eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, this story of our own land extends. It connects the remotest outline of history with the daily-reported present, for the youngest reader now coming upon the stage of our stirring national life. The political revolutions, the wars of the Republic, especially so the latest one, and the most delicate and difficult to chronicle with an unprejudiced mind, are, we think, recorded with remarkable impartiality and fidelity. No bitter words to reopen the healing wounds of the recent conflict among brethren in the re-united national family, are used in narrating the victories of its loyal sons. It is thus a volume for every latitude, from the settlements of the Aroostock region of Maine, to those in the pines of evergreen Florida, and being alike attractive to young and old, it is worthy a place in every library.

The crimson record of Indian warfare, since the first arrow was shot from the red man's bow at the white invader of his hunting grounds, is also added to these American Annals. The fearful romance of savage bravery and cruelties, of massacre, and flying men, women, and children, the pioneer martyrs of the nation, is vividly portrayed, not alone for those who have read the tragical pages which such a country only could furnish the world, but preserved for the generations to come, to whom the Indian will be a being of the past—a shadowy, startling phantom of the vanished wilderness he had for ages called his own. But perhaps no part of this *Library* in one book will have fresher and more practical attraction to not a few readers, than that which reveals the greatness and richness in resources of nearly every kind, of the realm of Dom Pedro, the royal traveler. Like the Russian Empire, its vast area includes mountain ranges of great length, mighty rivers, and extensive plains, and in these it is second only to the domain of the autocrat. But how wide the contrast in climate, soil, and productions! That Empire of the Eastern Hemisphere is half the year ice-bound and mantled in snow, while barren wastes stretch across its interior. Brazil is a world of luxuriant vegetation, richest foliage, and flowers, of fruits and grains, of silver and diamonds, of colored woods for furniture, of sugar-cane and coffee. With a limited monarchy, and a liberal ruler, who has devoted a year and a half to the study of the nations which he has traversed, Brazil has an importance and unbounded interest to all the citizens, and to the enterprising merchant, especially of the United States.

Steamships, railways, and telegraphic lines, together with the lofty ambition of the Emperor to develop the exhaustless riches of his dominions, and elevate the people, will make Brazil a near and useful neighbor in the brotherhood of nations, during the opening century of our own unrivaled progress. Nor is this all: outside of our multiplying States, this new aspect of Brazilian wealth and advancement which makes a comprehensive work on America, like this volume, so timely and valuable for general reading and reference to us, will be true to some extent (and no one can tell how great) of every other part of the continent. Chili, Peru, Columbia, and, indeed, every part of South America, is rich in manifold productions, which, during the life of the present generation, may touch the material interests

of the more favored States of our own nation. The waking of Brazil from the slumber of ages over her latent powers of unlimited growth—under the quickening energy of our own advancing civilization - will doubtless be followed by a similar resurrection of the smaller, yet richly-endowed commonwealths which are around her. To all these lands, our central and beneficent progress of every kind will extend, and they, in turn, enrich us with their varied and exhaustless resources. It, then, becomes a duty pressing upon parents, teachers, and all who have any responsibility to the young, to encourage in all possible ways the circulation and study of so great a work upon our majestic continent. Such a treasury of knowledge can not fail to be welcomed to the homes and libraries of all the people.

The day is passing when Americans will turn away from their land of undeveloped wealth and unseen wonders, to the dazzling riches and natural magnificence of the old monarchies and empires of the Eastern Hemisphere, worshipping at the shrines of "storied greatness," while ignorant of the lands of more boundless treasures, and grander scenes within the boundaries of their own twin Americas.

Into this New World, the Old World, from the Arctic Circle to sunny Japan, is steadily pouring the tide of population. And surely the generation of our native citizens now in our schools and seminaries, ought to be familiar with the length and breadth of the land which is to furnish homes for "every kindred tongue and people." This knowledge is accessible in the humblest cabin where lies "The Two Americas." The early peopling of the Old World, the moving caravans of ancient tribes across the steppes of Asia and over the plains of Europe, are lost in the mystery of an unwritten past. But, excepting the precise origin of our Indian races, we can track the emigration of all the teeming millions of the Western Hemisphere, giving to our annals the satisfying charm of certainty.

Good engravings are always a valuable addition to any pages which admit of illustration, and are preëminently so in a historical narrative, delighting the eye, while impressing indelibly upon the mind the scenes and events portrayed by the artist.

The finished sketches which adorn this volume form a series of historical pictures, which add their illustrative interest to the text. The Indian, Revolutionary, and late Civil Wars have stirring and active scenes presented to the vision by the "cunning hand of the artist." Indeed, nothing is omitted which thoughtful and comprehensive design could appropriate from all the materials available, to make the great work exhaustive and monumental in character, as it is in form, being the only complete history ever published of the two Americas. And in addition to this unequaled collection of historical facts, there is a full chronological index, the only complete work of the kind ever published, which fully covers the chronology of both North and South America. The great importance and value of this will be appreciated by all. The scholar, the teacher, and the politician, and every other intelligent student of history, may here find an epitome of American history, which scholarship and patient labor have made full and accurate; and which will furnish him, without loss of time, with any event or date to which he may desire to refer. In confirmation of the high opinion we have given of the value of such a work, the publishers, in this connection, have the great satisfaction of presenting to the public a letter received from B. J. Lossing, the well-known and admired pen-and-pencil historian of our own land. This appreciative commendation, on a preceding page, will be a fitting prelude to the outline view, in this introduction of

THE TWO AMERICAS.

P. C. HEADLEY.

BIOGRAPHIES

OF THE

EARLY DISCOVERERS.

BY JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D

INTRODUCTION.

The editor of this work believes that a people who have patronised those publications which treat of other countries, would readily encourage one that was altogether devoted to our own country. We have general and particular histories, many of them abounding in excellent matter; but as yet we have no book of reference on subjects relating entirely to America. Almon published in England during the revolutionary war his "Remembrancer," a collection of facts in regard to that conflict, remarkable for candor and correctness; but this is out of print. The next book of reference is Niles' Register: the public are much indebted to this indefatigable and able editor for his historical treasures, which are truly great; but his periodical, on account of the expense, cannot circulate so generally as to diffuse the intelligence that it contains among all classes; and he has not, from the pressure of passing events, gone much into our early annals. The intention of the editor of this work is plainly this—to search, with competent assistance, the records of the discovery and settlement of this country, and to give in a cheap but handsome form the rich materials that are to be found scattered throughout the United States. He will commence his labors with the lives of the early adventurers who explored unknown countries, and particularly this.—There is a direct connexion between them, if some only prepared the way for others. We therefore shall present the whole chain of events which have operated in any way to our existence and welfare as a people. Chronology has been called the eye of history, and we shall be careful to give correct dates for all the incidents we enumerate. Going back to the fountains of our history, we shall follow the streams to the present time, in order that our readers may have a panoramic view, as it were, of all that regards our origin, progress, and present situation. Our distinguished minds in every age of our history shall not be forgotten, and, when practicable, some of their mental efforts shall be furnished the reader. The reader need not fear that the subject will be soon exhausted; for Time, who destroys all things else, makes new matter for the historian, not only in the birth of events, but in opening the long hidden mines of knowledge. The writer from whose works these biographies were taken, deserves the title of the *father of American history.* He was a man of genius, a scholar of extensive erudition, a divine of a holy life, and a lover of his country. He established a historical society, and produced several historical works. He wrote with a more polished pen than his cotemporaries, and showed them the worth of historical knowledge, and at the same time gave them an example of the manner in which history should be written. The name of Jeremy Belknap, D. D., is sponsor for all that has been said, and more. This great historian did not live to fill up his outline, which embraced "adventurers, statesmen, philosophers, divines, warriors, authors, and other remarkable characters, comprehending a recital of the events connected with their lives and actions;" what has been done, is well done—and we shall supply a portion of the deficiency from other sources. In fine, we shall use every exertion to make the work, if encouragement is given to the undertaking, a valuable collection of American history, biography, eloquence, polite literature, science, and statistics—interspersed with anecdotes of olden time, and of revolutionary days, to amuse as well as to instruct the reader. In our history we shall come down to the present time without a particle of party spirit, and strive to give a true record of events as they have or may occur. There is an advantage in many respects in this method of presenting history and polite literature to the public, as we have an opportunity of being optimists, and selecting that which will make the strongest impression on the mind of the reader. There are epochs in our history which have not often been distinctly marked by writers. We shall endeavor to point them out. There is a philosophy of history which should be studied while we are endeavoring to fix the facts in our memory. Cause and effect have the same connexion in the growth of a nation as in that of a blade of grass, and are much more clearly open to our investigation.

BIRON.

Biron, a native of Norway—His discovery of Iceland and Greenland—An account of his voyage—Character and appearance of the natives.

The ancient inhabitants of Norway and Denmark, collectively taken, were distinguished by the name of *Normans*. Their situation near the coast of the sea, and the advantages which that element presented to them beyond all which they could expect, from a rough soil, in a cold climate, led them at an early period to the science and practice of navigation. They built their vessels with the best of oak, and constructed them in such a manner as to encounter the storms and billows of the northern ocean. They covered them with decks and furnished them with high forecastles and sterns. They made use of sails as well as oars, and had learned to trim their sails to the wind, in almost any direction. In these arts, of building ships and of navigation, they were superior to the people bordering on the Mediterranean sea, who depended chiefly on their oars and used sails only with a fair wind.

About the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, the Normans made themselves famous by their predatory excursions. England, Scotland, Ire-

land, the Orkney and Shetland islands, were objects of their depredations; and in one of their piratical expeditions, A. D. 861, they discovered an island, which from its lofty mountains, covered with ice and snow, obtained the name of *Iceland*. In a few years after they planted a colony there, which was continually augmented by migrations from the neighboring countries. Within the space of thirty years 889, a new country situate to the west, was discovered, and from its verdure during the summer months, received the name of *Greenland*. This was deemed so important an acquisition, that, under the conduct of ERIC RAUDE or RED HEAD, a Danish chief, it was soon peopled.

The emigrants to these new regions were still inflamed with the passion for adventure and discovery. An Icelander of the name HERIOLF and his son BIRON* made a voyage every year to different countries for the sake of traffic. About the beginning of the 11th century 1001, their ships were separated by a storm. When Biron arrived in Norway, he heard that his father was gone to Greenland, and he resolved to follow him; but another storm drove him to the *southwest*, where he discovered a flat country, free from rocks, but covered with thick woods, and an island near the coast.

He made no longer stay at either of these places than till the storm abated; when by a northeast course he hasted to Greenland. The discovery was no sooner known there, than LEIF the son of ERIC, who, like his father, had a strong desire to acquire glory by adventures, equipped a vessel, carrying twenty-five men; and taking Biron for his pilot, sailed in 1002, in search of the new country.

His course was southwest. On the first land which he saw, he found nothing but flat rocks and ice, without any verdure. He therefore gave it the name of *Helleland*, which signifies rocky. Afterwards he came to a level shore, without any rocks, but overgrown with woods, and the sand was remarkably white This he named *Markland* or woody. Two days after, he saw land again, and an island lying before the northern coast of it. Here he first landed: and thence sailing westward, round a point of land, found a creek or river into which the ship entered.

On the banks of this river, were bushes bearing sweet berries; the air was mild, the soil fertile, and the river well stored with fish among which were very fine salmon. At the head of this river was a lake, on the shore of which they resolved to pass the winter, and erected huts for their accommodation. One of their company, a German named Tyrker having straggled into the woods, found *grapes;* from which he told them, that in his country, they made *wine*. From this circumstance, Leif the commander of the party, called the place *Winland dat Gode*, the Good Wine Country.

An intercourse being thus opened between Greenland and Winland, several voyages were made, and the new country was further explored. Many islands were found near the coast, but not a human creature was seen till the third summer, 1004, when three boats constructed with ribs of bone, fastened with thongs or twigs and covered with skins, each boat containing three men, made their appearance. From the diminutive size of these people, the Normans denominated them *Scrælings*,* and inhumanly killed them all but one; who escaped and collected a large number of his countrymen, to make an attack on their invaders. The Normans defended their ships with so much spirit that the assailants were obliged to retire.

After this, a colony of Normans went and settled at Winland, carrying on a barter trade with the Scrælings for furs; but a controversy arose in the colony, which induced some to return to Greenland. The others dispersed and mixed among the Scrælings.

In the next century, 1121, Eric, bishop of Greenland, went to Winland, with a benevolent design to recover and convert his countrymen who had degenerated into savages. This prelate never returned to Greenland; nor was any thing more heard of Winland, for several centuries.

This account of the discovery of Winland is taken from Pontoppidan's History of Norway, Crantz's History of Greenland, and a late History of Northern Voyages, by Dr. John Reinhold Forster. The facts are said to have been collected from a "great number of Icelandic Manuscripts by Thormond Thorfæus, Adam von Bremen, Arngrim Jonas and many other writers, so that it is hardly possible to entertain the least doubt concerning the authenticity of the relation.

Pontoppidan says "that they could see the sun full six hours in the shortest day; but Crantz tells us that "the sun rose on the shortest day at eight of the clock," and Forster that "the sun was eight hours above the horizon," from which he concludes that Winland must be found in the 49th degree of northern latitude; and from its being in a southwesterly direction from Greenland, he supposes that it is either a part of Newfoundland or some place on the northern coast of the gulf of St. Lawrence; but whether grapes are found in either of those countries he cannot say. However, he seems so fully persuaded of the facts, that he gives it as his opinion, that the Normans were, strictly speaking, the first discoverers of America, nearly five centuries before Columbus.

From a careful perusal of the first accounts of Newfoundland, preserved by those painful collectors Hakluyt and Purchas, and of other memoirs respecting that island and the coast of Labrador; and from inspecting the most approved maps of those regions, particularly one in the American Atlas, delineated agreeably to the actual surveys of the late celebrated navigator, Capt. James Cook, the following observations occur.

On the N. E. part of Newfoundland, which is most directly accessible from Greenland, there is a long range of coast, in which are two bays, the one called Gander Bay, and the other the Bay of Exploits. Before the mouth of the former, among many smaller, there lies one large island, called Fogo: and before the mouth of the latter, another called the New World. Either of these will sufficiently answer to the situation described in the account of Biron's second voyage. Into each of these bays, runs a river, which has its head in a lake, and both these lakes lie in the 49th degree of north latitude.

The earliest accounts of Newfoundland after its discovery and the establishment of a fishery on its coast, have respect chiefly to the lands about Trinity and Conception Bays, between the parallels of 48 and 49°. These lands are represented as producing strawberries, whortleberries, raspberries, pears, wild cherries, and hazel nuts, in very great plenty. The rivers are said to have been well stored with salmon and trout. The natives, who inhabited a bay lying to the northward of Trinity, and came occasionally thither in their canoes, are described as broad breasted and upright, with black eyes, and without beards: the hair on their heads was of different colours; some had black, some brown, and others yellow. In this variety they differed from the other savages of North America, who have uniformly black hair, unless it be grown gray with age.

The climate is represented as more mild in the winter than that of England; but much colder in the spring, by reason of the vast islands of ice, which are driven into the bays or grounded on the banks.

On the northeastern coast of Labrador, between the latitudes of 53 and 56°, are many excellent harbors and islands. The seas are full of cod, the rivers abound with salmon; and the climate is said to be more mild than in the gulf of St. Lawrence.

Nothing is said in any of these accounts of vines or grapes, excepting that some which were brought from England had thriven well. If any evidence can be drawn from the comparison between the countries of Newfoundland and New-England it may be observed that all the above mentioned fruits and berries are found in the northern and eastern parts of New-England as far as Nova Scotia, in the latitudes of 44 and 45°; and that grapes (*vitis vulpina*, *vitis vulbrusca*,) are known to grow wherever these fruits are found.

Du Monts in his voyage to Acadia, in 1608, speaks of grapes in several places; and they were in such plenty on the isle of Orleans in lat. 47° that it was first called the island of Bacchus.* Though there is no direct and positive testimony of grapes in the island of Newfoundland, it is by no means to be concluded that there were none. Nor is it improbable that grapes, though once found there, might have been so scarce, as not to merit notice, in such general descriptions, as were given by the first English adventurers.

The distance between Greenland and Newfoundland is not greater than between Iceland and Norway; and there could be no more difficulty in navigating the western than the eastern parts of the northern ocean, with such vessels as were then in use, and by such seamen as the Normans are said to have been; though they knew nothing of the magnetic needle.

Upon the whole, though we can come to no positive conclusion in a question of such remote antiquity; yet there are many circumstances to confirm, and none to disprove the relation given of the voyages of Biron. But if it be allowed that he is entitled to the honour of having discovered America before Columbus, yet this discovery cannot in the least detract from the merit of that celebrated navigator. For there is no reason to suppose that Columbus had any knowledge of the Norman discoveries; which long before his time were forgotten, and would perhaps never have been recollected if he had not by the astonishing exertions of his genius and his persevering industry, effected a discovery of this continent, in a climate more friendly to the views of commercial adventurers.

Even Greenland itself, in the fifteenth century, was known to the Danes and Normans only by the name of *lost* Greenland; and they did not recover their knowledge of it, till after the English had ascertained its existence by their voyages to discover a northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean, and the Dutch had coasted it in pursuing of whales.

MADOC.

MADOC, Prince of Wales—His supposed discovery of America—An account of his voyage examined—The improbability of his supposed discovery shown.

THIS person is supposed to have discovered America, and brought a colony of his countrymen hither, before the discovery made by Columbus. The story of his emigration from Wales is thus related by Hakluyt, whose book was first published in 1589, and a second edition of it in 1600.

"The voyage of Madoc, the son of Owen Gwynneth, prince of North Wales, to the West Indies in the year 1170, taken out of the History of Wales, lately published by M. David Powel, Doctor of Divinitie."

"After the death of Owen Gwynneth, his sons fell at debate who should inherit after him. For the eldest son born in matrimony, Edward or Iorwerth Drwydion, was counted unmeet to govern, because of the maime upon his face; and Howel, that took upon him all the rule, was a base son begotten of an Irish woman. Therefore, David gathered all the power he could and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him; and afterward enjoyed quietly the whole land of North Wales, until his brother Iorwerth's son came to age.

"MADOC, another of Owen Gwynneth his sons left the land in contention between his brethren, and prepared certain ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by sea, sailing *west*, and leaving the coast of Ireland so far *north* that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things.

"This land must needs be some part of that country of which the Spaniards affirm themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time. [*For by reason and order of cosmographie, this land to the which Madoc came, must needs be some part of Nova Hispania or Florida.] Whereupon it is manifest that that country was long [before] by Britains discovered, afore [either] Columbus [or Americus Vesputius] led any Spaniards thither.

"Of the voyage and return of that Madoc there be many fables feigned, as the common people do use, in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than diminish, but *sure it is that there he was*. And after he had returned home and declared the pleasant and fruitful countries that he had seen without inhabitants; and upon the contrary part, for what wild and barren ground his brethren and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietness; and taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherwards again.

"Therefore it is to be presupposed, that he and his people inhabited part of those countries; for it appeareth, by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil, and other places, the people honored the cross. Whereby it may be gathered, that Christians had been there before the coming of the Spaniards. But because this people were not many, they followed the *manners* of the land they came to, and used the *language* they found there.

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* His name is spelled by different authors *Biron*, *Biorn*, *Bioern*, and *Bioern*.

† Cut sticks, chips—dwarfs

* It is also said that Mr. Ellis met with the vine about the English settlements at Hudson's Bay, and compares the fruit of it to the currants of the levant. Morse's Un. Geo. vol. i. p. 64

* The words included in chrotchets [ ] are omitted in the second edition of Hakluyt's voyages

"This Madoc arriving in that western country unto the which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends, to inhabit that fair and large country, went thither again, with ten sails, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereto he came, was some part of Mexico;* the causes which make me think so be these.

1. "The common report of the inhabitants of that country, which affirm that their rulers descended from a strange nation, that came thither from a far country; which thing is confessed by Mutezuma, King of that country, in an oration made for quieting of his people at his submission to the King of Castile; Hernando Cortez being then present, which is laid down in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies.

2. "The British words and names of places used in that country even to this day do argue the same; as when they talk together, they use the word *Gwrando*, which is hearken, or listen. Also they have a certain bird with a *white* head, which they call *penguin*, that is white head. But the island of *Corroeso*, the river of *Guyndor*, and the white rock of *Penuygn*, which be all British or Welch words, do manifestly show that it was that country, which Madoc and his people inhabited."

"Carmina Meredith filii Rhesi mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Gwynnedd et de sua navigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini, 1477.

Madoc wyf, mwyedic wedd
Iawn genau, Owen Gwynedd,
Ni fynwm dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

These verses I received of my learned friend, M. William Camden.

THE SAME IN ENGLISH.

"Madoc I am the son of Owen Gwynnedd,
With stature large and comely grace adorned.
No lands at home, nor store of wealth me please,
My mind was whole to search the Ocean seas.

In this extract from Hakluyt is contained all the original information which I have been able to find respecting the supposed discovery of America by the Welch. The account itself is confused and contradictory. The country discovered by Madoc is said to be "without inhabitants; and yet the people whom he carried thither "followed the manners of the land, and used the language they found there." Though the Welch emigrants lost their language, yet the author attempts to prove the truth of his story by the preservation of several Welch words in the American tongues. Among these he is unfortunate in the choice of "*penguin* a bird with a *white head*;' all birds of that name on the American shores having black or dark brown heads, and the name *penguin* is said to have been originally *pinduegine*, from their excessive fatness.

Among the proofs which some late writers have adduced in support of the discovery of America by Madoc is this, that a language resembling the Welch was spoken by a tribe of Indians in North Carolina, and that it is still used by a nation situate on some of the western waters of the Mississippi. If that part of the account preserved by Hakluyt be true, that the language was lost, it is in vain to offer an argument of this kind in support of the truth of the story; but a question may here arise, How could any report of the loss of their language have been transmitted to Europe at so early a period?

An attempt has lately been made to ascertain the truth of this piece of history by Dr. John Williams, I have not seen the book itself, but if the critical reviewers may be credited, no new facts have been adduced. It is remarked by them, that "if Madoc once reached America, it is difficult to explain how he could return home, and it would be more improbable that he should arrive in America a *second* time; of which there is not the slightest evidence." They also observe, that "if Madoc sailed westward from Wales, the currents would rather have carried him to Nova Scotia than to the southward."

The mentioning of Nova Scotia reminds me of some words in the native language of that country which begin with two syllables resembling the name of Madoc. A sachem of the Penobscot tribe who lived in the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century bore the name of *Madokawando*. A village on Penobscot river was *Madawankee*. One branch of the river St. John, which runs into the bay of Funda is *Medoctack*, and another is *Medocscenecasis*. The advocates of this opinion may avail themselves as far as they can of this coincidence, but in my apprehension it is too precarious to be the basis of any just conclusion.

After all that has been, or can be said on the subject, we must observe with the critical reviewers, that if "Madoc left Wales and discovered any other country it must always remain uncertain where that country is." Dr. Robertson thinks, if he made any discovery at all it might be Madeira, or one of the Azores.

The book of Hakluyt, in which the original story is preserved, was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in the time of her controversy with Spain. The design of his bringing forward the voyage of Madoc appears, from what he says of Columbus, to have been, the asserting of a discovery prior to his, and consequently the right of the Crown of England to the sovereignty of America; a point at that time warmly contested between the two nations. The remarks which the same author makes on several other voyages, evidently tend to the establishment of that claim. But if the story of Biron be true, which (though Hakluyt has said nothing of it) is better authenticated than this of Madoc, the right of the Crown of Denmark, is on the principle of prior discovery, superior to either of them.

Perhaps the whole mystery may be unveiled, if we advert to this one circumstance, the time when Hakluyt's book was first published, national prejudice might prevail even with so honest a writer, to convert a Welch fable into a political argument, to support, against a powerful rival, the claim of his sovereign to the dominion of this continent.

* In the second edition, the word 'Mexico' is changed for 'the West Indies,' and the two following paragraphs are omitted

ZENO.

ZENO—His rank and birth—He sails on a voyage of discovery—Is overtaken by a tempest—Arrives at Frisland—Difficulties with the natives—Death of Nicolo Zeno—His brother Antonio takes the command.

It is well known that the Venetians were reckoned among the most expert and adventurous of the maritime nations. In that republic the family of ZENO or ZENI is not only very ancient, and of high rank, but celebrated for illustrious achievements. Nicolo Zeno having exhibited great valor in a war with the Genoese, conceived an ardent desire, agreeably to the genius of his nation, to travel; that he might, by his acquaintance with foreign nations and languages, render himself more illustrious and useful. With this view he equipped a vessel at his own expense, and sailed through the straits of Gibraltar to the northward, A. D 1380, with an intention to visit Britain and Flanders; but by a storm which lasted many days, he was cast away on the coast of Frisland.

The prince of the country, Zichmni (or as Purchas spells it, Zichmui), finding Zeno an expert seaman, gave him the command of his fleet, consisting of thirteen vessels, of which two only were rowed with oars: one was a ship, and the rest were small barks. With this fleet he made conquest and depredations in Ledovo and Iloso, and other small islands; several barks laden with fish being a part of his capture.

Nicolo wrote to his brother Antonio Zeno at Venice, inviting him to Frisland, whither he went; and being taken into the service of Zichmni, continued with him fourteen years. The fleet sailed on an expedition to Estland, where they committed great ravages; but hearing that the King of Norway was coming against them with a superior fleet, they departed, and were driven by a storm on shoals, where part of the fleet was wrecked, and the rest were saved on Grisland, "a great island, but not inhabited.

Zichmni then determined to attack Iceland, which belonged to the King of Norway; but finding it well fortified and defended, and his fleet being diminished, he retired and built a fort in Bress, one of seven small islands, where he left Nicolo and returned to Frisland.

In the next spring Zeno, with three small barks, sailed to the northward on discovery, and arrived at Engroenland,—where he found a monastery of Friars, and a church dedicated to St. Thomas, situate near a volcano, and heated by warm springs flowing from the mountain.

After the death of Nicolo, which happened in about four years, Antonio succeeded him in the command of the fleet; and the prince Zichmni, aiming at the sovereignty of the sea, undertook an expedition *westward*, because that some fishermen had discovered rich and populous islands in that quarter.

The report of the fishermen was, that above a thousand miles westward from Frisland, to which distance they had been driven by a tempest, there was an island called Estotiland, which they had discovered twenty-six years before; that six men in one boat were driven upon the island, and being taken by the inhabitants were brought into a fair and populous city; that the king of that place sent for many interpreters, but none was found who could understand the language of the fishermen, except one who could speak Latin, and he had formerly been cast ashore on the island; that on his reporting their case to the king, he detained them five years, in which time they learned the language; that one of them visited divers parts of the island, and reported that it was a very rich country, abounding with all the commodities of the world; that it was less than Iceland, but far more fruitful, having in the middle a very high mountain, from which originated four rivers.

The inhabitants were described as very ingenious, having all mechanic arts. They had a peculiar kind of language and letters; and in the king's library were preserved Latin books, which they did not understand. They had all kinds of metals (but especially gold, with which they mightily abounded.) They held traffic with the people of Engroenland, from whence they brought furs, pitch, and brimstone. They had many great forests, which supplied them with timber for the building of ships, houses, and fortifications. The use of the loadstone was not known, but these fishermen, having the mariners' compass, were held in so high estimation, that the king sent them with twelve barks to a country at the southward called Drogio, where the most of them were killed and devoured by cannibals; but one of them saved himself by showing the savages a way of taking fish by nets, in much greater plenty than by any other mode before known among them. This fisherman was in so great demand with the princes of the country, that they frequently made war on each other for the sake of gaining him. In this manner he passed from one to another, till in the space of thirteen years he had lived with twenty-five different princes, to whom he communicated his "miraculous" art of fishing with nets.

He thus became acquainted with every part of the country, which he described to be so extensive as to merit the name of a *new world*. The people were rude and ignorant of the use of clothing, though their climate was cold, and afforded beasts for the chase. In their hunting and wars they used the bow and the lance; but they knew not the use of metal.

Farther to the southwest the air was said to be more temperate and the people more civil. They dwelt in cities, built temples, and worshipped idols, to whom they offered human victims; and they had plenty of gold and silver.

The fisherman having become fully acquainted with the country, meditated a return. Having fled through the woods to Drogio, after three years some boats arrived from Estotiland, in one of which he embarked for that country; and having acquired considerable property, he fitted out a bark of his own and returned to Frisland.

Such was the report of the fisherman; upon hearing of which Zichmni resolved to equip his fleet and go in search of the new country; Antonio Zeno being the second in command. But "the preparation for the voyage to Estotiland was begun in an evil hour; the fisherman, who was to have been the pilot, died three days before their departure."

However, taking certain mariners who had sailed with the fisherman, Zichmni, began the intended voyage. When he had sailed a small distance to the westward, he was overtaken by a storm which lasted eight days, at the end of which they discovered land, which the natives called Icaria. They were numerous and formidable and would not permit him to come on shore. From this place they sailed six days to the westward with a fair wind; but a heavy gale from the southward drove them four days before it, when they discovered land, in which was a volcano. The air was mild and temperate, it being the height of summer. They took a great quantity of fish, of sea fowl and their eggs. A part who penetrated the country as far as the foot of the volcano, found a spring from which issued "a certain water, like pitch, which ran into the sea." They discovered some of the inhabitants, who were of small stature and wild,

and who, at the approach of the strangers, hid themselves in their caves. Having found a good harbour, Zichmni intended to make a settlement; but his people opposing it, he dismissed part of the fleet under Zeno, who returned to Frisland.

The particulars of this narrative were first written by Antonio Zeno in his letters to his brother Carlo, at Venice; from some fragments of which a compilation was made by Francisco Marcolini, and preserved by Ramusio. It was translated by Richard Hackluyt, and printed in the third volume of the second edition of his collection, page 121, &c. From it Ortelius has made an extract in his *Theatrum Orbis*.

Dr. Forster has taken much pains to examine the whole account, both geographically and historically. The result of his inquiry is, that Frisland is one of the Orkneys; that Porland is the cluster of islands called Faro, and that Estland is Shetland.

At first, indeed, he was of opinion that "the countries, described by the Zenos actually existed at that time, but had since been swallowed up by the sea in a great earthquake." This opinion he founded on the probability that all the high islands in the middle of the sea are of volcanic origin; as is evident with respect to Iceland and the Faro islands in the North Sea; the Azores, Teneriffe, Madeira, the Cape de Verds, St. Helena and Ascension in the Atlantic; the Society Islands, Otaheite, Easter, the Marquesas and other islands in the Pacific. This opinion he was induced to relinquish, partly because "so great a revolution must have left behind it some historical vestiges or traditions;" but principally because his knowledge of the Runic language suggested to him a resemblance between the names mentioned by Zeno and those which are given to some of the islands of Orkney, Shetland and the Hebrides.

However presumptuous it may appear to call in question the opinion of so learned and diligent an inquirer, on a subject which his philological and geographical knowledge must enable him to examine with the greatest precision; yet from the search which I have had opportunity to make, it appears probable to me that his first opinion was right, as far as it respects Frisland, and perhaps Porland. My reasons are these:

1. Dr. Forster says that Frisland was much larger than Iceland; and Hakluyt in his account of Zeno's voyage, speaks of it as "bigger than Ireland." Neither of these accounts can agree with the supposition of its being one of the Orkneys; for Iceland is 346 miles long, and 200 wide. Ireland is 310 in length, and 184 in breadth; But Pomona, the mainland of the Orkneys, is but 22 miles long, and 20 wide.

2. Frisland was seen by Martin Frobisher in each of his three voyages to and from Greenland in the years 1576, 1577 and 1578. In his first voyage he took his departure from Foula, the westernmost of the Shetland Islands, in latitude 60° 30', and after sailing W. by N. fourteen days, he made the land of Frisland, "bearing W. N. W. distance 16 leagues, in latitude 61°." In his second voyage he sailed from the Orkneys W. N. W. twenty-six days, before he came "within making of Frisland;" which he thus describes:—

"July 4th. We made land perfect, and knew it to be Frisland. Found ourselves in lat. 60 and a half deg. and were fallen in with the southernmost part of this land. It is thought to be in bigness *not inferior to England*; and is called of some authors West Frisland. I think it lieth more west than any part of Europe. It extendeth to the north very far, as seemed to us, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren, Nicolo and Antonio Zeni; who being driven out from Ireland about 200 years since, were ship-wrecked there. They have in their sea charts described every part; and for so much of the land as we have sailed along, comparing their charts with the coast, we find it very agreeable. All along this coast the ice lieth as a continual bulwark, and so defendeth the country that those who would land there incur great danger." In his third voyage he found means to land on the island. The inhabitants fled and hid themselves. Their tents were made of skins, and their boats were like those of Greenland. From these well authenticated accounts of Frisland, and its situation so far westward of the Orkneys and Shetland, it seems impossible that Dr. Forster's second opinion can be right.

3. One of the reasons which led the doctor to give up his first opinion, that these lands once existed, but had disappeared, was, that so great a revolution must have left some vestige behind. If no person escaped to tell the news, what better vestige can there be, than the existence of shoals or rocks in the places where these islands once were known to be? In a map prefixed to Crantz's history of Greenland, there is marked a very extensive shoal between the latitudes of 59° and 60°, called "The sunken land of Buss." Its longitude is between Iceland and Greenland, and the author speaks of it in these words:—"Some are of opinion that Frisland was sunk by an earthquake, and that it was situate in those parts where the sunken land of Buss is marked in the maps; which the seamen cautiously avoid, because of the shallow ground and turbulent waves."

Respecting Buss Island, I have met with no other account than what is preserved by Purchas in his abridgment of the journal of James Hall's voyages from Denmark to Greenland. In his first voyage, A. D. 1605, he remarks thus: "Being in the latitude of 59 and a half degrees, we looked to have seen Buss Island; but I do verily suppose the same to be placed in a wrong latitude in the marine charts." In his second voyage (1606) he saw land, which he "supposed to be Buss Island, lying more to the westward than it is placed in the marine charts;" and the next day, viz. July 2d, he writes, "We were in a great currrent setting S. S. W., which I suppose to set between Buss Island and Frisland over toward America."

In a fourth voyage, made in 1612, by the same James Hall, from England, for the discovery of a northwest passage, of which there is a journal written by John Gatanbe, and preserved in Churchill's Collections, they kept a good look out, both in going and returning, for the island of Frisland, but could not see it. In a map prefixed to this voyage, Frisland is laid down between the latitude of 61° and 62°, and Buss in the latitude of 57°. In Gratonbe's journal the distance between Shetland and Frisland is computed to be 260 leagues; the southernmost part of Frisland and the northernmost part of Shetland are said to be in the same latitude. There is also a particular map of Frisland preserved by Purchas, in which are delineated several towns and cities; the two islands of Iloso and Ledovo are laid down to the westward of it, and another called Stromio to the eastward.

In a map of the North Seas, prefixed to an anonymous account of Greenland, in Churchill's Collections, we find Frisland laid down in the latitude 62° between Iceland and Greenland.

We have, then, no reason to doubt the existence of these islands as late as the beginning of the last century. At what time they disappeared is uncertain; but that their place has since been occupied by a shoal, we have also credible testimony.

The appearance and disappearance of islands in the Northern Sea is no uncommon thing. Besides former events of this kind, there is one very recent. In the year 1783, by means of a volcanic eruption, two islands were produced in the sea near the S. E. coast of Iceland. One was supposed to be so permanent that the king of Denmark sent and took formal possession of it as part of his dominions; but the *ocean*, paying no regard to the territorial claim of a mortal sovereign, has since reabsorbed it in his watery bosom.

These reasons incline me to believe that Dr. Forster's first opinion was well founded, as far as it respects Frisland.

He supposes Porland to be the cluster of islands called Faro. But Porland is said to lie *south* of Frisland; whereas the Faro Islands lie *northwest* of Orkney, which he supposes to be Frisland. The learned doctor, who is generally very accurate, was not aware of this inconsistency.

In the account which Hakluyt has given of Martin Frobisher's third voyage, we find that one of his ships, the Buss of Bridgewater, in her return fell in with land fifty leagues S. E. of Frisland, "which (it is said) was never found before,"—the southernmost part of which lay in lat. 57 and a half deg. Along the coast of this island, which they judged to extend twenty-five leagues, they sailed for three days. The existence of this land Dr. Forster seems to doubt; but yet allows that "if it was then really discovered it must have sunk afterwards into the sea, as it has never been seen again; or else these navigators must have been mistaken in their reckoning."

If such an island or cluster of islands did not exist in the situation described by Frobisher, it might be the Porland of Zeno; for the southernmost part of Frisland lay in the latitude of 60 and a half deg.; the southernmost part of this land in 57 and a half deg. in a direction S. E. from it. It was probably called Buss by the English, from the name of Frobisher's vessel which discovered it.

The only proof which can now be produced of this fact must be the actual existence of rocks and shoals in or near the same place. Of this, it is happily in my power to produce the evidence of two experienced shipmasters, of incontestible veracity, now living. The first is Isaac Smith of Malden near Boston, from whose log-book I have made the following extract: "In a voyage from Petersburg to Boston, in the ship Thomas and Sarah, belonging to Thomas Russell, Esq. of Boston, merchant, Thursday, August 11, 1785, course W. N. W.—wind W. S. W. At 4 A. M. discovered a large rock ahead, which for some time we took to be a ship under close-reefed topsail. At 7, being within two miles, saw breakers under our lee, on which account wore ship. There are breakers in two places, bearing S. E.; one a mile, the other two miles from the rock. It lies in lat. 57° 38', longitude West from London 13° 36', and may be discovered five leagues off. We sounded and had fifty-six fathom. The rock appears to be about one hundred yards in circumference, and fifty feet above water. It makes like a hay-stack black below and white on the top." The other is Nathaniel Goodwin of Boston, who, in his homeward passage from Amsterdam, on the 15th of August, 1793, saw the same rock. According to his observation (which however on that day was a little dubious) it lies in lat. 57° 48', and lon. 13° 46'. He passed within two miles of it to the southward, and saw breakers to the northward of it. Its appearance he describes in the same manner with Smith.

From these authorities I am strongly inclined to believe that the shoal denominated "the sunken land of Buss," is either a part of the ancient Frisland or of some island in its neighborhood; and that the rock and ledges seen by Smith and Goodwin belonged to the cluster once called Porland. If these conclusions be admitted, there can be no suspicion of fiction in the story of Zeno, as far as it respects Prince Zichmni and his expeditions. Shetland may then well enough agree with Estland, which is described by Hakluyt as laying "between Frisland and Norway."

The only place which in Zeno's relation is called by the same name, by which it is now known, is Iceland; though there can be no doubt that Engroenland, or Engroveland is the same with Greenland; where, according to Crantz, there was once a church dedicated to St. Thomas, and situate near a volcano and a hot spring.

But the question is, where shall we find Estotiland? Dr. Forster is positive that "it cannot be any other country than Winland (discovered in 1001), where the Normans made a settlement. The Latin books seen there by the fisherman, he supposes to have been the library of Eric, Bishop of Greenland, who went thither in the twelfth century to convert his countrymen. He is also of opinion that this fisherman had the use of the magnetic needle, which began to be known in Europe about the year 1302 before the time of the Zenos. He also thinks that the country called Drogio is the same with Florida.

In some of the old maps, particularly in Sanson's French Atlas, the name Estotiland is marked on the country of Labrador; but the pompous description of it by the fisherman, whether it be Labrador or Newfoundland, exceeds all the bounds of credibility, and abuses even the license of a traveller. The utmost extent of Zichmni's expedition, in consequence of the fisherman's report, could not be any further westward than Greenland, to which his description well agrees. The original inhabitants were short of stature, half wild, and lived in caverns; and between the years 1380 and 1384 they had extirpated the Normans and the monks of St. Thomas.

The discovery of Estotiland must therefore rest on the report of the fisherman; but the description of it, of Drogio, and the country southwest of Drogio must be ranked in the fabulous history of America, and would probably have been long since forgotten if Christopher Columbus had not made his grand discovery; from the merit of which, his rivals and the enemies of the Spanish nation have uniformly endeavoured to detract.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

CHRISTOPER COLUMBUS—His reasons for seeking India in the west—His first voyage—His second voyage—His third voyage—His fourth voyage—Difficulties, privations, and the hardships he underwent—He is wrecked on Jamaica—His death and character.

THE adventures, which have already been spoken of, were more the result of accident than design; we are now entering on one founded in science and con

ducted by judgment; an adventure which, whether we regard its conception, its execution, or its consequences, will always reflect the highest honour on him who projected it.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese under the conduct of Prince Henry, and afterward of King John II., were pursuing their discoveries along the western shore of Africa, to find a passage by the south to India,—a genius arose, whose memory has been preserved with veneration in the pages of history, as the instrument of enlarging the regions of scicence and commerce beyond any of his predecessors. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of the republic of Genoa, was born in the year 1447, and at the age of fourteen entered on a seafaring life, as the proper sphere in which his vigorous mind was destined to perform exploits which should astonish mankind. He was educated in the sciences of geometry and astronomy, which form the basis of navigation; and he was well versed in cosmography, history and philosophy. His active and enterprising genius, though it enabled him to comprehend the old systems, yet would not suffer him to rest in their decisions, however sanctified by time or by venerable names; but determined to examine them by actual experiment, he first visited the seas within the polar circle, and afterwards those parts of Africa which the Portuguese had discovered, as far as the coast of Guinea; and by the time he had attained the age of thirty-seven, he had from his own experience received the fullest conviction that the opinion of the ancients respecting the torrid and frigid zones was void of any just foundation.

When an old system is found erroneous in one point, it is natural to suspect it of farther imperfections; and when one difficulty is overcome, others appear less formidable. Such was the case with Columbus; and his views were accelerated by an incident which threatened to put an end to his life. During one of his voyages, the ship in which he sailed took fire, in an engagement with a Venetian galley, and the crew were obliged to leap into the sea tc avoid perishing in the flames. In this extremity Columbus, by the help of a floating oar, swam upwards of two leagues to the coast of Portugal near Lisbon, and met with a welcome reception from many of his countrymen who were settled there.

At Lisbon he married the daughter of Perestrello, an old seaman, who had been concerned in the discovery of Porto Santo and Madeira; from whose journals and charts he received the highest entertainment. Pursuing his inquiries in geography, and observing what slow progress the Portuguese made in their attempts to find a way round Africa to India, "he began to reflect that as the Portuguese travelled so far southward, it were no less proper to sail westward," and that it was reasonable to expect to find the desired land in that direction.

It must here be remembered that India was in part known to the ancients, and that its rich and useful productions had for many centuries been conveyed into Europe, either by caravans through the deserts of Syria and Arabia, or by the way of the Red Sea, through Egypt into the Mediterranean. This lucrative commerce had been successively engrossed by the Phenecians, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Palmyrenes, the Arabians, the Genoese, and the Venetians. The Portuguese were then seeking it by attempting the circumnavigation of Africa; and their expectation of finding it in that direction was grounded on ancient historical traditions that a voyage had been formerly made by the orders of Necho King of Egypt, from the Red Sea, round the southern part of Africa, to the straits of Hercules; and that the same route had been traversed by Hanno the Carthaginian, by Eudoxus the Egyptian, and others. The Portuguese had consumed about half a century in making various attempts, and had advanced no farther on the western coast of Africa, than just to cross the equator, when Columbus conceived his great design of finding India in the west.

The causes which led him to entertain this idea are distinguished by his son, the writer of his life, into these three; "natural reason, the authority of writers, and the testimony of sailors."

By the help of "reason," he argued in this manner: That the earth and sea composed one globe or sphere. This was known by observing the shadow of the earth in lunar eclipses. Hence he concluded that it might be travelled over from east to west, or from west to east. It had been explored to the east by some European travellers as far as Cipango, or Japan; and as far westward as the Azores or Western Islands. The remaining space, though now known to be more than half, he supposed to be but one third part of the circumference of the globe. If this space were an open sea, he imagined it might be easily sailed over; and if there were any land extending eastwardly beyond the known limits of Asia, he supposed that it must be nearer to Spain by the west, than by the east. For, it was then a received opinion that the continent and islands of India extended over one third part of the circumference of the globe; that another third part was comprehended between India and the western shore of Spain; therefore it was concluded, that the eastern part of India must be as near to Spain as the western part. This opinion though now known to be erroneous, yet being then admitted as true, made it appear to Columbus very easy and practicable to discover India in the west. He hoped also that between Spain and India, in that direction, there might be found some islands; by the help of which, as resting places in his voyage, he might the better pursue his main design. The probability of the existence of land in that Ocean, he argued, partly from the opinion of philosophers, that there was more land than sea on the surface of the globe; and partly from the necessity of a counterpoise in the west, for the immense quantity of land which was known to be in the east.

Another source, from which he drew his conclusion, was, "the authority of learned men," who had affirmed the possibility of sailing from the western coast of Spain, to the eastern bounds of India. Some of the ancient Geographers had admitted this for truth, and one of them, Pliny, had affirmed that forty days were sufficient to perform this navigation. These authorities fell in with the theory which Columbus had formed; and having, as early as 1474, communicated his ideas in writing to Paul, a learned physician of Florence, he received from him letters of that date, confirming his opinion and encouraging his design; accompanied with a chart, in which Paul had laid down the city of Quisay (supposed to be the capital of China) but little more than two thousand leagues westward from Lisbon, which in fact is but half the distance. Thus, by arguing from true principles, and by indulging conjectures partly well founded and partly erroneous, Columbus was led to the execution of a plan, bold in its conception, and, to his view, easily practicable; for great minds overlook intermediate obstacles, which men of smaller views magnify into insuperable difficulties.

The third ground on which he formed his ideas was "the testimony of mariners;" a class of men who at that time, and in that imperfect state of science, were too prone to mix fable with fact; and were often misled by appearances, which they could not solve. In the sea, between Madeira and the Western Islands, pieces of carved wood and large joints of cane had been discovered, which were supposed to be brought by westerly winds. Branches of pine trees, a covered canoe, and two human bodies of a complexion different from the Europeans and Africans had been found on the shores of these islands. Some navigators had affirmed, that they had seen islands not more than a hundred leagues westward from the Azores. There was a tradition, that when Spain was conquered by the Moors in the eighth century, seven Bishops, who were exiled from their country, had built seven cities and churches, on an island called Antilla; which was supposed to be not more than two hundred leagues west of the Canaries; and it was said that a Portuguese ship had once discovered this island, but could never find it again. These stories, partly true and partly fabulous, had their effect on the mind of Columbus. He believed that islands were to be found, westward of the Azores and Canaries; though according to his theory, they were at a greater distance than any of his contemporaries had imagined. His candor led him to adopt an opinion from Pliny respecting floating islands, by the help of which he accounted for the appearances related to him, by his marine brethren. It is not improbable that the large islands of floating ice, driven from the Polar Seas to the southward; or the Fog Banks, which form many singular appearances resembling land and trees, might have been the true foundation of this opinion and of these reports.*

It is not pretended that Columbus was the only person of his age who had acquired these ideas of the form, dimensions and balancing of the globe; but he was one of the few who had begun to think for themselves, and he had a genius of that kind, which makes use of speculation and reasoning only as excitements to action. He was not a closet projector, but an enterprising adventurer; and having established his theory on principles, he was determined to exert himself to the utmost to demonstrate its truth by experiment. But deeming the enterprise too great to be undertaken by any but a sovereign state, he first applied (as it is said) to the Republic of Genoa, by whom his project was treated as visionary.* He then proposed his plan to John II. King of Portugal, who, though a Prince of good understanding and of an enterprising disposition, yet was so deeply engaged in prosecuting discoveries on the African coast, with a view to find a way to India round that continent; and had been at so vast an expense without any considerable success, that he had no inclination to accept the terms which Columbus proposed. Influenced however by the advice of Calzadilla, a favourite courtier, he privately gave orders to a ship, bound to the islands of Cape de Verd, to attempt a discovery in the west; but through ignorance and want of enterprise, the navigators, after wandering for some time in the ocean and making no discovery, reached their destined port and turned the project of Columbus into ridicule.

Disgusted with this base artifice, he quitted Portugal, and went to Ferdinand, King of Spain, having previously sent his brother to England to solicit the patronage of Henry VII. But being taken by pirates, and detained several years in captivity, Bartholomew had it not in his power to reveal his project to Henry, till Christopher Columbus had succeeded in Spain. Before this could be accomplished, he had various obstacles to surmount; and it was not till after seven years of painful solicitation that he obtained his request.

The objections made to the proposal of Columbus, by the most learned men in Spain, to whom the consideration of it was referred, will give us some idea of the state of geographical science at that time. One objection was, How should he know more than all the wise and skilful sailors who had existed since the creation? Another was the authority of Seneca, who had doubted whether it were possible to navigate the ocean at any great distance from the shore; but admitting that it were navigable, they imagined, that three years would be required to perform the voyage, which Columbus proposed. A third was, that if a ship should sail westward on a round globe, she would necessarily go down, on the opposite side, and then it would be impossible to return, because it would be like climbing up a hill, which no ship could do with the strongest wind. A fourth objection was grounded on a book of St. Augustine, in which he had expressed his doubt of the existence of antipodes and the possibility of going from one

* The following account of a curious deception, extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, may elucidate the above observations

"March 4, 1748—9, at two in the afternoon, made land, which bore N. E. seven leagues distance by estimation: at five tacked, being about three leagues from said island, wind E. S E. lat. by observation 49 deg. 40 min.; lon. 24 deg. 30 min., from the Lizard. This island stretches N. W. and S. E. about 5 leagues long, and 9 miles wide. On the south side fine valleys and a great number of birds.

March 5, said island bore N. three leagues. N. W. a reef of rocks three miles. This day a ship's mast came along side. On the south point of said island is a small marshy island."

"A copy of my journal on board the snow St. Paul, of London, bound from South Carolina to London.

WILLIAM OTTON, Commander."

P. S. Captain Otton thought he saw a tent on the island, and would have gone ashore, but had unfortunately stove his boat some time before."

"Commodore Rodney is commissioned to go in quest of an island, which, according to the report of a master of a ship, and some others, on examination before the lords of the Admiralty, lies about 50° N. and about 300 leagues west of England. Capt. Murdock Mackenzie, an excellent mathematician, and author of the sea charts of the Orkney and Lewis islands, at tends him in the Culloden sloop, to bring back an account of what discoveries he may make. As this island lies out of the track of the trade to America, it is supposed to have been missed by navigators to our colonies, though marked in some Dutch maps. If the Commodore discovers it, he is to take possession of it by the name of Rodney's island."

"Friday, April 10, 1752, Commodore Rodney arrived at Woolwich: he had been cruising ten days in quest of an island, and the men at the top mast-head were more than once deceived with what the sailors call fog-banks. About the 6th or 7th day the crew observed branches of trees with their leaves on, and flights of gulls, and pieces of shipwreck, which are generally regarded as certain signs of an adjacent shore, but could not discover any." Gent. Mag. for 1751, p. 235; for 1752, p. 83, 189.

N. B. The island, marked in the Dutch maps, could not have been mistaken for this imaginary island, being but a single rock. It is the same that is described in the life of Zeno. Page 82.

* This is said on the authority of Herrera, the royal Spanish historian; Ferdinando Columbus, in the life of his father, says nothing of it; but represents his application to the king of Portugal as the first, and gives this reason for it, "because he lived under him."

hemisphere to the other. As the writing of this Holy Father was received the sanction of the church to contradict him was deemed heresy.

For such reasons, and by such reasoners, the proposal of Columbus was at first rejected; but by the influence of John Perez, a Spanish priest, and Lewis Santangel, an officer of the King's household, Queen Isabella was persuaded to listen to his solicitation, and after he had been twice repulsed, to recall him to Court; when she offered to pawn her jewels to defray the expense of the equipment, amounting to no more than 2500 crowns; which sum was advanced by Santangel, and the Queen's jewelry was saved. Thus, to the generous decision of a female mind, we owe the discovery of America.

The condition stipulated between Ferdinand and Isabella on the one part, and Columbus on the other part, were these: "That he, his heirs and successors, should hold the office of Admiral in all those *islands and continents* which he should discover; that he should be Viceroy and Governor of the same, with power of nominating three associates, of whom their majesties should appoint one. That he should have one tenth part of the nett proceeds of all the gold and silver, precious stones, spice and other merchandize which should be found; that he, or a deputy of his own appointing, should decide all controversies respecting the trade; that he should be at one eighth part of the expense of equipping the first fleet, and should receive one eighth part of the profits"

The necessary preparations being made, and a year's provision laid in, on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from Palos, a port of Spain, on the Mediterranean, with three vessels, one of which was called a carrack, and the other two caravels,* having on board the whole, ninety men. Having passed through the straits of Giberalter, he arrived at the Canaries, on the 12th of the same month, where he was detained in refitting one of the caravels, and taking in wood and water, till the 6th of September, when he sailed westward on his voyage of discovery.

This voyage, which is now considered as an easy and pleasant run, between the latitudes of 20 and 30 degrees, with a trade wind, was then the boldest attempt which had ever been made, and filled the minds of the best seamen with apprehension. They were going directly from home, and from all hope of relief, if any accident should befall them. No friendly port nor human being was known to be in that direction. Every bird which flew in the air, every fish which appeared in the sea, and every weed which floated on its surface, was regarded with the most minute attention, as if the fate of the voyage depended on it. A phenomenon which had never before been observed struck them with terror. The magnetic needle appeared to vary from the pole. They began to apprehend that their compass would prove an unfaithful guide; and the trade wind which wafted them along with its friendly wings, they feared would obstruct their return.

To be twenty days at sea, without sight of land, was what the boldest mariner had never before attempted. At the expiration of that time, the impatient sailors began to talk of throwing their commander into the ocean, and returning home. Their murmurs reached his ears; but his active mind was never at a loss for expedients even in the greatest extremity. By soothing, flattery, and artifice, by inventing reasons for every uncommon appearance, by promising reward to the obedient, and a gratuity to him who should first discover land, in addition to what the king had ordered; and by deceiving them in the ship's reckoning, he kept them on their course for seventeen days longer. In the night of the 11th of October, he himself saw a light, which seemed to be on shore, and on the morning of the 12th, they had the joyful sight of land, which proved to be the island of Guanahana, one of the cluster called Bahamas, in the 25th degree of north latitude.

Thus in the space of thirty-six days, and in the 45th year of his age, Columbus completed a voyage which he had spent twenty years in projecting and executing; a voyage which opened to the Europeans a new world; which gave a new turn to their thoughts, to their spirit of enterprise and of commerce; which enlarged the empire of Spain, and stamped with immortality the name of Columbus.

After spending several months in sailing from one island to another in that vast archipelago, which, from the mistakes of the age received the name of the West Indies. Columbus returned to Spain with the two smaller vessels (the larger having been wreck on the island of Hispaniola), leaving behind him a colony of thirty-nine men, furnished with a year's provision, and lodged in a fort which have been built of the timber saved from the wreck. During his passage, he met with a violent tempest which threatened him with destruction. In this extremity he gave an admirable proof of his calmness and foresight. He wrote on parchment an account of his discoveries, wrapt it in a piece of oil cloth, and inclosed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight cask and threw into the sea. Another parchment, secured in the same manner, he placed on the stern, that if the ship should sink, the cask might float, and possibly one or the other might be driven on shore, or taken up at sea by some future navigator. But this precaution proved fruitless. He arrived safe in Spain, in March, 1493, and was received with the honors due to his merit.

The account which Columbus gave of his new discoveries, the specimens of gold and other valuable productions, and the sight of the natives which he carried from the West Indies to Spain, were so pleasing that the court determined on another expedition. But first it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Pope, who readily granted it; and by an imaginary line, drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues westward of the Azores, he divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, all the new countries already discovered or to be discovered; giving the western part to the former, and the eastern to the latter. No provision however was made, in case that they should meet, and their claims should interfere on the opposite side of the globe. The bull containing this famous but imperfect line of demarkation, was signed by Alexander VI. on the second day of May, 1493; and on the 28th of the same month, the King and Queen of Spain, by a written instrument, explained and confirmed the privileges and powers which they had before granted to Columbus, making the office of Viceroy and Governor of the Indies hereditary in his family. On the 25th September following he sailed from Cadiz, with a fleet of seventeen ships, great and small, well furnished with all necessaries for the voyage; and having on board 1500 people, with horses, cattle, and implements to establish plantations.

On Sunday, the third of November, he discovered an island, to which in honor of the day, he gave the name of Dominica. Afterward he discovered in succession other islands, which he called Marigalante. Guadaloupe, Montserrat, Redonda, Antigua, St. Martin's St. Ursula, and St. John. On the 12th of November he came to Navidad, on the north side of Hispaniola, where he had built his fort, and left his colony; but he had the mortification to find that the people were all dead, and that the fort had been destroyed.

The account given by the natives of the loss of the colony, was, that they fell into discord among themselves, on the usual subjects of controversy, women and gold; that having provoked a chief, whose name was Canaubo, he came against them with a superior force, and destroyed them; that some of the natives, in attempting to defend them, had been killed, and others were then ill of their wounds, which, on inspection, appeared to have been made with Indian weapons.

Columbus prudently forbore to make any critical inquiry into the matter; but hasted to establish another colony in a more eligible situation, to the eastward, which he called Isabella, after his royal patroness. He had many difficulties to contend with, besides those which unavoidably attend undertakings of such novelty and magnitude. Nature indeed was bountiful; the soil and climate produced vegetation with a rapidity to which the Spaniards had not been accustomed. From wheat sown at the end of January, full ears were gathered at the end of March. The stones of fruit, the slips of vines, and the joints of sugar cane sprouted in seven days, and many other seeds in half the time. This was an encouraging prospect; but the slow operations of agriculture did not meet the views of sanguine adventurers. The numerous followers of Columbus, some of whom were of the best families in Spain, had conceived hopes of suddenly enriching themselves, by the precious metals of those new regions; and were not disposed to listen to his recommendations of patience and industry in cultivating the earth. The natives were displeased with the licentiousness of their new neighbours; who endeavored to keep them in awe by a display of force. The explosion of fire arms, and the sight of men mounted on horses, were at first objects of terror; but use had rendered them less formidable. Columbus, overburdened with care and fatigue, fell sick, and at his recovery, found a mutiny among his men; which by a due mixture of resolution and lenity, he had the address to quell. He then endeavoured to establish discipline among his own people, and to employ the natives in cutting roads through the woods. Whilst he was present, and able to attend to business, things went on so prosperously that he thought he might safely proceed on his discoveries.

In his former voyage he had visited Cuba; but was uncertain whether it were an island or a part of some continent. He therefore passed over to its eastern extremity; and coasted its southward side, till he found himself entangled among a vast number of small islands, which for their beauty and fertility he called the Garden of the Queen; but the dangerous rocks and shoals which surrounded them, obliged him to stretch farther to the southward; by which means he discovered the island of Jamaica, where he found water and other refreshments for his men, who were almost dead with famine. The hazards, fatigue, and distress of this voyage, threw him into a lethargic disorder, from which he had just recovered, when he returned to his colony and found it all in confusion, from the same causes which had proved destructive to the first.

In his absence, the licentiousness of the Spaniards had provoked several of the chiefs: four of whom had united to destroy them, and had actually commenced hostilities, in which twenty Spaniards were killed. Columbus collected his people, put them into the best order, and by a judicious combination of force and stratagem gained a decisive victory, to which the horses and dogs did not a little contribute.

At his return to Hispaniola, he had the pleasure of meeting his brother Bartholomew, whom he had not seen for several years, and whom he supposed to have been dead. Bartholomew was a man of equal knowledge, experience, bravery and prudence with himself. His patience had endured a severe trial in their long separation. He had many obstacles to surmount before he could get to England and obtain access to the king. He was at Paris when he heard of the success of his brother's first enterprise; who had gone on the second before Bartholomew could get to Spain. On his arrival there, and being introduced to the court, he was appointed to the command of three ships, which were destined to convey supplies to the colony; and he arrived whilst Cristopher was absent on his voyage to Cuba and Jamaica. Columbus appointed his brother to command at Isabella, whilst he went into the interior part of the island to perfect his conquest, and reduce the natives to subjection and tribute.

The Indians were so unused to collect gold dust in such quantities as their conquerors demanded it, that they offered to plant the immense plains of Hispaniola, and pay an equivalent in corn. Columbus was struck with the magnanimity of the proposal; and in consequence moderated the tribute. This did not satisfy the avarice of his fellow adventurers, who found means to complain of him to the king's ministers, for his negligence in acquiring the only commodity, which they thought deserved the name of riches. The Indians then desisted from planting their usual quantity of corn, and attempted to subsist chiefly on animal food. This experiment proved injurious to themselves as well as their conquerors; and it was computed, that within four years, from the discovery of the island, one third part of its inhabitants perished.

The complaint against Columbus so wrought on the jealous mind of King Ferdinand, that John Aguado, who was sent in 1495, with supplies to the colony, had orders to act as a spy on his conduct. This man behaved with so little discretion, as to seek matter of accusation, and give out threats against the Admiral. At the same time, the ships which he commanded being destroyed by a hurricane, he had no means left to return; till Columbus, knowing that he had enemies at home and nothing to support himself but his own merit, resolved to go to Spain with two caravels, himself in one and Aguado in the other. Having appointed proper persons to command the several forts; his brother Bartholomew to superintend the whole, and his brother James to be next in authority; he set sail on the tenth of March, 1496, and after a perilous and tedious voyage in the tropical latitudes, arrived at Cadiz on the 11th of June.

His presence at Court, with the gold and other valuable articles which he carried home, removed, in some measure, the prejudices which had been excited against him. But his enemies, though silent, were not idle; and in a court where phlegm and languor proved a clog to the spirit of enterprise, they found it

* A carrack was a vessel with a deck, a caravel had none

not difficult to obstruct his views; which notwithstanding all discouragements, were still pointed to the discovery of a way to India by the west.

He now demanded eight ships, to carry supplies to his colony, and six to go on discovery. These demands were complied with, and he began his third voyage on the thirtieth of May, 1498. He kept a course so far to the southward, that not only his men, but his provisions and water suffered greatly from excessive heat. The first land he made after leaving the Isles of Cape de Verd, was a large island which he named Trinidad, from its appearance in the form of three mountains. He then passed through a narrow strait and whirlpool into the gulf of Paria; where observing the tide to be rapid, and the water brackish, he conjectured that the land on the western and southern sides of the gulf was part of a continent; and that the fresh water proceeded from some great rivers.

The people on the coast of Paria were whiter than those of the islands. They had about their necks plates of gold and strings of pearl; which they readily exchanged for pieces of tin and brass, and little bells; and when they were questioned whence they obtained the gold and pearls, they pointed to the west.

The Admiral's provision not allowing him to stay long in this place; he passed again through that dangerous strait, to which he gave the name of the Dragon's Mouth; and having satisfied himself, that the land on his left was a continent, he steered to the N. W.; discovering Margarita and several other islands in his course; and on the thirtieth of August arrived at the harbour of St. Domingo, in Hispaniola; to which place his brother had removed the colony in his absence, in consequence of a plan preconcerted between them.

Wearied with incessant care and watching, in this dangerous voyage, he hoped now to enjoy repose; instead of which he found his colony much reduced by deaths; many of the survivors sick, with a disease, the peculiar consequence of their debauchery; and a large number of them in actual rebellion. They had formed themselves into a body; they had gained over many of the Indians, under pretence of protecting them; and they had retired to a distant part of the island, which proved a resort for the seditious and discontented. Their commander was Francis Roldan, who had been Chief Justice of the colony; and their number was so considerable, that Columbus could not command a force sufficient to subdue them. He therefore entered into a negotiation, by offering a pardon to those who would submit, and liberty of returning to Spain to those who desired it. These offers, however impolitic, proved successful. Roldan himself accepted them, and persuaded others to do the same; then, being restored to his office, he tried and condemned the refractory, some of whom were put to death.

An account of this mutiny was sent home to Spain by Columbus and another by Roldan. Each had their advocates at court, and the cause was heard by the king and queen. Roldan and his men were accused of adultery, perjury, robbery, murder, and disturbing the peace of the whole island: whilst Columbus was charged with cruelty to individuals, aiming at independence, and engrossing the tribute. It was insinuated, that not being a native of Spain, he had no proper respect for the noble families, who had become adventurers; and that the debts due to them could not be recovered. It was suggested, that if some remedy were not speedily applied, there was danger that he would revolt, and join with some other prince; and that to compass this design, he had concealed the real wealth of the colony, and prevented the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith.

These insinuations prevailed on the jealousy of Ferdinand, and even staggered the constancy of Isabella. They resolved to appoint a judge, who should examine facts on the spot: and if he should find the Admiral guilty, to supersede him. For this purpose they sent Francis Bovadilla, a man of noble rank, but whose poverty alone recommended him to the office. Furnished with these powers, he arrived at St. Domingo, when Columbus was absent; took lodgings in his house; invited accusers to appear against him; seized on his effects, and finally sent him and both his brothers to Spain in three different ships, but all loaded with irons.

The master of the ship in which the Admiral sailed had so much respect for him, that, when he had got to sea, he offered to take off his fetters; but Columbus nobly declined, that he would permit that honor to be done to him by none but his sovereign. In this humiliating confinement, he was delivered to Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, who had been the chief instigator of all these rigorous proceedings, and to whom had been committed the affairs of the Indies.

Not content with robbing Columbus of his liberty, this prejudiced ecclesiastic would have deprived him of his well earned reputation of having first discovered the new continent. With the accusations which Columbus had sent home against Roldan, he had transmitted an account of the discovery of the coast of Paria, which he justly supposed to be part of a continent. Ojeda, an active officer, who had sailed with Columbus in his second voyage, was at Court when these dispatches arrived, and saw the draught of the discovery, with the specimens of gold and pearls, which the Admiral had sent home. Being a favorite of Fonseca, he easily obtained leave to pursue the discovery.—Some merchants of Seville were prevailed upon to equip four ships; with which, in 1499, Ojeda followed the track of Columbus, and made land on the coast of Paria. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, well skilled in geography and navigation, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage; and by publishing the first book and chart, describing the new world obtained the honor of having it called AMERICA. This however did not happen till after the death of Columbus. Several other adventurers followed the same track, and all supposed that the continent which they had seen, was part of India.

As soon as it was known, that Columbus was arrived at Cadiz, Nov. 5, 1500, in the disgraceful situation above mentioned, the king and queen, ashamed of the orders which they had given, commanded him to be released, and invited him to court, where they apologized for the misbehaviour of their new Governor, and not only promised to recal him, but to restore to the Admiral all his effects. Columbus could not forget the ignominy. He preserved the fetters, hung them up in his apartment, and ordered them to be buried in his grave.

Instead of reinstating him in his government according to the original contract, the king and queen sent Ovando, to Hispaniola, to supersede Bovadilla; and only indulged Columbus in pursuing his darling project, the discovery of India by the west, which he still hoped to accomplish. He sailed again from Cadiz, on the fourth of May, 1502; with four vessels, carrying one hundred and forty men and boys; of which number were his brother Bartholomew and his son Ferdinand, the writer of his life.

In his passage to the Caribbee islands, he found his largest vessel, of seventy tons, unfit for service; and therefore went to St. Domingo, in hope of exchanging it for a better; and to seek shelter from a storm which he saw approaching. To his infinite surprise and mortification, Ovando would not admit him into the port. A fleet of thirty ships was then ready to sail for Spain, on board of which Roldan and Bovadilla were prisoners. Columbus informed Ovando of the prognostics which he had observed, which Ovando disregarded, and the fleet sailed. Columbus then laid three of his vessels under the lee of the shore, and, with great difficulty, rode out the tempest. His brother put to sea; and by his great naval skill saved the ship in which he sailed. Of the fleet bound to Spain, eighteen ships were lost, and in them perished Roldan and Bovadilla.

The enemies of Columbus gave out that he had raised the storm by the art of magic; and such was the ignorance of the age, that the story was believed. What contributed the more to its credit, was, that one of the worst ships of the fleet, on board of which were all the effects which had been saved from the ruined fortune of Columbus, was the first which arrived in Spain. The amount of these effects was "four thousand pesos of gold, each of the value of eight shillings." The remark which Ferdinando Columbus makes on this event, so destructive to the accusers of his father, is, "I am satisfied, it was the hand of GOD, who was pleased to infatuate them; that they might not hearken to good advice; for had they arrived in Spain, they had never been punished as their crimes deserved, but rather favored and preferred as being the Bishop's friends."*

After this storm, and another which followed it, Columbus having collected his little squadron, sailed on discovery toward the continent; and, steering to the southwest, came to an island called Guanania, twelve leagues from the coast of Honduras, where he met with a large covered canoe, having on board several pieces of cotton cloth of divers colors, which the people said they had brought from the westward. The men were armed with swords of wood, in which sharp flints were strongly fixed. Their provision was maise and roots, and they used the berries of cocoa as money. When the Admiral inquired for gold, they pointed to the west, and when he asked for a strait by which he might pass through the land, they pointed to the east. From the specimens of colored cloth, he imagined, that they had come from India; and he hoped to pass thither, by the strait which they described. Pursuing his course to the east and south, he was led to the gulf of Darien; and visited several harbors, among which was one which he called Porto Bello; but he found no passage extending through the land. He then returned to the westward, and landed on the coast of Veragua; where the beauty and fertility of the country invited him to begin a plantation, which he called Belem; but the natives, a fierce and formidable race, deprived him of the honor of first establishing a colony on the continent, by killing some of his people and obliging him to retire with the others.

At sea, he met with tempestuous weather of long continuance, in which his ships were so shattered, that with the utmost difficulty he kept them above water, till he ran them ashore on the island of Jamaica. By his extraordinary address, he procured from the natives two of their largest canoes; in which two of his most faithful friends, Mendez and Fiesco, accompanied by some of his sailors and a few Indians embarked for Hispaniola. After encountering the greatest difficulties in their passage, they carried tidings of his misfortune to Ovando, and solicited his aid. The merciless wretch detained them eight months without any answer, during which time, Columbus suffered the severest harships from the discontent of his company, and a want of provisions. By the hospitality of the natives, he at first received such supplies, as they were able to spare; but the long continuance of these guests had diminished their store, and the insolence of the mutineers gave a check of their friendship. In this extremity, the fertile invention of Columbus suggested an expedient which proved successful. He knew that a total eclipse of the moon was at hand, which would be visible in the evening. On the preceding day, he sent for the principal Indians, to speak with them, on a matter of the utmost importance. Being assembled, he directed his interpreter to tell them, that the GOD of heaven, whom he worshipped, was angry with them for withholding provisions from him, and would punish them with famine and pestilence; as a token of which, the moon would in the evening, appear of an angry and bloody color. Some of them received his speech with terror, and others with indifference; but when the moon rose, and the eclipse increased as she advanced from the horizon, they came in crowds, loaded with provisions, and begged the Admiral to intercede with God, for the removal of his anger. Columbus retired to his cabin; and when the eclipse began to go off, he came out and told them, that he had prayed to his God, and had received this answer; that if they would be good for the future, and bring him provision as he should want, God would forgive them; and as a token of it, the moon would put on her usual brightness. They gave him thanks, and promised compliance; and whilst he remained on the island there was no more want of provision.

At the end of eight months, Ovando sent a small vessel to Jamaica, with a cask of wine, two flitches of bacon, and a letter of compliment and excuse, which the officer delivered; and without waiting for an answer, weighed his anchor the same evening and sailed back to Hispaniola. The men who adhered to Columbus and were with him on board the wrecks, wondered at the sudden departure of the vessel, by which they expected deliverence. Columbus, never at a loss for an evasion, told them that the caravel was too small to take the whole company, and he would not go without them. This fiction had the desired effect; those who adhered to him resumed their patience; but the mutineers became so insolent that it was necessary to subdue them by force. In the contest ten of them were killed. Porras, their leader, was made prisoner and the others escaped. Bartholemew Columbus and two others of the Admiral's party were wounded, of whom one died.

The fugitives, having lost their leader, thought it best to submit; and on the next day sent a petition to the Admiral, confessing their fault, and promising fidelity. This promise they confirmed by an oath, of which the imprecation was singular; "they renounced,

* Chap. 88

in case of failure, any absolution from Priest, Bishop, or Pope, at the time of their death; and all benefit from the sacraments of the church; consenting to be buried like heathens and infidels in the open field." The Admiral received their submission, provided that Porras should continue prisoner, and they would accept a commander of his appointment, as long as they should remain on the island.

At length a vessel, which Mendez had been permitted to buy, with the Admiral's money, at Hispaniola, came to Jamaica, and took them off. On their arrival at St. Domingo, August 13, 1504, Ovando affected great joy, and treated the Admiral with a show of respect; but he liberated Porras, and threatened with punishment the faithful adherents of Columbus. As soon as the vessel was refitted, the Admiral took leave of his treacherous host, and, with his brother, son, and servants embarked for Spain. After a long and distressing voyage, in which the ship lost her masts, he arrived at St. Luca, in May, 1505.

His patroness Isabella had been dead about a year; and with her had expired all the favor which he ever enjoyed in the Court of Ferdinand. Worn out with sickness and fatigue, disgusted with the insincerity of his sovereign, and the haughtiness of his courtiers, Columbus lingered out a year in fruitless solicitation for his violated rights; till death relieved him from all his vexations. He died at Valadolid, on the twentieth of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age; and was buried in the cathedral of Seville, with this inscription on his tomb.

A Castilla ya Leon,
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.
Translated thus;
To Castile and Leon,
Columbus gave a New World.

In the life of this remarkable man there is no deficiency of any quality which can constitute a truly great character.* His genius was penetrating, and his judgment solid. He had acquired as much knowledge of the sciences as could be obtained at that day; and he corrected what he had learned, by his own observations. His constancy and patience were equal to the most hazardous undertakings. His fortitude surmounted many difficulties; and his invention extricated him out of many perplexities. His prudence enabled him to conceal or subdue his own infirmities; whilst he took advantage of the passions of others, adjusting his behaviour to his circumstances; temporizing, or acting with vigour, as the occasion required.

His fidelity to the ungrateful Prince, whom he served, and whose dominions he enlarged, must render him forever conspicuous as an example of justice; and his attachment to the Queen, by whose influence he was raised and supported, will always be a monument of his gratitude.

To his other excellent qualities may be added his piety. He always entertained, and on proper occasions expressed, a reverence for the Deity, and a firm confidence in his care and protection. In his declining days, the consolations of religion were his chief support; and his last words were, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

The persecution and injustice which he suffered, may be traced up to the contract, which he insisted on, before he engaged in the plan of discovery. That a foreigner should attain so high a rank as to be Viceroy for life, and that the honor of an Admiral should be hereditary in his family, to the exclusion of all nobles of Spain, was more than their pride and jealousy could endure; and they constantly endeavoured to depreciate his merit; the only foundation on which his honors were erected.

There is a story recorded by Peter Martyr, a contemporary historian, which exemplifies their malice, and his ingenuity in rising superior to it. After the death of the Queen, the nobility affected to insinuate, that his discoveries were more the result of accident and good fortune, than of any well concerted measures. One day at a public dinner, Columbus having borne much insulting railery on that head, at length called for an egg, and asked whether any of them could set it upright on its little end. They all confessed it to be impossible. Columbus striking it gently, flatted the shell till it stood upright on the table. The company, with a disdainful sneer, cried out, "Any body might have done it."—"Yes, (said Columbus) but none of you thought of it; so I discovered the Indies, and now every pilot can steer the same course. Many things appear easy when once performed, though before, they were thought impossible. Remember the scoffs that were thrown at me, before I put my design in execution. Then it was a dream, a chimery delusion; now, is what any body might have done as well as I." When this story was told to Ferdinand, he could not but admire the grandeur of that spirit, which at the same time he was endeavoring to depress,

Writers of different countries have treated the character of Columbus according to their prejudices, either national or personal. It is surprising to observe, how these perjudices have descended; and that even at the distance of three centuries, there are some, who affect to deny him the virtues for which he was conspicuous, and the merit of originating a discovery, which is an honor to human reason. His humanity has been called in question, because he carried dogs to the West Indies, and employed them in extirpating the natives. The truth is, that in his second expedition he was accompanied by a number of gentlemen of the best families in Spain; and many more would have gone if it had been possible to accommodate them. These gentlemen carried with them "horses, asses and other beasts which were of a great use in a new plantation." The conflict which Columbus had with the natives was in consequence of the disorderly conduct of these Spaniards; who, in his absence, had taken their goods, abused their women, and committed other outrages, which the Indians could not endure, and therefore made war upon them. In this war he found his colony engaged when he returned from his voyage to Cuba; and there was no way to end it, but by pursuing it with vigour. With two hundred Spaniards, of whom *twenty* were mounted on "horses followed by *as many* dogs," he encountered a numerous body of Indians, estimated at one hundred thousand, on a large plain. He divided his men into two parties, and attacked them on two sides; the noise of the fire arms, soon dispersed them, and the horses and dogs prevented them from rallying; and thus a complete victory was obtained. In this instance alone, were the dogs used against the natives. They naturally followed their masters into the field, and the horses to which they were accustomed; but to suppose that Columbus transported them to the West Indies, with a view to destroy the Indians, appears altogether idle, when it is considered that the number is reckoned only at twenty. Excepting in this instance, where he was driven by necessity, there is no evidence, that he made war on the natives of the West Indies; on the contrary, he endeavoured as far as possible to treat them with justice and gentleness. The same cannot be said of those who succeeded him.

Attempts have also been made to detract from his merit as an original discoverer of the New World. The most successful candidate, who has been set up as a rival to him, is MARTIN BEHAIM of Nurenberg, in Germany. His claim to a prior discovery has been so well contested, and the vanity of it so fully exposed by the late Dr. Robertson, that I should not have thought of adding any thing to what he has written, had not a memoir appeared in the second volume of Transactions of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, in which the pretensions of Behaim are revived by M. OTTO; who has produced some authorities which he had obtained from Nuremberg, an imperial city of Germany, and which appear to him, "to establish in the clearest manner a discovery of America anterior to that of Columbus.

It is conceded that Behaim was a man of learning and enterprise; that he was contemporary with Columbus, and was his friend; that he pursued the same studies and drew the same conclusions; that he was employed by King John II. in making discoveries; and, that he met with a deserved honor for the important services which he rendered to the crown of Portugal. But there are such difficulties attending the story of his discovering America, as appear to me insuperable. These I shall state; together with some remarks on the authorities produced by M. Otto.

The first of his authorities contains several assertions which are contradicted by other histories; (1.) That Isabella, daughter of John, King of Portugal, reigned after the death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good. (2.) That this lady, when regent of the Duchy of Burgundy, and Flanders, Behaim paid a visit in 1459. And (3.) That having informed her of his designs, he procured a vessel in which he made the discovery of the island of Fayal, in 1460.

It is true that Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Flanders, surnamed the Good, married Isabella the daughter of King John I. of Portugal; but Philip did not die till 1467, and was immediately succeeded by his son Charles, surnamed the Bold, then thirty-four years of age. There could therefore have been no interregnum, nor female regent, after the death of Philip; and if there had been, the time of Benaim's visit will not correspond with it; that being placed in 1459, eight years before the death of Philip. Such a mistake in point of fact, and of chronology, is sufficient to induce a susptcion that the "archives of Nuremberg" are too deficient in accuracy to be depended on as authorities.

With respect to the discovery of Fayal, in 1460, M. Otto acknowledges that it is "contrary to the received opinon;" and well he might; for the first of the Azores, St. Maria, was discovered in 1431; the second, St. Michael, in 1444; the third, Terceira, in 1445; and before 1449, the islands, St. George, Graciosa, Fayal and Pico, were known to the Portuguese. However, true it may be that Behaim settled in the island of Fayal and lived there twenty years; yet his claim to the discovery of it must have a better foundation than the "archives of Nuremberg," before it can be admitted.

The genuine account of the settlement of Fayal, and the interest which Behaim had in it, is thus related by Dr. Forster, a German author, of much learning and good credit.

"After the death of the infant Don Henry, which happened in 1466, the island of Fayal was made a present by his sister, Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy, to Jobst von Hurter, a native of Nuremberg. Hurter went in 1466, with a colony of more than 2000 Flemmings of both sexes, to his property, the isle of Fayal. The Duchess had provided the Flemish emigrants with all necessaries for two years, and the colony soon increased. About the year 1486, Martin Behaim married a daughter of the Chevalier Jobst von Hurter, and had a son by her named Martin.—Jobst von Hurter, and Martin Behaim, both natives of Nuremberg, were lords of Fayal and Pico."

The date of the supposed discovery of America, by Behaim, is placed by M. Otto, in 1484, eight years before the celebrated voyage of Columbus. In the same year we are told that Alonzo Sanchaz de Huelva was driven by a storm to the westward for twenty-nine days; and saw an island of which at his return he gave an information to Columbus. From both these supposed discoveries this conclusion is drawn. "That Columbus would never have thought of this expedition to America, had not Behaim gone there before him." Whether it be supposed that Behaim and Sanchaz sailed in the same ship, or that they made a discovery of two different parts of America, in the same year, is not easy to understand from the authorities produced; but what destroys the credibility of this plausible tale, is, that Columbus had formed his theory, and projected his voyage, at least ten years before; as appears by his correspondence with Paul, a learned physician of Florence, which bears date in 1474. It is uncertain at what time Columbus first made his application to the King of Portugal, to fit him out for a western voyage; but it is certain that after a negociation with him on the subject, and after he had found out the secret and unsuccessful attempt, which had been made to anticipate a discovery; he quitted that kingdom in disgust, and went into Spain, in the latter end of the year 1484. The authority of these facts is unquestioned; and from them it fully appears, that a prior discovery of America, by Behaim or Sanchaz, made in 1484, could not have been the foundation of the enterprise of Columbus.

M. Otto speaks of letters written by Behaim in 1486, in the German language, and preserved in the "archives of Nuremberg," which support his claim to a prior discovery. As these letters are not produced, no certain opinion can be formed concerning them; but from the date of the letters, and from the letters, and from the voyages which Behaim actually performed in the two preceding years, we may with great probability suppose that they related to the discovery of Congo, in Africa; to which Behaim has an uncontroverted claim.

I will now state the facts relative to this event partly from the authorities cited by M. Otto; and partly from others.

Dr. Robertson places the discovery of Congo and Benin in 1483, and with him Dr. Forster agrees. The authors of the Modern Universal History speak of two voyages to that coast; the first in 1484, the second in 1485; both of which were made by Diego Cam, who is said to have been one of the most expert sailors and of an enterprising genius. From the

* Some of these observations are taken from Dr. Campbell's account of European settlement in America. Vol. I. ch. VIII.

chronicle of Hartman Schedl, as quoted by M. Otto, we are informed, that Behaim sailed from Cam, in these voyages, which are described in the following terms. "These two, by the bounty of heaven, coasting along the southern ocean, and having crossed the equator, got into the other hemisphere; where, *facing to the eastward*, their shadows projected towards the south, and right hand." No words could be more completely descriptive of a voyage from Portugal to Congo, as any person may be satisfied by inspecting a map of Africa; but how could M. Otto imagine that the discovery of America was accomplished in such a voyage as this? "Having finished their cruise (continues Schedl) in the space of 26 months, they returned to Portugal, with the loss of many of their seamen, by the violence of the climate." This latter circumstance also agrees very well with the climate of the African coast;* but Schedl says not a word of the discovery of America.

M. Otto goes on to tell us "that the most positive proof of the great services rendered to the crown of Portugal by Behaim, is the recompense bestowed on him by King John II.; who, in the most solemn manner, knighted him in the presence of all his court." Then follows a particular detail of the ceremony of installation, as performed on the 18th of February, 1485, and M. Otto fairly owns that this was "a reward for the discovery of Congo." Now let us bring the detached parts of the story together.

Behaim was knighted on the 18th of February, 1485, for the discovery of Congo, in which he had been employed 26 months preceding; having within that time made two voyages thither, in company with Diego Cam.† It will follow then that the whole of the preceding years, 1484 and 1483, were taken up in these two voyages. This agrees very well with the accounts of the discovery of Congo, in Robertson and Forster, and does not disagree with the modern universal history, as far as the year 1484 is concerned; which unfortunately is the year assigned for Behaim's discovery of "that part of America called Brazil, and his sailing even to the straits of Magellan."

The only thing to Mr. Ottos's memoir which bears any resemblance to a solution of this difficulty is this, "We may suppose that Behaim, engaged in an expedition to Congo, was driven by the winds to Fernanbouc, and from thence by the currents toward the coast of Guiana." But supposition without proof will avail little; and supposition against proof will avail nothing. The two voyages to Congo are admitted. The course is described; the time is determined; and both of these are directly opposed to the supposition of his being driven by winds and currents to America. For if he had been driven out of his course and had spent "several years in examining the American islands, and discovering the strait which bears the name of Magellan;" and if one of those years was the year 1484, then he could not have spent 26 months preceding, February 1485, in the discovery of Congo; but of this we have full and satisfactory evidence; the discovery of America therefore must be given up.

There is one thing further in this memoir which deserves a particular remark, and that is the reason assigned by M. Otto, for which the King of Portugal declined the proposal of Columbus to sail to India by the west. "The refusal of John II. is a proof of the knowledge which that politic and wise prince had already procured of the existence of a new continent, which offered him only barren lands, inhabited by unconquerable savages." This knowledge is supposed to have been derived from the discoveries made by Behaim. But, not to urge again the chronological difficulty with which this conjecture is embarrassed, I will take notice of two circumstances, in the life of Columbus, which militate with this idea. The first is, that when Columbus had proposed a western voyage to King John and he declined it, "the king, by the advice of one Dr. Calzadilla, resolved to send a caravel privately, to attempt that which Columbus had proposed to him; because in case those countries were so discovered, he thought himself not obliged to bestow any great reward. Having speedily equipped a caravel, which was to carry supplies to the islands of Cabo Verde, he sent it that way which the Admiral proposed to go. But those whom he sent wanted the knowledge, constancy and spirit of the Admiral. After wandering many days upon the sea, they turned back to the islands of Cabo Verde, laughing at the undertaking; and saying it was *impossible there should be any land in those seas.*"

Afterward, "the king being sensible how faulty they were whom he had sent with the caravel, had a mind to restore the Admiral to his favor, and desired that he should renew the discourse of his enterprise; but not being so diligent to put this in execution, as the Admiral was in getting away, he lost that good opportunity; the Admiral, about the end of the year 1484, stole away privately out of Portugal for fear of being stopped by the king." This account does not agree with the supposition of a prior discovery.

The other circumstance is an interview which Columbus had with the people of Lisbon, and the King of Portugal, on his return from his first voyage. For it so happened that Columbus on his return was by stress of weather obliged to take shelter in the port of Lisbon; and as soon as it was known that he had come from the Indies, "the people thronged to see the natives whom he had brought, and hear the news; so that the caravel would not contain them. Some of them praising God for so great a happiness; others storming that they had lost the discovery through their king's incredulity."

When the king sent for Columbus, "he was doubtful what to do; but to take off all suspicion that he came from his conquests, he consented." At the interview, "the king offered him all that he required for the service of their Catholic Majesties, though he thought, that forasmuch as he had been a captain in Portugal, that conquest belonged to him. To which the Admiral answered, that he knew of no such agreement, and that he had strictly observed his orders, which were not to go to the mines of Portugal, [the gold coast] nor to Guinea." Had John II. heard of Behaim's voyage to a western continent, would he not have claimed it by priority of discovery, rather than by the commission which Columbus had formerly borne in his service? Had such a prior discovery been made, could it have been concealed from the people of Lisbon? And would they have been angry that the king had lost it by his incredulity? These circumstances appear to me to carry sufficient evidence, that no discovery of America prior to that of Columbus had come to the knowledge of the King of Portugal.

In answer to the question, "Why are we searching the archives of an imperial city for the causes of an event, which took place in the western extremity of Europe?" M. Otto gives us to understand, that "from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the Germans were the best geographers, the best historians, and most enlightened politicians." Not to detract from the merit of the German literati of those ages, I think we may give equal credit to a learned German author of the present age, Dr. John Reinhold Forster; who appears to have a thorough understanding of the claims not only of his own countrymen, but of others. In his indefatigable researches into the discoveries which have been made by all nations, though he has given due credit to the adventures of Behaim in Congo and Fayal, yet he has not said one word of his visiting America; which he certainly would have done, if in his opinion there had been any foundation for it.

Letters from Paul, a Physician of Florence, to Christopher Columbus, concerning the discovery of the Indies.

LETTER I.

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I PERCEIVE your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced; and therefore in answer to a letter of yours, I send you another letter, which some days since I wrote to a friend of mine, and servant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in answer to another he wrote to me by his highness's order, upon this same account; and I send you another sea chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The copy of the letter is this.

To Ferdinand Martinez, canon of Lisbon, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I AM very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most serene and magnificent king; and though I have very often discoursed concerning the *short* way there is from hence to the Indies, where the spice is produced, by sea, which I look upon to be shorter than that you take by the coast of Guinea; yet you now tell me that his highness would have me make out and demonstrate it, so as it may be understood and put in practice. Therefore, though I could better show it him with a globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the figure of the world; yet I have resolved to render it more easy and intelligible, to show this way upon a chart, such as are used in navigation; and therefore I send one to his majesty, made and drawn with my own hand; wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the west, from Ireland in the north, to the farthest part of Guinea, with all the islands that lie in the way. Opposite to which western coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the islands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole toward the equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may sail before you come to those places most fruitful in all sorts of spice, jewels, and precious stones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the spice grows west, that product being generally ascribed to the east; because those who shall sail westward will always find those places in the west; and they that travel by land eastward will ever find those places in the east. The strait lines that lie lengthways in the chart, show the distance there is from west to east: the others cross them, show the distance from north to south. I have also marked down in the said chart, several places in India, where ships might put in upon any storm, or contrary winds, or any other accident unforeseen.

Moreover to give you full information of all those places which you are very desirous to know; you must understand, that none but traders live or reside in all those islands, and that there is as great number of ships and seafaring people with merchandise, as in any other part of the world; particularly in a most noble port called *Zacton*, where there are every year a hundred large ships of pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other ships that take in other spice.

This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince called the Kham, which name signifies, King of Kings; who for the most part resides in the province of Cathay. His predecessors were very desirous to have commerce and be in amity with Christians; and 200 years since, sent ambassadors to the Pope; desiring him to send them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reason of some obstacles the ambassadors met with, they returned back, without coming to Rome.

Besides, there came an ambassador to Pope Eugenus IV. who told him the great friendship there was between those princes, their people and the Christians. I discoursed with him a long while upon the several matters of the grandeur of the royal structures and of the greatness, length and breadth of their rivers. He told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers; and that there were 200 cities upon one river only, with marble bridges over it, of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deserves as well as any other to be discovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but also gold, silver, all sorts of precious stones, and spices in abundance, which are not brought into our parts. And it is certain, that many wise men, philosophers, astrologers, and other persons skilled in all arts, and very ingenious, govern that mighty province, and command their armies.

From Lisbon directly westward, there are in the chart 26 spaces, each of which contains 250 miles, to the most noble and vast city of Quisay, which is 100 miles in compass, that is 35 leagues; in it there are ten marble bridges. The name signifies a heavenly city; of which wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings and the revenues. This space above mentioned is almost the third part of the globe. This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the king for the most part resides.

From the island Antilla, which you call the seven cities, and *of which you have some knowledge*, to the most noble island of Cipango are ten spaces, which make 2500 miles, or 225 leagues; which island abounds in gold, pearls and precious stones; and you must understand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all these things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with safety.

Much more might be said, but having told you what is most material, and you being wise and judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfy your curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my bu-

* See Brookes's Gazetteer, Benin.

† Diego is the Spanish name of James, in Latin Jacobus, and in Portuguese, Jago. Cam is in Latin, Camus or Canus, and in Spanish, Cano; these different names are found in different authors.

siness would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his highness to the utmost in all the commands he shall lay upon me.

FLORENCE, June 25, 1474.

LETTER II.

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I RECEIVED your letters with the things you sent me, which I shall take as a great favor, and commend your noble and ardent desire of sailing from east to west, as it is marked out in the chart I sent you, which would demonstrate itself better in the form of a globe.

I am glad it is well understood, and that the voyage laid down is not only possible but true, certain, honorable, very advantageous, and most glorious among all Christians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by experience and practice, as I have had in great measure, and by the solid and true information of worthy and wise men, who have come from those parts to this court of Rome; and from merchants who have traded long in those parts and are persons of good reputation. So that when the said voyage is performed, it will be to powerful kingdoms, and to the most noble cities and provinces; rich and abounding in all things we stand in need of, particularly in all sorts of spice in great quantities, and store of jewels.

This will moreover be grateful to those kings and princes, who are very desirous to converse and trade with Christians of these our countries, whether it be for some of them to become Christians, or else to have communication with the wise and ingenious men of these parts, as well in point of religion, as in all sciences, because of the extraordinary account they have of the kingdoms and government of these parts.

For which reasons, and many more that might be alleged, I do not at all admire, that you who have a great heart, and all the Portuguese nation, which has ever had notable men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage.

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.—His birth and education—His scientific researches—His account of his voyage to America—The first account of America published by him—The reason of this Continent being named America—He has no claim to the discovery

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS, or more properly Amerigo Vespucci a Florentine gentleman, from whom America derives its name, was born March 9, 1451, of an ancient family. His father, who was an Italian merchant, brought him up in this business, and his profession led him to visit Spain and other countries. Being eminently skilful in all the sciences subservient to navigation, and possessing an enterprising spirit, he became desirous of seeing the new world, which Columbus had discovered in 1492. He accordingly entered as a merchant on board the small fleet of four ships, equipped by the merchants of Seville and sent out under the command of Ojeda. The enterprise was sanctioned by a royal license.

According to Amerigo's own account he sailed from Cadiz, May, 20, 1497, and returned to the same port October 15, 1498, having discovered the coast of Paria and passed as far as the gulf of Mexico. If this statement is correct, he saw the continent before Columbus; but its correctness has been disproved, and the voyage of Ojeda was not made until 1499, which Amerigo calls his second voyage, falsely representing that he himself had the command of six vessels. He sailed May 20, 1499, under the command of Ojeda, and proceeded to the Antilla islands, and thence to the coast of Guiana and Venezuela, and returned to Cadiz in Nov. 1500. After his return, Emanuel, king of Portugal, who was jealous of the success and glory of Spain, invited him to his kingdom, and gave him the command of three ships to make a third voyage of discovery. He sailed from Lisbon May 10, 1501, and ran down the coasts of Africa as far as Sierra Leone and the Coast of Angola, and then passed over to Brazil in South America, and continued his discoveries to the south as far as Patagonia. He then returned to Sierra Leone and the coast of Guinea, and entered again the port of Lisbon, September 7, 1502.

King Emanuel, highly gratified by his success, equipped for him six ships, with which he sailed on his fourth and last voyage, May 10, 1503. It was his object to discover a western passage to the Molucca islands. He passed the coasts of Africa, and entered the bay of All Saints in Brazil. Having provision for only 20 months, and being detained on the coast of Brazil by bad weather and contrary winds five months, he formed the resolution of returning to Portugal, where he arrived June 14, 1504. As he carried home with him considerable quantities of the Brazil wood, and other articles of value, he was received with joy. It was soon after this period, that he wrote an account of his four voyages. The work was dedicated Rene II. Duke of Lorraine, who took the title of the king of Sicily, and who died Dec. 10, 1508. It was probably published about the year 1507, for in that year he went from Lisbon to Seville, and King Ferdinand appointed him to draw sea charts with the title of chief pilot. He died at the Island of Tercera in 1514, aged about 63 years, or agreeably to another account, at Seville, in 1512.

As he published the first book and chart, describing the new world, and as he claimed the honor of first discovering the continent, the new world has received from him the name of *America*. His pretensions however to this first discovery do not seem to be well supported against the claims of Columbus, to whom the honor is uniformly ascribed by the Spanish historians, and who first saw the continent in 1498. Herrera, who compiled his general history of America from the most authentic records, says, that Amerigo never made but two voyages, and those were with Ojeda in 1499 and 1501, and that his relation of his other voyages was proved to be a mere imposition. This charge needs to be confirmed by strong proof, for Amerigo's book was published within ten years of the period assigned for his first voyage, when the facts must have been fresh in the memories of thousands. Besides the improbability of his being guilty of falsifying dates, as he was accused, which arises from this circumstance, it is very possible, that the Spanish writers might have felt a national resentment against him for having deserted the service of Spain. But the evidence against the honesty of Amerigo is very convincing. Neither Martyr nor Benzoni, who were Italians, natives of the same country, and the former of whom was a contemporary, attribute to him the first discovery of the continent. Martyr published the first general history of the new world, and his epistles contain an account of all the remarkable events of his time. All the Spanish historians are against Amerigo. Herrera brings against him the testimony of Ojeda as given in a judicial inquiry. Fonseca, who gave Ojeda the license for his voyage, was not reinstated in the direction of Indian affairs until after the time, which Amerigo assigns for the commencement of his first voyage. Other circumstances might be mentioned; and the whole mass of evidence it is difficult to resist. The book of Amerigo was probably published about a year after the death of Columbus, when his pretensions could be advanced without the fear of refutation from that illustrious navigator. But however this controversy may be decided, it is well known, that the honor of first discovering the continent belongs neither to Columbus nor to Vespucci, even admitting the relation of the latter; but to the Cabots, who sailed from England. A life of Vespucci was published at Florence by Bandani, 1745, in which an attempt is made to support his pretensions.

The relation of his four voyages, which was first published about the year 1507, was republished in the Novus Orbis, fol. 1555. His letters were published after his death at Florence.

JOHN CABOT AND SEBASTIAN CABOT.

JOHN CABOT and his son Sebastian—King Henry VII. grants John Cabot a commission—He sails with his son on a voyage of discovery—Appearance of land—Description of it—They return to England—Sebastian sails on a voyage of discovery

THE economical disposition of Henry VII. King of England, induced him to preserve tranquillity in his dominions, which greatly contributed to the increase of commerce and manufactures; and to bring thither merchants from all parts of Europe. The Lombards and the Venetians were remarkably numerous: the former of whom had a street in London appropriated to them and called by their name.

Among the Venetians resident there at that time was John Cabot, a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished mariner.—He had three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, all of whom he educated in the same manner. Lewis and Sanctius became eminent men, and settled, the one at Genoa, the other at Venice. Of Sebastian a farther account will be given.

The famous discovery made by Columbus caused great admiration and much discourse in the court of Henry, among the merchants of England. To find a way to India by the west, had long been a problem with men of science as well as a desideratum in the mercantile interest. The way was then supposed to be opened; and the specimens of gold which Columbus had brought home, excited the warmest desire of pursuing that discovery.

Cabot, by his knowledge of the globe, supposed that a shorter way might be found from England to India, by the northwest. Having communicated his project to the king, it was favorably received; and on the fifth of March 1496, a commission was granted to "John Cabot, and his three sons, their heirs and deputies, giving them liberty to sail to all ports of east, west, and north, under the royal banners, and ensigns; to discover countries of the heathen unknown to Christians; to set up the king's banners there; to occupy and possess as his subjects, such places as they could subdue; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king, as often as they should arrive at Bristol (at which place only they were permitted to arrive,) in wares and merchandise, one fifth part of all their gains: with exemption from all customs and duties on such merchandise as should be brought from their discoveries."

After the granting of this commission, the king gave orders for fitting out two caravels for the purpose of the discovery. These were victualled at the public expense; and freighted by the merchants of London and Bristol, with coarse cloths and other articles of traffic. The whole company consisted of three hundred men.

With this equipment, in the beginning of May, 1497,* John Cabot and his son Sebastian sailed from Bristol towards the northwest, till they reached the latitude of 58°; where meeting with floating ice, and the weather being severely cold, they altered their course to the southwest; not expecting to find any land, till they should arrive at Cathay, the northern part of China, from whence they intended to pass southward to India.

On the 24th of June, very early in the morning, they were surprised with the sight of land; which, being the first that they had seen, they called Prima Vista. The description of it is given in these words. "The island which lieth out before the land, he called St. John, because it was discovered on the day of St. John, the Baptist. The inhabitants of this island wear beasts' skins. In their wars they use bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soil is barren in some places and yieldeth little fruit; but is full of white bears and stags, far greater than ours. It yieldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seals and salmons. There are soles above a yard in length, but especially there is great abundance of that kind of fish which the savages call Bacalao.—(Cod.) In the same island are hawks and eagles, as black as ravens; also partridges. The inhabitants had plenty of copper."

This land is generally supposed to be some part of the island of Newfoundland; and Dr. Foster thinks that the name, Prima Vista, was afterwards changed to Bona Vista, now the northern cape Trinity Bay, in latitude 48° 50'. Peter Martyr's account is, that Cabot called the land, Bacalaos; and there is a small island off the south cape of Trinity Bay, which bears that name: Mr. Prince, in his chronology (citing Galvanus for an authority,) says, that the land discovered by Cabot was in latitude 45°. If this were true, the first discovery was made on the peninsula of Nova Scotia; and as they coasted the land northward, they must have gone into the gulf St. Lawrence, in pursuit of their northwest passage.

The best accounts of the voyage preserved by Hakluyt and Purchas, say nothing of the latitude of Prima Vista; but speak of their sailing northward after they had made the land, as far as 67°. Stowe, in his chronicle, says it was on the "north side of Terra de Labradore." This course must have carried them far up the strait which separates Greenland from the continent of America.

Finding the land still stretching to the northward, and the weather very cold in the month of July; the men became uneasy, and the commanders found it necessary to return to Bacalaos. Having here refreshed themselves, they coasted the land southward till they came into the same latitude with the

* There is no good account of this voyage written by any contemporary author. It is therefore collected from several who have set down facts without much order or precision. To reconcile their contradictions, and deduce conclusions from what they have related, requires much trouble, and leaves an uncertainty with respect to particular circumstances, though the principal facts are well ascertained.

straits of Gibaralter 36°, according to some no farther than 38° ; when their provisions falling short, they returned to England ; bringing three of the savages as a present to the king. "They were clothed with the skins of beasts, and lived on raw flesh ; but after two years, were seen in the king's court clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen."

Nothing more is said of John Cabot, the father ; and some historians ascribe the whole of this discovery to Sebastian only ; but at the time of this voyage he could not have been more than twenty years old, when though he might accompany his father, yet he was too young to undertake such an expedition himself. The voyage having produced no specimens of gold, and the king being engaged in a controversy with Scotland, no farther encouragement was given to the spirit of discovery.

After the king's death, Sebastian Cabot was invited to Spain, and was received in a respectful manner by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. In their service he sailed on a voyage of discovery to the southern parts of the New Continent ; and having visited the coast of Brazil, entered a great river to which he gave the name of Rio de la Plata. He sailed up this river one hundred and twenty leagues ; and found it divided into many branches ; the shores of which were inhabited by numerous people.

After this he made other voyages, of which no particular memorials remain. He was honored by Ferdinand with a commission of Grand Pilot ; and was one of the council of the Indies. His residence was in the city of Seville. His character was gentle, friendly and social. His employment was the drawing of charts ; on which he delineated all the new discoveries made by himself and others. Peter Martyr speaks of him as a friend with whom he loved familiarly to converse.

In his advanced age, he returned to England, and resided at Bristol. By the favor of the Duke of Somerset, he was introduced to King Edward VI. who took great delight in his conversation, and settled on him a pension of 166*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. per annum for life. He was appointed governor of a company of merchants, associated for the purpose of making discoveries of unknown countries. This is a proof of the great esteem in which he was held as a man of knowledge and experienced in his profession. He had a strong persuasion that a passage might be found to China by the northeast, and warmly patronized the attempt made by Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553 to explore the northern seas for that purpose. There is still extant a complete set of instructions drawn and subscribed by Cabot, for the direction of the voyage to Cathay, which affords the clearest proof of his sagacity and penetration. But though this, as well as all other attempts of the kind, proved ineffectual to the principal end in view, yet it was the means of opening a trade with Russia, which proved very beneficial to the company.

The last account which we have with Sebastian is, that in 1556, when a company were sending out a vessel called the Search-thrift, under the command of Stephen Burrough, for discovery ; the Governor made a visit on board ; which is thus related in the journal of the voyage as preserved by Hakluyt.

"The 27th of April, being Monday, the Right Worshipful Sebastian Cabota came aboard our pinnace, at Gravesend ; accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen ; who, after they had viewed our pinnace, and tasted of such cheer as we could make them, went ashore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards. The good old gentleman Master Cabota gave to the *poor* most liberal alms, wishing *them* to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the Search-thrift, our pinnace. And then at the sign of St. Christopher, he and his friends banqueted ; and made me and them that were in the company great cheer ; and for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he *entered into the dance himself*, among the rest of the young and lusty company ; which being ended he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God."

According to the calculation of his age by Dr. Campbell, he must at that time have been about eighty years old.

He was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. By his ingenuity and industry, he enlarged the bounds of science and promoted the interest of the English nation. Dr. Campbell supposes it was he who first took notice of the variation of the magnetic needle. It had been observed in the first voyage of Columbus to the West Indies ; though probably Cabot might not have known it, till after he had made the same discovery.

JAMES CARTIER.

JAMES CARTIER—He sails on a voyage of discovery—Comes in sight of land—Account of his voyage—Chaleur Bay discovered—His interview with the natives—Donacona—The Indian Chief—His stratagem—Reception of Cartier and his company by the Indians—Character, habits, and customs of the Indians—Cartier makes further discoveries—Raging of the scurvy in his company—Cartier takes possession of the country—He returns to France with two of the natives—Cartier again sails—The natives inquire after their brethren—Kindness of the Indians.

THOUGH the English did not prosecute the discovery made by the Cabots, nor avail themselves of the only advantages which it could have afforded them ; yet their neighbours of Brittanny, * Normandy and Biscay wisely pursued the track of those adventurers and took vast quantities of cod on the banks of Newfoundland.

In 1524, John Verazzani, a Florentine, in the service of France, ranged the coast of the new continent from Florida to Newfoundland, and gave it the name of *New France*. In a subsequent voyage he was cut to pieces and devoured by the savages,

It is remarkable that the three great European kingdoms, Spain, England and France, made use of three Italians to conduct their discoveries ; Columbus a Genoese ; Cabot, a Venetian ; and Verazzani, a Florentine. This is a proof that among the Italians, there were at that time persons superior in maritime knowledge to the other nations of Europe ; though the penurious spirit of those republics, their mutual jealousy and petty wars, made them overlook the benefits resulting from extensive enterprises, and leave the vast regions of the new world to be occupied by others.

The voyages of Verazzani having produced no addition to the revenue of France, all further attempts to perfect his discoveries were laid aside ; but the fishery being found conducive to the commercial interest, it was at length conceived; that a plantation in the neighborhood of the banks might be advantageous. This being represented to King Francis I. by Chabot the Admiral, JAMES CARTIER † of St. Malo, was commissioned to explore the country, with a view to find a place for a colony.

On the 20th of April 1534, he sailed from St. Malo with two ships of sixty tons, and 122 men ; and on the tenth of May came in sight of Bonavista, on the island of Newfoundland. But the ice which lay along the shore obliged him to go southward ; and he entered a harbor to which he gave the name of St. Catharine ; where he waited for fair weather, and fitted his boats

As soon as the season would permit he sailed northward, and examined several harbors and islands, on the coast of Newfoundland ; in one of which he found such a quantity of birds, that in half an hour, two boats were loaded with them ; and after they had eaten as many as they could, five or six barrels full were salted for each ship. This place was called Bird Island.

Having passed Cape de Grat, the northern extremity of the land ; he entered the straits of Bellisle and visited several harbors on the opposite coast of Labrador, one of which he called Cartier's Sound. The harbor is described as one of the best in the world ; but the land is stigmatized as the place to which Cain was banished ; no vegetation being produced among the rocks, but thorns and moss. Yet, bad as it was, there were inhabitants in it, who lived by catching seals, and seemed to be a wandering tribe.

In circumnavigating the great island of Newfoundland, they found the weather in general cold ; but when they had crossed the gulf in a southwesterly direction to the continent, they came into a deep bay, where the climate was so warm, that they named it Baye de Chaleur, or the Bay of Heat. Here were several kinds of wild berries, roses and meadows of grass. In the fresh waters they caught salmon in great plenty.

Having searched in vain for a passage through the bay, they quitted it, and sailed along the coast eastward, till they came to the smaller bay of Gaspe ; where they sought shelter from a tempest, and were detained twelve days in the month of July. In this place Cartier performed the ceremony of taking possession for the King of France. A cross of thirty feet high was erected on a point of land. On this cross was suspended a shield, with the arms of France and the words *Vive le Roy de France*. Before it, the people kneeled, uncovered ; with their hands extended, and their eyes lifted toward heaven. The natives, who were present, beheld the ceremony at first with silent admiration ; but after a while, an old man, clad in a bear's skin, made signs to them that the land was his, and that they should not have it, without his leave. They then informed him by signs, that the cross was intended only as a mark of direction, by which they might again find the port ; and they promised to return the next year, and to bring iron and other commodities.

They thought it proper however to conciliate the old man's good will, by entertaining him on board the ship and making him several presents ; by which means, they so prevailed on him, that he permitted Cartier to carry two of his sons, young men, to France on the security of a promise that he would bring them back, at his return the next spring.

From Graspe, he sailed so far into the Great River afterward called St. Lawrence, as to discover land on the opposite side ; but the weather being boisterous, and the current setting against him, he thought it best to return to Newfoundland, and then to France ; where he arrived safe in the harbor of St. Malo, on the fifth of September.

The discoveries made in this voyage excited farther curiosity ; and the vice Admiral Melleraye represented Cartier's merits to the King, so favorably as to procure for him a more ample equipment. Three ships, one of 120, one of 60 and one of 40 tons, were destined to perform another voyage, in the ensuing spring ; and several young men of distinction entered as volunteers, to seek adventures in the new world. When they were ready to sail, the whole company, after the example of Columbus, went in procession to church, on Whitsunday, where the Bishop of St. Malo pronounced his blessing on them. They sailed on the 19th of May 1535. Meeting with tempestuous weather, the ships were separated ; and did not join again, till Cartier in the largest ship arrived at Bird Island, where he again filled his boats with fowls, and on the 26th of July was joined by the other vessels.

From Bird Island they pursued the same course as in the preceding summer ; and having come into the gulf on the western side of Newfoundland, gave it the name of St. Lawrence. Here they saw abundance of whales. Passing between the island of Assumption (since called Anticosti) and the northern shore, they sailed up the great river, till they came to a branch on the northern side, which the young natives who were on board called Saguenay ; the main river they told him would carry him to Hochelega, the capital of the whole country.

After spending sometime in exploring the northern coast, to find an opening to the northward ; in the beginning of September, he sailed up the river, and discovered several islands ; one of which, from the multitude of filberts, he called Coudres ; and another, from the vast quantity of grapes, he named Bacchus, (now Orleans.) This island was full of inhabitants who subsisted by fishing.

When the ships had come to anchor between the N. W. side of the island and the main, Cartier went on shore with his two young Savages. The people of the country were at first afraid of them ; but hearing the youths speak to them in their own language they became sociable, and brought eels and other fish, with a quantity of Indian corn in ears, for the refreshment of their new guests ; in return for which, they were presented with such European baubles as were pleasing to them.

The next day, Donacona, the prince of the place came to visit them, attended by twelve boats ; but keeping ten of them at a distance, he approached with two only, containing sixteen men. In the true spirit of hospitality, he made a speech, accompanied with significant gestures, welcoming the French to his country and offering his service to to them. The young savages, Tiagnoagni and Domagaia answered him, reporting all which they had seen in France, at which he appeared to be pleased. Then approaching the Captain, who held out his hand, he kissed it, and laid it round his own neck, in token of friendship. Cartier, on his part, entertained Donacona with bread and wine, and they parted mutually pleased.

The next day Cartier went up in his boat to find a harbor for his ships ; the season being so far advanced that it became necessary to secure them. At the west end of the isle of Bacchus, he found "a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river

* It is supposed that the island of Cape Breton took its name from the Bretons, the fishermen Brittany.

† His name is sometimes written Quartier.

and haven; about three fathoms deep at high water." To this ne gave the name of St. Croix, and determined there to lay up his ships.

Near this place was a village called Stadacona, of which Donacona was the lord. It was environed with forest trees, some of which bore fruit; and under the trees, was a growth of wild hemp. As Cartier was returning to his ships, he had another specimen of the hospitable manners of the natives. A company of people, of both sexes, met him on the shore of the little river, singing and dancing up to their knees in water. In return for their courtesy, he gave them knives and beads; and they continued their music till he was beyond hearing it.

When Cartier had brought his ships to the harbor and secured them, he intimated his intention to pass in his boats up the river to Hochelaga. Donacona was loth to part with him; and invented several artifices to prevent his going thither. Among others, he contrived to dress three of his men in black and white skins, with horns on their heads, and their faces besmeared with coal, to make them resemble infernal spirits. They were put into a canoe and passed to the ships; brandishing their horns and making an unintelligible harrangue. Donacona, with his people, pursued and took them, on which they fell down as if dead. They were carried ashore into the woods, and all the savages followed them. A long discourse ensued, and the conclusion of the farce was, that these demons had brought news from the god of Hochelaga, that his country was so full of snow and ice, that whoever should adventure thither would perish with the cold. The artifice afforded diversion to the French, but was too thin to deceive them. Cartier determined to proceed; and on the nineteenth of September, with his pinnace and two boats, began his voyage up the river to Hochelaga.

Among the woods on the margin of the river were many vines loaded with white grapes, than which nothing could be a more welcome sight to Frenchmen, though the fruit was not so delicious as they had been used to taste in their own country. Along the banks were many huts of the natives; who made signs of joy as they passed; presented them with fish; piloted them through narrow channels; carried them ashore on their backs, and helped them to get off their boats when aground. Some presented their children to them, and such as were of proper age were accepted.

The water at that time of the year being low, their passage was rendered difficult; but by the friendly assistance of the natives they surmounted the obstructions. On the 25th of September they passed the rapids between the islands in the upper part of the lake Angoleme, (now called St. Peters) and on the second of October they arrived at the island of Hochelaga; where they had been expected, and preparations were made to give them a welcome reception. About a thousand persons came to meet them, singing and dancing, the men on one side, the women on the other, and the children in a distinct body. Presents of fish and other victuals were brought, and in return were given knives, beads and other trinkets. The Frenchmen lodged the first night in their boats, and the natives watched on the shore, dancing round their fires during the whole night.

The next morning Cartier, with twenty-five of his company, went to visit the town, and were met on the way by a person of distinction, who bade them welcome. To him they gave two hatchets and two knives, and hung over his neck a cross which they taught him to kiss. As they proceeded, they passed through groves of oak, from which acorns were fallen and lay thick on the ground. After this they came to fields of ripe corn, some of which was gathered. In the midst of these fields was situate the town of Hochelaga.

It was of a round form, encompassed with three lines of palisades, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders, and heaps of stones were laid in proper places for defence. In the town were about fifty long huts built with stakes and covered with bark. In the middle of each hut was a fire, round which were lodging places, floored with bark and covered with skins. In the upper part was a scaffold on which they dried and preserved their corn. To prepare it for eating, they pounded it in wooden mortars, and having mixed it with water, baked it on hot stones. Besides corn they had beans, squashes and pumpkins. They dried their fish and preserved them in troughs. These people lived chiefly by tillage and fishing, and seldom went far from home. Those on the lower parts of the river were more given to hunting, and considered the Lord of Hochelaga as their sovereign, to whom they paid tribute.

When the new guests were conducted to an open square in the centre of the town; the females came to them, rubbing their hands and faces, weeping with joy at their arrival, and bringing their children to be touched by the strangers. They spread mats for them on the ground, whilst the men seated themselves in a large circle on the outside. The king was then brought into a litter on the shoulders of ten men, and placed on a mat next to the French Captain. He was about fifty years old, and had no mark of distinction but a coronet made of porcupines's quills dyed red; which he took off and gave to the Captain, requesting him to rub his arms and legs which were trembling with the palsy. Several persons, blind, lame and withered with age, were also brought to be touched; as if they supposed that their new guests were messengers from heaven invested with a power of healing diseases. Cartier gratified them as well as he could, by laying his hands on them and repeating some devotional passages from a service book, which he had in his pocket; accompanying his ejaculations with significant gestures, and lifting up his eyes to heaven. The natives attentively observed and imitated all his motions.

Having performed this ceremony, he desired the men, women and children to arrange themselves in separate bodies. To the men he gave hatchets, to the women beads, and to the children rings. He then ordered his drums and trumpets to sound, which highly pleased the company and set them to dancing.

Being desirous of ascending the hill, under which the town was built, the natives conducted them to the summit; where they were entertained with a most extensive and beautiful prospect of mountains, woods, islands and waters. They observed the course of the river above, and some falls of water in it; and the natives informed them that they might sail on it for three months; that it ran through two or three great lakes, beyond which was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew of no bounds; and that on the other side of the mountains there was another river which ran in a contrary direction to the southwest, through a country full of delicious fruits, and free from snow and ice; that there was found such metal as the Captain's *silver* whistle and the haft of the dagger belonging to one of the company which was gilt with *gold*. Being shown some copper, they pointed to the northward, and said it came from Saguenay. To this hill Cartier gave the name of *Montreal*, which it has ever since retained.

The visit being finished, the natives accompanied the French to their boats, carrying such as were weary on their shoulders. They were loth to part with their guests, and followed them along the shore of the river to a considerable distance.

On the 4th of October, Cartier and his company departed from Hochelaga. In passing down the river, they erected a cross on the point of an island, which, with three others, lay in the mouth of a shallow river, on the north side, called Fouetz. On the eleventh they arrived at the Port de St. Croix, and found that their companions had enclosed the ships with a palisade and rampart, on which they had mounted cannon.

The next day Donacona invited them to his residence, where they were entertained with the usual festivity and made the customary presents. They observed that these people used the leaves of an herb (tobacco) which they preserved in pouches made of skins and smoked in stone pipes. It was very offensive to the French; but the natives valued it as contributing much to the preservation of their health. Their houses appeared to be well supplied with provisions. Among other things which were new to the French, they observed the scalps of five men, spread and dried like parchment. These were taken from their enemies the Toudamani, who came from the south, and were continually at war with them.

Being determined to spend the winter among those friendly people, they traded with them for the provisions which they could spare, and the river supplied them with fish till it was hard frozen.

In December the scurvey began to make its appearance among the natives, and Cartier prohibited all intercourse with them; but it was not long before his own men were taken with it. It raged with uncontrolled violence for above two months, and by the middle of February, out of one hundred and ten persons, fifty were sick at once, and eight or ten had died.

In this extremity Cartier appointed a day of solemn humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was placed on a tree, and as many as were able to walk went in procession, through the ice and snow, singing the seven penitential psalms and performing other devotional exercises. At the close of the solemnity Cartier made a vow, that "if it would please God to permit him to return to France, he would go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemado." But it was necessary to watch as well as pray. To prevent the natives from knowing their weak and defenceless state, he obliged all who were able, to make as much noise as possible with axes and hammers; and told the natives that his men were all busily employed, and that he would not suffer any of them to go from the ships till their work was done. The ships were fast frozen up from the middle of November to the middle of March; the snow was four feet deep, and higher than the sides of the ships above the ice. The severity of the winter exceeded all which they had ever experienced; the scurvy still raged; twenty-five men had fallen victims to it, and the others were so weak and low in spirits, that they despaired of ever seeing their native country.

In the depth of this distress and despondency, Cartier, who had escaped the disease, in walking one day on the ice, met some of the natives, among whom was Domagaia, one of the young men who had been with him to France and who then resided with his countrymen at Stadacona. He had been sick with the scurvy, his sinews had been shrunk and his knees swollen, his teeth loose, and his gums rotten; but he was then recovered, and told Cartier of a certain tree; the leaves and bark of which he had used as a remedy.—Cartier expressed his wish to see the tree; telling him that one of his people had been affected with the same disorder. Two women were immediately dispatched, who brought ten or twelve branches, and showed him how to prepare the decoction; which was thus, "to boil the bark and the leaves; to drink of the liquor every other day; and to put the dregs on the legs of the sick."*

This remedy presently came into use, on board the ships; and its good effects were so surprising, that within one week they were completely healed of the scurvey; and some who had venereal complaints of long standing were also cured by the same means.

The severity of the winter having continued four months without intermission, at the return of the sun the season became milder, and in April the ice began to break up. On the third of May, Cartier took possession of the country by erecting a cross, thirty-five feet high, on which was hung a shield, bearing the arms of France, with this inscription: FRANCICUS *Primus, Dei gratia,* FRANCORUM *Rex, regnat.*

The same day being a day of festivity, the two young savages, Taignoagni and Domagaia, with Donacona the chief of the place, came on board the ships, and were partly prevailed on and partly constrained to accompany Cartier to France. A handsome present was made to the family of Donacona, but it was with great reluctance that his friends parted with him; though Cartier promised to bring him again at the end of twelve months. On the sixth of May they sailed from the Port of St. Croix; and having touched at St. Peter's in Newfoundland, they arrived at St. Malo in France the sixth of July, 1536.

Whether Cartier performed his vow to God, the history does not tell us; certain it is, however, that he did not perform his promise to his passengers. The zeal for adventures of this kind began to abate. Neither gold nor silver were carried home. The advantages of the fur trade were not fully understood; and the prospect of benefit from cultivation in the short summer of that cold climate, was greatly overbalanced, by the length and severity of a Canadian winter. The natives had been so often told of the necessity of baptism in order to salvation, that on their arrival in France, they were at their own request baptised; but neither of them lived to see their native land again.

The report which Cartier brought home, of the fine country beyond the Lakes, had however made such an impression on the minds of some, that, at the end of four years, another expedition was projected. Francis de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, was commissioned by the King as his Lieutenant,

* This tree was called by the natives, Ameda or Hameda.—Mr Hakluyt supposes it to have been the Sassafras; but as the leaves were used with the bark, in the winter, it must have been an evergreen. The dregs of the bark were also applied to the sore legs of the patient. From these circumstances I am inclined to think that it was the spruce pine (pinus canadensis) which is used in the same manner by the Indians, and such as have learned of them. Spruce beer is well known to be a powerful anti-scorbutic, and the bark of this and of the white pine serves as a cataplasm for wounds and sores

Governor in Canada and Hockelaga; and Cartier was appointed his pilot, with the command of five ships. When they were ready to sail, Roberval had not finished his preparations, and was therefore detained. The King's orders to Cartier being positive, he sailed from St. Malo on the 23d of May 1540.

The winds were adverse and the voyage tedious. The ships were scattered, and did not arrive at the place of their destination till the 23d of August; when they came to the port of St. Croix in the river of Canada.

The first inquiry made by the natives was for their countrymen who had been carried away. The answer was, that Donacona was dead, and that the others had become great Lords, were married in France, and refused to return. Neither sorrow nor resentment were shown on this occasion; but a secret jealousy, which had been long working, received strength, from an answer so liable to suspicion.

The history of this voyage being imperfect, it is not possible to say, in what particular manner this jealousy operated. Cartier made another excursion, up the river; and pitched on a place about four leagues above St. Croix to lay up three of his vessels for the winter. The other two he sent back to France, to inform the King of what they had done; and that Roberval had not arrived.

At the new harbour, which he had chosen for his ships, was a small river, running in a serpentine course to the south. On the eastern side of its entrance was a high and steep cliff; on the top of which, they built a fort and called it Charleburg. Below, the ships were drawn up and fortified, as they had been in the former winter which he spent here. Not far from the fort were some rocks containing chrystals; which they denominated diamonds; and on the shore were picked up certain specks of a yellow substance, which their imaginations refined into gold. Iron ore was found in abundance; and a kind of black slate, with veins of an apparent metallic substance.

In what manner they passed the winter, the defective accounts which we have do not inform us. In the spring of the following year, Cartier and his company having heard nothing of Roberval; and concluding that they were abandoned by their friends and exposed to perish in a climate the most severe, and among people whose conduct toward them was totally changed, determined to return to France. Accordingly having set sail, at the breaking up of the ice, they arrived in the harbor of St. John's in Newfoundland, sometime in June; where they met Roberval, who, with three ships and two hundred persons, male and female, had sailed from Rochelle in April; and were on their way to establish a colony in Canada. Cartier went on board Roberval's ship, and showed him the diamonds and gold which he had found; but told him that the hostile disposition of the natives had obliged him to quit the country; which however he represented to him as capable of profitable cultivation. Roberval ordered him to return to Canada; but Cartier privately sailed out of the harbor in the night, and pursued his voyage to France.

Mortified and disappointed, Roberval continued some time longer at St. John's before he proceeded, and about the end of July arrived at the place which Cartier had quitted. There he erected a fort on a commanding eminence, and another at its foot; in which were deposited all the provision, ammunition, artillery, implements of husbandry, and other materials for the intended colony.

In September, two vessels were sent back to France, to carry specimens of chrystal, and fetch provisions for the next year; the stores which they had brought being much reduced. By the help of the fish which they took in the river, and the game which they procured from the savages; and by well husbanding their provisions, they lingered out a tedious winter, having suffered much from the scurvy, of which about fifty of them died. In addition to this distress, Roberval exercised such severity in his government, that one man was hanged, several were laid in irons, and some of both sexes underwent the discipline of the whip.

In April the ice began to break up; and on the fifth of June he proceeded up the river; leaving De Royeze, his Lieutenant, to command in his absence, with orders to embark for France, if he should not return by the middle of July.

As the account of the expedition ends here, we can only remark that the colony was broken up; and no farther attempt was made by the French to establish themselves in Canada, till after the expiration of half a century. The last account of Roberval is that, in 1549, he sailed with his brother on some voyage of discovery, and never returned.

In this first visit, which the natives of Canada received from the Europeans, we have a striking instance of their primitive manners. Suspecting no danger, and influenced by no fear, they embraced the stranger with unaffected joy. Their huts were open to receive him, their fires and furs to give warmth and rest to his weary limbs; their food was shared with him or given in exchange for his trifles; they were ready with their simple medicines to heal his diseases and his wounds; they would wade through rivers and climb rocks and mountains to guide him in his way, and they would remember and requite his kindness more than it deserved.

Unhappily for them they set too high a value on their new guest. Imagining him to be of a heavenly origin, they were extravagant and unguarded in their first attachment, and from some specimens of his superiority, obvious to their senses, they expected more than ought ever to be expected from beings of the same species. But when the mistake was discovered, and the stranger whom they adored proved to be no more than human, having the same inferior desires and passions with themselves; especially when they found their confidence misplaced and their generous friendship ill requited; then the rage of jealousy extinguished the virtue of benevolence; and they struggled to rid themselves of him, as an enemy, whom they had received into their bosom as a friend.

On the other hand, it was too common for the European adventurer to regard the man of nature as an inferior being; and whilst he availed himself of his strength and experience, to abuse his confidence, and repay his kindness with insult and injury; to stigmatize him as a heathen and a savage, and to bestow on him the epithets of deceitful, treacherous, and cruel: though he himself had first set the example of these detestable vices.

FERDINANDO DE SOTO.

FERDINANDO DE SOTO—His expedition—His adventures—He penetrates into the interior of the country—His difficulty with the Indians—Encounter with the Indians in which many are killed—His death.

The travels and transactions of this adventurer are of so little importance in the history of America, that I should not have thought them worthy of notice; had it not been, that some gentlemen of ingenuity and learning have had recourse to the expedition of this Spaniard as a means of solving the question respecting the mounds and fortifications, of a regular construction, which within a few years past have been discovered in the thickest shades of the American forest.* Though the opinion seems to have been candidly given up by one of the writers who attempted to defend it; yet as what was published on the subject may have impressed some persons with an idea that these works were of European fabric, I shall briefly relate the history of Soto's march; and the difficulties which attend the supposition that he was the builder of any of these fortifications.

After the conquest of Mexico and Peru, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the inextinguishable thirst for gold, which had seized the Spanish adventurers, prompted them to search for that bewitching metal wherever there could be any prospect of finding it. Three unsuccessful attempts had been made in Florida, by Ponce, Gomez, and Narvaez; but because these adventurers did not penetrate the interior parts of the continent, FERDINANDO DE SOTO, Governor of Cuba, who had been a companion of the Pizarros in their Peruvian expedition, and had there amassed much wealth, projected a march into Florida, of which country he had the title of Adelantado, or President. He sailed from the port of Havannah, May 18, 1539, with nine vessels, six hundred men,† two hundred and thirteen horses, and a herd of swine, and arrived on the 30th of the same month in the bay of Espiritu Santo, on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida.

Being a soldier of fortune and determined on conquest, he immediately pitched his camp and secured it. A foraging party met with a few Indians who resisted them; two were killed, the others escaped, and reported to their countrymen that the *warriors of fire* had invaded their territories; upon which the smaller towns were deserted and the natives hid in the woods

Having met with a Spaniard of the party of Narvaez, who had been wrecked on the coast, and had been twelve years a captive with the Indians, Soto made use of him as a messenger to them to inquire for gold and silver; and wherever he could receive any information, respecting these precious metals, thither he directed his march.

His manner of marching was this; The horsemen carried bags of corn and other provisions; the foot-men marched by the side of the horses, and the swine were driven before them. When they first landed they had thirteen female swine, which in two years increased to several hundreds; the warmth of the climate being favorable to their propagation, and, the forests yielding them a plenty of food.

The first summer and winter were spent in the peninsula of Florida, not far from the bay of Apalache; and in the beginning of the following spring, having sent back his vessels to Cuba for supplies, and left a part of his men at the port, where he expected the ships to return, he marched towards the north and east, in search of a place called Yupaha, where he had been informed there was gold.

In this march he crossed the river Altamaha, and probably the Ogechee, and came, as he was informed, within two days' journey of the bay of St. Helena, where the Spaniards had been several years before. In all this march he staid not more than a week in any one place.

He then set his face *northward*, and having passed a hilly country, came to a district called Chalaque, which is supposed to be the country now called Cherokee, on the upper branches of the river Savannah Thence he turned *westward*, in search of a place called Chiaha, and in this route he crossed the Allegany ridge, and came to Chiaha, where his horses and men being excessively fatigued, he rested thirty days. The horses fed in a meadow, and the people lay under the trees, the weather being very hot, and the natives in peace. This was in the months of May and June. During their abode there they heard of a country called Chisca, where was copper and another metal of the same color. This country lay *northward*, and a party was sent with Indian guides to view it. Their report was, that the mountains were impassable, and Soto did not attempt to proceed any farther in that direction

From a careful inspection of the maps in the American Atlas, I am inclined to think that the place where Soto crossed the mountains was within the thirty-fifth degree of latitude. In Delisle's map, a village called Canasaga is laid down on the N. W. side of the Allegany, or (as it is sometimes called) the Apalachian ridge of mountains, in that latitude; and Chiaha is said in Soto's journal to be five days westward from Canasaga.

To ascertain the situation of Chiaha, we must observe that it is said to be subject to the Lord of Cosa, which is situate on an eastern branch of the Mobile; and Soto's sick men came *down* the river from Chiaha in boats. This river could be none but a branch of the Mobile; and his course was then turned toward the *south*. In this march he passed through Alibama, Talise, Tascalusa, names which are still known and marked on the maps, till he came to the town of Mavilla, which the French pronounce Mouville and Mabille. It was then a walled town, but the walls were of wood. The inhabitants had conceived a disgust to the Spaniards, which was augmented by an outrage committed on one of their chiefs, and finally broke out in a severe conflict, in which two thousand of the innocent natives were slain, and many of the Spaniards killed and wounded, and the town was burnt. This was in the latter end of October.

It is probable that Soto intended to pass the winter in the neighborhood of that village, if he could have kept on friendly terms with the Indians; for there he could have had a communication with Cuba. There he heard that the vessels which he had sent to Cuba for supplies were arrived at Ochus (Pensacola,) where he agreed to meet them; but he kept this information secret, because he had not yet made any discoveries which his Spanish friends would think worthy of regard. The country about him was populous and hostile, and, being void of gold or silver, was not an object for him to possess at the risk of losing his army, of which above an hundred had already perished. He therefore, after staying twenty-eight days for the recovery of his wounded, determined on a retreat.

* If the reader wishes to see a particular investigation of this hypothesis, he may consult the American Magazine, printed at New-York, for December 1787, January and February 1788, and some subsequent numbers; compared with the Columbian Magazine, printed at Philadelphia, for September and November 1788.

† In Prince's Chronology it is said that Soto had 900 men, but he quotes Purchas for his authority, in whose book the number is "six hundred."

In this retreat it has been supposed that he penetrated northward, beyond the Ohio. The truth is, that he began his march from Mavilla, a village near the mouth of the Mobile, on the 18th of November, and on the 17th of December arrived at Chicaca, an Indian village of twenty houses, where they remained till the next April.

The distance, the time, the nature of the country, the course and manner of the march, and the name of the village, all concur to determine this winter station of Soto to be a village of the *Chickesaw* Indians, situate on the upper part of the Yasou, a branch of the Mississippi, about eighty leagues northwestward from Mobile, and not less than one hundred and forty leagues southwestward from the Muskingum, where the great fortifications, which gave rise to this inquiry are found. From *Chicaca*, in the spring, he went westward, and crossed a river within the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, which he called Rio Grande, and which is now known to be the Mississippi.

On the western side of the Mississippi, after rambling all summer, he spent the next winter, at a place called Autiamque, where he enclosed his camp with a wall of timber, the work of three days only. Within this enclosure he lodged safely during three months; and in the succeeding spring, the extreme fatigue and anxiety which he had suffered, threw him into a fever, of which he died, May 21, 1542, at Guacoya. To prevent his death from being known to the Indians, his body was sunk in the middle of a river.

His Lieutenant, Louis de Moscosco, continued to ramble on the western side of the Mississippi, till the next summer; when worn with fatigue, disappointment, and loss of men, he built seven boats, called brigantines, on the Mississippi, in which, the shattered remnants, consisting of three hundred and eleven, returned to Cuba, in September, 1543.

The place where Soto died is said to have been on the bank of the Red river, a western branch of the Mississippi, in lat. 31°. The place where the remnant of his army built their vessels and embarked for Cuba, is called in the journal Minoya. They were seventeen days in sailing down the river, and they computed the distance to be two hundred and fifty leagues.*

From this account, faithfully abridged from Purchas and compared with the best maps, I am fully persuaded that the whole country through which Soto travelled on the eastern side of the Mississippi is comprehended within Florida, Georgia and South Carolina; and that he never went farther northward than the 35th degree of latitude, which is distant two degrees southward from any part of the Ohio. The conclusion then is, that he could not have been the builder of those fortifications still remaining in that part of the continent which lies N. W. of the Ohio. Nor indeed can any works which he erected for the security of his camp be subsisting at this time; for the best of them were made of wood, and were intended to cover his men and protect his horses and swine only during one winter.

The works which have so much excited curiosity and conjecture, are far more numerous, extensive and durable. They are found in various and distant places, in the interior part of the continent, on both sides of the Mississippi; on the Ohio and its branches; on James and Potowmack rivers in Virginia; in the country of the Six Nations, and on the shores of Lake Erie; where they are exceedingly numerous.

The most obvious mode of solving the question respecting them, is by inquiry of the present natives.—But the structures are too ancient for their tradition; the oldest and wisest men know nothing of their original. The form and materials of these works, indicate the existence of a race of men superior to the present race, in improvement, in design, and in that patience which must have accompanied the labor of erecting them.

Trees which have been found growing on them have been cut down, and from indubitable marks, are known to have been upwards of three hundred years old; nor were these the first growth upon them

The mounds and ramparts are constructed of earth, and have acquired a firmness and solidity, which render it probable that they are the work of some remote age and some other people, who had different ideas of convenience and were better acquainted with the arts of defence; and in fact were much more numerous than the ancestry of those natives, of whom we or our fathers have had any knowledge. It is to be hoped that the persons who now occupy and are cultivating the lands where these singular buildings are found, will preserve, as far as they are able, some at least of these monuments of unknown ages; that as they have long resisted the ravages of time, and may possibly baffle the researches of the present generation, they may subsist unimpaired as subjects of speculation to our posterity.

* Mr. Purchas, in his chronology, says 160, in figures, but Purchas, from whom he quotes, says "two hundred and fifty."

HUMPHREY GILBERT.

Master Hore sails on a voyage of discovery, accompanied by a number of gentlemen of rank and fortune—They get reduced—They devour one another—Seizure of a French vessel with provision by the English—HUMPHREY GILBERT—He obtains a commission from Queen Elizabeth—He sails and is overtaken by a storm—Is obliged to put back—His difficulties—He again sets sail with five ships and arrives in America—His reception—He takes possession in the name of the Queen—He establishes laws—He sails on his return—Loss of the Delight—Loss of the vessel with Gilbert on board.

AFTER the discovery of Newfoundland by the Cabots, the passion for adventure, among the English, met with many severe checks. But whilst one adventurer after another was returning home from an unsuccessful voyage, intended to penetrate unknown seas to China, foreigners were reaping the benefit of their partial discoveries

Within the first forty years we have no account of any attempt made by the English to prosecute the discovery of the new continent, except that in 1536, two vessels containing one hundred and twenty persons, of whom thirty where gentlemen of education and character, under the conduct of "Master Hore of London" made a voyage to Newfoundland; but they were so ill provided, and knew so little of the nature of the country, that they suffered the extremity of famine. For, notwithstanding the immense quantities of fish and fowl to be found on those coasts; they were reduced so low as to watch the nests of birds of prey and rob them of the fish which they brought to feed their young. To collect this scanty supply, with a mixture of roots and herbs, the men dispersed themselves in the woods, until several of them were missing. It was at first thought they were devoured by wild beasts; but it was found that they met with a more tragical fate; the stronger having killed the weaker and feasted on their flesh. In the midst of this distress, a French ship arriving with a supply of provisions, they took her by force, and returned to England; leaving to the Frenchmen their own smaller vessels, and dividing the provision between them. Complaint of this act of piracy was made to King Henry VIII; who knowing the miseries of the unfortunate crew, instead of punishing them, paid the damage out of his own coffers.

Within the succeeding forty years, the English had begun to make some advantage by the fishery; and in 1578, the state of it is thus described. "There are about one hundred sail of Spaniards who come to take cod; who make it all wet, and dry it when they come home; besides twenty or thirty more, who come from Biscay to kill whales for train. These be better appointed for shipping and furniture of munition than any other nation save the English; who commonly are lords of the harbors. As touching their tonnage, I think it may be near five or six thousand. Of Portugals, there are not above fifty sail, whose tonnage may amount to three thousand, and they make all wet. Of the French nation are about one hundred and fifty sail; the most of their shipping is very small, not past forty tons; among which some are great and reasonably well appointed; better than the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards; the burden of them may be about seven thousand. The English vessels have increased in four years from thirty to fifty sail. The trade which our nation hath to Iceland, maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations."

The next year (1579) Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a patent for the discovering, occupying and peopling of "such remote, heathen and barbarous countries as were not actually possessed by any Christian people." In consequence of this grant many of his friends joined him, and preparations were made for an expedition, which promised to be highly advantageous. But before the fleet was ready, some declined and retracted their engagements. Gilbert with a few companions, sailed; but a violent storm, in which one of the ships foundered, caused them to return. This misfortune involved him in debt; and he had no way to satisfy the demands of his creditors, but by grants of land in America. By such means the country was not likely to be peopled, nor the conditions of his patent fulfilled. He was obliged therefore to sell his estate before he could make another attempt; and after long solicitation, being assisted by some friends, he set sail from Plymouth with five ships, carrying two hundred and sixty men, on the eleventh of June 1583; and on the eleventh of July arrived off the bay of St. John, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland

Thirty-six fishing vessels were then in the harbor, who refused him admittance. He prepared to enter by force of arms; but previously sent in his boat with his commission from Queen Elizabeth; on sight of which they submitted, and he sailed into the port.

The intention of this voyage was to take formal possession of the island, and of the fishery on its banks, for the crown of England. This was done in the following manner:

On Monday the fifth of August, Admiral Gilbert had his tent pitched on shore, in sight of all the shipping; and being attended by his own people, summoned the merchants and masters of vessels, both Englishmen and others to be present at the ceremony. When they were all assembled, his commission was read, and interpreted to the foreigners. Then a turf and a twig were delivered to him, which he received with a hazle wand. Immediately, proclamation was made, that by virtue of his commission from the Queen, he took possession for the crown of England, of the harbor of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way round it.

He then published three laws, for the government of the territory. By the first, public worship was established according to the mode of the church of England. By the second, the attempting of any thing prejudicial to her Majesty's title was declared treason, according to the laws of England. By the third, the uttering of words to the dishonor of her Majesty was to be punished with the loss of ears and the confiscation of property.

The proclamation being finished, assent and obedience were signified by loud acclamations. A pillar was erected, bearing a plate of lead, on which the Queen's arms were engraven; and several of the merchants took grants of land, in see farm; on which they might cure their fish, as they had done before.

A tax of provision, by her Majesty's authority, was levied on all the ships. This tax was readily paid; besides which, the Admiral received presents of wine, fruit, and other refreshments, chiefly from the Portuguese.

This formal possession, taken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in consequence of the discovery by the Cabots, is the foundation of the right and title of the crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland and to the fishery on its banks.

As far as the time would permit, a survey was made of the country; one principal object of which was the discovery of mines and minerals. The mineralogist was a Saxon, who is characterized as "honest and religious." This man brought to the Admiral first a specimen of iron, then a kind of ore, which, on the peril of his life, he protested to be silver. The Admiral enjoined secrecy, and sent it on board; intending to have it assayed, when they should get to sea.

The company being dispersed abroad, some were taken sick and died; some hid themselves in the woods, with an intention to go home, by the first opportunity; and others cut one of the vessels out of the harbor and carried her off.

On the 20th of August, the Admiral, having collected as many of his men as could be found, and ordered one of his vessels to stay and take off the sick; set sail with three ships; the Delight, the Hind and the Squirrel. He coasted along the southern part of the island, with a view to make Cape Breton and the Isle of Sable; on which last, he had heard that cattle and swine had been landed by the Portuguese, thirty years before.

Being entangled among shoals and involved in fogs, the Delight struck on a sand bank and was lost Fourteen men only saved themselves in a boat; the loss of the Saxon refiner was particularly noted, and nothing farther was heard of the silver ore. This misfortune determined the Admiral to return to England, without attempting to make any farther discoveries, or to take possession of any other part of America. On his passage, he met with bad weather. The Squirrel frigate, in which Sir Humphrey sailed, was overloaded on her deck; but he persisted in taking his passage in her, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, in the Hind, who would have persuaded him to sail with them. From the circumstance of his returning from his first voyage without accomplishing its object, it had been reported that he was afraid of the sea; had he yielded to the

solicitation of his friends, the stigma might have been indelible.

When the wind abated, and the vessels were near enough, the Admiral was seen constantly sittting in the stern with a book in his hand. On the 9th of September, he was seen for the last time; and was heard by the people in the Hind to say, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." In the following night, the lights of his ship suddenly disappeared.—The people in the other vessel kept a good look out for him, during the remainder of the voyage. On the twenty-second of September, they arrived, through much tempest and peril, at Falmouth. But nothing more was seen or heard of the Admiral.

Whilst his zeal for the interest of the Crown, and the settlements of its American dominions, has been largely commended; he has been blamed for his temerity in lavishing his own and other men's fortunes in the prosecution of his designs. This is not the only instance of a waste of property in consequence of sanguine expectations; which, though ruinous to the first adventurers, has produced solid advantages to their successors.

Dr. Forster has a remark on one of the incidents of this voyage which is worthy of repetition and remembrance. "It is very clear (says he) in the instance of the Portuguese having stocked the Isle of Sable with domestic aninals, that the discoverers of the new world were men of humanity; desirous of providing for such unfortunate people as might happen to be cast away on those coasts. The false policy of modern times is callous and tyrannical, exporting dogs to devour them. Are these the happy consequences of the so much boasted enlightened state of the present age, and refinement of manners, peculiar to our times? Father of mercies, when will philanthropy again take up her abode in the breasts of men, of Christians, and the rulers of this earth!"

WALTER RALEIGH, AND RICHARD GRENVILLE.

WALTER RALEIGH—Relative of Gilbert—Obtains a commission from Queen Elizabeth—He sails for America—Their arrival—Granganimeo, the Indian chief—Description of an Indian village—Hospitality and kindness of the natives—Return of Raleigh and his party to England with two natives—Virginia, so named by Elizabeth—Another expedition under the command of Sir Richard Grenville—Their arrival in America—Rashness of Grenville—His return—Death of Granganimeo—Wingina determines on a revenge—He is ensnared by the English and killed—Departure of the English—Another expedition—Their arrival—A dispute in the company—Governor of Virginia returns to England to solicit supplies—His ill-success—Disappointments and losses of Raleigh—Departure of the Governor for Virginia—His arrival—Finds the colony deserted and in ruins—He returns to England—Introduction of Tobacco in Europe—Anecdote of Sir Walter Raleigh.

THE distinguished figure, which the life of Sir Walter Raleigh makes in the history of England renders unnecessary any other account of him here, than what respects his adventures in America; and particularly in Virginia; of which colony he is acknowledged to have been the unfortunate founder.

He was half brother, by the mother's side, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and was at the expense of fitting out one of the ships of his squadron. Notwithstanding the unhappy fate of his brother, he persisted in his design of making a settlement in America. Being a favorite in the court of Queen Elizabeth, he obtained a patent, bearing date the 25th of March, 1584, for the discovering and planting of any lands and countries which were not possessed by any *Christian* prince or nation.

About the same time the Queen granted him another patent to license the vending of wine, throughout the kingdom; that by the profits thence arising he might be able to bear the expense of his intended plan of colonization. Further to strengthen his interest, he engaged the assistance of two wealthy kinsmen, Sir Richard Grenville and William Sanderson. They provided two barks, and having well furnished them with men and provisions, put them under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, who sailed from the west of England, April 27, 1584.

They took the usual route by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies; the reason of which is thus expressed in the account of this voyage written by Barlow, "because we doubted that the current of the bay of Mexico between the cape of Florida and Havanna had been of greater force than we afterwards found it to be."

Taking advantage of the Gulf Stream, they approached the coast of Florida; and on the second of July came into shoal waters; where the odoriferous smell of flowers indicated the land to be near, though not within sight. On the fourth they saw land; along which they sailed forty leagues before they found an entrance. At the first opening, they cast anchor, (July 13,) and having devoutly given thanks to God, for their safe arrival on the coast, they went ashore in their boats, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

The place where they landed was a sandy island, called Wococon,* about sixteen miles in length and six in breadth, full of cedars, pines, cypress, sassafras, and other trees; among which were many vines loaded with grapes. In the woods they found deer and hares; and in the waters and marshes various kinds of fowl; but no human creature was seen till the third day; when a canoe, with three men, came along by the shore. One of them landed; and, without any fear or precaution, met the Europeans and addressed them in a friendly manner, in his own language. They carried him on board one of their vessels; gave him a shirt and some other trifles, and regaled him with meat and wine. He then returned to his canoe; and with his companions went a fishing. When he canoe was filled, they brought the fish on shore and divided them into two heaps; making signs, that each of the vessels should take one.

The next day, several canoes came; in which were forty or fifty people, and among them was Granganimeo, brother of Wingina King of the country; who was confined at home by the wounds, which he had received in battle, with a neighbouring Prince. The manner of his approach was fearless and respectful. He left his boats at a distance; and came along the shore, accompanied by all his people, till he was abreast of the ships. Then advancing with four men only, who spread a mat on the ground, he sat down on one end; and the four men on the other. When the English went on shore, armed, he beckoned to them to come and sit by him; which they did, and he made signs of joy and friendship, striking with his hand on his head and breast, and then on theirs, to show that they were all one. None of his people spoke a word; and when the English offered them presents, he took them all into his own possession; making signs that they were his seavants and that all which they had, belonged to him.

After this interview, the natives came in great numbers and brought skins, coral, and materials for dyes; but when Granganimeo was present, none were permitted to trade, but himself and those who had a piece of copper on their heads. Nothing pleased him so much as a tin plate, in which he made a hole and hung it over his breast, as a piece of defensive armour. He supplied them every day with venison, fish, and fruits, and invited them to visit him at his village, on the north end of an island called Roanoke.

This village consisted of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified with sharp palisades. When the English arrived there in their boat, Granganimeo was absent; but his wife entertained them with the kindest hospitality, washed their feet and their clothes, ordered their boat to be drawn ashore and their oars to be secured; and then seated them with venison, fish, fruits, and homony.† Whilst they were at supper, some of her men came in from hunting, with their bows and arrows in their hands; on which her guests began to mistrust danger; but she ordered their bows to be taken from them, and their arrows to be broken; and then turned them out at the gate. The English however thought it most prudent to pass the night in their boat, which they launched and laid at anchor. At this she was much grieved; but finding all her solicitations ineffectual, she ordered the victuals in the pots to be put on board, with mats to cover the people from the rain; and appointed several persons of both sexes to keep guard on the beach during the whole night.—Could there be a more engaging specimen of generous hospitality?

These people were characterised as "gentle, loving and faithful; void of guile and treachery; living after the manner of the golden age; caring only to feed themselves, with such food as the soil affordeth, and to defend themselves from the cold, in their short winter."

No farther discovery was made of the country by these adventurers. From the natives they obtained some uncertain account of its geography, and of a ship which had been wrecked on the coast between twenty and thirty years before. They carried away two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo; and arrived in the west of England about the middle of September

The account of this discovery was so welcome to Queen Elizabeth, that she named the country *Virginia*; either in memory of her own virginity, or because it retained its virgin purity, and the people their primitive simplicity.

About this time Raleigh was elected knight of the shire, for his native county of Devon; and in the Parliament which was held in the succeeding winter, he caused a bill to be brought into the House of Commons to confirm his patent for the discovery of foreign countries. After much debate, the bill was carried through both houses, and received the royal assent.—In addition to which, the Queen conferred on him the order of Knighthood.

A second expedition being resolved on, Sir Richard Grenville himself took the command, and with seven vessels, large and small, sailed from Plymouth, on the ninth of April, 1585. They went in the usual course by the Canaries and the West Indies; where they took two Spanish prizes; and, after narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear, arrived at Wococon the 26th of June.*

The natives came, as before, to bid them welcome and to trade with them. Manteo, whom they had brought back proved a faithful guide, and piloted them about from place to place. In an excursion of eight days with their boats, they visited several Indian villages, on the islands and on the main adjoining to Albemarle Sound. At one place, called Aquascogok, an Indian stole from them a silver cup. Inquiry being made, the offender was detected and promised to restore it; but the promise being not speedily performed, a hasty and severe revenge was taken, by the orders of Grenville; the town was burnt and the corn destroyed in the fields, (July 16) whilst the affrighted people fled to the woods for safety. From this ill judged act of violence, may be dated the misfortunes and failure of this colony.

Leaving one hundred and eight persons to attempt a settlement, Grenville proceeded with his fleet to the island of Hatteras; where he received a visit from Granganimeo, and then sailed for England. On the 13th of September he arrived at Plymouth; with a rich Spanish prize which he had taken on the passage.

Of the colony left in Virginia, Ralph Lane was appointed Governor. He was a military man, of considerable reputation in the service. Philip Amadas, who had commanded in the first voyage, was Admiral. They chose the island of Roanoke in the mouth of Albemarle Sound, as the place of their residence; and their chief employment was to explore and survey the country, and describe the persons and manners of its inhabitants. For these purposes, Sir Walter Raleigh had sent John Withe, an ingenious painter; and Thomas Heriot, a skilful mathematician, and a man of curious observation: both of whom performed their parts with fidelity and success.†

The farthest discovery which they made to the southward of Roanoke was Secotan, an Indian town between the rivers of Pamptico and Neus, distant eighty leagues. To the northward they went about forty leagues, to a nation called Chesepeags, on a small river now called Elisabeth, which falls into

* This island is generally supposed to be one of those which lie at the mouth of Albemarle sound, on the coast of North Carolina. Barlow, in his letter to Sir W. Raleigh, preserved by Hakluyt, says, that he, with seven others, went in about "twenty miles into the river Occam, and, the evening following, came to an island called Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which he entered, seven leagues; at the north end thereof was a village." Mr. Stith, who wrote the history of Virginia, and who acknowledges that he had not seen this letter in English but in a Latin translation, supposes that the island Wococon must lie between cape Hatteras and cape Fear, and that the distance might be 30 leagues. But it appears from Barlow's letter that the boat went in one day and came in the evening to the north end of Roanoke; the distance is twice mentioned, once in miles and once in leagues. I see no reason therefore, to admit Stith's conjecture in opposition to Barlow. Stith however apppears to have been a very close and accurate inquirer, as far as his materials and opportunity permitted.

† Homony is made of Indian corn beaten in a mortar and separated from the bran; then boiled either by itself or in the broth of meat.

* Mr. Stith mistakes in saying May 26, and Sir William Keith, who copies for him, adopts the same mistake.

† The drawings which Mr. Withe made were engraven and printed at Frankfort (1590) by Theodore De Bry. They represented the persons and habits of the natives, their employments, diversions, and superstitions. From these, the prints in Beverly's history of Virginia are copied.

Mr. Heriot wrote a topographical description of the country and its natural history, which is preserved in Hakluyt's collection vol. iii. 228. It was translated into Latin, and published by De Bry in his collection of voyages. It has been supposed that Raleigh himself came to Virginia with this colony. This is a mistake, grounded on a mistranslation of a passage in Heriot's narrative. It is thus expressed in English: "The actions of those who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh therein employed."—Which is thus rendered in the Latin translation, "qui generosum D. Walterum Ralegh, in eam regionem comitati sunt Stith p. 42.

Chesepeag bay, below Norfolk. To the westward they went up Albemarle Sound and Chowan river, about forty leagues, to a nation called Chowanogs; whose king, Menatonona, amused them with a story of a copper mine and a pearl fishery; in search of which they spent so much time and so exhausted their provisions, that they were glad to eat their dogs before they returned to Roanoke.

During this excursion, their friend Granganimeo died; and his brother Wingina discovered his hostile disposition toward the colony. The return of Mr. Lane and his party, from their excursion, gave a check to his malice for a while; but he secretly laid a plot for their destruction; which being betrayed by the English, they seized all the boats on the island. This brought on a skirmish, in which five or six Indians were killed, and the rest fled to the woods. After much jealousy and dissimulation on both sides, Wingina was drawn into a snare; and with eight of his men, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the English.

In a few days after Wingina's death, Sir Frances Drake, who had been cruising against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and had received orders from the Queen to visit this colony, arrived with his fleet on the coast; and by the unanimous desire of the people, took them all off and carried them to England, where they arrived in July 1586.

Within a fortnight after the departure of this unfortunate colony, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships for their relief. Finding their habitation abanboned, and being unable to gain any intelligence of them, he landed fifty men on the island of Roanoke, plentifully supplied with provisions for two years, and then returned to England.

The next year (1587) three ships were sent, under the command of John White, who was appointed Governor of the colony, with twelve Counsellors. To them Raleigh gave a charter of incorporation for the city of Raleigh, which he ordered them to build on the river Chesepeag, the northern extent of the discovery. After narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear they arrived at Hatteras, on the 22d of July, and sent a party to Roanoke to look for the second colony of fifty men. They found no person living, and the bones of but one dead. The huts were standing, but were overgrown with bushes and weeds. In conversing with some of the natives, they were informed, that the colony had been destroyed by Wingina's people, in revenge of his death.

Mr. White endeavored to renew a friendly intercourse with those natives; but their jealousy rendered them implacable. He therefore went across the water to the main with a party of twenty-five men, and came suddenly on a company of friendly Indians, who were seated round a fire, one of whom they killed before they discovered the mistake.

Two remarkable events are mentioned as happening at this time; one was the baptism of Manteo, the faithful Indian guide; the other was the birth of a female child, daughter of Ananias Dare, one of the council; which, being the first child born in the colony, was named Virginia.

By this time (August 21) the ships had unloaded their stores and were preparing to return to England. It was evident that a further supply was necessary, and that some person must go home to solicit it. A dispute arose in the Council on this point, and after much altercation, it was determined, that the Governor was the most proper person to be sent on this errand. The whole colony joined in requesting him to proceed, promising to take care of his interest in his absence. With much reluctance he consented, on their subscribing a testimonial of his unwillingness to quit the plantation. He accordingly sailed on the 27th of August, and arrived in England the following November.—The nation was in a state of alarm and apprehension on account of the war with Spain, and of the invincible armada, which had threatened it with an invasion. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the Queen's Council of war, as were also Sir Richard Grenville and Mr. Lane. Their time was wholly taken up with public consultations, and Governor White was obliged to wait, till the plan of operations against the enemy could be adjusted and carried into execution.

The next spring, Raleigh and Grenville, who had the command of the militia in Cornwall, and were training them for the defence of the kingdom, being strongly solicited by White, provided two small barks, which sailed from Biddeford on the 22d of April 1588.—These vessels had commissions as ships of war, and being more intent on gain to themselves, than relief to the colony, went in chase of prizes, and were both driven back by ships of superior force, to the great mortification of their patron, and the ruin of his colony.

These disappointments were a source of vexation to Raleigh. He had expended forty thousand pounds, of his own and other men's money, in pursuit of his favorite object, and his gains were yet to come. He therefore made an assignment of his patent (March 7, 1589) to Thomas Smith, and other merchants and adventurers, among whom was Governor White, with a donation of one hundred pounds for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia. Being thus disengaged from the business of colonization; he had full scope for his martial genius in the war with Spain.

His assignees were not so zealous in the prosecution of their business. It was not till the spring of 1590, that Governor White could return to his colony. Then, with three ships, he sailed from Plymouth, and passing through the West Indies in quest of Spanish prizes, he arrived at Hatteras on the 15th of August. From this place they observed a smoke arising on the island of Roanoke, which gave them some hope that the colony was there subsisting; on their coming to the place, they found old trees and grass burning, but no human being. On a post of one of the houses they saw the word *Croatan*, which gave them some hope, that at the island of that name they should find their friends. They sailed for that island: which lay southward of Hatteras; but a violent storm arising, in which they lost their anchors, they were obliged to quit the inhospitable coast and return home; nor was any thing afterward heard of the unfortunate colony.

The next year (1591) Sir Richard Grenville was mortally wounded in an engagement with a Spanish fleet; and died on board the Admiral's ship, where he was a prisoner.

Raleigh, though disengaged from the business of colonizing Virginia, sent five times at his own expense to seek for and relieve his friends; but the persons whom he employed, having more profitable business in the West Indies, either went not to the place, or were forced from it by stress of weather, it being a tempestuous region, and without any safe harbor. The last attempt which he made, was in 1602; the year before his imprisonment; an event which gatified the malice of his enemies, and prepared the way for his death; which was much less ignominious to him than to his sovereign, King James I, the British Solomon; successor to Elizabeth, the British Deborah.*

This unfortunate attempt to settle a colony in Virginia, was productive of one thing which will always render it memorable, the introduction of *tobacco* into England. Cartier, in his visit to Canada fifty years before, had observed that the natives used this weed fumigation, but it was an object of disgust to Frenchmen. Ralph Lane, at his return in 1586, brought it first into Europe; and Raleigh, who was a man of gaiety and fashion, not only learned the use of it himself, but introduced it into the polite circles; and even the Queen herself gave encouragement to it. Some humourous stories respecting it are still remembered. Raleigh laid a wager with the Queen, that he would determine exactly, the weight of smoke which issued from his pipe. This he did by first weighing the tobacco and then the ashes. When the Queen paid the wager, she pleasantly observed, that many laborers had turned their gold into smoke, but that he was the first who had converted smoke into gold.

It is also related that a servant of Sir Walter, bringing a tankard of ale into his study as he was smoking his pipe, and reading, was so much alarmed at the appearance of smoke, issuing out of his mouth, that he threw the ale into his face, and ran down to alarm the family, crying out that his master was on fire.

King James had so *refined* a taste, that he not only held this Indian weed in great abhorrence himself, but endeavored, by proclamations and otherwise, to prevent the use of it among his subjects. But all his zeal and authority could not suppress it. Since his time it has become an important article of commerce, by which individuals in Europe and America, as well as colonies and nations, have risen to great opulence.

JOHN DE FUCA.

John De Fuca—A native of Greece—An account of his adventures and discoveries given by himself—Locke endeavors to procure De Fuca a commission.—Remarks.

When the existence of a western continent was known to the maritime nations of Europe, one great object of their inquiry was, to find, through some openings which appeared in it, a passage to India and China. For this purpose several expensive and unsuccessful voyages were made; and every hint which could throw any light on the subject was eagerly sought and attended to by those who considered its importance.

John de Fuca was a Greek, born in the island of Cephalonia, in the Adriatic gulf. He had been employed in the service of Spain, in the West Indies, as a mariner and pilot, above forty years. Having lost his fortune, amounting (as he said) to sixty thousand ducats, when the Acapulco ship was taken, by Capt. Cavendish, an Englishman; and being disappointed of the recompense which he had expected from the court of Spain; he returned in disgust to his native country, by the way of Italy; that he might spend the evening of his life, in peace and poverty, among his friends.

At Florence he met with John Douglas, an Englishman, and went with him to Venice. There, Douglas introduced him to Michael Lock, who had been Consul of the Turkey company at Aleppo, and was then occasionally resident in Venice. (A. D. 1596.)

In conversation with Mr. Lock, De Fuca gave him the following account of his adventures.

"That he had been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, as pilot of three small vessels, to discover the straits of Anian, on the western coast of America; through which, it was conjectured that a passage might be found, into some of the deep bays on the eastern side of the continent. This voyage was frustrated, by the misconduct of the commander, and the mutiny of the seamen.

"In 1592 the Viceroy sent him again, with the command of a caravel and a pinnace, on the same enterprise. Between the latitudes of 47° and 48° N. he discovered an inlet, into which he entered and sailed more than twenty days. At the entrance was a great headland, with an exceeding high pinnacle or spired rock, like a pillar. Within the strait, the land stretched N. W. and N. E. and also E. and S. E. It was much wider within, than at the entrance, and contained many islands. The inhabitants were clad in the skins of beasts. The land appeared to be fertile like that of New Spain, and was rich in gold and silver.

"Supposing that he had accomplished the intention of the voyage and penetrated into the North Sea; but not being strong enough to resist the force of the numerous savages, who appeared on the shores; he returned to Acapulco, before the expiration of the year."

Such was the account given by De Fuca; and Mr. Lock was so impressed with the sincerity of the relation and the advantages which his countrymen might derive from a knowledge of this strait, that he earnestly urged him to enter into the service of Queen Elizabeth, and perfect the discovery. He succeeded so far, as to obtain a promise from the Greek, though sixty years old, that if the Queen would furnish him with one ship, of forty tons, and a pinnace, he would undertake the voyage. He was the more easily persuaded to this, by a hope that the Queen would make him some recompense for the loss of his fortune by Capt. Cavendish.

Mr. Lock wrote to the Lord Treasurer Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Hakluyt, requesting that they would forward the scheme, and that one hundred pounds might be advanced to bring De Fuca to England. The scheme was approved, but the money was not advanced. Lock was so much engaged in it, that he would have sent him to England at his own expense, but he was then endeavoring to recover at law, his demands from the Turkey company, and could not disburse the money. The pilot therefore returned to Cephalonia; and Lock kept up a correspondence with him, till 1602, when he heard of his death.

Though this account, preserved by Purchas, bears sufficient marks of authenticity; yet it has been rejected as fabulous for nearly two centuries; and is treated so even by the very candid Dr. Foster. Late voyages however, have established the existence of the strait; and De Fuca is no longer to be considered as an impostor; though the gold and silver in his account were but conjectural.

The strait which now bears his name is formed by land, which is supposed to be the continent of America on one side; and by a very extensive cluster of Islands on the other. Its southern entrance

*As a specimen of the language of that time, let the reader take the following extract from Purchas.

"He [i. e. King James] is beyond comparison a mere transcendent, beyond all his predecessors, princes of this realm; beyond the neighboring princes of his own time; beyond the concent of subjects dazzled with so much brightness; beyond our victorious Deborah, not in sea alone, but as peace is more excellent than war, and Solomon than David; in this also that he is, and we enjoy his present sunshine."

lies in lat. 48° 20′ N. long. 124 W. from Greenwich, and is about seven leagues wide. On the larboard side, which is composed of islands, the land is very mountainous; rising abruptly in high and sharp peaks. On the starboard side, is a point of land terminating in a remarkably tall rock, called the pillar. Within the entrance, the passage grows wider, extending to the S. E., N. and N. W. and is full of islands. On the E. and N. E. at a great distance are seen the tops of mountains, supposed to be on the continent; but the ships trading for furs have not penetrated far to the eastward; the sea otters being their principal object, and the land furs of small consideration. For this reason the eastern boundary of the inland sea is not yet fully explored. The strait turns to the N. and N. W. encompassing a large cluster of islands, among which is situate Nootka Sound, and comes into the Pacific ocean again in latitude 51° 15′, long. 128° 40′. This extremity of the strait is called its northern entrance, and is wider than the southern.

Another strait has been lately seen which is supposed to be that of De Fonte, a Spanish admiral, discovered in 1640; the existence of which has also been treated as fabulous. The cluster of islands, called by the British seamen, Queen Charlotte's, and by the Americans, Washington's Islands, are in the very spot where De Fonte placed the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. The entrance of this strait has been visited by the fur ships. It lies in lat. 54° 35′ and long 131° W.

These recent and well established facts may induce us to treat the relations of foreign voyages with decent respect. The circumnavigation of Africa by the ancient Phenicians, was for several ages deemed fabulous by the learned Greeks and Romans. But its credibility was fully established by the Portuguese discoveries in the fifteenth century. In like manner the discoveries of De Fuca and De Fonte, which have long been stigmatized by geographers as *pretended*, and marked in their maps as *imaginary*, are now known to have been founded in truth, though from the imperfection of instruments or the inaccuracy of historians, the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude were not precisely marked, and though some circumstances in their accounts are but conjectural. Farther discoveries may throw new light on the subject, and though, perhaps, a N. W. passage by sea from the Atlantic into the Pacific may not exist; yet bays, rivers and lakes are so frequent in those northern regions of our continent, that an inland navigation may be practicable.

It has been suggested that the company of English merchants who enjoy an exclusive trade to Hudson's Bay have, from interested motives, concealed their knowledge of its western extremities. Whether there be any just foundation for this censure, I do not pretend to determine; but a survey is now said to be making, from which it is hoped, that this long contested question of a N. W. passage will receive a full solution.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD—His Voyage to America—His arrival in Virginia—Description of the Sea-coast—Visit of the Indians—Abandonment of the Colony by the English.

THE unfortunate issue of Raleigh's attempt to make a settlement in America, together with the war with Spain, which continued for several years, gave a check to the spirit of colonizing. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was revived by BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD an intrepid mariner in the west of England. At whose expense he undertook his voyage to the northern part of Virginia does not appear; but on the 26th of March 1602, he sailed from Falmouth in Cornwall, in a small bark with thirty-two men. Instead of going by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies, he kept as far north as the winds would permit, and was the first Englishman who came in a direct course to this part of America.

On the 14th of May they made the land, and met with a shallop of European fabric, in which were eight savages, one of whom was dressed in European clothes, from which they concluded that some unfortunate fishermen of Biscay or Brittany had been wrecked on the coast.

The next day they had again sight of land, which appeared like an island, by reason of a large sound which lay between it and the main. This sound they called Shole Hope. Near this cape they took a great number of cod, from which circumstance they named the land *Cape Cod*. It is described as a low sandy shore, in the lat. 42°. The captain went on shore and found the sand very deep. A young Indian, with plates of copper hanging to his ears, and a bow and arrows in his hand, came to him, and in a friendly manner offered his service.

On the 16th they coasted the land southerly, and at the end of twelve leagues discovered a point with breakers at a distance; and in attempting to double it, came suddenly into shoal water. To this point of land they gave the name of Point Care; it is now called Sandy Point, and forms the south-eastern extremity of the county of Barnstable, in Massachusetts.

Finding themselves surrounded by shoals and breakers, they lay at anchor till they had examined the coast and soundings in their boat; during which time some of the natives made them a visit. One of them had a plate of copper over his breast, a foot in length and half a foot in breadth; the others had pendants of the same metal at their ears; they all had pipes of tobacco, of which they were very fond.

In surveying the coast they discovered breakers lying off a point of land, which they denominated Gilbert's Point; it is now called Point Gammon, and forms the eastern side of the harbor of Hyennes.

On the 19th they passed the breach of Gilbert's Point, in four and five fathoms of water, and anchored a league or more to the westward of it. Several hummocks and hills appeared, which at first were taken to be islands; these were the high lands of Barnstable and Yarmouth.

To the westward of Gilbert's Point appeared an opening, which Gosnold imagined to have a communication with the supposed sound which he had seen westward of Cape Cod; he therefore gave it the same name, Shole Hope; but finding the water to be no more than three fathoms deep, at the distance of a league, he did not attempt to enter it. From this opening the land tended to the south-west; and in coasting it, they came to an island, to which they gave the name of *Martha's Vineyard*. This island is described as "distant eight leagues from Shole Hope, five miles in circuit, and uninhabited; full of wood, vines, and berries; here they saw deer and took abundance of cod."

From their station off this island, where they rode in eight fathoms, they sailed on the 24th, and doubled the cape of another island, next to it which they called Dover Cliff. This course brought them into a sound, where they anchored for the night, and the next morning sent their boat to examine another cape which lay between them and the main, from which projected a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea, but all above water, and not dangerous. Having passed round them, they came to anchor again in one of the finest sounds they had ever seen; and to which they gave the name of Gosnold's Hope. On the northern side of it was the main; and on the southern, parallel to it, at the distance of four leagues, was a large island, which they called Elizabeth, in honor of their queen. On this island they determined to take up their abode, and pitched upon a small woody islet in the middle of a fresh pond, as a safe place to build their fort. A little to the northward of this large island lay a small one, half a mile in compass, and full of cedars. This they called Hill's Hap. On the opposite shore appeared another similar elevation to which they gave the name of Hap's Hill.

By this description of the coast, it is evident that the sound into which Gosnold entered was Buzzard's Bay. The island which he called Martha's Vineyard, was not that which now goes by that name, but a small island, the easternmost of those which are known by the name of Elizabeth's Islands. It is called by the Indians Nenimissett; its present circumference is about four miles, but it has doubtless been diminished since Gosnold's time, by the force of the tides which set into and out of the bay with great rapidity, Its natural productions and pleasant situation answer well to his description; and deer are frequently seen and hunted upon it; but none were ever known to have been on the great island, now called Martha's Vineyard, which is above twenty miles in length, and was always full of inhabitants. For what reason and at what time the name was transferred from the one to the other, I have not yet learned.

The cliff named Dover is supposed to be the eastern head of a small island which was called by the natives Onky Tonky, and is now corrupted into Uncle Timmy. The rocky ledge is called Rattlesnake Neck. Hill's Hap consists now of two very small islands, called Wiekpeckets. There is every appearance that these were formerly united, and there are now a few cedars on them. Hap's Hill, on the opposite part of the main, is a small elevated island, of an oval form, near the mouth of a river which passes through the towns of Wareham and Rochester. It is a conspicuous object to navigators.

The island on which Gosnold and his company took up their abode, is now called by its Indian name Naushaun, and is the property of the Honorable JAMES BOWDOIN, of Boston, to whom I am indebted for these remarks on Gosnold's journal, which is extant at large in Purchas's collections.

Near the southwest end of Naushaun is a large fresh pond; such an one as answers Gosnold's description, excepting that there is no islet in the middle of it. The shore is sandy; but what revolution may have taken place within the space of almost two centuries past, we cannot say.

Whilst some of Gosnold's men labored in building a fort and storehouse on the small island in the pond, and a flat boat to go to it, he crossed the bay in his vessel and discovered the mouths of two rivers; one was that near which lay Hap's Hill, and the other, that on the shore of which the town of New Bedford is now built.

After five days absence, Gosnold returned to the island and was received by his people with great ceremony, on account of an Indian chief and fifty of his men who were there on a visit. To this chief they presented a straw hat and two knives; the hat he little regarded, but the knives were highly valued. They feasted these savages with fish and mustard, and diverted themselves with the effect of the mustard on their noses. One of them stole a target but it was restored. They did not appear to be inhabitants, but occasional visitants at the island, for the sake of gathering shell fish. Four of them remained after the others were gone, and helped the English to dig the roots of sassafras, with which, as well as the furs which they bought of the Indians, the vessel was loaded.

After spending three weeks in preparing a storehouse, when they came to divide their provision, there was not enough to victual the ship, and to subsist the planters till the ship's return. Some jealousy also arose about the intentions of those who were going back; and after five day's consultation they determined to give up their design of planting and return to England. On the eighteenth of June they sailed out of the bay through the same passage by which they had entered it; and on the twenty-third of July they arrived at Exmouth, in the west of England.

Gosnold's intention was to have remained with a part of his men, and to have sent Gilbert, the second in command, to England, for farther supplies; but half o so small a company would not have been a sufficien. number to resist the savages, had they been disposed to attack them.

After his return to England he was indefatigable in his endeavors to forward the settling of a colony in America, and was one of those who embarked in the next expedition to Virginia., where he had the rank of a counsellor, and where he died in the year 1607.

JOHN SMITH.

JOHN SMITH—His travels and adventures on the Continent—He joins the Austrian army—His Encounter with the Turks—Smith is made Prisoner—He is sold as a slave—His escape and return to England—He meets Gosnold—They sail to Virginia—Difficulties in the company—Smith is taken prisoner by the Indians—He is condemned to death—He is saved by POCAHONTAS, daughter of the Indian Chief—His release—His Discoveries—Smith is made President of Virginia—His Fame among the Indians—His singular Discipline—His Return to England—His Voyage to North Virginia—His Writings—His Death.

THOUGH the early part of the life of this extraordinary man was spent in foreign travels and adventures which have no refereuce to America, yet the incidents of that period so strongly mark his character, and give such a tincture to his subsequent actions, and are withal so singular in themselves, that no reader (it is presumed) will censure the introduction of them here as impertinent.

He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1579.* From the first dawn of reason, he discovered a roving and romantic genius, and delighted in extravagant and daring actions among his schoolfellows. When about thirteen years of age, he sold his books and satchel, and his puerile trinkets, to raise money, with a view to convey himself privately to sea; but the death of his father put a stop for the present to this attempt, and threw him into the hands of guardians,

* This is determined by an inscription annexed to his portrait on his map of New England—"Ætat 37. Anno 1616."

This portrait represents him clad in armour, and under it are these verses:

"Such are the lines that show thy face; but those
That show thy grace and glory brighter bee;
Thy faire discoveries and fowle overthrowes
Of salvages much civilized by thee,
Best show thy spirit, and to it glory win
So thou art brasse without, but golde within."

who endeavored to check the ardor of his genius by confining him to a compting house. Being put apprentice to a merchant at Lynn, at the age of fifteen, he at first conceived hopes that his master would send him to sea in his service, but this hope failing, he quitted his master, and with only ten shillings in his pocket, entered into the train of a young nobleman who was travelling to France. At Orleans he was discharged from his attendance on Lord Bertie, and had money given him to return to England. With this money he visited Paris, and proceeded to the Low Countries, where he enlisted as a soldier, and learned the rudiments of war, a science peculiarly agreeable to his ardent and active genius. Meeting with a Scots gentleman abroad, he was persuaded to pass into Scotland, with the promise of being strongly recommended to King James; but being baffled in this expectation, he returned to his native town, and finding no company there which suited his taste, he built a booth in a wood, and betook himself to the study of military history and tactics, diverting himself at intervals with his horse and lance; in which exercise he at length found a companion, an Italian gentleman, rider to the Earl of Lincoln, who drew him from his sylvan retirement to Tattersal.

Having recovered a part of the estate which his father had left him, he put himself into a better condition than before, and set off again on his travels, in the winter of the year 1596, being then only seventeen years of age. His first stage was Flanders, where meeting with a Frenchman who pretended to be heir to a noble family, he, with his three attendants, prevailed upon Smith to go with them to France. In a dark night they arrived at St. Valery in Picardy, and, by the connivance of the ship master, the Frenchmen were carried ashore with the trunks of our young traveller, whilst he was left on board till the return of the boat. In the mean time they had conveyed the baggage out of his reach, and were not to be found. A sailor on board, who knew the villains, generously undertook to conduct him to Mortaine where they lived, and supplied his wants till their arrival at the place. Here he found their friends, from whom he could gain no recompense; but the report of his sufferings induced several persons of distinction to invite him to their houses.

Eager to pursue his travels, and not caring to receive favors which he was unable to requite, he left his new friends, and went from port to port in search of a ship of war. In one of these rambles, near Dinan, it was his chance to meet one of the villains who had robbed him. Without speaking a word, they both drew; and Smith having wounded and disarmed his antagonist, obliged him to confess his guilt before a number of persons who had assembled on the occasion.

Satisfied with his victory, he retired to the seat of an acquaintance, the Earl of Ployer, who had been brought up in England, and having received supplies from him, he travelled along the French coast to Bayonne, and from thence crossed over to Marseilles; visiting and observing every thing in his way which had any reference to naval or military architecture.

At Marseilles he embarked for Italy, in company with a rabble of pilgrims. The ship was forced by a tempest into the harbor of Toulon, and afterwards was obliged by a contrary wind to anchor under the little island of St. Mary, off Nice, in Savoy. The bigotry of the pilgrims made them ascribe their ill fortune to the presence of a heretic on board. They devoutly cursed Smith, and his Queen Elizabeth, and in a fit of pious rage threw him into the sea. He swam to the island, and the next day was taken on board a ship of St. Malo which had also put in there for shelter. The master of the ship, who was well known to his noble friend, the Earl of Ployer, entertained him kindly, and carried him to Alexandria in Egypt; from thence he coasted the Levant; and on his return had the high satisfaction of a naval engagement with a Venetian ship, which they took and rifled of her rich cargo. Smith was set on shore at Antibes, with a box of a thousand chequins (about two thousand dollars), by the help of which, he made the tour of Italy, crossed the Adriatic and travelled into Stiria, to the seat of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Here he met with an English and an Irish Jesuit who introduced him to Lord Eberspaught, Baron Kizel, and other officers of distinction, and here he found full scope for his genius; for the Emperor being then at war with the Turks, he entered into his army as a volunteer.

He had communicated to Eberspaught a method of conversing at a distance by signals made with torches, which being alternately shown and hidden a certain number of times, designated every letter of the alphabet. He had soon an opportunity of making the experiment. Eberspaught being besieged by the Turks in the strong town of Olimpach, was cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour from his friends. Smith proposed his method of communication to Baron Kizel, who approved it, and allowed him to put it in practice.* He was conveyed by a guard to a hill within view of the town, and sufficiently remote from the Turkish camp. At the display of the signal, Eberspaught knew and answered it, and Smith conveyed to him this intelligence, "Thursday night, I will charge on the East; at the alarm sally thou." The answer was, "I will." Just before the attack, by Smith's advice, a great number of false fires were made on another quarter, which divided the attention of the enemy and gave advantage to the assailants; who, being assisted by a sally from the town, killed many of the Turks, drove others into the river, and threw succours into the place, which obliged the enemy the next day to raise the siege. This well conducted exploit, produced to our young adventurer, the command of a company, consisting of two hundred and fifty horsemen in the regiment of Count Meldrick, a nobleman of Transylvania.

The regiment in which he served being engaged in several hazardous enterprises, Smith was foremost in all dangers and distinguished himself both by his ingenuity and by his valor; and when Meldrick left the Imperial army, and passed into the service of his native prince, Smith followed him.

At the siege of Regal, the Ottomans derided the slow approaches of the Transylvanian army, and sent a challenge, purporting that the Lord Turbisha, to divert the ladies, would fight any single captain of the Christian troops. The honor of accepting this challenge being determined by lot, fell on Captain Smith; who, meeting his antagonist on horseback, within view of the ladies on the battlements, at the sound of music began the encounter, and in a short time killed him, and bore away his head in triumph to his general the Lord Moyzes.

The death of the chief so irritated his friend Grualgo, that he sent a particular challenge to the conqueror, who, meeting him with the same ceremonies, after a smart combat took off his head also. Smith then in his turn sent a message into the town, informing the ladies, that if they wished for more diversion, they should be welcome to his head, in case their third champion could take it. This challenge was accepted by Bonamolgro, who unhorsed Smith and was near gaining the victory. But remounting in a critical moment, he gave the Turk a stroke with his faulchion which brought him to the ground, and his head was added to the number. For these singular exploits he was honored with a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and the Turks' heads on the points of three lances. With this ceremony Smith was conducted to the pavillion of his general, who, after embracing him, presented him with a horse richly furnished, a scymitar and belt worth three hundred ducats, and a commission to be major in his regiment. The prince of Transylvania, after the capture of the place, made him a present of his picture set in gold, and a pension of three hundred ducats per annum, and moreover granted him a coat of arms bearing three Turks' heads in a shield. The patent was admitted and recorded in the college of Heralds in England, by Sir Henry Segar, garter-king-at-arms. Smith was always proud of this distinguishing honor, and these arms are accordingly blazoned in the frontispiece to his history, with this motto,

"Vincere est vivere."

After this, the Transylvanian army was defeated by a body of Turks and Tartars near Rotenton, and many brave men were slain, among whom were nine English and Scotch officers, who, after the fashion of that day, had entered into this service from a religious zeal to drive the Turks out of Christendom, Smith was wounded in this battle and lay among the dead. His habit discovered him to the victors as a person of consequence: they used him well till his wounds were healed, and then sold him to the Basha Bogal, who sent him as a present to his mistress Tragabigzanda at Constantinople, accompanied with a message, as full of vanity as void of truth, that he had conquered in battle a Bohemian nobleman, and presented him to her as a slave.

The present proved more acceptable to the lady than her lord intended. She could speak Italian; and Smith, in that language, not only informed her of his country and quality, but conversed with her in so pleasing a manner as to gain her affections. The connexion proved so tender, that to secure him for herself and to prevent his being ill used or sold again, she sent him to her brother, the Basha of Nalbraitz, in the country of the Cambrian Tartars, on the borders of the sea of Asoph. Her pretence was, that he should there learn the manners and language as well as religion of the Tartars. By the terms in which she wrote to her brother, he suspected her design, and resolved to disappoint her. Within an hour after Smith's arrival he was stripped; his head and beard were shaven, an iron collar was put about his neck; he was clothed with a coat of hair cloth, and driven to labor among other Christian slaves. He had now no hope of redemption, but from the love of his mistress, who was at a great distance, and not likely to be informed of his misfortune; the hopeless condition of his fellow-slaves could not alleviate his despondency.

In the depth of his distress, an opportunity presented for an escape, which to a person of a less courageous and adventurous spirit would have proved an aggravation of misery. He was employed in threshing at a grange, in a large field about a league from the house of his tyrant, who in his daily visits treated him with abusive language, accompanied with blows and kicks. This was more than Smith could bear, wherefore watching an opportunity when no other person was present, he levelled a stroke at him with his threshing instrument, which despatched him. Then hiding his body in the straw and shutting the doors, he filled a bag with grain, mounted the Basha's horse, and betaking himself to the desert, wandered for two or three days, ignorant of the way, and so fortunate as not to meet with a single person who might give information of his flight. At length he came to a post erected in a cross road, by the marks on which he found his way to Muscovy, and in sixteen days arrived at Exapolis on the river Don, where was a Russian garrison, the commander of which understanding he was a Christian, received him courteously; took off his iron collar, and gave him letters to the other governors in that region. Thus he travelled through part of Russia and Poland, till he got back to his friends in Transylvania; receiving presents in his way from many persons of distinction, among whom he particularly mentions a charitable lady, Calmata, being always proud of his connexion with that sex, and fond of acknowledging their favors. At Lepsic he met with his colonel, Count Meldrick, and Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who gave him 1500 ducats to repair his losses. With this money he was enabled to travel through Germany, France, and Spain, and having visited the kingdoms of Morocco, he returned by sea to England; having in his passage enjoyed the pleasure of another naval engagement. At his arrival in his native country he had a thousand ducats in his purse, which, with the interest he had remaining in England, he devoted to seek adventures and make discoveries in North America.

Bartholomew Gosnold, having conceived a favorable idea of America, had made it his business on his return to England, to solicit assistance in prosecuting discoveries. Meeting with Captain Smith, he readily entered into his views, the employment being exactly suited to his enterprising genius. Having engaged Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant, Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and several others, they prevailed upon a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, to solicit a patent from the crown, by which the adventurers to Virginia became subject to legal direction, and had the support and encouragement of a wealthy and respectable corporation; which was usually styled the South Virginia Company, or the London Company, in distinction from the Plymouth Company, who superintended the affairs of North Virginia. The date of their patent was April 10, 1606, and on the 19th of the following December, three ships, one of one hundred tons, another of forty, and one of twenty, fell down the river Thames for Virginia. The commander was Christopher Newport, an experienced mariner. They had on board the necessary persons and provisions for a colony; and their orders for government were sealed in a box, which was not to be opened till they should arrive in Virginia.

The ships were kept in the Downs by bad weather six weeks, and afterwards had a tempestuous voyage. They took the old route by the Canary and Caribbee

* The method is this: First, three torches are shown in a line equi-distant from each other, which are answered by three others in the same manner: then the message being written as briefly as possible, and the alphabet divided into two parts, the letters from A to L are signified by showing and hiding one light, as often as there are letters from A to that letter which you mean. The letters from M to Z by two lights in the same manner. The end of a word is signified by showing three lights. At every letter, the light stands till the other party may write it down and answer by his signal, which is one light.

Islands, and did not make the entrance of Chesapeake Bay till the 26th of April, 1607. From the beginning of their embarkation there was a jealousy and dissension among the company. Smith and Hunt were friends, and both were envied and suspected by the others. Hunt was judicious and patient; his office secured him from insult. Smith was ardent and industrious, courteous in his deportment, but liberal in his language. On some suggestions that he intended to usurp the government, and that his confederates were dispersed among the companies of each ship, he was made a prisoner from the time of their leaving the Canaries, and was under confinement when they arrived in the Chesapeake. When the box was opened, it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward M. Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliff, John Martin, and George Kendal were named to be of the council; who were to choose a president from among themselves for one year and the government was vested in them. Matters of moment were to be "examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices." When the council was sworn, Wingfield was chosen president, and a declaration was made of the reasons for which Smith was not admitted and sworn among the others.

Seventeen days from their arrival were spent in seeking a proper place for their first plantation. The southern point of the bay was named Cape Henry, and the northern Cape Charles, in honor of the two sons of King James. To the first great river which they discovered they gave the name of their sovereign; and the northern point of its entrance was called Point Comfort, on account of the good channel and anchorage which they found there. On the flats they took plenty of oysters, in some of which were pearls; and on the plain they found large and ripe strawberries, which afforded them a delicious repast.

Having met with five of the natives, they invited them to their town, Kecoughtan, where Hampton is now built. Here they were feasted with cakes made of Indian corn, and regaled with tobacco and a dance. In return they presented the natives beads and other trinkets. Proceeding up the river, another company of Indians appeared in arms. Their chief, Apamatica, holding in one hand his bow and arrow, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming; they made signs of peace, and were hospitably received. On the 13th of May they pitched upon a peninsula, where the ships could lie in six fathom water, moored to the trees, as the place of their intended settlement. Here they were visited by Paspiha, another Indian chief, who being made acquainted with their design, offered them as much land as they wanted, and afterwards sent them a deer for their entertainment. On this spot they pitched their tents, and gave it the name of Jamestown.

Every man was now employed either in digging and planting gardens, or making nets, or in cutting and riving timber to reload the ships. The president at first would admit of no martial exercise, nor allow any fortifications to be made, excepting the boughs of trees thrown together in the form of a half moon. Captain Newport took Smith and twenty more with him to discover the head of James river. In six days they arrived at the falls, and erecting a cross, as they had at Cape Henry, took possession of the country in the name of King James. In this route they visited Powhatan, the principal Indian chief, or emperor. His town consisted of twelve houses, pleasantly situated on a hill, before which were three islands, a little below the spot where Richmond is now built. Captain Newport presented a hatchet to this prince, which he gratefully received; and when some of his Indians murmured at the coming of the English among them, he silenced them by saying, "why should we be offended? they hurt us not, nor take any thing by force they want only a little ground, which we can easily spare." This appearance of friendship was not much relied on, when, at their return to Jamestown, they found that the company had been surprised at their work by a party of Indians, who had killed one and wounded seventeen others. A double-headed shot from one of the ships had cut off a bough of a tree, which falling among the Indians, terrified and dispersed them. This incident obliged the President to alter the plan of the fort, which was now a triangular palisade with a lunette at each angle, and five pieces of artillery were mounted on the works, which were completed by the 15th of June. It was also found necessary to exercise the men at arms, to mount guard and be vigilant; for the Indians would surprise and molest stragglers, whilst by their superior agility they would escape unhurt.

The ships being almost ready to return, it was thought proper that some decision should be had respecting the allegations against Smith. His accusers affected commisseration, and pretended to refer him to the censure of the company in England, rather than to expose him to legal prosecution which might injure his reputation or touch his life. Smith, who knew both their malice and their impotence, openly scorned their pretended pity and defied their resentment. He had conducted himself so unexceptionably in every employment which had been allotted to him, that he had rendered himself very popular; and his accusers had by a different conduct lost the affections and confidence of the people. Those who had been suborned to accuse him acknowledged their fault, and discovered the secret arts which had been practised against him. He demanded a trial, and the issue was, that the president was adjudged to pay him two hundred pounds; but when his property was seized in part of this satisfaction, Smith generously turned it into the common store for the benefit of the colony. Such an action could not but increase his popularity. Many other difficulties had arisen among them, which, by the influence of Smith and the exhortation of Hunt, their chaplain, were brought to a seemingly amicable conclusion. Smith was admitted to his seat in the council, and on the next Sunday they celebrated the communion. At the same time the Indians came in, and voluntarily desired peace. With the good report of these transactions Newport sailed for England, on the 23d of June, promising to return in twenty weeks with fresh supplies.

The colony thus left in Virginia consisted of one hundred and four persons, in very miserable circumstances, especially on account of provisions, to which calamity their long voyage did not a little contribute, both as it consumed their stock, and deprived them of the opportunity of towing seasonably in the spring. Whilst the ships remained, they could barter with the sailors for bread; but after their departure, each man's allowance was half a pint of damaged wheat and as much barley per day. The river, which at the flood was salt, and at the ebb was muddy, afforded them their only drink; it also supplied them with sturgeon and shell-fish. This kind of food, with their continual labor in the heat of summer, and their frequent watchings by night in all weathers, having only the bare ground to lie on, with but slight covering, produced diseases among them, which, by the month of September, carried off fifty persons, among whom was Captain Gosnold. Those who remained were divided into three watches, of whom, not more than five in each were capable of duty at once. All this time the president, Wingfield, who had the key of the stores, monopolized the few refreshments which remained, and was meditating to desert the plantation privately in the pinnace, and remove to the west Indies. These things rendered him so hateful to the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Ratcliffe in his room: they also removed Kendal from his place in the council; so that by the middle of September, three members only were left.

Ratcliffe, being a man of no resolution nor activity, committed the management of affairs abroad to Smith, in whom his confidence was not misplaced. At the same time the Indians in their neighborhood brought in a plentiful supply of such provisions as they had, which revived their drooping spirits; and Smith seeing the necessity of exertion to secure themselves and provide for the approaching winter, partly by his animating speeches, but more by his example, set them to work in mowing and binding thatch, and in building and covering houses. In these exercises he bore a large share, and in a short time got a sufficiency of houses to make comfortable lodgings for all the people excepting himself. This being done, and the provisions which the natives had brought in being expended, he picked a number of the best hands and embarked in a shallop which they had brought from England, to search the country for another supply.

The party which accompanied Smith in this excursion consisted of six men, well armed, but ill provided with clothing and other necessaries. What was wanting in equipment was to be supplied by resolution and address; and Smith's genius was equal to the attempt. They proceeded down the river to Kecoughtan, [Hampton] where the natives, knowing the needy state of the colony, treated them with contempt, offering an ear of corn in exchange for a musket or a sword, and in like proportion for their scant and tattered garments. Finding that courtesy and gentle treatment would not prevail, and that nothing was to be expected in the way of barter, and moreover provoked by their contempt, Smith ordered his boat to be drawn on shore and his men to fire at them. The affrighted natives fled to the woods, whilst the party searched their houses, in which they found plenty of corn; but Smith did not permit his men to touch it, expecting that the Indians would return and attack them. They soon appeared, to the number of sixty or seventy, formed into a square, carrying their idol okee, composed of skins, stuffed with moss, and adorned with chains of copper. They were armed with clubs and targets, bows and arrows, and advanced singing to the charge. The party received them with a volley of shot, which brought several of them to the ground, and their idol among them; the rest fled again to the woods, from whence they sent a deputation to offer peace and redeem their god. Smith, having in his hands so valuable a pledge, was able to bring them to hig own terms; he stipulated that six of them should come unarmed, and load his boat with corn, and on this condition he would be their friend and give them hatchets, beads and copper. These stipulations were faithfully performed on both sides; and the Indians, in addition, presented them with venison, turkies and other birds, and continued singing and dancing till their departure.

The success of this attempt encouraged him to repeat his excursions by land and water; in the course of which he discovered several branches of James river, and particularly the Chickahamony, from whose fertile banks he hoped to supply the colony with provision. But industry abroad will not make a flourishing plantation without economy at home. What he had taken pains and risked his life to provide, was carelessly and wantonlessly expended; the traffic with the natives being under no regulation, each person made his own bargain, and by outbidding each other, they taught the Indians to set a higher value on their commodities, and to think themselves cheated when they did not all get the same prices. This bred a jealousy and sowed the seeds of a quarrel with them, which the colony were in a poor condition to maintain, being at variance among themselves.

The shallop being again fitted for a trading voyage, whilst Smith was abroad on one of his usual rambles, and the people being discontented with the indolence of Ratcliffe, their President, and the long sickness of Martin, Wingfield and Kendal, who had been displaced, took advantage of Smith's absence, and conspired with some malecontents to run away with the vessel and go to England. Smith returned unexpectedly, and the plot was discovered. To prevent its execution, recourse was had to arms, and Kendal was killed. Another attempt of the same kind was made by Ratcliffe himself, assisted by Archer; but Smith found means to defeat this also. He determined to keep possession of the country, the value of which was daily rising in his estimation; not only as a source of wealth to individuals, but as a grand national object; and he knew that great undertakings could not be accomplished without labor and perseverance.

As the autumn advanced, the waters were covered with innumerable wild-fowl, which, with the addition of corn, beans and pumpkins, procured from the Indians, changed hunger into luxury, and abated the rage for abandoning the country. Smith had been once up the river Chickahamony, but because he had not penetrated to its source, exceptions were taken to his conduct as too dilatory. This imputation he determined to remove. In his next voyage he went so high that he was obliged to cut the trees which had fallen into the river, to make his way through as far as his boat could swim. He then left her in a safe place, ordering his men not to quit her until his return; then taking two of them, and two Indians for guides, he proceeded in one of their canoes to the meadows at the river's head; and leaving his two men with the canoe, he went with his Indian guides across the meadows. A party of 300 Indians below, had watched the motions of the boat. They first surprised the straggling crew, and made one of them prisoner, from whom they learned that Smith was above. They next found the two men whom he had left with the canoe asleep by a fire, and killed them; then having discovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himself thus assaulted and wounded, he bound one of his Indian guides with his garters to his left arm, and made use of him as a shield, whilst he despatched three of his enemies and wounded some others. He was retreating to his canoe, when, regarding his enemies more than his footsteps, he suddenly plunged with his guide into an oozy creek, and stuck fast in the mud. The Indians, astonished at his bravery, did not approach him till, almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms, and begged them to draw

him out, which they did and led him to the fire, where his slain companions were lying. This sight admonished him what he was to expect. Being revived by their chafing his benumbed limbs, he called for the chief, Opecankanough, king of Pamaunkee, to whom he presented his ivory compass and dial. The vibrations of the needle, and the fly under the glass, which they could see but not touch, afforded them much amusement; and Smith, having learned some of their language, partly by means of that, and partly by signs entertained them with a description of the nature and uses of the instrument; and gave them such a lecture on the motions of the heavens and earth as amazed them, and suspended for a time the execution of their purpose. At length, curiosity being satiated, they fastened him to a tree, and prepared to despatch him with their arrows. At this instant, the chief holding up the compass, which he esteemed as a divinity, they laid aside their arms, and forming a military procession, led him in triumph to their village Orapaxe. The order of their march was thus: they ranged themselves in a single file, the king in the midst, before him were borne the arms taken from Smith, and his companions; next after the king came the prisoner, held by three stout savages, and on each side a file of six. When they arrived at the village, the old men, women and children came out to receive them; after some manœuvres, which had the appearance of regularity, they formed themselves round the king and his prisoner into a circle, dancing and singing, adorned with paint, furs and feathers, brandishing their rattles, which were made of the tales of rattlesnakes. After three dances, they dispersed, and Smith was conducted to a long hut, guarded by forty men. There he was so plentifully feasted with bread and venison, that he suspected their intention was to fatten and eat him. One of the Indians, to whom Smith had formerly given beads, brought him a garment of furs to defend him from the cold. Another, whose son was then sick and dying, attempted to kill him, but was prevented by the guard. Smith being conducted to the dying youth, told them that he had a medicine at Jamestown which would cure him, if they would let him fetch it; but they had another design, which was to surprise the place, and to make use of him as a guide. To induce him to perform this service, they promised him his liberty, with as much land and as many women as would content him. Smith magnified the difficulty and danger of their attempt, from the ordnance, mines and other defences of the place, which exceedingly terrified them; and to convince them of the truth of what he told them, he wrote on a leaf of his pocket-book an inventory of what he wanted, with some directions to the people at the fort, how to affright the messengers who went to deliver the letter. They returned in three days, reporting the terror into which they had been thrown; and when they produced the things for which he had written, the whole company were astonished at the power of his divination by the *speaking leaf*.

After this they carried him through several nations, inhabiting the banks of the Potowmack and Rapahanock, and at length brought him to Pamaunkee, where they performed a strange ceremony, by which they intended to divine, whether his intentions towards them were friendly or hostile. The manner of it was this: early in the morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was placed, and the guard retired. Presently, an Indian priest, hideously painted, and dressed in furs and snake skins, came skipping in, and after a variety of uncouth noises and gestures, drew a circle with meal round the fire: then came in three more in the same frightful dress, and after they had performed their dance, three others. They all sat opposite to him in a line, the chief-priest in the midst. After singing a song, accompanied with the music of their rattles, the chief-priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short speech, three more; this was repeated till the fire was encircled. Then continuing the incantation, he laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, with fasting, and at night a feast was prepared of the beast meats which they had. The same tricks were repeated the two following days. They told him that the circle of meal represented their country, the circle of corn the sea shore, and the sticks his country; they did not acquaint him, or he has not acquainted us, with the result of the operation, but he observed that the gunpowder which they had taken from him, was laid up among their corn, to be planted the next spring.

After these ceremonies, they brought him to the emperor Powhatan, who received him in royal state, clothed in a robe of raccoon skins, seated on a kind of throne, elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire; at each hand of the prince sat two beautiful girls, his daughters, and along each side of the house, a row of his counsellors, painted and adorned with feathers and shells. At Smith's entrance a great shout was made. The queen of Apamatox brought him water to wash his hands, and another served him with a bunch of feathers instead of a towel. Having feasted him after their manner, a long consultation was held, which being ended, two large stones were brought in on one of which his head was laid, and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment Pocahontas, the king's favorite daughter, flew to him, took his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it. Her tender entreaties prevailed. The king consented that Smith should live, to make hatchets for him, and ornaments for her.

Two days, after, Powhatan caused him to be brought to a distant house; where, after another threatening, he confirmed his promise, and told him he should return to the fort, and send him two pieces of cannon, and a grindstone; for which he would give him the country of Capahousick, and for ever esteem him as his son. Twelve guides accompanied him, and he arrived at Jamestown the next day. According to the stipulation, two guns and a large grindstone were offered them; but having in vain tried to lift them, they were content to let them remain in their place. Smith, however, had the guns loaded, and discharged a volley of stones at a tree covered with icicles. The report and effect confounded them; but being pacified with a few toys, they returned, carrying presents to Powhatan and his daughter of such things as gave them entire satisfaction. After this adventure, the young princess, Pocahontas, frequently visited the plantation with her attendants; and the refreshments which she brought from time to time proved the means of saving many lives, which otherwise would have been lost.

Smith's return happened at another critical juncture. The colony was divided into parties, and the malcontents were again preparing to quit the country. His presence a third time, defeated the project; in revenge for which they meditated to put him to death, under pretence that he had been the means of murdering the two men who went with him in the canoe; but by a proper application of valor and strength, he put his accusers under confinement, till an opportunity presented for sending them as prisoners to England.

The misfortunes and mismanagements of this Virginian colony during the period here related, seem to have originated partly in the tempers and qualifications of the men who were appointed to command, and partly in the nature and circumstances of the adventure. There could be no choice of men for the service but among those who offered themselves; and these were previously strangers to each other, as well as different in their education, qualities and habits. Some of them had been used to the command of ships, and partook of the roughness of the element on which they were bred. It is, perhaps, no great compliment to Smith, to say that he was the best qualified of *them* for command; since the event proved that none of them who survived the first sickness, had the confidence of the people in any degree. It is certain that his resolution prevented the abandonment of the place the first year; his enterprising spirit led to an exploration of the country, and acquainted them with its many advantages; his captivity produced an intercourse with the savages; and the supplies gained from them, chiefly by means of his address, kept the people alive till the second arrival of the ships from England. The Virginians, therefore, justly regard him, if not as the father, yet as the saviour of that infant plantation.

In the winter of 1607, Capt. Newport arrived from England in Virginia. The other ship, commanded by Capt. Nelson, which sailed at the same time, was dismasted on the American coast, and blown off to the West Indies. The supplies sent by the company were received in Virginia with the most cordial avidity; but the general license given to the sailors, to trade with the savages, proved detrimental to the planters, as it raised the prices of their commodities so high, that a pound of copper would not purchase, what before could be bought for an ounce. Newport himself was not free from this spirit of profusion, so common to seafaring men, which he manifested by sending presents of various kinds to Powhatan, intending thereby to give him an idea of the grandeur of the English nation. In a visit which he made to this prince, under the conduct of Smith, he was received and entertained with an equal show of magnificence; but in trading with the savage chief, he found himself outwitted. Powhatan, in a lofty strain, spoke to him thus "It is not agreeable to the greatness of such men as we are, to trade like common people for trifles; lay down therefore at once, all your goods, and I will give you the full value for them." Smith perceived the snare, and warned Newport of it; but he, thinking to outbrave the savage prince, displayed the whole of his store. Powhatan then set such a price on his corn, that not more than four bushels could be procured; and the necessary supplies could not have been had, if Smith's genius, ever ready at invention, had not hit on an artifice which proved successful. He had secreted some trifles, and among them a parcel of *blue beads*, which, seemingly in a careless way, he glanced in the eyes of Powhatan. The bait caught him; and he earnestly desired to purchase them. Smith, in his turn, raised the value of them, extolling them as the most precious jewels, resembling the color of the sky, and proper only for the noblest sovereigns in the universe. Powhatan's imagination was all on fire; he made large offers. Smith insisted on more, and at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take between two and three hundred bushels of corn for about two pounds of blue beads, and they parted in very good humour, each one being very much pleased with his bargain. In a subsequent visit to Opecankanough, King of Pamaunkee, the company were entertained with the same kind of splendor and a similar bargain closed the festivity; by which means, the blue beads grew into such estimation, that none but the princes and their families were able to wear them.

Loaded with this acquisition, they returned to Jamestown; where an unhappy fire had consumed several of their houses, with much of their provisions and furniture. Mr. Hunt, the chaplain, lost his apparel and library in this conflagration, and escaped from it with only the clothes on his back. This misfortune was severely felt; the ship staying in port fourteen weeks, and reserving enough for the voyage home, so contracted their stock of provisions, that before the winter was gone, they were reduced to great extremity, and many of them died. The cause of the ship's detention for so long a time was this: In searching for fresh water in the neighborhood of Jamestown, they had discovered in a rivulet some particles of a yellowish isinglass, which their sanguine imaginations had refined into gold dust. The zeal for this precious matter was so strong, that in digging, washing and packing it to complete the lading of the ship, all other cares were absorbed. This was a tedious interval to Capt. Smith; his judgment condemned their folly, his patience was exhausted, and his passion irritated, and the only recompense which he had for this long vexation, was the pleasure of sending home Wingfield and Archer, when the ship departed.

The other ship arrived in the spring, and notwithstanding a long and unavoidable detention in the West Indies, brought them a comfortable supply of provisions. They took advantage of the opening season, to rebuild their houses and chapel, repair the palisades, and plant corn for the ensuing summer, in all which works the example and authority of Smith, were of eminent service. Every man of activity was fond of him, and those of a contrary disposition were afraid of him. It was proposed that he should go into the country of the Monacans, beyond the falls of James river, that they might have some news of the interior parts to send home to the company; but a fray with the Indians detained him at Jamestown, till the ship sailed for England, laden chiefly with cedar, but not without another specimen of the yellow dust, of which Martin was so fond, that he took charge of the packages himself and returned to England. An accession of above one hundred men, among whom were several goldsmiths and refiners, had been made to the colony by the two last ships, and a new member, Matthew Scrivener, was added to the council.

Having finished the necessary business of the season, and despatched the ship, another voyage of discovery was undertaken by Captain Smith and fourteen others. They went down the river in an open barge, June 10, 1608, in company with the ship, and having parted with her at Cape Henry, they crossed the mouth of the bay, and fell in with a cluster of islands without Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of Smith's Isles, which they still bear. Then re-entering the bay they landed on the eastern neck, and were kindly received by Acomack, the prince of that peninsula, a part of which still bears his name. From thence they coasted the eastern shore of the bay, and landed sometimes on the main, and at other times on the low islands, of which they found many, but none fit for habitation. They proceeded

up the bay to the northward and crossed over to the western shore, down which they coasted to the southward, and in this route discovered the mouths of the great rivers, which fall into the bay on that side. One in particular attracted much of their attention, because of a reddish earth which they found there, and from its resemblance to bole-ammoniac, they gave it the name of Bolus river, and it is so named in all the early maps of the country; but in the latter, it bears the Indian name Patapsco; on the north side of which is now the flourishing town of *Baltimore*. They sailed thirty miles up the Potowmack, without seeing any inhabitants; but on entering a creek found themselves surrounded by Indians who threatened them. Smith prepared for an encounter; but on firing a few guns, the Indians, terrified at the noise, made signs of peace, and exchanged hostages. One of the company was by this means carried to the habitation of their prince, and the whole were kindly used. They learned that it was by direction of Powhatan that the Indians were in arms, and had attempted to surprise them; from this circumstance they were led to suspect that Powhatan had been informed of this expedition, by the discontented part of the colony whom Smith had obliged to stay in the country when they would have deserted it.

It was Smith's invariable custom, when he met with the Indians, to put on a bold face, as if they appeared desirous of peace to demand their arms, and some of their children as pledges of their sincerity; if they complied, he considered them as friends; if not, as enemies. In the course of this voyage, he collected some furs, and discovered some colored earths, which the savages used as paints, but found nothing of the mineral kind. At the mouth of the Rappahanock, the boat grounded, and whilst they were waiting for the tide, they employed themselves in sticking with their swords the fishes which were left on the flats. Smith having struck his sword into a stingray, the fish raised its tail, and with its sharp indented thorn, wounded him in the arm. This wound was extremely painful, and he presently swelled to that degree, that they expected him to die, and he himself gave them orders to bury him on a neighboring island. But the surgeon, Dr. Russel, having probed the wound, by the help of a certain oil, so allayed the anguish and swelling, that Smith was able to eat part of the fish for his supper. From this occurrence, the place was distinguished by the name of Stingray Point, which it still bears.

On the 21st of July, they returned to Jamestown. Having, with the colored earths which they had found, disguised their boat and streamers, their old companions were alarmed at their approach, with the apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards; this was a trick of Smith's to frighten the old president, who had rioted on the public stores, and was building a house in the woods, that he might seclude himself from the sickly, discontented, quarrelsome company. On Smith's arrival, they signified their desire of investing him with the government. Ratcliffe being deposed, it fell to him of course; and having recommended Scrivener to preside in his absence, he entered on another voyage of discovery, being determined to spare no pains for a full exploration of the country.

From the 24th of July to the 7th of September, with twelve men in an open barge, he ranged the bay of Chesapeake, as far northward as the falls of Susquehannah, entering all the rivers that flow into the bay, and examining their shores. In some places the natives were friendly, and in others jealous. Their idea of the strange visitors, was, that they had come "from under the world to take their world from them." Smith's constant endeavor was to preserve peace with them; but when he could not obtain corn in the way of traffic, he never scrupled to use threats, and in some cases violence, and by one or the other method he prevailed so as to bring home a load of provisions for his discontented companions, who without his efforts would not have been able to live. Sickness and death were very frequent, and the latest comers were most affected by the disorders of the climate.

Smith was now established in the presidency, by the election of the council and the request of the company; but the commission gave to a majority of the council the whole power. Newport, at his third arrival, brought over two new members, and Ratcliffe having still a seat, though deposed from the presidency, Smith was obliged in some cases to comply with their opinions, contrary to his own judgment, an instance of which will now be exhibited.

The Virginia Company in London, deceived by false reports, and misled by their own sanguine imaginations, had conceived an expectation not only of finding precious metals in the country, but of discovering the South Sea, from the mountains at the head of James river; and it was thought, that the journey thither, might be performed in eight or ten days. For the purpose of making this capital discovery, they put on board Newport's ship, a barge capable of being taken to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. This barge was to make a voyage to the head of the river, then to be carried in pieces across the mountains, and to descend the rivers which were supposed to run westward to the South Sea. To facilitate this plan, it was necessary to gain the favor of Powhatan, through whose country the passage must be made; and as means of winning him, a royal present was brought over, consisting of a basin and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, with a cloak and a crown, all which were to be presented to him in due form; and the crown placed on his head, with as much solemnity as possible. To a person who knew the country and its inhabitants so well as Smith, this project appeared chimerical, and the means whereby it was to be carried on, dangerous. With a small quantity of copper and a few beads, he could have kept Powhatan in good humor, and made an advantage of it for the colony, whereas a profusion of presents he knew would but increase his pride and insolence. The project of travelling over unknown mountains with men already weakened by sickness, and worn out with fatigue, in a hot climate, and in the midst of enemies, who might easily cut off their retreat, was too romantic even for his sanguine and adventurous spirit. His opinion upon the matter cannot be expressed in more pointed language, than he used in a letter to the company. "If the quartered boat was burned to ashes, *one* might carry her in a bag, but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls." His dissent however was ineffectual, and when he found that the voice of the council was for executing it, he lent his assistance to effect as much of it as was practicable.

Previously to their setting out, he undertook, with four men only, to carry notice to Powhatan of the intended present, and invite him to come to Jamestown, that he might receive it there. Having travelled by land twelve miles to Werocomoco, on Pamunky (York) river, where he expected to meet Powhatan, and not finding him there, whilst a messenger was despatched thirty miles for him; his daughter Pocahontas, entertained Smith and his company with a dance, which for its singularity, merits a particular description.

In an open plain, a fire being made, the gentlemen were seated by it. Suddenly a noise was heard in the adjacent wood, which made them fly to their arms, and seize on two or three old men, as hostages for their own security, imagining that they were betrayed. Upon this the young princess came running to Smith, and passionately embracing him, offered herself to be killed, if any harm should happen to him or his company. Her assurances, seconded by all the Indians present, removed their fears. The noise which had alarmed them was made by thirty girls, who were preparing for the intended ceremony. Immediately they made their appearance, with no other covering than a girdle of green leaves and their skins painted, each one of a different color. Their leader had a pair of buck's horns on her head, an otter's skin as her girdle, and another on one arm; a bow and arrow in the other hand, and a quiver at her back. The rest of them had horns on their heads, and a wooden sword or staff in their hands. With shouting and singing they formed a ring round the fire, and performed a circular dance for about an hour, after which they retired in the same order as they had advanced. The dance was followed by a feast, at which the savage nymphs were as eager with their caresses as with their attendance; and this being ended, they conducted the gentlemen to their lodging by the light of fire-brands.

The next day Powhatan arrived, and Smith delivered the message from his father, Newport, (as he always called him) to this effect: "That he had brought him from the King of England, a royal present, and wished to see him at Jamestown, that he might deliver it to him; promising to assist him in prosecuting his revenge against the Monacans, whose country they would penetrate even to the sea beyond the mountains." To which the savage prince with equal subtilty and haughtiness, answered, "If your king has sent me a present, I also am a king, and am on my own land. I will stay here eight days. Your father must come to me; I will not go to him, nor to your fort. As for the Monacans, I am able to revenge myself. If you have heard of salt water beyond the mountains, from any of my people, they have deceived you." Then with a stick he drew a plan of that region on the ground; and after many compliments the conference ended.

The present being put on board the boats, was carried down James river and up the Pamaunkee, whilst Newport, with fifty men, went across by land and met the boats, in which he passed the river, and held the proposed interview. All things being prepared for the ceremony of coronation, the present was brought from the boats; the basin and ewer were deposited, the bed and chair were set up, the scarlet suit and cloak were put on, though not till Namontac (an Indian youth whom Newport had carried to England and brought back again), had assured him that these habiliments would do him no harm; but they had great difficulty in persuading him to receive the crown, nor would he bend his knee, or incline his head in the least degree After many attempts, and with actual pressing on his shoulders, they at last made him stoop a little and put it on. Instantly, a signal being given, the men in the boats fired a volley, at which the monarch started with horror, imagining that a design was forming to destroy him in the summit of his glory; but being assured that it was meant as a compliment, his fears subsided, and in return for the baubles of royalty received from King James, he desired Newport to present him his old fur mantle and deer-skin shoes, which, in his estimation, were doubtless a full equivalent; since all this finery could not prevail on the wary chief to allow them guides for the discovery of the inland country, or to approve their design of visiting it. Thus disappointed, they returned to Jamestown, determined to proceed without his assistance.

Smith, who had no mind to go on such a fruitless errand, tarried at the fort with eighty invalids to reload the ship, whilst Newport with all the council, and one hundred and twenty of the healthiest men, began their transmontane tour of discovery. They proceeded in their boats to the falls at the head of the river; from thence they travelled up the country two days and a half, and discovered two towns of the Monacans, the inhabitants of which seemed very indifferent towards them, and used them neither well nor ill. They took one of their petty princes and led him bound to guide them. Having performed this march, they grew wearried and returned, taking with them in their way back certain portions of earth, in which their refiner pretended that he had seen signs of silver. This was all the success of their expedition; for the savages had concealed their corn, and they could neither persuade them to sell it, nor find it to take it by force. Thus they returned to Jamestown, tired, disappointed, hungry and sick, and had the additional mortification of being laughed at by Smith for their vain attempt.

The Virginia Company had not only a view to the discovery of the South Sea, but also to establish manufactures in their colony; and for this purpose had sent over a number of workmen from Poland and Germany, who were skilled in the making pot-ashes and glass, as well as pitch and tar. Had the country been full of people, well cultivated and provided with all the necessaries for carrying on these works, there might have been some prospect of advantage; but in a new region, the principal objects are subsistence and defence; these will necessarily occupy the first adventurers to the exclusion of all others. However, Smith was of so generous a disposition, and so indefatigable in doing what he apprehended to be his duty, and in gratifying his employers, that as soon as Newport returned from his fruitless attempt to find the South Sea, he set all who were able to work, that he might, if possible, answer the expectation of the company. Those who were skilled in the manufactures, he left under the care of the council, to carry on their works; whilst he took thirty of the most active with him, about five miles down the river, to cut timber, and make clapboards: this being as he well knew, an employment the most certain of success. Among these were several young gentlemen, whose hands not having been used to labor, were blistered by the axes, and this occasioned frequent expressions of impatience and profaneness. To punish them, Smith caused the number of every man's oaths to be taken down daily, and at night, as many cans of water to be poured inside his sleeve. This discipline was no less singular than effectual; it so lessened the number of oaths, that scarcely one was heard in a week, and withal it made them perfectly good humored, and reconciled them to their labor. At his return to the fort, he found, not only that business had been neglected, but much provision consumed, and that it was necessary for him to undertake another expedition for corn. He,

therefore, went up the Chickahamony with two boats and eighteen men, and finding the Indians not in a humor for trading, but rather scornful and insolent, he told them that he had come not so much for corn, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the murder of his two men, some time before. Putting his crew in a posture of attack, the Indians fled, and presently sent messengers to treat of peace; for the obtaining which, he made them give him an hundred bushels of corn, with a quantity of fish and fowls; and with this supply he kept the colony from starving, and preserved the ship's provisions for her voyage to England. At her departure, she carried such specimens as could be had of tar, pitch, turpentine, soap-ashes, clapboards, and wainscot; and at Point Comfort met with Scrivener, who had been up the Pamaunkee for corn, and had got a quantity of *pocones*, a red root, used in dying; these being taken on board, Captain Newport returned to England the third time, leaving about two hundred persons in Virginia.

The harvest of 1608 had fallen short both among the new planters and the natives; and the colony was indebted to the inventive genius and indefatigable perseverance of Smith for their subsistence during the succeeding winter. As long as the rivers were open, he kept the boats continually going among the natives for such supplies as could be obtained; and he never would return empty, if any thing were to be had by any means in his power. Whilst abroad in these excursions, he and his men were obliged frequently to lodge in the woods, when the ground was hard frozen and covered with snow; and their mode of accommodating themselves was, first to dig away the snow and make a fire; when the ground was dried and warmed, they removed the fire to one side, and spread their mats over the warm spot for their bed, using another mat as a screen from the wind; when the ground cooled, they shifted the fire again; by thus continually changing their position, they kept themselves tolerably warm through many cold nights; and it was observed, that those who went on this service and submitted to these hardships, were robust and healthy, whilst those who stayed at home were always weak and sickly.

The supplies procured by trading being insufficient, and hunger very pressing, Smith ventured on the dangerous project of surprising Powhatan, and carrying off his whole stock of provisions. This Indian prince had formed a similar design respecting Smith; and for the purpose of betraying him, had invited him to his seat, promising, that if he would send men to build him a house after the English mode, and give him some guns and swords, copper and beads, he would load his boat with corn. Smith sent him three Dutch carpenters, who treacherously revealed to him the design which Smith had formed. On his arrival with forty-six men, he found the prince so much on his guard, that it was impossible to execute his design. Having spent the day in conversation, (in the course of which Powhatan had in vain endeavored to persuade Smith to lay aside his arms, as being there in perfect security,) he retired in the evening, and formed a design to surprise Smith and his people at their supper; and had it not been for the affectionate friendship of Pocahontas, it would probably have been effected. This amiable girl, at the risk of her life, stole from the side of her father, and passing in the dark through the woods, told Smith with tears in her eyes of the plot, and then as privately returned. When the Indians brought in the supper Smith obliged them to taste of every dish; his arms were in readiness, and his men vigilant; and though there came divers sets of messengers, one after another during the night, under pretence of friendly inquiries, they found them so well prepared, that nothing was attempted, and the party returned in safety.

In a subsequent visit to Opecancanough, by whom he formerly was taken prisoner, this prince put on the semblance of friendship, whilst his men lay in ambush with bows and arrows. The trick being discovered by one of Smith's party, and communicated to him, he resolutely seized the king by his hair, and holding a pistol to his breast, led him trembling to the ambush, and there, with a torrent of reproachful and menacing words, obliged him to order those very people, not only to lay down their arms, but to load him with provisions. After this, they made an attempt to murder him in his sleep, and to poison him, but both failed of success. The chief of Paspiha meeting him alone in the woods, armed only with a sword, attempted to shoot him, but he closed with the savage, and in the struggle both fell into the river; where, after having narrowly escaped drowning, Smith at last prevailed to gripe him by the throat, and would have cut off his head, but the entreaties of the poor victim prevailed on his humanity, he led him prisoner to Jamestown.

This intrepid behavior struck a dread into the savages, and they began to believe what he had often told them, that "his God would protect him against all their power, whilst he kept his promise; which was to preserve peace with them as long as they should refrain from hostilities, and continue to supply him with corn." An incident which occurred about the same time, confirmed their veneration for him. An Indian having stolen a pistol from Jamestown, two brothers, who were known to be his companions, were seized, and one was held as hostage for the other, who was to return in twelve hours with the pistol, or the prisoner was to be hanged. The weather being cold, a charcoal fire was kindled in the dungeon, which was very close, and the vapor had so suffocated the prisoner, that on the return of his brother at the appointed time with the pistol, he was taken out as dead. The faithful savage lamented his fate in the most distressing agony. Smith, to console him, promised, if they would steal no more, that he should be recovered. On the application of spirits and vinegar, he showed signs of life, but appeared delirious; this grieved the brother as much as his death. Smith undertook to cure him of this also, on the repetition of the promise to steal no more. The delirium being only the effect of the spirits which he had swallowed, was remedied by a few hours sleep; and being dismissed, with a present of copper, they went away, believing and reporting that Smith was able to bring the dead to life. The effect was, that not only many stolen things were recovered, and the thieves punished, but that peace and friendly intercourse were preserved, and corn brought in as long as they had any, whilst Smith remained in Virginia.

He was equally severe and resolute with his own men, and finding many of them inclining to be idle, and this idleness in a great measure the cause of their frequent sickness and death, he made an order, "that he who would not work should not eat, unless he were disabled by sickness; and that every one who did not gather as much food in a day as he did himself, should be banished." A recent attempt having been made to run away with the boats, he ordered, that the next person who should repeat this offence, should be hanged. By firmness in the execution of these laws, and by the concurrent force of his own example, in laboring continually, and distributing his whole share of European provisions and refreshments to the sick, he kept the colony in such order, that, though many of them murmured at his severity, they all became very industrious; and withal so healthy, that of two hundred persons, there died that winter and the next spring no more than seven. In the space of three months, they had made a quantity of tar, pitch, and pot-ashes; had produced a sample of glass; dug a well in the fort; built twenty new houses; provided nets and wiers for fishing; erected a block-house on the isthmus of Jamestown; another on Hog Island; and had begun a fortress on a commanding eminence. As the spring came on, they paid such attention to husbandry, as to have thirty or forty acres cleared and fit for planting; and a detachment had been sent to the southward, to look for the long lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh, but without success.

Such was the state of the Virginia colony when Captain Samuel Argal arrived on a trading voyage, and brought letters from the company in England, complaining of their disappointment, and blaming Smith as the cause of it. They had conceived an ill opinion of him from the persons whom he had sent home, who represented him as arbitrary and violent towards the colonists, cruel to the savages, and disposed to traverse the views of the adventurers, who expected to grow rich very suddenly.

There was this disadvantage attending the business of colonization in North America at that day, that the only precedents which could be had were those of the Spaniards who had treated the natives with extreme cruelty, and amassed vast sums of gold and silver. Whilst the English adventurers detested the means by which the Spaniards had acquired their riches, they still expected that the same kind of riches might be acquired by other means; it was, therefore, thought politic to be gentle in demeanor and lavish of presents towards the natives, as an inducement to them to discover the riches of their country. On these principles, the orders of the Virginia Company to their servants were framed. But experience had taught Smith, the most discerning and faithful of all whom they had employed, that the country of Virginia would not enrich the adventurers in the time and manner which they expected; yet he was far from abandoning it as worthless; his aim was thoroughly to explore it; and by exploring, he had discovered what advantages might be derived from it; to produce which, time, patience, expense, and labor, were absolutely necessary. He had fairly represented these ideas to his employers; he had spent three years in their service, and from his own observations had drawn and sent them a map of the country; and he had conducted their affairs as well as the nature of circumstances would permit. He had had a disorderly, factious, discontented, disappointed, set of men to control, by the help of a few adherents; in the face of the native lords of the soil, formidable in their numbers and knowledge of the country, versed in stratagem, tenacious of resentment, and jealous of strangers. To court them by presents, was to acknowledge their superiority, and inflate their pride and insolence. Though savages, they were men and not children. Though destitute of science, they were possessed of reason, and a sufficient degree of art. To know how to manage them, it was necessary to be personally acquainted with them; and it must be obvious, that a person who had resided several years among them, and had been a prisoner with them, was a much better judge of the proper methods of treating them, than a company of gentlemen at several thousand miles distance, and who could know them only by report. Smith had certainly the interest of the plantation at heart, and by toilsome experience, had just learned to conduct it, when he found himself so obnoxious to his employers, that a plan was concerted to supersede him, and reinstate, with a share of authority, those whom he had dismissed from the service.

The Virginia Company had applied to the king to recall their patent and grant another; in virtue of which, they appointed Thomas Lord de la Warre, general, Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, marshal; Sir Ferdinando Waiman, general of horse; and Captain Newport, (the only one of them who had seen the country) vice-amiral. The adventurers having, by the alteration of their patent, acquired a reinforcement both of dignity and property, equipped nine ships; in which were embarked five hundred persons, men, women, and children. Gates, Somers, and Newport, had each a commission, investing either of them who might first arrive, with power to call in the old, and set up the new, commission. The fleet sailed from England in May, 1609, and by some strange policy, the three commanders were embarked in one ship. This ship being separated from the others in a storm, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda; another foundered at sea; and when the remaining seven arrived in Virginia, two of which were commanded by Ratcliffe and Archer, they found themselves destitute of authority; though some of them were full enough of prejudice against Smith, who was then in command. The ships had been greatly shattered in their passage, much of their provision was spoiled, many of their people were sick; and the season in which they arrived was not the most favorable to their recovery. A mutinous spirit soon broke out, and a scene of confusion ensued; the new comers would not obey Smith, because they supposed his commission to be superseded; the new commission was not arrived, and it was uncertain whether the ship which carried it would ever be seen or heard of. Smith would gladly have withdrawn and gone back to England, but his honor was concerned in maintaining his authority till he should be regularly superseded, and his spirit would not suffer him to be trampled on by those whom he despised. Upon due consideration, he determined to maintain his authority as far as he was able; waiting some proper opportunity to retire. some of the most insolent of the new comers "he laid by the heels." With the more moderate he consulted what was best to be done; and, as a separation seemed to be the best remedy, and it had been in contemplation to extend the settlements, some were induced to go up to the Falls, others to Nansemond, and others to Point Comfort. Smith's year being almost expired, he offered to resign to Martin, who had been one of the old council, but Martin would not accept the command; he, therefore, kept up the form, and as much as he could of the power of government, till an accident, which had nearly proved fatal to his life, obliged him to return to England.

On his return from the new plantation at the Falls, sleeping by night in his boat, a bag of gunpowder took fire, and burnt him in a most terrible manner. Awaking in surprise, and finding himself wrapped in flames, he leaped into the water, and was almost drowned, before his companions could recover him. At his return

to Jamestown, in this distressed condition, Ratcliffe and Archer conspired to murder him in his bed; but the assassin whom they employed, had not courage to fire a pistol. Smith's old soldiers would have taken off their heads; but he thought it prudent to pass by the offence, and take this opportunity, as there was no surgeon in the country, of returning to England. As soon as his intention was known, the council appointed Mr. Percie to preside in his room, and detained the ship three weeks, till they could write letters, and frame complaints against him. He at length sailed for England, about the latter end of September, 1600; much regretted by his few friends, one of whom has left this character of him. "In all his proceedings he made justice his first guide, and experience his second; hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any dangers. He never would allow more for himself than for his soldiers; and upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself. He would never see us want what he had, or could by any means get for us. He would rather want than borrow; or starve, than not pay. He loved action more than words; and hated covetousness and falsehood worse than death. His adventures were our lives; and his loss our deaths."

There needs no better testimony to the truth of this character, than what is related of the miserable colony after he had quitted it. Without government, without prudence, careless, indolent and factious, they became a prey to the insolence of the natives, to the diseases of the climate and to famine. Within six months, their number was reduced from five hundred to sixty; and when the three commanders, who had been wrecked on Bermuda, arrived, 1610, with one hundred and fifty men in two small vessels, which they had built out of the ruins of their ship, and the cedars which grew on the island; they found the remnant of the colony in such a forlorn condition, that without hesitation, they determined to abandon the country, and were sailing down the river, when they met a boat from the Lord de le Warre, who had come with a fleet to their relief. By his persuasion they resumed the plantation, and to this fortunate incident may be ascribed the full establishment of the colony of Virginia.

Such a genius as Smith's could not remain idle. He was well known in England, and the report of his valor and his spirit of adventure, pointed him out to a number of merchants, who were engaged in the American fishery, as a proper person to make discoveries on the coast of North Virginia. In April, 1614, he sailed from London with two ships, and arrived at the island of Monahigon in latitude 43 1-2°, as it was then computed, where he built seven boats. The design of the voyage was to take whales, to examine a mine of gold, and another of copper, which were said to be there; and if either, or both of these should fail, to make up the cargo with fish and furs. The mines proved a fiction, and by long chasing the whales to no purpose, they lost the best season for fishing; but whilst the seamen were engaged in these services, Smith, in one of his boats, with eight men, ranged the coast, east and west, from Penobscot to Cape Cod; bartering with the natives for beaver and other furs, and making observations on the shores, islands, harbors and head lands; which, at his return to England, he wrought into a map, and presenting it to prince Charles, afterwards the royal martyr, with a request that he would give the country a name, it was for the first time called *New England.* The prince also made several alterations in the names which Smith had given to particular places. For instance, he had called the name of that promontory, which forms the eastern entrance of Massachusetts bay, Tragabigzanda; after the name of the Turkish lady to whom he had been formerly a slave at Constantinople; and the three islands which lie off the Cape, the Turks Head, in memory of his victory over the three Turkish champions, in his Transylvanian adventures. The former, Charles, in filial respect to his mother, called Cape Anne, which name it has ever since retained; the name of the islands has long since been lost; and another cluster to which he gave his own name, Smith's Isles, and which name the prince did not alter, are now, and have for more than a century been called the Isles of Shoals; so that the most pointed marks of his discoveries on the coast of New England, have, either by his own complaisance to the son of his sovereign, or by force of time and accidents become obsolete. When he sailed for England in one of the ships, he left the other behind to complete her lading, with orders to sell the fish in Spain. The master, Thomas Hunt, decoyed twenty-four of the natives on board, and sold them in Spain for slaves. The memory of this base transaction was long preserved among the Americans, and succeeding adventurers suffered on account of it.

At Smith's return to England he put in at Plymouth, where, relating his adventures, and communicating his sentiments to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, he was introduced to the Plymouth Company of adventurers to North Virginia, and engaged in their service. At London he was invited by the South Virginia Company to return to their service; but made use of his engagement with the Plymouth adventnrers as an excuse for declining their invitation. From this circumstance it seems, that they had been convinced of his former fidelity, notwithstanding the letters and reports which they had formerly received to his disadvantage.

During his stay in London, he had the very singular pleasure of seeing his friend Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. Having been made a prisoner in Virginia, she was there married to Mr. John Rolfe, and by him was brought to England. She was then about twenty-two years of age; her person was graceful and her deportment gentle and pleasing. She had been taught the English language and the Christain religion, and baptized by the name of Rebecca. She had heard that Smith was dead, and knew nothing to the contrary, till she arrived in England.

The fame of an Indian princess excited great curiosity in London; and Smith had the address to write a handsome letter to the queen, setting forth the merits of his friend, and the eminent services she had done to him and the colony of Virginia. She was introduced by the Lady de la Warre; the queen and royal family received her with much complacency, and she proved herself worthy of their notice and respect. At her first interview with Smith she called him father; and because he did not immediately return the salutation and call her child she was so overcome with grief, that she hid her face and would not speak for some time. She was ignorant of the ridiculous affectation which reigned in the court of James; which forbad Smith assuming the title of father, to the daughter of a king; and when informed of it she despised it; passionately declaring, that she loved him as a father, and had treated him as such in her own country, and would be his child wherever she went. The same pedantic affection caused her husband to be looked upon as an offender, for having, though a subject, invaded the mysterious rights of royalty in marrying above his rank. This marriage, however, proved beneficial to the colony, as her father had thereby become a friend to them, and when she came to England, he sent with her Uttamaccomac, one of his trusty counsellors; whom he enjoined to inquire for Smith, and tell him whether he was alive. Another order which he gave him was, to bring him the number of people in England; accordingly, on his landing at Plymouth, the obedient savage began his account by cutting a notch on a long stick for every person whom he saw; but soon grew tired of his employment, and at his return told Powhaton that they exceeded the number of leaves on the trees. A third command from his prince was, to see the God of England, and the king, queen, and princes, of whom Smith had told him so much; and when he met with Smith, he desired to be introduced to those personages. He had before this seen the king, but would not believe it; because the person whom they pointed out to him had not given him any thing. "You gave Powhatan," said he to Smith, "a white dog, but your king has give me nothing." Mr. Rolfe was preparing to return with his wife to Virginia, when she was taken ill and died at Gravesend; leaving an infant son, Thomas Rolfe, from whom are descended several families of note in Virginia, who hold their lands by inheritance from her.

Smith had conceived such an idea of the value and importance of the American continent, that he was fully bent on the business of plantation, rather than fishing and trading for furs. In this he agreed with his friend Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the few other active members of the council of Plymouth, but it had become an unpopular theme. One colony had been driven home from Sagadahock by the severity of the season and the deaths of their leaders. Men who were fit for the business were not easily to be obtained, those who had formerly been engaged were discouraged, and it required great strength of mind as well as liberality of purse, to set on foot another experiment. After much trouble in endeavoring to unite persons of opposite interests, and stimulate those who had sustained former losses to new attempts, he obtained one ship of two hundred tons, and another of fifty, with which he sailed in 1615. Having proceeded about one hundred and twenty leagues, they were separated in a storm; the smaller one commanded by Capt. Thomas Dermer pursued her voyage; but Smith having lost his masts was obliged to put back under a jury-mast to Plymouth. There he put his stores on board a small bark of sixty tons, and thirty men, of whom sixteen were to assist him in beginning a new colony.

Meeting with an English pirate, his men would have had him surrender; but though he had only four guns, and the pirate thirty-six, he disdained to yield. On speaking with her, he found the commander and some of the crew to be his old shipmates, who had run away with the ship from Tunis, and were in distress for provisions; they offered to put themselves under his command, but he rejected the proposal and went on his voyage. Near the Western Islands he fell in with two French pirates; his men were again thrown into a panic, and would have struck, but he threatened to blow up the ship, if they would not fight; and by firing a few running shot, he escaped them also. After this he was met by four French-men-of-war, who had orders from their sovereign to seize pirates. He showed them his commission under the great seal; but they perfidiously detained him whilst they suffered his ship to escape in the night, and return to Plymouth. They knew his enterprising spirit, and were afraid of his making a settlement in New England, so near to their colony of *Acadia;* and they suspected, or at least pretended to suspect, that he was the person who had broken up their fishery at Port Royal (which was really done by Captain Argal) the year before.

When their cruise was finished, they carried him to Rochelle; and notwithstanding their promises to allow him a share of the prizes which they had taken whilst he was with them, they kept him as a prisoner on board a ship at anchor. But a storm arising, which drove all the people below, he took the boat, with an half pike for an oar, thinking to make his escape in the night. The current was so strong that he drifted to sea, and was near perishing. By the turn of the tide he got ashore, on a marshy island, where some fowlers found him in the morning almost dead with cold and hunger. He gave them his boat to carry him to Rochelle, where he learned that the ship which had taken him, with one of her prizes, which was very rich, had been driven on shore in that storm, and lost, with her captain and one half of the men

Here he made his complaint to the judge of the Admiralty, and produced such evidence in support of his allegations, that he was treated with fair words; but it does not appear that he got any recompense He met here and at Bourdeaux with many friends, both French and English, and at his return to Eng and, published in a small quarto, an account of his two last voyages, with the depositions of the men who were in the ship when he was taken by the French. To this book he prefixed his map of New England; and in it gave a description of the country, with its many advantages, and the proper methods of rendering it a valuablo acquisition to the English dominions. When it was printed, he went all over the west of England, giving copies of it to all persons of note; and endeavoring to excite the nobility, gentry, and merchants, to engage with earnestness in the business of colonizing America. He obtained from many of them fair promises, and was complimented by the Plymouth Company with the title of Admiral of New England. But the former ill success of some too sanguine adventurers, had made a deep impression, and a variety of cross incidents, baffled all his attempts.

However, his experience and advice were of eminent service to others. The open frankness and generosity of his mind led him to give all the encouragement which he could to the business of fishing and planting in New England, for which purpose, in 1622, he published a book, entitled, "New England's Tryals,' some extracts from which are preserved by Purchas. No man rejoiced more than myself in the establishment of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts.

When the news of the massacre of the Virginian planters by the Indians, 1622, arrived in England, Smith was all on fire to go over to revenge the insult. He made an offer to the company that if they would allow him one hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, with the necessary provisions and equipments, he would range the country, keep the natives in awe, protect the planters, and make discoveries, of the hitherto unknown parts of America; and for his own risk and pains would desire nothing but what he would "produce from the proper labor of the savages." On this

proposal the company was divided, but the pusillanimous and avaricious party prevailed; and gave him this answer, "that the charges would be too great; that their stock was reduced; that the planters ought to defend themselves; but, that if he would go at his own expense, they would give him *leave*, provided he would give them one-half of the *pillage*." Such an answer could be received only with contempt.

When the king in 1624, instituted a commission for the reformation of Virginia, Smith, by desire of the commissioners, gave in a relation of his former proceedings in the colony, and his opinion and advice respecting the proper methods of remedying the defects in government, and carrying on the plantation with a prospect of success.* These with many other papers he collected and published in 1627, in a thin folio, under the title of "The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles." The narrative part is made up of journals and letters of those who were concerned with him in the plantation, intermixed with his own observations. His intimate friend, Mr. Purchas, had published most of them two years before in his "Pilgrims."

In 1629, at the request of Sir Robert Cotton, he published a history of the early part of his life, entitled, "The true Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith." This work is preserved entire in the second volume of Churchill's Collections, and from it the former part of this account is compiled. In the conclusion he made some addition to the history of Virginia, Bermuda, New England, and the West Indies, respecting things which had come to his knowledge after the publication of his general history. He stated the inhabitants of Virginia in 1628 at five thousand, and their cattle about the same number. Their produce was chiefly tobacco; but those few who attended to their gardens had all sorts of fruit and vegetables in great abundance and perfection. From New England they received salted fish; but of fresh fish their own rivers produced enough, besides an infinite quantity of fowl; as their woods did of deer and other game. They had two brew houses; but they cultivated the Indian corn in preference to the European grain. Their plantations were scattered; some of their houses were palisaded; but they had no fortifications nor ordnance mounted.

His account of New England is, that the country had been represented by adventurers from the West of England, as rocky, barren, and desolate: but that since his account of it had been published, the credit of it was so raised, that forty or fifty sail went thither annually on fishing and trading voyages. That nothing had been done to any purpose in establishing a plantation, till "about an hundred Brownists went to New Plymouth; whose humorous ignorance caused them to endure a wonderful deal of misery with infinite patience."

He then recapitulates the history of his American adventures in the following terms. "Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captain Smith: how first he planted Virginia, and was set ashore with a hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken prisoner by the savages, and by the King of Pamaunky, tied to a tree to be shot to death; led up and down the country to be shown for a wonder; fatted as he thought for a sacrifice to their idol, before whom they conjured three days, with strange dances and invocations; then brought before their Emperor Powhatan, who commanded him to be slain; how his daughtdr Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to Jamestown, relieved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty, to possess those large dominions; how he discovered all the several nations on the rivers falling into the Bay of Chesapeake; how he was stung almost to death by the poisonous tail of a fish called a stingray; how he was blown up with gunpowder and returned to England to be cured.

"Also how he brought New England to the subjection of the kingdom of Great Britain; his fights with the pirates, left alone among French men-of-war, and his ship ran from him; his sea-fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad usage of him; how in France, in a little boat, he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at sea by himself, when thirteen French ships were split or driven on shore by the isle Rhee, the general and most of his men drowned; when God, to whom be all honor and praise, brought him safe on shore to the admiration of all who escaped; you may read at large in his general history of Virginia, the Somer islands, and New England."

This was probably his last publication, for he lived but two years after. By a note in Josselyn's voyage, it appears that he died in 1631, at London, in the fifty-second year of his age.

It would have given singular pleasure to the compiler of these memoirs, if he could have learned from any credible testimony that Smith ever received any recompense for his numerous services and sufferings. The sense which he had of this matter, in 1627, shall be given in his own words. "I have spent five years, and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England, and in neither of them have I one foot of land, nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands; but I see those countries shared before me by those who know them only by my descriptions.

* Agreeably to Smith's advice to these commissioners, King Charles I. at his accession dissolved the company, in 1626, and reduced the colony under the immediate direction of the crown, appointing the governor and council, and ordering all patents and processes to issue in his own name.

DE MONTS, POUTRINCOURT, AND CHAMPLAIN.

De Monts—His Patent for Acadia—His Fort at St. Croix—He quits Acadia—Poutrincourt—Samuel Champlain—He sails up the St. Lawrence—Builds a Fort at Quebec—Discovers the Lake—Surrenders Quebec to the English—His Death and Character.

After the discovery of Canada by Cartier, the French continued trading to that country for furs, and fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Acadia, where they found many excellent and convenient harbors, among which Canseau was early distinguished as a place extremely suitable for the fishery. One Savalet, an old mariner, who frequented that port, had before 1609 made no less than forty-two voyages to those parts.

Henry IV. King of France, perceived the advantages which might arise to his kingdom from a farther exploration of the northern parts of America; and therefore gave encouragement to those who were desirous of making adventures. In 1598, the Marquis de la Roche obtained a commission of Lord-lieutenant, and undertook a voyage with a view to establish a colony, consisting of convicts taken out of the prisons. Happening in the course of his voyage to fall in with the isle of Sable, a low, sandy island, lying about twenty-five leagues southward of Canseau, he there landed forty of his miserable crew, to subsist on the cattle and swine with which the place had been stocked by the Portuguese, for the relief of shipwrecked seamen. The reason given for choosing this forlorn place for the disembarkation of his colony, was, that they would be out of all danger from the savages, till he should find a better situation for them on the continent, when he promised to return and take them off. Whether he ever reached the continent is uncertain, but he never again saw the isle of Sable. Returning to France he engaged in the wars, was made a prisoner by the Duke of Mercœur, and soon after died. The wretched exiles subsisted on such things as the place afforded, and clothed themselves with the skins of seals. At the end of seven years, King Henry, in compassion, sent a fisherman to bring them home. Twelve only were then alive. The fisherman, concealing from them the generous intention of their sovereign, took all the skins which they had collected as a recompense for his services, some of which being black foxes were of great value. The king had them brought before him in their seal skin habits and long beards. He pardoned their former crimes, and made each of them a present of fifty crowns. When they discovered the fraud of the fisherman, they instituted a process against him at law, and recovered large damages; by means of which they acquired so much property as to enter into the same kind of traffic.

The king also granted to Pontgrave de Chauvin, an exclusive privilege of trading at Tadousac, the mouth of the river Saguenay; to which place he made two voyages, and was preparing for a third when he was prevented by death.

The next voyager of any note was Samuel Champlain, of Brouage; a man of a noble family; who, in 1603, sailed up the river of Canada, as far as Cartier had gone in 1535. He made many inquiries of the natives concerning their country, its rivers, falls, lakes, mountains and *mines*. The result of his inquiry was, that a communication was formed by means of two lakes, with the conntry of the Iroquois towards the south; that towards the west there were more and greater lakes of fresh water, to one of which they knew no limits; and that to the northward there was an inland sea of salt water. In the course of this voyage, Champlain anchored at a place called Quebec, which in the language of the country signified a strait; and this was thought to be a proper situation for a fort and settlement. He heard of no mines but one of copper, far to the northward. With this information he returned to France, in the month of September.

On the eighth of November in the same year, King Henry granted to the Sieur De Monts, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, a patent, constituting him lieutenant-general of all the territory of *L'Acadia*, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, with power to subdue the inhabitants and convert them to the Christian faith. This patent was published in all the maritime towns of France; and De Monts having equipped two vessels, sailed for his new government on the 7th of March, 1604, taking with him the aforesaid Samuel Champlain for a pilot, Monsieur De Poutrincout, who had been for a long time desirous to visit America.

On the 6th of May, they arrived at a harbor on the southeast side of the peninsula of Acadia, where they found one of their countrymen, Rossignol, trading with the Indians without license. They seized his ship and cargo; leaving him only the poor consolation of giving his name to the harbor where he was taken. The provisions found in his ship were a seasonable supply, and without them the enterprise must have been abandoned. This place is now called Liverpool.

From Port Rossignol they coasted the peninsula to the southwest, and having doubled Cape Sable, came to anchor in the bay of St. Mary, where Aubry, a priest, going ashore, was lost in the woods, and a Protestant was charged with having murdered him, becasue they had sometimes had warm disputation on religious subjects. They waited for him several days, firing guns and sounding trumpets, but in vain; the noise of the sea was so great, that no other sound could be heard. Concluding that he was dead, they quitted the place after sixteen days, intending to examine that extensive bay on the west of their peninsula, to which they gave the name of La Baye Francoise; but which is now called the Bay of Fundy. The priest was afterwards found alive but almost starved to death.

On the eastern side of this bay they discovered a narrow strait, into which they entered, and soon found themselves in a spacious bason, environed with hills, from which descended streams of fresh water; and between the hills ran a fine navigable river, which they called L'Equille. It was bordered with fertile meadows, and full of delicate fish. Poutrincourt, charmed with the beauty of the place, determined here to make his residence, and having received a grant of it from De Monts, gave it the name of Port Royal [Annapolis.]

From Port Royal, De Monts sailed farther into the great bay, to visit a copper mine. It was a high rock, on a promontory, between two bays. [Menis.] The copper, though mixed with stone, was very pure, resembling that called Rozette copper. Among these stones they found chrystals, and a certain shining stone of a blue color. Specimens of these stones were sent to the king.

In farther examining the bay they came to a great river, which they called St. John's, full of islands, and swarming with fish. Up this river they sailed fifty leagues, and were extremely delighted with the vast quantity of grapes which grew on its banks. By this river they imagined that a shorter communication might be had with the Baye de Chaleur and the port of Tadousac, than by the sea.

From the river St. John they coasted the bay southwesterly, till they came to an island in the middle of a river which Champlain had previously explored. Finding its situation safe and convenient, De Monts resolved there to build a fort and pass the winter. To this island he gave the name of St. Croix;* because that

* This is a station of much importance. It has given rise to a controversy between the United States and the British government, which is not yet terminated. I shall therefore give a description of this island and its surrounding waters, from a translation of Mark Lescarbot's history of the voyages of De Monts, in which he himself was engaged, and therefore had seen the place which he describes. This translation is to be found at large in Churchill's Collections, vol. viii. 796. and an abridgment of it in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. v. 1619.

"Leaving St. John's river, they came, following the coast twenty leagues from that place, to a great river, which is properly sea, [i. e. salt water] where they fortified themselves in a little island seated in the midst of this river, which the said Champlain had been to discover and view. And, seeing it strong by nature, and of easy defence and keeping; besides that the season began to slide away, and therefore it was behoveful to provide of lodging, without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there.

"Before we speak of the ship's return to France, it is need

two leagues higher there were brooks which "came cross-wise to fall within this large branch of the sea."

The winter proved severe, and the people suffered so much by the scurvy, that thirty-six of them died; the remaining forty, who were all sick, lingered till the spring, (1605,) when they recovered by means of the fresh vegetation. The remedy which Cartier had found in Canada was here unknown.

As soon as his men were recovered, De Monts resolved to seek a comfortable station in a warmer climate. Having victualled and armed his pinnace, he sailed along the coast to Norombago, a name which had been given by some European adventurers to the Bay of Penobscot; from thence he sailed to Kennebec, Casco, Saco, and finally came to Malebarre, as Cape Cod was then called by the French. In some of the places which he had passed, the land was inviting, and particular notice was taken of the grapes; but the savages appeared numerous, unfriendly and thievish. De Monts' company being small, he preferred safety to pleasure, and returned first to St. Croix, and then to Port Royal; where he found Dupont, in a ship from France, with fresh supplies, and a reinforcement of forty men. The stores which had been deposited at St. Croix were removed across the bay, but the buildings were left standing. New houses were erected at the mouth of the river which runs into the basin of Port Royal: there the stores and people were lodged; and De Monts having put his affairs in as good order as possible, in the month of September embarked for France, leaving Dupont as his lieutenant, with Champlain and Champdore to perfect the settlement, and explore the country.

During the next winter they were plentifully supplied by the savages with venison, and a great trade was carried on for furs. Nothing is said of the scurvy; but they had short allowance of bread; not by reason of any scarcity of corn, but because they had no other mill to grind it than the hand-mill, which required hard and continual labor. The savages were so averse to this exercise, that they preferred hunger to the task of grinding corn, though they were offered half of it in payment. Six men only died in the course of this winter.

In the spring of 1606, Dupont attempted to find what De Monts had missed in the preceding year, a more southerly settlement. His bark was twice forced back with adverse winds: and the third time was driven on rocks and bilged at the mouth of the port. The men and stores were saved; but the vessel was lost. These fruitless attempts proved very discouraging; but Dupont employed his people in building a bark and shallop, that they might employ themselves in visiting the ports, whither their countrymen resort to dry their fish, till new supplies should arrive.

De Monts and Poutrincourt were at that time in France, preparing, amidst every discouragement, for another voyage. On the thirteenth of May, they sailed from Rochelle, in a ship of one hundred and fifty tons; and on the 27th of July arrived at Port Royal, in the absence of Dupont, who had left two men only to guard the fort. In a few days he arrived, having met with one of their boats which they had left at Canseau, and great was the joy on both sides at their meeting.

Poutrincourt now began his plantation; and having cleared a spot of ground, within fifteen days he sowed European corn and several sorts of garden vegetables. But notwithstanding the beauty and fertility of Port Royal, De Monts had still a desire to find a better place to the southward. He therefore prevailed on Poutrincourt to make another voyage to Cape Malebarre; and so earnest was he to have this matter accomplished, that he would not wait till the next spring, but prepared a bark to go to the southward as soon as the ship was ready to sail.

On the 28th of August, the ship and the bark both sailed from Port Royal. In the ship, De Monts and Dupont returned to France; whilst Poutrincourt, Champlain, Champdore and others crossed the bay to St. Croix, and thence sailed along the coast, touching at many harbors in their way till they arrived in sight of the Cape, the object of their voyage. Being entangled among the shoals, their rudder was broken and they were obliged to come to anchor, at the distance of three leagues from the land. The boat was then sent ashore to find a harbor of fresh water; which by the information of one of the natives was accomplished. Fifteen days were spent in this place; during which time a cross was erected, and possession taken for the King of France; as De Monts had done two years before at Kennebec. When the bark was repaired and ready to sail, Poutrincourt took a walk into the country, whilst his people were baking bread. In his absence some of the natives visited his people and stole a hatchet. Two guns were fired at them and they fled. In his return he saw several parties of the savages, male and female, carrying away their children and their corn, and hiding themselves as he and his company passed. He was alarmed at this strange appearance; but much more so, when early the next morning a shower of arrows came flying among his people, two of whom were killed and several others wounded. The savages having taken their revenge, fled; and it was in vain to pursue them. The dead were buried at the foot of the cross; and whilst the funeral service was performing, the savages were dancing and yelling in mock concert at a convenient distance, but within hearing. When the French retired on board their bark, the savages took down the cross, dug up the bodies and stripped them of their grave clothes, which they carried off in triumph.

This unhappy quarrel gave Poutrincourt a bad idea of the natives. He attempted to pass farther round the cape, but was prevented by contrary winds, and forced back to the same harbor, where the savages offering to trade, six or seven of them were seized and put to death.

The next day another attempt was made to sail farther; but the wind came against them. At the distance of six or seven leagues they discovered an island; but the wind would not permit them to approach it; they therefore gave it the name of Douteuse, or Doubtful. This was probably either Nantucket or Capawock, now called Martha's Vineyard; and if so, the contest with the Indians was on the south shore of Cape Cod, where are several harbors and streams of fresh water. To the harbor where he lay, he gave the name of Port Fortune.

It was now late in the season and no prospect appeared of obtaining any better place for a settlement; besides, he had two wounded men whose lives were in danger. He therefore determined to return, which he did by the shortest and most direct course; and after a perilous voyage, in which the rudder was again broken, and the bark narrowly escaped shipwreck, he arrived at Port Royal on the 14th of November.

The manner in which they spent the third winter was social and festive. At the principal table, to which fifteen persons belonged, an order was established, by the name of L'order de bon temps. Every one took his turn to be caterer and steward, for one day, during which he wore the collar of the order and a napkin, and carried a staff. After supper he resigned his accoutrements, with the ceremony of drinking a cup of wine, to the next in succession. The advantage of this institution was, that each one was emulous to be prepared for his day, by previously hunting or fishing, or purchasing fish and game of the natives, who constantly resided among them, and were extremely pleased with their manners.

Four only died in this winter; and it is remarked that these were "sluggish and fretful." The winter was mild and fair. On a Sunday in the middle of January, after divine service, they "sported and had music on the river;" and the same month they went two leagues, to see their corn-field, and dined cheerfully in the sun shine.

At the first opening of the spring (1607) they began to prepare gardens; the produce of which was extremely grateful; as were also the numberless fish which came into the river. They also erected a water-mill, which not only saved them much hard labor at the hand-mill, but gave them more time for fishing. The fish which they took were called herrings and pilchards; of which they pickled several hogsheads to be sent home to France.

In April they began to build two barks, in which they might visit the ports frequented by the fishermen, and learn some news from their mother country, as well as get supplies for their subsistence. Having no pitch to pay the seams, they were obliged to cut pine trees and burn them in kilns, by which means they obtained a sufficiency.

On Ascension day a vessel arrived from France, destined to bring supplies; a large share of which, the crew had ungenerously consumed during their voyage. The letters brought by this vessel informed them that the company of merchants, associated with De Monts, was discouraged; and that their ship was to be employed in the fishery at Canseau. The reason of this proceeding was, that contrary to the king's edict, the Hollanders had intruded themselves into their fur trade in the river of Canada, having been conducted by a treacherous Frenchman; in consequence of which the king had revoked the exclusive privilege which he had given to De Monts for ten years. The avarice of these Hollanders was so great, that they had opened the graves of the dead, and taken the beaver skins in which the corpses had been buried. This outrage was so highly resented by the savages at Canseau, that they killed the person who had shown the places where the dead were laid. This news was extremely unwelcome, as it portended the destruction of the colony.

Poutrincourt however was so well pleased with his situation, that he determined to return to it, though none but his own family should accompany him. He was very desirous to see the issue of his attempt at agriculture, and therefore detained the vessel as long as he could, and employed his bark in small voyages about the bay, to trade for furs and gather specimens of iron and copper to be transported to France. When they were all ready to sail, he tarried eleven days longer than the others, that he might carry home the first fruits of his harvest. Leaving the buildings and part of the provision with the standing corn, as a present to the friendly natives, he finally sailed from Port Royal, on the 11th of August, and joined the other vessels at Canseau; from which place he proceeded to France, where they arrived in the latter end of September.

Specimens of the wheat, rye barley, and oats were shown the king; which, with other productions of the country, animal and mineral, were so highly acceptable, that he renewed and confirmed to De Monts the privilege of trading for beavers, that he might have it in his power to establish a colony. In consequence of which the next spring several families were sent to renew the plantation, who found that the savages had gathered several barrels of the corn which had been left standing; and had reserved one for their friends whom they expected to return.

The revocation of the exclusive patent given to De Monts, was founded on complaints made by the masters of fishing vessels, that the branch of commerce in

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to tell you, how hard the isle of St. Croix is to be found out, to them that were never there. For there are so many isles and great bays to go by [from St. John's] before one be at it, that I wonder how one might ever pierce so far as to find it. There are three or four mountains, eminent above the others, on the sides; but on the north side, from whence the river runneth down, there is but a sharp pointed one, about two leagues distant. The woods of the mainland are fair and admirable high, and well grown, as in like manner is the grass. There is right over against the island fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable; where divers of Mons. De Monts men did their business, and builded there certain cabins. As for the nature of the ground, it is most excellent, and most abundantly fruitful. For the said Mons. De Monts having caused there some piece of ground to be tilled, and the same sowed with rye; he was not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and notwithstanding the grain fallen hath grown and increased so wonderfully, that two years after, we reaped and did gather of it as fair, big, and weighty as in France, which the soil has brought forth without any tillage; and yet at this present [1609] it doth continue still to multiply every year.

"The said island containeth some half a league in circuit, and at the end of it, on the sea side, there is a mount, or small hill, which is, as it were, a little isle, severed from the other, where Mons. de Monts his cannon were placed. There is also a little chappel, built after the savage fashion. At the foot of which chappel there is such store of muscles as is wonderful, which may be gathered at low water, but they are small.

"Now let us prepare and hoist up sails. Mons. de Poutrincourt made the voyage into these parts, with some men of good sort, not to winter there; but as it were to seek out his seat, and find out a land that might like him. Which he having done, had no need to sojourne there any longer. So then, the ships being ready for the return, he shipped himself, and those of his company in one of them.

"During the foresaid navigation, Mons. de Monts his people, did work about the fort; which he seated at the end of the island, opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the river up and down. But there was an inconvenience; the said fort did lie toward the north, and without any shelter, but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down.

"The most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy fathe being come, that is to say winter, then they were forced to keep within doors, and to live every one at his home. During which time, our men had three special discommodities in this island, want of wood (for that which was in the said isle was spent in buildings), lack of fresh water, and the continual watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the savages that had lodged themselves at the foot of said island, or some other enemy. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such, that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels. When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over the river, which is thrice as broad of every side as the river of Seine."

By a gentlemen who resided several years in those parts, I have been informed, that an island which answers to the description lies in the eastern part of the Bay of Passamaquoddy; and there the river St. Croix was supposed to be by the commissioners who negotiated the peace in 1783, who had Mitchel's map before them; but in a map of the coast of New England and Nova Scotia, published in London, 1787, by Robert Sayer, and said to be drawn by Captain Holland, the river St. Croix is laid down at the western part of the bay; the breadth of which is about six or seven leagues.

which they were engaged would be ruined. When this patent was restored, it was limited to one year; and on this condition, that he should make an establishment in the river St. Lawrence. De Monts therefore quitted his connexion with Acadia, and the company of merchants, with whom he had been connected, fitted out two ships for the port of Tadousac, in 1608. The fur trade was of very considerable value, and the company made great profits; but De Monts finding their interests hurt by his connexion with them, withdrew from the association.

Poutrincourt resolving to prosecute his plantation at Port Royal, the grant of which had been confirmed to him by the king, sent Biencourt, his son, to France, (1608) for a supply of men and provisions. One condition of the grant was, that attempts should be made to convert the natives to the Catholic faith, it was therefore necessary to engage the assistance of some ecclesiastics. The first who embraced the proposal were the Jesuits, by whose zealous exertions a contribution was soon made for the purpose; and two of their order, Biard and Masse, embarked for the new plantation. It was not long before a controversy arose between them and the proprietor, who said "it was his part to *rule* them on earth, and theirs only to *guide* him to heaven." After his departure for France, his son Biencourt, disdaining to be controled by those whom he had invited to reside with him, threatened them with corporeal punishment, in return for their spiritual anathemas. It became necessary then that they should separate. The Jesuits removed to Mount Desart, where they planted gardens and entered on the business of their mission, which they continued till 1613 or 1614; when Sir Samuel Argal from Virginia broke up the French settlements in Acadia. In the encounter one of these Jesuits was killed and the other was made prisoner. Of the other Frenchmen, some dispersed themselves in the woods and mixed with the savages; some went to the river St. Lawrence and strengthened the settlement which Champlain had made there; and others returned to France.

Two advantages were expected to result from establishing a colony in the river St. Lawrence; one was an extension of the fur trade, and another was the hope of penetating westward, through the lakes, to the Pacific ocean, and finding a nearer communication with China. One of the vessels sent by the company of merchants, in 1608, to that river was commanded by Champlain. In his former voyage he had marked the strait above the Isle of Orleans, as a proper situation for a fort; because the river was there contracted in its breadth, and the northern shore was high and commanding. He arrived there in the beginning of July, and immediately began to clear the woods, to build houses, and prepare fields and gardens. Here he spent the winter, and his company suffered much by the scurvy. The remedy which Cartier had used, was not to be found, or the savages knew nothing of it. It is supposed that the former inhabitants had been extirpated, and a new people held possession.

In the spring of 1609, Champlain, with two other Frenchmen and a party of the natives, went up the river, now called Sorel, and entered the lakes, which lie toward the south, and communicate with the country of the Iroquois. To the largest of these lakes Champlain gave his own name, which it has ever since retained. On the shore of another which he called Lake Sacrament, now Lake George, they were discovered by a company of the Iroquois, with whom they had a skirmish. Champlain killed two of them with his musket. The scalps of fifty were taken and brought to Quebec in triumph.

In the autumn, Champlain went to France, leaving Capt. Pierre to command; and in 1610 he returned to Quebec, to perfect the colony, of which he may be considered as the founder.

After the death of Henry IV, he obtained of the Queen Regent, a commission as lieutenant of New France, with very extensive powers. This commission was confirmed by Lewis XIII; and Champlain was continued in the government of Canada.

The religious controversies, which prevailed in France, augmented the number of colonists. A settlement was made at Trois Rivieres, and a brisk trade was carried on at Tadousac. In 1626, Quebec began to assume the face of a city, and the fortress was rebuilt with stone; but the people were divided in their religious principles, and the Hugonot party prevailed.

In this divided state, (1629) the colony was attacked by an armament from England under the conduct of Sir David Kirk. He sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and appeared before Quebec, which was then so miserably supplied, that they had but seven ounces of bread to a man for a day. A squadron from France, with provision for their relief, entered the river; but, after some resistance, was taken by the English. This disappointment increased the distress of the colony and obliged Champlain to capitulate. He was carried to France in an English ship; and there found the minds of the people divided, with regard to Canada; some thinking it not worth regaining, as it had cost the government vast sums, without bringing any return; others deeming the fishery and fur trade to be great national objects, especially as they proved to be a nursery for seamen. These sentiments, supported by the solicitation of Champlain, prevailed; and by the treaty of St. Germain's, in 1632, Canada, Acadia and Cape Breton were restored to France.

The next year Champlain resumed his government, and the company of New France were restored to their former rights and privileges. A large recruit of inhabitants, with a competent supply of Jesuits, arrived from France; and with some difficulty a mission was established among the Hurons; and a seminary of the order was begun at Quebec. In the midst of this prosperity Champlain died, in the month of December, 1635; and was succeeded the next year by De Montmagny.

Champlain is characterized as a man of good sense, strong penetration and upright views; volatile, active, enterprising, firm and valiant. He aided the Hurons in their wars with the Iroquois, and personally engaged in their battles; in one of which he was wounded. His zeal for the propagation of the Catholic religion was so great that it was a common saying with him, that "the salvation of one soul was of more value than the conquest of an empire."

FERDINANDO GORGES, AND JOHN MASON.

FERDINANDO GORGES—His perseverance—His defence before the Commons—His complaint against the Dutch—His expense and loss—His misfortunes and death—JOHN MASON—is connected with Gorges—His plantation at Piscataqua—His great expense and loss—Massachusetts Colony established—Independency of the Colony suspected—Province of Maine—Its plan of government—Protected by Massachusetts—Purchased by Massachusetts.

We know nothing concerning Gorges in the early part of his life. The first account we have of him, is the discovery which he made of a plot which the Earl of Essex had laid to overthrow the government of Queen Elizabeth, the tragical issue of which is too well known to be here repeated. Gorges, who had been privy to the conspiracy at first, communicated his knowledge of it to Sir Walter Raleigh, his intimate friend, but the enemy and rival of Essex.

There was not only an intimacy between Raleigh and Gorges, but a similarity in their genius and employment; both were formed for intrigue and adventure; both were indefatigable in the prosecution of their sanguine projects; and both were naval commanders.

During the war with Spain, which occupied the last years of Queen Elizabeth, Gorges, with other adventurous spirits, found full employment in the navy of their mistress. When the peace, which her successor, James I. made in 1604, put an end to their hopes of honor and fortune by military enterprises, Sir Ferdinando was appointed Governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. This circumstance, by which the spirit of adventure might seem to have been repressed, proved the occasion of its breaking out with fresh ardor, though in a pacific and mercantile form, connected with the rage for foreign discoveries, which after some interruption, had again seized the English nation.

Lord Arundel, of Wardour, had employed a Captain Weymouth in search of a northwest passage to India. This navigator having mistaken his course, fell in with a river on the coast of America, which, by his description, must have been either Kennebec, or Penobscot. From thence he brought to England, five of the natives, and arrived in the month of July, 1605, in the harbor of Plymouth, where Gorges commanded, who immediately took three of them into his family. Their names were Manida, Sketwarroes and Tasquantum; they were all of one language, though not of the same tribe. This accident proved the occasion, under God's providence, of preparing the way for a more perfect discovery than had yet been made of this part of North America.

Having gained the affections of these savages by kind treatment, he found them very docile and intelligent; and from them he learned by inquiry, many particulars concerning their country, its rivers, harbors, islands, fish and other animals; the numbers, disposition, manners and customs of the natives; their government, alliances, enemies, force and methods of war. The result of these inquiries served to feed a sanguine hope of indulging his genius and advancing his fortune by a more thorough discovery of the country.

His chief associate in this plan of discovery, was Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who, by his acquaintance with divers noblemen, and by their interest at court, obtained from King James a patent for making settlements in America which was now divided into two districts, and called North and South Virginia. The latter of these districts was put under the care of certain noblemen, knights, and gentlemen who were styled the London Company; the former under the direction of others in Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth, who were called the Plymouth Company, because their meetings were usually held there.

By the joint efforts of this company, of which Popham and Gorges were two of the most enterprising members, a ship, commanded by Henry Chalong, was fitted out, and sailed in August, 1606, for the discovery of the country from which the savages had been brought, and two of them were put on board. The orders given to the master were to keep in as high a latitude as Cape Breton till he should discover the main land, and then to range the coast southward till he should find the place from which the natives had been taken. Instead of observing these orders, the captain falling sick on the passage, made a southern course, and first arrived at the island of Porto Rico, where he tarried some time for the recovery of his health; from thence, coming northwardly, he fell in with a Spanish fleet from the Havannah, by whom the ship was seized and carried to Spain.

Captain Prynne, in another ship which sailed from Bristol, with orders to find Chalong, and join with him in a survey of the coast, had better success; for though he failed of meeting his consort, yet he carried home a particular account of the coasts, rivers, and harbors, with other information relative to the country, which made so deep an impression on the minds of the company, as to strengthen their resolution of prosecuting their enterprise.

It was determined to send over a large number of people sufficient to begin a colony. For this purpose George Popham was appointed president; Raleigh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlon, master of ordnance; Robert Davis, serjeant-major; Elis Best, marshal; Mr. Seamen, secretary; James Davies, commander of the fort; Gome Carew, searcher. All these were to be of the council; and besides these, the colony consisted of one hundred men, who were styled planters. They sailed from Plymouth in two ships, May 31, 1607, and having fallen in with the island of Monahigon, August 11, landed at the mouth of Sagadahock, or Kennebec river, on a peninsula, where they erected a storehouse, and having fortified it as well as their circumstances would admit, gave it the name of Fort St. George.

By means of two natives whom they brought with them to England, viz. Sketwarroes, sent by Gorges, and Dehamida, by Popham, they found a cordial welcome among the Indians, their sachems offering to conduct and introduce them to the Bashaba, or great chief, whose residence was at Penobscot, and to whom, it was expected, that all strangers should make their address.*

The president, having received several invitations, was preparing to comply with their request, and had advanced some leagues on his way, but contrary winds and bad weather obliged him to return, to the great grief of the sachems, who were to have attended him. The Bashaba hearing of their disappointment, sent his son to visit the president, and settle a trade for furs.

The ships departed for England in December, leaving behind them only 45 persons of the new colony. The season was too far advanced before their arrival to begin planting for that year, if there had been ground prepared for tillage. They had to subsist on the provisions which they had brought from England, and the fish and game which the country afforded. The severity of an American winter was new to them; and

* The Bashaba of Penobscot was a prince superior in rank to the sachems of the several tribes. All the sachems westward as far as Naumkeeg (Salem), acknowledged subjection to him. He is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first voyages to New England; but was killed by the Tarratenes in 1615, before any effectual settlement was made in the country. We have no account of any other Indian chief in these northern parts of America, whose authority was so extensive.

though it was observed that the same winter was uncommonly severe in England, yet that circumstance being unknown could not alleviate their distress. By some accident their storehouse took fire, and was consumed with the greater part of their provisions, in the middle of the winter; and in the spring of 1688, they had the additional misfortune to lose their president, Captain Popham, by death. The ship which their friends in England by their united exertions sent over with supplies, arrived a few days after with the melancholy news of the death of Sir John Popham, which happened while she lay waiting for a wind at Plymouth The command of the colony now devolved on Gilbert, but the next ship brought an account of the death of his brother, Sir John Gilbert, which obliged him to return to England, to take care of the estate to which he succeeded. These repeated misfortunes and disappointments, operating with the disgust which the new colonists had taken to the climate and soil, determined them to quit the place. Accordingly, having embarked with their president, they returned to England, carrying with them, as the fruit of their labor, a small vessel, which they had built during their residence here, and thus the first colony which was attempted in New England, began and ended in one year.

The country was now branded as intolerably cold, and the body of the adventurers relinquished the design. Sir Francis Popham, indeed, employed a ship for some succeeding years in the fishing and fur trade; but he, at length became content with his losses, and none of this company but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had the resolution to surmount all discouragements. Though he sincerely lamented the loss of his worthy friend, the Chief Justice, who had zealously joined him in these hitherto fruitless, but expensive, labors; yet, "as to the coldness of the clime (he says,) he had too much experience in the world to be frighted with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder, were plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities than these parts afford, if like industry, art and labor be used."

Such persevering ardor in the face of so many discouragements, must be allowed to discover a mind formed for enterprise, and fully persuaded of the practicability of the undertaking.

When he found that he could not be seconded in his attempts for a thorough discovery of the country by others, he determined to carry it on by himself; and for this purpose he purchased a ship, and engaged with a master and crew to go to the coast of New England for the purpose of fishing and traffic, the only inducement which seafaring people could have to undertake such a voyage. On board this ship he put Richard Vines, and several others of his own servants, in whom he placed the fullest confidence, and whom he hired at a great expense to stay in the country over the winter, and pursue the discovery of it. These persons having left the ship's company to follow their usual occupation on the coast, travelled into the land, and meeting with the savages who had before returned to America, by their assistance became acquainted with such particulars as Gorges wished to know.

Mr. Vines and his companions were received by the Indians with great hospitality, though their residence among them was rendered hazardous, both by a war which raged among them, and by a pestilence which accompanied or succeeded it.

This war and pestilence are frequently spoken of by the historians of New England as remarkable events in the course of Providence, which prepared the way for the establishment of an European colony. Concerning the war, we know nothing more than this, that it was begun by the Tarratenes, a nation who resided eastward of Penobscot. These formidable people surprised the Bashaba, or chief sachem, at his head quarters, and destroyed him with all his family; upon which all the other sachems who were subordinate to him, quarrelled among themselves for the sovereignty; and in these dissensions many of them as well as of their unhappy people perished. Of what particular kind the pestilence was, we have no certain* information; but it seems to have been a disorder peculiar to the Indians, for Mr. Vines and his companions, who were intimately conversant with them, and frequently lodged in their wigwams, were not in the least degree affected by it, though it swept off the Indians at such a prodigious rate, that the living were not able to bury the dead, and their bones were found several years after lying about the villages where they had resided. The extent of this pestilence was between Penobscot in the east, and Narraganset in the west. These two tribes escaped, while the intermediate people were wasted and destroyed.

The information which Vines obtained for Sir Ferdinando, though satisfactory in one view, produced no real advantage proportionate to the expense. Whilst he was deliberating by what means he should farther prosecute his plan of colonization, Captain Henry Harley, who had been one of the unfortunate adventurers to Sagadahock, came to him, bringing a native of the Island Capawock, now called Martha's Vineyard, who had been treacherously taken from his own country by one of the fishing ships and shown in London as a sight. Gorges received this savage, whose name was Epenow, with great pleasure; and about the same time recovered Assacumet, one of those who had been sent in the unfortunate voyage of Captain Chalong. These two Indians at first scarcely understood each other; but when they had grown better acquainted, Assacumet informed his old master of what he had learned from Epenow concerning his country. This artful fellow had invented a story of a *mine of gold* in his native island, which he supposed would induce some adventurer to employ him as a pilot, by which means he hoped to get home, and he was not disappointed in his expectation.

Gorges had engaged the Earl of Southampton, then commander of the Isle of Wight, to advance one hundred pounds, and Captain Hobson another hundred, and also to go on the discovery. With this assistance, Harley sailed in June, 1614, carrying with him several land soldiers and the two before mentioned Indians, with a third named Wanape, who had been sent to Gorges from the Isle of Wight. On the arrival of the ship, she was soon piloted to the island of Capawock, and to the harbor where Epenow was to perform his promise. The principal inhabitants of the place, with some of his own kinsmen, came on board, with whom he held a conference, and contrived his escape. They departed, promising to return the next day with furs for traffic. Epenow had pretended that if it were known that he had discovered the secrets of his country, his life would be in danger; but the company were careful to watch him; and to prevent his escape, had dressed him in long clothes, which could easily be laid hold of, if there should be occasion. His friends appeared the next morning in twenty canoes, and lying at a distance, the captain called them to come on board, which they declining, Epenow was ordered to renew the invitation. He, mounting the forecastle, hailed them as he was directed, and at the same instant, though one held him by the coat, yet being strong and heavy, he jumped into the water. His countrymen then advanced to receive him, and sent a shower of arrows into the ship, which so disconcerted the crew, that the prisoner completely effected his escape. Thus the golden dream vanished, and the ship returned without having performed any services adequate to the expense of her equipment.

The Plymouth Company were much discouraged by the ill success of this adventure; but the spirit of emulation between them and the London Company proved very serviceable to the cause in which they were jointly engaged. For these having sent out four ships under the command of Michael Cooper, to South Virginia, January, 1615, and Captain John Smith, who had been employed by that company, having returned to England, and engaged with the company at Plymouth, their hopes revived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in concert with Dr. Sutliffe, Dean of Exeter, and several others, equipped two vessels, one of two hundred, the other of fifty tons, on board of which (besides the compliment of seamen) were sixteen men who were destined to begin a colony in New England. March, 1615, when they had selled one hundred and twenty leagues, the large ship had lost her masts, and sprung a leak; which obliged them to put back under jury masts to Plymouth. From thence Smith sailed again, (June 24) in a bark of sixty tons, carrying the same sixteen men; but on this second voyage, was taken by four French men-of-war, and carried to France. The vessel of fifty tons, which had been separated from him pursued her voyage, and returned in safety; but the main design of the voyage, which was to effect a settlement was frustrated.

The same year (October) Sir Richard Hawkins, by authority of the Plymouth Company, of which he was president for that year, visited the coast of New England, to try what services he could do them in searching the country, and its commodities; but on his arrival, finding the natives engaged in war, he passed along the coast to Virginia, and from thence returned to England, by the way of Spain, where he disposed of the fish, which he had taken in the voyage.

After this, ships were sent every season by the London and Plymouth Companies on voyages of profit; their fish and furs came to a good market in Europe, but all the attempts which were made to colonize North Virginia, by some unforeseen accidents failed of success. Gorges, however, had his mind still invariably bent on his original plan, and every incident which seemed to favor his views, was eagerly improved for that purpose. Being possessed of the journals and letters of the several voyagers, and of all the information which could be had, and being always at hand to attend the meetings of the company, he contrived to keep alive their hopes, and was the prime mover in all their transactions.

About this time, Captain Thomas Dermer, who had been employed in the American fishery, and had entered fully into the same views, offered his services to assist in prosecuting the discovery of the country. He was at Newfoundland, and Gorges prevailed on the company to send Captain Edward Rocraft, in a ship, to New England, with orders to wait there till he should be joined by Dermer. Rocraft, on his arrival, met with a French interloper, which he seized, and then sailed with his prize to South Virginia. In the mean time Dermer went to England, and having conferred with Gorges and the company on the intended discovery, went out in a ship which Gorges himself owned, hoping to meet with Rocraft, but was much perplexed at not finding him.

Having ranged and examined every part of the coast, and made many useful observations, which he transmitted to Gorges, he shaped his course for Virginia,* where Rocraft had been killed in a quarrel, and his bark sunk. Dermer being thus disappointed of his consort, and of his expected supplies, returned to the northward. At the island of Capawock, he met with Epenow, who knowing him to be employed by Gorges, and suspecting that his errand was to bring him back to England, conspired with his countrymen, to seize him and his companions, several of whom were killed in the fray, Dermer defended himself with his sword, and escaped, though not without fourteen wounds, which obliged him to go again to Virginia where he died. The loss of this worthy man was the most discouraging circumstance which Gorges had met with, as he himself expresses it, "made him almost resolve never to intermeddle again in any of these courses," But he had in fact so deeply engaged in them, and had so many persons engaged with him. that he could not retreat with honor, whilst any hope of success remained. Soon after this, a prospect began to open from a quarter where it was least expected.

The patent of 1607, which divided Virginia into two colonies, expressly provided that neither company should begin any plantation within one hundred miles of the other. By this interdiction the middle region of North America was neglected, and a bait was laid to attract the attention of foreigners.

The adventurers to South Virginia had prohibited all who were not free of their company from planting or trading within their limits; the northern company had made no such regulations; by this means it happened that the South Virgin a ships could fish on the northern coast, whilst the other company were excluded from all the privileges in the southern parts. The South Virginians had also made other regulations in the management of their business, which the northern com, any were desirous to imitate. They thought the most effectual way to do this, was to procure an exclusive patent. With this view, Gorges, ever active to promote the interest which he had espoused, solicited of the crown a new charter, which, by the interest of his friends in court, was after some delay obtained. By this instrument, forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen, were incorporated by the style of "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America." The date of the charter was November 3, 1620. The territory subject to their jurisdiction was from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and from sea to sea. This charter is the foundation of all the grants which were made of the country of New England.

Before this division was made, a number of families, who were styled *Puritans*, on account of their seeking

* Mr. Geokin says, that "he had discoursed with some old Indians who were then youths, who told him, that the bodies of the sick were all over exceeding yellow, (which they described by pointing to a yellow garment,) both before they died and afterwards"

* It is said that he was the first who passed the whole extent of Long Island Sound, and discovered that it was not connected with the continent. This was in 1619.

a farther reformation of the Church of England, which they could not obtain, and who had retired into Holland to avoid the severity of the penal laws against dissenters, meditated a removal to America. The Dutch were fond of retaining them as their subjects, and made them large offers, if they would settle in some of their transmarine territories; but they chose rather to reside in the dominions of their native prince, if they could have liberty of conscience. They had, by their agents negotiated with the South Virginia Company, and obtained a permission to transport themselves to America, within their limits; but as to liberty of conscience, though they could obtain no indulgence from the crown under hand and seal, yet it was declared, that "the king would connive at them, provided they behaved peaceably." As this was all the favor which the spirit of the time would allow, they determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence, and venture to America. After several disasters, they arrived at Cape Cod in the 42d degree of north latitude, a place remote from the object of their intention, which was Hudson's river. The Dutch had their eye on that place, and bribed their pilot not to carry them thither. It was late in the season when they arrived; their permission from the Virginia Company was of no use here; and having neither authority nor form of government, they were obliged for the sake of order, before they disembarked, to form themselves into a body politic, by a written instrument. This was the beginning of the colony of New Plymouth; and this event happened (Nov. 11 1620) a few days after King James had signed the patent for incorporating the council. These circumstances served the interest of both, though then wholly unknown to each other. The council, being informed of the establishment of a colony within their limits, were fond of taking them into their protection, and the colony were equally desirous of receiving that protection as far as to obtain a grant of territory. An agent being despatched by the colony to England, Sir F. Gorges interested himself in the affair, and a grant was accordingly made (1623) to John Pierce, in trust for the colony. This was their first patent; they afterwards (1629) had another made to William Bradford and his associates.

One end which the council had in view, was, to prevent the access of unauthorised adventurers to the coast of New England. The crews of their ships, in their intercourse with the natives, being far from any established government, were guilty of great licentiousness. Besides drunkenness and debauchery, some flagrant enormities had been committed, which not only injured the reputation of Europeans, but encouraged natives to acts of hostility. To remedy these evils the council thought proper to appoint an officer to exercise government on the coast. The first person who was sent in this character, was Captain Francis West, who finding the fishermen too licentious and robust to be controlled by him, soon gave up this ineffectual command. They next appointed Captain Robert Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando. He was like his father, of an active and enterprising genius, and had newly returned from the Venetian war. He obtained of the council a patent for a tract of land on the northeastern side of Massachusetts Bay, containing thirty miles in length and ten in breadth, and by the influence of his father, and of his kinsman Lord Edward Gorges, he was despatched with a commision to be "Lieutenant-general and Governor of New England." They appointed for his council the aforesaid West, with Christopher Levet, and the Governor of New Plymouth for the time being. Gorges came to Plymouth in 1623, published his commisson, and made some efforts to execute it. He brought over with him as a chaplain William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman. This was the first essay for the establishment of a general government in New England, and Morrell was to have superintendence in ecclesiastical, as Gorges had in civil affairs; but he made no use of his commission at Plymouth; and only mentioned it in his conversation about the time of his departure.* This general government was a darling object with the Council of Plymouth, but was much dreaded by the planters of New England; however all the attempts which were made to carry it into execution failed of success. Gorges, after about a year's residence in the country, and holding one court at Plymouth, upon a Mr. Weston who had begun a plantation at Wessagusset, (Weymouth) where Gorges himself intended a settlement, was recalled to England, the supplies which he expected to have received having failed. This failure was owing to one of those cross accidents which continually befell the Council of Plymouth. Though the erection of this board was really beneficial to the nation, and gave a proper direction to the spirit of colonizing, yet they had to struggle with the opposing interests of various sorts of persons.

The Company of South Virginia, and indeed the mercantile interest in general, finding themselves excluded from the privilege of fishing and traffic, complained of this institution as a monopoly. The commons of England were growing jealous of the royal prerogative; and wishing to restrain it; the granting charters of incorporation with exclusive advantages of commerce was deemed a usurpation on the rights of the people. Complaints were first made to the king in council; but no disposition appeared there to countenance them. It happened however, that a parliament was called for some other purposes (February 1624) in which Sir Edward Cook was chosen speaker of the Commons. He was well known as an advocate for the liberties of the people, and an enemy to projectors. The king was at first in a good humor with his parliament, and advantage was taken of a demand for subsidies to bring in a bill against monopolies.

The House being resolved into a committee, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was called to the bar, where the speaker informed him, that the patent granted to the Council of Plymouth was complained of as a grievance; that under color of planting a colony, they were pursuing private gains; that though they respected him as a person of worth and honor, yet the public interest was to be regarded before all personal considerations; and therefore they required that the patent be delivered to the House. Gorges answered, that he was but one of the company, inferior in rank and abilities to many others; that he had no power to deliver it, without their consent, neither in fact, was it in his custody. Being asked where it was, he said, it was for aught he knew, still remaining in the crown-office, where it had been left for the amendment of some errors. As to the general charge he answered; that he knew not how it could be a public *grievance;* since it had been undertaken for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the bounds of the nation, the increase of trade, and the employment of many thousands of people; that it could not be a *monopoly;* for though a few only were interested in the business, it was because many could not be induced to adventure where their losses at first were sure, and their gains uncertain; and, indeed, so much loss had been sustained, that most of the adventurers themselves were weary; that as to the profit arising from the fishery it was never intended to be converted to private use, as might appear by the offers which they had made to all the maritime cities in the West of England; that the grant of exclusive privileges made by the crown, was intended to regulate and settle plantations, by the profits arising from the trade, and was in effect no more than many gentlemen and lords of manors in England enjoyed without offence. He added, that he was glad of an opportunity for such a parliamentary inquiry, and if they would take upon themselves the business of colonization, he and his associates would be their humble servants as far as lay in their power, without any retrospect to the vast expense which they had already incurred in discovering and taking possession of the country, and bringing matters to their then present situation. He also desired, that if any thing further was to be inquired into, it might be given him in detail with liberty of answering by his counsel.

A committee was appointed to examine the patent and make objections; which were delivered to Gorges; accompanied with a declaration from the speaker that he ought to look upon this as a favor. Gorges having acknowledged the favor, employed counsel to draw up answers to the objections. His counsel were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Finch, and Mr. Caltrup, afterwards attorney-general to the court of Wards. Though in causes where the crown and parliament are concerned as parties, counsel are often afraid of wading deeper than they can safely return; yet Gorges was satisfied with the conduct of his counsel, who fully answered the objections, both in point of law and justice; these answers being read, the House asked what further he had to say, upon which he added some observations in point of policy to the following effect:

That the adventurers had been at great cost and pains to enlarge the king's dominions; to employ many seamen, handicraftsmen, and laborers; to settle a flourishing plantation, and advance religion in these savage countries; matters of the highest consequence to the nation, and far exceeding all the advantage which could be expected from a simple course of fishing, which must soon have been given over, for that so valuable a country could not long remain unpossessed either by the French, Spaniards, or Dutch; so that if the plantations were to be given up, the fishery must inevitably be lost, and the honor, as well as interest of the nation, greatly suffer; that the mischief already done by the persons who were foremost in their complaints was intolerable; for in their disorderly intercourse with the savages, they had been guilty of the greatest excesses of debauchery and knavery, and in addition to all these immoralities, they had furnished them with arms and ammunition; by which they were enabled to destroy the peaceable fishermen, and had become formidable enemies to the planters.

He further added, that he had, in zeal for the interest of his country, deeply engaged his own estate, and sent one of his sons to the American coast, besides encouraging many of his friends to go thither; this he hoped would be an apology for his earnestness in this plea, as if he had shown less warmth, it might have been construed into negligence and ingratitude.

These pleas however earnest and rational, were to no purpose. The Parliament presented to the king the grievances of the nation, and the patent for New England was the first on the list. Gorges, however, had taken care that the king should be previously acquainted with the objections and answers; and James was so jealous of the prerogative, that though he gave his assent to a declaratory act against monopolies in general, yet he would not recall the patent. However, in deference to the voice of the nation, the council thought fit to suspend their operations. This proved for a while, discouraging to the spirit of adventure, and occasioned the recalling Robert Gorges from his government.

But the Parliament having proceeded with more freedom and boldness in their complaints than suited the feelings of James, he dissolved them in haste, before they could proceed to measures for remedying the disorders in church and state, which had been the subject of complaint; and some of the more liberal speakers were committed to prison. This served to damp the spirit of reformation, and prepared the way for another colony of emigrants to New England.

About the same time, the French ambassador put in a claim in behalf of his court to these territories, to which Gorges was summoned to answer before the king and council, which he did in so ample and convincing a manner, that the claim was for that time silenced. Gorges then, in the name of the Council of Plymouth, complained of the Dutch, as intruders on the English possessions in America, by making a settlement on Hudson's river. To this the States made answer, that if any such things had been done it was without their order, as they had only erected a company for the West Indies. This answer made the council resolve to prosecute their business and remove their intruders.

Hitherto Gorges appears in the light of a zealous, indefatigable and unsuccessful adventurer; but neither his labors, expense, nor ill success were yet come to a conclusion.

To entertain a just view of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, we must consider him both as a member of the Council of Plymouth, pursuing the general interest of American plantations; and at the same time as an adventurer undertaking a settlement of his own in a particular part of the territory which was subject to the jurisdiction of the council. Having formed an intimacy with Captain John Mason, governor of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, who was also a member of the council; and having (1622) jointly with him procured from the council a grant of a large extent of country, which they called Laconia, extending from the river Merrimack to Sagadahock, and from the ocean to the lakes and river of Canada, they indulged sanguine expectations of success. From the accounts given of the country by some romantic travellers, they had conceived an idea of it as a kind of terrestial paradise, not only *capable* of producing all the necessaries and conveniences of life but as already richly furnished by the bountiful hand of nature. The air was said to be pure and salubrious; the country pleasant and delightful, full of goodly forests fair valleys, and fertile plains; abounding in vines chesnuts, walnuts, and many other sorts of fruit; the rivers stored with fish and environed with goodly meadows full of timber trees. In the great lake (Lake Champlain) it was said were four islands, full of pleasant woods and meadows, having great store of stags, sallow deer, elks, roebucks, beavers and other game; and these islands were supposed to be commodiously

* This Morrell appears to have been a diligent inquirer into the state and circumstances of the country, its natural productions and advantages, the manners, customs, and government of the natives. The result of his observations he wrought into a poem, which he printed both in Latin and English.

situated for habitation and traffic, in the midst of a fine lake, abounding with the most delicate fish. This lake was thought to be less than 100 miles distant from the sea coast; and there was some secret expectation that mines and precious stones would be the reward of their patient and diligent attention to the business of discovery. Such were the charms of Laconia!

It has been before observed that Gorges had sent over Richard Vines, with some others, on a discovery, to prepare the way for a colony. The place which Vines pitched upon was at the mouth of the river Saco. Some years after, another settlement was made on the river of Agamenticus by Francis Norton, whom Gorges sent over with a number of other people, having procured for them a patent of 12,000 acres on the east side of the river, and 12,000 more on the west side; his son, Ferdinando Gorges being named as one of the grantees; this was the beginning of the town of York. Norton was a lieutenant-colonel, and had raised himself to that rank from a common soldier by his own merit. In this company were several artificers, who were employed in building saw-mills, and they were supplied with cattle and other necessaries for the business of getting lumber

About the same time (viz. 1623) a settlement was begun at the river Piscataqua by Captain Mason and several other merchants, among whom Gorges had a share. The principal design of these settlements was to establish a permanent fishery, to make salt, to trade with the natives, and to prepare lumber for exportation. Agriculture was but a secondary object, though in itself the true source of all opulence and all subsistence.

These attempts proved very expensive and yielded no adequate returns. The associates were discouraged, and dropped off one after another, till none but Gorges and Mason remained. Much patience was necessary, but in this case it could be grounded only on enthusiasm. It was not possible in the nature of things that their interest should be advanced by the manner in which they conducted their business. Their colonists came over either as tenants or as hired servants. The produce of the plantation could not pay their wages, and they soon became their own masters. The charge of making a settlement in such a wilderness was more than the value of the lands when the improvements were made: overseers were appointed, but they could not hold the tenants under command, nor prevent their changing places on every discontent. The proprietors themselves never came in person to superintend their interests, and no regular government was established to punish offenders or preserve order. For these reasons, though Gorges and Mason expended from first to last more than twenty thousand pounds each, yet they only opened the way for others to follow, and the money was lost to them and their posterity.

Whilst their private interest was thus sinking in America, the reputation of the council of which they were members lay under such disadvantage in England as tended to endanger their political existence. As they had been incorporated for the purpose not merely of granting lands, but of making actual plantations in America, they were fond of encouraging all attempts from whatever quarter, which might realize their views and expectations.

The ecclesiastical government at this time allowed no liberty to scrupulous consciences; for which reason, many who had hitherto been peaceable members of the national church, and wished to continue such, finding that no indulgence could be granted, turned their thoughts towards America, where some of their brethren had already made a settlement. They first purchased of the Council of Plymouth a large territory, and afterward obtained of the crown a charter, by which they were constituted a body politic within the realm. In June, 1630, they brought their charter to America, and began the colony of *Massachusetts*. This proved an effectual settlement, and the reasons which rendered it so were the zeal and ardor which animated their exertions; the wealth which they possessed, and which they converted into materials for a new plantation; but principally the *presence* of the adventurers themselves on the spot, where their fortunes were to be expended and their zeal exerted. The difference between a man's doing business by himself and by his substitutes, was never more fairly exemplified than in the conduct of the Massachusetts planters, compared with that of Sir Ferdinando Gorges: what the one had been laboring for above twenty years without any success, was realized by the others in two or three years; in five, they were so far advanced as to be able to send out a colony from themselves to begin another at Connecticut; and in less than ten, they founded an university which has ever since produced an uninterrupted succession of serviceable men in church and state.

The great number of people who flocked to this new plantation, raised an alarm in England. As they had manifested their discontent with the ecclesiastical government, it was suspected that they aimed at *independence*, and would throw off their allegiance to the crown. This jealousy was so strong, that a royal order was made to restrain any from coming hither who should not first take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and obtain a license for their removal.

To refute this jealous cavil against the planters of New England, we need only to observe, that at the time when they began their settlement, and for many years after, the lands which they occupied were objects of envy both to the Dutch and French. The Dutch claimed from Hudson, as far as Connecticut river, where they had erected a trading house. The French claimed all the lands of New England; and the governor of Port Royal, when he wrote to Governor Winthrop, directed his letters to him as *governor of the English at Boston in Acadia*. Had the New England planters thrown off their subjection to the crown of England they must have become a prey to one or the other of these rival powers Of this they were well aware, and if they had entertained any idea of independency, which they certainly did not (*nor did their successors till driven to it by Britain herself*) it would have been the most impolitic thing in the world to have avowed it, in the presence of neighbors with whom they did not wish to be connected.

This jealousy, however groundless, had an influence on the public councils of the nation, as well as on the sentiments of individuals, and contributed to increase the prejudice which had been formed against all who were concerned in the colonization of New England. The merchants still considered the Council of Plymouth, as monopolizing a lucrative branch of trade. The South Virginia Company disrelished their exclusive charter, and spared no pains to get it revoked. The popular party in the Commons regarded them as supporters of the prerogative, and under the royal influence. The high church party were incensed against them as enemies of prelacy, because they had favored the settlement of the Puritans within their territory; and the king himself suspected that the colonies in New England had too much liberty to consist with his notions of government. Gorges was looked upon as the author of all the mischief; and being publicly called upon, declared, "that though he had earnestly sought the interest of the plantations, yet he could not answer for the evils which had happened by them." It was extremely mortifying to him to find that after all his exertions and expenses in the service of the nation, he had become a very unpopular character, and had enemies on all sides.

To remedy these difficulties, he projected the resignation of the charter to the crown; and the division of the territory into twelve lordships, to be united under one general governor. As the charter of Massachusetts stood in the way of this project, he, in conjunction with Mason, petitioned the crown for a revocation of it. This brought on him the ill will of those colonists also, who from that time regarded him and Mason as their enemies. Before the council surrendered their charter, they made grants to some of their own members, of twelve districts, from Maryland to St. Croix, among which the district from Piscataqua to Sagadahock, extending one hundred and twenty miles northward into the country, was assigned to Gorges. In June, 1635, the council resigned their charter, and petitioned the king and the lords of the privy council for a confirmation of the several proprietary grants, and the establishment of a general government. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then three score years of age, was the person nominated to be the general governor. About this time, Mason, one of the principal actors in this affair, was removed by death; and a ship, which was intended for the service of the new government, fell and broke in launching. A *quo warranto* was issued against the Massachusetts charter, but the proceedings upon it were delayed, and never completed. An order of the king in council, was also issued in 1637, for the establishment of the general government, and Gorges was therein appointed governor; but the troubles in Scotland and England, at this time grew very serious and put a check to the business. Soon after, Archbishop Laud and some other lords of council, who were zealous in the affair, lost their authority, and the whole project came to nothing.

Gorges, however, obtained of the crown in 1639, a confirmation of his own grant, which was styled the *Province of Maine*, and of which he was made Lord Palatine with the same powers and privileges as the Bishop of Durham in the County Palatine of Durham. In virtue of these powers, he constituted a government within his said province, and incorporated the plantation at Agamenticus into a city, by the name of *Gorgeana*, of which his cousin, Thomas Gorges, was mayor, who resided there about two years, and then returned to England. The council for the administration of government were Sir Thomas Josselyn, Knight, Richard Vines, (Steward,) Francis Champernoon (a nephew to Gorges,) Henry Josselyn, Richard Bonnton, William Hooke, and Edward Godfrey.

The plan which he formed for the government of his province was this: It was to be divided into eight counties, and these into sixteen hundreds, the hundreds were to be subdivided into parishes and tythings, as the people should increase. In the absence of the proprietor a lieutenant was to preside. A chancellor was constituted for the decision of civil causes; a treasurer to receive the revenue, a marshal for managing the militia, and a marshal's court, for criminal matters; an admiral, and admiral's court, for maritime causes; a master of ordnance and a secretary. These officers were to be a standing council. Eight deputies were to be elected, one from each county, by the inhabitants, to sit in the same council; and all matters of moment were to be determined by the lieutenant with advice of the majority. This council were to appoint justices, to give licenses for the sale of lands subject to a rent of four pence or sixpence per acre. When any law was to be enacted or repealed, or public money to be raised, they were to call on the counties to elect each two deputies, "to join with the council in the performance of the service;" but nothing is said of their voting as a separate house. One lieutenant and eight justices were allowed to each county; two head constables to every hundred; one constable and four tythingmen to every parish; and in conformity to the institutions of King Alfred, each tythingman was to give an account of the demeanor of the families within his tything to the constable of the parish, who was to render the same to the head constables of the hundred, and they to the lieutenant and justices of the county; who were to take cognizance of all misdemeanors; and from them an appeal might be made to the proprietor's lieutenant and council.

Forms of government, and plans of settlement, are much more easily drawn on paper, than carried into execution. Few people could be induced to become tenants in the neighborhood of such a colony as Massachusetts, where all were freeholders. No provision was made for public institutions; schools were unknown, and they had no ministers, till in pity to their deplorable state, two went thither from Boston on a voluntary mission, and were well received by them The city of Gorgeana, though a lofty name, was in fact bnt an inconsiderable village; and there were only a few houses in some of the best places for navigation. The people were without order and morals, and it was said of some of them, that "they had as many shares in a *woman*, as they had in a fishing boat." Gorges himself complained of the prodigality of his servants, and had very little confidence in his own sons, for whose aggrandizement he had been laboring to establish a foundation. He had indeed erected saw-mills and corn-mills, and had received some acknowledgment in the way of rents, but lamented, that he had not reaped the "happy success of those who are their own stewards, and the disposers of their own affairs."

How long Gorges continued in his office as Governor of Plymouth, does not appear from any materials within my reach. In 1625, he commanded a ship of war in a squadron under the Duke of Buckingham, which was sent to the assistance of France, under pretence of being employed against the Genoese. But a suspicion having arisen that they were destined to assist Louis against his Protestant subjects at Rochelle, as soon as they were arrived at Dieppe, and found that they had been deceived, Gorges was the first to break his orders and return with his ship to England. The others followed his example, and their zeal for the Protestant religion was much applauded.

When the civil dissensions in England broke out into a war, Gorges took the royal side; and though then far advanced in years, engaged personally in the service of the crown. He was in Prince Rupert's army at the siege of Bristol, in 1643; and when that city was retaken in 1645 by the Parliament's forces, he was plundered and imprisoned. His political principles rendered him obnoxious to the ruling powers, and when it was necessary for him to appear before the commis-

sioners for foreign plantations, he was severely frowned upon and consequently discouraged.

The time of his death is uncertain; he is spoken of in the records of the province of Maine *as dead* in June, 1647. Upon his decease, his estate fell to his eldest son, John Gorges, who, whether discouraged by his father's ill success, or incapacitated by the severity of the times, took no care of the province, nor do we find any thing memorable concerning him. Most of the commissioners who had been appointed to govern the province deserted it; and the remaining inhabitants, in 1649, were obliged to combine for their own security. In 1651 they petitioned the Council of State, that they might be considered as part of the Commonwealth of England. The next year, upon the request of a great part of the inhabitants, the colony of Massachusetts, took them under their protection, being supposed to be within the limits of their charter; some opposition was made to this step, but the majority submitted or acquiesced; and considering the difficulties of the times, and the unsettled state of affairs in England, this was the best expedient for their security.

On the death of John Gorges, the propriety descended to his son, Ferdinando Gorges, of Westminster, who seems to have been a man of information and activity. He printed a description of New England in 1658, to which he annexed a narrative written by his grandfather; from which this account is chiefly compiled; but another piece which in some editions is tacked to these, entitled, "Wonder working Providences," was unfairly ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, though written by a Mr. Johnson, of Woburn, in New England.

On the restoration of King Charles II. Gorges petitioned the crown, complaining of the Massachusetts colony for usurping the government of Maine, and extending the boundary lines. In 1664 commissioners were sent to America, who finding the people in the province of Maine divided in their opinions with respect to matters of government, appointed justices in the king's name to govern them; and about the same time the proprietor nominated thirteen commissioners, and prepared a set of instructions, which were entered on the records of the province. But upon the departure of the royal commissioners, the colony resumed its jurisdiction over them. These two sources of government kept alive two parties, each of whom were always ready to complain of the other and justify themselves.

An inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts had been instituted in England, and the colony was ordered to send over agents to answer the complaints of Gorges, and Mason, the proprietor of New Hampshire, who had jointly proposed to sell their property to the crown, to make a government for the Duke of Monmouth. This proposal not being accepted, the colony themselves took the hint, and thought the most effectual way of silencing the complaint would be to make a purchase. The circumstances of the province of Maine were such as to favor their views. The Indians had invaded it; most of the settlements were destroyed or deserted, and the whole country was in trouble; the colony had afforded them all the assistance which was in their power, and they had no help from any other quarter. In the height of this calamity, John Usher, Esq., was employed to negotiate with Mr. Gorges for the purchase of the whole territory, which was effected in the year 1677. The sum of *twelve hundred and fifty pounds* sterling was paid for it, and it has ever since been a part of Massachusetts. It is now formed into two counties York and Cumberland; but the *District* of Maine, established by the laws of the United States, comprehends also the counties of Lincoln, Washington, and Hancock; extending from Piscataqua to St. Croix; a territory large enough when fully peopled to be formed into a distinct State.*

HENRY HUDSON.

HENRY HUDSON—He sails on a voyage of discovery—arrives at Sandy Hook—The first attempt to sail up the river made by him—Hostility of the natives—He returns to England—He again sails—Mutiny—Hudson's misfortunes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fruitless attempts which had been made to find a passage to India by the north, the idea was not given up; but it was supposed, that under the direction of some prudent, resolute and experienced commander, the object might yet be attained. A society of wealthy and sanguine adventurers in England, believed the practicability of the passage; and with a resolution and liberality almost unexampled, raised the money to carry on this expensive undertaking. They gave the command of the expedition to HENRY HUDSON, a seamen of enlarged views and long experience; in whose knowledge and intrepidity they could safely confide; and whose enterprising spirit was exceeded by none, and equalled by few of his contemporaries.

When the ship which they had destined for the voyage was ready, Hudson with his crew, according to the custom of seamen in that day, went to church, in April 19, 1607, and there partook of the Lord's Supper. On the 1st of May he sailed from Gravesend; and on the 21st of June discovered land, in lat. 73°, on the eastern coast of Greenland, which he called *Hold with Hope*.

His design was to explore the whole coast of Greenland, which he supposed to be an island, and, if possible, to pass round it, or else directly under the pole. But having sailed as far as the lat. of 82°, he found the sea obstructed by impenetrable ice, and was obliged to return to England, where he arrived on the 15th of September.

By this voyage more of the eastern coast of Greenland was explored than had ever before been known; and the island, afterward called Spitzbergen, was first discovered. It also opened the way to the English, and after them to the Dutch, to prosecute the whale fishery in those northern seas.

The next year the same company of adventurers resolved to make another attempt, and sent Hudson again to find a passage to the northeast. He sailed on the 22d of August, 1608. The highest latitude to which he advanced in this voyage, was 75° 30′. After having made several attempts to pass between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, which he found impracticable, the season was so far spent, and the winds so contrary, that he had not time to try the strait of Waygats, nor Lumley's Inlet; and therefore thought it his "duty to save victual, wages, and tackle, by a speedy return." He arrived at Gravesend on the 20th of August.*

After his return from his second voyage he went over to Holland, and entered into the service of the Dutch. Their East India Company fitted out a ship for discovery, and put him into the command.† He sailed from Amsterdam on the 25th of March, 1609.‡

The highest latitude which he made in this voyage was 61° 46′; where he found the sea in the neighborhood of Nova Zembla so filled with ice, and covered with fogs, that it was impossible to pass the strait of Waygats to the eastward. He therefore tacked and steered westerly, toward Greenland; intending to fall in with Buss Island, which had been seen by one of Frobisher's ships in 1578; but when he came into the latitude where it was laid down, he could not find it.

He then steered south-westerly; passed the banks of Newfoundland among the French ships which were fishing, without speaking with any of them; and sailed along the coast of America. In this route he discovered Cape Cod and landed there; then pursued his course to the south and west; making remarks on the soundings and currents, till he came to the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. Here he plied off and on for several days, and then turned again to the northward.

In his return along the coast, on the 28th of August, he discovered the great bay, now called Delaware, in the latitude of 39° 5′. In this bay he examined the soundings and currents, and the appearance of the land; but did not go on shore.

From this bay, passing along a low marshy coast skirted with broken islands, on the 2d September he saw high hills to the northward; which I suppose were the Neversinks in New Jersey.

On the 4th of September, he came to an anchor in "a very good harbor" in the latitude 40° 30′, which is the bay within Sandy Hook. On the 6th, the boat was sent to survey what appeared to be the mouth of a river, distant four leagues. This was the strait called the Narrows, between Long Island and Staten Island; here was a good depth of water; and within was a large opening, and a narrow river, to the west; the channel between Bergen Neck and Staten Island. As the boat was returning, it was attacked by some of the natives in two canoes. One man, John Colman, was killed; he was buried on a point of land, which, from that circumstance, was called Colman's point. It is probably Sandy Hook, within which the ship lay.

On the 11th, they sailed through the Narrows, and found a "good harbor secure from all winds." The next day, they turned against a N. W. wind, into the mouth of the river, which bears Hudson's name; and came to anchor two leagues within it. On these two days, they were visited by the natives, who brought corn, beans, oysters and tobacco. They had pipes of copper, in which they smoked; and earthen pots, in which they dressed their meat. Hudson would not suffer them to stay on board by night.

From the 12th to the 19th September, he sailed up the river; which he found about a mile wide and of a good depth, abounding with fish, among which were "great store of salmons." As he advanced, the land on both sides was high, till it came very mountainous. This "high land had many points, the channel was narrow, and there were many eddy winds."

From a careful enumeration of the computed distances, in each day's run, as set down in the journal, it appears that Hudson sailed fifty three leagues. To this distance, the river was navigable for the ship; the boat went up eight or ten leagues farther; but found the bottom irregular, and the depth not more than seven feet. It is evident therefore that he penetrated this river, as far as where the city of Albany now stands.

The farther he went up the river, the more friendly and hospitable the natives appeared. They gave him skins in exchange for knives and other trifles. But as he came down, below the mountains, the savages were thievish and troublesome, which occasioned frequent quarrels, in which eight or nine of them were killed. The land on the eastern side of the river near its mouth, was called *Manahata*.

On the 4th of October he came out of the river; and without anchoring in the bay, stood out to sea; and steering directly for Europe, on the 7th November arrived "in the range of Dartmouth in Devonshire." Here the journal ends.

The discoveries made by Hudson in this remarkable voyage, were of great mercantile consequence to his employers. It has been said, that he "sold the country, or rather his right to it, to the Dutch." This however is questionable. The sovereigns of England and France laid equal claim to the country, and it is a matter which requires some discussion, whether the Hollanders were, at that time, so far admitted into the community of nations, as to derive rights which would be acknowledged by the other European powers. However, whilst they were struggling for existence among the nations, they were growing rich by their mercantile adventures; and this capital discovery, made at their expense, was a source of no small advantage to them. They had, for some time before, cast an eye on the fur trade; and had even bribed some Frenchmen to admit them into the traffic at Acadia and St. Lawrence. The discovery of Hudson's river gave them, at once, an entrance of above fifty leagues into the heart of the American continent; in a situation where the best furs could be procured without any interruption from either the French or the English. The place indeed lay within the claim of both these nations; Acadia extended from the latitude of 40° to 48°; and Virginia from 34° to 45°; but the French had made several fruitless attempts to pass southward of Cape Cod; and had but just began their plantations at Acadia and St. Lawrence. The English had made some efforts to establish colonies in Virginia, one of which was struggling for existence, and others had failed, both in the southern and northern division. Besides, King James, by a stroke of policy *peculiar to himself*, in dividing Virginia between the North and South Companies, had *interlocked* each patent with the other; and at the same time *interdicted* the patentees from planting within one hundred miles of each other. This uncertainty, concurring with other causes, kept the adventurers at such a distance, that the intermediate country, by far the most valuable, lay exposed to the intrusion of foreigners; none of whom knew better than the Dutch, how to avail themselves of the ignorance or inattention of their neighbors in pursuit of gain.

But whether it can at this time be determined or not by what means the Hollanders acquired a title to the country; certain it is, that they understood and pursued the advantage which this discovery opened to them. Within four years, a fort and trading house

* Now State of Maine.

* In the journal of this voyage, written by Hudson himself, is the following remark. "June 15, lat. 75° 7′. This morning one of our company looking overboard saw a mermaid, and calling up some of the company to see her, one more came up, and by that time she was close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men. A little after a sea came and overturned her. From the naval upward her back and breasts were like a woman, (as they say that saw her,) her body as big as one of us; her skin very white, and long hair hanging down behind, of color black. In her going down they saw her tail, which was like the tail of a porpoise, and speckled like a mackerel. Their names that saw her were Thomas Hilles, and Robert Raynor.—Purchas, iv. 575.

† This is said on the authority of Dr. Foster. The journal says nothing of it. It was written by Robert Juet his mate.

‡ Smith in his history of New York, following Oldmixon and other second hand authorities, places this voyage in 1608. But as the journals of Hudson's four voyages are extant in Purchas, I take all dates from them.

were erected on the spot where Albany is now built; and another fort on the S. W. point of the island, where the city of New York now stands, by a company of merchants who had procured from the States-general a patent for an exclusive trade to Hudson's river.

The transactions between Hudson and his Dutch employers are not stated in the accounts of his voyages. Dr. Foster says that he offered to undertake another voyage in their service, but that they declined it, upon which he returned to England; and again entered into the service of the company, who had before employed him,

The former attempts for a northern passage having been made in very high latitudes, it was now determined, to seek for one, by passing to the westward of Greenland, and examining the inlets of the American continent. For this purpose a ship was fitted out, and the command was given to Hudson; but unhappily, the company insisted that he should take with him as an assistant, one Colburne, a very able and experienced seaman. Their great confidence in Colburne's skill excited Hudson's envy; and after the ship had fallen down the river, he put him on board a pink, bound up to London, with a letter to the owners, containing the reasons of his conduct; and then proceeded on his voyage. [April 22, 1610.] This rash step gave the crew an example of disobedience, which was so severely retaliated on himself, as to prove the cause of his ruin.

He went round the north of Scotland, through the Orkney and Faro islands, and on the 11th of May made the eastern part of Iceland. Sailing along its southern shore, in sight of the volcanic mountain Hecla, he put into a harbor in the western part of the island; where he met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants; but found great dissensions among his crew, which he could not appease without much difficulty.

Having doubled the southern promontory of Greenland, he steered N. W. for the American continent. In this passage he was so entangled with floating ice, that he almost despaired of getting clear. But at length with much labor and peril, he forced his way through the strait and into the bay which bears his name. The farther he advanced, the greater were the murmurings among his men. He removed his mate and boatswain and put others in their places. This discipline not only rendered him more unpopular, but inflamed the displaced officers with bitter resentment against him.

The whole summer having been spent in examining the eastern and southern extremities of the deep and extensive bay which he had discovered; in October it was too late to return; the discovery was yet incomplete, and he was loth to leave it. He had taken but half a year's provision from England. It was therefore necessary to husband what was left, and procure more by hunting; which was done in great plenty, by reason of the numerous flights of fowl which succeeded each other through the winter.

In November the ship was frozen up. Soon after the gunner died, and a controversy took place about dividing his clothes. Hudson was partial to Henry Green, a young man of a debauched character, whom he had taken on board; and whose name was not on the ship's books. This young man ungenerously took part with the discontented, and lost Hudson's favor.

They had to struggle with a severe winter, and bad accommodations, which produced scorbutic and rheumatic complaints. These were relieved by a decoction of the buds of a tree filled with a balsamic juice; the liquor was drank, and the buds applied to the swelled joints. This is supposed to have been the *Populus Balsamifera*.

When the spring came on, the birds disappeared, and their provisions fell short. To still the clamor among the discontented, Hudson injudiciously divided the remaining stores, into equal shares, and gave each man his portion; which some devoured at once and others preserved.

The ship being afloat, he began to sail toward the N. W. to pursue the object of his voyage; when, (June 21, 1611) a conspiracy which had been sometime in fermentation, broke out into open mutiny. The displaced mate and boatswain, accompanied by the infamous Green and others rose and took command of the ship. They put Hudson, his son, the carpenter, the mathematician, and five others, most of whom were sick and lame, into the shallop; with a small quantity of meal, one gun and ammunition, two or three spears and an iron pot; and then with the most savage inhumanity turned them adrift. This is the last account of Hudson. Whether he, with his unhappy companions, perished by the sea, by famine, or by the savages, is unknown.

The conspirators put the ship about to the eastward and hasted to get out of the bay. Near Cape Digges, they met with seven canoes of the savages, by whom they were attacked. The perfidious Green was killed, and three others wounded, of whom two died in a few days. The miserable remnant pursued their course homeward, and suffered much by famine; but at length arrived in Ireland, and from thence got to England.

This account of the unfortunate end of Hudson and the return of the ship, is taken from a narrative written by Abacuc Pricket, whom the mutineers preserved, in hope that by his connexion with Sir Dudley Digges, one of the owners, they should obtain their pardon.

The most astonishing circumstance in this horrid act of cruelty, is the oath by which the conspirators bound themselves to execute their plot; the form of it is preserved by Pricket, and is in these words.

"You shall swear truth, to GOD, your prince and country; you shall do nothing but to the glory of GOD; and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." It is to be hoped, that the absurdity, hypocrisy, and blasphemy of this transaction will ever be unparallelled in the history of human depravity!

INTRODUCTION.

THE beginning of the colony of Virginia has been related in the life of Captain John Smith; to whose ingenuity, prudence, patience, activity, industry and resolution, its subsistence during the first three years is principally to be aseribed. It would have been either deserted by the people, or destroyed by the natives, had he not encouraged the former by his unremitted exertions, and struck an awe into the latter by his military address and intrepidity.

The views of the adventurers in England were intent on present gain; and their strict orders were to preserve peace with the natives. Neither of these could be realized. Cultivation is the first object in all new plantations; this requires time and industry; and till the wants of the people could be supplied by their own labor, it was necessary to have some dependence on the natives for such provisions as they could spare from their own consumption: and when the supply could not be obtained by fair bargain, it was thought necessary to use stratagem or force. Those who were on the spot were the best judges of the time and occasion of using those means; but they were not permitted to judge for themselves. The company of adventurers undertook to prescribe rules, to insist on a rigorous execution of them, and to form various projects which could never be carried into effect. In short, they expected more from their colony than it was possible for it to produce in so short a time, with such people as they sent to reside there, and in the face of so many dangers and difficulties, which were continually presented to them.

After the arrival of Captain Newport in England from his third voyage, the Company of South Virginia, disappointed and vexed at the small returns which the ships brought home, determined on a change of system, they solicited and obtained of the crown a new charter (May 23, 1609), and took into the company a much greater number of adventurers than before. Not less than six hundred and fifty-seven names of persons are inserted in the charter, many of whom were noblemen, and gentlemen of fortune, and merchants; besides fifty-six incorporated companies of mechanics in the city of London; and room was left for the admission of more. The government at home was vested in a council of fifty-two persons, named in the charter; at the head of which was Sir Thomas Smith, the former treasurer; and all vacancies which might happen in the council, were to be filled by the vote of a majority of the company legally assembled. This council in England had the power of appointing governors and other officers to reside in Virginia, and of making laws and giving instructions for the government of the colony. In consequence of this power, the treasurer and council constituted the following officers:

Sir Thomas West, Lord Delaware, Captain-general; Sir Thomas Gates, Lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, Admiral; Captain Christopher Newport, Vice-Admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, High Marshall; and Sir Ferdinando Wainman, General of Horse.

Several other gentlemen, whose names are not mentioned, were appointed to other offices, all of which were to be holden *during life*. This may seem a strange way of appointing officers in a new colony, especially when the charter gave the council power to revoke and discharge them. But it is probable that these gentlemen had friends in the company who were persons of wealth and influence, and who thought the offices not worthy of their acceptance, unless they could hold them long enough to make their fortunes. The example of Columbus might have served as a precedent, who had the office of admiral of the West Indies, not only for life, but as an inheritance to his posterity.

SIR THOMAS SMITH.

SIR THOMAS SMITH—He is calumniated—Decree of Chancery in his favor—He resigns his office of Treasurer of the Virginia Company—Two thousand acres of Land granted to him in Virginia—Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer of the Virginia Company—Lotteries—Supplies obtained by them for Virginia—Tenaciousness of King James.

ALL which is known with certainty of this gentleman is, that he was a London merchant, of great wealth and influence, Governor of the East India and Muscovy Companies, and of the company associated for the discovery of a northwest passage; that he had been sent (1604) ambassador from King James to the Emperor of Russia; that he was one of the assignees of Sir Walter Raleigh's patent, and thus became interested in the colony of Virginia. He had been treasurer of the company under their first charter, and presided in all the meetings of the council and of the company in England; but he never came to America.

It is unfortunate for the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, that both the company and colony of South Virginia were distracted by a malevolent party spirit; and that he was equally an object of reproach on the one hand and of panegyric on the other. To decide on the merit or demerit of his character, at this distance of time, would perhaps require more evidence than can be produced; but candor is due to the dead as well as to the living.

He was a warm friend of Captain John Smith, who, in his account of Virginia, speaks of him with respect, as a diligent and careful overseer, especially in sending supplies to the colony during his residence there; and after his return to England, he depended on Sir Thomas and the council for those accounts of the colony which he has inserted in his history, subsequent to that period.

In a dedication prefixed to a narrative of the shipwreck of Sir George Somers on the Island of Bermuda, Sir Thomas is complimented in the following manner; "Worthy sir, if other men were like you, if all as able as you are were as willing, we should see a flourishing Christian church and commonwealth in Virginia. But let this be your consolation, there is one that is more able and willing than you, even the God of heaven and earth. And know further, for your comfort, that though the burden lie on you and a few more, yet are there many honorable and worthy men of all sorts who will never shrink from you. Go on, therefore, with courage and constancy; and be assured, that though by your honorable embassages and employments, and by your charitable and virtuous courses you have gained a worthy reputation in this world, yet nothing that you ever did or suffered, more honors you in the eyes of all that are godly-wise, than your faithful and unwearied prosecution, your continual and comfortable assistance of those foreign plantations."

But though flattered and complimented by his admirers, yet he had enemies both among the company in England and the colonists in Virginia, By some of his associates he was accused of favoring the growth of tobacco in the colony, to the neglect of other staple commodities which the country was equally capable of producing. It was also alleged, that instead of a body of laws agreeable to the English constitution, a book had been printed and dedicated to him, and sent to Virginia by his own authority, and without the order or consent of the company, containing "laws written in blood;" which, though they might serve for a time of war, being mostly translated from the marshal law of the United Netherlands, yet were destructive of the liberties of English subjects, and contrary to the express letter of the royal charter. For this reason many people in England were deterred from emigrating to Virginia, and many persons in the colony were unjustly put to death.

In the colony, the clamor against him was still louder. It was there said, that he had been most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, in the matter of supplies; that in a certain period called the "starving time," the allowance for a man was only eight ounces

of meal and a half pint of pease per day, and that neither of them were fit to be eaten; that famine obliged many of the people to fly to the savages for relief, who being retaken were put to death for desertion; that others were reduced to the necessity of stealing, which by his sanguinary laws was punished with extreme rigor; that the sick and infirm, who were unable to work, were denied the allowance, and famished for want; that some in these extremities dug holes in the earth, and hid themselves till they perished; that the scarcity was "so lamentable," that they were constrained to eat dogs, cats, snakes, and even human corpses; that one man killed his wife, and put her flesh in pickle, for which he was burnt to death. These calamities were by the colonists so strongly and pointedly laid to the charge of the treasurer, that when they had found a mare which had been killed by the Indians, and were boiling her flesh for food, they wished Sir Thomas was in the same kettle. A list of these grievances was presented to King James; and in the conclusion of the petition, they begged his majesty, that "rather than be reduced to live under the like government again, he would send over commissioners to *hang* them."

In answer to these accusations, it was said, that the original ground of all these calamities was the unfortunate shipwreck of a vessel loaded with supplies, on the Island of Bermuda. This happened at a time when Captain John Smith was disabled and obliged to quit the colony, which had been supported in a great measure by his exertions. Another source of the mischief was the indolence of the colonists themselves; who regarded only the present moment, and took no care for the future. This indolence was so great, that they would eat their fish raw rather than go to a small distance from the water for wood to dress it. When there was a plenty of sturgeon in the river, they would not take any more than to serve their present necessity, though they knew the season was approaching when these fish return to the sea; nor did they take care to preserve their nets, but suffered them to perish for want of drying and mending. Another cause was the dishonesty of those who were employed in procuring corn from the natives; for having accomplished their object, they went to sea, and turned pirates; some of them united with other pirates, and those who got home to England, protested that they were obliged to quit Virginia for fear of starving. Besides, it was said that when ships arrived with provision, it was embezzled by the mariners, and the articles intended for traffic with the Indians, were privately given away or sold for a trifle; and some of the people venturing too far into their villages were surprised and killed.

The story of the man eating his dead wife was propagated in England by some of the deserters; but when it was examined afterwards by Sir Thomas Gates, it proved to be no more than this. One of the colonists who hated his wife, secretly killed her: then, to conceal the murder cut her body in pieces, and hid them in different parts of the house. When the woman was missed, the man was suspected; his house was searched, and the pieces were found. To excuse his guilt, he pleaded that his wife died of hunger, and that he daily fed on her remains. His house was again searched, and other food was found; on which he was arraigned, confessed the murder, and was put to death; being burned, according to law.

Though calumniated both in England and America, Sir Thomas Smith did not want advocates; and his character for integrity was so well established in England, that when some of the company who had refused to advance their quotas, pleaded his negligence and avarice in their excuse, the Court of Chancery, before whom the affair was carried, gave a decree against them, and they were compelled to pay the sums which they had subscribed.

The charges against him were equally levelled against the council and company; and by their order a declaration was published, in which the misfortunes of the colony are thus summarily represented. "Cast up the reckoning together, want of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by the traitors, their market spoiled by the mariners, their nets broken, the deer chased, their boats lost, their hogs killed, their trade with the Indians forbidden, some of their men fled, some murdered, and most by drinking the brackish water of James Fort, weakened and endangered; famine and sickness by all these means increased. Here at home the monies came in so slowly, that the Lord Delaware could not be despatched till the colony was worn and spent with difficulties. Above all, having neither ruler nor preacher, they feared neither God nor man which provoked the Lord, and pulled down his judgments upon them."

Sir Thomas Smith continued in his office of treasurer till 1619; when the prejudice against him became so strong, that by the interest of the Earl of Warwick, who hated him, his removal was in contemplation. At the same time, Sir Thomas, being advanced in years and infirmities, having grown rich, and having a sufficiency of business as governor of the East India Company, thought it prudent to retire from an office of so great a responsibility, attended with so much trouble and so little advantage; and accordingly sent in his resignation to the Council of Virginia. His friends would have dissuaded him from this measure; but he was inflexible. Sir Edwin Sandys was elected his successor; a gentleman of good understanding, and great application to business. At his motion, a gratuity of 2,000 acres of land in Virginia was granted to Sir Thomas. He had been in office upwards of twelve years, in which time the expenses of the plantation had amounted to 80,000*l.*; and though he had declared that he left 4,000*l.* for his successor to begin with, yet it was found on examination, that the company was in debt to a greater amount than that sum.

Several ways were used for the raising of supplies to carry on the colonization of Virginia. One was by the subscriptions of the members of the company; another was by the voluntary donations of other people; and a third was by lotteries. Subscriptions, if not voluntarily paid were recoverable by law; but this method was tedious and expensive. Donations were precarious, and though liberal and well intended, yet they sometimes consisted only of books and furniture for churches and colleges, and appropriations for the education of Indian children. Lotteries were before this time unknown in England; but so great was the rage for this mode of raising money, that within the space of six years the sum of 29,000*l.* was brought into the treasury. This was "the real and substantial food with which Virginia was nourished." The authority on which the lotteries were grounded was the charter of King James (1609), and so tenacious was this monarch of his prerogative, that in a subsequent proclamation he vainly interdicted the "*speaking* against the Virginian Lottery." Yet when the House of Commons (1621) began to call in question some of the supposed rights of royalty, these lotteries and the proclamation which enforced them were complained of and presented among the grievances of the nation. On that occasion an apology was made by the king's friends, "that he never *liked* the lotteries, but *gave way to them*, because he was told that Virginia, could not subsist without them;" and when the Commons insisted on their complaint, the monarch revoked the license by an order of council; in consequence of which the treasury of the company was almost without resources.

THOMAS LORD DELAWARE, SIR THOMAS GATES, SIR GEORGE SOMERS, CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, SIR THOMAS DALE, SIR FERDINANDO WAINMAN.

Lord Delaware—arrives in Virginia—He builds two forts on James river—He leaves Virginia—arrives at the Western Islands—Daniel Gookin settles in Virginia—He removes to New England—Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of Virginia—His energetic proceedings—His character as Governor—Sir Thomas Gates—His arrival in Virginia as Governor—His return to England—Sir George Somers, Admiral of Virginia—Dispute with Gates about rank—He is wrecked on Bermuda Island—He arrives in Virginia—His death, burial, and monument—Christopher Newport, commander in the Navy of Queen Elizabeth—New York first settled—Sir Ferdinando Wainman—His arrival in Virginia—His death—Death of Lord Delaware.

The history of these persons is so blended, that a separate account of each cannot be written from any materials in my possession. Their characters, however, may be distinguished in a few words, before I proceed to the history of their united transactions in the employment of the company and colony of Virginia.

Lord Delaware is said to have been a worthy peer of an ancient family; a man of fine parts and of a generous disposition; who took much pains, and was at a great expense to establish the colony, in the service of which he suffered much in his health, and finally died at sea (1618,) in his second voyage to America, in or near the mouth of the bay which bears his name.

Sir Thomas Gates was probably a land officer, between him and Sir George Somers, there was not that cordial harmony which is always desirable between men who are egaged in the same business. Excepting this, nothing is said to his disadvantage.

Sir George Somers was a gentleman of rank and fortune, of approved fidelity and indefatigable industry; an excellent sea commander, having been employed in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, and having distinguished himself in several actions against the Spaniards in the West Indies. At the time of his appointment to be Admiral of Virginia, he was above sixty years of age. His seat in Parliament was vacated by his acceptance of a colonial commission. He died in the service of the colony (1610) at Bermuda, highly esteemed and greatly regretted.

Christopher Newport was a mariner of ability and experience in the American seas. He had been a commander in the navy of Elizabeth, and, in 1595, had conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, where, with three or four ships, he plundered and burned some towns, and took several prizes, with a considerable booty. He was a vain, empty, conceited man, and very fond of parade. By the advantage of going to and fro, he gained the confidence of the council and company in England; and whatever he proposed was adopted by them. Some traits of his character have been given in the life of Captain John Smith. In 1651 he imported fifty men, and seated them on a plantation, which he called Newport's News. *Daniel Gookin* came with a cargo of cattle from Ireland, and settled first on this plantation. He afterwards removed to New England.

Sir Thomas Dale is said to have been a gentleman of much honor, wisdom and experience. To him was entrusted the execution of the laws sent over by Sir Thomas Smith; which, though perhaps necessary at that time, (1611) when so many turbulent and refractory persons were to be governed, yet were subversive of that freedom which Englishmen claimed as their birthright, and gave too much power into the hands of a governor. Though his administration was marked with rigor and severity, yet he did much towards advancing the settlements. On a high neck of land in James river, named Varina, he built a town which he called Henrico, in honor of Prince Henry, the remains of which were visible when Mr. Stith wrote his history (1746.) On the opposite side of the river he made a plantation on lands, from which he expelled the Indians, and called it New Bermuda. He staid in Virginia about five years, and returned to England (1616) after which there is no farther account of him.

Of Sir Ferdinando Wainman, nothing is said but that he died soon after his arrival in Virginia with Lord Delaware, in the summer of 1610.

When the new charter of Virginia was obtained, the council and company immediately equipped a fleet, to carry supplies of men and women, with provisions and other necessaries to the colony. The fleet consisted of seven ships, in each of which, beside the captain, went one or more of the counsellors or other officers of the colony; and though there was a dispute about rank between two officers, Somers and Gates, they were placed in one ship with Newport, the third in command. The Governor-general, Lord Delaware, did not sail with this fleet; but waited till the next year, to go with a further supply. The names of the ships and their commanders were as follows:

The Sea-Adventure, Admiral Sir George Somers, with Sir Thomas Gates, and Captain Christopher Newport; the Diamond, Captain Radcliffe and Captain King; the Falcon, Captain Martin and Master Nelson; the Blessing, Gabriel Archer and Captain Adams; the Unity, Captain Wood and Master Pett; the Lion, Captain Webb; the Swallow, Captain Moone and Master Somers.

The fleet was attended by two smaller vessels, one of which was a ketch, commanded by Matthew Fitch, the other a pinnace, in which went Captain Davies and Master Davies.

This fleet sailed from Plymouth on the second day of June, 1609. Though their orders were not to go by the old route of the Canaries, and the West Indies but to steer directly for Virginia, yet they went as far southward as the twenty-sixth degree of latitude; where the heat was so excessive, that many of the people were taken with calentures. In two ships, thirty-two persons died; others suffered severely, and one vessel only was free from sickness.

The whole fleet kept company till the twenty-fourth of July, when they supposed themselves to be within eight days sail of Virginia, stretching to the northwest, and crossing the Gulf Stream. On that day, began a violent tempest from the northeast, accompanied with a horrid darkness, which continued forty-four hours. In this gale the fleet was scattered. The Admiral's ship, on board of which was the commissior. for the new government, with the three principal officers, was

wrecked on the island of Bermuda. The ketch foundered at sea. The remainder, much damaged and distressed, arrived one after another in James river, about the middle of August.

The provisions brought by these ships were insufficient for the colony and the passengers. This deficiency proved very detrimental, and occasioned the miseries and reproaches which have been already mentioned. The space of ten months from August, 1609, to the arrival of Lord Delaware, in June, 1610, was known in Virginia for many years after, by the name of "the starving time." But the want of provision was not the only deficiency; there was a total want of principle and of order.

Of the company who arrived at this time, the following description is given by a native Virginian. "A great part of them consisted of unruly sparks, packed off, by their friends, to escape a worse destiny at home. The rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd company were led by their seditious captains into many mischiefs and extravagancies. They assumed the power of disposing of the government; and conferred it sometimes on one and sometimes on another. To-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, and the next day neither. All was anarchy and distraction."

Such being the character of the people, there could not have been any great hope of success, if the whole fleet had arrived in safety.

The admiral's ship had on board a great quantity of provision. She was separated from the fleet in the storm, and sprang a leak at sea, so that with constant pumping and bailing, they could scarcely keep her above water for three days and four nights; during which time Sir George Somers did not once leave the quarter-deck. The crew, worn out with fatigue and despairing of life, broached the strong liquors, and took leave of each other with an inebriating draught, till many of them fell asleep. In this dreadful extremity, Sir George discovered land; the news of which awoke and revived them, and every man exerted himself to do his duty. At length the ship struck ground in such a position between two rocks, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, that the people and a great part of the cargo were safely landed.

The Bermuda Islands were uninhabited, and had the reputation of being enchanted.* But when the people were on shore they found the air pure and salubrious, and fruits of various kinds growing in luxuriant plenty and perfection. The shore was covered with tortoises, the sea abounded with fish, and in the woods they found wild hogs, which it is supposed had escaped from some vessel wrecked on the island.

Here they remained nine months. The two senior officers lived apart, and each, with the assistance of the men, built a vessel of the cedars which grew on the island, and the iron and cordage saved from the wreck. Sir George Somers labored with his own hands every day till his vessel was completed. One of these vessels was called the Patience, the other the Deliverance.

It is remarked, that during their abode on this island, they had morning and evening prayers daily; divine service was performed and two sermons were preached every Lord's day, by their chaplain, Mr. Bucke. One marriage was celebrated, and two children were born and baptized. Five of the company died, one of whom was murdered. The murderer was put under confinement, but escaped, and hid himself among the woods and rocks, with another offender, till the departure of the company, when they were left behind. Many of the people were so well pleased with the place, that they were with difficulty prevailed on to quit these pleasant islands.

The lower seams of the vessel were calked with the remains of the useless cables, and a small quantity of tar saved from the wreck. The upper seams were secured with lime made of calcined stones and shells, slaked with fresh water and softened with the oil of tortoises. This cement soon became dry and firm. The wild hogs served for sea-stores, being preserved with salt, crystallized on the rocks.

On the tenth of May, 1610, the company, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons, embarked, and after encountering some difficulty among the rocks, the next day got clear of the land, and shaped their course for Virginia; where they arrived on the twenty first, at Point Comfort, and two days after at Jamestown. The colony, reduced to sixty persons, in a sickly, mutinous and starving condition, gave them a mournful welcome. The new governor, Sir Thomas Gates, caused the bell to be rung, and summoned the whole company to the church; where, after an affectionate prayer by Mr. Bucke, the new commission was read and the former president, Mr. Percy, then scarcely able to stand, delivered up the old patent, with his commission.

On a strict examination, it was found that the provisions brought by the two pinnaces, would serve the people not more than sixteen days, and that what they had in the town would be spent in ten. It being seed time, the Indians had no corn to spare, and they were so hostile that no treaty could be holden with them. The sturgeon had not yet come into the river, and many of the nets were useless. No hope remained of preserving the colony; and after mature deliberation, it was determined to abandon the country. The nearest place where any relief could be obtained was Newfoundland; thither they proposed to sail, and there they expected to meet the fishing vessels from England, on board of which the people might be distributed and get passages home, when the season of fishing should be completed.

Having taken this resolution, and buried their ordnance at the gate of the fort, on the seventh of June, at beat of drum, the whole company embarked in four pinnaces. It was with difficulty that some of the people were restrained from setting fire to the town; but the governor, with a select company, remained on shore till the others had embarked, and he was the last that stepped into the boat. About noon they came to sail, and fell down with the ebb, that evening, to Hog Island. The next morning's tide brought them to Mulberry Island Point; where, lying at anchor, they discovered a boat coming up the river with the flood. In an hour's time the boat came along side the governor's pinnace, and proved to be an express from the Lord Delaware, who had arrived, with three ships and a supply of provision, two days before, at Point Comfort; where the captain of the fort had informed him of the intended evacuation; and his lordship immediately despatched his skiff with letters by Captain Edward Brewster, to prevent their departure. On receiving these letters, the governor ordered the anchors to be weighed, and the wind, being easterly, brought them back in the night, to their old quarters at Jamestown.

On the Lord's day, June 10, the ships came to anchor before the town. As soon as Lord Delaware came on shore, he fell down on his knees, and continued some time in silent devotion. He then went to church, and after service, his commission was read, which constituted him "governor and captain-general during his life, of the colony and plantation of Virginia." Sir Thomas Gates delivered up his commission and the colony seal. On this occasion, Lord Delaware made a public address to the people, blaming them for their former idleness and misconduct, and exhorting them to a contrary behavior, lest he should be obliged to draw the sword of justice against delinquents, and cut them off; adding, that he had rather spill his own blood to protect them from injuries.

Having displaced such men as had abused their power, and appointed proper persons to office, he assigned to every man his portion of labor, according to his capacity; among which the culture of *vines* was not forgotten; some Frenchmen having been imported for the purpose. There had been no division of the lands, but all was common property; and the colony was considered as one great family, fed daily out of the public store. Their employments were under the direction of the government, and the produce of their labors was brought into the common stock. The Indians were so troublesome, that it would not have been prudent for the people to disperse, till they should be better able to defend themselves, or till the savages should be more friendly. They were therefore lodged within the fortifications of Jamestown; their working and fishing parties, when abroad, were well armed or guarded; their situation was hazardous; and the prospect of improvement, considering the character of the majority, was not very flattering. "The most honest and industrious would scarcely take so much pains in a week, as they would have done for themselves in a day; presuming that however the harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them; by which means they reaped not so much corn from the labors of thirty men, as three men could have produced, on their own lands."

No dependence could be placed on any supply of provisions from this mode of exertion. The stores brought over in the fleet might have kept them alive, with prudent management, for the greater part of a year; but within that time it would be necessary to provide more. The Bermuda Islands were full of hogs, and Sir George Somers offered to go thither with a party to kill and salt them. This offer was readily accepted, and he embarked in his own cedar vessel of thirty tons, accompanied by Captain Samuel Argal, in another.

They sailed together, till by contrary winds they were driven among the shoals of Nantucket and Cape Cod; whence Argal found his way back to Virginia, and was despatched to the Potowmack for corn. There he found Henry Spelman, an English youth, who had been preserved from the fury of Powhatan, by his daughter Pocahontas. By his assistance Argal procured a supply of corn, which he carried to Jamestown.

Sir George Somers, after long struggling with contrary winds, was driven to the northeastern shore of America; where he refreshed his men, then pursued the main object of his voyage, and arrived safely at Bermuda. There he began to collect the swine, and prepare their flesh for food; but the fatigues to which he had been exposed by sea and land, proved too severe for his advanced age, and he sunk under the burden. Finding his time short, he made a proper disposition of his estate, and charged his nephew, Matthew Somers, who commanded under him, to return with the provision to Virginia. But the love of his native country prevailed. Having buried the entrails at Bermuda, he carried the corpse of his uncle to England, and deposited it at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire. A monument was afterwards erected at Bermuda to the memory of this excellent man.* The town of St. George was named for him, and the islands were called Somer Islands. The return of this vessel gave the first account in England of the discovery of those islands.

Virginia, thus left destitute of so able and virtuous a friend, was soon after deprived of the presence of its Governor, Lord Delaware. Having built two forts at the mouth of James river, and another at the falls; and having rendered his goverment respectable in the view both of the English and Indians, he found his health so much impaired, that he was obliged in nine months to quit the country, intending to go to Nevis for the benefit of the warm baths. By contrary winds he was forced to the Western Islands, where he obtained great relief from the fresh fruits of the country; but he was advised not to hazard himself again in Virginia, till his health should be more perfectly restored, by a voyage to England. Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates having previously gone at different times to England, the government was again left in the hands of Mr. Percy; a gentleman of a noble family and a good heart, but of very moderate abilities.

At the time of Lord Delaware's departure (March 28, 1611) the colony consisted of above two hundred people, most of whom were in good health and well provided; but when Sir Thomas Dale arrived, in less than two months, (May 10,) with three ships, bringing an addition of three hundred people, he found the old colonists again relapsing into the former state of indolence and penury. Depending on the public store, they had neglected planting, and were amusing themselves with bowling and other diversions in the streets of Jamestown. Nothing but the presence of a spirited governor, and a severe execution of his orders, could induce these people to labor. The severities exercised upon them were such as could not be warranted by the laws of England. The consequences were dis-

* "Whereas it is reported that this land of Bermudas, with the islands about it, are enchanted and kept by evil and wicked spirits; it is a most idle and false report. God grant that we have brought no wicked spirits with us, or that there come none after us; for we found nothing there so ill as ourselves." Jourdan's News from Bermuda, 1613.

* This monument was erected about ten years after his death by Nathaniel Butler, then governor of Bermuda, of which the following account is given by Captain Smith, in his history of Virginia and the Somer Islands, p. 193.

"Finding accidentally a little cross erected in a bye place among many bushes, and understanding that there was buried the heart and entrails of Sir George Somers, he resolved to have a better memory to so worthy a soldier. So finding a great marble stone, brought out of England, he caused it by masons to be wrought handsomely and laid over the place, which he environed with a square wall of hewn stone, tomb like; whereon he caused to be engraved this epitaph he had composed.

"In the year sixteen hundred and eleven,
Noble Sir George Somers went hence to heaven;
Whose well tried worth that held him still employ'd,
Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide.
Hence 'twas by Heaven's decree, that to this place,
He brought new guests-and name, to mutual grace;
At last his soul and body 'sunder part,
He here bequeathed his entrails and his heart."

content and insurrection in some, and servile acquiescence in others. Sir Thomas Dale was esteemed as a man who might safely be entrusted with power; but the laws by which he governed, and his rigorous administration of them, were the subject of bitter remonstrance and complaint.

The adventurers in England were still in a state of disappointment; and when Sir Thomas Gates arrived without bringing any returns adequate to their expectations, the council entered into a serious deliberation whether to proceed in their adventure or abandon the enterprise. Lord Delaware's arrival in England cast a deeper gloom on the melancholy prospect. But the representations of these gentlemen, delivered in council and confirmed by oath, served to keep up their spirits, and induce them still to renew their exertions.

The substance of these representations was, that the country was rich in itself, but that time and industry were necessary to make its wealth profitable to the adventurers; that it yielded abundance of valuable woods, as oak, walnut, ash, sassafras, mulberry trees for silk worms, live oak, cedar and fir for shipping, and that on the banks of the Potowmack there were trees large enough for masts; that it produced a species of wild hemp for cordage, pines which yielded tar, and a vast quantity of iron ore; besides lead, antimony, and other minerals, and several kinds of colored earths; that in the woods were found various balsams and other medicinal drugs, with an immense quantity of myrtle-berries for wax; that the forests and rivers harbored beavers, otters, foxes and deer, whose skins were valuable articles of commerce; that sturgeon might be taken in the greatest plenty in five noble rivers; and that without the bay, to the northward, was an excellent fishing bank for cod of the best quality; that the soil was favorable to the cultivation of vines, sugar canes, oranges, lemons, almonds and rice; that the winters were so mild that cattle could get their food abroad, and that swine could be fatted on wild fruits; that the Indian corn yielded a most luxuriant harvest; and in a word, that it was "one of the goodliest countries (says Purchas), promising as rich entrails as any kingdom of the earth, to which the sun is no nearer a neighbor."

Lord Delaware further assured them, that notwithstanding the ill state of his health, he was so far from shrinking or giving over the enterprise, that he was willing to lay all he was worth on its success, and to return to Virginia with all convenient expedition.

Sir Thomas Gates was again sent out with six ships, three hundred men, one hundred cattle, two hundred swine, and large supplies of every kind. He arrived in the beginning of August, 1611, and received the command from Sir Thomas Dale, who retired to Varina and employed himself in erecting a town, Henrico, and improving his plantation at New Bermuda

In the beginning of the next year (1612), Captain Argal, who had carried home Lord Delaware, came again to Virginia with two ships, and was again sent to the Potowmack for corn; of which he procured fourteen hundred bushels. There he entered into an acquaintance with Japazaws, the sachem, an old friend of Captain Smith, and of all the English who had come to America. In his territory Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, was concealed. The reason of her quitting the dominion of her father is unknown. Certain it is, that he had been in a state of hostility with the colony ever since the departure of Smith; and that the frequent depredations and murders committed by the Indians on the English, were in the highest degree painful to this tender-hearted princess. Argal contrived a plan to get her into his possession. He bargained with Japazaws to bring her on board the ship under pretence of a visit in company with his own wife; then dismissing the sachem and his wife with the promised reward, he carried Pocahontas to Jamestown, where she had not been since Captain Smith had left the colony.

A message was sent to Powhatan to inform him that his daughter was in their hands, and that she might be restored to him, on condition that he would deliver up all the English whom he held as captives, with all the arms, tools, and utensils which the Indians had stolen, and furnish the colony with a large quantity of corn. This proposal threw him into much perplexity; for though he loved his daughter, he was loth to give so much for her redemption. After three months he sent back seven of the captives, with three unserviceable muskets, an axe, a saw, and one canoe, loaded with corn. He also sent word, that when they should deliver his daughter, he would send them five hundred bushels of corn, and make full satisfaction for all past injuries. No reliance could be placed on such a promise. The negotiation was broken, and the king was offended. The next spring (1613) another attempt was made, accompanied with threatening on the part of the English; and stratagem on the part of the Indians. This proved equally ineffectual. At length it was announced to Powhatan, that John Rolfe, an English gentleman, was in love with Pocahontas, and had obtained her consent, and the license of the governor to marry her. The prince was softened by this intelligence, and sent one of his chiefs to attend the nuptial solemnity. After this event Powhatan was friendly to the colony as long as he lived; and a free trade was carried on between them and his people.

The visit which this lady made to England with her husband, and her death, which happened there in the bloom of her youth, have been related in the life of Captain Smith. It is there observed, that "several families of note in Virginia are descended from her." The descent is thus traced by Mr. Stith: her son, Thomas Rolfe, was educated in England, and came over to Virginia, where he became a man of fortune and distinction, and inherited a large tract of land which had been the property of his grandfather, Powhatan. He left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling. His son, Major John Bolling, was father to Colonel John Bolling, whose five daughters were married to Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray. Such was the state of the family in 1747.

The reconciliation between Powhatan and the English awakened the fears of the Indians of Chickahomony, a formidable and free people. They were governed by an assembly of their elders, or wise men, who also bore the character of priests. They hated Powhatan as a tyrant, and were always jealous of his design to subject them. They had taken advantage of the dissension between him and the English to assert their liberty; but on the reconciliation, they apprehended that he might make use of the friendship of the colony to reduce them under his yoke. To prevent this, they sent a deputation to Sir Thomas Dale, to excuse their former ill-conduct, and submit themselves to the English government. Sir Thomas was pleased with the offer, and on a day appointed went with Captain Argal and fifty men to their village, where a peace was concluded on the following conditions.

1. That they should forever be called [Tossentessas] New Englishmen, and be true subjects of King James and his deputies.

2. That they should neither kill nor destroy any of the English nor their stray cattle, but bring them home.

3. That they should always be ready to furnish the English with three hundred men against the Spaniards or any other enemy.

4. That they should not enter any of the English settlements without previously sending in word that they were New Englishmen.

5. That every bow-man at harvest should bring into the store two measures [two one-half bushels] of corn, as a tribute, for which he should receive a hatchet.

6. That eight elders or chiefs should see all this performed, or receive punishment themselves; and that for their fidelity, each one should receive a red coat, a copper chain, and a picture of King James, and should be accounted his noblemen.

Though this transaction passed whilst Sir Thomas Gates was at the head of the government, and residing within the colony, yet nothing is said of his assenting to it, or giving any orders about it. Dale appears to have been the most active and enterprising man; and on Gates's return to England in the spring of 1614, the chief command devolved on him.

The experience of five years had now convinced all thinking men among the English, that the colony would never thrive whilst their lands were held in common, and the people were maintained out of the public stores. In such a case there is no spur to exertion; the industrious person and the drone fare alike, and the former has no inducement to work for the latter. The time prescribed in the king's instructions for their trading in a common stock, and bringing all the fruits of their labor into a common store, was expired. An alteration was then contemplated, but the first measure adopted did not much mend the matter. Three acres only were allotted to each man, as a farm, on which he was to work eleven months for the store, and one month for himself; and to receive his proportion out of the common stock. Those who were employed on Sir Thomas Dale's plantation had better terms. One month's labor only was required, and they were exempted from all further service; and for this exemption, they paid a yearly tribute of three barrels and a half of corn to the public store. These farms were not held by a tenure of common socage, which carries with it freedom and property; but merely by tenancy at will, which produces dependence. It is, however, observed, that this small encouragement gave some present content, and the fear of coming to want gradually disappeared.

About two years after (1616), a method of granting lands in freeholds, and in lots of fifty acres, was introduced into Virginia. This quantity was allowed to each person who came to reside, or brought others to reside there. The design of it was to encourage emigration. Besides this, there were two other methods of granting lands. One was a grant of *merit*. When any person had conferred a benefit, or done a service to the colony, it was requited by a grant of land which could not exceed two thousand acres. The other was called the adventure of the *purse*. Every person who paid twelve guineas into the company's treasury was entitled to one hundred acres.

After some time, this liberty of taking grants was abused; partly by the ignorance and knavery of surveyors, who often gave draughts of land without ever actually surveying them, but describing them by natural boundaries, and allowing large measure; and partly by the indulgence of courts, in a lavish admittance of claims. When a master of a ship came into court, and made oath that he had imported himself with so many seamen and passengers, an order was issued granting him as many rights of fifty acres; and the clerk had a fee for each right. The seamen at another court would make oath, that they had adventured themselves so many times into the country, and would obtain an order for as many rights, *toties quoties*. The planter who brought the imported servants would do the same, and procure an order for as many times fifty acres. These grants, after being described by the surveyors in the above vague and careless manner, were sold at a small price; and whoever was able to purchase any considerable number of them, became entitled to a vast quantity of land. By such means the original intention of allotting a small freehold to each emigrant was frustrated; and the settlement of the country in convenient districts was precluded. Land speculators became possessed of immense tracts, too large for cultivation; and the inhabitants were scattered over a great extent of territory in remote and hazardous situations. The ill effects of this dispersion were, insecurity from the savages; a habit of indolence; an imperfect mode of cultivation; the introduction of convicts from England, and of slaves from Africa.

The same year (1616), Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, carrying with him Pocahontas, the wife of Mr. Rolfe, and several other Indians. The motive of his return was to visit his family and settle his private affairs, after having spent five or six years in the service of the colony. He is characterized as an active, faithful governor, very careful to provide supplies of corn, rather by planting than by purchase. So much had these supplies increased under his direction, that the colony was able to *lend* to the Indian princes several hundred bushels of corn, and take *mortgages* of their land in payment. He would allow no tobacco to be planted till a sufficiency of seed-corn was in the ground. He was also very assiduous in ranging and exploring the country, and became extremely delighted with its pleasant and fertile appearance. He had so high an opinion of it, that he declared it equal to the best parts of Europe, if it were cultivated and inhabited by an *industrious* people.*

SIR SAMUEL ARGAL, AND SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY.

SAMUEL ARGAL—Expedition to the Northern part of Virginia—Attacks the Fr. at Mount Desart—Takes Possession of their Fort—Takes and destroys Port Royal—His Conference with Biencourt—Visits the Dutch at Hudson's river—Dutch Governor surrenders to him—His Voyage to England—Appointed Deputy-governor of Virginia—Arrives in Virginia—Revives discipline—Becomes odious by his rigor—Charged with peculation—He is superseded—Escapes by aid of the Earl of Warwick—Commands a ship against the Algerines—Knighted by King James—His character—GEORGE YEARDLEY, governor of Virginia—Encourages the cultivation of Tobacco—Attacks the Chickahominy Indians—Superseded by Argal—Appointed Governor-General of Virginia—Resigns—Resumes the Government—His Death.

WE have no account of Captain ARGAL before the year 1609, when he came to Virginia to fish for stur-

* Since the foregoing sheets were printed, I have found the following brief account of Sir George Somers, in Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 282

"George Somers, Knight, was born in or near Lyme, in

geon and trade with the colony. This trade was then prohibited but being a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, his voyage was connived at, and the provisions and wine which he brought were a welcome relief to the colony. He was there when the shattered fleet, escaped from the tempest, arrived without their commanders; and he continued to make voyages in the service of the colony, and for his own advantage, till he was made deputy-governor, under Lord Delaware.

The principal exploit in which he was engaged, was an expedition to the northern part of Virginia.* Sir Thomas Dale, having received some information of the intrusion of the French and Dutch within the chartered limits of Virginia, sent Argal, ostensibly on a trading and fishing voyage to the northward; but with orders to seek for, and dispossess intruders. No account of this force is mentioned by any writer. Having visited several parts of the coast of North Virginia, and obtained the best information in his power, he arrived at the island now called Mount Desart, in the District of Maine; where two Jesuits, who had been expelled from Port Royal, by the governor, Biencourt, for their insolence, had made a plantation, and built a fort. A French ship and bark were then lying in the harbor. Most of the people were dispersed, at their various employments, and were unprepared to receive an enemy. Argal at once attacked the vessels with musquetry, and made an easy conquest of them. One of the Jesuits was killed in attempting to level one of the ship's guns against the assailants. Argal then landed, and summoned the fort. The commander requested time for consultation, but it was denied; on which the garrison abandoned the fort, and, by a private passage, escaped to the woods. Argal took possession in the name of the crown of England, and the next day the people came in, and surrendered themselves, and their commission, or patent. He treated them with politeness, giving them leave to go either to France, in the fishing vessels, which resorted to the coast, or with him to Virginia.

The other Jesuit, Father Biard, glad of an opportunity to be revenged on Biencourt, gave information of his settlement at Port Royal, and offered to pilot the vessel thither. Argal sailed across the Bay of Fundy, and, entering the harbor, landed forty men. A gun was fired from the fort, as a signal to the people aboard; but Argal advanced with such rapidity, that he found the fort abandoned, and took possession. He then sailed up the river with his boats; where he viewed their fields, their barns and mill; these he spared; but at his return he destroyed the fort, and defaced the arms of the King of France.

Biencourt was at this time surveying the country at a distance; but was called home suddenly, and requested a conference with the English commander. They met in a meadow, with a few of their followers. After an ineffectual assertion of rights, equally claimed by both, Biencourt proposed, if he could obtain a protection from the Crown of England, and get the obnoxious Jesuit into his possession, to divide the fur trade, and disclose the mines of the country; but Argal refused to make any treaty, alleging that his orders were only to dispossess him; and threatening, if he should find him there again, to use him as an enemy. Whilst they were in conference, one of the natives came up to them, and in broken French, with suitable gestures, endeavored to mediate a peace; wondering that persons, who seemed to him, to be of one nation, should make war on each other. This affecting incident served to put them both into good humor.

As it was a time of peace between the two crowns, the only pretext for this expedition, was the intrusion of the French into limits claimed by the English, in virtue of prior discovery. This mode of dispossessing them has been censured, as "contrary to the Law of Nations, because inconsistent with their peace." It was, however, agreeable to the powers granted in the charter of 1609; and even the seizure of the French vessels, on board of which was a large quantity of provision, clothing, furniture, and trading goods, was also warranted by the same charter. There is no evidence that this transaction was either approved by the Court of England, or resented by the Crown of France; certain it is, however, that it made way for a patent, which King James gave to Sir William Alexander, in 1621, by which he granted him the whole territory of Acadia, by the name of Nova Scotia; and yet the French continued their occupacy.

On his return towards Virginia, with his prizes, Argal visited the settlement which the Dutch had made at Hudson's river, near the spot where Albany is now built, and demanded possession; alleging that Hudson being an English subject, though in the service of Holland, could not alienate the lands which he had discovered; which were claimed by the crown of England, and granted by charter to the company of Virginia. The Dutch governor, Hendrick, Christiæns, being unable to make any resistance, quietly submitted himself and his colony to the Crown of England, and was permitted to remain there. But on the arrival of a reinforcement the next year, they built another fort, on the south end of the island Manhattan, where the city of New York now stands, and held the country for many years, under a grant from the States-general, by the name of New Netherlands.

The next spring (1614) Argal went to England, and two years after, Sir Thomas Dale followed him, leaving George Yeardley to govern the colony in his absence. It had been a grand object with Dale to discourage the planting of tobacco; but his successor, in compliance with the humor of the people, indulged them in cultivating it, in preference to corn. When the colony was in want of bread, Yeardley sent to the Indians of Chickahomony for their tribute, as promised by the treaty made with Dale. They answered, that they had paid his master; but that they had no orders, nor any inclination to obey him. Yeardley drew out one hundred of his best men, and went against them. They received him in a warlike posture; and after much threatening on both sides, Yeardley ordered his men to fire. Twelve of the natives were killed, and as many were made prisoners, of whom two were Elders of Senators. For their ransom, one hundred bushels of corn were paid, in addition to the tribute. Three boats were loaded for Jamestown, one of which was overset in the passage, and eleven men, with her whole cargo, were lost. The natives were so awed by this chastisement, that they supplied the colony with such provisions as they could spare from their own stock, or procure by hunting; and being thus supplied, the colonists gave themselves chiefly to the planting of tobacco.

In 1617, Captain Argal was appointed deputy-governor of the colony under Lord Delaware, and admiral of the adjacent seas. When he arrived, in May, he found the palisades broken, the church fallen down, and the well of fresh water spoiled; but the market-square and the streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco, and the people were dispersed, wherever they could find room to cultivate that precious weed; the value of which was supposed to be much augmented by a new mode of cure, drying it on lines, rather than fermenting it in heaps. The author of this discovery was a Mr. Lambert; and the effect of it was a great demand from England for lines, which afterwards became a capital article of traffic.

To counteract the ill effects of Yeardley's indulgence, Argal revived the severe discipline which was grounded on the martial laws, framed by his patron, Sir Thomas Smith; a specimen of which may be seen in the following edicts. He fixed the advance on goods imported from England, at twenty-five per cent, and the price of tobacco at three shillings per pound; the penalty for transgressing this regulation was three years slavery. No person was allowed to fire a gun, except in his own defence, against an enemy, till a new supply of ammunition should arrive; on penalty of one year's slavery. Absence from church on Sundays and holidays, was punished by laying the offender neck and heels, for one whole night, or by one week's slavery; the second offence, by one month's; and the third by one year's slavery. Private trade with the savages, or teaching them to use the arms, was punishable by death.

These and similar laws were executed with such rigor, as to render the deputy-governor odious to the colony. They had entertained a hope of deliverance, by the expected arrival of Lord Delaware, who sailed from England for Virginia (April, 1618) in a large ship, containing two hundred people. After touching at the Western Islands, a succession of contrary winds, and bad weather protracted the voyage for sixteen weeks, during which time, many of the people fell sick, and about thirty died, among whom was Lord Delaware. This fatal news was known first in Virginia; but the report of Argal's injurious conduct had gone to England, and made a deep impression to his disadvantage, on the minds of his best friends. Besides a great number of wrongs to particular persons, he was charged with converting to his own use, what remained of the public stores; with depredation and waste of the revenues of the company; and with many offences in matters of state and government. At first the company were so alarmed, as to think of an application to the crown for redress; but on further consideration, they wrote a letter of reprehension to him, and another of complaint to Lord Delaware, whom they supposed to be at the head of the colony, requesting that Argal might be sent to England, to answer the charges laid against him.

Both these letters fell into Argal's hands. Convinced that his time was short, he determined to make the most of it for his own interest. Having assumed the care of his lordship's estate in Virginia, he converted the labor of the tenants, and the produce of the land to his own use. But Edward Brewster, who had been appointed overseer of the plantation, by his lordship's orders before his death, endeavored to withdraw them from Argal's service, and employ them for the benefit of the estate. When he threatened one who refused to obey him, the fellow made his complaint to the governor; Brewster was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to death, in consequence of the aforesaid law of Sir Thomas Smith. Sensible of the extreme severity of these laws, the court which had passed the sentence, accompanied by the clergy, went in a body to the governor, to intercede for Brewster's life, which, with much difficulty they obtained, on this condition, that he should quit Virginia, never more to return; and should give his oath, that he would, neither in England, nor elsewhere, say or do any thing to the dishonor of the governor. On his going to England, he was advised to appeal to the company; and the prosecution of this appeal, added to the odium which Argal had incurred, determined them to send over a new governor, to examine the complairts and accusations on the spot.

The person chosen to execute this commission, was Yeardley, his rival, who, on this occasion, was knighted, and appointed governor-general of the colony, where he arrived in the spring of 1619

The Earl of Warwick, who was Argal's friend and partner in trade, had taken care to give him information of what was doing, and to despatch a small vessel, which arrived before the new governor, and carried off Argal with all his effects. By this manœuvre, and by virtue of his partnership with the earl, he not only escaped the intended examination in Virginia, but secured the greater part of his property, and defrauded the company of that restitution which they had a right to expect.

The character of Captain Argal, like that of most who were concerned in the colonization and government of Virginia, is differently drawn. On the one hand, he is spoken of as a good mariner, a civil gentleman, a man of public spirit, active, industrious, and careful to provide for the people, and keep them constantly employed. On the other hand, he is described as negligent of the public business, seeking only his own interest, rapacious, passionate, arbitrary, and cruel; pushing his unrighteous gains by all means of extortion and oppression. Mr. Stith, who, from the best information which he could obtain, at the distance of more than a century, by searching the public records of the colony, and the journals of the company, pronounces him "a man of good sense, of great industry and resolution," and says, that "when the company warned him peremptorily, to exhibit his accounts, and make answer to such things as they had charged against him, he so foiled and perplexed all their proceedings, and gave them so much trouble and annoyance, that they were never able to bring him to any account or punishment."

Nothing more is known of him, but that after quitting Virginia, he was employed in 1620, to command a ship of war, in an expedition against the Algerines; and that in 1623, he was knighted by King James.

About the same time that Lord Delaware died at sea, the great Indian prince Powhatan, died at his seat in Virginia, (April, 1618)* He was a person of excellent natural talents, penetrating and crafty, and a complete master of all the arts of savage policy; but totally void of truth, justice, and magnanimity. He was succeeded by his second brother Opitchapan; who, being decrepid and inactive, was soon obscured by the supe-

Dorsetshire. He was a lamb upon land, and a lion at sea. So patient on shore, that few could anger him; and on entering a ship as if he had assumed a new nature, so passionate that few could please him. Whitchurch, where his corpse was deposited, is distant three miles from Lyme.

* The time of this voyage is not accurately mentioned; but from comparing several dates and transactions, I think (with Mr. Prince) that it must have been in the summer of 1613. Certainly it was before Argal was made deputy-governor, in 1617, though some writers have placed it after that period.

* The same year is also memorable for the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, who may be considered as the founder of the colony of Virginia.

rior abilities and ambition of his younger brother Opechancanough. Both of them renewed and confirmed the peace which Powhatan had made with the colony; Opechancanough finally engrossed the whole power of government; for the Indians do not so much regard the order of succession, as brilliancy of talents, and intrepidity of mind in their chiefs.

To ingratiate themselves with the prince and attach him more closely to their interest, the colony built a house for him, after the English mode. With this, he was so much pleased, that he kept the keys continually in his hands, opening and shutting the doors many times in a day and showing the machinery of the locks, to his own people and strangers. In return for this favor, he gave liberty to the English to seat themselves at any place on the shores of the rivers, where the natives had no villages, and entered into a further treaty with them for the discovery of mines and for mutual friendship and defence. This treaty was at the request of Opechancanough engraven on a brass plate, and fastened to one of the largest oaks, that it might be always in view, and held in perpetual remembrance.

Yeardley, being rid of the trouble of calling Argal to account, applied himself to the business of his government. The first thing he did was to add six new members to the council, Francis West, Nathaniel Powel, John Pory, John Ralfe, William Wickham, and Samuel Maycock. The next was to publish his intention to call a General Assembly, the privileges and powers of which were defined in his commission. He also granted to the oldest planters a discharge from all service to the colony, but such as was voluntary, or obligatory by the laws and customs of nations; with a confirmation of all their estates, real and personal, to be holden in the same manner as by English subjects. Finding a great scarcity of corn, he made some amends for his former error by promoting the cultivation of it. The first year of his administration (1619) was remarkable for very great crops of wheat and Indian corn, and for a great mortality of the people; not less than 300 of whom died.

In the month of July of this year, the first General Assembly of the colony of Virginia met at Jamestown.* The deputies were chosen by the townships or boroughs, no counties being at that time formed. From this circumstance the lower House of Assembly was always afterwards called the House of Burgess, till the revolution in 1776. In this assembly, the governor, council and burgesses sat in one house, and jointly "debated all matters, thought expedient for the good of the colony." The laws then enacted were of the nature of local regulations, and were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company. It is said that they were judiciously drawn up; but no vestige of them now remains.

Thus, at the expiration of twelve years from their settlement, the Virginians first enjoyed the privilege of a colonial legislature, in which they were represented by persons of their own election. They received as a favor, what they might have claimed as a right; and with minds depressed by the arbitrary system under which they had been held, thanked the company for this favor, and begged them to reduce a compendium, with his majesty's approbation, the laws of England suitable for Virginia; giving this as a reason, that it was not fit for subjects to be governed by any laws, but those which received an authority from their sovereign.

It seems to have been a general sentiment among these colonists, not to make Virginia the place of their permanent residence, but after having acquired a fortune by planting and trade, to return to England For this reason, most of them were destitute of families, and had no natural attachment to the country. To remedy this material defect, Sir Edwin Sandys the new treasurer, proposed to the company to send over a freight of young women, to make wives for the planters. This proposal with several others made by that eminent statesman, was received with universal applause; and the success answered their expectations. Ninety girls, "young and uncorrupt," were sent over at one time (1620); and sixty more, "handsome and well recommended" at another (1621.) These were soon blessed with the object of their wishes. The price of a wife, at first, was one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, but as the number became scarce, the price was increased to one hundred and fifty pounds, the value of which in money was three shillings per pound. By a subsequent act of assembly, it was ordained, that "the price of a wife should have the precedence of all other debts of recovery and payment, because, of all kinds of merchandise, this was the most desirable."

To this salutary project of the company, King James was pleased to add another, which he signified to the treasurer by a letter, *commanding* them to send to Virginia one hundred dissolute persons, convicted of crimes, who should be delivered to them by the knight-marshal. The season of the year (November) was unfavorable for transportation; but so peremptory was the king's command, and so submissive the temper of the company, that they became bound for the subsistence of these wretches till they could sail, which was not till February. The expense of this equipment was 4000*l.*

On this transaction, Mr. Stith, who takes every opportunity to expose the weak and arbitrary government of King James, makes the following remarks. "Those who know with how high a hand this king carried it even with his parliaments, will not be surprised to find him thus unmercifully insult a private company, and load them against all law, with the maintenance and extraordinary expense of transporting such persons as he thought proper to banish. And I cannot but remark, how early that custom arose of transporting loose and dissolute persons to Virginia, as a place of punishment and disgrace; which though originally designed for the advancement and increase of the colony, yet has certainly proved a great hindrance to its growth. For it hath laid one of the finest countries in America under the unjust scandal of being another Siberia, fit only for the reception of malefactors, and the vilest of the people. So that few have been induced willingly to transport themselves to such a place; and our younger sisters, the northern colonies, have accordingly profited thereby. For this is one cause that they have outstripped us so much in the number of their inhabitants, and in the goodness and frequency of their towns and cities."

In the same year (1620) the merchandise of human flesh, was further augmented, by the introduction of negroes from Africa. A Dutch ship brought twenty of them for sale; and the Virginians, who had but just emerged from a state of vassalage themselves, began to be the owners and masters of slaves.

The principal commodity produced in Virginia besides corn, was tobacco; an article of luxury much in demand in the north of Europe. Great had been the difficulties attending this trade, partly from the jealousy of the Spaniards, who cultivated it in their American colonies; partly from the obsequiousness of James to that nation; and partly from his own squeamish aversion to tobacco, against the use of which, in his princely wisdom, he had written a book.*

The Virgina Company themselves were opposed to its cultivation, and readily admitted various projects for encouraging other productions, of more immediate use and benefit to mankind. As the country naturally yielded mulberry trees and vines, it was thought that silk and wine might be manufactured to advantage. To facilitate these projects, eggs of the silk-worm were procured from the southern countries of Europe; books on the subject were translated from foreign languages; persons skilled in the management of silk-worms and the cultivation of vines were engaged; and to crown all, a royal order from King James, enclosed in a letter from the treasurer and council, was sent over to Virginia, with high expectations of success. But no exertions nor authority could prevail, to make the cultivation of tobacco yield to that of silk and wine: and after the trade of the colony was laid open and the Dutch had free access to their ports, the growth of tobacco received such encouragement, as to become the grand staple of the colony.

At this time, the company in England was divided into two parties; the Earl of Warwick was at the head of one, and the Earl of Southampton of the other. The former was the least in number, but had the ear and support of the king; and their virulence was directed against Yeardley, who had intercepted a packet from his own secretary, Pory, containing the proofs of Argal's misconduct, which had been prepared to be used against him at his trial; but which the secretary had been bribed to convey to his close friend the Earl of Warwick. The governor, being a man of a mild and gentle temper, was so overcome with the opposition and menaces of the faction, which were publicly known in the colony, that his authority was weakened, his spirits dejected, and his health impaired to that degree that he became unfit for business, and requested a dismission from the cares of government. His commission expired in November, 1621, but he continued in the colony, was a member of the council, and enjoyed the respect and esteem of the people.

During this short administration, many new settlements were made on James and York rivers, and the planters being supplied with wives and servants began to think themselves at home, and to take pleasure in cultivating their lands; but they neglected to provide for their defence, placing too great confidence in the continuance of that tranquillity which they had long enjoyed by their treaty with the Indians.

SIR FRANCIS WYAT.

SIR FRANCIS WYAT—Succeeds Yeardley in the government of Virginia—Deceived by the Indian chiefs—Massacre of the colonists—He opposes the change of government attempted by the Crown—He returns to Ireland.

WHEN Sir George Yeardley requested a dismission from the burden of government, the Earl of Southampton recommended to the company Sir Francis Wyat, as his successor. He was a young gentleman of a good family, in Ireland, who, on account of his education, fortune and integrity, was every way equal to the place, and was accordingly chosen.

He received from the company a set of instructions, which were intended to be a permanent directory for the governor and council of the colony. In these it was recommended to them, to provide for the service of God, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; to administer justice according to the laws of England; to protect the natives, and cultivate peace with them; to educate their children; and to endeavor their civilization and conversion; to encourage industry; to suppress gaming, intemperance, and excess in apparel; to give no offence to any other prince, state, or people; to harbor no pirates; to build fortifications; to cultivate corn, wine, and silk; to search for minerals, dyes, gums, medical drugs; and to "draw off the people from the excessive planting of tobacco."

Immediately on Wyat's arrival, (October, 1621) he sent a special message to Opitchapan and Opechancanough, by Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of note in the colony, and a great friend to the Indians, to confirm the former treaties of peace and friendship. They both expressed great satisfaction at the arrival of the new governor; and Mr. Thorpe imagined that he could perceive an uncommon degree of religious sensibility in Opechancanough. That artful chief so far imposed on the credulity of this good gentleman, as to persuade him that he acknowledged his own religion to be wrong; that he desired to be instructed in the Christian doctrine, and that he wished for a more friendly and familiar intercourse with the English. He also confirmed a former promise of sending a guide to show them some mines above the falls. But all these pretences served only to conceal a design which he had long meditated, to destroy the whole English colony.

The peace which had subsisted since the marriage of Pocahontas had lulled the English into security, and disposed them to extend their plantations along the banks of the rivers, as far as the Potowmack, in situations too remote from each other. Their houses were open and free to the natives, who became acquainted with their manner of living, their hours of eating, of labor and repose, the use of their arms and tools, and frequently borrowed their boats, for the convenience of fishing and fowling, and to pass the rivers. This familiarity was pleasing to the English, as it indicated a spirit of moderation, which had been always recommended by the company in England to the planters; and, as it afforded a favorable symptom of the civilization and conversion of the natives; but, by them, or their leaders, it was designed to conceal the most sanguinary intentions.

In the spring of the next year, (1622) an opportunity offered to throw off the mask of friendship, and kindle their secret enmity into a blaze. Among the natives who frequently visited the English, was a tall, handsome, young chief, renowned for courage and success in war, and excessively fond of finery in dress. His Indian name was Nematanow; but by the English he was called Jack of the Feather. Coming to the store of one Morgan, he there viewed several toys and ornaments, which were very agreeable to the Indian taste, and persuaded Morgan to carry them to Pamunky, where he assured him of an advantageous traffic. Morgan consented to go with him; but was murdered by the way.

* Beverley (p. 35) says that the first Assembly was called in 1620. But Stith, who had more accurately searched the records, says that the first was in 1619 and the second in 1620.

* This book is entitled "A Counterblast to Tobacco," and is printed in a folio volume of the works of King James. In this curious work, he compares the smoke of tobacco to the smoke of the bottomless pit, and says it is only proper to regale the devil after dinner.

In a few days, Nematanow came again to the store, with Morgan's cap on his head; and being interrogated by two stout lads, who attended there, what was become of their master, he answered that he was dead. The boys seized him, and endeavored to carry him before a magistrate; but his violent resistance, and the insolence of his language, so provoked them, that they shot him. The wound proved mortal; and when dying, he earnestly requested of the boys, that the manner of his death might be concealed from his countrymen, and that he might be privately buried among the English.

As soon as this transaction was known, Opechancanough demanded satisfaction; but being answered that the retaliation was just, he formed a plan for a general massacre of the English, and appointed Friday, the twenty-second day of March, for its execution; but he dissembled his resentment to the last moment. Parties of Indians were distributed through the colony, to attack every plantation, at the same hour of the day, when the men should be abroad and at work. On the evening before, and on the morning of that fatal day, the Indians came as usual to the houses of the English, bringing game and fish to sell, and sat down with them to breakfast. So general was the combination, and so deep the plot, that about one hour before noon, they fell on the people in the fields and houses; and, with their own tools and weapons, killed indiscriminately, persons of all ages, sexes and characters; inhumanly mangling their dead bodies, and triumphing over them, with all the expressions of frantic joy.

Where any resistance was made it was generally successful. Several houses were defended, and some few of the assailants slain. One of Captain Smith's old soldiers, Nathaniel Causie, though wounded, split the skull of an Indian, and put his whole party to flight. Several other parties were dispersed by the firing of a single gun, or by the presenting of a gun, even in the hand of a woman.

Jamestown was preserved by the fidelity of Chanco, a young Indian convert, who lived with Richard Pace, and was treated by him as a son. The brother of this Indian came to lie with him, the night before the massacre, and revealed to him the plot, urging him to kill his master, as he intended to do by his own. As soon as he was gone in the morning, Chanco gave notice of what was intended, to his master; who, having secured his own house, gave the alarm to his neighbors, and sent an express to Jamestown.

Three hundred and forty-nine people* fell at this general massacre; of which number, six were members of the council. None of these were more lamented than Mr George Thorpe. This gentleman was one of the best friends of the Indians, and had been earnestly concerned in the business of instructing and evangelizing them. He had left a handsome estate, and an honorable employment in England, and was appointed chief manager of a plantation and a seminary, designed for the maintenance and education of young Indians, in Virginia. He had been remarkably kind and generous to them: and it was by his exertion, that the house was built, in which Opechancanough took so much pleasure. Just before his death, he was warned of his danger, by one of his servants, who immediately made his escape; but Mr. Thorpe would not believe that they intended him any harm, and thus fell a victim to their fury. His corpse was mangled and abused, in a manner too shocking to be related.

One effect of this massacre was the ruin of the ironworks, at Falling Creek, where the destruction was so complete, that, of twenty-four people, only a boy and girl escaped by hiding themselves. The superintendant of this work had discovered a vein of lead ore, which he kept to himself; but made use of it, to supply himself and his friends with shot. The knowledge of this was lost by his death for many years. It was again found by Colonel Byrd, and again lost. The place was a third time found by John Chiswell; and the mine is now, or has been lately, wrought to advantage.

Another consequence of this fatal event, was an order of the government, to draw together the remnant of the people into a narrow compass. Of eighty plantations, all were abandoned but six, which lay contiguous, at the lower part of James river.* The owners or overseers of three or four others refused to obey the order, and entrenched themselves, mounting cannon for their defence.†

The next effect was a ferocious war. The Indians were hunted like beasts of prey, and as many as could be found were destroyed. But as they were very expert in hiding themselves and escaping the pursuit, the English resolved to dissemble with them in their own way. To this they were further impelled by the fear of famine. As seed-time came on, both sides thought it necessary to relax their hostile operations and attend to the business of planting. Peace was then offered by the English, and accepted by the Indians; but when the corn began to grow, the English suddenly attacked the Indians in their fields, killed many of them, and destroyed their corn. The summer was such a scene of confusion that a sufficiency of food could not be obtained, and the people were reduced to great straits.

The unrelenting severity with which this war was prosecuted by the Virginians against the Indians, transmitted mutual abhorrence to the posterity of both; and procured to the former the name of "the long knife," by which they are still distinguished in the hieroglyphic language of the natives.

Though a general permission of residence had been given by Powhatan, and his successors, to the colonists; yet they rather affected to consider the country as acquired by discovery or conquest; and both these ideas were much favored by the English court.‡ The civilization of the natives was a very desirable object; but those who knew them best, thought that they could not be civilized till they were first subdued; or till their priests were destroyed.

It is certain that many pious and charitable persons in England were very warmly interested in their conversion. Money and books, church plate and other furniture were liberally contributed. A college was in a fair way of being founded; to the support of which lands were appropriated and brought into a state of cultivation. Some few instances of the influence of gospel principles on the savage mind, particularly Pocahontas and Chanco, gave sanguine hope of success; and even the massacre did not abate the ardor of that hope, in the minds of those who had indulged it. The experience of almost two centuries has not extinguished it; and, however discouraging the prospect, it is best for the cause of virtue that it never should be abandoned. There may be some fruit, which though not splendid nor extensive, yet may correspond with the genius of a religion, which is compared by its author, to "leaven hid in the meal." The power of evangelical truth on the human mind, must not be considered as void of reality, because not exposed to public observation.

When the news of the massacre was carried to England, the governor and colony were considered as subjects of blame, by those very persons who had always enjoined them to treat the Indians with mildness. However, ships were despatched with a supply of provisions, to which the corporation of London as well as several persons of fortune largely contributed. The king *lent* them twenty barrels of powder, and a quantity of *unserviceable* arms from the tower, and *promised* to levy four hundred soldiers, in the several counties of England, for their protection; but though frequently solicited by the company in England, and the colony in Virginia, he never could be induced to fulfil this promise.

The calamities which had befallen the colony, and the dissensions which had agitated the company, became such topics of complaint, and were so represented to the king and his privy council, that a commission was issued, under the great seal, to Sir William Jones, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Gofton, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir William Pitt, Sir Henry Bouchier, and Sir Henry Spilman, or any four of them, to inquire into all matters respecting Virginia, from the beginning of its settlement.

To enable them to carry on this inquiry, all the books and papers of the company were ordered into the custody of the commissioners; their deputy-treasurer was arrested and confined; and all letters which should arrive from the colony, were, by the king's command, to be intercepted. This was a very discouraging introduction to the business, and plainly showed not only the arbitrary disposition of the king; but the turn which would be given to the inquiry. On the arrival of a ship from Virginia, her packets were seized, and laid before the privy council.

The transactions of these commissioners were always kept concealed; but the result of them was made known by an order of Council, (October, 1623) which set forth, "That his majesty having taken into his princely consideration the distressed state of Virginia, occasioned by the ill government of the company, had resolved by a new charter, to appoint a governor and twelve assistants to reside in England; and a governor with twelve assistants to reside in Virginia; the former to be nominated by his majesty in council; the latter to be nominated by the governor and assistants in England, and to be approved by the king in council; and that all proceedings should be subject to the royal direction." The company was ordered to assemble and resolve whether they would submit, and resign their charter; and in default of such submission, the king signified his determination to proceed for recalling their charter, in such manner as to him should seem meet.

This arbitrary mandate so astonished the company, that when they met, it was read over three times, as if they had distrusted their own ears. Then a long silence ensued; and when the question was called for, twenty-six only voted for a surrender, and one hundred and twelve declared against it.

These proceedings gave such an alarm to all who were concerned in the plantation or trade of the colony, that some ships which were preparing to sail were stopped; but the king ordered them to proceed; declaring that the change of government would injure no man's property. At the same time he thought it proper to appoint commissioners to go to Virginia, and inquire into the state of the colony. These were Sir John Harvey, afterwards governor, John Pory, who had been secretary, Abraham Percy, Samuel Matthews, and John Jefferson. The subjects of their inquiry were "How many plantations there be; which of them be public and which private; what people, men, women and children, there be in each plantation; what fortifications, or what place is best to be fortified; what houses and how many; what cattle, arms, ammunition and ordnance; what boats and barges; what bridges and public works; how the colony standeth in respect of the savages; what hopes may be truly conceived of the plantation and the means to attain these hopes." The governor and council of Virginia were ordered to afford their best assistance to the commissioners; but no copy of their instructions was delivered to them.

After the departure of the commissioners, a writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued by the court of King's Bench against the company (November 10, 1623) and upon the representation of the attorney-general that no defence could be made by the company without their books and their deputy treasurer, the latter was liberated and the former were restored. The re-delivery of them to the privy council was protracted, till the clerks of the company had taken copies of them.*

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* The number slain at the several plantations; from Captain Smith's history, p. 149.

At Captain John Berkley's plantation, seated at the Falling Creek, sixty-six miles from James city, himself and twenty-one others; at Master Thomas Sheffield's plantation, three miles from the Falling Creek, himself and twelve others; at Henrico Islands, two miles from Sheffield's plantation, six; slain of the college people, twenty miles from Henrico, seventeen; at Charles city, and of Captain Smith's men, five; at the next adjoining plantation, eight; at William Farrar's house, ten; at Brickley Hundred, fifty miles from Charles city, Master George Thorpe and ten more; at Westover, a mile from Brickley, two; at Master John West's plantation, two; at Captain Nathaniel West's plantation, two; at Richard Owen's house, himself and six more; at Lieutenant Gibb's plantation, twelve; at Master Owen Macar's house, himself and three more; at Martin's Hundred, seven miles from James city, seventy-three; at another place, seven; at Edward Bonit's plantation, fifty; at Master Water's house, himself and four more; at Apamatuck's river, at Master Perse's plantation, five miles from the College, four; at Master Maycock's dividend, Captain Samuel Maycock and four more; at Flowerda Hundred, Sir George Yeardley's plantation, six; on the side opposite to it, seven; at Master Swinhow's house, himself and seven more; at Master William Bickar's house, himself and four more; at Weanock, of Sir George Yeardley's people, twenty-one; at Powel Brooke, Captain Nathaniel Powel and twelve more; at Southampton Hundred, five; at Martin's Brandon Hundred, seven; at Captain Henry Spilman's house, two; at Ensign Spence's house, five; at Master Thomas Perse's house, by Mulberry island, himself and four more. The whole number, three hundred and forty-nine.

* The six plantations to which the government ordered the people to retire, were, Shirley Hundred, Flowerda Hundred, Jamestown, Paspiha, Kiquotan, Southampton.

† Those persons who refused to obey the order, were Mr. Edward Hill, at Elizabeth city; Mr. Samuel Jordan, at Jordan's Point; Mr. Daniel Gookin, at Newport News; Mrs. Proctor, a gentlewoman of an heroic spirit, defended her plantation a month, till the officers of the colony obliged her to abandon it.

‡ Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, (p. 153) observes, "That the lands of this country were taken from them by conquest is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchases, which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country, we know has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form." A more particular account of the earliest purchases is desirable, specifying the date, the extent and the compensation.

* These copies were deposited in the hands of the Earl of Southampton, and after his death, which happened in 1624, descended to his son. After his death in 1667, they were purchased of his executors for sixty guineas, by Col. Byrd, of Virginia, then in England. From these copies, and from the records of the colony, Mr. Stith compiled the History of Virginia; which extends no further than the year 1624.

In the beginning of 1624 the commissioners arrived in Virginia, and a General Assembly was called, not at their request; for they kept all their designs as secret as possible. But notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken, to prevent the colony from getting any knowledge of the proceedings in England, they were by this time, well informed of the whole, and had copies of several papers which had been exhibited against them.

The Assembly, which met on the 14th of February, drew up answers to what had been alleged, in a spirited and masterly style; and appointed John Porentis, one of the council, to go to England as their agent, to solicit the cause of the colony. This gentleman unhappily died on his passage; but their petition to the king and their address to the privy council were delivered, in which they requested that in case of a change of the government they might not again fall into the power of Sir Thomas Smith, or his confidants; that the governors sent over to them might not have absolute authority, but be restrained to act by advice of council; and above all, that they might "have the liberty of General Assemblies, than which nothing could more conduce to the public satisfaction and utility." They complained that the short continuance of their governors had been very disadvantageous. "The first year they were raw and inexperienced, and generally in ill health, through a change of climate. The second, they began to understand something of the affairs of the colony; and the third, they were preparing to return."

To the honor of Governor Wyat, it is observed, that he was very active, and joined most cordially in preparing these petitions; and was very far from desiring absolute and inordinate power, either in himself or in future governors.

The Assembly was very unanimous in their proceedings, and intended, like the commissions, to keep them secret. But Pory, who had long been versed in the arts of corruption, found means to obtain copies of all their acts. Edward Sharples, clerk of the council, was afterwards convicted of bribery and breach of trust, for which he was sentenced to the pillory, and lost one of his ears.

The commissioners, finding that things were going in the Assembly contrary to their wishes, resolved to open some of their powers with a view to intimidate them; and then endeavored to draw them into an explicit submission to the revocation of their charter. But the Assembly had the wisdom and firmness to evade the proposal, by requesting to see the whole extent of their commission. This being denied, they answered, that when the surrender of their charter should be demanded by authority, it would be time enough to make a reply.

The laws enacted by this Assembly are the oldest which are to be found in the records of the colony. They contain many wise and good provisions. One of them is equivalent to a *Bill of Rights*, defining the powers of the Governor, Council, and Assembly; and the privileges of the people, with regard to taxes, burdens and personal services.* The twenty-second of March, the day of the massacre, was ordered to be solemnized as a day of devotion.

Whilst these things were doing in the colony, its enemies in England were endeavoring, by means of some persons who had returned from Virginia, to injure the character of the governor; but he was sufficiently vindicated, by the testimony of other persons, who asserted, on their own knowledge, the uprightness of his proceedings, and declared upon their honor and conscience, that they esteemed him just and sincere, free from all corruption and private views. As he had requested leave to quit the government at the expiration of his commission, the company took up the matter; and when Sir Samuel Argal was nominated as a candidate in competition with him, there appeared but eight votes in his favor, and sixty-nine for the continuance of Wyat.

The Parliament assembled in February, 1624, and the company finding themselves too weak to resist the encroachments of a prince, who had engrossed almost the whole power of the State, applied to the House of Commons for protection. The king was highly offended at this attempt, and sent a prohibitory letter to the speaker, which was no sooner read, than the company's petition was ordered to be withdrawn.

However singular this interference on the one hand, and compliance on the other may now appear, it was usual at that time for the king to impose his mandates, and for the Commons, who knew not the extent of their own rights, to obey; though not without the animadversions of the most intelligent and zealous members. The royal prerogative was held inviolably sacred, till the indiscretions of a subsequent reign reduced it to an object of contempt. In this instance, the Commons, however passive in their submission to the crown, yet showed their regard to the interest of the complainants as well as of the nation, by petitioning the king that no tobacco should be imported, but of the growth of the colonies. To this James consented, and a proclamation was issued accordingly.

The commissioners, on their return from Virginia, reported to the king, "that the people sent to inhabit there were most of them, by sickness, famine and massacre of the savages, dead; that those who were living were in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages; but that the country itself appeared to be fruitful, and to those who had resided there some time, healthy; that if industry were used, it would produce divers staple commodities, though for sixteen years past, it had yielded few or none; that this neglect must fall on the governors and company, who had power to direct the plantations; that the said plantations were of great importance, and would remain a lasting monument to posterity of his majesty's most gracious and happy government, if the same were prosecuted to those ends for which they were first undertaken; that if the provisions and instructions of the first charter (1606) had been pursued, much better effect had been produced than by the alteration thereof into so *popular* a course, and among so many hands as it then was, which caused much confusion and contention."

On this report, the king, by a proclamation, (July 15) suppressed the meetings of the company; and, till a more perfect settlement could be made, ordered a privy council to sit every Thursday, at the house of Sir Thomas Smith for conducting the affairs of the colony. Soon after, viz. in Trinity term, the *Quo Warranto* was brought to trial, in the court of king's bench; judgment was brought against the company, and the charter was vacated.

This was the end of the Virginia Company, one of the most public spirited societies which had ever been engaged in such an undertaking. Mr. Stith, who had searched all their records and papers, concludes his history by observing that they were "gentlemen of very noble, clear, and disinterested views, willing to spend much of their time and money, and did actually expend more than 100,000*l.* of their own fortunes, without any prospect of present gain or retribution, in advancing an enterprise which they conceived to be of very great consequence to their country."

No sooner was the company dissolved, than James issued a new commission (August 26) for the government of the colony. In it, the history of the plantation was briefly recited. Sir Francis Wyat was continued governor, with eleven assistants or counsellors, Francis West, Sir George Yeardley, George Sandys, Roger Smith, Ralph Hamor, who had been of the former council, with the addition of John Martin, John Harvey, Samuel Matthews, Abraham Percy, Isaac Madison, and William Clayborne. The governor and council were appointed during the king's pleasure, with authority to rule the colony, and punish offenders, as fully as any governor and council might have done. No assembly was mentioned or allowed, because the king supposed, agreeable to the report of the commissioners, that "so popular a course" was one cause of the late calamities; and he hated the existence of such a body within any part of his dominions, especially when they were disposed to inquire into their own rights, and redress the grievances of the people.

After the death of James, which happened on the 27th of March, 1625, his son and successor, Charles, issued a proclamation, expressing his resolution, that the colony and government of Virginia should depend immediately on himself, without the intervention of any commercial company. He also followed the example of his father, in making no mention of a representative assembly, in any of his subsequent commissions.

Governor Wyat, on the death of his father, Sir George Wyat, having returned to Ireland, the government of Virginia fell again into the hands of Sir George Yeardley. But, his death happening within the year 1626, he was succeeded by Sir John Harvey.

* At this time women were scarce and much in request, and it was common for a woman to contract herself with more than one man at a time; by which means great uneasiness arose between private persons, and much trouble to the government. It was therefore ordered, "That every minister should give notice in his church, that what man or woman soever should use any word or speech, tending to a contract of marriage to two several persons at one time, although not precise and legal, should either undergo corporal punishment, or pay a fine, according to the quality of the offender."—(Stith, 322

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD,* MARTIN PRING, BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT, GEORGE WEYMOUTH

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD. His voyage to Virginia—Discovers Cape Cod—His interview and traffic with the natives—Sails for England—Accompanies John Smith to Virginia—His death. MARTIN PRING. Sails for North Virginia—Discovers Fox Islands—Enters Massachusetts bay—Interview with the natives—Returns to England—His second Voyage—BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT—His voyage to Virginia—He is killed by the natives—GEORGE WEYMOUTH—Sails for America—Discovers George's Islands and Pentecost Harbor—Kidnaps some of the natives.

THE voyages made to America, by these navigators, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, may be considered as the leading steps to the colonization of New England. Excepting the fishery at Newfoundland, the Europeans were at that time in actual possession of no part of North America; though the English claimed a right to the whole, by virtue of prior discovery. The attempts which Raleigh had made, to colonize the southern part of the territory, called Virginia, had failed; but he and his associates enjoyed an exclusive patent from the Crown of England, for the whole coast; and these adventurers obtained a license, under this authority, to make their voyages and settlements.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD was an active, intrepid, and experienced mariner, in the west of England. He had sailed in one of the ships employed by Raleigh, to Virginia; and was convinced that there must be a shorter and safer way, across the Atlantic, than the usual route, by the Canaries and the West India Islands. At whose expense he undertook his voyage to the northern part of Virginia, does not appear; but that it was with the approbation of Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates, is evident from an account of the voyage which was presented to him.

On the 26th of March, 1602, Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, in a small bark, the tonnage of which is not mentioned, carrying thirty-two persons, of whom eight were mariners.† The design of the voyage was to find a direct and short course to Virginia; and, upon the discovery of a proper seat for a plantation, twelve of the company were to return to England, and twenty to remain in America; till further assistance and supplies could be sent to them.

The former part of this design was accomplished, as far as the winds and other circumstances would permit. They went no farther southward, than the 37th degree of latitude, within sight of St. Mary, one of the Western Islands. In the 43d degree they approached the continent of America, which they first discovered on the 14th of May, after a passage of seven weeks. The weakness of their bark, and their ignorance of the route, made them carry but little sail; or they might have arrived some days sooner. They judged that they had shortened the distance 500 leagues.

It is not easy to determine, from the journal, what part of the coast they first saw. Oldmixon says it was the north side of Massachusetts Bay. The description in the journal does, in some respects, agree with the coast, extending from Cape Ann to Marblehead, or to the rocky point of Nahant.

From a rock, which they called *Savage Rock*, a shallop of European fabric came off to them; in which were eight savages; two or three of whom were dressed in European habits. From these circumstances, they concluded that some fishing vessel of Biscay had been there, and that the crew were destroyed by the natives. These people, by signs, invited them to stay, but "the harbor being naught, and doubting the weather," they did not think proper to accept the invitation.

In the night they stood to the southward, and the next morning, found themselves "embayed with a mighty headland," which at first appeared "like an island, by reason of a large sound, which lay between it and the main." Within a league of this land, they came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, and took a very

* The account of Gosnold's voyage and discovery, in the first volume of this work, is so erroneous, from the misinformation which I had received, that I thought it best to write the whole of it anew. The former mistakes are here corrected, partly from the best information which I could obtain, after the most assiduous inquiry, but principally from my own observations on the spot, compared with the journal of the voyage, more critically examined than before.

† The names of the persons who went in this voyage, as far as I can collect them, are as follows: Bartholomew Gosnold, commander; Bartholomew Gilbert, second officer; John Angel; Robert Salterne—he went again the next year with Pring—he was afterwards a clergyman; William Streete; Gabriel Archer, gentleman and journalist—he afterwards went to Virginia—Archer's Hope, near Williamsburg, is named from him; James Rosier—he wrote an account of the voyage and presented it to Sir Walter Raleigh; John Brierton, or Brereton; —— Tucker from whom the shoal called Tucker's Terror is named

great quantity of cod. From this circumstance, the land was named *Cape Cod*. It is described as a low sandy shore, but without danger, and lying in the latitude of 42°. Capt. Gosnold with Mr. Brierton and three men, went to it and found the shore bold and the sand very deep. A young Indian, with copper pendants in his ears, a bow in his hand, and arrows at his back, came to them, and in a friendly manner offered his service; but as they were in haste to return to the ship, they had little conference with him.

On the 16th, they sailed by the shore southerly; and, at the end of twelve leagues, saw a point of land, with breakers at a distance. In attempting to double this point, they came suddenly into shoal water; from which they extricated themselves by standing off to sea. This point they named *Point Care*, and the breakers, *Tucker's Terror*, from the person who first discovered the danger. In the night they bore up towards the land, and came to anchor in eight fathoms. The next day, (17th) seeing many breakers about them, and the weather being foul, they lay at anchor.

On the 18th, the weather being clear, they sent their boat to sound a beach, which lay off another point, to which they gave the name of *Gilbert's Point*. The ship remained at anchor the whole of this day; and some of the natives came from the shore in their canoes to visit them. These people were dressed in skins, and furnished with pipes and tobacco; one of them had a breast-plate of copper. They appeared more timorous than those of Savage Rock, but were very thievish.

When the people in the boat returned from sounding, they reported a depth of water from four to seven fathoms, over the breach; which the ship passed the next day, (19th) and came to anchor again above a league beyond it. Here they remained two days surrounded by scools of fish and flocks of aquatic birds. To the northward of west, they saw several hummocks, which they imagined were distinct islands; but when they sailed towards them, (on the 21st) they found them to be small hills within the land. They discovered also an opening, into which they endeavored to enter, supposing it to be the southern extremity of the sound between Cape Cod and the main land. But on examination the water proving very shoal, they called it *Shoal Hope*, and proceeded to the westward. The coast was full of people, who ran along the shore, accompanying the ship as she sailed; and many smokes appeared within the land.

In coasting along to the westward, they discovered an island, on which the next day (22) they landed. The description of it in the journal is this: "A disinhabited island; from Shoal Hope it is eight leagues; in circuit it is five miles, and hath forty-one degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant; for we found it full of wood, *vines*, gooseberry bushes, hurtberries, raspices, eglantine [sweet-briar,] &c. Here we had cranes, herns, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds; which there, at that time, upon the cliffs, being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw deer. Here we rode in eight fathoms, near the shore; where we took great store of cod, as before at Cape Cod, but much better. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it." They gave it the name of *Martha's Vineyard*, from the great number of vines which they found on it.

From this island, they passed (on the 24th) round a very high and distinguished promontory; to which they gave the name of *Dover Cliff*; and came to anchor "in a fair sound, where they rode all night."

Between them and the main, which was then in sight, lay a "ledge of rocks, extending a mile into the sea but all above water, and without danger." They went round the western extremity of this ledge, and came to in eight fathoms of water, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever they had seen." This they called *Gosnold's Hope*. The north side of it was the mair land stretching east and west, distant four leagues from the island, where they came to anchor, to which they gave the name of *Elizabeth*, in honor of their queen.

On the 28th of May, they held a council, respecting the place of their abode, which they determined to be "in the west part of Elizabeth Island, the north-east part running out of their ken." The island is thus described. "In the western side, it admitteth some creeks or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places meeteth; to which the Indians from the main, do often resort for fishing crabs. There is eight fathom very near the shore, and the latitude is 41° 10′. The breadth of the island from sound to sound, in the western part, is not passing a mile, at most; altogether unpeopled and disinhabited.

"It is overgrown with wood and rubbish. The woods are oak, ash, beech walnut, witch-hazel, sassafrage and cedars, with divers others of unknown names. The rubbish is wild-peas, young sassafrage, cherry trees, vines, eglantine (or sweet-briar), gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of the like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, rasps, ground nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c. without count. Touching the fertility of the soil, by our own experience, we found it to be excellent; for, sowing some English pulse, it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot.

"In this island is a pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles; on one side not distant from the sea thirty yards. In the centre of it is a rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground, full of wood and rubbish, on which we began our fort and place of abode, and made a punt or flat-bottomed boat to pass to and fro over the fresh water.

"On the north side, near adjoining to Elizabeth, is an islet, in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called *Hill's Hap*; to the northward of which, in the middle of an opening on the main, appeared another like it, which I called *Hap's Hill*." When Captain Gosnold with divers of the company "went in the shallop towards Hill's Hap, to view it and the sandy cove, they found a bark canoe, which the Indians had quitted for fear of them. This they took and brought to England. It is not said that they made any acknowledgment or recompense for it.

Before I proceed in the account of Gosnold's transactions, it is necessary to make some remarks on the preceding detail, which is either abridged or extracted from the journal written by Gabriel Archer. This journal contains some inaccuracies, which may be corrected by carefully comparing its several parts, and by actual observations of the places described. I have taken much pains to obtain information, by consulting the best maps, and conversing or corresponding with pilots and other persons. But for my greater satisfaction, I have visited the island on which Gosnold built his house and fort, the ruins of which are still visible, though at the distance of nearly two centuries.

That Gosnold's Cape Cod is the promontory which now bears that name, is evident from his description. The point which he denominated Care, at the distance of twelve leagues southward of Cape Cod, agrees very well with Malebarre, or Sandy Point, the south-eastern extremity of the county of Barnstable. The shoal water and breach, which he called *Tucker's Terror*, correspond with the shoal and breakers commonly called the Pollock Rip, which extends to the south-east of this remarkable point.

To avoid this danger, it being late in the day, he stood so far out to sea, as to overshoot the eastern entrance of what is now called the Vineyard sound. The land which he made in the night was a white cliff on the eastern coast of Nantucket, now called Sankoty Head. The breach which lay off Gilbert's Point, I take to be at the Bass Rip and the Pollock Rip, with the cross riplings which extend from the south-east extremity of that island. Over these riplings there is a depth of water, from four to seven fathoms, according to a late map of Nantucket, published by Peleg Coffin, Esq., and others. That Gosnold did not enter the Vineyard Sound, but overshot it in the night, is demonstrated by comparing his journal with that of Martin Pring, the next year; a passage from which shall be cited in its proper place.

The large opening which he saw, but did not enter, and to which he gave the name of Shoal Hope, agrees very well with the open shore, to the westward of the little island of Muskeget.

The island which he called Martha's Vineyard, now bears the name of No-Man's Land. This is clear from his account of its size, five miles in circuit; its distance from Shoal Hope, eight leagues, and from Elizabeth Island, five leagues; the safety of approaching it on all sides; and the small, but excellent cod, which are always taken near it in the spring months. The only material objection is, that he found deer upon the island; but this is removed by comparing his account with the journal of Martin Pring, who the next year, found deer in abundance on the large island, now called the Vineyard. I have had credible testimony, that deer have been seen swimming across the Vineyard Sound, when pursued by hunters. This island was a sequestered spot, where those deer who took refuge upon it, would probably remain undisturbed and multiply.*

The lofty promontory to which he gave the name of *Dover Cliff*, is Gay Head; an object too singular and entertaining to pass unobserved, and far superior in magnitude to any other cliff on any of these islands. The "fair sound" into which he entered after doubling this cliff, is the western extremity of the Vineyard Sound; and his anchoring place was probably in or near Menemsha Bight.

For what reason, and at what time, the name of Martha's Vineyard was transferred from the small island so called by Gosnold, to the large island which now bears it, are questions which remain in obscurity. That Gosnold at first took the southern side of this large island to be the main, is evident. When he doubled the cliff at its western end, he knew it to be an island; but gave no name to any part of it, except the Cliff.*

"The ledge of rocks extending a mile into the sea," between his anchoring ground and the man, is that remarkable ledge, distinguished by the name of the Sow and Pigs. The "stately sound" which he entered, after passing round these rocks, is the mouth of Buzzard's Bay; and the Island *Elizabeth*, is the westernmost of the islands which now go by the name of Elizabeth's Islands. Its Indian name is Cuttyhunk, a contraction of Poo-cut-oh-hunk-un-noh, which signifies a thing that lies out of the water. The names of the others are Nashawena, Pasque, Naushon, Nenimisset, and Peniquese, besides some of less note.

In this island, at the west end, on the north side, is a pond of fresh water, three quarters of a mile in length, and of unequal breadth; but if measured in all its sinuosities, would amount to two miles in circuit. In the middle of its breadth, near the west end, is a "rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground."

To this spot I went, on the 20th day of June, 1797, in company with several gentlemen,† whose curiosity and obliging kindness induced them to accompany me. The protecting hand of Nature has reserved this favorite spot to herself. Its fertility and its productions are exactly the same as in Gosnold's time, excepting the wood, of which there is none. Every species of what he calls "rubbish," with strawberries, peas, tansy, and other fruits and herbs, appear in rich abundance, unmolested by any animal but aquatic birds. We had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's storehouse; the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighboring beach; the rocks of the islet being less moveable, and lying in ledges.

The whole island of Cuttyhunk has been for many years stripped of its wood; but I was informed by Mr. Greenill, an old resident farmer, that the trees which formerly grew on it, were such as are described in Gosnold's Journal. The soil is a very fine garden mould, from the bottom of the vallies to the top of the hills, and affords rich pasture.

The length of the island is rather more than two miles, and its breadth about one mile. The beach between the pond and the sea is twenty-seven yards wide. It is so high and firm a barrier, that the sea never flows into the pond, but when agitated by a violent gale from the north-west. The pond is deep in the middle. It has no visible outlet. Its fish are perch, eels and turtles; and it is frequented by aquatic birds, both wild and domestic.

On the north side of the island, connected with it by a beach, is an elevation, the Indian name of which is Copicut. Either this hill, or the little island of Peniquese, which lies a mile to the northward, is the place which Gosnold called *Hill's Hap*. Between Copicut and Cuttyhunk is a circular sandy cove, with a narrow entrance. *Hap's Hill*, on the opposite shore of the

* The following information was given to me by Benjamin Bassett, Esq. of Chilmark.

"About the year 1720, the last deer was seen on the Vineyard and shot at. The horns of these animals have been ploughed up several times on the west end of the island. If one deer could swim across Vineyard Sound, why not more? No-Man's Land is four miles from the Vineyard, and if the deer could cross the Sound 7 miles, why not from the Vineyard to No-Man's land?"

* The reader will give the following conjecture as much weight as it deserves:

The large island is frequently called Martin's Vineyard, especially by the old writers. This is commonly supposed to be a mistake. But why? Captain Pring's Christian name was Martin, and this island has as good a right to the apellation of Vineyard as the other, being equally productive of vines. The names Martha and Martin are easily confounded, and as one island only was supposed to be designated by The Vineyard, it was natural to give it to the greater. The lesser became disregarded, and not being inhabited or claimed by any, it was supposed to belong to NO MAN, and was called No-Man's Land. In an old Dutch map, extant, in Ogilby's History of America, p. 168, the name of Martha's Vineyard is given to a small island lying southward of Elizabet Eyl; and the name of Texel is given to the large island, which is now called The Vineyard. The situation of the small island agrees with that of No-Man's Land.

† Noah Webster, Esq. of New York; Captain Tallman, Mr. John Spooner, Mr. Alter, a pilot of New Bedford.

main, distant four leagues, is a round elevation, on a point of land, near the Dumplin Rocks, between the rivers of Apooneganset and Pascamanset, in the township of Dartmouth.

From the south side of Cuttyhunk, the promontory of Gay head, which Gosnold called Dover Cliff, and the island which he named Martha's Vineyard, lie in full view, and appear to great advantage. No other objects, in that region, bear any resemblance to them, or to the description given of them: nor is there a ledge of rocks projecting from any other island a mile into the sea.

Whilst Gabriel Archer, and a party, generally consisting of ten, labored in clearing the "rocky islet" of wood, and building a store-house and fort, Captain Gosnold and the rest of the company were employed either in making discoveries, or fishing, or collecting sassafras. On the 31st of May, he went to the main land, on the shore of which he was met by a company of the natives, "men, women, and children, who, with all courteous kindness, entertained him, giving him skins of wild beasts, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings, colored, [wampum,] and such like things as they had about them." The stately groves, flowery meadows, and running brooks, afforded delightful entertainment to the adventurers. The principal discovery which they made, was of two good harbors; one of which I take to be Apooneganset, and the other Pascamanset, between which lies the round hill, which they called *Hap's Hill*. They observed the coast to extend five leagues further to the south-west, as it does, to Seconnet Point. As they spent but one day in this excursion, they did not fully explore the main, though from what they observed, the land being broken, and the shore rocky, they were convinced of the existence of other harbors on that coast.

On the 5th of June, an Indian chief and fifty men, armed with bows and arrows, landed on the island. Archer and his men left their work, and met them on the beach. After mutual salutations, they sat down, and began a traffic, exchanging such things as they had, to mutual satisfaction. The ship then lay at anchor, a league off. Gosnold seeing the Indians approach the island, came on shore with twelve men, and was received by Archer's party, with military ceremony, as their commander. The captain gave the chief a straw hat and two knives. The former he little regarded; the latter he received with great admiration.

In a subsequent visit, they became better acquainted, and had a larger trade for furs. At dinner, they entertained the savages with fish and mustard, and gave them beer to drink. The effect of the mustard on the noses of the Indians afforded them much diversion. One of them stole a target, and conveyed it on board his canoe; when it was demanded of the chief, it was immediately restored. No demand was made of the birch canoe, which Gosnold had a few days before taken from the Indians. When the chief and his retinue took their leave, four or five of the Indians staid and helped the adventurers to dig the roots of sassafras, with which, as well as furs and other productions of the country, the ship was loaded for her homeward voyage. Having performed this service, the Indians were invited on board the ship, but they declined the invitation, and returned to the main. This island had no fixed inhabitants; the natives of the opposite shore frequently visted it, for the purpose of gathering shell-fish, with which its creeks and coves abounded.

All these Indians had ornaments of copper. When the adventurers asked them, by signs, whence they obtained this metal, one of them made answer, by digging a hole in the ground, and pointing to the main; from which circumstance it was understood that the adjacent country contained mines of copper. In the course of almost two centuries, no copper has been there discovered; though iron, a much more useful metal, wholly unknown to the natives, is found in great plenty. The question, whence did they obtain copper! is yet without an answer.

Three weeks were spent in clearing the islet, digging and stoning a cellar, building a house, fortifying it with pallisades, and covering it with sedge, which then grew in great plenty on the sides of the pond. During this time, a survey was made of their provisions. After reserving enough to victual twelve men, who were to go home in the bark, no more could be left with the remaining twenty than would suffice them for six weeks; and the ship could not return till the end of the next autumn. This was a very discouraging circumstance.

A jealousy also arose respecting the profits of the ship's lading; those who staid behind claiming a share, as well as those who should return to England. Whilst these subjects were in debate, a single Indian came on board, from whose apparently grave and sober deportment they suspected him to have been sent as a spy. In a few days after the ship went to Hill's Hap, out of sight of the fort, to take in a load of cedar, and was there detained so much longer than they expected, that the party at the fort had expended their provision. Four of them went in search of shell-fish, and divided themselves, two and two, going different ways. One of these small parties was suddenly attacked by four Indians in a canoe, who wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow. His companion seized the canoe, and cut their bow-strings on which they fled. It being late in the day, and the weather stormy, this couple were obliged to pass the night in the woods, and did not reach the fort till the next day. The whole party subsisted on shell-fish, ground nuts, and herbs, till the ship came and took them on board. A new consultation was then holden. Those who had been most resolute to remain, were discouraged; and the unanimous voice was in favor of returning to England.

On the 17th of June, they doubled the rocky ledge of Elizabeth, passed by Dover Cliff, sailed to the island which they had called Martha's Vineyard, and employed themselves in taking young geese, cranes, and herns. The next day they set sail for England; and, after a pleasant passage of five weeks, arrived at Exmouth, in Devonshire.

Thus failed the first attempt to plant a colony in North Virginia; the causes of which are obvious. The loss of Sir Walter Raleigh's Company, in South Virginia, was then recent in memory, and the same causes might have operated here to produce the same effect. Twenty men, situated on an island, surrounded by other islands and the main, and furnished with six weeks provisions only, could not maintain possession of a territory to which they had no right against the force of its native proprietors. They might easily have been cut off, when seeking food abroad, or their fort might have been invested, and they must have surrendered at discretion, or have been starved to death, had no direct assault been made upon them. The prudence of their retreat is unquestionable to any person who considers their hazardous situation.

During this voyage, and especially whilst on shore, the whole company enjoyed remarkably good health. They were highly pleased with the salubrity, fertility, and apparent advantages of the country. Gosnold was so enthusiastic an admirer of it, that he was indefatigable in his endeavors to forward the settlement of a colony in conjunction with Captain John Smith. With him, in 1607, he embarked in the expedition to South Virginia, where he had the rank of a counsellor. Soon after his arrival, by excessive fatigue in the extremity of the summer heat, he fell a sacrifice, with fifty others to the insalubrity of that climate, and the scanty measure and bad quality of the provisions with which that unfortunate colony was furnished.

The discovery made by Gosnold, and especially the shortness of the time in which his voyage was performed, induced Richard Hackluyt, then Prebendary of St. Augustine's Church in Bristol, to use his influence with the major, aldermen, and merchants of that opulent, mercantile city, to prosecute the discovery of the northern parts of Virginia. The first step was to obtain permission of Raleigh and his associates. This was undertaken and accomplished by Hackluyt, in conjunction of John Angel and Robert Salterne, both of whom had been with Gosnold to America. The next was to equip two vessels; one a ship of fifty tons, called the Speedwell, carrying thirty men; the other a bark of twenty-six tons, called the Discoverer, carrying thirteen men. The commander of the ship was Martin Pring, and his mate, Edmund Jones. The bark was commanded by William Browne, whose mate was Samuel Kirkland. Salterne was the principal agent, or supercargo; and was furnished with various kinds of clothing, hardware, and trinkets, to trade with the natives. The vessels were victualled for eight months, and sailed on the 10th of April, 1603, a few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth.

They went so far to the southward, as to be within sight of the Azores; and in the beginning of June, fell in with the American coast, between the 43d and 44th degrees of latitude, among those numerous islands which cover the district of Maine. One of these they named Fox Island, from some of that species of animal which they saw upon it. Among these islands, in the mouth of Penobscot Bay, they found good anchorage and fishing. The land being rocky, they judged it proper for the drying of cod, which they took in great plenty, and esteemed better than those usually taken at Newfoundland.

Having passed all the islands, they ranged the coast to the south-west, and entered four inlets, which are thus described: "The most easterly was barred at the mouth; but having passed over the bar, we ran up it for five miles, and for a certain space found very good depth. Coming out again, as we sailed south-west, we lighted on two other inlets, which we found to pierce not far into the land. The fourth and most westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles. In all these places we found no people, but signs of fires, where they had been. Howbeit, we beheld very goodly groves and woods, and sundry sorts of beasts. But meeting with no *sassafras*, we left these places, with all the aforesaid islands, shaping our course for *Savage Rock*, discovered the year before by Captain Gosnold."

From this description, I conclude, that after they had passed the islands as far westward as Casco Bay, the eastermost of the four inlets which they entered was the mouth of the river Saco. The two next were Kennebunk and York rivers; the westermost, and the best, was the river Piscataqua. The reason of their finding no people, was that the natives were at that season (June) fishing at the falls of the rivers; and the vestiges of fires marked the places at or near the mouths of the rivers, where they had resided and taken fish in the earlier months of the spring. In steering for *Savage Rock*, they must have doubled Cape Ann, which brought them into the bay of Massachusetts, on the northern shore of which, I suppose Savage Rock to be situated.

It seems that one principal object of their voyage was to collect sassafras, which was esteemed a highly medicinal vegetable. In several parts of these journals, and in other books of the same date, it is celebrated as a sovereign remedy for the plague, the venereal disease, the stone, strangury and other maladies. One of Gosnold's men had been cured by it, in twelve hours of a surfeit, occasioned by eating greedily of the bellies of dog-fish, which is called a "delicious meat."

The journal then proceeds: "Going on the main at Savage Rock, we found people, with whom he had no long conversation, because here also we could find no sassafras. Departing hence, we bare into *that great gulf which Capt. Gosnold overshot* the year before; coasting and finding people on the north side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed over, and came to anchor on the south side, in the latitude of forty one degress and odd minutes; where we went on land, in a certain bay, which was called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the worshipful master, John Whitson, then mayor of the city of Bristol, and one of the chief adventurers. Finding a pleasant hill adjoining, we called it *Mount Aldworth*, for master Robert Aldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage, as well with his purse as with his travel. Here we had sufficient quantity of sassafras."

In another part of this journal, Whitson Bay is thus described: "At the entrance of this excellent haven, we found twenty fathoms of water, and rode at our ease in seven fathoms, being land-locked; the haven winding in compass like the shell of a snail; and it is in latitude of forty-one degrees and twenty minutes. We also observed that we could find no sassafras but in sandy ground."*

Though this company had no design to make a settlement in America, yet considering that the place where they found it convenient to reside, was full of inhabitants, they built a temporary hut, and enclosed it with a barricade, in which they kept constant guard by day and night, whilst others were employed in collect-

* The following note is from Peleg Coffin, Esq. "The haven here described must have been that of Edgartown. No other could with propriety be represented as winding or land-locked, as is truly the harbor of Edgartown, generally called Oldtown."

To this I subjoin an extract of a letter from the Rev. Joseph Thaxter, minister of Edgartown, dated Nov. 15, 1797. "It is evident to me, and others better acquainted than I am, with whom I have consulted, that Pring, as soon as he passed the sandy point of Monumoy [Malebar], bore to the westward, and came through what is called Butler's Hole; that he kept the North channel, till he got as far as Falmouth, and that he then crossed over into Oldtown harbor, which corresponds in every respect to his description, except in the depth of water at the entrance of the harbor, there are now but fourteen fathoms; in the harbor there are seven and a half. I would suggest an idea, whether there is now the same depth of water at the entrance as in 1603? It is certain that the shoals shift, and that Cape Poge, within the memory of man, has been washed into the sea thirty or forty rods. From this circumstance, the difference in the depth of water may be easily accounted for. "There are several pleasant hills adjoining to the harbor, and to this day plenty of sassafras."

ing sassafras in the woods. The Indians frequently visited them in parties, of various numbers, from ten to a hundred. They were used kindly, had trinkets presented to them, and were fed with English pulse; their own food being chiefly fish. They were adorned with plates of copper; their bows, arrows and quivers were very neatly made; and their birchen canoes were considered as great curiosities, one of which, of seventeen feet in length and four in breadth, was carried home to Bristol, as a specimen of their ingenuity. Whether it was bought or stolen from them is uncertain.

The natives were excessively fond of music, and would dance in a ring round an English youth, who played on an instrument called a gitterne. But they were greatly terrified at the barking of two English mastiffs, which always kept them at a distance, when the people were tired of their company.

The growth of the place consisted of sassafras, *vines*, cedar, oak, ash, beech, birch, cherry, hazel, walnut, maple, holly and wild plum. The land animals were stags and fallow deer in abundance, bears, wolves, foxes, lusernes,* porcupines, and dogs with short noses.† The waters and shores abounded with fish and shell-fish of various kinds, and aquatic birds in great plenty.

By the end of July they had loaded their bark with sassafras, and sent her to England. After which they made as much despatch as possible in lading their ship, the departure of which was accelerated by the following incident.

The Indians had hitherto been on friendly terms with the adventurers; but seeing their number lessened and one of their vessels gone, and those who remained dispersed at their several employments, they came one day, about noon, to the number of one hundred and forty, armed with bows and arrows, to the barricado, where four men were on guard with their muskets. The Indians called to them to come out, which they refused, and stood on their defence. Captain Pring, with two men only were on board the ship; as soon as he perceived the danger, he secured the ship as well as he could, and fired one of his great guns, as a signal to the laborers in the woods, who were reposing after their fatigue, depending on the mastiffs for protection. The dogs hearing the gun, awoke their masters, who, then hearing a second gun, took to their arms, and came to the relief of the guard. At the sight of the men and dogs, the Indians desisted from their purpose, and affecting to turn the whole into a jest, went off laughing without any damage on either side.

In a few days after, they set fire to the woods where the sassafras grew, to the extent of a mile. These alarming circumstances determined Pring to retire. After the people had embarked, and were weighing the anchors, a larger number than ever they had seen, about two hundred, came down to the shore, and some in their canoes came off to the ship, apparently to invite the adventurers to a longer continuance. It was not easy to believe the invitation friendly, nor prudent to accept it. They therefore came to sail, it being the 9th of August. After a passage of five weeks, by the route of the Azores, they came into soundings; and on the 2d of October arrived at King Road, below Bristol, where the bark had arrived about a fortnight before them. This whole voyage was completed in six months. Its objects were to make discoveries, and to collect furs and sassafras. No instance of aggression on the part of the adventurers is mentioned, nor on the part of the natives, till after the sailing of the bark.

At the same time that Martin Pring was employed in his voyage, BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT went on a farther discovery to the southern part of Virginia, having it also in view to look for the lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh. He sailed from Plymouth, May 10, 1603, in the bark Elizabeth, of fifty tons, and went by the way of Madeira to the West Indies, where he touched at several of the islands, taking in ligum-vitæ, tortoises, and tobacco.

On the 6th of July he quitted the islands, and steered for Virginia. In four days he got into the Gulf Stream, and was becalmed five days. After which the wind sprang up, and on the 20th he saw land in the 40th degree of latitude. His object was to fetch the mouth of Chesapeake Bay; but the wind being adverse, after beating against it for several days, the necessity of wood and water obliged them to come to anchor about a mile from the shore, where there was an appearance of the entrance of a river.

On Friday, the 29th of July, Captain Gilbert accompanied by Thomas Canner, a gentleman of Bernard's Inn, Richard Harrison, mate, Henry Kenton, surgeon, and Derrick, a Dutchman, went on shore, leaving two boys to keep the boat. Immediately after they had entered the wood, the savages attacked, pursued and killed every one of them; two of them fell in sight of the boys, who had much difficulty to prevent the Indians from hauling the boat on shore.

With heavy hearts they got back to the ship; whose crew, reduced to eleven, including the boys, durst not make any further attempt; but steered for the Western Islands; after passing them, they arrived in the river Thames, about the end of September, when the city of London was "most grievously infected with the Plague."

After the peace which King James made with Spain in 1604, when the passion for the discovery of a north-west passage was in full vigor, a ship was sent from England by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardor, with a view to this object. The commander of the ship was George Weymouth. He sailed from the Downs on the last day of March, 1605, and came in sight of the American coast on the 13th of May, in the latitude of 41 degrees 30 minutes.

Being there entangled among shoals and breakers, he quitted this land, and at the distance of fifty leagues, discovered several islands, to one of which he gave the name of *St. George*. Within three leagues of this island he came into a harbor, which he called *Pentecost* harbor; and sailed up a noble river, to which it does not appear that he gave any name, nor does he mention any name by which it was called by the natives.

The conjectures of historians respecting this river have been various. Oldmixon supposes it to have been James river in Virginia, whilst Beverly, who aims to correct him, affirms it to have been Hudson's river in New York. Neither of them could have made these mistakes, if they had read the original account in Purchas with any attention. In Smith's history of Virginia an abridgment of the voyage is given, but in so slight and indefinite a manner as to afford no satisfaction respecting the situation of the river, whether it were northward or southward from the land first discovered.

To ascertain this matter I have carefully examined Weymouth's journal and compared it with the best maps; but for more perfect satisfaction, I gave an abstract of the voyage with a number of queries to Capt. John Foster Williams, an experienced mariner and commander of the Revenue Cutter, belonging to this port; who has very obligingly communicated to me his observations made in a late cruize. Both of these papers are here subjoined.

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"*Abstract of the Voyage of Captain George Weymouth to the Coast of America, from the printed Journal, extant in Purchas's Pilgrims, part* iv. *page* 1659.

A. D. 1605, *March* 31.—"Captain George Weymouth sailed from England in the Archangel, for the northern part of Virginia, as the whole coast of North America was then called.

May 13.—Arrived in soundings—160 fathoms.

14.—In five or six leagues distance shoaled the water from one hundred to five fathoms, saw from the mast-head a *whitish sandy cliff*, N. N. W. 6 leagues: many breaches nearer the land; the ground foul, and depth varying from six to fifteen fathoms. Parted from the land. Latitude 41 degrees 30 minutes.

15.—Wind between W. S. W. and S. S. W. In want of wood and water. Land much desired, and therefore sought for it *where the wind would best suffer us*.

QUERY 1.—As the wind then blew, must not the course be to the north and east?

16.—In almost *fifty* leagues run, found no land; the charts being erroneous.

17.—Saw land which bore N. N. E. a great gale of wind and the sea high. Stood off till two in the morning; then stood in again. At eight, A. M. saw land again bearing N. E. It appeared a mean high land, being as we afterwards found it an *island* of no great compass. About noon came to anchor on the north side in forty fathoms, about a league from shore. Named the island *St. George*.

QUERY 2.—Could this island be *Segwin* or *Monhegan*? or if neither, what island was it?

Whilst we were on shore on the island our men on board caught thirty large cod and haddock. From hence we discerned many islands, and the main land extending from W. S. W. to E. N. E. A great way up into the main, as it then seemed, we discerned *very high mountains*; though the main seemed but low land. The mountains bore N. N. E. from us.

QUERY 3.—What mountains were these?

19.—Being *Whitsunday*, weighed anchor at twelve o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in *the road directly* to *the mountains*, about *three* leagues from the first island found a safe harbor, defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen in six, seven, eight, nine, ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze, very tough, where is good mooring even on the rocks, by the cliff side. Named it *Pentecost* harbor.

QUERY 4.—Do these marks agree with Sagadahock or Musqueto harbor or St. George's Island; or if not with what harbor do they agree?

20.—Went ashore, found water issuing from springs down the rocky cliffs, and dug pits to receive it. Found, at no great depth, clay, blue, red and white. Good lobsters, rock-fish, plaise, and lumps. With two or three hooks caught cod and haddock enough for the ship's company three days.

24.—The captain, with 14 men armed, marched through two of the islands, one of which we guessed to be four or five miles in compass, and one broad. Abundance of great muscles, some of which contained pearls. One had 14 pearls in it.

30.—The captain with 13 men departed in the shallop, leaving the ship in harbor.

31.—The shallop returned, having discovered *a great river* trending far up into the main.

QUERY 5.—What river was this?

June 1.—Indians came and traded with us. Pointing to one part of the main, eastward, they signified to us that the *Bashabe*, their king, had plenty of furs, and much tobacco.

N. B.—Here Weymouth kidnapped five of the natives.

11.—Passed up into the river with our ship about 26 miles.

Observations by the Author of the Voyage, James Rosier.

"The first and chief thing required for a plantation is a bold coast, and a fair land to fall in with. The next is a safe harbor for ships to ride in.

"The first is a special attribute of this shore, being free from sands or dangerous rocks, in a continual good depth, with a most excellent land-fall as can be desired, which is the first island, named *St. George*.

"For the second, here are more good harbors for ships of all burthens than all England can afford. The river, as it runneth up into the main very nigh *forty* miles, towards the *Great Mountains*, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three-fourths, and a half a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have less than four or five fathoms, hard by the shore; but six, seven, eight, nine, ten at low water. On both sides, every half mile, very gallant coves, some able to contain almost one hundred sail of ships; the ground is an excellent soft ooze, with tough clay for anchor hold; and ships may lie without anchor, only moored to the shore with a hawser.

"It floweth fifteen or eighteen feet at high water.

"Here are made by nature, most excellent places, as docks to grave and careen ships of all burthens, secure from all winds.

"The river yieldeth plenty of salmon, and other fishes of great bigness.

"The bordering land is most rich, trending all along on both sides, in an equal plain, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green border of grass; which may be made good feeding ground, being plentiful like the outward islands, with fresh water, which streameth down in many places.

"As we passed with a gentle wind, in our ship, up this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy; many who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous ri-

* "Luserne, Lucern, a beast near the bigness of a wolf of color between red and brown, something mayled like a cat, and mingled with black spots; bred in Muscovy, and is a rich furre."—[Vide Minsheu in verbum Furre.

Could this animal be the racoon? Josselyn gives the name of luserne to the wild cat.

† As the existence of this species of animal has been doubted, I must remark, that it is several times mentioned by the earliest adventurers, and twice in Pring's Journal. Josselyn, who was a naturalist, and resided several years in the eastern parts of New England, gives this account of it: "I know of but one kind of beast in New England produced by equivocal generation, and that is the Indian dog, begotten between a wolf and a fox, or between a fox and a wolf; which they made use of, taming them and bringing them up to hunt with; but since the English came among them, they have gotten store of our dogs, which they bring up and keep in as much subjection as they do their wives."—[Josselyn's voyages to the N. E. p. 94

vers, affirmed them not comparable to this. I will not prefer it before our river of Thames, because it is England's richest treasure; but we did all wish those excellent harbors, good depths, continual convenient breadth, and small-tide-gates, to be as well therein, for our country's good, as we found them here: then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large, secure harboring river that the world affordeth."

12.—"Our captain manned *his shallop* with seventeen men, and ran up to the *codde* of the river, where we landed, leaving six to keep the shallop. Ten of us, with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder and match, marched up the country, *towards the mountains*, which we described at our first falling in with the land, and *were continually in our view*. To some of them the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves, when we landed, to be within a league of them; but we found them not, having marched well nigh four miles, and passed three great hills. Wherefore, because the weather was hot, and our men in their armor, not able to travel far and return to our pinnace at night, we resolved not to travel further.

"We no sooner came a board our pinnace, returning down towards our ship, but we espied a canoe coming from the farther part of the *codde of the river, eastward*. In it were three Indians, one of whom we had before seen, and his coming was very earnestly to importune us to let one of our men go with them to the *Bashabe*, and then the next morning he would come to our ship with furs and tobacco."

N. B.—They did not accept the invitation, because they suspected danger from the savages, having detained five of their people on board to be carried to England.

13.—"By two o'clock in the morning, taking advantage of the tide, we went in our *pinnace* up to that part of the river which trendeth *west* into the main, and we carried *a cross* to erect at that point, (a thing never omitted by any Christian travellers.) Into *that* river, we *rowed* by estimation, twenty miles.

"What profit or pleasure is described in the former part of the river, is wholly *doubled* in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that a ship, drawing seventeen or eighteen feet of water, might have passed as far as we went with our *shallop*, and much farther, because we left it in so good depth. From the place of our ship's riding in the harbor, at the entrance into the Sound, to the farthest point we were in this river, by our estimation, was not much less than *threescore* miles. [That is, as I understand it, from Pentecost harbor they went *in the ship* forty miles, to the *codde* of the river; and thence in the shallop, or pinnace, twenty miles up the west branch.]

QUERY 6.—What is meant by *codde*? It appears to be an old word.

"We were so pleased with this river, and so loth to forsake it, that we would have continued there willingly for two days, having only bread and cheese to eat. But the tide not suffering it, we came down with the ebb. We conceived that the river ran very far into the land, for we passed six or seven miles altogether *fresh water*, (whereof we all drank) forced up by the flowing of the salt water.

14.—We warped our *ship* down to the river's mouth, and there came to anchor.

15.—Weighed anchor, and with a breeze from the land, came to our watering place, in Pentecost harbor, and filled our cask.

"Our captain upon a rock in the midst of this harbor, made his observation by the sun, of the height, latitude, and variation, exactly, upon all his instruments, viz. astrolabe, semisphere, ring, and cross-staff, and an excellent variation compass. The latitude he found 43 degrees 20 minutes, north; the variation, 11 degrees 15 minutes, west."

N. B.—In this latitude no part of the American coast lies, except Cape Porpoise where is only a boat harbor. The rivers nearest to it are on the south, Kennebunk, a tide river of no great extent, terminating in a brook; and on the north, Saco, the navigation of which is obstructed by a bar at its mouth, and by a fall at the distance of six or seven miles from the sea. Neither of these could be the river described in Weymouth's Journal. His observation of the latitude, or the printed account of it, must have been erroneous.

☞"Captain Williams will be so obliging as to put down his remarks on the above abstract in writing, for the use of his humble servant,

Boston, Aug. 4, 1797. JEREMY BELKNAP."

Captain William's Answer.

"The first land Captain Weymouth saw, a whitish sandy cliff, W. N. W six leagues, must have been Sankoty Head [Nantucket.] With the wind at W. S. W. and S. S. W. he could have fetched into this bay, [Boston] and must have seen Cape Cod, had the weather been clear. But,

The land he saw on the 17th, I think must be the island Monhegan, as no other island answers the description. In my last cruise to the eastward, I sounded, and had thirty fathoms, about one league to the northward of the island. The many islands he saw, and the main land, extending from W. S. W. to E. N. E. agree with that shore; the mountains he saw bearing N. N. E. were Penobscot *Hills* or *Mountains*; for from the place where I suppose the ship lay at anchor, the above mountains bear N. N. E.

The harbor where he lay with his ship, and named Pentecost harbor, is, I suppose, what is now called *George's Island Harbor*, which bears north from Monhegan, about two leagues; which harbor and islands agree with his descriptions, I think, tolerable well, and the name, *George's Islands*, serves to confirm it.

When the captain went in his boat and discovered a great river trending far up into the main, I suppose he went as far as Two Bush Island, about three or four leagues from the ship, from thence he could discover Penobscot bay.

Distance from the ship to Two Bush Island is about ten miles; from Two Bush Island to Owl's Head, nine miles; from Owl's Head to the north end of Long Island, twenty-seven miles; from the north end of Long Island to Old Fort Pownal, six miles; and from the Old Fort to the head of the tide, or falls, in Penobscot river, thirty miles; whole number, eighty-two miles.

I suppose he went with his ship, round Two Bush Island, and then sailed up to the westward of Long Island, supposing himself to be then in the river; the mountains on the main to the westward extending near as high up as Belfast bay. I think it probable that he anchored with his ship off the point which is now called the Old Fort Point.

The codde of the river, where he went with his shallop, and marched up in the country, toward the mountains, I think must be Belfast bay.

The canoe that came from the farther part of the codde of the river, eastward, with Indians, I think it probable, came from Bagaduce.

The word *codde* is not common; but I have often heard it: as, "up in the codde of the bay," meaning the bottom of the bay. I suppose what he calls "the codde of the river," is a bay in the river.

The latitude of St. George's Island harbor, according to Holland's map, is forty-three degrees forty-eight minutes, which is nine leagues more north than the observation made by Captain Weymouth.

Boston, October 1, 1797.

SIR,—I made the foregoing remarks, while on my last cruize to the eastward. If any farther information is necessary, that is in my power to give, you may command me.

I am, with respect, Sir, you obedient humble servant, JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS.

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

Weymouth's voyage is memorable, only for the discovery of Penobscot river, and for the decoying of five of the natives on board his ship, whom he carried to England. Three of them were taken into the family of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. The information which he gained from them, corroborated by Martin Pring, of Bristol, who made a second voyage in 1606, (and prosecuted the discovery of the rivers in the District of Maine) prepared the way for the attempt of Sir John Popham and others to establish a colony at Sagadahock, in 1607; an account of which attempt, and its failure, is already given in the life of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

In the early accounts of this country we find the names of *Mavoshen* and *Norumbega*. Mavoshen was a name for the whole District of Maine, containing nine or ten rivers; the westernmost of which was Shawakotock, (written by the French Chouakoet and by the English, Saco.) The easternmost was Quibequesson, which I take to be eastward of Penobscot, but cannot say by what name it is now called. Norumbega was a part of the same district, comprehending Penobscot bay and river; but its eastern and western limits are not described.

It is also to be noted that the river Penobscot was sometimes called Pemaquid, though this latter name is now restricted to a point or neck of land which lies about six leagues to the westward. Penobscot is called by the French, Pentagoet.

This confusion of names occasions no small perplexity to inquirers into the geography and early history of this country.

JOHN ROBINSON.

JOHN ROBINSON—His Birth and Education—Minister of a Congregation of Dissenters—His Congregation persecuted—Removes with his Church to Amsterdam—His disputation with Episcopius—His Church contemplates a Removal—Apply to the Virginia Company—Preaches to them previous to Removal—His affectionate leave of those who embarked for America—His Death, Character, and Posterity

THE first effectual settlements of the English in New England were made by those, who, after the reformation, dissented from the establishment of the Episcopal Church, who suffered on account of their dissent, and sought an asylum from their sufferings. Uniformity was insisted on with such rigor, as disgusted many conscientious ministers and people of the Church of England, and caused that separation which has ever since subsisted. Those who could not conform to the establishment, but wished for a more complete reformation, were at first distinguished by the name of *Puritans*; and among these the most rigid were the *Brownists*, so called from Robert Brown, "a fiery young clergyman," who, in 1580, headed a zealous party, and was vehement for a total separation. But his zeal, however violent, was void of consistency; for, in his advanced years, he conformed to the church; whilst others, who more deliberately withdrew, retained their separation, though they became more candid and moderate in their principles. Of these people a congregation was formed, about the year 1602, near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln; who chose for their ministers, Richard Clifton and John Robinson.

Mr. Robinson was born in the year 1576, but the place of his birth is unknown. He was probably educated in the University of Cambridge; and he is said to have been "a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit; pious and studious of the truth; largely accomplished with gifts and qualifications suitable to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ." Before his election to this office, he had a benefice, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk, where his friends were frequently molested by the bishop's officers, and some were almost ruined by prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts.

The reigning prince, at that time, was James I. than whom, a more contemptible character never sat on the British throne. Educated in the principles of Presbyterianism, in Scotland, he forgot them all on his advancement to the throne of the three kingdoms. Flattered by the bishops he gave all ecclesiastical power into their hands, and entrusted sycophants with the management of the State; whilst he indolently resigned himself to literary and sensual indulgencies; in the former of which he was a pedant; in the latter an epicure. The prosecution of the Puritans was conducted with unrelenting severity in the former part of his reign, when Bancroft was Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot, who succeeded him was favorable to them; but when Laud came into power, they were treated with every mark of insult and cruelty.

Robinson's congregation did not escape persecution by separating from the establishment and forming an independent church. Still exposed to the penalties of the ecclesiastical law, they were extremely harrassed; some were thrown into prison, some were confined to their own houses; others were obliged to leave their farms and suspend their usual occupations. Such was their distress and perplexity, that an emigration to some foreign country seemed the only means of safety. Their first views were directed to Holland, where the spirit of commerce had dictated a free toleration of religious opinions; a blessing, which neither the wisdom of politicians, nor the charity of clergymen had admitted into any other of the European States. But the ports of their own country were shut against them, they could get away only by seeking concealment and giving extravagant rates for their passages and fees to the mariners.

In the autumn of 1606, a company of these dissenters, hired a ship at Boston in Lincolnshire to carry them to Holland. The master promised to be ready at a certain hour of the day, to take them on board, with their families and effects. They assembled at the place; but he disappointed them. Afterwards he came in the night; and when they were embarked, betrayed them into the hands of searchers, and other officers, who, having robbed them of money, books and other articles, and treated the women with indecency, carried them back into the town, and exposed them as a

laughing spectacle to the multitude. They were arraigned before the magistrates, who used them with civility; but could not release them, without an order of the king and council. Till this arrived, they suffered a month's imprisonment; seven were bound over to the assizes, and the others were released.

The next spring (1608) they made another attempt, and hired a Dutch vessel, then lying in the harbor, to take them on board. The place agreed on was an unfrequented common, between Hull and Grimsby, remote from any houses. The women and children, with the baggage were sent down the river in a small bark, and the men agreed to meet them by land; but they came to the place a day before the ship arrived. The water being rough, and the women sick, they prevailed on the pilot of the bark to put into a small creek, where they lay aground, when the Dutchman came and took one boat load of the men on board. Before he could send for the others, a company of armed men appeared on horseback; which so frightened him, that he weighed anchor, and, the wind being fair, put to sea. Some of the men who were left behind, made their escape; others, who went to the assistance of the women, were with them apprehended, and carried from one justice of the peace to another; but the justices, not knowing what to do with so many helpless and distressed persons, dismissed them Having sold their houses, cattle and furniture, they had no homes to which they could retire, and were therefore cast on the charity of their friends. Those who were hurried to sea without their families, and destitute even of a change of clothes, endured a terrible storm, in which neither sun, moon, nor stars appeared for seven days. This storm drove them far to the northward, and they very narrowly escaped foundering. After fourteen days they arrived at Amsterdam, where the people were surprised at their deliverance; the tempest having been very severe, and much damage having been sustained, both at sea, and in the harbors of the continent.

This forlorn company of emigrants were soon after joined by their wives and families. The remainder of the church went over, in the following summer; Mr. Robinson, with a few others, remained to help the weakest, till they were all embarked.

At Amsterdam, they found a congregation of their countrymen, who had the same religious views, and had emigrated before them. Their minister was John Smith, a man of good abilities, and a popular preacher, but unsteady in his opinions.* These people fell into controversy, and were soon scattered. Fearing that the infection might spread, Robinson proposed to his church a further removal; to which, though much to their disadvantage, in a temporal view, they consented; and after one year spent at Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden, where they continued eleven years. During this time, their number so increased, by frequent emigrations from England, that they had in the church three hundred communicants.

At Leyden, they enjoyed much harmony among themselves,† and a friendly intercourse with the Dutch; who, observing their diligence and fidelity in their business, entertained so great a respect for them, that the magistrates of the city (1619), in the seat of justice, having occasion to censure some of the French Protestants, who had a church there, made this public declaration. "These English have lived among us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of them; but your quarrels are continual."

The year (1609) in which Mr. Robinson went to Leyden, was remarkable for the death of Jacobus Arminius, one of the Divinity Professors of the University of that city. Between his suceessor, Episcopius, and the other theological professor, Polyander, there was much opposition; the former teaching the doctrine of Arminius, and the other that of Calvin. The controversy was so bitter, that the disciples of the one would scarcely hear the lectures of the other. Robinson, though he preached constantly three times in the week, and was much engaged in writing, attended the discourses of each; and became master of the arguments on both sides of the controverted questions. Being fully persuaded of the truth of the Calvinian system, and openly preaching it, his zeal and abilities rendered him formidable to the Arminians; which induced Episcopius to publish several theses, and engage to defend them against all opposers.

Men of equal abilities and learning, but of different sentiments, are not easily induced to submission; especially in a country where opinion is not fettered and restrained by the ruling power. Polyander, aided by the ministers of the city, requested Robinson to accept the challenge. Though his vanity was flattered by the request, yet being a stranger, he modestly declined the combat. But their pressing importunity prevailed over his reluctance; and judging it to be his duty, he, on a set day, held a public disputation with the Arminian professor, in presence of a very numerous assembly.

It is usual, on such occasions, for the partizans on both sides to claim the victory for their respective champions. Whether it were so, at this time, cannot be determined, as we have no account of the controversy from the Arminian party. Governor Bradford, who was a member of Robinson's church, and probably present at the disputation, gives this account of it: "He so defended the truth, and foiled the opposer, as to put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience. The same he did a second and a third time, upon the like occasions; which, as it caused many to give praise to God, that the truth had so famous a victory, so it procured for Mr. Robinson much respect and honor from these learned men and others."

When Robinson first went to Holland, he was one of the most rigid separatists from the Church of England. He had written in defence of the separation, in answer to Dr. *William Ames*,* whose name, in the petulance of his wit, he had changed to *Amiss*. After his removal to Holland, he met with Dr. Ames and Mr. Robert Parker, an eminent divine of Wiltshire, who had been obliged to fly thither from the terrors of the High Commission Court, under the direction of Archbishop Bancroft. In a free conversation with these gentlemen, Robinson was convinced of his mistake, submitted to the reproof of Dr. Ames, and became, ever after, more moderate in his sentiments respecting separation. In a book which he published, (1610) he allowed and defended the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of England, "in the word and prayer," that is, in the extempore prayer, before the sermon, though not in the use of the liturgy, nor in the indiscriminate admission to the sacraments. Yet he would allow the pious members of the Church of England, and of all the Reformed churches to communicate with his church; declaring that he separated from no church; but from the corruptions of all churches. This book gained him the title of Semi-separatist, and was so offensive to the rigid Brownists of Amsterdam, that they would scarcely hold communion with the Church of Leyden. These were called Robinsonians and Independents; but the name by which they distinguished themselves, was, a Congregational Church.

Their grand principle was the same which was afterwards held and defended by Chillingworth and Hoadley, that the Scriptures, given by inspiration, contain the true religion; that every man has a right to judge for himself of their meaning; to try all doctrines by them, and to worship God according to the dictates of his own enlightened conscience. They admitted, for truth, the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, as well as of the Reformed churches in France, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces; allowing all their members free communion, and differing from them only in matters of an ecclesiastical nature. Respecting these, they held, (1.) That no church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently meet together for worship and discipline. (2.) That every church of Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in and obey him. (3.) That any competent number of such have a right, when conscience obliges them, to form themselves into a distinct church. (4.) That this incorporation is, by some contract or covenant, expressed or implied. (5.) That being thus incorporated, they have a right to choose their own officers. (6.) That these officers are *Pastors*, or teaching Elders, *Ruling Elders* and *Deacons*. (7.) That elders being chosen or ordained have no power to rule the church but by consent of the brethren. (8.) That all elders and all churches are equal in respect of powers and privileges. (9.) With respect to ordinances, they held that *baptism* is to be administered to visible believers and their infant children; but they admitted only the children of communicants to baptism. That the Lord's Supper is to be received sitting at the table; whilst they were in Holland, they received it every Lord's Day. That ecclesiastical censures were wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties. (10.) They admitted no holy days but the Christian Sabbath, though they had occasionally days of fasting and thanksgiving. And, finally, they renounced all right of human invention or imposition in religious matters.

Having enjoyed their liberty in Holland eight or nine years, in which time they had become acquainted with the country and the manners of its inhabitants, they began to think of another removal (1617). The reasons of which, were these. (1.) Most of them had been bred to the business of husbandry in England; but in Holland, they were obliged to learn mechanical trades, and use various methods for their subsistence, which were not so agreeable to them as cultivation. (2.) The language, manners and habits of the Dutch were not rendered pleasing by familiarity; and, in particular, the loose and careless manner in which the Sabbath was regarded in Holland, gave them great offence. (3.) The climate was unfavorable to their health; many of them were in the decline of life; their children, oppressed with labor and disease, became infirm, and the vigor of nature seemed to abate at an early age. (4.) The licentiousness in which youth was indulged, was a pernicious example to their children; some of whom became sailors, others soldiers, and many were dissolute in their morals; nor could their parents restrain them, without giving offence and incurring reproach. These considerations afforded them the melancholy prospect, that their posterity would, in time, become so mixed with the Dutch, as to lose their interest in the English nation, to which they had a natural and strong attachment. (5.) They observed, also, that many other English people, who had gone to Holland, suffered in their health and substance; and either returned home to bear the inconveniencies from which they had fled, or were reduced to poverty abroad. For these reasons, they concluded that Holland was not a country in which they could hope for a permanent and agreeable residence.

The question then was, to what part of the world should they remove, where they might expect freedom from the burdens under which they had formerly groaned, and the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which they had lately enjoyed.

The Dutch merchants being apprised of their discontent, made them large offers, if they would go to some of their foreign plantations; but their attachment to the English nation and government was invincible. Sir Walter Raleigh had, about this time, raised the fame of Guiana, a rich and fertile country of America, between the tropics, blessed with a perpetual spring, and productive of every thing which could satisfy the wants of man, with little labor. To this country, the views of some of the most sanguine were directed; but considering that in such warm climates, diseases were generated, which often proved fatal to European constitutions, and that their nearest neighbors would be the Spaniards, who, though they had not actually occupied the country, yet claimed it as their own, and might easily dispossess them, as they had the French of Florida: the major part disapproved of this proposal.

They then turned their thoughts towards that part of America, comprehended under the general name of Virginia. There, if they should join the colony already established, they must submit to the government of the Church of England. If they should attempt a new plantation, the horrors of a wilderness, and the cruelties of its savage inhabitants were presented to their view. It was answered, that the Dutch had begun to plant within these limits, and were unmolested: that all

* Mr. Neal says, that he refined on the principles of the Brownists, and at last declared for the Baptists; that he left Amsterdam, and settled with a party at Leyden; where, being at a loss for a proper administrator of baptism, he first plunged himself, and then performed the ceremony on others; which gained him the name of Se-baptist. After this he embraced the principles of Arminius, and published a book, which Robinson answered in 1611: but Smith soon after died, and his congregation was dissolved.

† Governor Hutchinson (I presume through inattention) has misrepresented this matter, (vol. II. 451) by saying, "that in the twelve years of their residence in Holland, they had contention among themselves, divided, and became two churches." The two churches of Smith and Robinson subsisted distinctly and unconnectedly before they quitted England It was to avoid contention that the latter removed from Amsterdam, where the former fell to pieces. Not the least evidence of contention, in the church of Leyden, appears in any of our first historians; but there is the fullest testimony of the contrary in all of them. No division took place, till the emigration of part of them to America, when the utmost harmony and love were manifested on the occasion.

* Dr. Ames was educated at Cambridge, under the famous Perkins, and became Fellow of Christ's College. In 1600 he gave offence to the gentlemen of the University, by preaching against cards and dice; and to avoid prosecution for nonconformity, fled to Holland. He first settled at the Hague, whence he was invited by the States of Friesland to the chair of Theological Professer at Francker, which he filled with reputation for twelve years. He was an able controversial writer; his style was concise and his arguments acute. He wrote several treatises against the Arminians, besides his famous Medulla Theologiæ. He afterwards removed to Rotterdam; but the air of Holland not agreeing with his constitution, he determined to come to New England. This was prevented by his death, in 1633. His widow and family afterwards came over, and his posterity have been respectable ever since. His valuable library became the property of Harvard College, where it was consumed by fire in 1764.

great undertakings were attended with difficulties; but that the prospect of danger did not render the enterprise desperate; that, should they remain in Holland, they were not free from danger, as a truce between the United Provinces and Spain, which had subsisted 12 years, was nearly expired, and preparations were making to renew the war; that the Spaniards, if successful might prove as cruel as the savages; and that liberty, both civil and religious, was altogether precarious in Europe. These considerations determined their views towards the uninhabited part of North America, claimed by their native prince, as part of his dominions; and their hope was, that by emigrating hither, they might make way for the propagation of the Christian religion in a heathen land, though (to use their own phrase) "they should be but as stepping-stones to others," who might come after them.

These things were first debated in private, and afterwards proposed to the whole congregation, who, after mature deliberation, and a devout address to Heaven, determined to make application to the Virginia Company in London, and to inquire whether King James would *grant* them liberty of conscience in his American dominions. John Carver and Robert Cushman were appointed their agents on this occasion, and letters were written by Mr Robinson, and Mr. Brewster, their ruling elder, in the name of the congregation, to Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir John Worstenholme, two principal members of the Virginia Company.

In those letters they recommended themselves as proper persons for emigration, because they were, "weaned from the delicate milk of their own country, and so inured to the difficulties of a strange land, that no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home; that they had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial; and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare, of the whole company, and of every individual person." They also gave a succinct and candid account of their religious principles and practices, for the information of the king and his council.

The answer which they received was as favorable as they could expect. The Virginia Company promised them as ample privileges as were in their power to grant. It was thought prudent not to deliver their letter to the king and council; but application was made to Sir Robert Norton, Secretary of State, who employed his interest with Archbishop Abbot; and by means of his mediation, the king promised to connive at their religious practices; but he denied them toleration under the great seal. With an answer, and some private encouragement, the agents returned to Holland.

It was impossible for them to transport themselves to America without assistance from the merchant adventurers in England. Further agency and agreements were necessary. The dissensions of the Virginia Company were tedious and violent; and it was not till after two whole years, that all the necessary provisions and arrangements could be made for their voyage.

In the beginning of 1620, they kept a solemn day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson delivered a discourse from 1 Samuel, xxiii. 3, 4; in which he endeavored to remove their doubts, and confirm their resolutions It had been previously determined, that a part of them should go to America, and prepare the way for the others; and that if the major part should consent to go, the pastor should go with them; otherwise he should remain in Holland. It was found on examination, that though a major part was willing to go, yet they could not all get ready in season; therefore, the greater number being obliged to stay, they required Mr. Robinson to stay with them. Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, was appointed to go with the minority, who were "to be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that should stay; with this proviso, that, as any should go over or return, they should be reputed as members, without farther dismission or testimonial. The others were to follow as soon as possible.

In July, they kept another day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson preached to them from Ezra viii. 21, and concluded his discourse with an exhortation, which breathes a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous, because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the Reformed ministers and churches of that day.

"Brethren, (said he,) we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or no, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded---I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go, at present, no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther said: whatever part of his will our good God has revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left, by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they *penetrated not* into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember, it is an article of your church covenant, 'that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you, from the written word of GOD.' Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must, herewithal, exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it; for it is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of *Brownists*. It is a mere nickname; and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world."

Having said this, with some other things relating to their private conduct, he devoutly committed them to the care and protection of Divine Providence.

On the 21st of July, the intended passengers quitted Leyden, to embark at Delfthaven, to which place they were accompanied by many of their brethren and friends, several of whom had come from Amsterdam to take their leave of them. The evening was spent, till very late, in friendly conversation; and the next morning, the wind being fair, they went on board; where Mr. Robinson, on his knees, in a most ardent and affectionate prayer, again committed them to their divine Protector, and with many tears they parted.

After their arrival in New England, he kept up a friendly correspondence with them; and when any of them went to Europe, they were received by him with the most cordial welcome. The difficulties which then attended a voyage across the Atlantic, the expense of an equipment for a new colony, and the hardships necessarily incident to a plantation in a distant wilderness, proved a burden almost too great for those who came over. They had a hard struggle to support themselves here, and pay the debts which they had contracted in England; whilst those who remained in Holland, were in general too poor to bear the expense of a removal to America, without the help of their brethren who had come before them. These things prevented Mr. Robinson from gratifying his earnest desire to visit his American brethren, and their equally ardent wish to see him, till he was removed by death to a better country.*

He continued with his church at Leyden, in good health, and with a fair prospect of living to a more advanced age, till Saturday, the 22d of February, 1625, when he was seized with an inward ague; which, however distressing, did not prevent his preaching twice on the next day. Through the following week his disorder increased in malignity, and on Saturday, March 1, put an end to his valuable life; in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the height of his reputation and usefulness.

Mr. Robinson was a man of a good genius, quick penetration, ready wit, great modesty, integrity and candor. His classic literature and acuteness in disputation were acknowledged by his adversaries. His manners were easy, courteous and obliging. His preaching was instructive and affecting. Though in his younger years he was rigid in his separation from the Episcopal Church, by whose governors he and his friends were treated with unrelenting severity, yet when convinced of his error, he openly acknowledged it, and by experience and conversation with good men, he became moderate and charitable, without abating his zeal for strict and real religion. It is always a sign of a good heart, when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr. Robinson. He learned to esteem all good men of every religious persuasion, and charged his flock to maintain the like candid and benevolent conduct. His sentiments respecting the Reformers as expressed in his valedictory discourse, will entail immortal honor to his memory; evidencing his accurate discernment, his inflexible honesty, and his fervent zeal for truth and a good conscience. He was also possessed in an eminent degree of the talent of peace-making, and was happy in composing differences among neighbors and in families; so that peace and unity were preserved in his congregation. It is said that "such was the reciprocal love and respect between him and his flock, that it might be said of them as it was said of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge, whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor." Besides his singular abilities in moral and theological matters, he was very discerning and prudent in civil affairs, and able to give them good advice in regard to their secular and political conduct. He was highly esteemed, not only by his own flock, but by the magistracy and clergy of Leyden, who gave him the use of one of their churches, in the chancel of which he was buried Mr. Prince, who visited that city in 1714, says that the most ancient people then living told him from their parents, that the whole city and university regarded him as a great and good man, whose death they sincerely lamented; and that they honored his funeral with their presence.

This event proved the dissolution of the church over which he had presided at Leyden. Some of them removed to Amsterdam, some to other parts of the Netherlands, and others came to New England, among whom were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to the age of ninety, and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable.

* Morton, in his Memorial (p. 86) says, that "his and their adversaries had long been plotting how they might hinder his coming to New England." Hutchinson (vol. II. p. 434) says, "he was prevented by disappointments from those in England, who undertook to provide for the passage of him and his Congregation." Whether these disappointments were designed or unavoidable, cannot now be determined. Candor would lead us to suppose the latter. But the former supposition is within the limits of credibility.

JOHN CARVER.

JOHN CARVER—Appointed agent by the English settlers at Leyden—Superintends the equipments for emigration—Chosen Governor of the Company—Makes an excursion from Cape Cod to look for a harbor—Skirmish with the natives—Lands on Clark's Island—Makes a settlement at Plymouth—His sickness and recovery—His interview with Massasoit—His death, character, and posterity—His sword in the cabinet of the Historical Society.

WE have no particulars of the life of Mr. Carver, previous to his appointment as one of the agents of the English Congregational Church in Leyden. At that time he was in high esteem, as a grave, pious, prudent, judicious man, and sustained the office of a deacon. In the letters written by Sir Edwin Sandys, of the Virginia Company, to Mr. Robinson, the agents are said to have "carried themselves with good discretion."

The business of the agency was long delayed by the discontents and factions in the company of Virginia, by the removal of their former treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and the enmity between him and Sir Edwin Sandys, his successor. At length, a patent was obtained, under the company's seal: but by the advice of some friends, it was taken in the name of John Wincob, a religious gentleman, belonging to the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany the adventurers to America. This patent and the proposals of Thomas Weston of London, merchant, and other persons, who appeared friendly to the design, were carried to Leyden, in the autumn of 1619, for the consideration of the people. At the same time there was a plan forming for a new council in the west of England, to superintend the plantation and fishery of North Virginia, the name of which was changed to New England. To this expected establishment, Weston, and the other merchants began to incline, chiefly from the hope of present gain by the fishery. This caused some embarrassment, and a variety of opinions. but considering that the council for New England was not yet incorporated, and that if they should wait for that event, they might be detained another year, before which time the war between the Dutch and the Spaniards might be renewed, the majority concluded to take the patent which had been obtained from the Company of South Virginia, and emigrate to some place near Hudson's river which was within their territory

The next spring, (1620) Weston himself went over to Leyden, where the people entered into articles of agreement with him, both for shipping and money, to assist in their transportation. Carver and Cushman were again sent to London, to receive the money and provide for the voyage. When they came there, they found the other merchants so very penurious and severe, that they were obliged to consent to some alteration in the articles; which though not relished by their constituents, yet were so strongly insisted on, that without them, the whole adventure must have been frustrated.

The articles, with their amendments, were these. "(1.) The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen year old and upward, be rated at ten pounds; and that ten pounds be accounted a single share. (2.) That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share. (3.) The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership, the space of *seven years*, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the common stock, until the division. (4.) That at their coming there, they shall choose out such a number of persons, as may furnish their ships and boats, for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest, in their several faculties, upon the land; as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony. (5.) That at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattels be equally divided among the adventurers; if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure*------ (6.) Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall, at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing. (7.) He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years, and upwards a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share, or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division. (8.) That such children as now go, and are under ten years of age, have no other share in the division, than fifty acres of unmanured land. (9.) That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or shares, at the division; proportionally to the time of their life in the colony. (10) That all such persons as are of the colony, are to have meat, drink and apparel out of the common stock and goods of the said colony."

The difference between the articles as first agreed on, and as finally concluded, lay in these two points (1) In the former, it was provided that "the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and homefields, should remain undivided, wholly to the planters at the end of the seven years;" but, in the latter, the houses and lands were to be equally divided. (2.) In the former, the planters were "allowed two days in the week, for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and families, especially such as had them to take care for." In the latter, this article was wholly omitted.

On these hard conditions, and with this small encouragement, the pilgrims of Leyden, supported by a pious confidence in the Supreme Disposer of all things, and animated by a fortitude, resulting from the steady principles of the religion which they professed, determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence, and embark for America.

With the proceeds of their own estates, put into a common stock, and the assistance of the merchants, to whom they had mortgaged their labor and trade for seven years, two vessels were provided. One in Holland, of sixty tons, called the Speedwell, commanded by a Captain Reynolds, which was intended to transport some of them to America, and there to remain in their service, one year, for fishing and other uses. Another of one hundred and eighty tons, called the May-flower, was chartered by Mr. Cushman in London, and sent round to Southampton in Hampshire, whither Mr. Carver went to superintend her equipment. This vessel was commanded by a Captain Jones, and after discharging her passengers in America, was to return to England. Seven hundred pounds sterling were expended in provisions and stores, and other necessary preparations; and the value of the trading venture which they carried was seventeen hundred pounds Mr. Weston came from London to Southampton, to see them despatched. The Speedwell, with the passengers having arrived there from Leyden, and the necessary officers being chosen to govern the people and take care of the provisions and stores on the voyage; both ships, carrying one hundred and twenty passengers, sailed from Southampton on the fifth day of August, 1620.

* Here something seems to be wanting which cannot now be supplied

They had not sailed many leagues, down the channel, before Reynolds, master of the Speedwell, complained that his vessel was too leaky to proceed. Both ships then put in at Dartmouth, where the Speedwell was searched and repaired; and the workmen judged her sufficient for the voyage. On the twenty-first of August, they put to sea again; and, having sailed in company about one hundred leagues, Reynolds renewed his complaints against his ship; declaring, that by constant pumping he could scarcely keep her above water; on which, both ships again put back to Plymouth. Another search was made, and no defect appearing, the leaky condition of the ship was judged to be owing to her general weakness, and she was pronounced unfit for the voyage. About twenty of the passengers went on shore. The others, with their provisions, were received on board the May-flower; and, on the sixth of September, the company, consisting of one hundred and one passengers, (besides the ship's officers and crew) took their last leave of England, having consumed a whole month in these vexatious and expensive delays.

The true causes of these misadventures did not then appear. One was, that the Speedwell was overmasted; which error being remedied, the vessel afterwards made several safe and profitable voyages. But the principal cause was the deceit of the master and crew; who having engaged to remain a whole year in the service of the colony, and apprehending hard fare in that employment, were glad of such an excuse to rid themselves of the bargain.

The May-flower, Jones, proceeded with fair winds in the former part of her voyage; and then met with bad weather and contrary winds, so that for several days no sail could be carried The ship labored so much in the sea, that one of the main beams sprung, which renewed the fears and distress of the passengers. They had then made about one-half of their voyage, and the chief of the company began a consultation with the commander of the ship, whether it were better to proceed or to return. But one of the passengers having on board a large iron screw, it was applied to the beam, and forced it into its place. This successful effort determined them to proceed.

No other particulars of this long and tedious voyage are preserved; but that the ship being leaky, and the people close stowed, were continually wet; that one young man, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died at sea; and that one child was born, and called *Oceanus;* he was son of Stephen Hopkins.

On the ninth of November, at break of day, they made land, which proved to be the white sandy cliffs of Cape Cod. This landfall being further northward than they intended, they immediately put about the ship to the southward; and, before noon, found themselves among shoals and breakers.* Had they pursued their southern course, as the weather was fine, they might, in a few hours more, have found an opening, and passed safely to the westward, agreeably to their original design, which was to go to Hudson's river. But having been so long at sea, the sight of any land was welcome to women and children; the new danger was formidable; and the eagerness of the passengers to be set on shore was irresistible. These circumstances, coinciding with the secret views of the master, who had been promised a reward by some agents of the Dutch West India Company, if he would not carry them to Hudson's river, induced him to put about to the northward. Before night, the ship was clear of the danger. The next day they doubled the northern extremity of the Cape, (Race-Point) and, a storm coming on, the ship was brought to anchor in Cape Cod harbor, where she lay perfectly secure from winds and shoals.

This harbor, being in the forty-second degree of north latitude, was without the territory of the South Virginia Company. The charter which these emigrants had received from them, of course became useless. Some symptoms of faction, at the same time, appearing among the servants, who had been received on board in England, purporting that when on shore they should be under no government, and that one man would be as good as another, it was thought proper, by the most judicious persons, to have recourse to natural law; and that, before disembarkation, they should enter into an association, and combine themselves in a political body, to be governed by the majority. To this they consented; and, after solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument being drawn, they subscribed it with their own hands, and, by a unanimous vote, chose John Carver their governor for one year.

* These shoals lie off the south-east extremity of the cape, which was called by Gosnold, Point Care, by the Dutch and French, Malebarre, and is now known by the name of Sandy Point

The instrument was conceived in these terms. "In the name of God, amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. having undertaken for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of GOD and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno domini 1620."*

Government being thus regularly established on a truly republican principle, sixteen armed men were sent on shore, as soon as the weather would permit, to fetch wood and make discoveries. They returned at night with a boat load of juniper wood; and made report, "that they found the land to be a narrow neck; having the harbor on the one side, and the ocean on the other; that the ground consisted of sand-hills, like the Downs in Holland; that in some places the soil was black earth, "a spit's depth;" that the trees were oak, pine, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, ash, and walnut; that the forest was open and without underwood; that no inhabitants, houses, nor fresh water were to be seen." This account was as much as could be collected in one Saturday's afternoon. The next day they rested.

Whilst they lay in this harbor, which was the space of five weeks, they saw great flocks of sea-fowl and whales, every day playing about them. The master and mate, who had been acquainted with the fishery, in the northern seas of Europe, supposed that they might, in that time, have made oil, to the value of three or four thousand pounds. It was too late in the season for cod, and, indeed, they caught none but small fish, near the shore, and shell-fish. The margin of the sea was so shallow, that they were obliged to wade ashore; and the weather being severe, many of them took colds and coughs, which, in the course of the winter, proved mortal.

* The names of the subscribers are placed in the following order by Secretary Morton; but Mr. Prince, with his usual accuracy, has compared the list with Governor Bradford's MS History, and added their titles, and the number of each one's family which came over at this time; observing that some left the whole, and others part of their families, either in England or Holland, who came over afterwards. He has also been so curious as to note those who brought their wives, marked with a (†), and those who died before the end of next March, distinguished by an asterisin (*).

Mr. John Carver,†	5	Mr. Stephen Hopkins,†	8
Mr. William Bradford,†	2	*Edward Tilly,†	3
Mr. Edward Winslow,†	5	*John Tilly,†	3
Mr. William Brewster,†	6	Francis Cook,	2
Mr. Isaac Allerton,†	6	*Thomas Rogers,	2
Captain Miles Standish,†	2	*Thomas Tinker,†	3
John Alden,	1	*John Ridgdale,†	2
Mr. Samuel Fuller,	2	*Edward Fuller,†	3
*Mr. Christopher Martin,†	4	*John Turner,	3
*Mr. William Mullins,†	5	Francis Eaton,†	3
*Mr. William White,†	5	*James Chilton,†	3
[besides a son born in Cape Cod harbor, and named Peregrine.]		*John Crackston,	2
		John Billington,†	4
Mr. Richard Warren,	1	*Moses Fletcher,	1
John Howland, [of Carver's family.]		*John Goodman,	1
		*Degory Priest,	1
Gilbert Winslow,	1	*Thomas Williams,	1
*Edmund Margesson,	1	*John Allerton,	1
Peter Brown,	1	*Thomas English,	1
*Richard Bitteridge	1	Edward Dotey, Edward Leister, [both of Stephen Hopkin's family]	
George Soule, [of Edward Winslow's family.]			
*Richard Clarke,	1	Total persons,	101
Richard Gardiner,	1	Of whom were subscribers,	41

On Monday, the thirteenth of November, the women went ashore, under a guard, to wash their clothes; and the men were impatient for a further discovery. The shallop, which had been cut down and stowed between decks, needed repairing, in which seventeen days were employed. Whilst this was doing, they proposed that excursions might be made on foot. Much caution was necessary in an enterprise of this kind, in a new and savage country. After consultation and preparation, sixteen men were equipped with musket and ammunition, sword and corslet, under the command of Captain Miles Standish, who had William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Tilly for his Council of War. After many instructions given, they were rather permitted than ordered to go, and the time of their absence was limited to two days.

When they had travelled one mile by the shore, they saw five or six of the natives, who, on sight of them, fled. They attempted to pursue; and, lighting on their track, followed them till night; but the thickets through which they had to pass, the weight of their armor, and their debility, after a long voyage, made them an unequal match, in point of travelling, to these nimble sons of nature. They rested, at length, by a spring, which afforded them the first refreshing draught of American water.

The discoveries made in this march were few, but novel and amusing. In one place they found a deer-trap, made by the bending of a young tree to the earth, with a noose under ground, covered with acorns. Mr. Bradford's foot was caught in the trap, from which his companions disengaged him, and they were all entertained with the ingenuity of the device. In another place they came to an Indian burying-ground; and, in one of the graves, they found a mortar, an earthen pot, a bow and arrows, and other implements, all which they very carefully replaced; because they would not be guilty of violating the repositories of the dead. But when they found a cellar, carefully lined with bark and covered with a heap of sand, in which about four bushels of seed-corn in ears were well secured, after reasoning on the morality of the action, they took as much of the corn as they could carry, intending, when they should find the owners, to pay them to their satisfaction. On the third day they arrived, weary and welcome, where the ship lay, and delivered their corn into the common store. The company resolved to keep it for seed, and to pay the natives the full value, when they should have opportunity.

When the shallop was repaired and rigged, twenty-four of the company ventured on a second excursion to the same place, to make a further discovery; having Captain Jones for their commander, with ten of his seamen and the ship's long-boat. The wind being high, and the sea rough, the shallop came to anchor under the land, whilst part of the company waded on shore from the long-boat, and travelled, as they supposed, six or seven miles, having directed the shallop to follow them the next morning. The weather was very cold, with snow, and the people, having no shelter, took such colds as afterwards proved fatal to many.

Before noon the next day the shallop took them on board, and sailed to the place which they denominated *Cold Harbor*.* Finding it not navigable for ships, and consequently not proper for their residence, after shooting some geese and ducks, which they devoured with "soldier's stomachs," they went in search of seed-corn. The ground was frozen and covered with snow; but the cellars were known by heaps of sand; and the frozen earth was penetrated with their swords, till they gathered corn to the amount of ten bushels. This fortunate supply, with a quantity of beans preserved in the same manner, they took on the same condition as before; and, it is remarked by Governor Bradford, that in six months after, they paid the owners to their entire satisfaction. The acquisition of this corn, they always regarded as a particular favor of Divine Providence, without which the colony could not have subsisted.

Captain Jones in the shallop went back to the ship with the corn and fifteen of the weakest of the people; intending to send mattocks and spades the next day. The eighteen who remained, marched, as they supposed, five or six miles into the woods, and returning another way, discovered a mound of earth, in which they hoped to find more corn. On opening it, nothing appeared but the skull of a man, preserved in red earth, the skeleton of an infant, and such arms, utensils and ornaments, as are usually deposited in Indian graves. Not far distant were two deserted wigwams, with their furniture and some venison, so ill preserved that even soldier's stomachs could not relish it. On the arrival of the shallop, they returned to the ship, the first of December. During their absence, the wife of William White had been delivered of a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was named Peregrine.*

At this time they held a consultation respecting their future settlement. Some thought that Cold Harbor might be a proper place, because, though not deep enough for ships, it might be convenient for boats, and because a valuable fishery for whales and cod might be carried on there. The land was partly cleared of wood and good for corn, as appeared from the seed. It was also likely to be healthful and defensible. But the principal reasons were, that the winter was so far advanced as to prevent coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boats; that the winds were variable, and the storms sudden and violent; that by cold and wet lodgings the people were much affected with coughs, which, if they should not soon obtain shelter would prove mortal; that provisions were daily consuming and the ship must reserve sufficient for her homeward voyage, whatever became of the colony.

Others thought it best to go to a place called Agawam, twenty leagues northward, where they had heard of an excellent harbor, good fishing, and a better soil for planting. To this it was answered, that there might possibly be as good a place, nearer to them. Robert Coppin, their pilot, who had been here before, assured them, that he knew of a good harbor and a navigable river, not more than eight leagues across the bay to the westward. Upon the whole, they resolved to send the shallop round the shore of the bay on discovery, but not beyond the harbor of which Coppin had informed them.

On Wednesday, the sixth of December, Governor Carver, with nine of the principal men, well armed, and the same number of seamen, of which Coppin was one, went out in the shallop. The weather was so cold, that the spray of the sea froze on their coats, till they were cased with ice, "like coats of iron." They sailed by the eastern shore of the bay, as they judged, six or seven leagues, without finding any river or creek. At length they saw "a tongue of land,† being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point; they bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income, or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and two or three in length; but they made right over to the land before them." As they came near the shore, they saw ten or twelve Indians cutting up a grampus, who, in sight of them, ran away, carrying pieces of the fish which they had cut. They landed at a distance of a league or more from the grampus, with great difficulty, on account of the flat sands. Here they built a barricade, and placing sentinels, lay down to rest.

The next morning, Thursday, December 7th, they divided themselves into two parties; eight in the shallop, and the rest on shore, to make further discovery of this place, which they found to be "a bay without either river or creek coming into it." They gave it the name of *Grampus Bay*, because they saw many fish of that species. They tracked the Indians on the sand, and found a path into the woods, which they followed a great way, till they came to old corn fields and a spacious burying-ground, inclosed with pales. They ranged the wood till the close of the day, and then came down to the shore to meet the shallop which they had not seen since the morning. At high water she put into a creek; and, six men being left on board, two came on shore and lodged with their companions, under cover of a barricade and a guard.

On Friday, December 8th, they rose at five in the morning, to be ready to go on board at high water. At the dawn of day they were surprised with the war-cry of the natives, and a flight of arrows. They immediately seized their arms, and on the first discharge of musketry all the Indians fled, but one stout man, who stood three shots behind a tree, and then retired, as they supposed wounded. They took up eighteen arrows, headed either with brass, deers' horns, or birds' claws, which they sent as a present to their friends in England. This unwelcome reception, and the shoal water of the place,* determined them to seek further. They sailed along the shore as near as the extensive shoals would permit, but saw no harbor. The weather began to look threatening, and Coppin assured them that they might reach the harbor, of which he had some knowledge, before night. The wind being south-easterly they put themselves before it.† After some hours it began to rain; the storm increasing, their rudder broke, their mast sprung, and their sails fell overboard. In this piteous plight, steering with two oars, the wind and the flood tide carried them into a cove full of breakers, and it being dark they were in danger of being driven on shore. The pilot confessed that he knew not the place; but a stout seaman, who was steering, called to the rowers to put about and row hard. This effort happily brought them out of the cove, into a fair sound, and under a point of land, where they came safely to anchor. They were divided in their opinions about going on shore; but about midnight, the wind shifting to the north-west; the severity of the cold made a fire necessary. They therefore got on shore, and with some difficulty kindled a fire, and rested in safety.

In the morning they found themselves on a small uninhabited island, within the entrance of a spacious bay.‡ Here they staid all the next day (Saturday) drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing, as well as they could, their shallop. The following day, being the Christian Sabbath, they rested.

On Monday, December 11th, they surveyed and sounded the bay, which is described to be "in the shape of a fish hook; a good harbor for shipping, larger than that of Cape Cod; containing two small islands without inhabitants; innumerable store of fowls, different sorts of fish, besides shell-fish in abundance. As they marched into the land,◊ they found corn fields and brooks, and a very good situation for building." With this joyful news they returned to the company; and on the 16th of December the ship came to anchor in the harbor, with all the passengers, except four, who died at Cape Cod.

Having surveyed the land, as well as the season would permit in three days; they pitched upon a high ground on the southwest side of the bay, which was cleared of wood, and had formerly been planted. Under the south side of it, was "a very sweet brook in the entrance of which the shallop and boats could be secured, and many delicate springs of as good water as could be drank." On the opposite side of the brook was a cleared field, and beyond it a commanding eminence, on which they intended to lay a platform, and mount their cannon.

They went immediately to work, laying out house-lots, and a street; felling, sawing, riving and carrying timber; and before the end of December, though much interrupted by stormy weather, by the death of two, and the sickness of many of their number, they had erected a storehouse, with a thatched roof, in which their goods were deposited under a guard. Two rows of houses were begun, and as fast as they could be covered, the people, who were classed into nineteen families, came ashore, and lodged in them. On Lord's day, the 31st of December, they attended divine service, for the first time on shore, and named the place PLYMOUTH; partly because this harbor was so called in Captain Smith's map, published three or four years before, and partly in remembrance of the very kind and

* Mr. Prince conjectures this place to have been Barnstable harbor, (p. 74). But neither the time nor distance can agree with this conjecture. Barnstable is more than fifty miles from Cape Cod harbor by land, a distance which they could not have travelled and back again in three short days of November. I rather think, after inquiry of a gentleman well acquainted with Cape Cod, that Cold Harbor is the mouth of Provincetown Creek, between Truro and Wellfleet, and the description given in Morton's Remains corresponds with this idea. Provincetown is a tide harbor for boats, distant between three and four leagues from the harbor of Cape Cod. See Collections of Historical Society for 1794. Vol. III. p. 196.

* The following account of him is extracted from the Boston Newsletter of July 31, 1704, being the fifteenth number of the first newspaper printed in New England.—"Marshfield, July 22: Captain Peregrine White, of this town, aged eighty-three years and eight months, died here the 20th instant. He was vigorous and of a comely aspect, to the last; was the son of William White, and Susanna his wife, born on board the May flower, Captain Jones, commander, in Cape Cod harbor, November, 1620, the first Englishman born in New England. Although he was in the former part of his life extravagant, yet he was much reformed in his last years, and died hopefully."

† This "tongue of land" is Billingsgate Point, the western shore of Wellfleet harbor.

* Morton says, "This is thought to be a place called Namskeket." A creek which now bears the name of Skakit, lies between Eastham and Harwich; distant about three or four miles westward from Nauset; the seat of a tribe of Indians who (as they afterwards learned) made this attack.

† The distance directly across the bay from Skakit is about twelve leagues; in Prince's Annals it is said they sailed fifteen leagues.

‡ This island has ever since borne the name of Clark's Island, from the mate of the ship, the first man who stepped on shore. The cove where they were in danger, lies between the Gurnet Head, and Saguish Point, at the entrance of Plymouth Bay.

◊ The rock on which they first stepped ashore, at high water is now inclosed with a wharf. The upper part of it has been separated from the lower part, and drawn into the public square of the town of Plymouth, where it is distinguished by the name of The Forefather's Rock. The 22d of December (Georgian style) is regarded by the people of Plymouth as a festival.

friendly treatment which they had received from the inhabitants of Plymouth, the last port of their native country from which they sailed.

At this time some of the people lodged on shore, and others on board the ship, which lay at the distance of a mile and a half from the town; and when the tide was out, there could be no communication between them. On the 14th of January, very early in the morning, as Governor Carver and Mr. Bradford lay sick in bed at the storehouse, the thatched roof, by means of a spark, caught on fire, and was soon consumed; but by the timely assistance of the people on shore, the lower part of the building was preserved. Here were deposited their whole stock of ammunition, and several loaded guns; but happily the fire did not reach them. The fire was seen by the people on board the ship, who could not come on shore till an hour afterwards. They were greatly alarmed at the appearance, because two men, who had strolled into the woods, were missing, and they were apprehensive that the Indians had made an attack on the place. In the evening the strollers found their way home, almost dead with hunger, fatigue and cold.

The bad weather and severe hardships to which this company were exposed, in a climate much more rigorous than any to which they had ever been accustomed, with the scorbutic habits contracted in their voyage, and by living so long on shipboard, caused a great mortality among them in the winter. Before the month of April, nearly one half* of them died. At some times, the number of the sick was so great, that not more than six or seven were fit for duty, and these were almost wholly employed in attending the sick. The ship's company was in the same situation; and Captain Jones, though earnestly desirous to get away, was obliged to stay till April, having lost one half of his men.

By the beginning of March, the governor was so far recovered of his first illness, that he was able to walk three miles, to visit a large pond which Francis Billington had discovered from the top of a tree on a hill. At first it was supposed to be part of the ocean; but it proved to be the head water of the brook which runs by the town. It has ever since borne the name of the first discoverer, which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Hitherto they had not seen any of the natives at this place. The mortal pestilence which raged through the country, four years before, had almost depopulated it. One remarkable circumstance attending this pestilence was not known till after this settlement was made. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod. The men were saved, and the provisions and goods. The natives kept their eye on them till they found an opportunity to kill all but three or four, and divide their goods. The captives were sent from one tribe to another, as slaves. One of them learned so much of their language, as to tell them that "God was angry with them for their cruelty, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people." They answered that "they were too many for God to kill." He replied, that "if they were ever so many, God had many ways to kill them of which they were then ignorant." When the pestilence came among them, (a new disease, probably the yellow fever,) they remembered the Frenchman's words; and when the Plymouth settlers arrived at Cap Cod, the few survivors imagined that the other part of his prediction would soon be accomplished. Soon after their arrival, the Indian priests or powows convened, and performed their incantations in a dark swamp three days successively, with a view to curse and destroy the new comers. Had they known the mortality which raged among them, they would doubtless have rejoiced in the success of their endeavors, and might very easily have taken advantage of their weakness to exterminate them But none of them were seen till after the sickness had abated; though some tools, which had been left in the woods, were missing, which they had stolen in the night.

On the sixteenth of March, when the spring was so far advanced as to invite them to make their gardens, a savage came boldly into the place alone, walked through the street to the rendezvous or storehouse, and pronounced the words *Welcome Englishmen!* his name was Samoset; he belonged to a place distant five days journey to the eastward, and had learned of the fishermen to speak broken English.

He was received with kindness and hospitality, and he informed them, "that by the late pestilence, and a ferocious war, the number of his countrymen had been so diminished, that not more than one in twenty remained; that the spot where they were now seated was called Patukset, and though formerly populous, yet every human being in it had died of the pestilence." This account was confirmed by the extent of the fields, the number of graves, and the remnants of skeletons lying on the ground.

The account which he gave of himself, was, "that he had been absent from home eight moons, part of the time among the Nausets, their nearest neighbors a' the southeast, who were about one hundred strong, and more lately among the Wompaneags at the westward, who were about sixty; that he had heard of the attack made on them by the Nausets at Namskeket; that these people were full of resentment against the Europeans, on account of the perfidy of Hunt, master of an English vessel, who had some years before the pestilence decoyed some of the natives, (twenty from Patukset and seven from Nauset) on board his ship, and sold them abroad as slaves; that they had killed three English fishermen, besides the Frenchmen aforementioned in revenge for this affront. He also gave information of the lost tools, and promised to see them restored; and that he would bring the natives to trade with them."

Samoset being dismissed with a present, returned the next day with five more of the natives, bringing the stolen tools, and a few skins for trade. They were dismissed with a request to bring more, which they promised in a few days. Samoset feigned himself sick, and remained; but as his companions did not return at the time, he was sent to inquire the reason.

On the 22nd he returned, in company with Squanto or Squantum, a native of Patukset, and the only one then living. He was one of the twenty whom Hunt had carried away; he had been sold in Spain, had lived in London with John Slany Merchant, Treasurer of the Newfoundland Company; had learned the English language, and came back to his native country with the fishermen. These two persons were deputed by the sachem of the Wompaneags, *Ma-sass-o-it*,* whose residence was at Sowams or Pokanoket, on the Narraganset Bay, to announce his coming, and bring some skins as a present. In about an hour, the sachem, with his brother *Qua-de-qui-nah*, and his whole force of sixty men, appeared on the hill over against them. Squantum was sent to know his pleasure, and returned with the sachem's request, that one of the company should come to him. Edward Winslow immediately went alone, carrying a present in his hand, with the governor's compliments, desiring to see the sachem, and enter on a friendly treaty. Masassoit left Winslow in the custody of his brother, to whom another present was made, and taking twenty of his men, unarmed, descended the hill towards the brook, over which lay a log bridge. Captain Miles Standish, at the head of six men, met him at the brook, and escorted him and his train to one of the best houses, where three or four cushions were placed on a green rug, spread over the floor. The governor came in, preceeded by a drum and trumpet, the sound of which greatly delighted the Indians. After mutual salutations, he entered into conversation with the sachem, which issued in a treaty. The articles were, "(1.) That neither he nor his should injure any of our's. (2.) That if they did, he should send the offender, that *we* might punish him. (3.) That if our tools were taken away, he should restore them. (4.) That if any *unjustly* warred against him, we would aid him; and if any warred against us, he should aid us. (5.) That he should certify his neighbor confederates of this, that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the conditions of peace. (6.) That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them; as we should leave our pieces when we came to them. (7.) That in doing thus, King James would esteem him as his friend and ally."

The conference being ended, and the company having been entertained with such refreshments as the place afforded, the sachem returned to his camp. This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Masassoit lived, but was afterward broken by Philip, his successor.

The next day Masassoit sent for some of the English to visit him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went, were kindly received, and treated with groundnuts and tobacco.

The sachem then returned to his head-quarters, distant about forty miles; but Squantum and Samoset remained at Plymouth, and instructed the people how to plant their corn, and dress it with herrings, of which an immense quantity came into the brooks. The ground which they planted with corn was twenty acres. They sowed six acres with barley and peas; the former yielded an indifferent crop; but the latter were parched with the heat, and came to nothing.

Whilst they were engaged in this labor, in which all were alike employed, on the 5th of April, (the day on which the ship sailed for England) Governor Carver came out of the field, at noon, complaining of a pain in his head, caused by the heat of the sun. It soon deprived him of his senses, and in a few days put an end to his life, to the great grief of this infant plantation. He was buried with all the honors which could be shown to the memory of a good man by a grateful people. The men were under arms, and fired several vollies over his grave. His affectionate wife, overcome with her loss, survived him but six weeks.

Mr. Carver is represented as a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of sufferings in the service of the colony, who confided in him as their friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence, were eminent traits in his character; and it is particularly remarked, that in the time of general sickness, which befel the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick, and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters.

One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years; and about the middle of the present century (1755) he, his son, grandson, and great grandson, were all, at the same time, at work in the same field, whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house, at Marshfield.

The memory of Governor Carver is still held in esteem; a ship belonging to Plymouth now bears his name; and his broadsword is deposited, as a curiosity, in the cabinet of the Historical Society, at Boston

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* The exact bill of mortality as collected by Mr. Prince, is as follows:

In December,	6	Of these, 21	were subscribers to the civil compact.
In January,	8		
In February,	17	and 23	were women, children and servants.
In March,	13		
Total,	44		44

* Mr. Prince says that Ma-sass-o-it is a word of four syllables, and was so pronounced by the ancient people of Plymouth. This remark is confirmed by the manner in which it is spelled in some parts of Mr. Winslow's Narrative, Masas-o-wat.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

William Bradford—His Birth and Education—Removes to Amsterdam—Accompanies the Adventurers to New England—His Wife Drowned—Chosen Governor of New Plymouth—Conspiracy of the Indians—He adopts Measures of Defence—Surrenders the Patent to the Colony—His Death and Character—His Descendants.

William Bradford was born in 1588, at Ansterfield, an obscure village in the North of England. His parents dying when he was young, he was educated, first by his grand-parents, and afterwards by his uncles, in the practice of agriculture. His paternal inheritance was considerable; but he had no other learning but such as generally falls to the share of the children of husbandmen.

At twelve years of age, his mind became seriously impressed by divine truth, in reading the Scriptures; and as he increased in years, a native firmness enabled him to vindicate his opinions against opposition. Being stigmatized as a Separatist, he was obliged to bear the frowns of his relatives, and the scoff of his neighbors; but nothing could divert or intimidate him from attending on the ministry of Mr. Richard Clifton, and connecting himself with the church over which he and Mr Robinson presided.

When he was eighteen years old, he joined in their attempt to go over to Holland, and was one of the seven who were imprisoned at Boston, in Lincolnshire, as is already related in the life of Robinson; but he was soon liberated on account of his youth. He was also one of those who, the next year, fled from Grimsby Common, when part of the company went to sea, and part were taken by the pursuivants.

After some time, he went over to Zealand, through various difficulties; and was no sooner set on shore, than a malicious passenger in the same vessel, accused him before the Dutch magistrates, as a fugitive from England. But when they understood the cause of his emigration, they gave him protection, and permission to join his brethren at Amsterdam.

It being impossible for him to prosecute agriculture in Holland, he was obliged to betake himself to some other business; and being then under age, he put himself as an apprentice to a French Protestant, who

taught him the art of silk-dying. As soon as he attained the years of manhood, he sold his paternal estate in England, and entered on a commercial life, in which he was not very successful.

When the Church of Leyden contemplated a removal to America, Bradford zealously engaged in the undertaking, and came with the first company, in 1620, to Cape Cod. Whilst the ship lay in that harbor, he was one of the foremost in the several hazardous attempts to find a proper place for the seat of the colony in one of which he, with others of the principal persons, narrowly escaped the destruction which threatened their shallop. On his return from this excursion to the ship with the joyful news of having found an harbor, and a place for settlement, he had the mortification to hear that, during his absence, his wife had accidentally fallen into the sea, and was drowned.

After the sudden death of Governor Carver, the infant colony cast their eyes on Bradford to succeed him; but being at that time so very ill, that his life was despaired of, they waited for his recovery, and then invested him with the command. He was in the thirty-third year of his age; his wisdom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart, were so conspicuous as to merit the sincere esteem of the people. Carver had been alone in command. They confided in his prudence, that he would not adventure on any matter of moment without the consent of the people, or the advice of the wisest. To Bradford they appointed an assistant, Isaac Allerton, not because they had not the same confidence in him, but partly for the sake of regularity, and partly on account of his precarious health. They appointed but one, because they were so reduced in number, that to have made a greater disproportion between rulers and people would have been absurd; and they knew that it would always be in their power to increase the number at their pleasure. Their voluntary combination was designed only as a temporary expedient, till they should obtain a charter under the authority of their sovereign.

One of the first acts of Bradford's administration, was, by the advice of the company, to send Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins to Masassoit, with Squanto for their guide. The design of this embassy was to explore the country, to confirm the league, to learn the situation and strength of their new friend, to carry some presents, to apologize for some misbehavior, to regulate the intercourse between them and the Indians, and to procure seed-corn for the next planting season.

These gentlemen found the sachem at Pokanoket,* about forty miles from Plymouth. They delivered the presents, renewed the friendship, and satisfied themselves respecting the strength of the natives, which did not appear formidable, nor was the entertainment which they received either liberal or splendid. The marks of desolation and death, by reason of the pestilence, were very conspicuous, in all the country through which they passed; but they were informed that the Narragansets, who resided on the western shore of the bay of that name, were very numerous, and that the pestilence had not reached them.

After the return of this embassy, another was sent to Nauset, to recover a boy who had straggled from Plymouth, and had been taken up by some of the Indians of that place. They were so fortunate as to recover the boy, and to make peace with Aspinet the sachem, when they paid for the seed-corn which they had taken out of the ground at Paomet, in the preceding autumn. During this expedition an old woman, who had never before seen any white people, burst into tears of grief and rage at the sight of them. She had lost three sons by the perfidy of Thomas Hunt, who decoyed them, with others, on board his ship, and sold them for slaves. Squanto, who was present, told her that he had been carried away at the same time; that Hunt was a bad man; that his countrymen disapproved his conduct, and that the English at Plymouth would not offer them any injury. This declaration, accompanied by a small present, appeased her anger, though it was impossible to remove the cause of her grief.

It was fortunate for the colony that they had secured the friendship of Masassoit; for his influence was found to be very extensive. He was regarded and reverenced by all the natives, from the bay of Narraganset to that of Massachusetts. Though some of the petty sachems were disposed to be jealous of the new colony, and to disturb its peace, yet their mutual connection with Masassoit proved the means of its preservation; as a proof of which, nine of the sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth, and subscribed an instrument of submission in the following terms, viz.

"September 13, Anno Domini 1621. Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, king of Great-Britain France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names, or marks, as followeth:

Ohquamehud,	Nattawahunt,	Quadequina,
Cawnacome,	Caunbatant,	Huttamoiden,
Obbatinua,	Chikatabak,	Apannow."

Hobamak, another of these subordinate chiefs, came and took up his residence at Plymouth, where he continued as a faithful guide and interpreter as long as he lived. The Indians of the island of Capawock, which had now obtained the name of Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, also sent messengers of peace.

Having heard much of the Bay of Massachusetts, both from the Indians and the English fishermen, Governor Bradford appointed ten men, with Squanto, and two other Indians, to visit the place, and trade with the natives. On the 18th of September, they sailed in a shallop, and the next day got to the bottom of the bay, where they landed under a cliff,* and were kindly received by Obbatinewa, the sachem who had subscribed the submission at Plymouth a few days before. He renewed his submission, and received a promise of assistance and defence against the Squaw Sachem of Massachusetts, and other enemies.

The appearance of this bay was pleasing. They saw the mouths of two rivers which emptied into it. The islands were cleared of wood, and had been planted; but most of the people who had inhabited them either were dead, or had removed. Those who remained were continually in fear of the Tarratenes, who frequently came from the eastward in a hostile manner, and robbed them of their corn. In one of these predatory invasions, Nanepashamet, a sachem, had been slain; his body lay buried under a frame, surrounded by an intrenchment and palisade. A monument on the top of a hill designated the place where he was killed.

Having explored the bay, and collected some beaver, the shallop returned to Plymouth, and brought so good a report of the place, that the people wished they had been seated there. But having planted corn and built huts at Plymouth, and being there in security from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for removal. Many of their posterity having judged otherwise.

In November, a ship arrived from England, with thirty-five passengers, to augment the colony. Unhappily they were so short of provision, that the people of Plymouth were obliged to victual the ship home, and then put themselves and the new comers to half allowance. Before the next spring, (1622) the colony began to feel the rigor of famine. In the height of this distress, the governor received from Canonicus, Sachem of Narraganset, a threatening message, in the emblematic style of the ancient Scythians; a bundle of arrows, bound with the skin of a serpent. The governor sent an answer in the same style, the skin of the serpent filled with powder and ball. The Narragansets, afraid of its contents, sent it back unopened; and here the correspondence ended.

It was now judged proper to fortify the town. Accordingly it was surrounded with a stockade and four flankarts; a guard was kept by day and night, the company being divided into four squadrons. A select number were appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard with their backs to the fire, to prevent a surprise from the Indians. Within the stockade was enclosed the top of the hill, under which the town was built, and a sufficiency of land for a garden to each family. The works were begun in February and finished in March.

At this time the famine was very severe. Fish and spring waters were the only provision on which the people subsisted. The want of bread reduced their flesh; yet, they had so much health and spirit, that, on hearing of the massacre in Virginia, they erected an additional fort on the top of the hill, with a flat roof, on which the guns were mounted; the lower story served them for a place of worship. Sixty acres of ground were planted with corn; and their gardens were sown with the seeds of other esculent vegetables, in great plenty.

The arrival of two ships with a new colony, sent out by Thomas Weston, but without provisions, was an additional misfortune. Some of these people being sick, were lodged in the hospital at Plymouth till they were so far recovered as to join their companions, who seated themselves at Wessagusset, since called Weymouth.

The first supply of provisions was obtained from the fishing vessels; of which thirty-five came this spring, from England to the coast. In August, two ships arrived with trading goods; which the planters bought at a great disadvantage, giving beaver in exchange. The summer being dry, and the harvest short, it became necessary to make excursions among the natives, to procure corn and beans, with the goods purchased from the ships. Governor Bradford undertook this service, having Squanto for his guide and interpreter; who was taken ill on the passage, and died at Manomoik. Before his death, he requested the governor to pray for him, "that he might go to the Englishman's God."

In these excursions, Mr. Bradford was treated by the natives with great respect; and the trade was conducted, on both parts, with justice and confidence. At Nauset, the shallop being stranded, it was necessary to put the corn, which had been purchased, in stack and leave it covered with mats and sedge, in the care of the Indians, whilst the governor and his party came home, fifty miles on foot. It remained there from November to January; and when another shallop was sent, it was found in perfect safety, and the stranded shallop was covered.

At Namasket, [Middleborough] an inland place, he bought another quantity, which was brought home, partly by the people of the colony, and partly by the Indian women; their men disdaining to bear burdens.

At Manomet, [Sandwich] he bargained for more, which he was obliged to leave till March, when Captain Standish went and fetched it home, the Indian women bringing it down to the shallop. The whole quantity thus purchased, amounted to twenty-eight hogsheads of corn and beans; of which Weston's people had a share, as they had joined in the purchase.

In the spring [1623] the governor received a message from Masassoit that he was sick; on which occasion it is usual for all the friends of the Indians to visit them, or send them presents. Mr. Winslow again went to visit the sachem, accompanied by Mr. John Hamden,* and they had Hobamak for their guide and interpreter. The visit was very consolatory to their sick friend, and the more so, as Winslow carried him some cordials, and made him broth after the English mode, which contributed to his recovery. In return for this friendly attention, Masassoit communicated to Hobamak intelligence of a dangerous conspiracy then in agitation among the Indians which he had been solicited to join. Its object was nothing less than the total extirpation of the English, and it was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Weston's people in the Bay of Massachusetts. The Indians had it in contemplation to make them the first victims, and then to fall on the people of Plymouth. Masassoit's advice was that the English should seize and put to death the chief conspirators, whoin he named; and said that this would prevent the execution of the plot. Hobamak communicated this secret to Winslow as they were returning; and it was reported to the governor.

On this alarming occasion the whole company were assembled in court, and the news was imparted to them. Such was their confidence in the governor, that they unanimously requested him, with Allerton, his assistant, to concert the best measures for their safety. The result was to strengthen the fortifications, to be vigilant at home, and to send such a force to the Bay of Massachusetts, under Captain Standish, as he should judge sufficient to crush the conspiracy. An Indian who had come into the town was suspected as a spy, and confined in irons. Standish with eight chosen men, and the faithful Hobamak, went in the shallop to Weston's plantation, having goods as usual to trade with the Indians. Here he met the persons who had been named as conspirators, who personally insulted

* This was a general name for the northern shore of the Narraganset Bay, between Providence and Taunton rivers, and comprehends the present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, in the State of Rhode Island, and Swanzey in Massachusetts. Its northern extent is unknown. The principal seats of the sachems were at Sowams and Kickamuit. The former is a neck of land formed by the confluence of Barrington and Palmer's rivers, the latter is Mount Hope.

* Supposed to be Copp's Hill in the town of Boston.

* In Winslow's Journal, Mr. Hamden is said to be "a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country." I suppose this to be the same person who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary acts and edicts of King Charles I. He had previously (1637) embarked for New England with Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Hasleryg and others, but they were prevented from coming by the king's "proclamation against disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in America." Hamden was born in 1594, and was twenty years old at the time of his being at Plymouth, in 1623

and threatened him. A quarrel ensued, in which seven of the Indians were killed. The others were so struck with terror, that they forsook their houses and retreated to the swamps, where many of them died with cold and hunger; the survivors would have sued for peace, but were afraid to go to Plymouth. Weston's people were so apprehensive of the consequences of this affair, that they quitted the plantation; and the people of Plymouth, who offered them protection, which they would not accept, were glad to be rid of such troublesome neighbors.

Thus, by the spirited conduct of a handful of brave men, in conformity to the advice of the friendly sachem, the whole conspiracy was annihilated. But when the report of this transaction was carried to their brethren in Holland, Mr. Robinson, in his next letter to the governor, lamented with great concern and tenderness, "O that you had converted some, before you had killed any!"

The scarcity which they had hitherto experienced was partly owing to the increase of their numbers, and the scantiness of their supplies from Europe; but principally to their mode of laboring in common, and putting the fruit of their labor into the public store; an error, which had the same effect here, as in Virginia. To remedy this evil, as far as was consistent with their engagements, it was agreed in the spring of 1623 that every family should plant for themselves, on such ground as should be assigned to them by lot, without any division for inheritance; and that in the time of harvest a competent portion should be brought into the common store, for the maintenance of the public officers, fishermen and such other persons as could not be employed in agriculture. This regulation gave a spring to industry; the women and children cheerfully went to work with the men in the fields, and much more corn was planted than ever before. Having but one boat, the men were divided into parties of six or seven, who took their turns to catch fish; the shore afforded them shell-fish, and ground nuts served them for bread. When any deer was killed the flesh was divided among the whole colony. Water fowl came in plenty at the proper season, but the want of boats prevented them from being taken in great numbers. Thus they subsisted, through the third summer, in the latter end of which two vessels arrived with sixty passengers. The harvest was plentiful; and after this time they had no general want of food, because they had learned to depend on their own exertions, rather than on foreign supplies.

The combination which they made, before their landing at Cape Cod, was the first foundation of their government; but, as they were driven to this expedient by necessity, it was intended to subsist no longer than till they could obtain legal authority from their sovereign. As soon as they knew of the establishment of the Council of New England, they applied for a patent; which was taken in the name of John Peirce, in trust for the colony. When he saw that they were well seated, and that there was a prospect of success to their undertaking, he went, without their knowledge, but in their name, and solicited the council for another patent, of greater extent; intending to keep it to himself, and allow them no more than he pleased, holding them as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, having obtained the patent, he bought a ship, which he named the Paragon; loaded her with goods, took on board upwards of sixty passengers, and sailed from London, for the colony of New Plymouth. In the Downs, he was overtaken by a tempest, which so damaged the ship, that he was obliged to put her into dock; where she lay seven weeks, and her repairs cost him one hundred pounds. In December, 1622, he sailed a second time, having on board one hundred and nine persons; but a series of tempestuous weather which continued fourteen days, disabled his ship, and forced him back to Portsmouth. These repeated disappointments proved so discouraging to him, that he was easily prevailed upon by the Company of Adventurers, to assign his patent to them for five hundred pounds. The passengers came over in other ships.

In 1629, another patent of larger extent was solicited by Isaac Allerton, and taken out in the name of "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns." This patent confirmed their title (as far as the Crown of England could confirm it) to a tract of land bounded on the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and by lines drawn west from the rivulet of Conohasset, and north from the river of Narraganset, which lines meet in a point, comprehending all the country called Pokanoket. To this tract they supposed they had a prior title from the depopulation of a great part of it by a pestilence, from the gift of Masassoit, his voluntary subjection to the Crown of England, and his having taken protection of them. In a declaration published by them in 1636, they asserted their "lawful right in respect of vacancy, donation, and purchase of the natives," which, together with their patent from the crown, through the Council of New England "formed the warrantable ground and foundation of their government, of making laws and disposing of lands."*

In the same patent was granted a large tract bordering on the river Kennebeck, where they had carried on a traffic with the natives for furs, as they did also at Connecticut river, which was not equally beneficial, because there they had the Dutch for rivals. The fur trade was found to be much more advantageous than the fishery. Sometimes they exchanged corn of their own growth, for furs; but European coarse cloths, hardware, and ornaments, were good articles of trade when they could command them.

The Company in England, with which they were connected, did not supply them in plenty. Losses were sustained by sea; the returns were not adequate to their expectations; they became discouraged; threw many reflections on the planters, and finally refused them any farther supplies; but still demanded the debt due from them, and would not permit them to connect themselves in trade with any other persons. The planters complained to the Council of New England, but obtained no redress. After the expiration of the seven years (1628) for which the contract was made, eight of the principal persons in the colony, with four of their friends in London, became bound for the balance; and from that time took the whole trade into their own hands. These were obliged to take up money at an exorbitant interest, and to go deeply into trade at Kennebeck, Penobscot, and Connecticut; by which means, and their own great industry and economy, they were enabled to discharge the debt, and pay for the transportation of thirty five families of their friends from Leyden, who arrived in 1629.

The patent had been taken in the name of Mr. Bradford, in trust for the colony; and the event proved that their confidence was not misplaced. When the number of people was increased, and new townships were erected, the General Court, in 1640, requested that he would surrender the patent into their hands. To this he readily consented; and by a written instrument, under his hand and seal, surrendered it to them; reserving for himself no more than his proportion, by previous agreement. This was done in open court, and the patent was immediately re-delivered into his custody.

Whilst they were few in number, the whole body of associates or freemen assembled for legislative, executive and judicial business. In 1634, the governor and assistants were constituted a Judicial Court, and afterward, the Supreme Judiciary. Petty offences, and actions of debt, trespass and damage, not exceeding forty shillings, were tried by the selectmen of each town, with liberty of appeal to the next Court of Assistants. The first Assembly of Representatives was held in 1639, when two deputies were sent from each town, and four from Plymouth. In 1649 Plymouth was restricted to the same number with the other towns. These deputies were chosen by the freemen; and none were admitted to the privilege of freemen, but such as were twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds rateable estate.

By the former patent, the Colony of Plymouth was empowered to "enact such laws as should most befit a state in its nonage, not rejecting, or omitting to observe such of the laws of their native country, as would conduce to their good." In the second patent, the power of government was granted to William Bradford and his associates, in the following terms. "To frame and make orders, ordinances and constitutions, as well for the better government of their affairs here, (in England) and the receiving or admitting any to his or their society; as also for the better government of his or their people, at sea, in going thither, or returning from thence; and the same to be put in execution, by such officers and ministers as he or they shall authorise and depute; provided, that the said laws be not repugnant to the laws of England, or the frame of government by the said president and council hereafter to be established."

At that time, a general government over the whole territory of New England, was a favorite object with the council, which granted these patents; but after several attempts, it finally miscarried, to the no small joy of the planters, who were then at liberty to govern themselves.

In the formation of the laws of New Plymouth, regard was had, "primarily and principally, to the ancient platform of God's law." For, though some parts of that system were peculiar to the circumstances of the son's of Jacob, yet "the whole being grounded on the principles of moral equity," it was the opinion of our first planters, not at Plymouth only, but in Massachusetts, New Haven, and Connecticut, that "all men, especially Christians, ought to have an eye to it, in the framing of their political constitutions." A secondary regard was had to the liberties granted to them by their sovereign, and the laws of England, which they supposed "any impartial person might discern, in the perusal of the book of the laws of the colony."

At first they had some doubt concerning their right of punishing capital crimes. A murder which happened in 1630, made it necessary to decide this question. It was decided by the divine law against shedding human blood, which was deemed indispensable. In 1636, their code of laws was revised, and capital crimes were enumerated and defined. In 1671, it was again revised, and the next year printed, with this title, "The Book of the General laws of the Inhabitants of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth;"* a title very similar to the codes of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which were printed at the same time by Samuel Green, at Cambridge.

The piety, wisdom, and integrity of Mr. Bradford, were such prominent features in his character, that he was annually chosen governor as long as he lived, excepting three years, when Mr. Winslow, and two, when Mr. Prince, were chosen; and even then, Mr. Bradford was the first in the list of assistants, which gave him the rank of deputy-governor. In 1624, they chose five assistants, and in 1633, seven; the governor having a double vote. These augmentations were made at the earnest request of Mr. Bradford, who strongly recommended a rotation in the election of a governor but could not obtain it for more than five years in thirty five; and never for more than two years in succession. His argument was, "that if it were an honor or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it; if it were a burthen, others beside himself should help to bear it." Notwithstanding the reasonableness and equity of his plea, the people had a strong attachment to him, and confidence in him, that they could not be persuaded to leave him out of the government.

For the last twelve years of his life, he was annually chosen without interruption, and served in the office of governor. His health continued good till the autumn of 1556, when it began to decline; and as the next spring advanced, he became weaker, but felt not any acute illness till the beginning of May.

After a distressing day, his mind was, in the following night, so elevated with the idea of futurity, that he said to his friends in the morning, "God has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory." The next day, being the 9th of May, 1657, he was removed from this world by death, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, to the im-

* In 1639, after the termination of the Pequod war, Masassoit, who had then changed his name to Woosamequen, brought his son, Moosanam, to Plymouth, and desired that the league which he had formerly made, might be renewed and inviolable. The sachem and his son voluntarily promised, "for themselves and their successors, that they would not needlessly nor unjustly raise any quarrels or do any wrong to other natives to provoke them to war against the colony; and that they would not give, sell or convey any of their land, territory or possessions whatever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity or consent of the government of Plymouth, other than to such as the said government should send or appoint. The whole court did then ratify and confirm the aforesaid league, and promise to the said Woosamequen, his son and successors, that they would defend them against all such as should unjustly rise up against them, to wrong or oppose them."—[Morton's Memorial.

* Governor Hutchinson, with unaccountable carelessness, has asserted, (Vol. II. 463) that they never established any distinct code or body of laws "grounding his assertion on a passage in Hubbard's MS history, which implies no such thing. The quotation, imperfectly given by Huchinson, is correctly as follows, (p. 50)

"The laws they intended to be governed by were the laws of England; the which they were willing to be subject to, though in a foreign land; and have since that time, continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own, in such cases where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach, or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place; possibly on the same ground that Pacavius sometimes advised his neighbors of Capua not to cashier their old magistrates, till they could agree on better to place in their room. So did these choose to rule by the laws of England, till they could be provided of better."

mense loss and grief of the people, not only in Plymouth, but the neighboring colonies; four* of which he lived to see established, beside that of which he was one of the principal founders.

In addition to what has been said of Mr. Bradford's character, it may be observed, that he was a sensible man, of a strong mind, a sound judgment, and a good memory. Though not favored with a learned education, he was much inclined to study and writing. The French and Dutch languages were familiar to him, and he attained a considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek; but he more assiduously studied the Hebrew, because he said, that "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God, in their native beauty."

He had read much of history and philosophy, but theology was his favorite study. He was able to manage the polemic part of it with much dexterity; and was particularly vigilant against the sectaries which infested the colonies; though by no means severe or intolerant, as long as they continued peaceable; wishing rather to foil them by argument, and guard the people against receiving their tenets, than to suppress them by violence, or cut them off by the sword of magistracy. Mr. Hubbard's character of him is, that he was a "person of great gravity and prudence, of sober principles, and for one of that persuasion, (Brownists,) very pliable, gentle, and condescending."

He wrote a history of Plymouth people and colony, beginning with the first formation of the church, in 1602, and ending in 1646. It was contained in a folio volume of 270 pages. Morton's Memorial is an abridgment of it. Prince and Hutchinson had the use of it, and the manuscript was carefully deposited with Mr. Prince's valuable collection of papers, in the library of the Old South church in Boston, which fell a sacrifice to the unprincipled fury of the British army in the year 1775, since which time it has not been seen. He also had a large book of copies of letters relative to the affairs of the colony, a fragment of which was, a few years ago, recovered by accident,† and published by the Historical Society. To the fragment is subjoined another, being a "descriptive and historical account of New-England," in verse; which if it be not graced with the charms of poetry, yet is a just and affecting narrative, intermixed with pious and useful reflections. Besides these, he wrote, as Dr. Mather says, "some significant things, for the confutation of the errors of the times; by which it appears, that he was a person of a good temper, and free from that rigid spirit of separation, which broke the Separatists to pieces."

In his office of chief magistrate, he was prudent, temperate and firm. He would suffer no person to trample on the laws, or disturb the peace of the colony. During his administration there were frequent accessions of new inhabitants; some of whom were at first refractory; but his wisdom and fortitude obliged them to pay a decent respect to the laws and customs of the country. One particular instance is preserved. A company of young men, newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the governor's order for working on the public account. On a Christmas day, they excused themselves, under pretence that it was against their conscience to work. The governor gave them no other answer than, that he would let them alone, till they should be better informed. In the course of the day, he found them at play in the streets, and commanding the instruments of their game to be taken from them, he told them, that it was against his conscience to suffer them to play, whilst others were at work; and that if they had any religious regard to the day, they should show it, in the exercise of devotion at home. This gentle reproof had the desired effect, and prevented a repetition of such disorders.

His conduct toward intruders and false friends was equally moderate, but firm and decisive. John Lyford had imposed himself upon the colony as a minister, being recommended by some of the adventurers. At first his behavior was plausible,and he was treated with respect; but it was not long, before he began, in concert with John Oldham, to excite a faction. The governor watched them; and when a ship was about sailing for England, it was observed that Lyford was very busy in writing letters, of which he put a great number on board. The governor in a boat followed the ship to sea, and by favor of the master, who was a friend to the colony, examined the letters, some of which he intercepted, and concealed. Lyford and Oldham were at first under much apprehension, but as nothing transpired, they concluded that the governor had only gone on board to carry his own letters; and felt themselves secure.

In one of the intercepted letters, Lyford had written to his friends, the discontented part of the adventurers, that he and Oldham intended a reformation in Church and State. Accordingly they began to institute a separate church; and when Oldham was summoned to take his turn at a military watch, he not only refused compliance, but abused Captain Standish, and drew his knife upon him. For this he was imprisoned; and both he and Lyford were brought to trial, before the whole company. Their behavior was insolent and obstinate. The governor took pains to convince them of their folly, but in vain. The letters were then produced; their adherents were confounded; and the evidence of their factious and disorderly conduct being satisfactory, they were condemned, and ordered to be banished from the plantation. Lyford was allowed six months for probation; but his pretences proved hypocritical, and he was obliged to depart. After several removals he died in Virginia. Oldham having returned after banishment, his second expulsion was conducted in this singular manner. "A guard of musketeers was appointed,through which he was obliged to pass; every one was ordered to give him a blow on the hinder parts with the butt end of his musket; then he was conveyed to the water side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, *go and mend your manners.*" This discipline had a good effect on him; he made his submission, and was allowed to come and go on trading voyages. In one of these, he was killed by the Pequod Indians, which proved the occasion of a war with that nation.

Mr. Bradford had one son by his first wife; and by his second, Alice Southworth, whom he married in 1623, he had two sons and a daughter. His son William, born in 1624, was deputy governor of the colony after his father's death, and lived to the age of 80; as appears by his grave-stone in Plymouth church-yard. One of his grandsons, and two of his great grandsons were counsellors of Massachusetts. Several other of his descendants have borne respectable characters, and have been placed in stations of honor and usefulness. One of them, William Bradford, has been deputy governor of the State of Rhode Island, and a Senator in the Congress of the United States. Two others, Alden Bradford, and Gamaliel Bradford are members of the Historical Society.

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

WILLIAM BREWSTER.—His Education—Enters the service of Davison—Honored by the States of Holland—Removes to Holland—Sets up a Printing Office—Removes to America—Officiates as a Preacher—His death and character.

THE place of this gentleman's birth is unknown—The time of it was A.D. 1560. He received his education at the University of Cambridge, where he became seriously impressed with the truth of religion, which had its genuine influence on his character, through his whole life.

After leaving the University, he entered into the service of William Davison,a courtier of Queen Elizabeth, and her ambassador in Scotland and in Holland; who found him so capable and faithful, that he reposed the utmost confidence in him. He esteemed him as a son, and conversed with him in private, both on religious and political subjects, with the greatest familiarity; and when any thing occurred which required secresy, Brewster was his confidential friend.

When the Queen entered into a league with the United Provinces, (1584) and received possession of several towns and forts, as security for her expenses in defending their liberties; Davison, who negociated the matter, entrusted Brewster with the keys of Flushing, one of those cautionary towns; and the States of Holland were so sensible of his merit, as to present him with the ornament of a golden chain.

He returned as ambassador to England, and continued in his service, till Davison, having incurred the hypocritical displeasure of his arbitrary mistress, was imprisoned, fined, and ruined. Davison is said to have been a man of abilities and integrity, but easy to be imposed upon, and for that very reason was made Secretary of State. When Mary, the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, had been tried and condemned, and the parliament of England had petitioned their sovereign for her execution, Elizabeth privately ordered Davison to draw a death-warrant,which she signed,and sent him with it to the chancellor to have the great seal annexed. Having performed this duty, she pretended to blame him for his precipitancy. Davison acquainted the council with the whole transaction; they knew the queen's real sentiments, and persuaded him to send the warrant to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, promising to justify his conduct, and take the blame on themselves. These earls attended the execution of Mary; but, when Elizabeth heard of it, she affected surprise and indignation; threw all the blame on the innocent secretary, and committed him to the tower; where he became the subject of raillery from those very counsellors who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was tried in the star chamber, and fined ten thousand pound, which being rigorously levied upon him, reduced him to poverty.*

During these misfortunes, Brewster faithfully adhered to him, and gave him all the assistance of which he was capable. When he could no longer serve him, he retired into the north of England, among his old friends, and was very highly esteemed by those who were most exemplary for religion. Being possessed of a handsome property, and having some influence, he made use of both in promoting the cause of religion, and procuring persons of good character, to serve in the office of ministers to the parishes in his neighborhood.

By degrees he became disgusted with the impositions of the prelatical party, and their severity toward men of a moderate and peaceable disposition. This led him to inquire critically into the nature of ecclesiastical authority; and having discovered much corruption in the constitution, forms, ceremonies, and discipline of the Established Church, he thought it his duty to withdraw from its communion, and join with others of the same sentiments in the institution of a separate church; of which the aged Mr. Clifton and the younger Mr. Robinson were appointed pastors. The newly formed society met, on the Lord's days, at Mr. Brewster's house; where they were entertained at his expense, with much affection and respect, as long as they could assemble without opposition from their adversaries.

But when the resentment of their hierarchy, heightened by the countenance and authority of James, the successor of Elizabeth, obliged him to seek refuge in a foreign country; Brewster was the most forward to assist them in their removal. He was one of those who went on board of a vessel, in the night at Boston in Lincolnshire, (as already related in the life of Robinson;) and being apprehended by the magistrates, he was the greatest sufferer, because he had the most property. When liberated from confinement, he first assisted the weak and poor of the society in their embarkation, and then followed them to Holland.

His family was large, and his dependents numerous; his education and mode of living were not suited to a mechanical or mercantile life, and he could not practice agriculture in a commercial city. The hardships which he suffered in consequence of this removal were grievous and depressing; but when his finances were exhausted, he had a resource in his learning and abilities. In Leyden he found employment as a tutor; the youth of the city and university came to him for instruction in the English tongue: and by means of the Latin, which was common to both, and a grammar of his own construction, they soon acquired a knowledge of the English language. By the help of some friends, he also set up a printing office, and was instrumental in publishing several books against the hierarchy, which could not obtain a license in England.

His reputation was so high in the church of which he was a member, that they chose him a ruling elder, and confided in his wisdom, experience and integrity, to assist in conducting their temporal as well as ecclesiastical concerns, particularly their removal to America. With the minority of the church he came over, and suffered all the hardships attending their settlement in this wilderness. He partook with them of labor, hunger and watching; his bible and his arms were equally familiar to him; and he was always ready for any duty or suffering to which he was called.

For some time after their arrival, they were destitute of a teaching elder; expecting and hoping that Mr. Robinson, with the remainder of the church, would follow them to America. Brewster frequently officiated as a preacher, but he never could be persuaded to administer the sacraments, or take on him the pastoral office; though it had been stipulated before his departure from Holland,that "those who first went should

* These four colonies were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island.

† It was accidentally seen in a grocer's shop at Halifax, Nova Scotia, by James Clarke, Esq. a corresponding member of the Historical Society, and by him transmitted to Boston.

* For a particular account of Davison, and a full vindication of his conduct, the reader is referred to the fifth volume of Biographia Britannica, published by the late learned and candid Dr. Kippis; where the character of Elizabeth is drawn to the proper colors, p. 1—13.

be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those who staid;" and it was one of their principles, that the brethren who elected, had the power of ordaining to office.

The reason of his refusal was his extreme diffidence; being unwilling to assume any other office in the church than that with which he had been invested by the whole body. This plea might have some force during Robinson's life, by whose advice he had been prevailed upon to accept the office of ruling elder; but after his death there was less reason for it, and his declining to officiate was really productive of very disagreeable effects.

A spirit of faction and division was excited in the church, partly by persons of different sentiments and characters, who came over from England, and partly by uneasy and assuming brethren among themselves. Such was the notoriety and melancholy appearance of these divisions, that their friends in England seriously admonished them, and recommended to them "to let their practice in the church be complete and full; to permit all who feared God, to join themselves to them without delay; and to let all divine ordinances be used completely in the church, without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping a gap open for opposites."

With this salutary advice they did not comply; and one great obstacle to their compliance was the liberty of "prophesying," which was allowed not only to the elders, but to such private members as were "gifted." In Robinson's apology,* this principle is explained in a very cautious manner: the exercise of the gift was subject to the judgment of the minister; and whilst they were under his superintendence, their prophesyings were conducted with tolerable regularity; but when they came to practice on this principle where they had not that advantage, the consequence was prejudicial to the establishment of any regular ministry among them. "The preachments of the gifted brethren produced those discouragements, to the ministers, that almost all left the colony, apprehending themselves driven away by the neglect and contempt, with which the people on this occasion treated them." This practice was not allowed in any other church in New England, except that of Plymouth.

Beside the liberty of prophesying, and public conference, there were several other peculiarities in their practice, which they learned from the Brownists, and in which they differed from many of the Reformed churches. They admitted none to their communion without either a written or oral declaration of their faith and religious experiences, delivered before the whole church, with liberty for every one to ask questions till they were satisfied. They practised ordination by the hands of the brethren. They disused the Lord's prayer and the public reading of the Scriptures. They did not allow the reading of the psalm before singing, till, in compassion to a brother who could not read, they permitted one of the elders or deacons to read it line by line, after it had been previously expounded by the minister. They admitted no children to baptism, unless one, at least of the parents, were in full communion with the church; and they accounted all baptized children proper subjects of ecclesiastical discipline. Whilst in Holland, they had the Lord's Supper every Sabbath; but when they came to America, they omitted it till they could obtain a minister, and then had it monthly. Most of these practices were continued for many years, and some are yet adhered to, though others have been gradually laid aside.

The Church of Plymouth had no regular minister till four years after the death of Mr. Robinson, and nine years after their coming to America. In 1629, they settled Ralph Smith, who continued with them about five years, and then resigned. He is said to have been a man of "low gifts," and was assisted three years by Roger Williams, of "bright accomplishments, but offensive errors." In 1636, they had John Reyner, "an able and godly man, of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and unreproveable in his life and conversation. He continued with them till 1654, when he removed to Dover, in New-Hampshire, where he spent the remainder of his life.

During his ministry at Plymouth, elder Brewster, having enjoyed a healthy old age, died on the sixteenth of April, 1644, being then in the eighty fourth year of his age. He was able to continue his ecclesiastical functions, and his field labor, till within a few days of his death, and was confined to his bed but one day.

He had been remarkably temperate, through his whole life, having drank no liquor but water, till within the last five or six years. For many months together he had, through necessity, lived without bread; having nothing but fish for his sustenance, and sometimes was destitute of that. Yet, being of a pliant and cheerful temper, he easily accommodated himself to his circumstances. When nothing but oysters or clams were set on his table, he would give thanks, with his family, that they could "suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sand."

He was a man of eminent piety and devotion; not prolix, but full and comprehensive in his public prayers; esteeming it his duty, to strengthen and encourage the devotion of others, rather than to weary them with long performances. On days of fasting and humiliation, he was more copious, but equally fervent. As an instance of this, it is observed, that in 1623, a drought of six weeks having succeeded the planting season, in July a day was set apart for fasting and prayer. The morning was clear and hot, as usual, but after *eight hours* employed in religious exercises, the weather changed, and before the next morning, a gentle rain came on, which continued, with intermissions of fair and warm weather, fourteen days, by which the languishing corn revived. The neighboring Indians observed the change, and said that "the Englishman's God was a good God."

In his public discourses, Mr. Brewster was very clear and distinguishing, as well as pathetic; addressing himself first to the understanding, and then to the affections of his audience; convincing and persuading them of the superior excellency of true religion. Such a kind of teaching, was well adapted, and in many instances effectual, to the real instruction and benefit of his hearers. What a pity that such a man could not have been persuaded to take on him the pastoral office!

In his private conversation, he was social, pleasant, and inoffensive; yet when occasion required, he exercised that fortitude which true virtue inspires, but mixed with such tenderness, that his reproofs gave no offence.

His compassion towards the distressed was an eminent trait in his character; and if they were suffering for conscience sake, he judged them, of all others, most deserving of pity and relief. Nothing was more disgusting to him than vanity and hypocrisy.

In the government of the church, he was careful to preserve order and purity, and to suppress contention. Had his diffidence permitted him to exercise the pastoral office, he would have had more influence, and kept intruders at a proper distance.

He was owner of a very considerable library, part of which was lost, when the vessel in which he embarked was plundered at Boston in Lincolnshire. After his death, his remaining books were valued at forty-three pounds, in silver, as appears by the colony records, where a catalogue of them is preserved.

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

ROBERT CUSHMAN—Embarks for America—Returns to England—Arrives at Plymouth—Delivers a Discourse on Self Love—Sails for England—Taken by the French—his Death and character.

ROBERT CUSHMAN was a distinguished character among that collection of worthies who quitted England on account of their religious difficulties, and settled with Mr. John Robinson, their pastor, in the city of Leyden. Proposing afterwards a removal to America, in the year 1617, Mr. Cushman, and Mr. John Carver, (afterward the first governor of New Plymouth) were sent over to England, as their agents, to agree with the Virginia Company for a settlement, and to obtain, if possible, a grant of liberty of conscience in their intended plantation, from King James.

From this negotiation, though conducted on their part with great discretion and ability, they returned unsuccessful to Leyden, in May, 1618. They met with no difficulty indeed from the Virginia Company, who were willing to grant them sufficient territory, with as ample privileges as they could bestow: but the pragmatical James, the pretended vicegerent of the Deity, refused to grant them that liberty in religious matters, which was their principal object. This persevering people determined to transport themselves to this country, relying upon James' promise that he would *connive* it, though not expressly *tolerate* them; and Mr. Cushman was again despatched to England in February, 1619, with Mr. William Bradford, to agree with the Virginia Company on the terms of their removal and settlement.

After much difficulty and delay, they obtained a patent in the September following; upon which, part of the church at Leyden, with their elder, Mr. Brewster, determined to transport themselves as soon as possible. Mr. Cushman was one of the agents in England to procure money, shipping and other necessaries for the voyage, and embarked with them at Southhampton, August 5th, 1620. But the ship, in which he sailed, proving leaky, and after twice putting into port to repair, being condemned as unfit to perform the voyage, Mr. Cushman with his family, and a number of others, were obliged, though reluctantly, to relinquish the voyage for that time, and return to London. Those in the other ship proceeded and made their settlement at Plymouth in December, 1620, where Mr. Cushman also arrived in the ship Fortune from London on the 10th of November, 1621, but took passage in the same ship back again, pursuant to the directions of the merchant adventurers in London, (who fitted out the ship, and by whose assistance the first settlers were transported) to give them an account of the plantation. He sailed from Plymouth December 13th, 1621; and arriving on the coast of England, the ship, with a cargo valued at £500 sterling, was taken by the French. Mr. Cushman, with the crew, was carried into France; but arrived in London in the February following. During his short residence at Plymouth, though a mere lay character, he delivered a discourse on the sin and danger of self-love, which was printed in London (1622) and afterward, re-printed in Boston, (1724) and again at Plymouth, (1785.) And though his name is not prefixed to either of the two former editions, yet unquestionable tradition renders it certain that he was the author, and even transmits to us a knowledge of the spot where it was delivered. Mr. Cushman, though he constantly corresponded with his friends here, and was very serviceable to their interest in London, never returned to the country again; but, whilst preparing for it, was removed to a better, in the year 1626. The news of his death, and Mr. Robinson's, arrived at the same time, at Plymouth, by Captain Standish, and seems to have been equally lamented by their bereaved and suffering friends there. He was zealously engaged in the prosperity of the plantation, a man of activity and enterprise, well versed in business, respectable in point of intellectual abilities, well accomplished in scriptural knowledge, an unaffected professor, and a steady sincere practiser of religion. The design of the above mentioned discourse was to keep up that flow of public spirit, which, perhaps, began then to abate, but which was thought necessary for their preservation and security. The policy of that entire community of interests which our fathers established, and which this sermon was designed to preserve, is, nevertheless, justly questionable. The love of separate property, for good and wise purposes, is strongly implanted in the heart of man. So far from being unfavorable to a reasonable generosity and public spirit, it better enables us to display them, and is not less consistent with the precepts of Scripture, rightly understood, than with the dictates of reason. This is evidenced by the subsequent conduct of this very people. In the year 1623, departing a little from their first system, they agreed that every family should plant for themselves; bringing in a competent portion at harvest, for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, &c. and in all other things to go on in the *general way*, (as they term it) as before; for this purpose they assigned to every family a parcel of land, for a year only, in proportion to their number. Even this temporary division, as Governor Bradford, in his manu-

* "We learn from the Apostle Paul, (1 Cor. xiv. 3) that he who prophesieth, speaketh to men edification, and exhortation, and comfort; which to perform conveniently, comes within the compass of but a few of the multitude, haply two or three in each of our churches. Touching prophecy, then, we think the same that the Synod of Embden (1571) hath decreed in these words: 'Let the order of prophecy be observed according to Paul's institution. Into the fellowship of this work, are to be admitted, not only the ministers, but the teachers, elders, and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, who are willing to confer their gift, received of God, to the common utility of the church; but so as they first be allowed, by the judgment of the ministers and others."—[Robinson's Apology, chap. viii.

Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Wilson, minister of Boston, made a visit to Plymouth, in October, 1632, and kept Sabbath there. The following account of the afternoon exercise is preserved in Winthrop's Journal, p. 44.

"In the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after him the elder [Brewster] then two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; upon which the governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the bag, and then returned."

* This account of Mr. Cushman was published in 1785, at Plymouth, as an Appendix to the third edition of his Discourse on Self Love. It was written by John Davis, Esq.

script history, observes, "has a very good effect; makes all industrious; gives content; even the women and children now go into the field to work, and much more corn is planted than ever." In the spring of the year 1624, the people being still uneasy, one acre of land was given to each, in fee-simple; *no more to be given, till the expiration of the seven years.* In the year 1627, when they purchased the interest of the adventurers in England, in the plantation, there was a division and allotment of almost all their property, real and personal; twenty acres of tillage land to each, besides what they held before; the meadows and the trade only, remaining in common.

Thus it is observable, how men, in spite of their principles, are naturally led into that mode of conduct, which truth and utility, ever coincident, point out. Our fathers deserve the highest commendation for prosecuting, at the hazard of life and fortune, that reformation in religion, which the Church of England left imperfect: taking for this purpose, the Sacred Scriptures, as their only guide, they travelled in the path of truth, and appealed to a most noble and unerring standard; but when from their reverence to this divine authority, in matters of religion, they were inclined to esteem it the only guide, in all the affairs of life, and attempted to regulate their civil polity upon church ideas, they erred, and involved themselves in innumerable difficulties.

The end of civil society is the security of the temporal liberty and prosperity of man, not all the happiness and perfection which he is capable of attaining, for which other means are appointed. Had not our fathers placed themselves upon such a footing, with respect to property, as was repugnant to the nature of man, and not warranted by the true end of civil society, there would probably have been no just ground of complaint of a want of real and reasonable public spirit; and the necessity of the exhortation and reproof, contained in Mr. Cushman's discourse, would have been superseded. Their zeal, their enterprise, and their uncommon sufferings in the prosecution of their arduous undertaking, render it morally certain, that they would have ever cheerfully performed their duty in this respect. Their contemporaries might censure them for what they *did not*, but their posterity must ever admire and revere them for what they *did* exhibit.

After the death of Mr. Cushman, his family came over to New England. His son, Thomas Cushman, succeeded Mr. Brewster, as ruling elder of the Church of Plymouth, being ordained to that office in 1649. He was a man of good gifts, and frequently assisted in carrying on the public worship, preaching and catechizing. For it was one of the professed principles of that church, in its first formation, "to choose none for governing elders, but such as were able to teach." He continued in this office till he died, in 1691, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The above mentioned discourse of Mr. Robert Cushman, in 1621, may be considered as a specimen of the "prophesyings" of the brethren. The occasion was singular; the exhortations and reproofs are not less so; but were adapted to the then state of society. Some specimens may not be disagreeable, and are therefore here inserted.

"Now, brethren, I pray you remember yourselves, and know that you are not in a retired monastical course, but have given your names and promises one to another, and covenanted here to cleave together in the service of God and the king. What then must you do? May you live as retired hermits, and look after nobody? Nay, you must seek still the wealth of one another; and inquire, as David, how liveth such a man? how is he clad? how is he fed? He is my brother, and my associate; we ventured our lives together here, and had a hard brunt of it; and we are in league together. Is his labor harder than mine? surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on? I have two; I'll lend him one. Hath he no apparel? I have two suits, I'll give him one of them. Eats he coarse fare, bread and water? and have I better? surely we will part stakes. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other; so that his wants must be my wants, his sorrows my sorrows, his sickness my sickness, and his welfare my welfare; for I am as he is. Such a sweet sympathy were excellent, comfortable, yea, heavenly, and is the only maker and conserver of churches and commonwealths.

"It wonderfully encourageth men in their duties, when they see the burthen equally borne; but when some withdraw themselves, and retire to their own particular ease, pleasure or profit, what heart can men have to go on in their business? When men are come together to lift some weighty piece of timber, or vessel, if one stand still and do not lift, shall not the rest be weakened and disheartened? Will not a few idle drones spoil the whole stock of laborious bees? So one idle belly, one murmurer, one complainer, one self-lover, will weaken and dishearten a whole colony. Great matters have been brought to pass, where men have cheerfully, as with one heart, hand and shoulder, gone about it, both in wars, buildings and plantations; but where every man seeks himself, all cometh to nothing.

"The country is yet raw, the land untilled; the cities not builded; the cattle not settled. We are compassed about with a helpless and idle people, the natives of the country, which cannot, in any comely or comfortable manner, help themselves; much less us. We also have been very chargeable to many of our loving friends which helped us hither, and now again supplied us. So that before we think of gathering riches, we must even in conscience think of requiting their charge, love, and labor; and curses be on that profit and gain which aimeth not at this. Besides, how many of our dear friends did here die at our first entrance! many of them, no doubt, for want of good lodging, shelter, and comfortable things; and many more may go after them quickly, if care be not taken. Is this then, a time for men to begin to seek themselves? Paul saith, that men in the last days shall be lovers of themselves (2 Tim. iii. 2;) but it is here yet but the first days, and, as it were, the dawning of this new world. It is now therefore no time for men to look to get riches, brave clothes, dainty fare; but to look to present necessities. It is now no time to pamper the flesh, live at ease, snatch, catch, scrape, and hoard up; but rather to open the doors, the chests, and vessels, and say, brother, neighbor, friend, what want ye? any thing that I have? make bold with it; it is yours to command, to do you good, to comfort and cherish you; and glad I am that I have it for you.

"Let there be no prodigal son to come forth and say, give me the portion of lands and goods that appertaineth to me, and let me shift for myself. It is yet too soon to put men to their shifts; *Israel* was seven years in Canaan, before the land was divided unto tribes, much longer before it was divided unto families; and why wouldest thou have thy particular portion, but because thou thinkest to live better than thy neighbor, and scornest to live so meanly as he? but who, I pray thee, brought this particularizing first into the world? Did not Satan who was not content to keep that equal state with his fellows, but would set his throne above the stars? Did not he also entice man to despise his *general* felicity and happiness, and go try *particular* knowledge of good and evil! Nothing in this world doth more resemble heavenly happiness, than for men to live as one, being of one heart, and one soul; neither any thing more resembles hellish horror, than for every man to shift for himself, for if it be a good mind and practice, thus to affect particulars, *mine* and *thine*, then it should be best also for God to provide one heaven for thee, and another for thy neighbor.

"*Objection.* But some will say, If all men will do their endeavors, as I do, I could be content with this generality; but many are idle and slothful, and eat up other's labors, and therefore it is best to part, and then every man may do his pleasure.

"If others be idle and thou diligent, thy fellowship, provocation, and example, may well help to cure that malady in them, being together; but being asunder, shall they not be more idle, and shall not gentry and beggary be quickly the glorious ensigns of your commonwealth?

"Be not too hasty to say men are idle and slothful. All men have not strength, skill, faculty, spirit, and courage to work alike. It is thy glory and credit, that thou canst do so well, and his shame and reproach, that he can do no better; and are not these sufficient rewards to you both?

"If any be idle apparently, you have a law and governors to execute the same, and to follow that rule of the apostle, to keep back their bread, and let them not eat; go not therefore whispering, to charge men with idleness; but go to the governor and prove them idle and thou shalt see them have their deserts

"There is no grief so tedious as a churlish companion. Bear ye one another's burdens, and be not a burden one to another. Avoid all factions, frowardness, singularity, and withdrawings, and cleave fast to the Lord, and one to another, continually; so shall you be a notable precedent to these poor heathens, whose eyes are upon you, and who very brutishly and cruelly do daily eat and consume one another, through their emulations, ways and contentions; be you, therefore ashamed of it, and win them to peace, both with yourselves, and with one another, by your peaceable examples, which will preach louder to them, than if you could cry in their barbarous language; so also shall you be an encouragement to many of your Christian friends, in your native country, to come to you, when they hear of your peace, love and kindness. But, above all, it shall go well with your souls, when that God of peace and unity shall come to visit you with death, as he hath done many of your associates, you being found of him, not in murmurings, discontent, and jars, but in brotherly love, and peace, may be translated from this wandering wilderness, unto that joyful and heavenly Canaan." Amen.

EDWARD WINSLOW.

EDWARD WINSLOW—His Birth and Education—Travels on the Continent—Removes to America—His visit to Massasoit—Returns to England—Sails again for Plymouth—Sent as Agent to England—Committed to the Fleet Prison—Released—Returns to New England and chosen Governor—Chosen Commissioner of the United Colonies—Sent by Cromwell against the Spaniards—Dies on the passage to Jamaica—Account of his Descendants.

THIS eminently useful person was the eldest son of a gentleman of the same name, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, where he was born in 1594. Of his education and first appearance in life we have no knowledge. In the course of his travels on the continent of Europe, he became acquainted with Mr. Robinson and the church under his pastoral care at Leyden, where he settled and married. To this church he joined himself, and with them he continued till their removal to America. He came hither with the first company, and his name is the third in the list of those who subscribed the covenant of incorporation, before their disembarkation at Cape Cod. His family then consisted of his wife and three other persons. He was one of the company who coasted the bay of Cape Cod, and discovered the harbor of Plymouth; and when the Sachem Masassoit came to visit the strangers, he offered himself as a hostage, whilst a conference was held and a treaty was made with the savage prince.

His wife died soon after his arrival; and in the following spring, he married Susanna, the widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine, the first English child born in New England. This was the first marriage solemnized in the colony; (May 12, 1621.)

In June, he went in company with Stephen Hopkins to visit Sachem Masassoit at Pokanoket. The design of this visit is related in Bradford's life. The particular circumstances of it may properly be detailed here, in the very words of Winslow's original narrative.

"We set forward, the 10th of June, about nine in the morning; our guide [Tisquantum] resolving that night to rest at Namasket, a town under Masassoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick, on every slight occasion among us; but we found it to be fifteen English miles. On the way, we found ten or twelve men, women and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them; perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuals is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer; by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither, and now returned with us to Namasket. Thither we came about three in the afternoon; the inhabitants entertaining us, with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread, called by them Mazium, and the spawn of shad, which then they got in abundance; insomuch as they gave us spoons to eat them; with these they boiled musty acorns, but of the shad we ate heartily. They desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them; who shooting and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions.

"After this Tisquantum told us, we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick, moving us to go eight miles farther, where we should find more store and better victuals. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went, and came thither at setting-sun; where we found many of the men of Namasket fishing at a ware which they had made on a river, which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields; for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode;

upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague, not long since; and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields and so well seated, without men to dress the same.

"The next morning we brake our fast, and took our leave and departed; being then accompanied with six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river's side, at a known shoal place, it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade through. Here let me not forget the valor and courage of some of the savages, on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged. These two, spying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank; where, with shrill voices, and great courage, standing, charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage of us in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had; and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far, we are sure, the tide ebbs and flows.

"Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded on our journey, the weather being very hot; yet the country so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, beside small rivers in abundance. The savages will not willingly drink but at a spring-head. When we came to any small brook, where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accord; also fearing we were or would be weary, they offered to carry our pieces, [guns;] also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly in affording us all help and furtherance in the journey.

"As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river, but had been inhabited; by reason whereof, much ground was clear save of weeds which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, oak, walnut, fir, beech, and exceeding great chesnut trees.

"Afterward we came to a town of Masassoit's, where we eat oysters, and other fish. From thence we went to Pockanokick, but Masassoit was not at home. There we staid, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting, we would discharge our pieces. One of us going to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear ran away and could not be pacified till he laid it down again; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter.

"Masassoit being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him, who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired.

"For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome; and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us, as they had done; also that he would send to Paomet, and help us to seed-corn, according to our request.

"This being done, his men gathered near to him, to whom he turned himself and made a great speech; the meaning whereof (as far as we could learn) was, that he was commander of the country, and that the people should bring their skins to us. He named at least thirty places; and their answer was confirming and applauding what he said.

"He then lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the king, marvelling that he could live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen; bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrowhiganset; for it was King James's country, and he was King James's man. It grew late, but he offered us no victuals; for indeed he had not any, being so newly come home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife; they at the one end, and we at the other; it being only planks, laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse wearied of our lodging, than of our journey.

"The next day being Thursday, many of their sachems or petty governors came to see us, and many of their men also. They went to their manner of games for skins and knives. We challenged them to shoot for skins, but they durst not; only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark; who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

"About one o'clock, Masassoit brought two fishes that he had shot; they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat. [Probably the fish called Tataug.] These being boiled, there were at least forty, that looked for a share in them; the most eat of them. This meal only, we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us brought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was with us to stay with him longer; but we desired to keep the sabbath at home and feared we should be light-headed for want of sleep; for what with bad lodging, barbarous singing, (for they use to sing themselves to sleep) lice and fleas within doors, and musketoes without, we could hardly sleep, all the time of our being there; and we much feared that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength.

"On Friday morning, before sun-rising, we took our leave and departed. Masassoit being both grieved and ashamed, that he could not better entertain us. Retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place, to procure truck for us, he appointed another [guide] Tokamahamon in his place, whom we found faithful before and after upon all occasions."

This narrative gives us a just idea of the hospitality and poverty of the Indians. They gladly entertain strangers with the best they can afford; but it is familiar to them to endure long abstinence. Those who visit them must be content to fare as they do, or carry their own provisions and share it with them.

Mr. Winslow's next excursion was by sea to Monahigon, an island near the mouth of Penobscot Bay, to procure a supply of bread from the fishing vessels, who resorted to the eastern coast in the spring of 1622. This supply, though not large, was freely given to the suffering colony; and being prudently managed in the distribution, amounted to one quarter of a pound for each person, till the next harvest. By means of this excursion, the people of Plymouth became acquainted with the eastern coast; of which knowledge they afterwards availed themselves, for a beneficial traffic with the natives.

In the spring of the year 1623, Mr. Winslow made a second visit to the sachem, on account of his sickness; the particular circumstances of which are thus given in his own words.

"News came to Plymouth that Massassowat* was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore, before his dwelling, by stress of weather, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity; therefore it was thought meet, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity.

"To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the governor [Bradford] again laid this service on myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Mr. John Hamden, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my comfort, and Hobamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namaskat, where we had friendly entertainment.

"The next day, about one o'clock, we came to a ferry in Conbatant's† country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. They told us that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank; but especially Hobamock, who desired me to return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant, or Corbitant, was the most likely to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst,* his dwelling place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend to us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachems thereabouts; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Mr. Hamden and Hobamock durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing. So we went toward Mattapuyst.

"In the way, Hobamock manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. *Neen womasn Sagamus, &c.* "My loving Sachem! many have I known but never any like thee!" Then turning to me, he said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like among the Indians. He was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled toward such as had offended him; ruled by reason, in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians, showing how often he restrained their malice. He continued a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as would have made the hardest heart relent.

"At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the sachem's place; Conbutant was not at home, but at Pokanokick, five or six miles off. The squaw sachem gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat; they thought him dead; but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all exhibition to Pokanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbutant with our being there. About half an hour before sunsetting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope that we should find him living. Upon this, we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night when we got thither. About two o'clock, that afternoon, the Dutchman had departed, so that, in that respect, our journey was frustrate.

"When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. They were in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms and legs to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the English were come to see him. Having his understanding left, though his sight wholly gone, he asked who was come? they told him *Winsnow*;) for they cannot pronounce the letter L but ordinarily N in place of it:) he desired to speak with me. When I came to him and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, '*keen, Winsnow?*' art thou Winslow? I answered '*ahhe*,' that is, 'yes.' Then he doubled these words, '*Matta neen wonckunet namen Winsnow!*' that is to say, 'O Winslow, I shall never see thee again!' Then I called Hobamock, and desired him to tell Masassoit, that the governor hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not himself come, yet he had sent me, with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and, having a confection of many comfortable conserves, on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth; when it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him were much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, that it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue; after which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink; I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof; and within half an hour, this wrought a great alteration in him, and presently after his sight began to come to him. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mis-

* Thus it is spelt in Winslow's narrative.

† His name is spelt Corbitant, Conbatant, and Conbutant. This ferry is probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry, in Swanzey.

* A neck of land in the township of Swanzey, commonly pronounced Mattapoisett.

nap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the governor also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Plymouth, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens, to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him, and would stay the return of the messenger. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some who were ready to go by two o'clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter, declaring our good success, and desiring such things as were proper. He requested me that I would the next day take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him such pottage as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised; but his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad. I caused a woman to bruise some corn and take the flour from it, and set the broken corn in a pipkin, (for they have earthen pots of all sizes.) When the day broke, we went out to seek herbs, (it being the middle of March) but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful and put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece and boiled it, till it had a good relish. Of this broth I gave him a pint, which he drank and liked it well; after this his sight mended, and he took some rest. That morning he caused me to spend in going among the sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths, and give them some of the same I gave him. This pains I took willingly, though it were much offensive to me.

"When the messengers were returned, finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, because he was so much altered, not doubting of his recovery if he were careful. Upon his recovery he brake forth into these speeches: 'Now I see the English are my friends, and love me; whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me.' At our coming away, he called Hobamock to him, and privately told him of a plot of the Massachusetts against Weston's colony, and so against us. But he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. With this he charged him to acquaint me, by the way, that I might inform the governor. Being fitted for our return, we took leave of him, who returned many thanks to our governor, and also to ourselves, for our labor and love; the like did all that were about him. So we departed."

In the autumn of the same year, Mr. Winslow went to England as agent to the colony, to give an account of their proceedings to the adventurers, and procure such things as were necessary. Whilst he was in England, he published a narrative of the settlement and transactions of the colony at Plymouth, under this title, "Good news from New England, or a relation of things remarkable in that plantation, by E. Winslow."

This narrative is abridged in Purchas's Pilgrims, and has been of great service to all succeeding historians. To it, he subjoined an account of the manners and customs, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the Indian natives; which, being an original work and now rarely to be found, is inserted in the Appendix.

In the following spring (March 1624) Mr. Winslow returned from England, having been absent no longer than six months; bringing a good supply of clothing and other necessaries, and, what was of more value than any other supply, *three heifers and one bull*; the first neat cattle brought into New-England.

The same year, he went again to England, where he had an opportunity of correcting a mistake which had been made in his former voyage. The adventurers, had then, in the same ship with the cattle, sent over John Lyford, as a minister; who was soon suspected of being a person unfit for that office. When Mr. Winslow went again to England, he imparted this suspicion; and at a meeting of the adventurers, it appeared on examination that Lyford had been a minister in Ireland; where his conduct had been so bad as to oblige him to quit that kingdom; and that the adventurers had been imposed upon, by false testimony concerning him. With this discovery, Mr. Winslow came back to Plymouth in 1625, and found the court sitting, on the affair of Oldham, who had returned, after banishment. The true characters of these impostors being thus discovered, they were both expelled from the plantation.

About the same time, Governor Bradford having prevailed on the people of Plymouth to choose five assistants, instead of one, Mr. Winslow was first elected to this office; in which he was continued till 1633, when by the same influence, he was chosen governor,* for one year.

Mr. Winslow was a man of great activity and resolution, and therefore well qualified to conduct enterprizes for the benefit of the colony. He frequently went to Penobscot, Kennebeck, and Connecticut rivers, on trading voyages, and rendered himself useful and agreeable to the people.

In 1635, he undertook another agency in England for the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts; partly on occasion of the intrusions which were made on the territory of New England, by the French on the east, and by the Dutch on the west: and partly to answer complaints, which had been made to the government against the Massachusetts Colony, by Thomas Morton, who had been twice expelled for his misbehavior.

At that time, the care of the colonies was committed to a number of bishops, lords, and gentlemen, of whom Archbishop Laud was at the head. It was also in contemplation to establish a general government in America, which would have superseded the charters of the colonies.

Winslow's situation at that time, was critical, and his treatment was severe. In his petition to the commissioners, he set forth the encroachments of the French and Dutch, and prayed for "a special warrant to the English Colonies to defend themselves against all foreign enemies." Governor Winthrop censured this petition, as "ill advised; because such precedents might endanger their liberties; that they should do nothing, but by commission out of England."

The petition, however, was favorably received by some of the Board. Winslow was heard several times in support of it, and pointed out a way in which the object might have been attained without any charge to the Crown, by furnishing some of the chief men of the colonies with authority, which they would exercise at their own expense, and without any public national disturbance. This proposal crossed the design of George and Mason, whose aim was to establish a general government; and the archbishop who was engaged in their interest, put a check to Winslow's proposal, by questioning him on Morton's accusation, for his own personal conduct in America. The offences alleged against him were, that he, not being in holy orders, but a mere layman, had taught publicly in the church, and had officiated in the celebration of marriages. To the former, Winslow answered, "that sometimes, when the church was destitute of a minister, he had exercised his gift for the edification of his brethren." To the latter, "that though he had officiated as a magistrate in the solemnizing of marriage, yet he regarded it only as a civil contract; that the people of Plymouth had for a long time been destitute of a minister, and were compelled by necessity to have recourse to the magistrate in that solemnity; that this was not to them a novelty, having been accustomed to it in Holland where he himself had been married by a Dutch magistrate, in the state house." On this honest confession, the archbishop pronounced him guilty of the crime of separation from the national church, and prevailed on the Board to consent to his imprisonment. He was therefore committed to the Fleet prison, where he lay confined seventeen weeks. But after that time, on petitioning the Board, he obtained release.

At his return to New England, the colony showed him the highest degree of respect, by choosing him their governor for the succeeding year (1636.) In this office he conducted himself greatly to their satisfaction. In 1644 he was again honored with the same appointment, and in the intermediate years, was the first on the list of magistrates.

When the colonies of New England entered into a confederation for their mutual defence, in 1643, Mr. Winslow was chosen one of the commissioners on behalf of Plymouth, and was continued in that office till 1646, when he was solicited by the Colony of Massachusetts, to go again to England to answer to the complaints of Samuel Gorton and others, who had charged them with religious intolerance and persecution. The times being changed, and the Puritans being in power, Mr. Winslow had great advantage in this business, from the credit and esteem which he enjoyed with that party. We have no account of the particulars of this agency, but only in general, that "by his prudent management, he prevented any damage, and cleared the colony from any blame or dishonor."

One design of the confederation of the colonies, was to promote the civilization of the Indians, and their conversion to the Christian religion. In this great and good work, Mr. Winslow was from principle, very zealously engaged. In England, he employed his interest and friendship with members of the Parliament, and other gentlemen of quality and fortune to erect a corporation there for the prosecution of the design. For this purpose, an act of Parliament was passed (1649) incorporating a society in England "for propagating the Gospel in New England." The commissioners of the United Colonies were constituted a Board of Correspondents, and distributors of the money, which was supplied in England by charitable donations from all the cities, towns, and parishes in the kingdom. By the influence and exertions of both these respectable bodies, ministers were supported among the Indians of New England: the Bible and other books of piety were translated into the Indian tongue, and printed for their use; and much pains were taken by several worthy ministers, and other gentlemen to instruct the Indians, and reduce them to a civilized life. This society is still in existence, and, till the revolution in America, they kept up a Board of Correspondents at Boston, but since that period it has been discontinued. Of this corporation, at its first establishment, Mr Winslow was a very active and faithful member in England; where his reputation was great, and his abilities highly valued by the prevailing party, who found him so much employment there, and elsewhere, that he never returned to New England.

When Oliver Cromwell (1655) planned an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and sent Admiral Penn and General Venables to execute it, he appointed three commissioners to superintend and direct their operations: of which number Winslow was the chief; the other two were Richard Holdrip, and Edward Blagge. Their object was to attack St. Domingo, the only place of strength which the Spaniards had in Hispaniola.

The commanders disagreed in their tempers and views, and the control of the commissioners was of no avail. The troops, ill appointed and badly provided, were landed at too great a distance from the city, and lost their way in the woods. Worn with hunger and thirst, heat and fatigue, they were routed by an inconsiderable number of Spaniards; six hundred were killed, and the remnant took refuge on board their vessels.

To compensate as far as possible for this unfortunate event, the fleet sailed for Jamaica, which surrendered without any resistance. But Mr. Winslow, who partook of the chagrin of the defeat, did not enjoy the pleasure of the victory. In the passage between Hispaniola and Jamaica, the heat of the climate threw him into a fever; which, operating with the dejection of his mind, put an end to his life on the 8th of May, 1655, in the sixty-first year of his age. His body was committed to the deep, with the honors of war, forty-two guns being fired by the fleet on that occasion.

The following well-meant but inelegant verses were written by one of the passengers on board the same ship in which he died.

"The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name; a man in choicest trust,
Whose life was sweet and conversation just;
Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel;
An honor to his place, as all can tell."

Before his departure from New-England, Mr. Winslow had made a settlement on a valuable tract of land in Marshfield, to which he gave the name of Carswell, probably from a castle and seat of that name in Staffordshire. His son, Josiah Winslow, was a magistrate and governor of the colony, and general of the New-England forces, in the war with the Indians, called Philip's war. He died in 1630. Isaac, the son of Josiah Winslow, sustained the chief civil and military offices in the county of Plymouth, after its incorporation with Massachusetts; and was President of the Provincial Council. He died in 1738. John Winslow, the son of Isaac, was a captain in the unfortunate expedition to Cuba in 1740, and afterward an officer in the British service, and major-general in several expeditions to Kennebeck, Nova Scotia, and Crown Point. He died in 1774, aged 71. His son, Dr Isaac Winslow, is now in possession of the family estate at Marshfield. By

* The following note from Governor Winthrop's Journal is worthy of observation.† "Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of Plymouth. Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten (twelve years,) and now by importunity got off."

This singular trait in Bradford's character, of which there is the fullest evidence, sufficiently invalidates an insinuation of Hutchinson, that Winslow's "empowerment abroad prevented a competition between Bradford and him for the governor's place."‡

Hutchinson was a governor of a different charater!

† Winthrop's Journal, 47. Hutch. Hist. II. 457.

the favor of this gentleman, the letter books and journals of his late father, Major-general Winslow, with many ancient family papers, containing a fund of genuine information, are deposited in the library of the Historical Society. There are several other reputable branches of this family in New England and Nova Scotia.

MILES STANDISH.

MILES STANDISH—A Soldier in the Netherlands—Embarks for America—Compels Corbitant to submit—His resolute conduct with the Indians—His Expedition to Wessagusset and Cape Ann—Mr. Hubbard's Observations relating to him—Mr. Robinson's Letter—Standish returns to Plymouth—Expedition against Morton—His settlement at Danbury His Death and Descendants—Stith's Remarks on sending Convicts to Virginia.

THIS intrepid soldier, the hero of New England, as John Smith was of Virginia, was a native of Lancashire, in the north of England; but the date of his birth is not preserved. Descended from the younger branch of a family of distinction,* he was "heir apparent to a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him," which compelled him to seek subsistence for himself. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. These qualities led him to the profession of arms; and the Netherlands being, in his youth, a theatre of war, he entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch; and after the truce, settled with the English refugees at Leyden.

When they meditated a removal to America, Standish, though not a member of their church, was thought a proper person to accompany them. Whether he joined them at their request or his own motion, does not appear; but he engaged with zeal and resolution in their enterprise, and embarked with the first company in 1620.

On their arrival at Cape Cod, he was appointed commander of the first party of sixteen men, who went ashore on discovery; and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen captain, or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives he was the first to meet them, and was generally accompanied with a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the league was made with Masassoit, one of his petty sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was meditating to join with the Narragansets against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's place, (Swanzey) and surrounded his house; but not finding him at home, they informed his people of their intention of destroying him, if he should persist in his rebellion. Corbitant, hearing of his danger, made an acknowledgment to Masassoit, and entreated his mediation with the English for peace. He was soon after [Sept. 13, 1621] admitted with eight other chiefs, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government.

In every hazardous enterprise, Capt. Standish was ready to put himself foremost, whether the objects were discovery, traffic, or war; and the people, animated by his example, and confiding in his bravery and fidelity, thought themselves safe under his command.

When the town of Plymouth [1622] was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed to the captain, who made the most judicious disposition of their force. He divided them into four squadrons, appointing those whom he thought most fit, to command; and ordered every man, on any alarm, to repair to his respective station, and put himself under his proper officer. A select company was appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard, with their backs to the fire, that they might prevent the approach of an enemy during the conflagration.

Being sent on a trading voyage to Matachiest, [between Barnstable and Yarmouth, Feb. 1623] a severe storm came on, during the first night, by which the harbor was filled with ice and Captain Standish with his party was obliged to lodge in one of the huts of the savages. They came together in a considerable number, and under the mask of friendship, promised to supply him with corn. Standish suspecting, by their number, that their intention was hostile, would not permit his men to lie down all at once, but ordered them to sleep and watch by turns. In the morning, a discovery was made that some things had been stolen from his shallop. The captain immediately went with his whole force, consisting of six men, surrounded the house of the sachem Ianough, and obliged him to find the thief and restore the stolen things. This resolute behavior struck them with awe; the trade went on peaceably, and when the harbor was cleared the shallop came off with a load of corn, and arrived safely at Plymouth.

This was the first suspicion of a conspiracy, which had for some time been forming among the Indians, to destroy the English. In the following month [March] he had another specimen of their insolence at Manomet,* whither he went to fetch home the corn which Governor Bradford had bought in the preceding autumn. The captain was not received with that welcome which the governor had experienced. Two Indians from Massachusetts were there, one of whom had an iron dagger, which he had gotten from some of Weston's people at Wessagusset, [Weymouth] and which he gave to Canacum, the Sachem of Manomet, in the view of Standish. The present was accompanied with a speech, which the captain did not then perfectly understand, but the purport of it was, "That the English were too strong for the Massachusetts Indians to attack without help from the others; because if they should cut off the people in their bay, yet they feared that those of Plymouth would revenge their death. He therefore invited the sachem to join with them, and destroy both colonies. He magnified his own strength and courage, and derided the Europeans, because he had seen them die, crying and making sour faces, like children." An Indian of Paomet was present, who had formerly been friendly, and now professed the same kindness, offering his personal service to get the corn on board the shallop, though he had never done such work before; and inviting the captain to lodge in his hut, as the weather was cold. Standish passed the night by his fire, but though earnestly pressed to take his rest, kept himself continually in motion, and the next day, by the help of the squaws, got his corn on board, and returned to Plymouth. It was afterward discovered that this Indian intended to kill him, if he had fallen asleep.

About the same time, happened Mr. Winslow's visit to Masassoit in his sickness, and a full discovery of the plot, which the Indians at Massachusetts had contrived to destroy the English. The people whom Weston had sent to plant a colony at Wessagusset, were so disorderly and imprudent, that the Indians were not only disgusted with them, but despised them. These were destined to be the first victims. Their overseer, John Sanders, was gone to Monhegan, to meet the fishermen, at their coming to the coast, and get some provisions. During his absence, the Indians had grown more insolent than before; and it was necessary that some force should be sent thither, as well to protect the colony as to crush the conspiracy. Standish was the commander of the party; and as this was his capital exploit, it may be most satisfactory and entertaining to give the account of it, as related by Mr. Winslow in his narrative.

"The 23d of March [1623] being a yearly Court day, we came to this conclusion; that Captain Standish should take as many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good, against all the Indians in Massachusetts Bay; and because it is impossible to deal with them in open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore that he should pretend trade as at other times; but first to go to the English, and acquaint them with the plot and the end of his own coming, that by comparing it with their carriage towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same; but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure of Wittuwamat, a bloody and bold villain, whose head he had orders to bring with him.

Upon this, Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy. On the next day, before he could go, came one* of Weston's company to us with a pack on his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriage; whose boldness increased abundantly, insomuch as they would take their victuals out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they gainsayed them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts. He said that, to give them content, they had hanged one† of the company, who had stolen their corn, and yet they regarded it not; that another of them had turned savage; that their people had mostly forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, besause they would not take pains to bring it home; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to perish with hunger and cold, and that they were dispersed into three companies, having scarcely any powder and shot. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed; and the wind coming fair the next day, March 25, Captain Standish being now fitted, set forth for Massachusetts.

"The captain being come to Massachusetts, went first to the ship, but found neither man nor dog therein. On the discharge of a musket, the master and some others showed themselves, who were on shore gathering ground-nuts and other food. After salutation, Captain Standish asked them how they durst so leave the ship, and live in such security? They answered, like men senseless of their own misery, that they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having a sword nor a gun, or needing the same. To which the captain replied, that if there were no cause, he was glad. But upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most confidence were at the plantation, thither he went and made known the Indians' purpose, and the end of his own coming; and told them that if they durst not stay there, it was the intention of the governor and people of Plymouth, to receive them

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* All which I have been able to collect relative to the family of Standish, is as follows:

Henry Standish, a Franciscan, D. D. of Cambridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, before the Reformation, was a bigot to Popery. Falling down on his knees, before King Henry VIII. he petitioned him to continue the religious establishment of his ancestors. This prelate died, A. D. 1535, at a very advanced age.

John Standish, nephew to Henry, wrote a book against the translation of the bible into the English Language; and presented it to the Parliament. He died in 1556, in the reign of Queen Mary.

Sir Richard Standish, of Whittle, near Charley. In his grounds a lead mine was discovered, not long before 1695, and wrought with good success. Near the same place is a quarry of Mill-stones.

The village of Standish, and a seat called Standish-Hall, are situate near the river Douglas, in Lancashire, between the towns of Charley and Wigan, which are about 6 miles distant. Wigan is 9 miles north of Warrington, on the southern side of the county. See Camden's Map of Lancashire.

* Manomet is the name of a creek or river which runs through the town of Sandwich, into the upper part of Buzzard's Bay, formerly called Manomet Bay. Between this and Scusset Creek, (into which Standish went and received his corn) is the place, which, for more than a century, has been thought of, as proper to be cut through, to form a communication by a navigable canal, from Barnstable Bay to Buzzard's Bay.

* His name was Phinehas Pratt: an Indian followed him to kill him, but by missing his way, he escaped and got into Plymouth. This man was living in 1677, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his history. The Indian who followed him went to Manomet, and on his return, visited Plymouth, where he was put in irons.

† Mr. Hubbard's account of this matter, is as follows. "The company, as some report, pretended, in way of satisfaction, to punish him that did the theft; but in his stead, hanged a poor decrepit old man, that was unserviceable to the company, and burdensome to keep alive: This was the ground of the story, with which the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called Hudibras did in his poetical fancy, make so much sport. The inhabitants of Plymouth tell the story much otherwise, as if the person hanged, was really guilty of stealing, as were many of the rest. Yet, it is possible, that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long, if he had been let alone."

The passage of Hudibras above referred to, is in Part 2 canto 2, line 403, &c.

"Tho' nice and dark the point appear,
Quoth Ralph, it may hold up and clear;
That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Justice gives sentence many times,
On one man for another's crimes.
Our brethren of New England use,
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need;
As lately happened. In a town,
There liv'd a Cobbler, and but one,
Who out of doctrine, could cut use,
And mend men's lives as well as shoes.
This precious brother, having slain
In time of peace, an Indian,
Not out of malice, but mere zeal
Because he was an Infidel,
The mighty Tottipotimoy
Sent to our elders an envoy,
Complaining sorely of the breach
Of league, held forth by brother Patch,
Against the articles in force
Between both churches, his and ours:
For which he crav'd the saints to render
Into his hands, or hang th' offender.
But they, maturely having weighed,
They had no more but him of the trade;
A man that serv'd them, in a double
Capacity, to teach and cobble,
Resolv'd to spare him, yet to do
The Indian Hogan Mogan, too,
Impartial justice, in his stead did
Hang an old Weaver, that was bed-rid,
Then, wherefore may not you be skipp'd,
And in your room another whipp'd?"

The story is here most ridiculously caricatured as a slur upon the churches of New England. I do not find that the people of Weston's plantation had any church at all; they were a set of needy adventurers, intent only on gaining a subsistence. Mr. Neal says, that "he obtained a patent under pretence of propagating the discipline of the Church of England in America.

till they could be better provided for. These men answered that they could expect no better, and it was of God's mercy that they were not killed before his coming, desiring that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed; hereupon he advised them to secrecy and to order one third of their company that were farthest off to come home, and on pain of death to keep there, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn, to a man, for a day, though that was spared out of our seed.—The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do any thing.

"In the meantime an Indian came to him and brought some furs, but rather to get what he could from the captain than to trade; and though the captain carried things as smoothly as he could, yet at his return, the Indian reported that he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart,and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksout, who was a Pinese [chief] being a man of a notable spirit, to come to Hobamock, [Standish's Indian guide and interpreter] and tell him that he understood the captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the savages there; 'Tell him, said he, we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare,he shall not take us at unawares.' Many times after, divers of them, severally or a few together, came to the plantation, where they would whet and sharpen the points of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Among the rest, Wittuwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife, on the handle of which was pictured a woman's face. 'But, said he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it, and by and by, these two must be married.' Further he said of that knife which he there had, *Hinnain namen, hinnain michen, matta cuts*, that is to say, *by and by it should see, by and by it should eat, but not speak.* Also Pecksout being a man of greater stature than the captain, told him, 'though you are a great captain, yet you are but a little man; though I be no sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage.' These things the captain observed, but for the present, bore them with patience.

"On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, but Pecksout and Wittuwamat being together, with another man, and the brother of Wittuwamat, a youth of eighteen, putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men,and having about as many of his own men in the same room,the captain gave the word to his men; and the door being fast shut, he begun himself with Pecksout, and snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwamat and the other man; the youth they took and hanged. It is incredible how many wounds these men received, before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons, and striving to the last. Hobamock stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action; which being ended, he, smiling, brake forth and said, 'Yesterday Pecksout bragged of his own strength and stature, and told you that though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but, to-day, I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.'

"There being some women at the same time there, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Weston's people, at the town; and sent word to another company to kill those Indian men that were among them These killed two more; himself with some of his own men, went to another place and killed another; but through the negligence of one man,an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

"Captain Standish took one half of his men with one or two of Weston's and Hobamock, still seeking them. At length they espied a file of Indians, making toward them; and there being a small advantage in the ground by reason of a hill, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it, whereupon the Indians retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobamock. Whereupon Hobamock cast off his coat, and chased them so fast, that our people were not able to hold way with him. They could have but one certain mark, the arm and half the face of a notable villain as he drew [his bow] at Captain Standish, who with another, both discharged at him and brake his arm. Whereupon they fled into a swamp; when they were in the thicket, they parlied but got nothing but foul language. So our captain dared the sachem to come out and fight like a man, showing how base and woman like he was, in tenguing it as he did; but he refused and fled. So the captain returned to the plantation; where he released the women and took not their beaver coats from them, nor suffered the least discourtesy to be offered them

"Now were Weston's people resolved to leave the plantation, and go to Monhegan, hoping to get passage and return [to England] with the fishing ships. The captain told them, that for his own part, he durst live there with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherwise minded, according to his orders from the governor and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn, which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked to go to Monhegan; and desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop; and seeing the others set sail, and clear of Massachusetts Bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth, bringing the head of Wittuwamat, which was set up on the fort.*

"This sudden and unexpected execution, had so terrified and amazed the other people who intended to join with theMassachusencks against us, that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted; living in swamps, and other desert places, and so brought disease upon themselves,whereof many are dead; as Canacum, Sachem of Manomet; Aspinet, of Nauset; and Ianough, of Mantachiest. This sachem, [Ianough] in the midst of these distractions, said, 'the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger.' From one of these places, a boat was sent with presents to the governor, hoping thereby to work their peace; but the boat was lost, and three of the people drowned; only one escaped, who returned; so that none of them durst come among us."

The Indian who had been confined at Plymouth, on his examination, confessed the plot; in which five persons were principally concerned, of whom two were killed. He protested his own innocence, and his life was spared on condition that he would carry a message to his sachem, Obtakiest, demanding three of Weston's men, whom he held in custody. A woman returned with his answer, that the men were killed before the message arrived, for which he was very sorry.

Thus ended Weston's plantation, within one year after it began. He had been one of the adventurers to Plymouth; but quitted them, and took a separate patent; and his plantation was intended to rival that of Plymouth. He did not come in person to America, till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen, and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprize. In a storm, he was cast away between the rivers of Pascataqua and Merrimack, and was robbed by the natives of all which he had saved from the wreck. Having borrowed a suit of clothes from some of the people at Pascataqua, he came to Plymouth; where, in consideration of his necessity, the government lent him two hundred weight of beaver, with which he sailed to the eastward, with such of his own people as were disposed to accompany him. It is observed that he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach.

The next adventure in which we find Captain Standish engaged, was at Cape Ann, where the fishermen of Plymouth had in 1624 erected a stage, and a company from the west of England in the following year had taken possession of it. Standish was ordered from Plymouth with a party to retake it; but met a refusal. The controversy grew warm,and high words passed on both sides. But the prudence of Roger Conant, agent for the west countrymen, and of Mr. Pierce, master of their ship,prevented matters from coming to extremity. The ship's crew lent their assistance in building another stage, which the Plymouth fishermen accepted in lieu of the former, and thus peace and harmony were restored. Mr. Hubbard, who has preserved the memory of this affair, reflects on Captain Standish in the following manner: He had been bred a soldier in the low countries, and never entered into the school of Christ, or of John the Baptist; or if ever he was there, he had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak, rather than needlessly contend for the coat, though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very small stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion, soon kindled, and blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched."

When the news of the transactions at Wessagusset where Standish had killed the Indians, was carried to Europe, Mr. Robinson from Leyden wrote to the Church of Plymouth, "to consider the disposition of their captain, who was of a warm temper. He hoped the Lord had sent him among them for good, if they used him right; but he doubted whether there was not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which was meet; and he thought it would have been happy if they had converted some, before they had killed any."

The best apology for Captain Standish is, that as a soldier he had been accustomed to discipline and obedience; that he considered himself as the military servant of the colony, and received his orders from the governor and people. Sedentary persons are not always the best judges of a soldier's merit or feelings.—Men of his own profession will admire the courage of Standish,his promptitude and decision in the execution of his orders. No one has charged him either with failure in point of obedience or of wantonly exceeding the limits of his commission. If the arm of flesh were necessary to establish the rights and defend the lives and property of colonists in a new country,surrounded with enemies and false friends, certainly such a man as Standish, with all his imperfections, will hold a high rank among the worthies of New-England. Mr. Prince does not scruple to reckon him among those heroes of antiquity, "who chose to suffer affliction with the people of God; who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions,waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens;" and even Mr. Hubbard,in another part of his history, says that Captain Standish "was a gentleman very expert in military service; by whom the people were all willing to be ordered in those concerns. He was likewise improved [employed] to good acceptance and success in affairs of the greatest moment in that colony, to whose interest he continued firm and stedfast to the last, and always managed his trust with great integrity and faithfulness."

Two ships which had come with supplies to the colony the same year (1625) returned in the autumn with cargoes of fish and furs. In one of these Standish embarked as agent for the colony,and arrived safely in England; the other was captured by a Turkish ship of war, and the loss of her valuable cargo was a severe blow to the colony. He arrived in a very unfortunate time: the plague raging in London, carried off more than forty thousand people in the space of one year. Commerce was stagnated, the merchants and members of the council of New-England were dispersed and no meeting could be holden. All which Captain Standish could do, was, by private conference, to prepare the way for a composition with the company of adventurers, and by the help of a few friends,with great trouble and danger, to procure a small quantity of goods for the colony, amounting to 150*l.* which he took up at the exorbitant interest of 50 per cent. With this insufficient but welcome supply, he returned to Plymouth, in the spring of 1626; bringing the sorrowful news of the death of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Cushman.

Several attempts were, about this time, made to form plantations, within the Bay of Massachusetts, at Cape Ann and Pascataqua. Among these adventurers was one Captain Wollaston, "a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some eminence, who brought over many servants and much provisions." He pitched on the southern side of the bay, at the head of the creek, and called an adjoining hill Mount Wollaston, [Quincy.] One of his company was Thomas Morton, "a pettifogger of Furnival's Inn," who had some property of his own, or of other men committed to him. After a short trial, Wollaston, not finding his expectations realized,went to Virginia, with a great part of the servants; and being better pleased with that country, sent for the rest to come to him. Morton thought this a proper opportunity to make himself head of the company; and, in a drunken frolic, persuaded them to depose Filcher, the lieutenant, and set up for *liberty and equality*.

Under this influence they soon became licentious and debauched. They sold their goods to the natives for furs, taught them the use of arms, and employed them in hunting. They invited and received fugitives from all the neighboring settlements; and thus endangered their safety,and obliged them to unite their strength in opposition to them. Captain Endicott,from Naumkeag,

* This may excite in some minds an objection to the humanity of our forefathers. The reason assigned for it was, that it might prove a terror to others. In matters of war and public justice, they observed the customs and laws of the English nation. As late as the year 1747, the heads of the lords, who were concerned in the Scots rebellion, were set up over Temple-Bar, the most frequented passage between London and Westminster.

made them a visit, and gave them a small check, by cutting down a May-pole, which they had erected as a central point of dissipation and extravagance; but it was reserved for Captain Standish to break up their infamous combination. After repeated friendly admonitions, which were disregarded, at the request and joint expense* of the scattered planters, and by order of the Government of Plymouth, he went to Mount Wollaston, and summoned Morton to surrender. Morton prepared for his defence, armed his adherents, heated them with liquor, and answered Standish with abusive language. But, when he stepped out of his door, to take aim at his antagonist, the captain seized his musket with one hand and his collar with the other, and made him prisoner. The others quietly submitted. No blood was shed nor a gun fired. They were all conducted to Plymouth, and then sent to England; where Morton was treated with less severity than he deserved, and was permitted to return and disturb the settlements, till the establishment of the Massachusetts colony, when he retired to Piscataqua, and there ended his days.

After this encounter, which happened in 1628, we have no particular account of Captain Standish. He is not mentioned in the account of the Pequot war, in 1637. He was chosen one of the magistrates or assistants of Plymouth Colony as long as he lived. As he advanced in years, he was much afflicted with the stone and the strangury; he died in 1656, being then very old, at Duxbury, near Plymouth; where he had a tract of land, which to this day is known by the name of Captain's Hill.

He had one son, Alexander, who died in Duxbury. The late Dr. Wheelock, founder of Dartmouth College, and Mr. Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians, were descended from him. One of his grandsons was in possession of his coat of mail, which is now supposed to be lost; but his sword is preserved in the Cabinet of the Historical Society, of which one of his descendants, John Thornton Kirkland, is a member. His name is still venerated, and the merchants of Plymouth and Boston have named their ships after him. His posterity chiefly reside in several towns of the county of Plymouth.

JOHN WINTHROP,

FIRST GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

John Winthrop—His birth and ancestry—First Governor of the Colonies—His Character—Examination of his accounts and honorable result—His humility, firmness, and decision—His difficulties with Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers—His firm and correct conduct with the Church at Boston—His opinions of Democracy, Magistracy and Liberty—His pecuniary embarrassments and afflictions—His death—Preservation of his picture in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts—His posterity.

This worthy gentleman was descended from a family remarkable for its attachment to the reformed religion, from the earliest period of the Reformation. His grandfather, Adam Winthrop, was an eminent lawyer and lover of the Gospel, in the reign of Henry VIII. and brother to a memorable friend of the Reformation, in the reign of Mary I. in whose hands the Martyr Philpot left his paper, which make a considerable part of the History of the Martyrs. His father, Adam Winthrop, was a gentleman of the same profession and character. Governor Winthrop was born at the family seat at Groton, in Suffolk, June 12, 1587, and was bred to the law, though he had a strong inclination to theological studies. At the age of eighteen he was made a justice of the peace, and his virtues became conspicuous. He was exemplary in his profession as an upright and impartial magistrate, and in his private character as a christian. He had wisdom to discern, and fortitude to do right in the execution of his office; and as a gentleman, was remarkable for liberality and hospitality. These qualities rendered him dear to men of sobriety and religion, and fitted him to engage in the great and difficult work of founding a colony.

When the design of settling a colony in New England was by some eminent persons undertaken, this gentleman was, by the consent of all, chosen for their leader. Having converted a fine estate of six or seven hundred pounds sterling per annum into money, he embarked for New England, in the forty-third year of his age and arrived at Salem with the Massachusetts charter, June 12, 1630. Within five days, he, with some of the principal persons of the colony travelled through the woods twenty miles, to look out a convenient situation for a town, in some part of the Bay of Massachusetts. Some of them built their huts on the north side of Charles' river, [Charlestown] but the governor, and most of the assistants pitched upon the peninsula of *Shawmut* and lived there the first winter, intending in the spring to build a fortified town, but undetermined as to its situation. On the sixth of December, they resolved to fortify the isthmus of that peninsula; but changing their minds before the month expired, they agreed upon a place about three miles above Charlestown, which they called first Newtown, and afterwards Cambridge, where they engaged to build houses the ensuing spring. The rest of the winter they suffered much by the severity of the season, and were obliged to live upon acorns, ground-nuts, and shell fish. One of the poorer sort coming to the governor to complain, was told that the last batch was in the oven, but of this he had his share. They had appointed the 22d of February for a fast, but before it came, a ship arrived with provisions, and they turned it into a day of thanksgiving.

In the spring of 1631, in pursuance of the intended plan, the governor set up the frame of an house at Newtown; the deputy governor also built one, and removed his family. About this time Chicketawbu, the chief of the Indians in that neighbourhood, made a visit to the governor, with high professions of friendship. The apprehension of danger from the Indians abated, and the scheme of a fortified town was gradually laid aside; though if it had been retained, the peninsula would have been a situation far preferable to Newtown. The governor took down his frame and removed it to Shawmut, which was finally determined upon for the metropolis, and named Boston.

The three following years he was continued, by annual election, at the head of the government, for which office he was eminently qualified, and in which he shone with a lustre, which would have done him honor in a larger sphere and a more elevated situation. He was the father, as well as the governor, of an infant plantation. His time, his study, his exertions, his influence and his interest were all employed in the public service. His wisdom, patience and magnanimity were conspicuous in the most severe trials, and his exemplary behaviour as a christ an added a splendor to all his rare qualifications. He maintained the dignity of a governor with the obliging condescension of a gentleman, and was so deservedly respected and beloved, that when Archbishop Laud, hearkening to some calumnies raised against the country on account of their Puritan principles, summoned one Mr. Cleaves before King Charles I. in hopes of getting some accusation against the governor, he gave such an account of his laudable deportment in his station, and withal of the devotion with which prayers were made, both in private and public, for the king, that Charles expressed his concern, that so worthy a person as Mr. Winthrop should be no better accomodated than in an American wilderness.

He was an example to the people of that frugality, decency and temperance which were necessary in their circumstances, and even denied himself many of the elegancies and superfluities of life, which his rank, and fortune gave him a just title to enjoy, both that he might set them a proper example, and be the better enabled to exercise that liberality in which he delighted, even, in the end, to the actual impoverishment of himself and his family. He would often send his servants on some errand, at meal times, to the houses of his neighbors, to see how they were provided with food; and if there was a deficiency, would supply them from his own table. The following singular instance of his charity, mixed with humor, will give us an idea of the man. In a very severe winter, when wood began to be scarce in Boston, he received private information, that a neighbor was wont to help himself from the pile at his door. "Does he," said the governor, "call him to me, and I will take a course with him that shall cure him of stealing." The man appeared, and the governor addressed him thus. "Friend it is a cold winter, and I hear you are meanly provided with wood, you are welcome to help yourself at my pile till the winter is over." And then merrily asked his friend whether he had not put a stop to the man's stealing!

In the administration of justice, he was for tempering the severity of law with the exercise of mercy. He judged that in the infancy of a plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state. But when other gentlemen of learning and influence had taken offence at his lenity, and adopted an opinion that a stricter discipline was necessary, he submitted to their judgment, and strictly adhered to the proposals which were made to support the dignity of government, by an appearance of union and firmness, and a concealment of differences and dissentions among the public officers.

His delicacy was so great, that, though he could not without incivility decline accepting gratuities from divers towns, as well as particular persons, for his public services, yet he took occasion in a public speech, at his third election to declare, that "he received them with a trembling hand in regard of God's word, and his own infirmity," and desired them, that for the future they would not be offended, if he should wholly refuse such presents.

In the year 1634, and the two years following, he was left out of the magistracy. Though his conduct, from his first engaging in the service of the colony, had been irreproachable, yet the envy of some, raised a suspicion of his fidelity, and gave him a small taste of what, in other popular governments, their greatest benefactors have had a large share of. An inquiry having been made of his receipts and disbursements of the public moneys, during his past administration, though it was conducted in a manner too harsh for his delicate sensibility, yet he patiently submitted to the examination of his accounts, which ended to his honor. Upon which occasion he made a declaration which he concluded in these words;—"In the things which I offer, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the Court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost and labor bestowed in the service of this Commonwealth; but I do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he has been pleased to honor me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me, for the service of his church and people here; the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me."

The same rare humility and steady equality of mind, were conspicuous in his behavior, when a pretence was raised to get him left out of the government, lest by the too frequent choice of one man, the office should cease to be elective, and seem to be his by prescription. This pretence was advanced even in the election sermons; and when he was in fact reduced to a lower station in the government, he endeavoured to serve the people as faithfully as in the highest, nor would he suffer any notice to be taken of some undue methods, which were used to have him left out of the choice. An instance of this rare temper, and the happy fruit of it, deserves remembrance. There was a time when he received a very angry letter from a member of the Court, which having read, he delivered back to the messenger with this answer "I am not willing to keep by me such a matter of provocation." Shortly after, the writer of this letter was compelled by the scarcity of provision, to send to buy one of the governor's cattle: he begged him to accept it as a gift, in token of his good will. On which the gentleman came to him with this acknowledgment "Sir, your overcoming yourself, hath overcome me."

But though condescending and gentle on every occasion of personal ill-treatment, yet where the honor of government or religion, and the interest of the people were concerned, he was equally firm and intrepid, standing foremost in opposition to those whom he judged to be really public enemies, though in the disguise of warm and zealous friends. Of this number was the famous Anna Hutchinson, a woman of a masculine understanding and consummate art, who held private lectures to the women at her house, in which she advanced these doctrines, viz. "That the Holy Ghost dwells *personally* in a justified person, and that sanctification does not evidence justification." Those who held with her were said to be "under a covenant of grace," and those who opposed her "under a covenant of works." Into those two denominations the whole colony began to be divided. Her adherents prevailed in 1636, to choose for governor, Henry Vane,* a young gentleman of an apparently grave and serious deportment, who had just arrived from England, and who paid great attention to this woman, and seemed zealously attached to her dis-

* From the bill of expense, sent to the Council of New England, may be seen the number and ability of the plantations in 1628.

Plymouth contributed	21.	10
Naumkeag, [Salem]	2	10
Piscataquack, [Mason's Company]	2	10
Mr. Jeffrey and Burslem,	1	
Nantascot,	1	10
Mr. Thomson, [Squantum neck]		15
Mr. Blackston, [Boston]		12
Mr Edward Hilton, [Dover]	1	
	12	7

* This person, so well known afterwards in England, is thus characterized by Lord Clarendon:

"A man of great natural parts and of very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception and ready, sharp and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, a vultum clausum that though no man could make a guess of what he intended, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary, and his whole life made good that imagination. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was

tinguishing tenets. Winthrop, then deputy governor, not only differed in sentiment, but saw the pernicious influence of this controversy with regret, and feared, that if it were suffered to prevail, it would endanger the existence of the colony. In the heat of the controversy, Wheelwright, a zealous sectarian, preached a sermon, which not only carried these points to their utmost length, but contained some expressions which the Court laid hold of as tending to sedition, for which he was examined; but a more full inquiry was deferred for that time. Some warm brethren of Boston petitioned the Court in Wheelwright's favor, reflecting on their proceedings, which raised such a resentment in the Court against the town that a motion was made for the next election to be made at Cambridge. Vane, the governor, having no negative voice, could only show his dislike by refusing to put the question. Winthrop, the deputy governor, declined it, as being an inhabitant of Boston; the question was then put by Endicot of Salem, and carried for the removal.

At the opening of the election, (May 17, 1637) a petition was again presented by many inhabitants of Boston, which Vane would have read previous to the choice. Winthrop, who clearly saw that this was a contrivance to throw all into confusion, and spend the day in debate, that the election might be prevented for that time, opposed the reading of the petition until the election should be over. Vane and his party were strenuous, but Winthrop called to the people to divide, and the majority appeared for the election. Vane still refused, till Winthrop said he would proceed without him, which obliged him to submit. The election was carried in favor of Winthrop and his friends. The serjeants who had waited on Vane to the place of election, threw down their halberds, and refused to attend the newly elected governor; he took no other notice of the affront, than to order his own servants to bear them before him, and when the people expressed their resentment, he begged them to overlook the matter.

The town of Boston being generally in favor of the new opinions, the governor grew unpopular there, and a law which was passed this year of his restoration to office, increased their dislike. Many persons who were supposed to favor those opinions, were expected from England, to prevent whose settlement in the country, the Court laid a penalty on all who should entertain any strangers, or allow them the use of any house, or lot, above three weeks, without liberty first granted. This severe order was so ill received in Boston, that on the governor's return from the Court of Cambridge, they all refused to go out to meet him, or to show him any token of respect. The other towns on this occasion increased their respect towards him, and the same summer, in a journey to Ipswich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he desired.

The same year a synod was called to determine on the controverted points, in which assembly Winthrop, though he did not preside, yet as the head of the civil magistracy, was obliged often to interpose his authority, which he did with wisdom and gravity, silencing passionate and impertinent speakers, desiring that the divine oracles might be allowed to express their own meaning, and be appealed to for the decision of the controversy; and when he saw heat and passion prevail in the assembly, he would adjourn it, that time might be allowed for cool consideration, by which prudent management, the synod came to an amicable agreement in condemning the errors of the day. But the work was not wholly done, until the erroneous persons were banished the colony. This act of severity the Court thought necessary for the peace of the Commonwealth. Toleration had not then been introduced into any of the Protestant countries, and even the wisest and best men were afraid of it as the parent of all error and mischief.

Some of the zealous opinionists in the church of Boston, would have had the elders proceed against the governor in the way of ecclesiastical discipline, for his activity in procuring the sentence of banishment on their brethren. Upon this occasion in a well judged speech to the congregation, he told them that "though in his private capacity, it was his duty to submit to the censure of his brethren, yet he was not amenable to them for his conduct as a magistrate, even though it were unjust. That in the present case, he had acted according to his conscience and his oath, and *by the advice of the elders of the church*, and was fully satisfied that it would not have been consistent with the public peace to have done otherwise." These reasons satisfied the uneasy brethren, and his general condescending and obliging deportment, so restored him to their affections, that he was held in greater esteem than before; as a proof of this, upon occasion of a loss which he had sustained in his temporal estate, they made him a present, amounting to several hundred pounds.

A warm dispute having arisen in the General Court concerning the negative voice of the Upper House, the governor published his sentiments in writing, some passages of which giving great offence, he took occasion at the next meeting of the Court in a public speech to tell them "that as to the *matter* of his writing, it was according to his judgment, which was not at his own disposal, and that having examined it by the rules of reason, religion, and custom, he saw no cause to retract it; but as for the *manner*, which was wholly his own, he was ready to acknowledge whatever was blameable. He said, that what he wrote was on great provocation, and to vindicate himself and others from unjust aspersions, yet he ought not to have allowed a distemper of spirit, nor to have been so free with the reputation of his brethren; that he might have maintained his cause without casting any reflection on them, and that he perceived an unbecoming pride and arrogancy in some of his expressions, for which he desired forgiveness of God and man!" By this condescending spirit, he greatly endeared himself to his friends, and his enemies were ashamed of their opposition.

He had not so high an opinion of a *democratical* government as some other gentlemen of equal wisdom and goodness; but plainly perceived a danger in referring matters of counsel and judicature to the body of the people; and when those who had removed to Connecticut, were about forming their government, he warned them of this danger in a friendly and faithful letter, wherein are these remarkable words: "The best part of a community is always the *least* and of that best part the wiser is still *less*; wherefore the old canon was, choose ye out judges, and thou shalt bring the matter before the judge."

In 1645, when he was deputy governor, a great disturbance was raised by some petitioners from Hingham, who complained that the fundamental laws of England were not owned in the colony as the basis of government; that civil privileges were denied to men, merely for not being members of the churches; and they could not enjoy divine ordinances because they belonged to the Church of England. With these complaints, they petitioned for liberty of conscience; or, if that could not be granted, for freedom from taxes and military services; the petition concluded with a menace, that in case of a refusal, complaint would be had to the Parliament of England. This petition gave much offence, and the petitioners were cited to Court, and fined as "movers to sedition." Winthrop was active in their prosecution; but a party in the House of Deputies was so strong in their favor as to carry a vote, requiring him to answer for his conduct in public; the result of which was, that he was honorably acquitted. Then resuming his seat, he took that opportunity publicly to declare his sentiments on the questions concerning the authority of the magistracy, and the liberty of the people. "*You* have called us," said he, to office, but being called, we have our authority from God, it is the ordinance of God, and hath the image of God stamped on it; and the contempt of it hath been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. When you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to the like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe on ours. The covenant between us and you is, that we shall govern you and judge your causes according to the laws of God* and our best skill. As for our *skill*, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error, not in the will, but the skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you mistake in the point of your liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is inconsistent with authority, impatient of restraint, the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, moral, federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority, a liberty for that only which is JUST and GOOD. For this liberty you are to stand with your lives; and whatever crosses it, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority, and the authority set over you will in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted to by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their liberty by murmuring at the honor and power of authority."

This kind of argument was frequently urged by the fathers of New England in justification of their severity toward those who dissented from them. They maintained that all men had liberty to do *right*, but no liberty to do *wrong*. However true this principle may be in point of morality, yet in matters of opinion, in modes of faith, worship, and ecclesiastical order, the question is, who shall be the judge of right and wrong? and it is too evident from their conduct, that they supposed the power of judging to be in those who were vested with authority; a principle destructive of liberty of conscience, and the right of private judgment, and big with all the horrors of persecution. The exercise of such authority they condemned in the high church party, who had oppressed them in England; and yet, such is the frailty of human nature, they held the same principles, and practised the same oppressions on those who dissented from them. Winthrop, before he left England, was of more Catholic spirit than some of his brethren; after he had come to America, he fell in with the reigning principle of intolerancy, which almost all the Reformers unhappily retained as a relict of the persecuting church, from which they had separated; but as he advanced in life, he resumed his former moderation; and in the time of his last sickness, when Dudley, the deputy-governor pressed him to sign an order for the banishment of a person who was deemed heterodox, he refused, saying, that "he had done too much of that work already."

Having devoted the greatest part of his interest to the service of the public, and suffering many losses by accidents, and by leaving the management of his private affairs to unfaithful servants, whilst his whole time and attention were employed in the public business, his fortune was so much impaired, that some years before his death, he was obliged to sell the most of his estate for the payment of an accumulated debt. He also met with much affliction in his family, having buried three wives and six children. These troubles, joined to the opposition and ill treatment which he frequently met with from some of the people, so preyed upon his nature, already much worn by the toils and hardships of planting a colony in a wilderness, that he perceived a decay of his faculties seven years before he reached his grand climateric and often spoke of his approaching dissolution, with a calm resignation to the will of Heaven. At length, when he had entered the sixty-third year of his age, a fever occasioned by a cold, after one month's confinement, put an end to his life on the 26th of March, 1649.

The island called Governor's Island, in the harbor of Boston, was granted to him, and still remains in the possession of his descendants. His picture is preserved in the senate-chamber, with those of other ancient governors. The house in which he lived, remained till 1775, when, with many other old wooden buildings, it was pulled down by the British troops for fuel. He kept an exact journal of the occurrences and transactions in the colony during his residence in it. This journal was of great service to several historians, particularly Hubbard, Mather, and Prince. It is still in possession of the Connecticut branch of his family, and was published at Hartford in 1790. It affords a more exact and circumstantial detail of events within that period, than any compilation which has been or can be made from it; the principles and conduct of this truly great and good man, therein appear in the light which he himself viewed them; while his abilities for the arduous station which he held, the difficulties which he had to encounter, and his fidelity in business, are displayed with that truth and justice in which they ought to appear.

He had five sons living at his decease, all of whom, notwithstanding the reduction of his fortune, acquired and possessed large property, and were persons of eminence. Many of his posterity have borne respectable characters, and filled some of the principal places of trust and usefulness.

JOHN WINTHROP, F. R. S.

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor of Connecticut—His birth and education—His removal to New England—Obtains a Charter incorporating Connecticut and New Haven—Governor of the colony of Connecticut—Elected Fellow of the Royal Society—His death.

JOHN WINTHROP, eldest son of Governor Winthrop, by his first wife, was born at Groton, in Suffolk, Feb. 12, 1605. His fine genius was much improved by a

chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation [the Scots] which was thought to excel in craft and cunning which he did with a notable pregnancy and dexterity."

* It must be observed, that the Mosaic law was at that time considered as the general standard, and most of the laws of the country were founded on it.

liberal education, in the universities of Cambridge, and Dublin, and by travelling through most of the European kingdoms, as far as Turkey. He came to New England with his father's family, Nov. 4, 1631; and though not above twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous choice of the freemen, appointed a magistrate of the colony, of which his father was governor. He rendered many services to the country, both at home and abroad, particularly in the year 1634, when returning to England, he was by the stress of weather, forced into Ireland; where meeting with many influential persons at the house of Sir John Closworthy, he had an opportunity to promote the interest of the colony, by their means.

The next year he came back to New England, with powers from the Lords Say and Brooke, to settle a plantation on Connecticut river. But finding that some worthy persons from Massachusetts had already removed, and others were about removing to make a settlement on that river at Hartford and Wethersfield, he gave them no disturbance; but having made an amicable agreement with them, built a fort at the mouth of the river, and furnished it with artillery and stores which had been sent over, and began a town there, which, from the two Lords who had a principal share in the undertaking, was called Saybrook. This fort kept the Indians in awe and proved a security to the planters on the river.

When they had formed themselves into a body politic they honoured him with an election to the magistracy, and afterward chose him governor of the colony. At the restoration of King Charles II. he undertook a voyage to England, on the behalf of the people both of Connecticut and New Haven; and, by his prudent address, obtained from the king a charter, incorporating both colonies into one, with a grant of privileges, and powers of government, superior to any plantation which had been settled in America. During this negotiation, at a private conference with the king, he presented his majesty with a ring, which King Charles I. had given to his grandfather. This present rendered him very acceptable to the king, and greatly facilitated the business. The people, at his return, expressed their gratitude to him by electing him to the office of governor, for fourteen years together, till his death.

Mr. Winthrop's genius led him to philosophical inquiries, and his opportunities for conversing with learned men abroad, furnished him with a rich variety of knowledge, particularly of the mineral kingdom; and there are some valuable communications of his in the philosophical transactions, which procured him the honor of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had also much skill in the art of physic; and generously distributed many valuable medicines among the people, who constantly applied to him whenever they had need, and were treated with a kindness that did honor to their benefactor.

His many valuable qualities as a gentleman, a christian, a philosopher, and a public ruler, procured him the universal respect of the people under his government; and his unwearied attention to the public business, and great understanding in the art of government, was of unspeakable advantage to them. Being one of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, in the year 1676, in the height of the first general Indian war, as he was attending the service at Boston, he fell sick of a fever, and died on the 5th of April, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was honorably buried in the same tomb with his excellent father.

GEORGE CALVERT, CECILIUS CALVERT,— (LORDS BALTIMORE.) LEONARD CALVERT.

GEORGE CALVERT—His birth and education—In the service of Sir Robert Cecil—He is made Secretary of State—He receives a pension from King James—Becomes a Catholic—Created Baron of Baltimore—He attempts a settlement at Newfoundland—Visits Virginia—Receives a grant of the territory north of the Potowmack—His Death—His Character—CECIL CALVERT—He receives a Patent of Maryland—Settles the Colony—Appoints his brother, Leonard, Governor—LEONARD CALVERT—Conducts settlers to the Colony

GEORGE CALVERT was descended from a noble family of Flanders, and born at Kipling in Yorkshire, (1582.) He received his education at Trinity College, in Oxford, and after taking his Bachelor's degree, (1597) travelled over the continent of Europe. At his return to England, in the beginning of the reign of James I. he was taken into the office of Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State; and when Sir Robert was advanced to the Lord High Treasurer, he retained Calvert in his service, and employed him in several weighty matters of state.

By the interest of Sir Robert, then Earl of Salisbury, he was appointed one of the clerks of the council, and received the honor of knighthood (1617;) and in the following year was made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake. Conceiving the Duke of Buckingham to have been instrumental in his preferment, he presented him with a jewel of great value; but the duke returned it, with a message that he owed his advancement to his own merit and the good pleasure of his sovereign, who was fully sensible of it. His great knowledge of public business, and his diligence and fidelity in conducting it, had rendered him very acceptable to the king, who granted him a pension of 1,000*l.* out of the customs.

In 1624, he conscientiously became a Roman Catholic, and having freely owned his principles to the king, resigned his office. This ingenuous confession so affected the mind of James, that he not only continued him on the list of Privy Counsellors, but created him Baron of Baltimore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland.

Whilst he was Secretary of State and one of the committee of trade and plantations, he obtained from the king, a patent for the south-eastern peninsula of Newfoundland, which he named the Province of Avalon; from Avalonius, a monk, who was supposed to have converted the British King Lucius, and all his court to Christianity; in remembrance of which event, the Abbey of Glastonbury was founded at Avalon, in Somersetshire. Sir George gave his province this name, imagining it would be the first place in North America where the Gospel would be preached.

At Ferryland, in his Province of Avalon, he built a fine house, and spent 25,000*l.* in advancing his plantation, which he visited twice in person. But it was so annoyed by the French, that though he once repulsed and pursued their ships, and took sixty prisoners; yet, he found his province so much exposed to their insults, and the trouble and expense of defending it so very great, that he was obliged to abandon it, and be content with the loss of what he had laid out, in the improvement of a territory, the soil and climate of which were considered as unfavorable to his views.

Being still inclined to form a settlement in America, whither he might retire with his family and friends, of the same religious principles, he made a visit to Virginia, the fertility and advantages of which had been highly celebrated; and in which he had been interested, as one of the adventurers. But the people there, being Protestants of the Church of England, regarded him with a jealous eye, on account of his religion; and by their unwelcome reception of him, he was discouraged from settling within their jurisdiction.

In visiting the Bay of Chesapeake, he observed that the Virginians had established trading houses on some of the islands; but that they had not extended their plantations to the northward of the river Potowmack; although the country there was equally valuable with that which they had planted.

When he returned to England, he applied to King Charles I. for the grant of a territory northward of the Potowmack; and the king, who had as great an affection for him as had his father James, readily complied with his request. But owing to the tedious forms of public business, before a patent could be completed and pass the seals, Lord Baltimore died at London on the 15th of April, 1632, in the 51st year of his age.

The character of this nobleman is thus drawn Though he was a Roman Catholic, he kept himself disengaged from all interests, behaving with such moderation and propriety, that all parties were pleased with him, and none complained of him. He was a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he examined all letters, and carried to the king every night an exact and well digested account of affairs. He agreed with Sir John Popham in the design of foreign plantations; but differed in the manner of executing it. Popham was for extirpating the original inhabitants, Calvert was for civilizing and converting them. The former was for present profit; the latter for reasonable expectation, and for employing governors who were not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; he was for granting liberties with caution, leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not to depend on a common interest. He left something respecting America in writing, but it does not appear that it was ever printed.

After the death of Sir George, the patent was again drawn in the name of his eldest son, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and passed the seals on the 28th of June, 1632 The original draught being in Latin, the patentee is called *Cecilius* and the country "*Terra Mariæ*, alias Maryland," in honor of Henrietta Maria, the Queen consort of Charles I.*

From the great precision of this charter the powers which it gives to the proprietor, and the privileges and exemptions which it grants to the people, it is evident that Sir George himself was the chief penman of it. One omission was soon discovered; no provision was made, that the laws should be transmitted to the sovereign for his approbation or disallowance. The commissioners of trade and plantations made a representation of this defect to the House of Commons, in 1633, and an act of Parliament was proposed as the only remedy.

The province of Maryland is thus described. All that part of a peninsula in America, lying between the ocean on the east, and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west, and divided from the other part, by a right line drawn from Watkin's Point, in the aforesaid bay, on the west, to the main ocean on the east. Thence to that part of Delaware Bay on the north, which lieth *under the fortieth degree* of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New England ends. Thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountains of the river Potowmack. Thence following the course of said river to its mouth, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake. Thence on a right line, across the bay to Watkin's Point; with all the islands and islets within these limits.

This region was erected into a province; and the proprietor was invested with palatine honors. In conjunction with the freemen or their delegates he had legislative, and, in person, or by officers of his own appointment, he had executive powers. He had also the advowson of churches, the erection of manors, boroughs, cities, and ports; saving the liberty of fishing and drying fish which was declared common to all the king's subjects. The charter provided, that if any doubts should arise concerning the sense of it, such an interpretation should be given as would be most favorable to the interest of the proprietor.

The territory is said to be "in the parts of America *not yet cultivated*, though inhabited by a barbarous people," and it is provided, that the province "should not be holden or reputed as *part of Virginia*, or of any other colony, but immediately dependant on the Crown of England." These clauses, together with the construction put on the *fortieth degree* of latitude, proved the ground of long and bitter controversies, one of which was not closed till after the lapse of a century.

Twelve years before the date of the charter, (1620,) John Porey, sometime secretary of Virginia, who had sailed into the northern part of the Bay of Chesapeake, reported that he found near one hundred English people very happily settled there, and engaged in a fur trade with the natives. In the year before the date of the charter, (1631,) King Charles had granted a license under the privy seal of Scotland, to Sir William Alexander, proprietor of Nova Scotia, and to William Cleyborne, counsellor and secretary of Virginia, to trade in those parts of America, for which there had not been a patent granted to others; and sent an order to the governor of Virginia to permit them freely to trade there. In consequence of which, Sir John Harvey and his council, in the same year, had granted to the said Cleyborne, a permission to sail and traffic to the "adjoining plantations of the Dutch, or to any English plantation on the territory of America." As nothing is said in these instruments of the Swedes, who first planted the shores of the Bay of Delaware, it has been inferred by the advocates of Baltimore, that they had not settled there previous to the charter of Maryland; though the family of Penn insisted on it as a fact, that the occupancy of the Swedes was prior to that period. In consequence of the license given to Cleyborne, he and his associates had made a settlement

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* Ogilby says that a blank was left for the name of the territory, which Lord Baltimore intended to have filled with Crescentia. But when the king asked him for a name, he consulted with referred it to his Majesty's pleasure, who proposed the name of the queen, to which his gossip could not but consent.

He also says, that the second Lord Baltimore was christened Cecil, in honor of his father's patron; but was confirmed by the name of Cecilius

on the Isle of Kent, far within the limits of Maryland; and claimed a monopoly of the trade of the Chesapeake. These people, it is said, sent Burgesses to the Legislature of Virginia, and were considered as subject to its jurisdiction, before the establishment of Maryland.

After receiving the charter, Lord Baltimore began to prepare for the collecting and transporting a colony to America. At first, he intended to go in person; but afterward changed his mind, and appointed his brother Leonard Calvert, governor, with two assistants, Jeremy Hawly and Thomas Cornwallis. These, with about two hundred persons,* of good families and of the Roman Catholic persuasion, embarked at Cowes at the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-second of November, 1633, and after a circuitous voyage through the West India islands, touching first at Barbadoes and then at St. Christopher's they came to anchor before Point Comfort in Virginia, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1634; and, on going up to Jamestown, delivered to Governor Harvey, the letters which the king had written in their favor. The governor and his council received them with that civility which was due to the command of their sovereign; but they resolved "to maintain the rights of the prior settlement." They afforded to the new colony supplies of provision for domestic use, but considered them as intruders on their territory, and as obstructing that traffic, from which they had derived and expected to derive much advantage.

On the 3d of March, Calvert with his colony proceeded in the Bay of Chesapeake, to the northward, and entered the Potowmack, up which he sailed twelve leagues, and came to anchor under an island, which he named *St. Clement*. Here he fired his canon, erected a cross, and took possession, "in the name of the Saviour of the world and the King of England." Thence he went with his pinnaces fifteen leagues higher to the Indian town of Potowmack, on the Virginian side of the river, now called New Marlborough; where he was received in a friendly manner by the guardian regent, the prince of the country being a minor. Thence he sailed twelve leagues farther, to the town of Piscataway, on the Maryland side; where he found *Henry Fleet*, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the natives, and was held by them in great esteem. He procured an interview between Calvert and the Werowance or lord of the place, and officiated as their interpreter. Calvert, determining to pursue a course of conduct founded on pacific and honorable intentions, asked the Werowance, whether he was willing that he and his people should settle in his country. His answer was short and prudent; "I will not bid you to go, nor to stay; but you may use your own discretion." This interview was held on board the governor's pinnance; the natives on shore crowded to the water's edge, to look after their sovereign, and were not satisfied of his safety, till he stood up and showed himself to them.

Having made this discovery of the river, and convinced the natives that his designs were amicable, the governor not thinking it advisable to make his first settlement so high up the river, sailed down to the ships, taking Fleet with him for a guide. The natives, who, when they first saw the ships, and heard the guns, had fled from St. Clement's island and its neighborhood, returned to their habitations, and seemed to repose confidence in their new friends; but this was not deemed a proper station. Under the conduct of Fleet, the governor visited a creek on the northern side of the Potowmack, about four leagues from its mouth, where was an Indian village, surrounded by corn-fields, and called Yoacomaco. Calvert went on shore, and acquainted the prince of the place with his intention; who was rather reserved in his answer, but entertained him in a friendly manner, and gave him a lodging in his own bed.

On the next day, he showed Calvert the country; which pleased him so well, that he determined there to fix his abode; and treated with the prince about purchasing the place. Calvert presented him and his principal men with English cloth, axes, hoes and knives; and they consented that their new friends should reside in one part of their town, and themselves in the other part, till the next harvest; when they promised to quit the place, and resign it wholly to them. Both parties entered into a contract to live together in a friendly manner; or, if any injury should be done, on either side, the offending party should make satisfaction. Calvert having given them what he deemed a valuable consideration, with which they appeared to be content, they readily quitted a number of their houses and retired to the others; and, it being the season for planting, both parties went to work. Thus on the 27th of March, 1634, the English colony took peaceable possession of the country of Maryland; and gave to the town the name of St. Mary, and to the creek on which it was situate, the name of St. George.

The desire of quieting the natives, by giving them a reasonable and satisfactory compensation for their lands is a trait in the character of the first planters, which will always do honor to their memory.

It was a fortunate circumstance for these adventurers, that, previous to their arrival, the Indians of Yoacomoco, had resolved to quit their country, and retire to the westward, that they might be free from the incursions of the Susquehanocks, a powerful and warlike nation, residing between the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, who frequently invaded them, and carried off their provisions and women. Some had actually removed, and others were preparing to follow, but were encouraged to remain another season, by the presence of the English. They lived on friendly terms with the colony; the men assisted them in hunting and fishing; the women taught them to manage the planting and culture of corn, and making it into bread; and they were compensated for their labor and kindness in such tools and trinkets as were pleasing to them. According to their promise, they quitted the place wholly, in the following year, and the colony had full and quiet possession.

At his first settlement in this place, Calvert erected a house, and mounted a guard for the security of his people and stores. He was, soon after, visited by Sir John Harvey and by several of the Indian princes. At an entertainment on board one of the ships, the Werowance of Patuxent was seated between the Governor of Virginia and the governor of Maryland. One of his own subjects coming on board and seeing his sovereign in that situation, started with surprize, thinking him a prisoner, as he had been once before, to the Virginians. The prince rose from the table and satisfied the Indian that he was safe, which prevented his affectionate subject from leaping into the water, as he had attempted. This Werowance was so much pleased with the conduct of Calvert and his people, that after many other compliments he said to them, at parting, "I love the English so well, that if I knew they would kill me, I would command my people not to revenge my death; because I am sure they would not kill me, but through my own fault."

The colony had brought with them English meal; but they found Indian corn in great plenty, both at Barbadoes and Virginia; and by the next spring, they were able to export one thousand bushels to New England and Newfoundland; for which they received dried fish and other provisions in return. They procured cattle, swine and poultry from Virginia. They were very industrious in building houses and making gardens; in which they sowed the seeds of European esculent vegetables; and had the pleasure of seeing them come to high perfection. They suffered much in their health by the fever and ague, and many of them died; but when the survivors were seasoned to the climate, and had learned the use of indigenous medicinal remedies, they enjoyed their health much better. The country had so many natural advantages, that it soon became populous. Many Roman Catholic families from England resorted thither, and the proprietor with a degree of wisdom and generosity, then unparalleled but in Holland, after having established the Christian religion upon the footing of common law, granted liberty of conscience and equal privileges to Christians of every denomination. With this essential benefit, was connected security of property; lands were given in lots of fifty acres, to every emigrant, in absolute fee simple. Under such advantages the people thought themselves so happy, that in an early period of their colonial existence, they in return granted to the proprietor a subsidy of fifteen pounds of tobacco, on every poll, "as a testimony of their gratitude for his great charge and solicitude, in maintaining the government, in protecting the inhabitants in their rights, and for reimbursing his vast expense;" which during the two first years exceeded forty thousand pounds sterling.

* The names of the principal men in the colony were, George Calvert, brother to the proprietor and governor.

Richard Gerard, Henry Green,
Edward Wintour, Nicholas Fairfax,
Frederick Winter, Thomas Dorrell,
Henry Wiseman, John Medcalf,
John Saunders, William Sayre,
John Baxter, John Hill,
Edward Cranfield,

WILLIAM PENN.

William Penn—His Birth and Education—He travels to France—Goes to Ireland—Attaches himself to the Quakers—His arrest and discharge—Discarded by his father—Becomes an itinerant preacher—Imprisoned in the tower—His second journey to Ireland—His father reconciled to him—His imprisonment in Newgate—He pleads for the Quakers before Parliament—Receives a Charter of Pennsylvania His terms of settlement—Sends a letter to the Indians Embarks with a number of Quakers for America—Arrives at Newcastle—Goes to Chester—Names his settlement Philadelphia—Specimen of his style of preaching—His departure for England—He publishes a book on the liberty of conscience—Suspected of being an enemy to King William—He is involved in debt—His prudent measures—Signs a new charter—Returns to England—His embarrassments—His death.

The Founder of Pennsylvania was the grandson of Captain Giles Penn, an English Consul in the Mediterranean, and the son of Sir William Penn, an Admiral of the English navy, in the protectorate of Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles II. in which office he rendered very important services to the nation, particularly by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and in a naval victory over the Dutch William was born October 14, 1644, in the parish of St. Catharine, near the tower of London, educated at Chigwell, in Essex, and at a private school in London and in the fifteenth year of his age entered as a student and gentleman commoner of Christ Church in Oxford.

His genius was bright, his disposition sober and studious, and being possessed of a lively imagination and a warm heart, the first turn of his mind towards religious subjects, was attended with circumstances bordering on enthusiasm. Having received his first impressions from the preaching of Thomas Loe, an itinerant Quaker, he conceived a favorable opinion of the flights and refinements of that rising sect, which led him, while, at the university, in conjunction with some other students, to withdraw from the established worship, and hold a private meeting, where they preached and prayed their own way. The discipline of the university being very strict in such matters, he was fined for the *sin* of nonconformity; this served to fix him more firmly in his principles and habits, and exposed his singularity more openly to the world. His conduct being then deemed obstinate, he was, in the sixteenth year of his age, expelled as an incorrigible offender against the laws of uniformity.

On his return home, he found his father highly incensed against him. As neither remonstrances, nor threatenings, nor *blows* could divest him of his religious attachments, he was, for a while turned out of the house; but by the influence of his mother he was so far restored to favor as to be sent to France, in company with some persons of quality, with a view to unbend his mind, and refine his manners. Here he learnt the language of the country, and acquired such a polite and courtly behaviour, that his father, after two years absence, received him with joy, hoping that the object of his wishes was attained. He was then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, where he studied law till the plague broke out in 1665, when he returned to his father's house.

About this time (1666) the king's coffers being low, and claims for unrewarded services being importunate, grants were frequently made of lands in Ireland; and the merits of Sir William Penn being not the least conspicuous, he received a valuable estate in the county of Cork, and committed the management of it to his son, then in the twenty second year of his age. Here he met with his old friend Loe, and immediately attached himself to the society of Quakers, though at that time they were subject to severe persecution. This might have operated as a discouragement to a young gentleman of such quality and expectations, especially as he exposed himself thereby to the renewed displeasure of a parent who loved him, had not the integrity and fervor of his mind induced him to sacrifice all worldly considerations to the dictates of his conscience.

It was not long before he was apprehended at a religious "*conventicle*," and with eighteen others, committed to prison by the mayor of Cork; but upon his writing a handsome address to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, in which he very sensibly pleaded for liberty of conscience, and professed his desire of a peaceable, and his abhorrence of a tumultuous and disrespectful separation from the established worship, he was discharged. This second stroke of persecution engaged him more closely to the Quakers. He associated openly with them, and bore, with calmness and patience, the cruel abuse which was liberally bestowed on that singular party.

His father being informed of his conduct, remanded

aim home; and though now William's age forbad his trying the force of that species of discipline, to which as a naval commander, he had been accustomed, yet he plied him with those arguments, which it was natural for a man of the world to use, and which, to such an one, would have been prevailing. The principal one was a threatening to disinherit him; and to this he humbly submitted, though he could by no means be persuaded to take off his hat in presence of the king, the Duke of York, or his father. For this inflexibility he was again turned out of doors; upon which he commenced an itinerant preacher, and had much success in making proselytes. In these excursions, the opposition which he met with from the clergy and the magistracy, frequently brought him into difficulties, and sometimes to imprisonment; but his integrity was so manifest, and his patience so invincible, that his father, at length, became softened toward him, and not only exerted his interest to release him from confinement, but winked at his return to the family whenever it suited his conveniency. His mother was always his friend, and often supplied his necessities without the knowledge of the father."

In the year 1668, he commenced author; and having written a book, entitled "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," which gave great offence to the spiritual lords, he was imprisoned in the tower, and the visits of his friends were forbidden. But his adversaries found him proof against all their efforts to subdue him; for a message being brought to him by the Bishop of London, that he must either publicly recant, or die a prisoner, his answer was, "My prison shall be my grave. I owe my conscience to no man. They are mistaken in me; I value not their threats. They shall know that I can weary out their malice, and baffle all their designs by the spirit of patience." During this confinement he wrote his famous book, "No Cross, no Crown;" and another, "Innocency with her open face," in which he explained and vindicated the principles which he had advanced in the book for which he was imprisoned. This, with a letter which he wrote to Lord Arlington, secretary of State, aided by the interest which his father had at court, procured his release, after seven months' confinement.

Soon after this, he made another visit to Ireland to settle his father's concerns, in which he exerted himself with great industry and success. Here he constantly appeared at the meetings of the Quakers, and not only officiated as a preacher, but used his interest with the lord-lieutenant, and others of his nobility, to procure indulgence for them, and get some of them released from their imprisonment.

In 1670, an act of Parliament was made, which prohibited the meetings of dissenters, under severe penalties. The Quakers being forcibly debarred entering their meeting-house in Grace Church street, London, assembled before it in the street, where Penn, preached to a numerous concourse; and being apprehended on the spot, by a warrant from the lord mayor, was committed to Newgate, and at the next session, took his trial at the Old Bailey, where he pleaded his own cause with the freedom of an Englishman and the magnanimity of a hero. The jury at first brought in their verdict, "guilty of *speaking* in Grace Church street;" but this being unsatisfactory to the court, they were detained all night, and the next day returned their verdict, "not guilty." The court were highly incensed against them, fined them forty marks each, and imprisoned them along with Penn, till their fines and fees were paid. An unlucky expression which dropped from the recorder on this trial, rendered the cause of the Quakers popular, and their persecutors odious: "It will never be well with us," said the infamous Sir John Howel, "till something like the Spanish Inquisition be established in England." The triumph of Penn was complete; being acquitted by his peers, he was released from prison, on the payment of his fees, and returned to the zealous exercise of his ministry.

His conduct under this prosecution did him great honor. His father became perfectly reconciled to him, and soon after died,* leaving his parental blessing and a plentiful estate. This accession of fortune made no alteration in his manners or habits; he continued to preach, to write, and to travel as before; and, within a few months afterwards, was taken up again for preaching in the street, and carried to the tower; from whence, after a long examination, he was sent to Newgate, and being discharged without any trial, at the end of nine months, he went over to Holland and Germany, where he continued travelling and preaching, till the king published his declaration of indulgence to tender consciences; upon which he returned to England married a daughter of Sir William Springet, and settled at Rickmansworth, in Herfordshire; where he pursued his studies, and multiplied his controversial writings for about five years.

In 1677, he "had a drawing" to renew his travels in Holland and Germany, in company with Fox, Barclay, Keith, and several others of his brethren. The inducement to this journey was the candid reception which had been given by divines, and other learned men in Germany, to the sentiments of every well meaning preacher who dissented from the Church of Rome. In the course of these travels they settled the order of church government, discipline, correspondence and marriage* among their friends in Holland; dispersed their books among all sorts of people who were inclined to receive them; visited many persons of distinction, and wrote letters to others, particularly to the King of Poland and the Elector Palatine. They were received very courteously by the Princess Elizabeth, grand daughter of King James I. then resident at Herwerden, who, though not perfectly initiated into the mystery of "the holy silence," yet had been brought to a "a waiting frame," and admitted them to several private meetings and conferences in her apartments, in company with the Countess of Hornes, and other ladies, her attendants; and afterwards kept up a correspondence with Mr. Penn till her death.

On his return to England, he found his friends suffering by the operation of a law made against Papists, the edge of which was unjustly turned against them. The law required a certain oath to be tendered to those who were suspected of popery; and because the Quakers denied the lawfulness of oaths in any case whatever, they were obliged to bear the penalty annexed to the refusal of this oath, which was no less than a fine of twenty pounds per month, or two thirds of their estate. By Penn's advice they petitioned the Parliament for redress of this grievance, and after explaining the reason of their declining the oath, offered to give their *word* to the same purport, and to submit to the penalty, "if they should be found faulty." Penn had a hearing before a committee of Parliament, when he pleaded the cause of his friends and of himself, in a sensible, decent convincing manner; and what he said had so much weight, that the committee agreed to insert in a bill, then pending, a proviso for their relief. The bill passed the Commons, but before it could be got through the House of Lords, it was lost by a sudden prorogation of Parliament.

We have hitherto viewed Mr. Penn as a Christian and a preacher; and he appears to have been honest, zealous, patient and industrious in the concerns of religion. His abilities and his literary acquirements were eminently serviceable to the fraternity with which he was connected; and it was owing to his exertions, in conjunction with Barclay and Keith, that they were formed into order, and that a regular correspondence and discipline were established among the several societies of them dispersed in Europe and America. His writings served to give the world a more just and favorable idea of their principles, than could be had from the harangue of illiterate preachers, or the rhapsodies of enthusiastic writers; while his family and fortune procured for them a degree of respectability at home and abroad. His controversial writings are modest, candid and persuasive. His book, entitled "The Christian Quaker," is a sensible vindication of the doctrine of Universal Saving Light. His style is clear and perspicuous; and though he does not affect so much scholastic subtility in his argumentation as his friend Barclay, yet he is by no means inferior to him in solidity of reasoning. His character is thus drawn by the editor of his works: "Our worthy friend, William Penn was known to be a man of great abilities; of an excellent sweetness of disposition; of quick thought and ready utterance; full of love, without dissimulation as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge so ready to forgive enemies, that the ungrateful were not excepted. He was learned without vanity; apt without forwardness; facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious; of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition."

We shall now view him in the character of a legislator, in which respect his learning, his sufferings, his acquaintance with mankind, and his genuine liberality, were of great use to him. Among his various studies, he had not omitted to acquaint himself with the principles of law and government; and he had more especial inducements to this, from the prosecutions and arrests which he frequently suffered, into the legality of which it was natural for him to inquire. He had observed in his travels abroad, as well as in his acquaintance at home, the workings of arbitrary power, and the mischiefs of usurpation; and he had studied the whole controversy between regal and popular claims: the result of which was, that government must be founded in justice, and exercised with moderation. One of his maxims was, that "the people being the *wife-politic* of the prince, is better managed by wisdom than ruled by force." His own feelings, as well as reflections, led him to adopt the most liberal idea of toleration. Freedom of profession and inquiry, and a total abhorrence of persecution for conscience sake, were his darling principles; and it is a singular circumstance in the history of mankind, that Divine Providence should give to such a man as William Penn an opportunity to make a fair and *consistent* experiment of these excellent maxims, by establishing a colony in America, on the most liberal principles of toleration, at a time, when the policy of the oldest nations in Europe were ineffectually employed in endeavouring to reduce the active minds of men to a most absurd uniformity in articles of faith and modes of worship.

It has been observed that his father, Sir William Penn had merited much by his services in the English navy. There were also certain debts due to him from the crown, at the time of his death, which the royal treasures were poorly able to discharge. His son, after much solicitation, found no prospect of getting his due, in the common mode of payment, and therefore turned his thoughts toward obtaining a grant of land in America, on which he might make the experiment of settling a colony, and establishing a government suited to his own principles and views.

Mr. Penn had been concerned with several other Quakers in purchasing of Lord Berkeley, his patent of West Jersey, to make a settlement for their persecuted brethren in England, many of whom transported themselves thither, in hope of an exemption from the troubles which they had endured, from the execution of the penal laws against dissenters. But they found themselves subject to the arbitrary impositions of Sir Edmund Andros, who governed the Duke of York's territory, and exercised the jurisdiction over all the settlements on both sides the Delaware. Penn and his associates remonstrated against his conduct, but their efforts proved ineffectual. However, the concern which Penn had in this purchase gave him not only a taste for speculating in landed interest, but a knowledge of the middle region of the American coasts; and being desirous of acquiring a separate estate, where he might realize his sanguine wishes, he had great advantage in making inquiry and determining on a place.

Having examined all the former grants to the companies of Virginia and New England, the Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York, he fixed upon a territory bounded on the east by the bay and river of Delaware, extending southward to Lord Baltimore's province of Maryland, westward as far as the western extent of Maryland, and northward "as far as plantable." For this he petitioned the king; and being examined before the Privy Council; on the 14th of June, concerning those words of his petition "as far as plantable," he declared, "that he should be satisfied with the extent of *three degrees of latitude*; and that in lieu of such a grant, he was willing to remit his debt from the crown, or *some part* of it, and to stay for the remainder, till his Majesty should be in a better condition to satisfy it.

Notice of this application was given to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, and inquiry was made, how far the pretensions of Penn might consist

* The dying advice of his father to him deserves to be remembered. "Three things I commend to you. 1. Let no thing tempt you to wrong your conscience; if you keep peace at home, it will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. 2. Whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably; for that gives security and despatch. 3. Be not troubled at disappointments; if they may be recovered, do it: if not, trouble is vain. These rules will carry you with fairness and comfort through this inconstant world."

* It may not be amiss here to introduce an extract from Mr. Penn's Journal containing the sentiments of the Quakers concerning marriage. "Amsterdam the 3d of the 6th month, 1677. A scruple concerning the law of the magistrate about marriage being proposed and discoursed of in the fear of God, among Friends, at a select meeting, it was the universal and unanimous sense of Friends, that joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not of priest or magistrate. It is God's ordinance and not man's. It was God's work before the fall, and it is God's work in the restoration. We marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses. But if a Friend have a desire that the magistrate should know it before the marriage be concluded, he may publish the same (after the thing hath by Friends been found clear) after the marriage is performed in a public meeting of Friends and others, may carry a copy of the certificate to the magistrates, that, if they please, they may register it."

with the grants already made to them. The peninsula between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware had been planted by detached companies of Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English. It was first by force, and afterwards by treaty, brought under the dominion of the Crown of England. That part of it which bordered on the Delaware was within the Duke of York's patent, while that which joined on the Chesapeake was within the grant to Lord Baltimore.

The Duke's agent consented that Penn should have the land west of Delaware and north of Newcastle, "in consideration of the *reason* he had to expect *favor* from his majesty." Lord Baltimore's agent petitioned that Penn's grant might be expressed to lie north of Susquehannah fort, and of a line drawn east and west from it, and that he might not be allowed to sell arms and ammunition to the Indians. To these restrictions Penn had no objection.

The draught of a charter being prepared, it was submitted to lord chief justice North, who was ordered to provide by fit clauses for the interest of the king and the encouragement of the planters. While it was under consideration, the Bishop of London petitioned that Penn might be obliged by his patent to admit a chaplain of his lordship's appointment, at the request of any number of the planters. The giving a name to the province was left to the king.

The charter, consisting of twenty-three sections, "penned with all the appearance of candor and simplicity," was signed and sealed by King Charles II., on the 4th of March, 1681. It constitutes William Penn, and his heirs, true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, saving to the crown their allegiance and the sovereignty. It gives him, his heirs and their deputies, power to make laws "for the good and happy government of the country," by advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of England. For the encouragement of planters, they were to enjoy the privileges of English subjects, paying the same duties in trade; and no taxas were to be levied on them, but by their own Assemblies or by acts of Parliament. With respect to religion, no more is said than what the Bishop of London had suggested, that if twenty inhabitants should desire a preacher of his lordship's approbation, he should be allowed to reside in the province. This was perfectly agreeable to Mr. Penn's professed principles of liberty of conscience; but it may seem rather extraordinary that this distinguished leader of a sect, who so pointedly denied the lawfulness of war, should accept the powers given him in the sixteenth article of the charter, "to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men; to pursue and vanquish enemies; to take and put them to death by the laws of war; and to do every thing which belonged to the office of captain-general in an army." Mr. Penn, for reasons of state, might find it convenient that he and his heirs should be thus invested with the power of the sword, though it was impossible for him or them to exercise it, without first apostatizing from their religious profession.

The charter being thus obtained, he found himself authorized to agree with such persons as were disposed to be adventurers to his new province. By a public advertisement, he invited purchasers, and described the country with a display of the advantages which might be expected from a settlement in it. This induced many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, to think of a removal. A number of merchants and others formed themselves into a company, for the sake of encouraging the settlement and trade of the country, and purchased twenty thousand acres of his land. They had a president, treasurer, secretary, and a committee of twelve, who resided in England and transacted their common business. Their objects were to encourage the manufacturers of leather and glass, the cutting and sawing of timber, and the whale-fishery.

The land was sold at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres. They who rented lands were to pay one penny yearly per acre. Servants, when their terms were expired, were entitled to fifty acres, subject to two shillings per annum; and their masters were allowed fifty acres for each servant so liberated, but subject to four shillings per annum; or if the master should give the servant fifty acres out of his own division, he might receive from the proprietor one hundred acres, subject to six shillings per annum. In every hundred thousand acres, the proprietor reserved ten for himself.

The quit rents were not agreed to without difficulty. The purchasers remonstrated against them as a burden, unprecedented in any other American colony. But Penn distinguished between the character of proprietor and governor, urging the necessity of supporting government with dignity, and that by complying with this expedient, they would be freed from other taxes Such distinctions are very convenient to a politician, and by this insinuation the point was carried: upon which it was remarked, (perhaps too severely,) that less of the man of God now appeared, and more of the man of the world."

According to the powers given by the charter, "for regulating and governing property within the province," he entered into certain articles with the purchasers and adventurers (July 11,1681) which were entitled "Conditions and Concessions." These related to the laying out roads, city and country lots; the privilege of water courses; the property of mines and minerals: the reservation of timber and mulberry-trees; the terms of improvement and cultivation; the traffic with the Indians, and the means of preserving peace with them; of preventing debtors, and other defaulters from making their escape; and of preserving the morals of the planters, by the execution of the penal laws of England, till an Assembly should meet.

These preliminaries being adjusted, the first colony under his authority, came over to America, and began their settlement above the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware. By them the proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the GREAT GOD had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world; and that the king of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; but if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." With this letter, he appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians, about purchasing land, and promised them that he would shortly come and converse with them in person.

About this time (Nov. 1681) he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The next spring he completed a frame of government (April 25, 1682) with the express design "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." It is prefaced with a long discourse on the nature, origin, use and abuse of government; which shows that he had not only well studied the subject, but that he was fond of displaying his knowledge.

By this frame of government, there was to be a Provincial Council, consisting of seventy-two persons, answering to the number of elders in the Jewish sanhedrim, who were to be divided into three classes: twenty-four to serve for three years, twenty-four for two years, and twenty-four for one year; the vacancies thus made to be supplied by new elections; and after seven years, every one of those who went off yearly, were to be incapable of re-election for one year following. This rotation was intended "that *all* might be fitted for government, and have experience of the care and burthen of it." Of this council two-thirds were to be a quorum, and the consent of two-thirds of this quorum was to be had in all matters of moment; but in matters of lesser moment one-third might be a quorum, the majority of whom might determine. The distinction between matters of moment and of lesser moment was not defined; nor was it declared who was to be judge of the distinction. The governor was not to have a negative but a treble voice. The council were to prepare and propose bills to the General Assembly, which were to be published thirty days before its meeting. When met, the Assembly might deliberate eight days, but on the ninth were to give their assent or dissent to the proposed bills; two-thirds of them to be a quorum. With respect to the number of the Assembly, it was provided, that the first year *all* the freemen in person might compose it; afterward a delegation of two hundred, which might be increased to five hundred." The governor, with the council to be the supreme executive, with a parental and prudential authority, and to be divided into four departments of eighteen each; one of which was called a committee of plantations, another of justice and safety, another of trade and revenue, and another of manners, education and arts.

To this frame of government was subjoined a body of fundamental laws, agreed upon by Penn and the adventurers in London, which respected moral, political, and economical matters; which were not to be altered but by the consent of the governor, or his heirs, and six parts in the seven of the freemen, met in Provincial Council and Assembly. In this code we find that celebrated declaration which has contributed more than any thing else to the prosperity of Pennsylvania, viz. "That all persons living in the province, who confess and acknowledge the ONE almighty and eternal GOD to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world; and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be *compelled* at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever." To which was added another equally conducive to the welfare of society. "That according to the good example of the primitive Christians, *and the case of the creation*, every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common daily labor, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God, according to their understandings."

These laws were an original compact between the governor and the freemen of the colony. They appear to be founded in wisdom and equity, and some of them have been copied into the declarations of rights prefixed to several of the present republican constitutions in America. The system of government which Penn produced has been regarded as an Utopian project; but though in some parts visionary and impracticable, yet it was liberal and popular, calculated to gain adventurers with a prospect of republican advantages. Some of its provisions, particularly the rotation of the council, have been adopted by a very enlightened body of American legislators, after the expiration of a century. The experiment is now in operation, and without experiment nothing can be fairly decided in the political, any more than in the physical world.

Having by the help of Sir William Jones, and other gentlemen of the long robe constructed a plan of government for his colony, Mr. Penn prepared to make the voyage to America, that he might attempt the execution of it.

A part of the lands comprehended within his grant had been subject to the government, which was exercised by the deputy of the Duke of York. To prevent any difficulty, he thought it convenient to obtain from the Duke a deed of sale of the Province of Pennsylvania, which he did on the 21st of August, 1682; and by two subsequent deeds, in the same month, the Duke conveyed to him the town of Newcastle, situate on the western side of the Delaware with a circle of 12 miles radius from the centre of the town, and from thence extending southerly to the Hoar Kills, at Cape Henlopen, the western point of the entrance of Delaware Bay; which tract contained the settlements made by the Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. This was called the territory, in distinction from the province of Pennsylvania, and was divided into three counties, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex.

At this time the penal laws against dissenters were executed with rigor in England, which made many of the Quakers desirous of accompanying or following Penn into America, where they had a prospect of the most extensive liberty of conscience. Having chosen some for his particular companions, he embarked with them in August 1682, and from the Downs, where the ship lay waiting for a wind, he wrote an affectionate letter to his friends, which he called "a farewell to England." After a pleasant passage of six weeks, they came within sight of the American coast, and were refreshed by the land breezes, at the distance of twelve leagues. As the ship sailed up the Delaware, the inhabitants came on board, and saluted the new governor with an air of joy and satisfaction. He landed at Newcastle, and summoned the people to meet him, when possession of the soil was given him in the legal form of that day; and he entertained them with a speech, explaining the purpose of his coming, and the views of his government: assuring them of his intention to preserve civil and religious liberty, and exhorting them to peace and sobriety. Having renewed the commissions of their former magistrates, he went to Chester, where he repeated the same things, and received their congratulations. The Swedes appointed a delegate to compliment him on his arrival, and to assure him of their affection and fidelity.

At this time the number of inhabitants was about three thousand. The first planters were the Dutch, and after them the Swedes and Finns. There had been formerly disputes among them, but for above twenty years they had been in a state of peace. The Dutch were settled on the bay, and applied themselves chiefly to trade; at Newcastle they had a court house

and a place of worship. The Swedes and Finns lived higher up the river, and followed husbandry. Their settlements were Christina, Tenecum, and Wicoco; at each of which they had a church. They were a plain, robust, sober and industrious people, and most of them had large families. The colony which Penn had sent the year before, began their settlement above Wicoco, and it was by special direction of the proprietor, called PHILADELPHIA. The province was divided into three counties, Chester, Buckingham, and Philadelphia.

Three principal objects engaged the attention of Mr. Penn; one was to unite the territory with the province; another was to enter into a treaty with the Indians; and the third was to lay out a capital city.

The first was entered upon immediately. Within a month after his arrival, he called a General Assembly at Chester, when the constitution, which had been formed in England, was to undergo an experiment.

The freemen both of the province and territory were summoned to compose this Assembly in person. Instead of which, they elected twelve members in each county, amounting in all to seventy-two, the precise number, which by the frame of government was to compose *one* house only. The elections were accompanied by petitions to the governor, importing that the fewness of the people, their inability in estate, and unskilfulness in government, would not permit them to serve in so large a council and assembly, and therefore it was their desire that the twelve now returned from each county, might serve both for Provincial Council and General Assembly, with the same powers and privileges which by the charter were granted to the whole."

The members were accordingly distributed into two houses; three out of each county made a council, consisting of eighteen, and the remaining part formed an assembly of fifty-four. In this assembly was passed "the act of settlement," in which the frame of government made in England, being styled a *probationary act*, was so far changed, as that three persons of each county might compose the council, and *fix* the assembly. After several other "variations, explanations and additions, requested by the Assembly, and yielded to by the governor, the aforesaid charter, and frame of government was "recognised and accepted, as if with these alterations it was supposed to be complete." The Assembly is styled "the General Assembly of the province of Pennsylvania and the territories thereunto belonging."

Thus the lower counties, at this time, manifested their willingness to be united with the province of Pennsylvania; but the proprietor had not received from the crown, any right of jurisdiction over that territory, though the Duke had sold him the right of soil; and it was not in the power of the people, as subjects of the King of England, to put themselves under any form of government, without the royal authority. The want of this, with the operation of other causes, produced difficulties, which afterward rendered this union void; and the three lower counties had a separate Assembly, though under the same governor.

Mr. Penn's next object was to treat with the natives. The benevolence of his disposition led him to exercise great tenderness toward them, which was much increased by an opinion which he had formed, and which he openly avowed, that they were descendants of the ten dispersed tribes of Israel. He travelled into the country, visited them in their cabins, was present at their feasts, conversed with them in a free and familiar manner, and gained their affection by his obliging carriage, and his frequent acts of generosity. But on public occasions, he received them with ceremony, and transacted business with solemnity and order.

In one of his excursions in the winter, he found a chief warrior sick, and his wife preparing to sweat him, in the usual manner, by pouring water on a heap of hot stones, in a closely covered hut, and then plunging him into the river, through a hole cut in the ice. To divert himself during the sweating operation, the chief sang the achievements of his ancestors, then his own, and concluded his song with this reflection: Why are we sick, and these strangers well? It seems as if they were sent to inherit the land in our stead! Ah! it is because they love the *Great Spirit*, and we do not!" The sentiment was rational, and such as often occurred to the sagacious among the natives; We cannot suppose it was disagreeable to Mr. Penn, whose view was to impress them with an idea of his honest and pacific intentions, and to make a fair bargain with them.

Some of their Chiefs made him a voluntary present of the land which they claimed; others sold it at a stipulated price. The form of one of these treaties is thus described, in a letter which he wrote to his friends in England. "The king sat in the middle of a half moon, and had his council, old and wise, on each hand. Behind, at a little distance, sat the young ones, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved the business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, took me by the hand, saluted me in the name of the king, told me he was ordered by the king to speak to me, and that now it was not he that spoke but the king, because what he should say was the king's mind. [Having made an apology for their delay,] he fell to the bounds of the land they had to dispose of, and the price, which is now dear, that which would once have bought twenty miles, not now buying two. During the time this person was speaking, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love, as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made speech to the Indians in the name of all the sachems, first to tell them what was done, next to charge them to love the christians, to live in peace with me and my people, and that they should never do me or my people any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen, in their way. The pay or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighboring kings and clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every king, then, by the hands of a person, for that work appointed, was a proportion sent, sorted and folded, with that gravity which is admirable. Then that king subdivided it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects."

Mr. Penn was so happy as to succeed in his endeavors to gain the good will of the Indians. They have frequently, in subsequent treaties many years after, expressed great veneration for his memory; and to perpetuate it, they have given to the successive governors of Pennsylvania the name of *Onas*, which signifies *a Pen*. By this name they are commonly known and addressed in the speeches made by the Six Nations in all their treaties.

One part of his agreement with the Indians was, that they should sell no lands to any person but to himself or his agents; another was, that his agents should not occupy nor grant any lands, but those which were fairly purchased of the Indians. These stipulations were confirmed by subsequent acts of Assembly; and every bargain made between private persons and the Indians without leave of the proprietor, was declared void. The charter which Mr. Penn had obtained of the crown, comprehended a far greater extent of territory, than it was proper for him at first to purchase of the natives.

He did not think it for his interest to take any more at once than he had a prospect of granting away to settlers. But his colony increased beyond his expectation, and when new tracts were wanted, the Indians rose in their demands. His first purchases were made at his own expense; and the goods delivered on these occasions, went by the name of presents. In a course of time when a treaty and a purchase went on together, the governor and his successors made the speeches, and the Assembly were at the expense of the presents. When one paid the cost, and the other enjoyed the profit, a subject of altercation arose between the proprietary and the popular interests, which other causes contributed to increase and inflame.

The purchases which Mr. Penn made of the Indians were undoubtedly fair and honest; and he is entitled to praise for his wise and peaceable conduct toward them. But there is such a thing as over-rating true merit. He has been celebrated by a late author, as having in these purchases "set an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans." It had been a common thing in New-England, for fifty years before his time, to make fair and regular purchases of land from the Indians; and many of their deeds are preserved in the public records. As early as 1633, a law was enacted in the colony of Massachusetts, that "no person shall put any of the Indians from their planting grounds, or fishing places; and that upon complaint and proof thereof, they shall have relief in any of the courts of justice, as the English have." To prevent frauds in private bargains, it was ordered by the same act, that "no person shall buy land of any Indian, without license first had and obtained of the General Court."—Other regulations respecting traffic with them were made at the same time, which bear the appearance, not only of justice and moderation, but of a parental regard to their interest and property.

Nor is it to be supposed that other Europeans neglected their duty in these respects. Several purchases were made before Penn's time in New Jersey. Mr. Penn himself, in one of his letters, speaking of the quarrels between the Dutch and the Swedes, who had occupied the lands on the Delaware before him, says, "the Dutch, who were the first planters, looked on them [the Swedes] as intruders on their purchase and possession." Of whom could the Dutch have purchased those lands, but of the natives? They could not have occupied them without the consent of the Indians, who were very numerous, and could easily have extirpated them, or prevented their settlement. It is probable that this Dutch purchase is referred to in that part of Penn's letter before quoted, where he speaks of the land at that time, (1683) as *dearer*" than formerly, for how could this have been ascertained but by comparing his with former purchases?

It may then be proper to consider Mr. Penn as having followed the "examples of justice and moderation," which had been set by former Europeans, in their conduct toward the natives of America: and as having united his example with theirs, for the imitation of succeeding adventurers. This will give us the true idea of his merit, without detracting from the respect due to those who preceded him in the arduous work of colonizing America.

Mr. Penn easily foresaw that the situation of his province, and the liberal encouragement which he had given to settlers, would draw people of all denominations thither, and render it a place of commerce; he therefore determined to lay the plan of a capital city, which in conformity to his catholic and pacific ideas, he called *Philadelphia*. The cite of it was a neck of land between the river Delaware on the east and the Schuylkill, *Hiding Creek*, a branch on the west; and he designed that the city should extend from one to the other, the distance being two miles. This spot was chosen on account of the firm soil, the gentle rising from each river towards the midst, the numerous springs, the convenience of coves capable of being used as docks, the depth of water for ships of burthen, and the good anchorage. The ground was surveyed, and a plan of the intended city was drawn by Thomas Holme, surveyor-general. Ten streets, of two miles in length, were laid out from river to river, and twenty streets of one mile in length, crossing them at right angels. Four squares were reserved for common purposes, one in each quarter of the city, and in the centre, on the most elevated spot, was a larger square of ten acres, in which were to be built a state-house, a market-house, a schoolhouse and a place of worship. On the side of each river it was intended to build wharves and ware-houses, and from each front street nearest to the rivers, an open space was to be left, in the descent to the shores, which would have added much to the beauty of the city. All owners of one thousand acres were entitled to a city lot, in the front streets, or in the central high street, and before each house was to be an open court, planted with rows of trees. Smaller purchasers were to be accommodated in the other streets; and care was taken in all, that no building should encroach on the street lines. This last regulation has been always attended to, though in some other respects the plan has been either disregarded or not completed.

The city was begun in 1682, and within less than a year, "eighty houses and cottages were built, wherein merchants and mechanics exercised their respective occupations;" and they soon found the country around them so well cultivated by the planters, as to afford them bread and vegetables, while the venison, fowl and fish, made an agreeable variety with the salted provisions which they imported. Penn himself writes, with an air of cheerfulness, that he was well contented with the country, and the entertainment which he found in it. This letter is among his printed works, and in the same collection we find an affectionate address to the people of Pennsylvania; in it he appears to have a tender concern for their moral and religious improvement, and warns them against the temptations to which they were exposed. Their circumstances were indeed peculiar; they had suffered contempt and persecution in England, and were now at rest; in the enjoyment of liberty, under a popular form of government; the eyes of the world were upon them; their former enemies were watching their conduct, and would have

been glad of an opportunity to reproach them; it was therefore his desire that they should be moderate in prosperity, as they had been patient in adversity. The concluding words of this address may give us a specimen of his style and manner of preaching. "My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage; he hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power; he hath put precious opportunities into your hands: have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord by doing those things by which the inhabitants of the land that were before you, grieved his spirit;* but sanctify God, the living God in your hearts, that his blessing may fall and rest as the dew of Heaven on you and your offspring. Then shall it be seen to the nations, that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel; but your tents shall be goodly and your dwellings glorious."

In the spring of 1683, a second Assembly was held in the new city of Philadelphia, and a great number of laws were passed. Among other good regulations, it was enacted, that to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, called peace-makers, should be chosen by every county court, to hear and determine small differences between man and man. This Assembly granted to the governor an impost on certain goods exported and imported, which he, after acknowledging their goodness, was pleased for the encouragement of the traders, "freely to remit." But the most distinguished act of this Assembly, was their acceptance of another frame of government which the proprietor had devised, which was "in part conformed to the first, in part modified according to the act of settlement, and in part essentially different from both." The most material alterations were the reducing the number of the Assembly from seventy-two to fifty-four, and the giving the governor a negative in lieu of a treble voice in acts of legislation. Their "thankful" acceptance of this second charter, was a proof of his great ascendency over them, and the confidence which they placed in him; but these changes were regarded by some as a departure from the principles on which the original compact was grounded.

The state of the province at this time has been compared to that of "a father and his family, the latter united by interest and affection; the former revered for the wisdom of his institutions and the indulgent use of his authority. Those who were ambitious of repose, found it in Pennsylvania; and as none returned with an evil report of the land, numbers followed. All partook of the leaven which they found: the community wore the same equal face: no one aspired, no one was oppressed: industry was sure of profit, knowledge of esteem, and virtue of veneration." When we contemplate this agreeable picture, we cannot but lament that Mr. Penn should ever have quitted his province; but after residing in it about two years, he found himself urged by motives of interest as well as philanthropy, to return to England. At his departure in the summer of 1684, his capital city, then only of two years standing, contained nearly three hundred houses, and two thousand inhabitants; besides which there were twenty other settlements begun, including those of the Dutch and Swedes. He left the administration of government in the hands of the Council and Assembly, having appointed five commissioners to preside in his place.

The motives of his return to England were two. A controversy with lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, concerning the limits of their respective patents, and, a concern for his brethren, who were suffering by the operation of the penal laws against dissenters from the Established Church.

The controversy with Lord Baltimore originated in this manner. Before Penn came to America, he had written to James Frisby and others, at their plantations on Delaware Bay, then reputed a part of Maryland, advising them, that as he was confident they were within his limits, they should yield an obedience to the laws of Maryland. This warning served as a pretext to some of the inhabitants of Cecil and Baltimore counties, who were impatient of control, to withhold the payment of their rents and taxes. Lord Baltimore and his council ordered the military officers to assist the sheriffs in the execution of their duty which was accomplished, though with great difficulty. After this, Markham, Penn's agent, had a meeting with Lord Baltimore at the village of Upland, which is now called Chester, where a discovery was made by a quadrant, that the place was twelve miles south of the 40th degree of latitude, a circumstance before unknown to both parties. Baltimore, therefore, concluded to derive an advantage from precision, whilst Penn wished to avail himself of uncertainty. After Penn's arrival in America, he visited Lord Baltimore, and had a conference with him on the subject. An account of this conference taken in short hand by a person present, with a statement of the matter in debate, were sent by Lord Baltimore to England, and laid before the Lords of Trade and plantations in April, 1683. Upon which letters were written to both, advising them to come to an amicable agreement. This could not be done; and therefore, they both went to England, and laid their respective complaints before the Board of Trade. Baltimore alleged that the tract in question, was within the limits of his charter, and had always been so understood, and his claim allowed until disturbed by Penn. The words of his charter were, "to that part of Delaware bay on the north, which lies under the 40th degree of northerly latitude from the equinoctial.' Penn, on the other hand, affirmed that Lord Baltimore's grant was of "lands not inhabited by the subjects of any Christian prince;" that the land in question was possessed by the Dutch and Swedes prior to the date of the charter of Maryland; that a surrender having been made by the Dutch of this territory to King Charles, in 1664, the country had ever since been in possession of the Duke of York. The Lords at several meetings, having examined the evidences on both sides, were of opinion that the lands bordering on the Delaware did not belong to Lord Baltimore, but to the king. They then proceeded to settle the boundary, and on the 7th of November, 1685, it was determined, that "for avoiding further differences, the tract of land lying between the river and bay of Delaware, and the eastern sea, on the one side, and Chesapeake bay on the other side, be divided into two equal parts by a line from the latitude from Cape Henlopen, to the 40th degree of northern latitude, and that one half thereof lying towards the Bay of Delaware and the eastern sea, be adjudged to belong to his majesty, and that the other half remain to the Lord Baltimore, as comprised within his charter." To this decision Lord Baltimore submitted, happy that he had lost no more, since a quo warranto had been issued against his charter. But the decision, like many others, left room for a farther controversy, which was carried on by their respective successors for above half a century. The question was concerning the construction of "the 40th degree of latitude," which Penn's heirs contended was the *beginning*, and Baltimore's the *completion* of the 40th degree, the difference being sixty-nine miles and a half.

The other cause of Mr. Penn's departure for England proved a source of much greater vexation, and involved consequences injurious to his reputation and interest. His concern for his suffering brethren induced him to use the interest which he had at court for their relief. He arrived in the month of August, and the death of Charles, which happened the next February, brought to the throne James II. under whom, when Lord-high-admiral, Penn's father had commanded, and who had always maintained a steady friendship with the son. This succession rather increased than diminished his attachment to the court; but as James openly professed himself a Papist, and the prejudices of a great part of the nation against him were very high, it was impossible for his intimate friends to escape the imputation of being popishly affected. Penn had before been suspected to be a Jesuit, and what now contributed to fix the stigma upon him was, his writing a book on liberty of conscience, a darling principle at court, and vindicating the Duke of Buckingham, who had written on the same subject. Another circumstance which strengthened the suspicion was, his taking lodgings at Kensington, in the neighborhood of the court, and his frequent attendance there, to solicit the liberation of his brethren who now filled the prisons of the kingdom.

He endeavored to allay these suspicions by publishing an address to his brethren, in which he refers to their knowledge of his character, principles and writings, for eighteen years past, and expresses his love of moderation, and his wish that the nation might not become "barbarous for Christianity, nor abuse one another for God's sake." But what gave him the greatest pain was, that his worthy friend Doctor Tillotson had entertained the same suspicion, and expressed it in his conversation. To him he wrote an expostulatory letter, and the Doctor frankly owned to him the ground of his apprehension, which Penn so fully removed, that Doctor Tillotson candidly acknowledged his mistake, and made it his business on all occasions to vindicate Penn's character. This ingenuous acknowledgment, from a gentlemen of so much information, and so determined an enemy to Popery, is one of the best evidences which can be had, of Mr. Penn's integrity in this respect; but the current of popular prejudice was at that time so strong, that it was not in the power of so great and good a man as Doctor Tillotson to turn it.

Had Mr. Penn fallen in with the discontented part of the nation, and encouraged the emigration of those who dreaded the consequences of King James' open profession of Popery, he might have made large additions to the numbers of his colonists, and greatly increased his fortune; but he had received such assurances from the king, of his intention to introduce *universal toleration*, that he thought it his duty to wait for the enlargement which his brethren must experience from the expected event. His book on liberty of conscience, addressed to the king and council, had not been published many days, before the king issued a general pardon, and instructed the Judges of Assize on their respective circuits to extend the benefit of it to the Quakers in particular. In consequence of this, about thirteen hundred of them, who had been confined in the prisons, were set at liberty. This was followed by a declaration for liberty of conscience, and for suspending the execution of the penal laws against dissenters, which was an occasion of great joy to all denominations of them. The Quakers, at their next general meeting, drew up an address of thanks to the king, which was presented by Mr. Penn.

The declaration of indulgence, being a specimen of that dispensing power, which the house of Stuart were fond of assuming, and being evidently intended to favor the free exercise of the Popish religion, gave an alarm to the nation, and caused very severe censures on those who, having felt the benefit of it, had expressed their gratitude in terms of affection and respect. The Quakers in particular became very obnoxious, and the prejudice against Penn as an abettor of the arbitrary maxims of the court, was increased; though on a candid view of the matter, there is no evidence that he sought any thing more than an impartial and universal liberty of conscience.*

It is much to be regretted, that he had not taken this critical opportunity to return to Pennsylvania. His controversy with Lord Baltimore had been decided by the council, and his pacific principles ought to have led him to acquiesce in their determination, as did his antagonist. He had accomplished his purpose with regard to his brethren, the Quakers, who, being delivered from their difficulties, were at liberty either to remain in the kingdom, or follow him to America. The state of the province was such as to require his presence, and he might at this time have resumed his office, and carried on his business in Pennsylvania, with the greatest probability of spending the remainder of his days there in usefulness and peace.

The revolution which soon followed, placed him in a very disagreeable situation. Having been a friend to James, he was supposed to be an enemy to William. As he was walking one day in Whitehall, he was arrested and examined by the lords in council, before whom he solemnly declared, "that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and that he had never acted against either; but that King James had been his friend, and his father's friend, and that he thought himself bound in justice and gratitude to be a friend to him." The jealous policy of that day had no ear for sentiments of the heart. He was obliged to find securities for his appearance at the next term, and thence to the succeeding term, in the last day of which, nothing having been specially laid to his charge, he was acquitted.

The next year (1690) he was taken up again on suspicion of holding correspondence with the exiled king. The lords requiring security for his appearance, he appealed to King William in person, who was inclined to acquit him, but to please some of the council, he was for awhile held to bail and then acquitted.

Soon after this, his name was inserted in a proclamation, wherein eighteen lords and others were charged with adhering to the enemies of the kingdom; but no evidence appearing against him, he was a third time acquitted by the Court of King's Bench.

* Pertaining likewise to the ten tribes of Israel, from whom he supposes the Indians to be descended.

* "If an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as one would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit or Papist, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it; and I can bear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any malice to give it to me."—(Penn's Let to Sec. Popple, Oct 21, 1688.

Being now at liberty, he meditated a return to Pennsylvania, and published proposals for another emigration of settlers. He had proceeded so far as to obtain from the Secretary of State an order for a convoy; but his voyage was prevented by a fourth accusation, on the oath of a person whom the Parliament afterward declared a cheat and imposter; a warrant was issued for apprehending him, and he narrowly escaped an arrest, at his return from the funeral of his friend, George Fox, on the 16th of January, 1691. He then thought it prudent to retire, and accordingly kept himself concealed for two or three years, during which time he employed himself in writing several pieces, one of which entitled "Maxims and Reflections relating to the conduct of human life," being the result of much observation and experience, has been much celebrated, and has passed through several editions. In 1693, by the mediation of several persons of rank, he was admitted to appear before the king in council, where he so maintained his innocence of what had been alleged against him, that he was a fourth time honorably acquitted.

The true cause of these frequent suspicions was the conduct of his wife; who being passionately attached to the queen, consort of James, made a practise to visit her at St. Germains every year, and to carry to her such presents as she could collect from the friends of the unhappy royal family. Though there was no political connexion or correspondence between Penn's family and the king's, yet this circumstance gave color to the jealousy which had been conceived; but the death of his wife which happened in February, 1694, put an end to all these suspicions. He married a second wife in 1696, a daughter of Thomas Callowhill, of Bristol, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

By his continual expenses, and by the peculiar difficulties to which he had been exposed, he had run himself deeply into debt. He had lost £7000 before the revolution, and £4000 since; besides his paternal estate in Ireland, valued at £450 per annum. To repair his fortune, he requested his friends in Pennsylvania, that one hundred of them would lend him £100 each, for some years, on landed security. This, he said, would enable him to return to America, and bring a large number of inhabitants with him. What answer was given to this request, does not appear, but from his remaining in England six or seven years after, it may be concluded that he received no encouragement of this kind from them. The low circumstances of the first settlers, must have rendered it impossible to comply with such a request.

Pennsylvania had experienced many inconveniences from his absence. The Provincial Council having no steady hand to hold the balance, had fallen into a controversy respecting their several powers and privileges, and Moore, one of the proprietary officers, had been impeached of high misdemeanors. Disgusted with their disputes, and dissatisfied with the constitution which he had framed and altered, Penn wrote to his commissioners (1686) to require its dissolution; but the Assembly, perceiving the loss of their privileges, and of the rights of the people to be involved in frequent innovations, opposed the surrender. The commissioners themselves were soon after removed by the proprietor, who appointed for his deputy John Blackwell, an officer trained under Cromwell, and completely versed in the arts of intrigue. He began his administration in December, 1688, by a display of the power of the proprietor, and by endeavoring to sow discord among the freemen. Unawed by his insolence, they were firm in defence of their privileges, whilst at the same time they made a profession of peace and obedience. He imprisoned the Speaker of the Assembly which had impeached Moore, and by a variety of artifices evaded the granting an Habeas Corpus. He delayed as long as possible the meeting of a new Assembly; and when they entered on the subject of grievances, he prevailed on some of the members to withdraw from their seats, that there might not be a quorum. The remainder voted that his conduct was treacherous, and a strong prejudice was conceived not only against the deputy, but the proprietor who had appointed him. The province also fell under the royal displeasure. Their laws had not been presented for approbation, and the new king and queen were not proclaimed in Pennsylvania for a long time after their accession; but the administration of government was continued in the name of the exiled monarch. At what time the alteration was made, we cannot be certain; but in the year 1692, the king and queen took the government of the colony into their own hands, and appointed Colonel Fletcher, governor of New-York and Pennsylvania, with equal powers and prerogatives in both, without any reference to the charter of Pennsylvania.

It being a time of war between England and France, and the province of New-York being much exposed to the incursions of the Indians in the French interest, the principal object which Fletcher had in view, was to procure supplies for the defence of the country, and the support of those Indians who were in alliance with the English. The assembly insisted on a confirmation of their laws, as a condition of their granting a supply, to which he consented, during the king's pleasure. They would have gone farther, and demanded a redress of grievances; but Fletcher having intimated to them that the king might probably annex them to New York, and they knowing themselves unable to maintain a controversy with the crown, submitted for the present to hold their liberties by courtesy, and voted a supply. On another application of the same kind, they nominated collectors in their bill, which he deemed inconsistent with his prerogative, and after some altercation dissolved them

In 1696, William Markham, deputy-governor under Fletcher, made a similar proposal, but could obtain no supply, till an expedient was contrived to save their privileges. A temporary act of settlement was passed, subject to the confirmation of the proprietor, and then a grant was made of three hundred pounds; but as they had been represented by some at New-York, as having acted inconsistently with their principles in granting money to maintain a war, they appropriated the grant to "the relief of those friendly Indians who had suffered by the war." The request was repeated every year, as long as the war continued; but the infancy, poverty, and embarrassments of the province were alledged for non-compliance. The peace of Ryswick in 1698, put an end to these requisitions.

Thus the province of Pennsylvania, as well as its proprietor, experienced many inconveniences during their long separation of fifteen years; and it is somewhat singular to remark, that whilst they were employed in an ineffectual struggle with the royal governor and his deputy; he, whom Montesquieu styles the American Lycurgus, was engaged in his darling work of religious controversy and of itinerant preaching through England, Wales, and Ireland.

In August, 1699, he embarked with his family, and after a tedious passage of three months, arrived in Pennsylvania. By reason of this long voyage, they escaped a pestilential distemper, which during that time raged in the colony.

He did not find the people so tractable as before.—Their minds were soured by his long absence, by the conduct of his deputies and the royal governors; their system of laws was incomplete, and their title to their lands insecure. After much time spent in trying their tempers and penetrating their views, he found it most advisable to listen to their remonstrances. Five sessions of assembly were held during his second residence with them; his expressions in his public speeches were soothing and captivating, and he promised to do every thing in his power to render them happy. They requested of him that in case of his future absence, he would appoint for his deputies men of integrity and *property*, who should be invested with full powers to grant and confirm lands, and instructed to give true measure; and that he would execute such an instrument as would secure their privileges and possessions. To these requests he seemed to consent, and with the most flattering complaisance desired them to name a person for his substitute, which they with equal politeness declined.

In May, 1700, the charter was surrendered by six parts in seven of the assembly, under a solemn promise of restitution with such alterations and amendments as should be found necessary. When a new charter was in debate, the representatives of the lower counties wanted to obtain some privileges peculiar to themselves, which the others were not willing to allow.—The members from the territory therefore refused to join, and thus a separation was made of the Province of Pennsylvania from the three lower counties.

In this new charter, the people had no voice in the election of counsellors,; whoever afterwards served in this capacity were appointed by the proprietor, but they had no power of legislation. The executive was vested solely in him, and he had a negative on all their laws. On the other hand the assembly had the right of originating laws, which before had been prepared for their deliberation. The number of members was four from each county, and more if the governor and Assembly should agree. They were invested with all the powers of a legislative body, according to the rights of English subjects and the practice of other American colonies. The privileges before granted were confirmed, and some of their most salutary laws were included in the body of the charter; all which were declared irrevocable, except by consent of six-sevenths of the assembly with the governor; but the clause respecting liberty of conscience was declared absolutely irrevocable. A provisional article was added, that if in three years, the representatives of the province and territories should not join in legislation, each county of the province might choose eight persons, and the city of Philadelphia two, to represent them in one Assembly, and each county of the territory the same number to constitute another Assembly. On the 28th of October, 1701, this charter was accepted by the representatives of the province; previous to which (viz. on the 25th) the city of Philadelphia was incorporated by another charter, and the government of it committed to a Mayor and Recorder, eight Aldermen and twelve Common Councilmen. The persons in each of these offices were appointed by name in the charter, who were empowered to choose successors to themselves annually, and to add to the number of Aldermen and Common Councilmen so many of the freemen as the whole court should think proper.

These two charters were the last public acts of Mr. Penn's personal administration in Pennsylvania. They were done in haste, and while he was preparing to re-embark for England, which he did immediately on signing them. The cause of his sudden departure was an account which he had received, that a bill was about to be brought into Parliament, for reducing the proprietary and chartered governments to an immediate dependence on the crown. In his speech to the Assembly, he intimated his intention to return and settle among them with his family; but this proved to be his last visit to America. He sailed from Philadelphia in the end of October, and arrived in England about the middle of December, 1701. The bill in Parliament, which had so greatly alarmed him, was by the solicitation of the friends of the colonies postponed and finally lost. In about two months, King William died, and Queen Anne came to the throne, which brought Penn again into favor at court, and in the name of the society, of which he was at the head, he presented to her an address of congratulation.

He then resumed his favorite employment of writing, preaching, and visiting the societies of Friends in England, till the year 1707, when he found himself involved in a suit at law with the executors of a person who had formerly been his steward. The cause was attended with such circumstances, that though many thought him ill used, the Court of Chancery did not give him relief; which obliged him to live within the rules of the fleet prison for about a year till the matter was accommodated. After this he made another circuitous journey among his friends, and in the year 1710 took a handsome seat at Rushcombe in Buckinghamshire, where he resided during the remainder of his life.

At his departure from Philadelphia, he left for his deputy, Andrew Hamilton, whose principal business was to endeavor a re union of the province and territory, which being ineffectual, the province claimed the privilege of a distinct Assembly.

On Mr. Hamilton's death, John Evans was appointed in 1704 to succeed him. His administration was one unvaried scene of controversy and uneasiness. The territory would have received the charter, and the governor warmly recommended an union, but the province would not hearken to the measure. They drew up a statement of their grievances, and transmitted to the proprietor a long and bitter remonstrance, in which they charge him with not performing his promises, but by deep laid artifices evading them; and with neglecting to get their laws confirmed, though he had received great sums of money to negociate the business. They took a retrospective view of his whole conduct, and particularly blamed his long absence from 1684 to 1699, during which the interest of the province was sinking, which might have been much advanced, if he had come over according to his repeated promises. They complained that he had not affixed his seal to the last charter; that he had ordered his deputy to call assemblies by his writs, and to prorogue and dissolve them at his pleasure: that he had reserved to himself though in England, an assent to bills passed by his deputy, by which means three negatives were put on their acts, one by the deputy governor, another by the proprietor, and a third by the crown. They also added to their list of grievances, the abuses and extortions of the secretary, surveyor, and other officers, which might

have been prevented if he had passed a bill proposed by the Assembly, in 1701, for regulating fees; the want of an established judicature between him and the people, for the judges being appointed by him, could not in that case be considered as independent and unbiassed; the imposition of quit rents on the city lots, and leaving the ground on which the city was built, encumbered with the claim of its first possessors the Swedes.

The language of this remonstrance was plain and unreserved; but the mode of their conducting it, was attended with a degree of prudence and delicacy which is not commonly observed by public bodies of men in such circumstances. They sent it to him privately by a confidential person, and refused to give any copy of it though strongly urged. They were willing to reclaim the proprietor to a due sense of his obligations, but were equally unwilling to expose him. They had also some concern for themselves; for if it had been publicly known that they had such objections to his conduct, the breach might have been so widened as to dissolve the relation between them; in which case certain inconveniences might have arisen respecting oaths and militia laws, which would not have been pleasing to an Assembly consisting chiefly of Quakers.

Three years after,(viz. in 1707) they sent him another remonstrance, in which they complained that the grievance before mentioned was not redressed; and they added to the catalogue articles of impeachment against Logan the secretary, and Evans the deputy governor. The latter was removed from his office, and was succeeded by Gookin in 1709, and he by Sir William Keith in 1717; but Logan held his place of secretary, and was in fact the prime minister and mover in behalf of the proprietor, though extremely obnoxious to the people.

These deputy-governors were dependent on the proprietor for their appointment, and on the people for their support; if they displeased the former, they were recalled, if the latter, their allowance was withheld; and it was next to impossible to keep on good terms with both. Such an appointment could be accepted by none but indigent persons, and could be relished by none but those who were fond of perpetual controversy.

To return to the proprietor. His infirmities and misfortunes increased with his age, and unfitted him for the exercise of his beloved work. In 1711, he dictated a preface to the journal of his old friend John Banks, which was his last printed work. The next year he was seized with a paralytic disorder,which impaired his memory. For three succeeding years he continued in a state of great debility, but attended the meeting of Friends at Reading, as long as he was able to ride in his chariot, and sometimes spoke short and weighty sentences, being incapable of pronouncing a long discourse. Approaching by gradual decay to the close of life, he died on the 30th of July, 1718, in the 74th year of his age, and was buried in his family tomb at Jordon's in Buckinghamshire.

Notwithstanding his large paternal inheritance, and the great opportunities which he enjoyed of accumulating property by his connexion with America,his latter days were passed in a state far from affluent. He was continually subject to the importunity of his creditors, and obliged to mortgage his estate. He was on the point of surrendering his province to the crown for a valuable consideration, to extricate himself from debt. The instrument was preparing for his signature, but his death, which happened rather unexpectedly, prevented the execution of it; and thus his province in America descended to his posterity, who held it till the revolution.

APPENDIX.

Mr. Winslow's account of the natives of New England, annexed to his Narrative of the Plantations, A. D. 1624.—[Purchas IV. 1667.

A few things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians; both touching their religion and sundry other customs among them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters, (which came to the press against my will and knowledge) wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion,or knowledge of any God; therein I erred, though we could then gather no better; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kichtan*, to be the principal maker of all the rest; and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they, and we, and all mankind came; but how they became so far dispersed, that they know not. At first, they say, that there was no sachem or king, but Kichtan, who dwelleth above the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *quachet*, that is to say,walk abroad for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury. Never man saw this Kichtan, only old men tell them of him,and bid them tell their children, yea charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good; and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together and cry unto him; and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the northward of us, *Hobbamoqui*; this, as far as we can conceive is the devil. Him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same, for some conceived anger against them; but upon their calling upon him, can and doth help them; but when they are mortal and not curable in nature, then he persuades them Kichtan is angry, and sends them, whom none can cure; insomuch as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him. This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake. He appears not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious among them; though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honor. He appears most ordinary, and is most conversant with three sorts of people; one, I confess, I neither know by name or office directly; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of *Powah*, and the third *Paniese*.

The office and duty of the Powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with them in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent, or as we term it, say Amen to that he saith; yet sometimes break out into a short musical note with him. The Powah is eager and free in speech; fierce in countenance, and joineth many antic and laborious gestures with the same, over the party diseased. If the party be wounded, he will also seem to suck the wound; but if they be curable, (as they say) he toucheth it not; but a shooke, that is the snake, or Wobsacuck, that is the eagle, sitteth on the shoulder, and licks the same. This none see but the Powah, who tells them he doth it himself. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery.

And as in former ages Apollo had his temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus, so have I heard them call upon some as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms in the same. In the Powah's speech he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives,and other the best things they have to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased; but whether they perform it I know not. The other practices I have seen, being necessarily called sometimes to be with their sick, and have used the best arguments I could to make them understand against the same. They have told me I should see the devil at those times come to the party; but I assured myself and them of the contrary, which so proved; yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travail in child birth, when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means, they send for this Powah; though ordinarily their travail is not so extreme as in other parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature; for on the third day after child-birth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in cold weather, in a boat upon the sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases they kill children It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kichtan; saying, in their memory he was much more called upon. The Narohigganset exceed in their blind devotion,and have a great spacious house, wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, priests) come; thither, at certain known times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods,as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives,&c. all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To the offering every man bringeth freely; and the more he is known to bring hath the better esteem of all men. This, the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their sachems would appoint the like; and because the plague has not reigned at Narohigganset as at other places about them, they attributed to this custom there used.

The Panieses are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive, maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds with arrows,knives,hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people think themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battles all of them by painting, disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men; for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the sachem's counsel, without whom they will not war, or undertake any weighty business. In war their sachems, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of great stature and strength,and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous and humane in their carriages than any amongst them,scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these, they train up the most forward and likeliest boys from their childhood, in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age, the devil may appear to them, causing to drink the juice of sentry and other bitter herbs, till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter,and drink again and again, till at length through extraordinary pressing of nature it will seem to be all blood; and this the boys will do with eagerness at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness, they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into the cold; also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes and stumps and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

Their sachems cannot be all called kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection and pay homage unto them; neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation; yet to be commanded by the greater, as occasion seemeth. Of this sort is Massassowat our friend, and Conanacus of Narohigganset our supposed enemy. Every sachem taketh care of the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged and any way maimed, if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them. A sachem will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to him in birth; otherwise, they say their seed would become ignoble; and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure. This government is successive and not by choice; if the father die before the son or daughter be of age,then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is, I know not.

Every sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth; and that is his own proper inheritance; out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them in their bounds. In this circuit, whoever hunteth, if any kill venison, they bring him his fee; which is four parts of the same, if it be killed on land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof. The great sachems or kings know not their own bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the sachem's. When they come, they tell them how long they will stay and to what place they go; during which time they receive entertainment, according to their persons, but want not. Once a year the Panieses use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the sachem. To that end they appoint a certain time and place, near the sachem's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn and make a great stack thereof. There the Panieses stand ready to give thanks to the people on the sachem's behalf; and after acquainting the sachem therewith, who fetches the same

and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them. When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them oftentimes till their death or recovery. If they die, they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and morning they perform this duty, many days after the burial, in a most doleful manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary and the note musical which they take from one another and altogether; yet it will draw tears from their eyes and almost from ours also. But if they recover, then because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them, at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *commoro*. When they bury the dead, they sow up the corpse in a mat, and so put it in the earth; if the party be a sachem, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and enclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child, the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it; also he will cut his hair, and disfigure himself very much in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house; they will pull down the mats, and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling or give over house-keeping.

The men employ themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some pains in fishing. The women live a most slavish life; they carry all their burdens; set and dress their corn, gather it in, and seek out for much of their food; beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices, whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or show forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boys so to do, they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage, she first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head, till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversely disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men; being very chaste also; yet other some are light, lascivious and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party, and there live, where they never come unwelcome; for where are most women there is greatest plenty.

When a woman hath her monthly terms, she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone; after which, she washeth herself, and all that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's bed or family. For adultery, the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are, as well as in other places; but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery; for no man will keep such a one to wife.

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing, the sachem examineth and punisheth the same. In case of theft, for the first offence, he is disgracefully rebuked; for the second, beaten by the sachem, with a cudgel on the naked back; for the third, he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upwards, that thereby all men may know and shun him. If any man kill another he must likewise die for the same. The sachem not only passeth sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be then present; if not, sendeth his own knife in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the sachem himself, before whom, being naked, he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away, though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, than in his offence and punishment.

As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer-skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer's-skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel; but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, they presently pull off their breeches, stockings and shoes, wring out the water, if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment which covereth their secrets. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter, or fox-skin on their right arm; but only their bracer on the left. Women, and all of that sex, wear strings about their legs, which men never do.

The people are very ingenious and observative; they keep account of time, by the moon, and winters or summers; they know divers of the stars by name; in particular they know the North Star, and call it *Maske*, which is to say *the Bear;* also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather beforehand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list—can raise storms and tempests, which they usually do, when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they perform their greatest exploits, and at such seasons, when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for their language, it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding by the help of those that daily converse with us.

And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of records and chronicles they take this course: where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth therewith; and lest such holes should be filled or grown up by any accident, as men pass by, they will oft renew the same: by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be less tedious, by reason of many historical discourses which will be related to him.

For that continent on which we are, called New England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of the main land adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise; for they affirm confidently that it is an island, and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea between us, and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call *Mohegan*, which I take to be the same which we call Hudson's river, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of means (as I hear) left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this their opinion thus is much; though Virginia be not above an hundred leagues from us, yet they never heard of *Powhatan*, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us and *Tisquantum*, who went thither in an English ship; and therefore it is more probable, because the water is not passable for them who are very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years experience I can scarce distinguish New England, from Old England, in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, wind, &c. Some object because our plantation lieth in the latitude of two and forty, it must needs be much hotter. I confess I cannot give the reason of the contrary; only experience teaches us, that if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New-England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own conditions with the relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitutions of the English, not being oppressed with the extremity of heat, nor nipped by biting cold, by which means, blessed be God, we enjoy our health, notwithstanding these difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired had we lived in England with the like means. The day is two hours longer than here when at the shortest, and as much shorter when at the longest.

The soil is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, and others a mixed sand, &c. The chiefest grain is the Indian maise, or Guinea wheat; the seed time beginneth in the middle of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferior in quality to the same in Virginia, the reason I conceive is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen. But whereas it is objected against New-England, that corn will not grow there except the ground be manured with fish: I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us) it is more easy so to do than to clear ground, and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without them, and have as good corn or better than we have, that set with them; though indeed I think if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil to sow wheat, rye, barley, peas and oats, than to set maise, which our Indians call *Ewachim;* for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labor and diligence, especially at seed time, when it must also be watched by night, to keep the wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days, yet men agreeing together, and taking their turns, it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall plant here, by trading with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had to affirm, that the English, Dutch and French return yearly many thousand pounds profit by trade only, from that island on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary, which may be, and there are had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; witness the west country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing, whereas the other fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbor all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come? I confess we have come so far short of the means, to raise such returns, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; insomuch as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercies and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning have been thus raw, small and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter.

THE

HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA.

BY WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In studying the early history of America, attention has to be directed chiefly to the central and southern portions. It was there that the first adventurers from Europe established the one great centre whence conquest began to spread itself over the land; and it was there that the ancient civilization of the native races faded and succumbed before the moral and material power of the East. Consequently a history of this portion of the continent naturally follows after the publication of the "Biographies of the Early Discoverers," and Dr. Robertson's elaborate work necessarily finds a place. I say "necessarily," for in fact, there is no history of South America which rivals it; none which evinces the same degree of research, the same elaboration of detail, or the same impartiality in dealing with the data that are presented. The only deficiency to be noticed in it I have myself endeavoured, with as much impartiality, though with more brevity, to supply, thereby making the narrative in a measure complete to the present day.

Dr. Robertson, writing at the end of the last century, brought his portion of the work down to a period hardly later than our own Declaration of Independence. It has been my object to supplement his labors by an outline of the vast changes that have been recorded since. My first intention in doing this, was to take up Dr. Robertson's account in the eighth book, making such alterations in the text as would be necessary to a consecutive history adapted to the readers of to-day. But further consideration led me to a different course. I have preferred to leave the original work intact, and to circumscribe the supplementary portion within the limits of a ninth book. But in doing this, it was impossible in the prescribed space to follow out the plan laid down by the original author. A history of South America during the last century, if written with the comprehensiveness he followed, would have added vastly to the size of this volume. I have, therefore, perforce been guided by the necessity for conciseness, while exercising in all respects, a careful regard for accuracy and fairness of judgment.

PREFACE.

In fulfilling the engagement which I had come under to the Public, with respect to the History of America, it was my intention not to have published any part of the work until the whole was completed. The present state of the British colonies has induced me to alter that resolution. While they are engaged in civil war with Great Britain, inquiries and speculations concerning their ancient forms of policy and laws, which exist no longer, cannot be interesting. The attention and expectation of mankind are now turned towards their future condition. In whatever manner this unhappy contest may terminate, a new order of things must arise in North America, and its affairs will assume another aspect. I wait with the solicitude of a good citizen, until the ferment subside,and regular government be re-established, and then I shall return to this part of my work, in which I had made some progress. That, together with the history of Portuguese America, and of the settlements made by the several nations of Europe in the West India Islands, will complete my plan.

The three volumes which I now publish contain an account of the discovery of the New World, and of the progress of the Spanish arms and colonies there. This is not only the most splendid portion of the American story, but so much detached as by itself to form a perfect whole, remarkable for the unity of the subject. As the principles and maxims of the Spaniards in planting colonies, which have been adopted in some measure by every nation, are unfolded in this part of my work; it will serve as a proper introduction to the history of all the European establishments in America, and convey such information concerning this important article of policy, as may be deemed no less interesting than curious.

In describing the achievements and institutions of the Spaniards in the New World, I have departed in many instances, from the accounts of preceding historians, and have often related facts which seem to have been unknown to them. It is a duty I owe the Public to mention the sources from which I have derived such intelligence which justifies me either in placing transactions in a new light,or in forming any new opinion with respect to their causes and effects. This duty I perform with greater satisfaction, as it will afford an opportunity of expressing my gratitude to those benefactors who have honored me with their countenance and aid in my researches.

As it was from Spain that I had to expect the most important information, with regard to this part of my work, I considered it as a very fortunate circumstance for me when Lord Grantham, to whom I had the honor of being personally known, and with whose liberality of sentiment, and disposition to oblige, I was well acquainted, was appointed ambassador to the court of Madrid. Upon applying to him, I met with such a reception as satisfied me that his endeavors would be employed in the most proper manner,in order to obtain the gratification of my wishes; and I am perfectly sensible, that what progress I have made in my inquiries among the Spaniards, ought to be ascribed chiefly to their knowing how much his lordship interested himself in my success.

But did I owe nothing more to Lord Grantham than the advantage which I have derived from his attention in engaging Mr. Waddilove, the chaplain of his embassy, to take the conduct of my literary inquiries in Spain, the obligations I lie under to him would be very great During five years that gentleman has carried on researches for my behoof, with such activity, perseverance and knowledge of the subject,to which his attention was turned, as have filled me with no less astonishment than satisfaction. He procured for me the greater part of the Spanish books, which I have consulted; and as many of them were printed early in the sixteenth century, and are become extremely rare, the collecting of these was such an occupation as alone required much time and assiduity. To his friendly attention I am indebted for copies of several valuable manuscripts, containing facts and details which I might have searched for in vain in works that have been made public. Encouraged by the inviting good will with which Mr. Waddilove conferred his favors, I transmitted to him a set of queries, with respect both to the customs and policy of the native Americans, and the nature of several institutions in the Spanish settlements, framed in such a manner that a Spaniard might answer them without disclosing any thing that was improper to be communicated to a foreigner. He translated these into Spanish, and obtained from various persons who had resided in most of the Spanish colonies, such replies as have afforded me much instruction.

Notwithstanding those peculiar advantages with which my inquiries were carried on in Spain, it is with regret I am obliged to add, that their success must be ascribed to the beneficence of individuals, not to any communication by public authority. By a singular arrangement of Phillip II. the records of the Spanish monarchy are deposited in the *Archivo* of Simancas, near Valladolid, at the distance of a hundred and twenty miles from the seat of government and the supreme courts of justice. The papers relative to America, and chiefly to that early period of its history towards which my attention was directed,are so numerous, that they alone according to one account, fill the largest apartment in the Archivo; and, according to another, they compose eight hundred and seventy three large bundles. Conscious of possessing, in some degree, the industry which belongs to an historian, the prospect of such a treasure excited my most ardent curiosity. But the prospect of it is all that I have enjoyed. Spain, with an excess of caution, has uniformly thrown a veil over her transactions in America. From strangers they are concealed with peculiar solicitude. Even to her own subjects the Archivo of Simancas is not opened without a particular order from the crown; and, after obtaining that, papers cannot be copied without paying fees of office so exorbitant that the expense exceeds what it would be proper to bestow, when the gratification of literary curiosity is the only object. It is to be hoped, that the Spaniards will at last discover this system of concealment to be no less impolitic than illiberal. From what I have experienced in the course of my inquiries, I am satisfied, that upon a more minute scrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however reprehensible the actions of individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favorable light.

In other parts of Europe very different sentiments prevail. Having searched, without success in Spain, for a letter of Cortes to Charles V., written soon after he landed in the Mexican Empire, which has not hitherto been published; it occurred to me, that as the Emperor was setting out for Germany at the time when the messengers from Cortes arrived in Europe, the letter with which they were intrusted might possibly be preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna. I communicated this idea to Sir Robert Murray Keith, with whom I have long had the honor to live in friendship, and I had soon the pleasure to learn, that upon his application her Imperial Majesty had been graciously pleased to issue an order, that not only a copy of that letter (if it were found), but of any other papers in the library which could throw light upon the History of America, should be transmitted to me. The letter from Cortes is not in the Imperial library; but an authentic copy, attested by a notary, of the letter written by the magistrates of the colony planted by him at Vera Cruz, which I have mentioned, p. 210, having been found, it was transcribed, and sent to me. As this letter is no less curious, and as little known as that which was the object of my inquiries, I have given some account, in its proper place, of what is most worthy of notice in it. Together with it, I received a copy

"Dr. Robertson's qualities as a Historian have been lauded by scholars. —BENSON J. LOSSING.

"No History of South America can ever supplant the work of Robertson."—CHAMBERS' CYCLO. OF ENG. LITERATURE.

THE COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AMERICA,

MEXICO,

AND

CENTRAL AMERICA,

EMBRACING

THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE, PERU, BOLIVIA, CHILI, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA, NEW GRANADA, EQUADOR, GUIANA, THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION, PARAGUAY, URUGUAY, PATAGONIA, THE FALKLAND ISLANDS, YUCATAN, THE WEST INDIES, ETC., ETC.,

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES.

BY WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

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The Progress of Navigation among the Ancients, the Early Voyages and Discoveries, Life of Columbus, Treachery and Cruelty of the Spaniards toward the Natives.

AMERICA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

ITS

INHABITANTS, SCENERY, ETC., AND THEORIES CONCERNING THE EARLY POPULATION.

WITH A

CONTINUATION AND AN APPENDIX, BRINGING THE WORK DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

THE WHOLE

ABOUNDING WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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THIS WONDERFUL CONQUEST OF MEXICO WAS AN ACHIEVEMENT THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF WHICH DISPLAYED MORE HEROIC COURAGE, ENDURANCE, AND ABILITY TO COMMAND, THAN ANY EXAMPLE IN MODERN HISTORY. LIKE HANNIBAL, HE LEFT NO CHANCE FOR RETREAT, BURNING HIS SHIPS ON THE SHORE OF THE STRANGE AND HOSTILE COUNTRY.

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The History of South America

IS CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY PROF. H. L. WILLIAMS.

It traces the gradual decline of the Spanish Colonies, their struggle for Independence, their ultimate success. Separation of Brazil into an Independent Monarchy. War between Spain and the Republics of Chili and Peru. War against Paraguay. Defeat and Death of Lopez, and view of the present condition of South American Countries. Making, all together, the only full, complete, and exhaustive History of South America, to the present day, published.

NOTE.—South America is rich in manifold productions which are now touching the material interests of the United States ; and what India has been to England, South America yet may be to us : A source of unbounded wealth.

of a letter from Cortes, containing a long account of his expedition to Honduras, with respect to which I did not think it necessary to enter into any particular detail; and likewise those curious Mexican paintings, which I have described.

My inquiries at St. Petersburg were carried on with equal facility and success. In examining into the nearest communication between our continent and that of America, it became of consequence to obtain authentic information concerning the discoveries of the Russians in their navigation from Kamschatka towards the coast of America. Accurate relations of their first voyage, in 1741, have been published by Muller and Gmelin. Several foreign authors have entertained an opinion that the court of Russia studiously conceals the progress which has been made by more recent navigators, and suffers the public to be amused with false accounts of their route. Such conduct appeared to me unsuitable to those liberal sentiments, and that patronage of science, for which the present sovereign of Russia is eminent; nor could I discern any political reason, that might render it improper to apply for information concerning the late attempts of the Russians to open a communication between Asia and America. My ingenious countryman, Dr. Rogerson, first physician to the Empress, presented my request to Her Imperial Majesty, who not only disclaimed any idea of concealment,but instantly ordered the journal of Captain Krenitzin, who conducted the only voyage of discovery made by public authority since the year 1741, to be translated, and his original chart to be copied for my use. By consulting them, I have been enabled to give a more accurate view of the progress and extent of the Russian Discoveries than has hitherto been communicated to the public.

From other quarters I have received information of great utility and importance. M. le Chevalier de Pinto, the minister from Portugal to the court of Great Britain, who commanded for several years at Matagrosso, a settlement of the Portuguese in the interior part of Brazil, where the Indians are numerous, and their original manners little altered by intercourse with Europeans, was pleased to send me very full answers to some queries concerning the character and institutions of the natives of America, which his polite reception of an application made to him in my name encouraged me to propose. These satisfied me, that he had contemplated with a discerning attention the curious objects which his situation presented to his view, and I have often followed him as one of my best instructed guides.

M. Suard,to whose elegant translation of the History of the Reign of Charles V., I owe the favorable reception of that work on the continent, procured me answers to the same queries from M. de Bougainville, who had opportunities of observing the Indians both of North and South America, and from M. Godin le Jeune, who resided fifteen years among Indians in Quito,and twenty years in Cayenne. The latter are more valuable from having been examined by M. de la Condamine, who, a few weeks before his death,made some short additions to them, which may be considered as the last effort of that attention to science which occupied a long life.

My inquiries were not confined to one region in America. Governor Hutchinson took the trouble of recommending the consideration of my queries to Mr. Hawley and Mr. Brainerd, two protestant missionaries employed among the Indians of the Five Nations, who favored me with answers which discover a considerable knowledge of the people whose customs they describe. From William Smith, Esq. the ingenious historian of New-York, I received some useful information. When I enter upon the History of our Colonies in North America, I shall have occasion to acknowledge how much I have been indebted to many other gentlemen of that country.

From the valuable collection of Voyages made by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq., with whose attention to the History of Navigation and Discovery the Public is well acquainted,I have received some very rare books, particularly two large volumes of Memorials, partly manuscript and partly in print, which were presented to the court of Spain during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV. From these I have learned many curious particulars with respect to the interior state of the Spanish colonies, and the various schemes formed for their improvement. As this collection of Memorials formerly belonged to the Colbert Library, I have quoted them by that title.

All those books and manuscripts I have consulted with that attention which the respect due from an Author to the Public required; and by minute references to them, I have endeavored to authenticate whatever I relate. The longer I reflect on the nature of historical composition, the more I am convinced that this scrupulous accuracy is necessary. The historian who records the events of his own time is credited in proportion to the opinion which the Public entertains with respect to his means of information and his veracity. He who delineates the transactions of a remote period, has no title to claim assent, unless he produces evidence in proof of his assertions. Without this he may write an amusing tale, but cannot be said to have composed an authentic history. In those sentiments I have been confirmed by the opinion of an Author, whom his industry, erudition, and discernment, have deservedly placed in a high rank among the most eminent historians of the age. Imboldened by a hint from him,I have published a catalogue of the Spanish books which I have consulted. This practice was frequent in the last century, and was considered as an evidence of laudable industry in an author; in the present, it may, perhaps, be deemed the effect of ostentation; but, as many of those books are unknown in Great Britain, I could not otherwise have referred to them as authorities,without encumbering the page with an insertion of their full titles. To any person who may choose to follow me in this path of inquiry, the catalogue must be very useful.

My readers will observe, that in mentioning sums of money, I have uniformly followed the Spanish method of computing by *pesos*. In America, the peso *fuerte*, or *duro* is the only one known; and that is always meant when any sum imported from America is mentioned. The peso fuerte, as well as other coins, has varied in its numerary value; but I have been advised, without attending to such minute variations, to consider it as equal to four shillings and sixpence of our money. It is to be remembered, however, that in the sixteenth century, the effective value of a peso, *i. e.* the quantity of labor which it represented,or of goods which it would purchase, was five or six times as much as at present.

N. B. Since this edition was put into the press, a History of Mexico, in two volumes in quarto,translated from the Italian of the Abbe de Francesco Saverio Clavigero, has been published. From a person who is a native of New Spain, who has resided forty years in that country,and who is acquainted with the Mexican language, it was natural to expect much new information. Upon perusing his work, however, I find that it contains hardly any addition to the ancient History of the Mexican empire,as related by Acosta and Herrera, but what is derived from the improbable narratives and fanciful conjectures of Torquemada and Boturini. Having copied their splendid descriptions of the high state of civilization in the Mexican empire, M. Clavigero, in the abundance of his zeal for the honor of his native country,charges me with having mistaken some points, and with having misrepresented others in the history of it. When an author is conscious of having exerted industry in research, and impartiality in decision, he may, without presumption, claim what praise is due to these qualities, and he cannot be insensible to any accusation that tends to weaken the force of his claim. A feeling of this kind has induced me to examine such strictures of M. Clavigero on my history of America, as merited any attention, especially as these are made by one who seemed to possess the means of obtaining accurate information; and to show that the greater part of them is destitute of any just foundation. This I have done in notes upon the passages in my History which gave rise to his criticisms.

College of Edinburgh, March 1, 1788.

BOOK I.

Progress of Navigation among the ancients—View of their discoveries as preparatory to those of the moderns—Imperfections of ancient navigation and geography—Doctrine of the zones—Further discoveries checked by the irruption of barbarous nations—Geographical knowledge still preserved in the East, and among the Arabians—Revival of commerce and navigation in Europe—favored by the Crusades—extended by travellers into the East—promoted by the invention of the mariner's compass—First regular plan of discovery formed by Portugal—State of that kingdom—Schemes of Prince Henry—Early attempts feeble—Progress along the Western-coast of Africa—Hopes of discovering a new route to the East Indies—Attempts to accomplish this—Prospects of Success.

The progress of men, in discovering and peopling the various parts of the earth, has been extremely slow. Several ages elapsed before they removed far from those mild and fertile regions in which they were originally placed by their Creator. The occasion of their first general dispersion is known; but we are unacquainted with the course of their migrations, or the time when they took possession of the different countries which they now inhabit. Neither history nor tradition furnishes such information concerning these remote events, as enables us to trace with any certainty, the operations of the human race in the infancy of society.

We may conclude, however, that all the early migrations of mankind were made by land. The ocean which surrounds the habitable earth, as well as the various arms of the sea which separate one region from another though destined to facilitate the communication between distant countries, seem, at first view, to be formed to check the progress of man, and to mark the bounds of that portion of the globe to which nature had confined him. It was long, we may believe, before men attempted to pass these formidable barriers, and became so skilful and adventurous as to commit themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves, or to quit their native shores in quest of remote and unknown regions

Navigation and ship-building are arts so nice and complicated, that they require the ingenuity, as well as experience, of many successive ages to bring them to any degree of perfection. From the raft or canoe, which first served to carry a savage over the river that obstructed him in the chase, to the construction of a vessel capable of conveying a numerous crew with safety to a distant coast,the progress in improvement is immense. Many efforts would be made, many experiments would be tried, and much labor as well as invention would be employed, before men could accomplish this arduous and important undertaking. The rude and imperfect state in which navigation is still found among all nations which are not considerably civilized, corresponds with this account of its progress, and demonstrates that in early times the art was not so far improved as to enable men to undertake distant voyages, or to attempt remote discoveries.

As soon, however, as the art of navigation became known, a new species of correspondence among men took place. It is from this era that we must date the commencement of such an intercourse between nations as deserves the appellation of commerce. Men are, indeed, far advanced in improvement before commerce becomes an object of great importance to them. They must even have made some considerable progress towards civilization,before they acquired the idea of property, and ascertain it so perfectly as to be acquainted with the most simple of all contracts,that of exchanging by barter one rude commodity for another. But as soon as this important right is established, and every individual feels that he has an exclusive title to possess or to alienate whatever he has acquired by his own labor and dexterity, the wants and ingenuity of his nature suggest to him a new metnod of increasing his acquisitions and enjoyments, by disposing of what is superfluous in his own stores, in order to procure what is necessary or desirable in those of other men. Thus a commercial intercourse begins, and is carried on among the members of the same community. By degrees, they discover that neighboring tribes possess what they themselves want, and enjoy comforts of which they wish to partake. In the same mode, and upon the same principles,that domestic traffic is carried on within the society, an external commerce is established with other tribes or nations. Their mutual interest and mutual wants render this intercourse desirable, and imperceptibly introduce the maxims and laws which facilitate its progress and render it secure. But no very extensive commerce can take place between contiguous provinces, whose soil and climate being nearly the same yield similar productions. Remote countries cannot convey their commodities by land, to those places where, on account of their rarity, they are desired, and become valuable. It is to navigation that men are indebted for the power of transporting the superfluous stock of one part of the earth to supply the wants of another. The luxuries and blessings of a particular climate are no longer confined to itself alone, but the enjoyment of them is communicated to the most distant regions.

In proportion as the knowledge of the advantages derived from navigation and commerce continued to spread the intercourse among nations extended. The ambition of conquest, or the necessity of procuring new settlements, were no longer the sole motives of visiting distant lands. The desire of gain became a new incentive to activity, roused adventurers, and sent them forth upon long voyages, in search of countries whose products or wants might increase that circulation which nourishes and gives vigor to commerce. Trade proved a great source of discovery; it opened unknown seas, it penetrated into new regions, and contributed more than any other cause to bring men acquainted with the

situation, the nature and commodities of the different parts of the globe. But even after a regular commerce was established in the world, after nations were considerably civilized, and the sciences and arts were cultivated with ardor and success, navigation continued to be so imperfect, that it can hardly be said to have advanced beyond the infancy of its improvement in the ancient world.

Among all the nations of antiquity, the structure of their vessels was extremely rude, and their method of working them very defective. They were unacquainted with several principles and operations in navigation, which are now considered as the first elements on which that science is founded. Though that property of the magnet by which it attracts iron was well known to the ancients, its more important and amazing virtue of pointing to the poles had entirely escaped their observation. Destitute of this faithful guide, which now conducts the pilot with so much certainty in the unbounded ocean during the darkness of night, or when the heavens are covered with clouds, the ancients had no other method of regulating their course than by observing the sun and stars. Their navigation was of consequence uncertain and timid. They durst seldom quit sight of land, but crept along the coast, exposed to all the dangers, and retarded by all the obstructions, unavoidable in holding such an awkward course. An incredible length of time was requisite for performing voyages which are now finished in a short space. Even in the mildest climates, and in seas the least tempestuous, it was only during the summer months that the ancients ventured out of their harbors. The remainder of the year was lost in inactivity. It would have been deemed most inconsiderate rashness to have braved the fury of the winds and waves during winter.

While both the science and practice of navigation continued to be so defective, it was an undertaking of no small difficulty and danger to visit any remote region of the earth. Under every disadvantage, however, the active spirit of commerce exerted itself. The Egyptians, soon after the establishment of their monarchy, are said to have opened a trade between the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, and the western coast of the great Indian continent. The commodities which they imported from the East, were carried by land from the Arabian Gulf to the banks of the Nile, and conveyed down that river to the Mediterranean. But if the Egyptians in early times applied themselves to commerce, their attention to it was of short duration. The fertile soil and mild climate of Egypt produced the necessaries and comforts of life with such profusion, as rendered its inhabitants so independent of other countries, that it became an established maxim among that people, whose ideas and institutions differed in almost every point from those of other nations, to renounce all intercourse with foreigners. In consequence of this, they never went out of their own country; they held all seafaring persons in detestation, as impious and profane; and fortifying their own harbors, they denied strangers admittance into them. It was in the decline of their power, and when their veneration for ancient maxims had greatly abated, that they again opened their ports, and resumed any communication with foreigners.

The character and situation of the Phenicians were as favorable to the spirit of commerce and discovery as those of the Egyptians were adverse to it. They had no distinguishing peculiarity in their manners and institutions; they were not addicted to any singular and unsocial form of superstition; they could mingle with other nations without scruple or reluctance. The territory which they possessed was neither large nor fertile. Commerce was the only source from which they could derive opulence or power. Accordingly, the trade carried on by the Phenicians of Sidon and Tyre, was more extensive and enterprising than that of any state in the ancient world. The genius of the Phenicians, as well as the object of their policy and the spirit of their laws, were entirely commercial. They were a people of merchants, who aimed at the empire of the sea, and actually possessed it. Their ships not only frequented all the ports in the Mediterranean, but they were the first who ventured beyond the ancient boundaries of navigation, and, passing the Straits of Gades, visited the western coasts of Spain and Africa. In many of the places to which they resorted, they planted colonies, and communicated to the rude inhabitants some knowledge of their arts and improvements. While they extended their discoveries towards the north and the west, they did not neglect to penetrate into the more opulent and fertile regions of the south and east. Having rendered themselves masters of several commodious harbors towards the bottom of the Arabian Gulf, they, after the example of the Egyptians, established a regular intercourse with Arabia and the continent of India on the one hand, and with the eastern coast of Africa on the other. From these countries they imported many valuable commodities unknown to the rest of the world, and during a long period engrossed that lucrative branch of commerce without a rival. [8]

The vast wealth which the Phenecians acquired by monopolizing the trade carried on in the Red Sea, incited their neighbors the Jews, under the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon, to aim at being admitted to some share of it. This they obtained, partly by their conquest of Idumea, which stretches along the Red Sea, and partly by their alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre. Solomon fitted out fleets, which, under the direction of Phenecian pilots, sailed from the Red Sea to Tarshish and Ophir. These, it is probable, were ports in India and Africa, which their conductors were accustomed to frequent and from them the Jewish ships returned with such valuable cargoes as suddenly diffused wealth and splendor through the kingdom of Israel. But the singular institutions of the Jews, the observance of which was enjoined by their divine Legislator, with an intention of preserving them a separate people, uninfected by idolatry, formed a national character, incapable of that open and liberal intercourse with strangers which commerce requires. Accordingly, this unsocial genius of the people, together with the disasters which befell the kingdom of Israel, prevented the commercial spirit which their monarchs labored to introduce and to cherish, from spreading among them. The Jews cannot be numbered among the nations which contributed to improve navigation, or to extend discovery.

But though the instructions and example of the Phenicians were unable to mould the manners and temper of the Jews, in opposition to the tendency of their laws, they transmitted the commercial spirit with facility, and in full vigor, to their own descendants the Carthaginians. The commonwealth of Carthage applied to trade and naval affairs, with no less ardor, ingenuity, and success, than its parent state. Carthage early rivalled and soon surpassed Tyre in opulence and power, but seems not to have aimed at obtaining any share in the commerce with India. The Phenicians had engrossed this, and had such a command of the Red Sea as secured to them the exclusive possession of that lucrative branch of trade. The commercial activity of the Carthaginians was exerted in another direction. Without contending for the trade of the East with their mother country, they extended their navigation chiefly towards the west and north. Following the course which the Phenicians had opened, they passed the Straits of Gades, and pushing their discoveries far beyond those of the parent state, visited not only all the coasts of Spain, but those of Gaul, and penetrated at last into Britain. At the same time that they acquired knowledge of new countries in this part of the globe, they gradually carried their researches towards the south. They made considerable progress by land into the interior provinces of Africa, traded with some of them, and subjected others to their empire. They sailed along the western coast of that great continent almost to the tropic of Cancer, and planted several colonies, in order to civilize the natives and accustom them to commerce. They discovered the Fortunate Islands, now known by the name of the Canaries, the utmost boundary of ancient navigation in the western ocean.

Nor was the progress of the Phenicians and Carthaginians in their knowledge of the globe, owing entirely to the desire of extending their trade from one country to another. Commerce was followed by its usual effects among both these people. It awakened curiosity, enlarged the ideas and desires of men, and incited them to bold enterprises. Voyages were undertaken, the sole object of which was to discover new countries, and to explore unknown seas. Such, during the prosperous age of the Carthaginian republic, were the famous navigations of Hanno and Himilco. Both their fleets were equipped by authority of the senate, and at public expense. Hanno was directed to steer towards the south, along the coast of Africa, and he seems to have advanced much nearer the equinoctial line than any former navigator. Himilco had it in charge to proceed toward the north, and to examine the western coasts of the European continent. Of the same nature was the extraordinary navigation of the Phenicians round Africa. A Phenician fleet, we are told, fitted out by Necho king of Egypt, took its departure about six hundred and four years before the Christian era, from a port in the Red Sea, doubled the southern promontory of Africa, and after a voyage of three years returned by the Straits of Gades to the mouth of the Nile. Eudoxus of Cyzicus is said to have held the same course, and to have accomplished the same arduous undertaking.

These voyages, if performed in the manner which I have related, may justly be reckoned the greatest effort of navigation in the ancient world; and if we attend to the imperfect state of the art at that time, it is difficult to determine whether we should most admire the courage and sagacity with which the design was formed, or the conduct and good fortune with which it was executed. But unfortunately all the original and authentic accounts of the Phenician and Carthaginian voyages, whether undertaken by public authority or in prosecution of their private trade, have perished. The information which we receive concerning them from the Greek and Roman authors is not only obscure and inaccurate, but if we except a short narrative of Hanno's expedition, is of suspicious authority. Whatever acquaintance with the remote regions of the earth the Phenicians or Carthaginians may have acquired, was concealed from the rest of mankind with a mercantile jealousy. Every thing relative to the course of their navigation was not only a mystery of trade, but a secret of state. Extraordinary facts are related concerning their solicitude to prevent other nations from penetrating into what they wished should remain undivulged. Many of their discoveries seem, accordingly, to have been scarcely known beyond the precincts of their own states. The navigation round Africa, in particular, is recorded by the Greek and Roman writers rather as a strange amusing tale, which they did not comprehend or did not believe, than as a real transaction which enlarged their knowledge and influenced their opinions. [9] As neither the progress of the Phenician or Carthaginian discoveries, nor the extent of their navigation, were communicated to the rest of mankind, all memorials of their extraordinary skill in naval affairs seem in a great measure to have perished, when the maritime power of the former was annihilated by Alexander's conquest of Tyre, and the empire of the latter was overturned by the Roman arms

Leaving, then, the obscure and pompous accounts of the Phenician and Carthaginian voyages to the curiosity and conjectures of antiquaries, history must rest satisfied with relating the progress of navigation and discovery among the Greeks and Romans, which, though less splendid, is better ascertained. It is evident that the Phenicians, who instructed the Greeks in many other useful sciences and arts, did not communicate to them that extensive knowledge of navigation which they themselves possessed; nor did the Romans imbibe that commercial spirit and ardor for discovery which distinguished their rivals the Carthaginians. Though Greece be almost encompassed by the sea, which formed many spacious bays and commodious harbors; though it be surrounded by a great number of fertile islands, yet, notwithstanding such a favorable situation which seemed to invite that ingenious people to apply themselves to navigation, it was long before this art attained any degree of perfection among them. Their early voyages, the object of which was piracy rather than commerce, were so inconsiderable that the expedition of the Argonauts from the coast of Thessaly to the Euxine Sea, appeared such an amazing effort of skill and courage, as entitled the conductors of it to be ranked among the demigods, and exalted the vessel in which they sailed to a place among the heavenly constellations. Even at a later period, when the Greeks engaged in the famous enterprise against Troy, their knowledge in naval affairs seems not to have been much improved. According to the account of Homer, the only poet to whom history ventures to appeal, and who by his scrupulous accuracy in describing the manners and arts of early ages, merits this distinction, the science of navigation at that time, had hardly advanced beyond its rudest state. The Greeks in the heroic age seem to have been unacquainted with the use of iron, the most serviceable of all the metals, without which no considerable progress was ever made in the mechanical arts. Their vessels were of inconsiderable burden, and mostly without decks. They had only one mast, which was erected or taken down at pleasure. They were strangers to the use of anchors. All their operations in sailing were clumsy and unskilful. They turned their observations towards stars, which were improper for regulating their course, and their mode of observing them was inaccurate and fallacious. When they had finished a voyage they drew their paltry barks ashore,

as savages do their canoes, and these remained on dry land until the season of returning to sea approached. It is not then in the early heroic ages of Greece that we can expect to observe the science of navigation, and the spirit of discovery, making any considerable progress. During that period of disorder and ignorance, a thousand causes concurred in restraining curiosity and enterprise within very narrow bounds.

But the Greeks advanced with rapidity to a state of greater civilization and refinement. Government, in its most liberal and perfect form, began to be established in their different communities; equal laws and regular police were gradually introduced; the sciences and arts which are useful or ornamental in life were carried to a high pitch of improvement; and several of the Grecian commonwealths applied to commerce with such ardor and success, that they were considered, in the ancient world, as maritime powers of the first rank. Even then, however, the naval victories of the Greeks must be ascribed rather to the native spirit of the people, and to that courage which the enjoyment of liberty inspires, than to any extraordinary progress in the science of navigation. In the Persian war, those exploits, which the genius of the Greek historians has rendered so famous, were performed by fleets composed chiefly of small vessels without decks; the crews of which rushed forward with impetuous valor, but little art, to board those of the enemy. In the war of Peloponnesus, their ships seem still to have been of inconsiderable burden and force. The extent of their trade, how highly soever it may have been estimated in ancient times, was in proportion to this low condition of their marine. The maritime states of Greece hardly carried on any commerce beyond the limits of the Mediterranean sea. Their chief intercourse was with the colonies of their countrymen planted in the Lesser Asia, in Italy, and Sicily. They sometimes visited the ports of Egypt, of the southern provinces of Gaul, and of Thrace; or, passing through the Hellespont, they traded with the countries situated around the Euxine sea. Amazing instances occur of their ignorance, even of those countries which lay within the narrow precincts to which their navigation was confined. When the Greeks had assembled their combined fleet against Xerxes at Egina they thought it unadvisable to sail to Samos, because they believed the distance between that island and Egina to be as great as the distance between Egina and the Pillars of Hercules. They were either utterly unacquainted with all the parts of the globe beyond the Mediterranean sea, or what knowledge they had of them was founded on conjecture, or derived from the information of a few persons whom curiosity and the love of science had prompted to travel by land into the Upper Asia, or by sea into Egypt, the ancient seats of wisdom and arts. After all that the Greeks learned from them, they appear to have been ignorant of the most important facts on which an accurate and scientific knowledge of the globe is founded.

The expedition of Alexander the Great into the East considerably enlarged the sphere of navigation and of geographical knowledge among the Greeks. That extraordinary man, notwithstanding the violent passions which incited him at some times to the wildest actions and the most extravagant enterprises, possessed talents which fitted him, not only to conquer, but to govern the world. He was capable of framing those bold and original schemes of policy, which gave a new form to human affairs. The revolution in commerce, brought about by the force of his genius, is hardly inferior to that revolution in empire occasioned by the success of his arms. It is probable that the opposition and efforts of the republic of Tyre, which checked him so long in the career of his victories, gave Alexander an opportunity of observing the vast resources of a maritime power, and conveyed to him some idea of the immense wealth which the Tyrians derived from their commerce especially that with the East Indies. As soon as he had accomplished the destruction of Tyre, and reduced Egypt to subjection, he formed the plan of rendering the empire which he proposed to establish, the centre of commerce as well as the seat of dominion. With this view he founded a great city, which he honored with his own name, near one of the mouths of the river Nile, that by the Mediterranean sea, and the neighborhood of the Arabian Gulf, it might command the trade both of the East and West. This situation was chosen with such discernment, that Alexandria soon became the chief commercial city in the world. Not only during the subsistence of the Grecian empire in Egypt and in the East, but amidst all the successive revolutions in those countries from the time of the Ptolemies to the discovery of the navigation by the Cape of Good Hope, commerce, particularly that of the East Indies, continued to flow in the channel which the sagacity and foresight of Alexander had marked out for it.

His ambition was not satisfied with having opened to the Greeks a communication with India by sea; he aspired to the sovereignty of those regions which furnished the rest of mankind with so many precious commodities, and conducted his army thither by land. Enterprising, however, as he was, he may be said rather to have viewed than to have conquered that country. He did not, in his progress towards the East, advance beyond the banks of the rivers that fall into the Indus, which is now the western bounday of the vast continent of India. Amidst the wild exploits which distinguish this part of his history, he pursued measures that mark the superiority of his genius as well as the extent of his views. He had penetrated as far into India as to confirm his opinion of its commercial importance, and to perceive that immense wealth might be derived from intercourse with a country where the arts of elegance, having been more early cultivated, were arrived at greater perfection than in any other part of the earth. Full of this idea, he resolved to examine the course of navigation from the mouth of the Indus to the bottom of the Persian Gulf; and, if it should be found practicable, to establish a regular communication between them. In order to affect this, he proposed to remove the cataracts, with which the jealousy of the Persians, and their aversion to correspondence with foreigners, had obstructed the entrance into the Euphrates; to carry the commodities of the East up that river, and the Tigris, which unites with it, into the interior parts of his Asiatic dominions; while, by the way of the Arabian Gulf and the river Nile, they might be conveyed to Alexandria, and distributed to the rest of the world. Nearchus, an officer of eminent abilities, was intrusted with the command of the fleet fitted out for this expedition. He performed this voyage, which was deemed an enterprise so arduous and important, that Alexander reckoned it one of the most extraordinary events which distinguished his reign. Inconsiderable as it may now appear, it was at that time an undertaking of no little merit and difficulty. In the prosecution of it, striking instances occur of the small progress which the Greeks had made in naval knowledge. [4] Having never sailed beyond the bounds of the Mediterranean, where the ebb and flow of the sea are hardly perceptible, when they first observed this phenomenon at the mouth of the Indus, it appeared to them a prodigy, by which the gods testified the displeasure of heaven against their enterprise. [5] During their whole course, they seem never to have lost sight of land, but followed the bearings of the coast so servilely, that they could not avail themselves of those periodical winds which facilitate navigation in the Indian ocean. Accordingly they spent no less than ten months in performing this voyage, which, from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Persian Gulf, does not exceed twenty degrees. It is probable that amidst the convulsions and frequent revolutions in the East, occasioned by the contests among the successors of Alexander, the navigation to India by the course which Nearchus had opened was discontinued. The Indian trade carried on at Alexandria, not only subsisted, but was so much extended, under the Grecian monarchs of Egypt, that it proved a great source of the wealth which distinguished their kingdom.

The progress which the Romans made in navigation and discovery, was still more inconsiderable than that of the Greeks. The genius of the Roman people, their military education, and the spirit of their laws, concurred in estranging them from commerce and naval affairs. It was the necessity of opposing a formidable rival, not the desire of extending trade, which first prompted them to aim at maritime power. Though they soon perceived, that in order to acquire the universal dominion after which they aspired, it was necessary to render themselves masters of the sea, they still considered the naval service as a subordinate station, and reserved for it such citizens as were not of a rank to be admitted into the legions. In the history of the Roman Republic, hardly one event occurs that marks attention to navigation any further than it was instrumental towards conquest. When the Roman valor and discipline had subdued all the maritime states known in the ancient world; when Carthage, Greece, and Egypt had submitted to their power, the Romans did not imbibe the commercial spirit of the conquered nations. Among that people of soldiers, to have applied to trade would have been deemed a degradation to a Roman citizen. They abandoned the mechanical arts, commerce, and navigation, to slaves, to freedmen, to provincials, and to citizens of the lowest class. Even after the subversion of liberty, when the severity and haughtiness of ancient manners began to abate, commerce did not rise into high estimation among the Romans. The trade of Greece, Egypt, and the other conquered countries, continued to be carried on in its usual channels, after they were reduced into the form of Roman provinces. As Rome was the capital of the world, and the seat of government, all the wealth and valuable productions of the provinces flowed naturally thither. The Romans, satisfied with this, seem to have suffered commerce to remain almost entirely in the hands of the natives of the respective countries. The extent, however, of the Roman power, which reached over the greatest part of the known world, the vigilant inspection of the Roman magistrates, and the spirit of the Roman government, no less intelligent than active, gave such additional security to commerce as animated it with new vigor. The union among nations was never so entire, nor the intercourse so perfect, as within the bounds of this vast empire. Commerce, under the Roman dominion, was not obstructed by the jealousy of rival states, interrupted by frequent hostilities, or limited by partial restrictions. One superintending power moved and regulated the industry of mankind, and enjoyed the fruits of their joint efforts.

Navigation felt its influence, and improved under it. As soon as the Romans acquired a taste for the luxuries of the East, the trade with India through Egypt was pushed with new vigor, and carried on to greater extent. By frequenting the Indian continent, navigators became acquainted with the periodical course of the winds, which, in the ocean that separates Africa from India, blow with little variation during one half of the year from the east, and during the other half blow with equal steadiness from the west. Encouraged by observing this, the pilots who sailed from Egypt to India abandoned their ancient slow and dangerous course along the coast, and, as soon as the western monsoon set in, took their departure from Ocelis, at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, and stretched boldly across the ocean. The uniform direction of the wind, supplying the place of the compass, and rendering the guidance of the stars less necessary, conducted them to the port of Musiris, on the western shore of the Indian continent. There they took on board their cargo, and, returning with the eastern monsoon, finished their voyage to the Arabian Gulf within the year. This part of India, now known by the name of the Malabar coast, seems to have been the utmost limit of ancient navigation in that quarter of the globe. What imperfect knowledge the ancients had of the immense countries which stretch beyond this towards the East, they received from a few adventurers who had visited them by land. Such excursions were neither frequent nor extensive, and it is probable that, while the Roman intercourse with India subsisted, no traveller ever penetrated further than to the banks of the Ganges. [6]. The fleets from Egypt which traded at Musiris, were loaded it is true, with the spices and other rich commodities of the continent and islands of the further India; but these were brought to that port, which became the staple of the commerce between the east and west, by the Indians themselves in canoes hollowed out of one tree. The Egyptian and Roman merchants, satisfied with acquiring those commodities in this manner, did not think it necessary to explore unknown seas, and venture upon a dangerous navigation, in quest of the countries which produced them. But though the discoveries of the Romans in India were so limited, their commerce there was such as will appear considerable, even to the present age, in which the Indian trade has been extended far beyond the practice or conception of any preceding period. We are informed by one author of credit, that the commerce with India drained the Roman empire every year of more than four hundred thousand pounds; and by another, that one hundred and twenty ships sailed annually from the Arabian Gulf to that country.

The discovery of this new method of sailing to India, is the most considerable improvement in navigation made during the continuance of the Roman power. But in ancient times, the knowledge of remote countries was acquired more frequently by land than by sea: [7] and the Romans, from their peculiar disinclination to naval affairs, may be said to have neglected totally the latter, though a more easy and expeditious method of discovery. The progress, however, of their victorious armies through a considerable portion of Europe, Asia, and Africa, contributed greatly to extend discovery by land, and gradually opened the navigation of new and unknown seas. Previous to the Roman conquests, the civilized nations of antiquity had little com-

munication with those countries in Europe which now form its most opulent and powerful kingdoms. The interior parts of Spain and Gaul were imperfectly known. Britain, separated from the rest of the world, had never been visited, except by its neighbors the Gauls, and by a few Carthaginian merchants. The name of Germany had scarcely been heard of. Into all these countries the arms of the Romans penetrated. They entirely subdued Spain and Gaul; they conquered the greatest and most fertile parts of Britain; they advanced into Germany, as far as the banks of the river Elbe. In Africa, they acquired a considerable knowledge of the provinces, which stretched along the Mediterranean Sea, from Egypt westward to the Straits of Gades. In Asia, they not only subjected to their power most of the provinces which composed the Persian and the Macedonian empires, but after their victories over Mithridates and Tigranes, they seem to have made a more accurate survey of the countries contiguous to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and to have carried on a more extensive trade than that of the Greeks with the opulent and commercial nations then seated round the Euxine sea.

From this succinct survey of discovery and navigation, which I have traced from the earliest dawn of historical knowledge, to the full establishment of the Roman dominion, the progress of both appears to have been wonderfully slow. It seems neither adequate to what we might have expected from the activity and enterprise of the human mind, nor to what might have been performed by the power of the great empires which successively governed the world. If we reject accounts that are fabulous and obscure; if we adhere steadily to the light and information of authentic history, without substituting in its place the conjectures of fancy or the dreams of etymologists, we must conclude, that the knowledge which the ancients had acquired of the habitable globe was extremely confined. In Europe, the extensive provinces in the eastern part of Germany were little known to them. They were almost totally unacquainted with the vast countries which are now subject to the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Poland, and the Russian empire. The more barren regions that stretch within the arctic circle, were quite unexplored. In Africa, their researches did not extend far beyond the provinces which border on the Mediterranean, and those situated on the western shore of the Arabian Gulf. In Asia, they were unacquainted, as I formerly observed, with all the fertile and opulent countries beyond the Ganges, which furnish the most valuable commodities that in modern times have been the great object of the European commerce with India; nor do they seem to have ever penetrated into those immense regions occupied by the wandering tribes, which they called by the general name of Sarmatians or Scythians, and which are now possessed by Tartars of various denominations, and by the Asiatic subjects of Russia.

But there is one opinion that universally prevailed among the ancients, which conveys a more striking idea of the small progress they had made in the knowledge of the habitable globe than can be derived from any detail of their discoveries. They supposed the earth to be divided into five regions, which they distinguished by the name of Zones. Two of these, which were nearest the poles, they termed frigid zones, and believed the extreme cold which reigned perpetually there rendered them uninhabitable. Another, seated under the line, and extending on either side towards the tropics, they called the Torrid zone, and imagined it to be so burned up with unremitting heat, as to be equally destitute of inhabitants. On the two other zones, which occupied the remainder of the earth, they bestowed the appellation of Temperate, and taught that these being the only regions in which life could subsist, were allotted to man for his habitation. This wild opinion was not a conceit of the uninformed vulgar, or a fanciful fiction of the poets, but a system adopted by the most enlightened philosophers, the most accurate historians and geographers in Greece and Rome. According to this theory, a vast portion of the habitable earth was pronounced to be unfit for sustaining the human species. Those fertile and populous regions within the torrid zone, which are now known not only to yield their own inhabitants the necessaries and comforts of life with most luxuriant profusion, but to communicate their superfluous stores to the rest of the world, were supposed to be the mansion of perpetual sterility and desolation. As all the ports of the globe with which the ancients were acquainted lay within the northern temperate zone, their opinion that the other temperate zone was filled with inhabitants, was founded on reasoning and conjecture, not on discovery. They even believed that, by the intolerable heat of the torrid zone, such an insuperable barrier was placed between the two temperate regions of the earth as would prevent forever any intercourse between their respective inhabitants. Thus, this extravagant theory not only proves that the ancients were unacquainted with the true state of the globe, but it tended to render their ignorance perpetual, by representing all attempts towards opening a communication with the remote regions of the earth, as utterly impracticable. [8.]

But, however imperfect or inaccurate the geographical knowledge which the Greeks and Romans had acquired may appear, in respect of the present improved state of that science, their progress in discovery will seem considerable, and the extent to which they carried navigation and commerce must be reckoned great, when compared with the ignorance of early times. As long as the Roman Empire retained such vigor as to preserve its authority over the conquered nations, and to keep them united, it was an object of public policy, as well as of private curiosity, to examine and describe the countries which composed this great body. Even when the other sciences began to decline, geography, enriched with new observations, and receiving some accession from the experience of every age, and the reports of every traveller, continued to improve. It attained to the highest point of perfection and accuracy to which it ever arrived in the ancient world, by the industry and genius of Ptolemy the Philosopher. He flourished in the second century of the Christian æra, and published a description of the terrestrial globe, more ample and exact than that of any of his predecessors.

But, soon after, violent convulsions began to shake the Roman state; the fatal ambition or caprice of Constantine, by changing the seat of government, divided and weakened its force; the barbarous nations, which Providence prepared as instruments to overturn the mighty fabric of the Roman power, began to assemble and to muster their armies on its frontier; the empire tottered to its fall. During this decline and old age of the Roman state, it was impossible that the sciences should go on improving. The efforts of genius were, at that period, as languid and feeble as those of government. From the time of Ptolemy, no inconsiderable addition seems to have been made to a geographical knowledge; nor did any important revolution happen in trade, excepting that Constantinople, by its advantageous situation, and the encouragement of the eastern emperors, became a commercial city of the first note.

At length, the clouds which had been so long gathering round the Roman empire burst into a storm. Barbarous nations rushed in from several quarters with irresistable impetuosity, and in the general wreck, occasioned by the inundation which overwhelmed Europe, the arts, sciences, inventions, and discoveries of the Romans perished in a great measure, and disappeared All the various tribes which settled in the different provinces of the Roman empire were uncivilized, strangers to letters, destitute of arts, unacquainted with regular government, subordination or laws. The manners and institutions of some of them were so rude as to be hardly compatible with a state of social union. Europe, when occupied by such inhabitants, may be said to have returned to a second infancy, and had to begin anew its career in improvement, science, and civility. The first effect of the settlement of those barbarous invaders was to dissolve the union by which the Roman power had cemented mankind together. They parcelled out Europe into many small and independent states, differing from each other in language and customs. No intercourse subsisted between the members of those divided and hostile communities. Accustomed to a simple mode of life, and averse to industry, they had few wants to supply, and few superfluities to dispose of. The names of *stranger* and *enemy* became once more words of the same import. Customs every where prevailed and even laws were established, which rendered it disagreeable and dangerous to visit any foreign country. Cities, in which alone an extensive commerce can be carried on, were few, inconsiderable, and destitute of those immunities which produce security or excite enterprise. The sciences, on which geography and navigation are founded, were little cultivated. The accounts of ancient improvements and discoveries, contained in the Greek and Roman authors, were neglected or misunderstood. The knowledge of remote regions was lost, their situation, their commodities, and almost their names were unknown.

One circumstance prevented commercial intercourse with distant nations from ceasing altogether. Constantinople, though often threatened by the fierce invaders who spread desolation over the rest of Europe, was so fortunate as to escape their destructive rage In that city the knowledge of ancient arts and discoveries was preserved; a taste for elegance and splendor subsisted; the productions and luxuries of foreign countries were in request; and commerce continued to flourish there when it was almost extinct in every other part of Europe. The citizens of Constantinople did not confine their trade to the Islands of the Archipelago or to the adjacent coasts of Asia; they took a wider range, and, following the course which the ancients had marked out, imported the commodities of the East Indies from Alexandria. When Egypt was torn from the Roman empire, by the Arabians, the industry of the Greeks discovered a new channel by which the productions of India might be conveyed to Constantinople. They were carried up the Indus as far as that great river is navigable; thence they were transported by land to the banks of the river Oxus, and proceeded down its stream to the Caspian sea. There they entered the Volga, and, sailing up it, were carried by land to the Tanaic, which conducted them into the Euxine sea, where vessels from Constantinople waited their arrival. This extraordinary and tedious mode of conveyance merits attention, not only as a proof of the violent passion which the inhabitants of Constantinople had conceived for the luxuries of the East, and as a specimen of the ardor and ingenuity with which they carried on commerce; but because it demonstrates that, during the ignorance which reigned in the rest of Europe, an extensive knowledge of remote countries was still preserved in the capital of the Greek empire.

At the same time a gleam of light and knowledge broke in upon the East. The Arabians having contracted some relish for the sciences of the people whose empire they had contributed to overturn, translated the books of several of the Greek philosophers into their own language. One of the first was that valuable work of Ptolemy which I have already mentioned. The study of geography became, of consequence, an early object of attention to the Arabians. But that acute and ingenious people cultivated chiefly the speculative and scientific parts of geography. In order to ascertain the figure and dimensions of the terrestrial globe, they applied the principles of geometry, they had recourse to astronomical observations, they employed experiments and operations, which Europe in more enlightened times has been proud to adopt and to imitate. At that period, however, the fame of the improvements made by the Arabians did not reach Europe. The knowledge of their discoveries was reserved for ages capable of comprehending and of perfecting them.

By degrees the calamities and desolation brought upon the western provinces of the Roman empire by its barbarous conquerors were forgotten, and in some measure repaired. The rude tribes which settled there acquiring insensibly some idea of regular government, and some relish for the functions and comforts of civil life, Europe began to awake from its torpid and inactive state. The first symptoms of revival were discerned in Italy. The northern tribes which took possession of this country, made progress in improvement with greater rapidity than the people settled in other parts of Europe. Various causes, which it is not the object of this work to enumerate or explain, concurred in restoring liberty and independence to the cities of Italy. The acquisition of these roused industry, and gave motion and vigor to all the active powers of the human mind. Foreign commerce revived, navigation was attended to and improved. Constantinople became the chief mart to which the Italians resorted. There they not only met with a favorable reception, but obtained such mercantile privileges as enabled them to carry on trade with great advantage. They were supplied both with the precious commodities of the east, and with many curious manufactures, the product of ancient arts and ingenuity which still subsisted among the Greeks. As the labor and expense of conveying the productions of India to Constantinople by that long and indirect course which I have described, rendered them extremely rare, and of an exorbitant price, the industry of the Italians discovered other methods of procuring them in greater abundance and at an easier rate. They sometimes purchased them in Aleppo, Tripoli, and other ports on the coast of Syria, to which they were brought by a route not unknown to the ancients. They were conveyed from India by sea up the Persian Gulf, and ascending the Euphrates and Tigris as far as Bagdad, were carried by land across the desert of Palmyra, and from thence to the towns on the Mediterranean. But

from the length of the journey, and the dangers to which the caravans were exposed, this proved always a tedious and often a precarious mode of conveyance. At length the Soldans of Egypt, having revived the commerce with India in its ancient channel, by the Arabian Gulf, the Italian merchants, notwithstanding the violent antipathy to each other with which Christians and the followers of Mahomet were then possessed, repaired to Alexandria, and enduring, from the love of gain, the insolence and exactions of the Mahometans, established a lucrative trade in that port. From that period the commercial spirit of Italy became active and enterprising. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, rose from inconsiderable towns to be populous and wealthy cities. Their naval power increased; their vessels frequented not only all the ports in the Mediterranean, but venturing sometimes beyond the straits, visited the maritime towns of Spain, France, the Low Countries, and England; and, by distributing their commodities over Europe, began to communicate to its various nations some taste for the valuable productions of the East, as well as some ideas of manufactures and arts, which were then unknown beyond the precincts of Italy.

While the cities of Italy were thus advancing in their career of improvement, an event happened, the most extraordinary, perhaps, in the history of mankind, which, instead of retarding the commercial progress of the Italians rendered it more rapid. The martial spirit of the Europeans, heightened and inflamed by religious zeal, prompted them to attempt the deliverance of the Holy Land from the dominion of Infidels. Vast armies composed of all the nations in Europe, marched towards Asia upon this wild enterprise. The Genoese, the Pisans, and Venitians, furnished the transports which carried them thither. They supplied them with provisions and military stores. Besides the immense sums which they received on this account, they obtained commercial privileges and establishments of great consequence in the settlements which the Crusaders made in Palestine, and in other provinces of Asia. From those sources, prodigious wealth flowed into the cities which I have mentioned. This was accompanied with a proportional increase of power: and, by the end of the Holy War, Venice in particular became a great maritime state, possessing an extensive commerce and ample territories. Italy was not the only country in which the crusades contributed to revive and diffuse such a spirit as prepared Europe for future discoveries. By their expeditions into Asia, the other European nations became well acquainted with remote regions, which formerly they knew only by name, or by the reports of ignorant and credulous pilgrims. They had an opportunity of observing the manners, the arts, and the accommodations of people more polished than themselves. This intercourse between the East and West subsisted almost two centuries. The adventurers who returned from Asia, communicated to their countrymen the ideas which they had acquired, and the habits of life they had contracted by visiting more refined nations. The Europeans began to be sensible of wants with which they were formerly unacquainted; new desires were excited; and such a taste for the commodities and arts of other countries gradually spread among them, that they not only encouraged the resort of foreigners to their harbors, but began to perceive the advantages and necessity of applying to commerce themselves.

This communication, which was opened between Europe and the western provinces of Asia, encouraged several persons to advance far beyond the countries in which the Crusaders carried on their operations, and to travel by land into the more remote and opulent regions of the East. The wild fanaticism, which seems at that period to have mingled in all the schemes of individuals, no less than in all the counsel of nations, first incited men to enter upon those long and dangerous peregrinations. They were afterwards undertaken from prospects of commercial advantage, or from motives of mere curiosity. Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre, possessed with a superstitious veneration for the law of Moses, and solicitous to visit his countrymen in the East, whom he hoped to find in such a state of power and opulence as might redound to the honor of his sect, set out from Spain, in the year 1160, and travelling by land to Constantinople, proceeded through the countries to the north of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, as far as Chinese Tartary. From thence he took his route towards the south, and after traversing various provinces of the further India, he embarked on the Indian Ocean, visited several of its islands, and returned at the end of thirteen years, by the way of Egypt, to Europe, with much information concerning a large district of the globe altogether unknown at that time to the western world. The zeal of the head of the Christian Church co-operated with the superstition of Benjamin the Jew in discovering the interior and remote provinces of Asia. All Christendom having been alarmed with the accounts of the rapid progress of the Tartar arms under Zengis Khan [1246,] Innocent IV., who entertained most exalted ideas concerning the plenitude of his own power, and the submission due to his injunctions, sent Father John de Plano Carpini, at the head of a mission of Franciscan monks, and Father Ascolino, at the head of Dominicans, to enjoin Kayuk Kahn, the grandson of Zengis, who was then at the head of the Tartar empire, to embrace the Christian faith, and to desist from desolating the earth by his arms. The haughty descendant of the greatest conqueror Asia had ever beheld, astonished at this strange mandate from an Italian priest, whose name and jurisdiction were alike unknown to him, received it with the contempt which it merited, though he dismissed the mendicants who delivered it with impunity. But as they had penetrated into the country by different routes, and followed for some time the Tartar camps, which were always in motion, they had an opportunity of visiting a great part of Asia. Carpini, who proceeded by the way of Poland and Russia, travelled through its northern provinces as far as the extremities of Thibet. Ascolino, who seems to have landed some where in Syria, advanced through its southern provinces into the interior parts of Persia.

Not long after, [1253] St. Louis of France contributed further towards extending the knowledge which the Europeans had begun to acquire of those distant regions. Some designing impostor, who took advantage of the slender acquaintance of Christendom with the state and character of the Asiatic nations, having informed him that a powerful Khan of the Tartars had embraced the Christian faith, the monarch listened to the tale with pious credulity, and instantly resolved to send ambassadors to this illustrious convert, with a view of enticing him to attack their common enemy the Saracens in one quarter, while he fell upon them in another. As monks were the only persons in that age who possessed such a degree of knowledge as qualified them for a service of this kind he employed in it Father Andrew, a Jacobine, who was followed by Father William de Rubruquis, a Franciscan. With respect to the progress of the former, there is no memorial extant. The journal of the latter has been published. He was admitted into the presence of Mangu, the third Khan in succession from Zengis, and made a circuit through the interior parts of Asia, more extensive than that of any European who had hitherto explored them.

To those travellers whom religious zeal sent forth to visit Asia, succeeded others who ventured into remote countries from the prospect of commercial advantage, or from motives of mere curiosity. The first and most eminent of these was Marco Polo, a Venetian of a noble family. Having engaged early in trade [1265,] according to the custom of his country, his aspiring mind wished for a sphere of activity more extensive than was afforded to it by the established traffic carried on in those ports of Europe and Asia which the Venitians frequented. This prompted him to travel into unknown countries, in expectation of opening a commercial intercourse with them more suited to the sanguine ideas and hopes of a young adventurer.

As his father had already carried some European commodities to the court of the great Khan of the Tartars, and had disposed of them to advantage, he resorted thither. Under the protection of Kublay Khan, the most powerful of all the successors of Zengis, he continued his mercantile peregrinations in Asia upwards of twenty-six years; and during that time advanced towards the east, far beyond the utmost boundaries to which any European traveller had ever proceeded. Instead of following the course of Carpini and Rubriquis, along the vast unpeopled plains of Tartary, he passed through the chief trading cities in the more cultivated parts of Asia, and penetrated to Cambalu, or Peking; the capital of the great kingdom of Cathay, or China, subject at that time to the successors of Zengis. He made more than one voyage on the Indian ocean; he traded in many of the islands from which Europe had long received spiceries and other commodities which it held in high estimation, though unacquainted with the particular countries to which it was indebted for those precious productions; and he obtained information concerning several countries which he did not visit in person, particularly the island Zipangri, probably the same now known by the name of Japan. On his return, he astonished his contemporaries with his descriptions of vast regions whose names had never been heard of in Europe, and with such pompous accounts of their fertility, their populousness, their opulence, the variety of their manufactures, and the extent of their trade, as rose far above the conception of an uninformed age.

About half a century after Marco Polo [1322.] Sir John Mandeville, an Englishman, encouraged by his example, visited most of the countries in the East which he had described, and, like him, published an account of them. The narrations of these early travellers abound with many wild incoherent tales, concerning giants, enchanters, and monsters. But they were not from that circumstance less acceptable to an ignorant age, which delighted in what was marvellous. The wonders which they told, mostly on hearsay, filled the multitude with admiration. The facts which they related from their own observation attracted the attention of the more discerning. The former, which may be considered as the popular traditions and fables of the countries through which they had passed, were gradually disregarded as Europe advanced in knowledge. The latter, however incredible some of them may have appeared in their own time, have been confirmed by the observations of modern travellers. By means of both, however, the curiosity of mankind was excited with respect to the remote parts of the earth; their ideas were enlarged; and they were not only insensibly disposed to attempt new discoveries, but received such information as directed to that particular course in which these were afterwards carried on.

While this spirit was gradually forming in Europe, a fortunate discovery was made, which contributed more than all the efforts and ingenuity of the preceding ages to improve and to extend navigation. That wonderful property of the magnet, by which it communicates such virtue to a needle or slender rod of iron as to point towards the poles of the earth, was observed. The use which might be made of this in directing navigation was immediately perceived. That valuable, but now familiar instrument, the mariner's compass was constructed. When by means of it navigators found that, at all seasons and in every place, they could discover the north and south with so much ease and accuracy, it became no longer necessary to depend merely on the light of the stars and the observation of the sea coast. They gradually abandoned their ancient timid and lingering course along the shore, ventured boldly into the ocean, and relying on this new guide, could steer in the darkest night, and under the most cloudy sky, with a security and precision hitherto unknown. The compass may be said to have opened to man the dominion of the sea, and to have put him in full possession of the earth, by enabling him to visit every part of it. Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Almafi, a town of considerable trade in the kingdom of Naples, was the author of this great discovery, about the year one thousand three hundred and two. It hath been often the fate of those illustrious benefactors of mankind who have enriched science and improved the arts by their inventions, to derive more reputation than benefit from the happy efforts of their genius. But the lot of Gioia has been still more cruel; through the inattention or ignorance of contemporary historians, he has been defrauded even of the fame to which he had such a just title. We receive from them no information with respect to his profession, his character, the precise time when he made this important discovery, or the accidents and inquiries which led to it. The knowledge of this event, though productive of greater effects than any recorded in the annals of the human race, is transmitted to us without any of those circumstances which can gratify the curiosity that it naturally awakens. But though the use of the compass might enable the Italians to perform the short voyages to which they were accustomed with greater security and expedition, its influence was not so sudden or extensive as immediately to render navigation adventurous, and to excite a spirit of discovery. Many causes combined in preventing this beneficial invention from producing its full effect instantaneously. Men relinquish ancient habits slowly and with reluctance. They are averse to new experiments, and venture upon them with timidity. The commercial jealousy of the Italians, it is probable labored to conceal the happy discovery of their countrymen from other nations. The art of steering by the compass with such skill and accuracy as to inspire a full confidence in its direction, was acquired gradually. Sailors unaccustomed to quit the sight of land, durst not launch out at once and commit themselves to unknown seas. Accordingly, near half a century elapsed

from the time of Gioia's discovery, before navigators ventured into any seas which they had not been accustomed to frequent.

The first appearance of a bolder spirit may be dated from the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate Islands. By what accident they were led to the discovery of those small isles, which lie near five hundred miles from the Spanish coast, and above a hundred and fifty miles from the coast of Africa, contemporary writers have not explained. But, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the people of all the different kingdoms into which Spain was then divided, were accustomed to make piratical excursions thither; in order to plunder the inhabitants, or to carry them off as slaves. Clement VI., in virtue of the right claimed by the Holy See to dispose of all countries possessed by Infidels, erected those isles into a kingdom in the year one thousand three hundred and forty four, and conferred it on Lewis de la Cerda, descended from the royal family of Castile. But that unfortunate prince, destitute of power to assert his nominal title, having never visited the Canaries, John de Bethencourt, a Norman baron, obtained a grant of them from Henry III. of Castile. Bethencourt, with the valour and good fortune which distinguished the adventurers of his country, attempted and effected the conquest; and the possession of the Canaries remained for some time in his family, as a fief held of the crown of Castile. Previous to this expedition of Bethencourt, his countrymen settled in Normandy are said to have visited the coast of Africa, and to have proceeded far to the south of the Canary Islands [1365]. But their voyages thither seem not to have been undertaken in consequence of any public or regular plan for extending navigation and attempting new discoveries. They were either excursions suggested by that roving piratical spirit which descended to the Normans from their ancestors, or the commercial enterprises of private merchants, which attracted so little notice that hardly any memorial of them is to be found in contemporary authors.—In a general survey of the progress of discovery, it is sufficient to have mentioned this event; and leaving it among those of dubious existence, or of small importance, we may conclude, that though much additional information concerning the remote regions of the East had been received by travellers who visited them by land, navigation at the beginning of the fifteenth century had not advanced beyond the state to which it had attained before the downfall of the Roman empire.

At length the period arrived, when Providence decreed that men were to pass the limits within which they had been so long confined, and open to themselves a more ample field wherein to display their talents, their enterprise, and courage. The first considerable efforts towards this were not made by any of the more powerful states of Europe, or by those who had applied to navigation with the greatest assiduity and success. The glory of leading the way in this new career was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and least powerful of the European kingdoms. As the attempts of the Portuguese to acquire the knowledge of those parts of the globe with which mankind were then unacquainted, not only improved and extended the art of navigation, but roused such a spirit of curiosity and enterprise as led to the discovery of the New World, of which I propose to write the history, it is necessary to take a full view of the rise, the progress, and success of their various naval operations. It was in this school that the discoverer of America was trained; and unless we trace the steps by which his instructors and guides advanced, it will be impossible to comprehend the circumstances which suggested the idea, or facilitated the execution, of his great design.

Various circumstances prompted the Portuguese to exert their activity in this new direction, and enabled them to accomplish undertakings apparently superior to the natural force of their monarchy. The kings of Portugal, having driven the Moors out of their dominions, had acquired power as well as glory, by the success of their arms, against the Infidels. By their victories over them, they had extended the royal authority beyond the narrow limits within which it was originally circumscribed in Portugal, as well as in other feudal kingdoms. They had the command of the national force, could rouse it to act with united vigour, and, after the expulsion of the Moors, could employ it without dread of interruption from any domestic enemy. By the perpetual hostilities carried on for several centuries against the Mahometans, the martial and adventurous spirit which distinguished all the European nations during the middle ages, was improved and heightened among the Portuguese. A fierce civil war towards the close of the fourteenth century, occasioned by a disputed succession, augmented the military ardor of the nation, and formed or called forth men of such active and daring genius as are fit for bold undertakings. The situation of the kingdom, bounded on every side by the dominions of a more powerful neighbour, did not afford free scope to the activity of the Portuguese by land, as the strength of their monarchy was no match for that of Castile. But Portugal was a maritime state, in which there were many commodious harbors; the people had begun to make some progress in the knowledge and practice of navigation, and the sea was open to them, presenting the only field for enterprise in which they could distinguish themselves.

Such was the state of Portugal, and such the disposition of the people when John I., surnamed the Bastard, obtained secure possession of the crown by the peace concluded with Castile, in the year one thousand four hundred and eleven. He was a prince of great merit, who, by superior courage and abilities, had opened his way to a throne which of right did not belong to him. He instantly perceived that it would be impossible to preserve public order, or domestic tranquility, without finding some employment for the restless spirit of his subjects. With this view he assembled a numerous fleet at Lisbon, composed of all the ships which he could fit out in his own kingdom, and of many hired from foreigners. This great armament was destined to attack the Moors settled on the coast of Barbary [1412.] While it was equipping, a few vessels were appointed to sail along the western shore of Africa, bounded by the Atlantic ocean, and to discover the unknown countries situated there. From this inconsiderable attempt, we may date the commencement of that spirit of discovery which opened the barriers which had so long shut out mankind from the knowledge of one half of the terrestrial globe.

At the time when John sent forth these ships on this new voyage, the art of navigation was still very imperfect. Though Africa lay so near to Portugal, and the fertility of the countries already known on that continent invited men to explore it more fully, the Portuguese had never ventured to sail beyond Cape *Non*. That promontory, as its name imports, was hitherto considered as a boundary which could not be passed. But the nations of Europe had now acquired as much knowledge as emboldened them to disregard the prejudices and to correct the errors of their ancestors The long reign of ignorance, the constant enemy of every curious inquiry and of every new undertaking, was approaching to its period. The light of science began to dawn. The works of the ancient Greeks and Romans began to be read with admiration and profit. The sciences cultivated by the Arabians were introduced into Europe by the Moors settled in Spain and Portugal, and by the Jews, who were very numerous in both these kingdoms. Geometry, astronomy, and geography, the sciences on which the art of navigation is founded, became objects of studious attention. The memory of discoveries made by the ancients, was revived, and the progress of their navigation and commerce began to be traced. Some of the causes which have obstructed the cultivation of science in Portugal, during this century and the last did not exist, or did not operate in the same manner, in the fifteenth century; [9] and the Portuguese at that period seem to have kept pace with other nations on this side of the Alps in literary pursuits.

As the genius of the age favored the execution of that new undertaking, to which the peculiar state of the country invited the Portuguese; it proved successful. The vessels sent on the discovery doubled that formidable Cape, which had terminated the progress of former navigators, and proceeded a hundred and sixty miles beyond it, to Cape Bojador. As its rocky cliffs, which stretched a considerable way into the Atlantic, appeared more dreadful than the promontory which they had passed, the Portuguese commanders durst not attempt to sail round it, but returned to Lisbon, more satisfied with having advanced so far, than ashamed of having ventured no further.

Inconsiderable as this voyage was, it increased the passion for discovery which began to arise in Portugal. The fortunate issue of the king's expedition against the Moors of Barbary added strength to that spirit in the nation, and pushed it on to new undertakings. In order to render these successful, it was necessary that they should be conducted by a person who possessed abilities capable of discerning what was attainable, who enjoyed leisure to form a regular system for prosecuting discovery, and who was animated with ardor that would persevere in spite of obstacles and repulses Happily for Portugal, she found all those qualities in Henry Duke of Viesco, the fourth son of King John, by Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV. king of England. That prince, in his early youth, having accompanied his father in his expedition to Barbary, distinguished himself by many deeds of valor. To the martial spirit, which was the characteristic of every man of noble birth at that time, he added all the accomplishments of a more enlightened and polished age. He cultivated the arts and sciences, which were then unknown and despised by persons of his rank. He applied with peculiar fondness to the study of geography; and by the instruction of able masters, as well as by the accounts of travellers, he early acquired such knowledge of the habitable globe, as discovered the great possibility of finding new and opulent countries, by sailing along the coast of Africa. Such an object was formed to awaken the enthusiasm and ardor of a youthful mind, and he espoused with the utmost zeal the patronage of a design which might prove as beneficial as it appeared to be splendid and honorable. In order that he might pursue this great scheme without interruption, he retired from court immediately after his return from Africa, and fixed his residence at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where the prospect of the Atlantic ocean invited his thoughts continually towards his favorite project, and encouraged him to execute it. In this retreat he was attended by some of the most learned men in his country, who aided him in his researches. He applied for information to the Moors of Barbary, who were accustomed to travel by land into the interior provinces of Africa in quest of ivory, gold dust, and other rich commodities. He consulted the Jews settled in Portugal. By promises, rewards and marks of respect, he allured into his service several persons, foreigners as well as Portuguese, who were eminent for their skill in navigation. In taking those preparatory steps, the great abilities of the prince were seconded by his private virtues. His integrity, his affability, his respect for religion, his zeal for the honor of his country, engaged persons of all ranks to applaud his design, and to favor the execution of it. His schemes were allowed, by the greater part of his countrymen, to proceed neither from ambition nor the desire of wealth, but to flow from the warm benevolence of a heart eager to promote the happiness of mankind, and which justly entitle him to assume a motto for his device, that described the quality by which he wished to be distinguished, *the talent of doing good.*

His first effort, as is usual at the commencement of any new undertaking, was extremely inconsiderable. He fitted out a single ship [1418,] and giving the command of it to John Gonzales Zarco and Tristan Vaz, two gentlemen of his household, who voluntarily offered to conduct the enterprise, he instructed them to use their utmost efforts to double Cape Bojador, and thence to steer towards the south. They, according to the mode of navigation which still prevailed, held their course along the shore; and by following that direction, they must have encountered almost insuperable difficulties in attempting to pass Cape Bojador. But fortune came in aid to their want of skill, and prevented the voyage from being altogether fruitless. A sudden squall of wind arose, drove them out to sea, and when they expected every moment to perish, landed them on an unknown island, which from their happy escape they named *Porto Santo.* In the infancy of navigation, the discovery of this small island appeared a matter of such moment, that they instantly returned to Portugal with the good tidings, and were received by Henry with the applause and honor due to fortunate adventurers. This faint dawn of success filled a mind ardent in the pursuit of a favorite object, with such sanguine hopes as were sufficient incitements to proceed. Next year [1419] Henry sent out three ships under the same commanders, to whom he joined Bartholomew Perestrellow, in order to take possession of the island which they had discovered. When they began to settle in Porto Santo, they observed towards the south a fixed spot in the horizon like a small black cloud. By degrees, they were led to conjecture that it might be land; and steering towards it, they arrived at a considerable island, uninhabited and covered with wood, which on that account they called *Madeira.* As it was Henry's chief object to render his discoveries useful to his country, he immediately equipped a fleet to carry a colony of Portuguese to these islands [1420] By his provident care, they were furnished not only with the seeds, plants and domestic animals common in Europe; but, as he foresaw that the warmth of the cli

mate and fertility of the soil would prove favorable to the rearing of other productions, he procured slips of the vine from the island of Cyprus, the rich wines of which were then in great request, and plants of the sugar-cane from Sicily, into which it had been lately introduced. These throve so prosperously in this new country, that the benefit of cultivating them was immediately perceived, and the sugar and wine of Madeira quickly became articles of some consequence in the commerce of Portugal.

As soon as the advantages derived from this first settlement to the west of the European continent began to be felt, the spirit of discovery appeared less chimerical, and became more adventurous. By their voyages to Madeira, the Portuguese were gradually accustomed to a bolder navigation, and, instead of creeping servilely along the coast, ventured into the open sea. In consequence of taking this course, Gilianez, who commanded one of prince Henry's ships, doubled Cape Bojador [1433,] the boundary of the Portuguese navigation upwards of twenty years, and which had hitherto been deemed unpassable. This successful voyage, which the ignorance of the age placed on a level with the most famous exploits recorded in history, opened a new sphere to navigation, as it discovered the vast continent of Africa, still washed by the Atlantic ocean, and stretching towards the south. Part of this was soon explored; the Portuguese advanced within the tropics, and in the space of a few years discovered the river Senegal, and all the coast extending from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verd.

Hitherto the Portuguese had been guided in their discoveries, or encouraged to attempt them, by the light and information which they received from the works of the ancient mathematicians and geographers. But when they began to enter the torrid zone, the notion which prevailed among the ancients, that the heat which reigned perpetually there was so excessive as to render it uninhabitable, deterred them, for some time, from proceeding. Their own observations, when they first ventured into this unknown and formidable region, tended to confirm the opinion of antiquity concerning the violent operation of the direct rays of the sun. As far as the river Senegal, the Portuguese had found the coast of Africa inhabited by people nearly resembling the Moors of Barbary. When they advanced to the south of that river, the human form seemed to put on a new appearance. They beheld men with skins black as ebony, with short curled hair, flat noses, thick lips, and all the peculiar features which are now known to distinguish the race of negroes. This surprising alteration they naturally attributed to the influence of heat, and if they should advance nearer to the line, they began to dread that its effects would be still more violent. Those dangers were exaggerated; and many other objections against attempting further discoveries were proposed by some of the grandees, who, from ignorance, from envy, or from that cold timed prudence which rejects whatever has the air of novelty or enterprise, had hitherto condemned all prince Henry's schemes. They represented, that it was altogether chimerical to expect any advantage from countries situated in that region which the wisdom and experience of antiquity had pronounced to be unfit for the habitation of men; that their forefathers, satisfied with cultivating the territory which Providence had allotted them, did not waste the strength of the kingdom by fruitless projects in quest of new settlements; that Portugal was already exhausted by the expense of attempts to discover lands which either did not exist, or which nature destined to remain unknown; and was drained of men, who might have been employed in undertakings attended with more certain success, and productive of greater benefit. But neither their appeal to the authority of the ancients, nor their reasonings concerning the interests of Portugal, made any impression upon the determined philosophic mind of prince Henry. The discoveries which he had already made, convinced him that the ancients had little more than a conjectural knowledge of the torrid zone. He was no less satisfied that the political arguments of his opponents, with respect to the interest of Portugal, were malevolent and ill founded. In those sentiments he was strenuously supported by his brother Pedro, who governed the kingdom as guardian of their nephew Alphonso V., who had succeeded to the throne during his minority [1438]; and, instead of slackening his efforts, Henry continued to pursue his discoveries with fresh ardor.

But in order to silence all the murmurs of opposition, he endeavored to obtain the sanction of the highest authority in favor of his operations. With this view he applied to the Pope, and represented, in pompous terms, the pious and unwearied zeal with which he had exerted himself during twenty years, in discovering unknown countries, the wretched inhabitants of which were utter strangers to true religion, wandering in heathen darkness, or led astray by the delusions of Mahomet. He besought the holy father, to whom, as the vicar of Christ, all the kingdoms of the earth were subject, to confer on the crown of Portugal a right to all the countries possessed by infidels, which should be discovered by the industry of its subjects, and subdued by the force of its arms. He entreated him to enjoin all Christian powers, under the highest penalties, not to molest Portugal while engaged in this laudable enterprise, and to prohibit them from settling in any of the countries which the Portuguese should discover. He promised that in all their expeditions, it should be the chief object of his countrymen to spread the knowledge of the Christian religion, to establish the authority of the Holy See, and to increase the flock of the universal pastor. As it was by improving with dexterity every favorable conjuncture for acquiring new powers, that the court of Rome had gradually extended its usurpations, Eugene IV., the Pontiff to whom this application was made, eagerly seized the opportunity which now presented itself. He instantly perceived that, by complying with Prince Henry's request, he might exercise a prerogative no less flattering in its own nature than likely to prove beneficial in its consequences. A bull was accordingly issued, in which, after applauding in the strongest terms the past efforts of the Portuguese, and exhorting them to proceed in that laudable career on which they had entered, he granted them an exclusive right to all the countries which they should discover, from Cape Non to the continent of India.

Extravagant as this donation, comprehending such a large portion of the habitable globe, would now appear, even in Catholic countries, no person in the fifteenth century doubted that the Pope in the plenitude of his apostolic power, had a right to confer it. Prince Henry was soon sensible of the advantages which he derived from this transaction. His schemes were authorized and sanctified by the bull approving of them. The spirit of discovery was connected with zeal for religion, which in that age was a principle of such activity and vigor as to influence the conduct of nations. All Christian princes were deterred from intruding into those countries which the Portuguese had discovered, or from interrupting the progress of their navigation and conquests. [10]

The fame of the Portuguese voyages soon spread over Europe. Men long accustomed to circumscribe the activity and knowledge of the human mind within the limits to which they had been hitherto confined, were astonished to behold the sphere of navigation so suddenly enlarged, and a prospect opened of visiting regions of the globe the existence of which was unknown in former times. The learned and speculative reasoned and formed theories concerning those unexpected discoveries. The vulgar inquired and wondered; while enterprising adventurers crowded from every part of Europe, soliciting prince Henry to employ them in this honorable service. Many Venetians and Genoese, in particular, who were at that time superior to all other nations in the science of naval affairs, entered aboard the Portuguese ships, and acquired a more perfect and extensive knowledge of their profession in that new school of navigation. In emulation of these foreigners, the Portuguese exerted their own talents. The nation seconded the designs of the prince. Private merchants formed companies [1446,] with a view to search for unknown countries. The Cape de Verde Islands, which lie off the promontory of that name, were discovered [1449,] and soon after the isles called Azores. As the former of these are above three hundred miles from the African coast, and the latter nine hundred miles from any continent, it is evident by their venturing so boldly into the open seas, that the Portuguese had by this time improved greatly in the art of navigation.

While the passion for engaging in new undertakings was thus warm and active, it received an unfortunate check by the death of prince Henry [1463,] whose superior knowledge had hitherto directed all the operations of the discoverers, and whose patronage had encouraged and protected them. But notwithstanding all the advantages which they derived from these, the Portuguese during his life did not advance in their utmost progress towards the south, within five degrees of the equinoctial line; and after their continued exertions for half a century, [from 1412 to 1463,] hardly fifteen hundred miles of the coast of Africa were discovered. To an age acquainted with the efforts of navigation in its state of maturity and improvement, these essays of its early years must necessarily appear feeble and unskilful. But inconsiderable as they may be deemed, they were sufficient to turn the curiosity of the European nations into a new channel, to excite an enterprising spirit, and to point the way to future discoveries.

Alphonso, who possessed the throne of Portugal at the time of prince Henry's death, was so much engaged in supporting his own pretensions to the crown of Castile, or in carrying on his expeditions against the Moors of Barbary, that, the force of his kingdom being exerted in other operations, he could not prosecute the discoveries in Africa with ardor. He committed the conduct of them to Fernando Gomez, a merchant in Lisbon, to whom he granted an exclusive right of commerce with all the countries of which prince Henry had taken possession. Under the restraint and oppression of a monopoly, the spirit of discovery languished. It ceased to be a national object, and became the concern of a private man more attentive to his own gain than to the glory of his country. Some progress, however, was made. The Portuguese ventured at length [1471,] to cross the line, and, to their astonishment, found that region of the torrid zone, which was supposed to be scorched with intolerable heat, to be not only habitable, but populous and fertile.

John II., who succeeded his father Alphonso [1481,] possessed talents capable both of forming and executing great designs. As part of his revenues, while prince, had arisen from duties on the trade with the newly discovered countries, this naturally turned his attention towards them, and satisfied him with respect to their utility and importance. In proportion as his knowledge of these countries extended, the possession of them appeared to be of greater consequence. While the Portuguese proceeded along the coast of Africa, from Cape Non to the river of Senegal, they found all that extensive tract to be sandy, barren and thinly inhabited by a wretched people professing the Mahometan religion, and subject to the vast empire of Morocco. But to the south of that river, the power and religion of the Mahometans were unknown. The country was divided into small independent principalities, the population was considerable, the soil fertile, and the Portuguese soon discovered that it produced ivory, rich gums, gold, and other valuable commodities. By the acquisition of these, commerce was enlarged, and became more adventurous. Men, animated and rendered active by the certain prospect of gain, pursued discovery with greater eagerness than when they were excited only by curiosity and hope.

This spirit derived no small reinforcement of vigor from the countenance of such a monarch as John. Declaring himself the patron of every attempt towards discovery, he promoted it with all the ardor of his grand uncle, prince Henry, and with superior power. The effects of this were immediately felt. A powerful fleet was fitted out [1484,] which after discovering the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, advanced above fifteen hundred miles beyond the line, and the Portuguese, for the first time, beheld a new heaven, and observed the stars of another hemisphere. John was not only solicitous to discover, but attentive to secure the possession of those countries. He built forts on the coast of Guinea; he sent out colonies to settle there; he established a commercial intercourse with the more powerful kingdoms; he endeavored to render such as were feeble or divided tributary to the crown of Portugal. Some of the petty princes voluntarily acknowledged themselves his vassals. Others were compelled to do so by force of arms. A regular and well digested system was formed with respect to this new object of policy, and by firmly adhering to it the Portuguese power and commerce in Africa were established upon a solid foundation.

By their constant intercourse with the people of Africa, the Portuguese gradually acquired some knowledge of those parts of that country which they had not visited. The information which they received from the natives, added to what they had observed in their own voyages, began to open prospects more extensive, and to suggest the idea of schemes more important than those which had hitherto allured and occupied them. They had detected the error of the ancients concerning the nature of the torrid zone. They found as they proceeded southwards, that the continent of Africa, instead of extending in breadth, according to the doctrine of Ptolemy, at that time the oracle and guide of the learned in the science of geography, appeared sensibly to con

tract itself, and to bend towards the east. This induced them to give credit to the accounts of the ancient Phenician voyages round Africa, which had long been deemed fabulous, and led them to conceive hopes, that by following the same route, they might arrive at the East Indies, and engross that commerce which has been the source of wealth and power to every nation possessed of it. The comprehensive genius of prince Henry, as we may conjecture from the words of the Pope's bull, had early formed some idea of this navigation. But though his countrymen, at that period, were incapable of conceiving the extent of his views and schemes, all the Portuguese mathematicians and pilots now concurred in representing them as well founded and practicable. The king entered with warmth into their sentiments, and began to concert measures for this arduous and important voyage.

Before his preparations for this expedition were finished, accounts were transmitted from Africa, that various nations along the coast had mentioned a mighty kingdom situated on their continent, at a great distance towards the east, the king of which, according to their description, professed the Christian religion. The Portuguese monarch immediately concluded, that this must be the emperor of Abyssinia, to whom the Europeans, seduced by a mistake of Rubruquis, Marco Polo, and other travellers to the East, absurdly gave the name of Prester, or Presbyter John; and as he hoped to receive information and assistance from a Christian prince, in prosecuting a scheme that tended to propagate their common faith, he resolved to open, if possible, some intercourse with his court. With this view, he made choice of Pedro de Covillam, and Alphonso de Payva, who were perfect masters of the Arabic language, and sent them to the East to search for the residence of this unknown potentate, and to make him proffers of friendship. They had in charge likewise to procure whatever intelligence the nations which they visited could supply, with respect to the trade of India, and the course of navigation to that continent.

While John made this new attempt by land, to obtain some knowledge of the country which he wished so ardently to discover, he did not neglect the prosecution of this great design by sea. The conduct of a voyage for this purpose, the most arduous and important which the Portuguese had ever projected, was committed to Bartholomew Diaz [1486] an officer whose sagacity, experience, and fortitude, rendered him equal to the undertaking. He stretched boldly towards the south, and proceeding beyond the utmost limits to which his countrymen had hitherto advanced, discovered near a thousand miles of new country. Neither the danger to which he was exposed, by a succession of violent tempests in unknown seas, and by the frequent mutinies of his crew, nor the calamities of a famine which he suffered from losing his storeship, could deter him from prosecuting his enterprise. In recompense of his labors and perseverance, he at last descried that lofty promontory which bounds Africa to the south. But to descry it was all that he had in his power to accomplish. The violence of the winds, the shattered condition of his ships, and the turbulent spirit of the sailors, compelled him to return after a voyage of sixteen months, in which he discovered a far greater extent of country than any former navigator. Diaz had called the promontory which terminated his voyage *Capo Tormentoso*, or the stormy Cape; but the king, his master, as he now entertained no doubt of having found the long desired route to India, gave it a name more inviting, and of a better omen, *The Cape of Good Hope*.

Those sanguine expectations of success were confirmed by the intelligence which John received over land, in consequence of his embassy to Abyssinia. Covillam and Payva, in obedience to their master's instructions, had repaired to Grand Cairo. From that city they travelled along with a caravan of Egyptian merchants, and embarking on the Red Sea, arrived at Aden, in Arabia. There they separated; Payva sailed directly towards Abyssinia; Covillam embarked for the East Indies, and having visited Calecut, Goa, and other cities on the Malabar coast, returned to Sofalo, on the east side of Africa, and thence to Grand Cairo, which Payva and he had fixed upon as their place of rendezvous. Unfortunately the former was cruelly murdered in Abyssinia; but Covillam found at Cairo two Portuguese Jews, whom John, whose provident sagacity attended to every circumstance that could facilitate the execution of his schemes, had despatched after them, in order to receive a detail of their proceedings, and to communicate to them new instructions. By one of these Jews, Covillam transmitted to Portugal a journal of his travels by sea and land, his remarks upon the trade of India, together with exact maps of the coasts on which he had touched; and from what he himself had observed, as well as from the information of skilful seamen, in different countries, he concluded, that, by sailing round Africa, a passage might be found to the East Indies.

The happy coincidence of Covillam's opinion and report, with the discoveries which Diaz had lately made, left hardly any shadow of doubt with respect to the possibility of sailing from Europe to India. But the vast length of the voyage, and the furious storms which Diaz had encountered near the Cape of Good Hope, alarmed and intimidated the Portuguese to such a degree, although by long experience they were now become adventurous and skilful mariners, that some time was requisite to prepare their minds for this dangerous and extraordinary voyage. The courage, however, and authority of the monarch gradually dispelled the vain fears of his subjects, or made it necessary to conceal them. As John thought himself now upon the eve of accomplishing that great design which had been the principal object of his reign, his earnestness in prosecuting it became so vehement, that it occupied his thoughts by day and bereaved him of sleep through the night. While he was taking every precaution that his wisdom and experience could suggest, in order to ensure the success of the expedition, which was to decide concerning the fate of his favorite project, the fame of the vast discoveries which the Portuguese had already made, the reports concerning the extraordinary intelligence which they had received from the East, and the prospect of the voyage which they now meditated, drew the attention of all the European nations, and held them in suspense and expectation. By some, the maritime skill and navigation of the Portuguese were compared with those of the Phenicians and Carthaginians, and exalted above them. Others formed conjectures concerning the revolutions which the success of the Portuguese schemes might occasion in the course of trade, and the political state of Europe.—The Venetians began to be disquieted with the apprehension of losing their Indian commerce, the monopoly of which was the chief source of their power as well as opulence, and the Portuguese already enjoyed in fancy the wealth of the East. But during this interval, which gave such scope to the various workings of curiosity, of hope, and of fear, an account was brought to Europe of an event no less extraordinary than unexpected, the discovery of a New World situated on the West; and the eyes and admiration of mankind turned immediately towards that great object.

BOOK II.

Birth and education of Columbus—acquires naval skill in the service of Portugal—conceives hopes of reaching the East Indies by holding a westerly course—his system founded on the ideas of the ancients, and knowledge of their navigation—and on the discoveries of the Portuguese—his negotiations with different courts—obstacles which he had to surmount in Spain—Voyage of discovery—difficulties—success—return to Spain—Astonishment of mankind on this discovery of a new world—Papal grant of it—Second voyage—Colony settled—Further discoveries—War with the Indians—First tax imposed on them—Third voyage—He discovers the Continent—State of the Spanish colony—Errors in the first system of colonizing—Voyage of the Portuguese to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope—Effects of this—discoveries made by private adventurers in the New World—Name of America given to it—Machinations against Columbus—disgraced and sent in chains to Europe—Fourth voyage of Columbus—His discoveries—disasters—death.

Among the foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service, was Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a subject of the Republic of Genoa. Neither the time nor place of his birth is known with certainty [11]; but he was descended of an honorable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes. His ancestors having betaken themselves for subsistence to a seafaring life, Columbus discovered in his early youth the peculiar character and talents which mark out a man for that profession. His parents, instead of thwarting this original propensity of his mind, seem to have encouraged and confirmed it by the education which they gave him. After acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such ardor and predilection, on account of their connexion with navigation, his favorite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified, he went to sea at the age of fourteen [1461], and began his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were to those ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen the Genoese frequented. This being a sphere too narrow for his active mind, he made an excursion to the northern seas [1467,] and visited the coast of Iceland, to which the English and other nations had begun to resort on account of its fishery. As navigation, in every direction, was now become enterprising, he proceeded beyond that island, the Thule of the ancients, and advanced several degrees within the polar circle. Having satisfied his curiosity, by a voyage which tended more to enlarge his knowledge of naval affairs than to improve his fortune, he entered into the service of a famous sea-captain of his own name and family. This man commanded a small squadron fitted out at his own expense, and by cruising sometimes against the Mahometans, sometimes against the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. With him Columbus continued for several years, no less distinguished for his courage than for his experience as a sailor. At length, in an obstinate engagement off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian caravels returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships to which it was fast grappled. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him. He threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the support of it, and his dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant, and saved a life reserved for great undertakings.

As soon as he recovered strength for the journey, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen were settled. They soon conceived such a favorable opinion of his merit, as well as talents, that they warmly solicited him to remain in that kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of rendering him conspicuous. To every adventurer animated either with curiosity to visit new countries, or with ambition to distinguish himself, the Portuguese service was at that time extremely inviting. Columbus listened with a favorable ear to the advice of his friends, and having gained the esteem of a Portuguese lady, whom he married fixed his residence in Lisbon. This alliance, instead of detaching him from a seafaring life, contributed to enlarge the sphere of his naval knowledge, and to excite a desire of extending it still further. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the captains employed by prince Henry in his early navigations, and who, under his protection, had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. Columbus got possession of the journals and charts of this experienced navigator; and from them he learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries, as well as the various circumstances which guided or encouraged them in their attempts. The study of these soothed and inflamed his favorite passion; and while he contemplated the maps, and read the descriptions of the new countries which Perestrello had seen, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

By the experience which Columbus acquired, during such a variety of voyages to almost every port of the globe with which at that time any intercourse was carried on by sea, he was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe. But, not satisfied with that praise, his ambition aimed at something more. The successful progress of the Portuguese navigators had awakened a spirit of curiosity and emulation, which set every man of science upon examining all the circumstances that led to the discoveries which they had made, or that afforded a prospect of succeeding in any new and bolder undertaking. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, capable of deep reflection, and turned to speculations of this kind, was so often employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery, and the mode on which they had carried them on, that he gradually began to form an idea of improving upon their plan, and of accomplishing discoveries which hitherto they had attempted in vain.

To find out a passage by sea to the East Indies, was the important object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cape de Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and in comparison with all their discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. The fertility and

riches of India had been known for many ages; its spices and other valuable commodities were in high request throughout Europe, and the vast wealth of the Venitians, arising from their having engrossed this trade, had raised the envy of all nations. But how intent soever the Portuguese were upon discovering a new route to those desirable regions, they searched for it only by steering towards the south, in hopes of arriving at India by turning to the east after they had sailed round the further extremity of Africa. This course was still unknown, and even if discovered, was of such immense length, that a voyage from Europe to India must have appeared at that period an undertaking extremely arduous, and of very uncertain issue. More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cape Non to the equator; a much longer space of time might elapse before the more extensive navigation from that to India could be accomplished. These reflections upon the uncertainty, the danger, and tediousness of the course which the Portuguese were pursuing, naturally led Columbus to consider whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and seriously every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory as well as the practice of navigation; after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the great continent of India, must infallibly be discovered

Principles and arguments of various kinds, and derived from different sources, induced him to adopt this opinion, seemingly as chimerical as it was new and extraordinary. The spherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, as far as they were known at that time, formed but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It was suitable to our ideas concerning the wisdom and beneficence of the Author of Nature, to believe that the vast space still unexplored was not covered entirely by a waste unprofitable ocean, but occupied by countries fit for the habitation of man. It appeared likewise extremely probable that the continent on this side of the globe was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning the existence of another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators. A Portuguese pilot, having stretched further to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved floating upon the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law had found to the west of the Madeira isles, a piece of timber fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind; and had seen likewise canes of an enormous size floating upon the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolemy as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees torn up by the roots were often driven upon the coast of the Azores; and at one time, the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

As the force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical principles and practical observations, led Columbus to expect the discovery of new countries in the western ocean, other reasons induced him to believe that these must be connected with the continent of India. Though the ancients had hardly ever penetrated into India further than the banks of the Ganges, yet some Greek authors had ventured to describe the provinces beyond that river. As men are prone, and at liberty, to magnify what is remote or unknown, they represented them as regions of an immense extent. Ctesias affirmed that India was as large as all the rest of Asia. Onesicritus, whom Pliny the naturalist follows, contended that it was equal to a third part of the habitable earth. Nearchus asserted, that it would take four months to march in a straight line from one extremity of India to the other. The journal of Marco Polo, who had proceeded towards the East far beyond the limits to which any European had ever advanced, seemed to confirm these exaggerated accounts of the ancients. By his magnificent descriptions of the kingdoms of *Cathay* and *Cipango*, and of many other countries the names of which were unknown in Europe, India appeared to be a region of vast extent. From these accounts, which, however defective, were the most accurate that the people of Europe had received at that period with respect to the remote parts of the East, Columbus drew a just conclusion. He contended that, in proportion as the continent of India stretched out towards the East, it must, in consequence of the spherical figure of the earth, approach near to the islands which had lately been discovered to the west of Africa; that the distance from the one to the other was probably not very considerable; and that the most direct as well as shortest course to the remote regions of the East was to be found by sailing due west. [12] This notion concerning the vicinity of India to the western parts of our continent, was countenanced by some eminent writers among the ancients, the sanction of whose authority was necessary, in that age, to procure a favorable reception to any tenet. Aristotle thought it probable that the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, were not far removed from the East Indies, and that there might be a communication by sea between them. Seneca, in terms still more explicit, affirms, that with a fair wind one might sail from Spain to India in a few days. The famous Atlantic islands described by Plato, and supposed by many to be a real country, beyond which an unknown continent was situated, is represented by him as lying at no great distance from Spain. After weighing all these particulars, Columbus, in whose character the modesty and diffidence of true genius were united with the ardent enthusiasm of a projector, did not rest with such absolute assurance, either upon his own arguments, or upon the authority of the ancients, as not to consult such of his cotemporaries as were capable of comprehending the nature of the evidence which he produced in support of his opinion. As early as the year one thousand four hundred and seventy four, he communicated his ideas concerning the probability of discovering new countries, by sailing westward, to Paul, a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of cosmography, and who, from the learning as well as candor which he discovers in his reply, appears to have been well entitled to the confidence which Columbus placed in him. He warmly approved of the plan, suggested several facts in confirmation of it, and encouraged Columbus to persevere in an undertaking so laudable, and which must redound so much to the honor of his country and the benefit of Europe.

To a mind less capable of forming and of executing great designs than that of Columbus, all those reasonings and observations and authorities would have served only as the foundation of some plausible and fruitless theory, which might have furnished matter for ingenious discourse or fanciful conjecture. But with his sanguine and enterprising temper speculation led directly to action. Fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment, and to set out upon a voyage of discovery. The first step towards this was to secure the patronage of some of the considerable powers in Europe capable of undertaking such an enterprise. As long absence had not extinguished the affection which he bore to his native country, he wished that it should reap the fruits of his labors and invention. With this view, he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and, making his country the first tender of his service, offered to sail under the banners of the republic in quest of the new regions which he expected to discover. But Columbus had resided for so many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities and character; and, though a maritime people, were so little accustomed to distant voyages, that they could form no just idea of the principles on which he founded his hopes of success. They inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost forever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendour.

Having performed what was due to his country, Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that instead of relinquishing his undertaking he pursued it with fresh ardor. He made his next overture to John II. king of Portugal, in whose dominions he had been long established, and whom he considered on that account, as having the second claim to his service. Here every circumstance seemed to promise him a more favorable reception: he applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs, and proud of patronising every attempt to discover new countries His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe, and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty and boldness of any maritime expedition. In Portugal, the professional skill of Columbus, as well as his personal good qualities, were thoroughly known, and as the former rendered it probable that his scheme was not altogether visionary, the latter exempted him from the suspicion of any sinister intention in proposing it. Accordingly, the king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortis, Bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish Physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. As in Genoa, ignorance had opposed and disappointed Columbus; in Lisbon, he had to combat with prejudice, an enemy no less formidable. The persons according to whose decision his scheme was to be adopted, or rejected, had been the chief directors of the Portuguese navigations, and had advised to search for a passage to India, by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal without submitting to the double mortification of condemning their own theory, and acknowledging his superior sagacity. After teasing him with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections, with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system as might draw from him a full discovery of its nature, they deferred passing a final judgment with respect to it. In the mean time they conspired to rob him of the honor and advantages which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the king to despatch a vessel secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot chosen to execute Columbus's plan had neither the genius nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Upon discovering this dishonorable transaction, Columbus felt the indignation natural to an ingenious mind, and in the warmth of his resentment determined to break off all intercourse with a nation capable of such flagrant treachery. He instantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain towards the close of the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. As he was now at liberty to court the protection of any patron whom he could engage to approve of his plan, and to carry it into execution, he resolved to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. But as he had already experienced the uncertain issue of application to kings and ministers, he took the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, in order that he might negotiate at the same time with Henry VII. who was reputed one in the most sagacious as well as opulent princes in Europe.

It was not without reason that Columbus entertained doubts and fears with respect to the reception of his proposals in the Spanish court. Spain was at that juncture engaged in a dangerous war with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms in that country The wary and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was not formed to relish bold or uncommon designs. Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions. The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits, and had beheld the amazing progress of discovery among their neighbors the Portuguese without one attempt to imitate or to rival them. The war with the infidels afforded an ample field to the national activity and love of glory. Under circumstances so unfavorable, it was impossible for Columbus to make rapid progress with a nation naturally slow and dilatory in forming all its resolutions. His character, however, was admirably adapted to that of the people whose confidence and protection he solicited. He was grave, though courteous in his deportment; circumspect in his words and actions, irreproacable in his morals, and exemplary in his attention to all the duties and functions of religion. By qualities so respectable, he not only gained many private friends, but acquired such general esteem, that, notwithstanding the plainness of his appearance, suitable to the mediocrity of his fortune, he was not considered as a mere adventurer, to whom indigence had suggested a visionary project, but was received as a person to whose propositions serious attention was due.

Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much regard to Columbus, as to remit the consideration of his plan

to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He consulted such of his countrymen as were supposed best qualified to decide with respect to a subject of this kind. But true science had hitherto made so little progress in Spain, that the pretended philosophers, selected to judge in a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them from mistaken notions concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the east which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years. Others concluded, that either he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers; or, if he should persist in steering towards the west beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres which nature had forever disjoined. Even without deigning to enter into any particular discussion, many rejected the scheme in general, upon the credit of a maxim, under which the ignorant and unenterprising shelter themselves in every age. "That it is presumptuous in any person, to suppose that he alone possesses knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind united." They maintained, that if there were really any such countries as Columbus pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.

It required all Columbus's patience and address to negotiate with men capable of advancing such strange propositions. He had to contend not only with the obstinacy of ignorance, but with what is still more intractable, the pride of false knowledge. After innumerable conferences, and wasting five years in fruitless endeavors to inform and to satisfy judges so little capable of deciding with propriety, Talavera at last made such an unfavorable report to Ferdinand and Isabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be brought to a period, it would be imprudent to engage in any new and extensive enterprise.

Whatever care was taken to soften the harshness of this declaration, Columbus considered it as a final rejection of his proposals. But, happily for mankind, that superiority of genius, which is capable of forming great and uncommon designs, is usually accompanied with an ardent enthusiasm, which can neither be cooled by delays nor damped by disappointment. Columbus was of this sanguine temper. Though he felt deeply the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court where he had been amused so long with vain expectations, his confidence in the justness of his own system did not diminish, and his impatience to demonstrate the truth of it by an actual experiment became greater than ever. Having courted the protection of sovereign states without success, he applied next to persons of inferior rank, and addressed successively the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, who, though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence more than equal to the enterprise which he projected. His negotiations with them proved as fruitless as those in which he had been hitherto engaged; for these noblemen were either as little convinced by Columbus's arguments as their superiors, or they were afraid of alarming the jealousy and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by countenancing a scheme which he had rejected.

Amid the painful sensations occasioned by such a succession of disappointments, Columbus had to sustain the additional distress of having received no accounts of his brother whom he had sent to the court of England. In his voyage to that country, Bartholomew had been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, who having stripped him of every thing detained him a prisoner for several years. At length he made his escape, and arrived in London, but in such extreme indigence, that he was obliged to employ himself, during a considerable time in drawing and selling maps, in order to pick up as much money as would purchase a decent dress in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the proposals with which he had been intrusted by his brother; and, notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony, which rendered him averse to new or extensive undertakings, he received Columbus's overtures with more approbation than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented.

Meanwhile, Columbus being unacquainted with his brother's fate, and having now no prospect of encouragement in Spain, resolved to visit the court of England in person, in hopes of meeting with a more favorable reception there. He had already made preparations for this purpose, and taken measures for the disposal of his children during his absence, when Juan Perez, the guardian of the monastery of Rabida, near Palos, in which they had been educated, earnestly solicited him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with queen Isabella, to whom he was known personally. He was warmly attached to Columbus, with whose ability as well as integrity he had many opportunities of being acquainted. Prompted by curiosity or by friendship, he entered upon an accurate examination of his system, in conjunction with a physician settled in the neighborhood, who was a considerable proficient in mathematical knowledge. This investigation satisfied them so thoroughly, with respect to the solidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and the probability of success in executing the plan which he proposed, that Perez, in order to prevent his country from being deprived of the glory and benefit which must accrue to the patrons of such a grand enterprise, ventured to write to Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter anew with the attention which it merited.

Moved by the representations of a person whom she respected, Isabella desired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fe, in which, on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided at that time, that she might confer with him on this important subject. The first effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the present of a small sum to equip him for the journey. As there was now a certain prospect that the war with the Moors would speedily be brought to a happy issue by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings; this, as well as the mark of royal favor, with which Columbus had been lately honored, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence than formerly in support of his scheme. The chief of these, Alonza de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon, whose meritorious zeal in promoting this great design entitles their names to an honorable place in history, introduced Columbus to many persons of high rank, and interested them warmly in his behalf.

But it was not an easy matter to inspire Ferdinand with favorable sentiments. He still regarded Columbus's project as extravagant and chimerical; and in order to render the efforts of his partisans ineffectual he had the address to employ, in this new negotiation with him, some of the persons who had formerly pronounced his scheme to be impracticable. To their astonishment, Columbus appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success as formerly, and insisted upon the same high recompense. He proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out, under his command, to attempt the discovery, and demanded to be appointed hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands which he should discover, and to have the tenths of the profits arising from them, settled irrevocably upon himself and his descendants. At the same time, he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary for accomplishing his design, on condition that he should be entitled to a proportional share of benefit from the adventure. If the enterprise should totally miscarry, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever. Instead of viewing this conduct as the clearest evidence of his full persuasion with respect to the truth of his own system, or being struck with that magnanimity which, after so many delays and repulses, would stoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the persons with whom Columbus treated began meanly to calculate the expense of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded. The expense, moderate as it was, they represented to be too great for Spain in the present exhausted state of its finances. They contended that the honors and emoluments claimed by Columbus were exorbitant, even if he should perform the utmost of what he had promised; and if all his sanguine hopes would prove illusive, such vast concessions to an adventurer would be deemed not only inconsiderate, but ridiculous. In this imposing garb of caution and prudence, their opinion appeared so plausible, and was so warmly supported by Ferdinand, that Isabella declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the negotiation with him which she had begun

This was more mortifying to Columbus than all the disappointments which he had hitherto met with. The invitation to court from Isabella, like an unexpected ray of light, had opened such prospects of success as encouraged him to hope that his labors were at an end; but now darkness and uncertainty returned, and his mind firm as it was, could hardly support the shock of such an unforeseen reverse. He withdrew in deep anguish from court, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England as his last resource.

About that time Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took possession of the city [Jan. 2, 1489,] the reduction of which extirpated a foreign power from the heart of their dominions, and rendered them master, of all the provinces extending from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal. As the flow of spirits which accompanies success elevates the mind, and renders it enterprising, Quintanilla and Santangel, the vigilant and discerning patrons of Columbus, took advantage of this favorable situation, in order to make one effort more in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella; and after expressing some surprise, that she, who had always been the munificent patroness of generous undertakings, should hesitate so long to countenance the most splendid scheme that had ever been proposed to any monarch; they represented to her, that Columbus was a man of a sound understanding and virtuous character, well qualified, by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe and the situation of its various regions; that, by offering to risk his own life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, he gave the most satisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of success; that the sum requisite for equipping such an armament as he demanded was inconsiderable, and the advantages which might accrue from his undertaking were immense; that he demanded no recompense for his invention and labor, but what was to arise from the countries which he should discover, that, as it was worthy of her magnanimity to make this noble attempt to extend the sphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourse with regions hitherto unknown, so it would afford the highest satisfaction to her piety and zeal, after re-establishing the Christian faith in those provinces of Spain from which it had been long banished, to discover a new world, to which she might communicate the light and blessings of divine truth; that if now she did not decide instantly, the opportunity would be irretrievably lost; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where some prince more fotunate or adventurous, would close with his proposals and Spain would for ever bewail that fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

These forcible arguments, urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, produced the desired effect. They dispelled all Isabella's doubts and fears; she ordered Columbus to be instantly recalled, declared her resolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low estate of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels in order to raise as much money as might be needed in making preparations for the voyage. Santangel, in a transport of gratitude, kissed the queen's hand, and, in order to save her from having recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite.

Columbus had proceeded some leagues on his journey, when the messenger from Isabella overtook him Upon receiving an account of the unexpected resolution in his favor, he returned directly to Santa Fe, though some remainder of diffidence still mingled itself with his joy. But the cordial reception which he met with from Isabella, together with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage which had so long been the object of his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of all that he had suffered in Spain during eight tedious years of solicitation and suspense. The negotiation now went forward with facility and despatch, and a treaty of capitulation with Columbus was signed on the 17th of April, one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. The chief articles of it were:—1, Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents, which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated that he and his heirs for ever should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Castile within the limits of his jurisdiction. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it would hereafter be

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necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries; they authorized Columbus to name three persons of whom they would choose one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3. They granted to Columbus and his heirs for ever the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he should discover. 4. They declared, that if any controversy or lawsuit should arise with respect to any mercantile transaction in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one-eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover, and entitled him, in return to one eighth part of the profit.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears enjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was still so violent that he refused to take any part in the enterprise as king of Aragon. As the whole expense of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Isabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavored to make some reparation to Columbus for the time which he had lost in fruitless solicitation. By the twelfth of May, all that depended upon her was adjusted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen in order to receive their final instructions. Every thing respecting the destination and conduct of the voyage they committed implicitly to the disposal of his prudence. But that they might avoid giving any just cause of offence to the king of Portugal, they strictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea, or in any of the other countries to which the Portuguese claimed right as discoverers. Isabella had ordered the ships of which Columbus was to take the command to be fitted out in the port of Palos a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. As the guardian Juan Perez, to whom Columbus had already been so much indebted, resided in the neighborhood of this place, he, by the influence of that good ecclesiastic, as well as by his own connection with the inhabitants, not only raised among them what he wanted of the sum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged several of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth, and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the expedition.

But after all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the importance of the service for which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*, out of respect for the Blessed Virgin, whom he honored with singular devotion. Of the second, called the *Pinta*, Marton Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the *Nigna*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two were light vessels hardly superior in burden or force to large boats. The squadron, if it merits that name, was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expense of the undertaking was one of the circumstances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negotiation with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed four thousand pounds.

As the art of ship-building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk of vessels was accommodated to the short and easy voyages along the coast which they were accustomed to perform, it is a proof of the courage, as well as enterprising genius of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which he might be exposed. His eagerness to accomplish the great design which had so long engrossed his thoughts, made him overlook or disregard every circumstance that would have intimidated a mind less adventurous. He pushed forward the preparations with such ardor, and was seconded so effectually by the persons to whom Isabella committed the superintendence of this business, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage. But as Columbus was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion, he would not set out upon an expedition so arduous, and of which one great object was to extend the knowledge of the Christian faith, without imploring publicly the guidance and protection of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the holy sacrament from the hands of the guardian, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronized.

Next morning, being Friday the third day of August, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Columbus set sail, a little before sunrise, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished rather than expected. Columbus steered directly for the Canary Islands, and arrived there [Aug. 13] without any occurrence that would have deserved notice on any other occasion. But, in a voyage of such expectation and importance, every circumstance was the object of attention. The rudder of the Pinda broke loose the day after she left the harbor; and that accident alarmed the crew, no less superstitious than unskilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate destiny of the expedition. Even in the short run to the Canaries, the ships were found to be so crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation which was expected to be both long and dangerous Columbus refitted them, however, to the best of his power; and having supplied himself with fresh provisions, he took his departure from Gomera, one of the most westerly of the Canary Islands, on the sixth day of September.

Here the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin; for Columbus, holding his course due west, left immediately the usual tract of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the second he lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, dejected already, and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurances of success, and the prospect of vast wealth in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them. This early discovery of the spirit of his followers taught Columbus that he must prepare to struggle not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command; and he perceived that the art of governing the minds of men would be no less requisite for accomplishing the discoveries which he had in view, than naval skill and undaunted courage. Happily for himself, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his own passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendant over those of other men. All these qualities, which formed him to command, were accompanied with that superior knowledge of his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unskilful Spanish sailors, accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime science of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years' experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portuguese, appeared immense. As soon as they put to sea, he regulated every thing by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times upon deck. As his course lay through seas, which had not formerly been visited, the sounding line, or instruments for observation, were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, seaweeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors, habituated only to short excursions, Columbus endeavored to conceal from them the real progress which they made. With this view, though they run eighteen leagues on the second day after they left Gomera, he gave out that they had advanced only fifteen, and he uniformly employed the same artifice of reckoning short during the whole voyage. By the fourteenth of September the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the west of the Canary Isles, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, into the cause of which the sagacity of man has not been able to penetrate, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless and unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears or silenced their murmurs.

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary Islands. In this course he came within the sphere of the trade wind which blows invariably from east to west, between the tropics and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale with such uniform rapidity that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about four hundred leagues to the west of the Canaries, he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of vast extent, and in some places they were so thick as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean; that these floating weeds would obstruct their further progress, and concealed dangerous rocks, or some large track of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavored to persuade them that what had alarmed ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of approaching land. At the same time, a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship [13.] and directing their flights towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

Upon the first of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, seven hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Canaries; but lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of the navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only five hundred and eighty four leagues, and fortunately, for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error, and discover the deceit. They had now been above three weeks at sea; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed possible, all their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumstances, had proved fallacious; the appearances of land, with which their own credulity or the artifice of their commander had from time to time flattered and amused them, had been altogether illusive, and their prospect of success seemed now to be as distant as ever. These reflections occurred often to men who had no other object or occupation than to reason and discourse concerning the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impression at first upon the ignorant and timid, and extending by degress to such as were better informed or more resolute, the contagion spread at length from ship to ship. From secret whispers or murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of so many of her own subjects in prosecuting a chimerical scheme. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by venturing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, and could incur no blame for refusing to follow any longer a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended, that it was necessary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but expressed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind, which hitherto have been so favourable to their course, must render it impossible to sail in an opposite direction. All agreed that Columbus should be

compelled by force to adopt a measure on which their common safety depended. Some of the more audacious proposed, as the most expeditious and certain method of getting rid at once of his remonstrances, to throw him into the sea, being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector, would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed, with great uneasiness, the fatal operation of ignorance and of fear in producing disaffection among his crew, and saw that it was now ready to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man satisfied with the progress he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavored to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behavior, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive, and not only restrained them from those violent excesses which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the south-west. Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided, in several of their discoveries, by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for several days in this new direction, without any better success than formerly, having seen no object, during thirty days, but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost: the officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men; they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which, having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures to quell a mutiny so general and so violent. It was necessary, on all these accounts, to soothe passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him, and obey his command for three days longer, and, if during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprise, and direct his course towards Spain.

Enraged as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again toward their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The presages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible. For some days the sounding line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased, and were composed not only of sea-fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the Pinta observed a cane floating, which seemed to have been newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the Nigna took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm, and during the night the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie to, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus, standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Guttieres, a page of the Queen's wardrobe. Guttierez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight the joyful sound of *land! land!* was heard from the Pinta, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief, and waited in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience for the return of day. As soon as morning dawned [Oct. 12], all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the Pinta instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to Heaven, was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan; and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, whom they had so lately reviled and threatened, to be a person inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

As soon as the sun arose, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the island with their colors displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set foot in the New World which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed, and kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such a happy issue. They then took solemn possession of the country, for the crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portuguese were accustomed to observe in acts of this kind, in their new discoveries.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were surrounded by many of the natives, who gazed in silent admiration upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they did not foresee the consequences. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skins, their beards, their arms, appeared strange and surprising. The vast machines in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move upon the waters with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound resembling thunder, accompanied with lightning and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to respect their new guests as a superior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the Sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene now before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree, was different from those which flourished in Europe. The soil seemed to be rich, but bore few marks of cultivation. The climate, even to the Spaniards, felt warm, though extremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper color, their features singular, rather than disagreeable, their aspect gentle and timid. Though not tall, they were well shaped and active. Their faces, and several parts of their body, were fantastically painted with glaring colors. They were shy at first through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them hawksbells, glass beads, or other baubles, in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Towards evening, Columbus returned to his ship, accompanied by many of the islanders in their boats, which they called *canoes*, and though rudely formed out of the trunk of a single tree, they rowed them with surprising dexterity. Thus, in the first interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction. The former, enlightened and ambitious, formed already vast ideas with respect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions that began to open to their view. The latter, simple and undiscerning, had no foresight of the calamities and desolation which were approaching their country.

Columbus, who now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the island which he had discovered *San Salvador*. It is better known by the name of *Guanahani*, which the natives gave to it, and is one of that large cluster of islands called the Lucaya or Bahama isles. It is situated above three thousand miles to the west of Gomera; from which the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees to the south of it; so little had Columbus deviated from the westerly course, which he had chosen as the most proper.

Columbus employed the next day in visiting the coasts of the island; and from the universal poverty of the inhabitants, he perceived that this was not the rich country for which he sought. But, conformably to his theory concerning the discovery of those regions of Asia which stretched towards the east, he concluded that San Salvador was one of the isles which geographers described as situated in the great ocean adjacent to India. Having observed that most of the people whom he had seen wore small plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their nostrils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the south, and made him comprehend by signs, that gold abounded in countries situated in that quarter. Thither he immediately determined to direct his course, in full confidence of finding there those opulent regions which had been the object of his voyage, and would be a recompense for all his toils and dangers. He took along with him seven of the natives of San Salvador, that, by acquiring the Spanish language, they might serve as guides and interpreters; and those innocent people considered it as a mark of distinction when they were selected to accompany him.

He saw several islands, and touched at three of the largest, on which he bestowed the names of St. Mary of the Conception, Fernandina, and Isabella. But, as their soil, productions, and inhabitants nearly resembled those of San Salvador, he made no stay in any of them. He inquired every where for gold, and the signs that were uniformly made by way of answer, confirmed him in the opinion that it was brought from the south. He followed that course, and soon discovered a country which appeared very extensive, not perfectly level, like those which he had already visited, but so diversified with rising grounds, hills, rivers, woods, and plains, that he was uncertain whether it might prove an island, or part of the continent. The natives of San Salvador, whom he had on board, called it *Cuba*; Columbus gave it the name of Juana. He entered the mouth of a large river with his squadron, all the inhabitants fled to the mountains as he approached the shore. But as he resolved to careen the ships in that place, he sent some Spaniards, together with one of the people of San Salvador, to view the interior part of the country. They having advanced about sixty miles from the shore reported, upon their return, that the soil was richer and more cultivated than any they had hitherto discovered; that, besides many scattered cottages, they had found one village, containing above a thousand inhabitants; that the people, though naked, seemed to be more intelligent than those of San Salvador, but had treated them with the same respectful attention, kissing their feet, and honoring them as sacred beings allied to heaven; that they had given them to eat a certain root, the taste of which resembled roasted chestnuts, and likewise a singular species of corn called *maize*, which, either when roasted whole or ground into meal, was abundantly palatable; that there seemed to be no four-footed animals in the country, but a species of dog, which could not bark, and a creature resembling a rabbit, but of a much smaller size; that they had observed some ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

These messengers had prevailed with some of the

natives to accompany them, who informed Columbus, that the gold of which they made their ornaments was found in *Cubanacan*. By this word they meant the middle or inland part of Cuba; but Columbus, being ignorant of their language, as well as unaccustomed to their pronunciation, and his thoughts running continually upon his own theory concerning the discovery of the East Indies, he was led, by the resemblance of sound, to suppose that they spoke of the great Khan, and imagined that the opulent kingdom of *Cathay*, described by Marco Polo, was not very remote. This induced him to employ some time in viewing the country. He visited almost every harbor, from Porto del Principe, on the north coast of Cuba, to the eastern extremity of the island: but, though delighted with the beauty of the scenes which every where presented themselves, and amazed at the luxuriant fertility of the soil, both which, from their novelty, made a more lively impression upon his imagination [14], he did not find gold in such quantity as was sufficient to satisfy either the avarice of his followers, or the expectations of the court to which he was to return. The people of the country, as much astonished at his eagerness in quest of gold as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where an island which they called *Hayti* was situated, in which that metal was more abundant than among them. Columbus ordered his squadron to bend its course thither; but Marton Alonso Pinzon, impatient to be the first who should take possession of the treasures which this country was supposed to contain, quitted his companions, regardless of all the admiral's signals to slacken sail until they should come up with him.

Columbus, retarded by contrary winds, did not reach Hayti till the sixth of December. He called the port where he first touched St. Nicholas, and the island itself Espagnola, in honor of the kingdom by which he was employed; and it is the only country, of those he had yet discovered, which has retained the name that he gave it. As he could neither meet with the Pinta, nor have any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled in great consternation towards the woods, he soon quitted St. Nicholas, and, sailing along the northern coast of the island, he entered another harbor, which he called Conception. Here he was more fortunate; his people overtook a woman who was flying from them, and after treating her with great gentleness, dismissed her with a present of such toys as they knew were most valued in those regions. The description which she gave to her countrymen of the humanity and wonderful qualities of the strangers; their admiration of the trinkets, which she showed with exultation; and their eagerness to participate of the same favors; removed all their fears, and induced many of them to repair to the harbor. The strange objects which they beheld, and the baubles which Columbus bestowed upon them, amply gratified their curiosity and their wishes. They nearly resembled the people of Guanahani and Cuba. They were naked like them, ignorant and simple; and seemed to be equally unacquainted with all the arts which appear most necessary in polished societies; but they were gentle, credulous, and timid, to a degree which rendered it easy to acquire the ascendant over them, especially as their excessive admiration led them into the same error with the people of the other islands, in believing the Spaniards to be more than mortals, and descended immediately from heaven. They possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbors, which they readily exchanged for bells, beads, or pins; and in this unequal traffic both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction. Here Columbus was visited by a prince or *cazique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a simple people, being carried in a sort of palanquin upon the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects, who served him with great respect. His deportment was grave and stately, very reserved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous. He gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanship, receiving in return presents of small value, but highly acceptable to him.

Columbus, still intent on discovering the mines which yielded gold, continued to interrogate all the natives with whom he had any intercourse, concerning their situation. They concurred in pointing out a mountainous country, which they called *Cibao*, at some distance from the sea, and further towards the east. Struck with this sound, which appeared to him the same with *Cipango*, the name by which Marco Polo, and other travellers to the east, distinguished the island of Japan, he no longer doubted with respect to the vicinity of the countries which he had discovered to the remote parts of Asia; and in full expectation of reaching soon those regions which had been the object of his voyage, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a commodious harbor, which he called St. Thomas, and found that district to be under the government of a powerful cazique, named *Guacanahari*, who, as he afterwards learned, was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus, who in his name delivered to him the present of a mask curiously fashioned with the ears, nose and mouth of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his residence, near the harbor now called Cape Francois some leagues towards the east. Columbus despatched some of his officers to visit this prince, who, as he behaved himself with greater dignity, seemed to claim more attention. They returned with such favorable accounts both of the country and of the people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview with Guacanahari to which he had been invited.

He sailed for this purpose from St. Thomas, on the twenty-fourth of December, with a fair wind, and the sea perfectly calm; and as, amidst the multiplicity of his occupations, he had not shut his eyes for two days, he retired at midnight in order to take some repose, having committed the helm to the pilot, with strict injunctions not to quit it for a moment. The pilot, dreading no danger, carelessly left the helm to an unexperienced cabin boy, and the ship, carried away by a current, was dashed against a rock. The violence of the shock awakened Columbus. He ran up to the deck. There all was confusion and despair. He alone retained presence of mind. He ordered some of the sailors to take a boat, and carry out an anchor astern; but instead of obeying, they made off towards the Nigna, which was about half a league distant. He then commanded the masts to be cut down, in order to lighten the ship; but all his endeavors were too late; the vessel opened near the keel, and filled so fast with water that its loss was inevitable. The smoothness of the sea, and the timely assistance of boats from the Nigna, enabled the crew to save their lives. As soon as the islanders heard of this disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince Guacanahari at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the distress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of sincere condolence. Not satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy, they put to sea a number of canoes, and under the direction of the Spaniards, assisted in saving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labor of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. As fast as the goods were landed, Guacanahari in person took charge of them. By his orders they were all deposited in one place, and armed sentinels were posted, who kept the multitude at a distance, in order to prevent them not only from embezzling, but from inspecting too curiously what belonged to their guests. [15] Next morning this prince visited Columbus, who was now on board the Nigna, and endeavored to console him for his loss, by offering all that he possessed to repair it.

The condition of Columbus was such that he stood in need of consolation. He had hitherto procured no intelligence of the Pinta, and no longer doubted but that his treacherous associate had set sail for Europe, in order to have the merit of carrying the first tidings of the extraordinary discoveries which had been made, and to preoccupy so far the ear of their sovereign, as to rob him of the glory and reward to which he was so justly entitled. There remained but one vessel, and that the smallest and most crazy of the squadron, to traverse such a vast ocean, and carry so many men back to Europe. Each of those circumstances was alarming, and filled the mind of Columbus with the utmost solicitude. The desire of overtaking Pinzon, and of effacing the unfavorable impressions which his misrepresentations might make in Spain, made it necessary to return thither without delay. The difficulty of taking such a number of persons on board the Nigna confirmed him in an opinion which the fertility of the country, and the gentle temper of the people, had already induced him to form. He resolved to leave a part of his crew in the island, that by residing there, they might learn the language of the natives, study their disposition, examine the nature of the country, search for mines, prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony which he purposed to return, and thus secure and facilitate the acquisition of those advantages which he expected from his discoveries. When he mentioned this to his men, all approved of the design; and from impatience under the fatigue of a long voyage, from the levity natural to sailors, or from the hopes of amassing wealth in a country which afforded such promising specimens of its riches, many offered voluntarily to be among the number of those who should remain.

Nothing was now wanting towards the execution of this scheme, but to obtain the consent of Guacanahari, and his unsuspicious simplicity soon presented to the admiral a favorable opportunity of proposing it. Columbus having, in the best manner he could, by broken words and signs, expressed some curiosity to know the cause which had moved the islanders to fly with such precipitation upon the approach of his ships, the cazique informed him that the country was much infested by the incursions of certain people, whom he called *Caribeans*, who inhabited several islands to the south-east. These he described as a fierce and warlike race of men, who delighted in blood, and devoured the flesh of the prisoners who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands; and as the Spaniards at their first appearance were supposed to be Caribeans, whom the natives, however numerous, durst not face in battle, they had recourse to their usual method of securing their safety, by flying into the thickest and most impenetrable woods. Guacanahari, while speaking of those dreadful invaders, discovered such symptoms of terror, as well as such consciousness of the inability of his own people to resist them, as led Columbus to conclude that he would not be alarmed at the proposition of any scheme which afforded him the prospect of an additional security against their attacks. He instantly offered him the assistance of the Spaniards to repel his enemies: he engaged to take him and his people under the protection of the powerful monarch whom he served, and offered to leave in the island such a number of his men as should be sufficient, not only to defend the inhabitants from future incursions, but to avenge their past wrongs.

The credulous prince closed eagerly with the proposal, and thought himself already safe under the patronage of beings sprung from heaven, and superior in power to mortal men. The ground was marked out for a small fort, which Columbus called *Navidad*, because he had landed there on Christmas day. A deep ditch was drawn around it. The ramparts were fortified with pallisades, and the great guns, saved out of the admiral's ship, were planted upon them. In ten days the work was finished; that simple race of men laboring with inconsiderate assiduity in erecting this first monument of their own servitude. During this time, Columbus, by his caresses and liberality, labored to increase the high opinion which the natives entertained of the Spaniards. But while he endeavored to inspire them with confidence in their disposition to do good, he wished likewise to give them some striking idea of their power to punish and destroy such as were the objects of their indignation. With this view, in presence of a vast assembly, he drew up his men in order of battle, and made an ostentatious but innocent display of the sharpness of the Spanish swords, of the force of their spears, and the operation of their cross-bows. These rude people, strangers to the use of iron, and unacquainted with any hostile weapons but arrows of reed pointed with the bones of fishes, wooden swords, and javelins hardened in the fire, wondered and trembled. Before this surprise or fear had time to abate, he ordered the great guns to be fired. The sudden explosion struck them with such terror that they fell flat to the ground, covering their faces with their hands; and when they beheld the astonishing effect of the bullets among the trees, towards which the cannon had been pointed, they concluded that it was impossible to resist men, who had the command of such destructive instruments, and who came armed with thunder and lightning against their enemies.

After giving such impressions both of the beneficence and power of the Spaniards, as might have rendered it easy to preserve an ascendant over the minds of the natives, Columbus appointed thirty-eight of his people to remain in the island. He intrusted the command of these to Diego de Arado, a gentleman of Cordova, in vesting him with the same powers which he himself had received from Ferdinand and Isabella; and furnished him with every thing requisite for the subsistence or defence of this infant colony. He strictly enjoined them to maintain concord among themselves, to yield an unreserved obedience to their commander, to avoid giving offence to the natives by any violence or exaction, to cultivate the friendship of Guacanahari, but not to put themselves in his power by straggling in small parties, or marching too far from the fort. He promised to visit them soon with such a reinforcement of strength

as might enable them to take full possession of the country, and to reap all the fruits of their discoveries. In the mean time he engaged to mention their names to the king and queen, and to place their merit and services in the most advantageous light.

Having thus taken every precaution for the security of the colony, he left Navidad on the fourth of January, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, and steering towards the east, discovered and gave names to most of the harbors on the northern coast of the island. On the sixth he descried the Pinta, and soon came up with her, after a separation of more than six weeks. Pinzon endeavored to justify his conduct by pretending that he had been driven from his course by stress of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. The admiral, though he still suspected his perfidious intentions, and knew well what he urged in his own defence to be frivolous as well as false, was so sensible that this was not a proper time for venturing upon any high strain of authority, and felt such satisfaction in this junction with his consort, which delivered him from many disquieting apprehensions, that, lame as Pinzon's apology was, he admitted of it without difficulty, and restored him to favor. During his absence from the admiral, Pinzon had visited several harbors in the island, had acquired some gold by trafficking with the natives, but had made no discovery of any importance.

From the condition of his ships, as well as the temper of his men, Columbus now found it necessary to hasten his return to Europe. The former having suffered much during a voyage of such an unusual length, were extremely leaky. The latter expressed the utmost impatience to revisit their native country, from which they had been so long absent, and where they had things so wonderful and unheard-of to relate. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of January, he directed his course towards the north-east, and soon lost sight of land. He had on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands which he discovered; and besides the gold, which was the chief object of research, he had collected specimens of all the productions which were likely to become subjects of commerce in the several countries, as well as many unknown birds, and other natural curiosities, which might attract the attention of the learned, or excite the wonder of the people. The voyage was prosperous to the fourteenth of February, and he had advanced near five hundred leagues across the Atlantic ocean, when the wind began to rise, and continued to blow with increasing rage, which terminated in a furious hurricane. Every thing that the naval skill and experience of Columbus could devise was employed in order to save the ships. But it was impossible to withstand the violence of the storm, and, as they were still far from any land, destruction seemed inevitable. The sailors had recourse to prayers to Almighty God, to the invocation of saints, to vows, and charms, to every thing that religion dictates, or superstition suggests to the affrighted mind of man. No prospect of deliverance appearing, they abandoned themselves to despair, and expected every moment to be swallowed up in the waves. Besides the passions which naturally agitate and alarm the human mind in such awful situations, when certain death, in one of his most terrible forms, is before it, Columbus had to endure feelings of distress peculiar to himself. He dreaded that all knowledge of the amazing discoveries which he had made was now to perish; mankind were to be deprived of every benefit that might have been derived from the happy success of his schemes, and his own name would descend to posterity as that of a rash deluded adventurer, instead of being transmitted with the honor due to the author and conductor of the most noble enterprise that had ever been undertaken. These reflections extinguished all sense of his own personal danger. Less affected with the loss of life than solicitous to preserve the memory of what he had attempted and achieved, he retired to his cabin and wrote upon a parchment a short account of the voyage which he had made, of the course which he had taken, of the situation and riches of the countries which he had discovered, and of the colony that he had left there. Having wrapped up this in an oiled cloth, which he enclosed in a cake of wax, he put it into a cask carefully stopped up, and threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world. [16]

At length Providence interposed to save a life reserved for other services. The wind abated, the sea became calm, and on the evening of the fifteenth, Columbus and his companions discovered land; and though uncertain what it was, they made towards it. They soon knew it to be St. Mary, one of the Azores or western isles, subject to the crown of Portugal. There, after a violent contest with the governor, in which Columbus displayed no less spirit than prudence, he obtained a supply of fresh provisions, and whatever else he needed. One circumstance, however, greatly disquieted him. The Pinta, of which he had lost sight on the first day of the hurricane, did not appear; he dreaded for some time that she had foundered at sea, and that all her crew had perished; afterwards, his former suspicions recurred, and he became apprehensive that Pinzon had borne away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and by giving the first account of his discoveries, might obtain some share of his fame.

In order to prevent this, he left the Azores as soon as the weather would permit [Feb. 24]. At no great distance from the coast of Spain, when near the end of his voyage, and seemingly beyond the reach of any disaster, another storm arose, little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it during two days and two nights, he was forced to take shelter in the river Tagus [March 4]. Upon application to the King of Portugal, he was allowed to come up to Lisbon; and, notwithstanding the envy which it was natural for the Portuguese to feel, when they beheld another nation entering upon that province of discovery which they had hitherto deemed peculiarly their own, and in its first essay not only rivalling but eclipsing their fame, Columbus was received with all the marks of distinction due to a man who had performed things so extraordinary and unexpected. The king admitted him into his presence, treated him with the highest respect, and listened to the account which he gave of his voyage with admiration mingled with regret. While Columbus, on his part, enjoyed the satisfaction of describing the importance of his discoveries, and of being now able to prove the solidity of his schemes to those very persons, who, with an ignorance disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to their country, had lately rejected them as the projects of a visionary or designing adventurer.

Columbus was so impatient to return to Spain, that he remained only five days in Lisbon. On the fifteenth of March he arrived in the port of Palos, seven months and eleven days from the time when he set out thence upon his voyage. As soon as the ship was discovered approaching the port, all the inhabitants of Palos ran eagerly to the shore, in order to welcome their relations and fellow-citizens, and to hear tidings of their voyage. When the prosperous issue of it was known, when they beheld the strange people, the unknown animals, and singular productions, brought from the countries which had been discovered, the effusion of joy was general and unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honors, and all the people in solemn procession, accompanied him and his crew to the church, where they returned thanks to Heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted and crowned with success a voyage of greater length and of more importance than had been attempted in any former age. On the evening of the same day, he had the satisfaction of seeing the Pinta, which the violence of the tempest had driven far to the north, enter the harbor.

The first care of Columbus was to inform the king and queen, who were then at Barcelona, of his arrival and success. Ferdinand and Isabella, no less astonished than delighted with this unexpected event, desired Columbus, in terms the most respectful and flattering, to repair immediately to court, that from his own mouth they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary services and discoveries. During his journey to Barcelona, the people crowded from the adjacent country, following him every where with admiration and applause. His entrance into the city was conducted, by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, with pomp suitable to the great event, which added such distinguishing lustre to their reign. The people whom he brought along with him from the countries which he had discovered, marched first, and by their singular complexion, the wild peculiarity of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another species. Next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives, the grains of gold found in the mountains, and dust of the same metal gathered in the rivers. After these appeared the various commodities of the new discovered countries, together with their curious productions. Columbus himself closed the procession, and attracted the eyes of all the spectators, who gazed with admiration on the extraordinary man, whose superior sagacity and fortitude had conducted their countrymen, by a route concealed from past ages, to the knowledge of a new world. Ferdinand and Isabella received him clad in their royal robes, and seated upon a throne, under a magnificent canopy. When he approached, they stood up, and raising him as he kneeled to kiss their hands, commanded him to take his seat upon a chair prepared for him, and to give a circumstantial account of his voyage. He delivered it with a gravity and composure no less suitable to the disposition of the Spanish nation than to the dignity of the audience in which he spoke, and with that modest simplicity which characterizes men of superior minds, who, satisfied with having performed great actions, court not vain applause by an ostentatious display of their exploits. When he had finished his narration, the king and queen, kneeling down, offered up solemn thanks to Almighty God for the discovery of those new regions, from which they expected so many advantages to flow in upon the kingdoms subject to their government. [17] Every mark of honor that gratitude or admiration could suggest was conferred upon Columbus. Letters patent were issued, confirming to him and to his heirs all the privileges contained in the capitulation concluded at Santa Fe; his family was ennobled; the king and queen, and after their example the courtiers, treated him on every occasion with all the ceremonious respect paid to persons of the highest rank. But what pleased him most, as it gratified his active mind, bent continually upon great objects, was an order to equip, without delay, an armament of such force as might enable him not only to take possession of the countries which he had already discovered, but to go in search of those more opulent regions which he still confidently expected to find.

While preparations were making for this expedition, the fame of Columbus's successful voyage spread over Europe, and excited general attention. The multitude, struck with amazement when they heard that a new world had been found, could hardly believe an event so much above their conception. Men of science, capable of comprehending the nature, and of discerning the effects of this great discovery, received the account of it with admiration and joy. They spoke of his voyage with rapture, and congratulated one another upon their felicity in having lived in the period when, by this extraordinary event, the boundaries of human knowledge were so much extended, and such a new field of inquiry and observation opened, as would lead mankind to a perfect acquaintance with the structure and productions of the habitable globe. [18] Various opinions and conjectures were formed concerning the new found countries, and what division of the earth they belonged to. Columbus adhered tenaciously to his original opinion, that they should be reckoned a part of those vast regions in Asia, comprehended under the general name of India. This sentiment was confirmed by the observations which he made concerning the productions of the countries he had discovered. Gold was known to abound in India, and he had met with such promising samples of it in the islands which he visited, as led him to believe that rich mines of it might be found. Cotton, another production of the East Indies, was common there. The pimento of the islands he imagined to be a species of the East Indian pepper. He mistook a root, somewhat resembling rhubarb, for that valuable drug, which was then supposed to be a plant peculiar to the East Indies. The birds brought home by him were adorned with the same rich plumage which distinguishes those of India. The alligator of the one country appeared to be the same with the crocodile of the other. After weighing all these circumstances, not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus. The countries which he had discovered were considered as a part of India. In consequence of this notion, the name of Indies is given to them by Ferdinand and Isabella, in a ratification of their former agreement, which was granted to Columbus upon his return. Even after the error which gave rise to this opinion was detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name has remained, and the appellation of *West Indies* is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of *Indians* to its inhabitants.

The name by which Columbus distinguished the countries which he had discovered was so inviting, the specimens of their riches and fertility which he produced were so considerable, and the reports of his companions, delivered frequently with the exaggeration natural to travellers, so favorable, as to excite a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards

Though little accustomed to naval expeditions, they were impatient to set out upon their voyage. Volunteers of every rank solicited to be employed. Allured by the inviting prospects which opened to their ambition and avarice, neither the length nor danger of the navigation intimidated them. Cautious as Ferdinand was, and averse to every thing new or adventurous, he seems to have catched the same spirit with his subjects. Under its influence, preparations for a second expedition were carried on with rapidity unusual in Spain, and to an extent that would be deemed not inconsiderable in the present age. The fleet consisted of seventeen ships, some of which were of good burden. It had on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many of noble families, who had served in honorable stations. The greater part of these, being destined to remain in the country, were furnished with every thing requisite for conquest or settlement, with all kinds of European domestic animals, with such seeds and plants as were most likely to thrive in the climate of the West Indes with utensils and instruments of every sort, and with such artificers as might be most useful in an infant colony.

But, formidable and well provided as this fleet was, Ferdinand and Isabella did not rest their title to the possession of the newly discovered countries upon its operations alone. The example of the Portuguese, as well as the superstition of the age, made it necessary to obtain from the Roman pontiff a grant of those territories which they wished to occupy. The Pope, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Alexander VI., a pontiff infamous for every crime which disgraces humanity, filled the Papal throne at that time. As he was born Ferdinand's subject, and very solicitous to secure the protection of Spain, in order to facilitate the execution of his ambitious schemes in favor of his own family, he was extremely willing to gratify the Spanish monarchs. By an act of liberality which cost him nothing, and that served to establish the jurisdictions and pretensions of the Papal See, he granted in full right to Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by Infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover; and, in virtue of that power which he derived from Jesus Christ, he conferred on the crown of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he himself was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence. As it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, should serve as a limit between them; and, in the plentitude of his power, bestowed all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards. Zeal for propagating the Christian faith was the consideration employed by Ferdinand in soliciting this bull, and is mentioned by Alexander as his chief motive for issuing it. In order to manifest some concern for this laudable object, several friars, under the direction of Father Boyl, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, as apostolical vicar, were appointed to accompany Columbus, and to devote themselves to the instruction of the natives. The Indians whom Columbus had brought along with him, having received some tincture of Christian knowledge, were baptized with much solemnity, the king himself, the prince his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their godfathers. Those first fruits of the New World have not been followed by such an increase as pious men wished, and had reason to expect.

Ferdinand and Isabella having thus acquired a title, which was then deemed completely valid, to extend their discoveries and to establish their dominion over such a considerable portion of the globe, nothing now retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus was extremely impatient to revisit the colony which he had left, and to pursue that career of glory upon which he had entered. He set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the twenty-fifth of September, and touching again at the island of Gomera, he steered further towards the south than in his former voyage. By holding this course, he enjoyed more steadily the benefit of the regular winds, which reign within the tropics, and was carried towards a large cluster of islands, situated considerably to the east of those which he had already discovered. On the twenty-sixth day after his departure from Gomera [Nov. 2], he made land. It was one of the Carribbee or Leeward Islands, to which he gave the name of Deseada, on account of the impatience of his crew to discover some part of the New World. After this he visited successively Dominica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and several other islands, scattered in his way as he advanced towards the north-west. All these he found to be inhabited by that fierce race of people whom Guacanahari had painted in such frighful colors. His descriptions appeared not to have been exaggerated. The Spaniards never attempted to land without meeting with such a reception as discovered the martial and daring spirit of the natives: and in their habitations were found relics of those horrid feasts which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies taken in war.

But as Columbus was eager to know the state of the colony which he had planted, and to supply it with the necessaries of which he supposed it to be in want, he made no stay in any of those islands, and proceeded directly to Hispaniola [Nov. 22]. When he arrived off Navidad, the station in which he had left the thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, he was astonished that none of them appeared, and expected every moment to see them running with transports of joy to welcome their countrymen. Full of solicitude about their safety, and foreboding in his mind what had befallen them, he rowed instantly to land. All the natives from whom he might have received information had fled. But the fort which he had built was entirely demolished, and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utensils scattered about it, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garrison. While the Spaniards were shedding tears over those sad memorials of their fellow-citizens, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived. From him Columbus received a particular detail of what had happened after his departure from the island. The familiar intercourse of the Indians with the Spaniards tended gradually to diminish the superstitious veneration with which their first appearance had inspired that simple people. By their own indiscretion and ill conduct, the Spaniards speedily effaced those favorable impressions, and soon convinced the natives, that they had all the wants, and weaknesses, and passions of men. As soon as the powerful restraint which the presence and authority of Columbus imposed was withdrawn, the garrison threw off all regard for the officer whom he had invested with command. Regardles of the prudent instructions which he had given them, every man became independent, and gratified his desires without control. The gold, the women, the provisons of the natives, were all the prey of those licentious oppressors. They roamed in small parties over the island, extending their rapacity and insolence to every corner of it. Gentle and timid as the people were, those unprovoked injuries at length exhausted their patience, and roused their courage. The cazique of Cibao, whose country the Spaniards chiefly infested on account of the gold which it contained, surprised and cut off several of them, while they straggled in as perfect security as if their conduct had been altogether inoffensive. He then assembled his subjects, and surrounding the fort, set it on fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it; the rest perished in attempting to make their escape by crossing an arm of the sea. Guacanahari, whom all their exactions had not alienated from the Spaniards, took arms in their behalf, and, in endeavoring to protect them, had received a wound, by which he was still confined.

Though this account was far from removing the suspicions which the Spaniards entertained with respect to the fidelity of Guacanahari, Columbus perceived so clearly that this was not a proper juncture for inquiring into his conduct with scrupulous accuracy, that he rejected the advice of several of his officers, who urged him to seize the person of that prince, and to revenge the death of their countrymen by attacking his subjects. He represented to them the necessity of securing the friendship of some potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the settlement which they intended, and the danger of driving the natives to unite in some desperate attempt against them, by such an ill-timed and unavailing exercise of rigor. Instead of wasting his time in punishing past wrongs, he took precautions for preventing any future injury. With this view, he made choice of a situation more healthy and commodious than that of Navidad. He traced out the plan of a town in a large plain near a spacious bay, and obliging every person to put his hand to a work on which their common safety depended, the houses and ramparts were soon so far advanced, by their united labor, as to afford them shelter and security. This rising city, the first that the Europeans founded in the New World, he named Isabella, in honor of his patroness the Queen of Castile.

In carrying on this necessary work, Columbus had not only to sustain all the hardships, and to encounter all the difficulties, to which infant colonies are exposed when they settle in an uncultivated country, but he had to contend with what was more insuperable, the laziness, the impatience, and mutinous disposition of his followers. By the enervating influence of a hot climate, the natural inactivity of the Spaniards seemed to increase. Many of them were gentlemen, unaccustomed to the fatigue of bodily labor, and all had engaged in the enterprise with the sanguine hopes excited by the splendid and exaggerated description of their countrymen who returned from the first voyage, or by the mistaken opinion of Columbus, that the country which he had discovered was either the Cipango of Marco Polo, or the Ophir, from which Solomon imported those precious commodities which suddenly diffused such extraordinary riches through his kingdom. But when, instead of that golden harvest which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, the Spaniards saw that their prospect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could not be obtained but by the slow and persevering efforts of industry, the disappointment of those chimerical hopes occasioned such dejection of mind as bordered on despair, and led to general discontent. In vain did Columbus endeavor to revive their spirits by pointing out the fertility of the soil, and exhibiting the specimens of gold daily brought in from different parts of the island. They had not patience to wait for the gradual returns which the former might yield, and the latter they despised as scanty and inconsiderable. The spirit of disaffection spread, and a conspiracy was formed, which might have been fatal to Columbus and the colony. Happily he discovered it; and seizing the ringleaders, punished some of them, sent others prisoners into Spain, whither he despatched twelve of the ships which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a reinforcement of men and a a large supply of provisions.

1494] Meanwhile, in order to banish that idleness which, by allowing his people leisure to brood over their disappointment, nourished the spirit of discontent, Columbus planned several expeditions into the interior part of the country. He sent a detachment, under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to visit the district of Cibao, which was said to yield the greatest quantity of gold, and followed him in person with the main body of his troops. In this expedition he displayed all the pomp of military magnificence that he could exhibit, in order to strike the imagination of the natives. He marched with colors flying, with martial music, and with a small body of cavalry that paraded sometimes in the front and sometimes in the rear. As those were the first horses which appeared in the New World, they were objects of terror no less than of admiration to the Indians, who, having no tame animals themselves, were unacquainted with that vast accession of power which man hath acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They supposed them to be rational creatures. They imagined that the horse and the rider formed one animal, with whose speed they were astonished, and whose impetuosity and strength they considered as irresistible. But while Columbus endeavored to inspire the natives with a dread of his power, he did not neglect the arts of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered scrupulously to the principles of integrity and justice in all his transactions with them, and treated them, on every occasion, not only with humanity but with indulgence. The district of Cibao answered the description given of it by the natives. It was mountainous and uncultivated, but in every river and brook gold was gathered either in dust or in grains, some of which were of considerable size. The Indians had never opened any mines in search of gold. To penetrate into the bowels of the earth, and to refine the rude ore, were operations too complicated and laborious for their talents and industry, and they had no such high value for gold as to put their ingenuity and invention upon the stretch in order to obtain it. The small quantity of that precious metal which they possessed, was either picked up in the beds of the rivers, or washed from the mountains by the heavy rains that fall within the tropics. But from those indications, the Spaniards could no longer doubt that the country contained rich treasures in its bowels, of which they hoped soon to be masters. In order to secure the command of this valuable province, Columbus erected a small fort, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, by way of ridicule upon some of his incredulous followers, who would not believe that the country produced gold, until they saw it with their own eyes, and touched it with their hands.

The account of those promising appearances of wealth in the country of Cibao came very seasonably to comfort the desponding colony, which was affected with distresses of various kinds. The stock of provisions which had been brought from Europe was mostly consumed; what remained was so much corrupted by the heat and moisture of the climate as to be almost unfit for use; the natives cultivated so small a portion of ground, and with so little skill, that it hardly yielded what was sufficient for their own subsistence; the Spaniards of Isabella had hitherto neither time nor leisure to clear the soil, so as to reap any considerable fruits of their own industry. On all these accounts, they became afraid of perishing with hunger, and were reduced already to a scanty allowance. At the same time, the diseases predominant in the torrid zone, and which rage chiefly in those uncultivated countries where the hand of industry had not opened the woods, drained the marshes, and confined the rivers within a certain channel, began to spread among them. Alarmed at the violence and unusual symptoms of those maladies, they exclaimed against Columbus and his companions in the former voyage, who, by their splendid but deceitful descriptions of Hispaniola, had allured them to quit Spain for a barbarous uncultivated land, where they must either be cut off by famine, or die of unknown distempers. Several of the officers and persons of note, instead of checking, joined in those seditious complaints. Father Boyl, the apostolical vicar, was one of the most turbulent and outrageous. It required all the authority and address of Columbus to re-establish subordination and tranquillity in the colony. Threats and promises were alternately employed for this purpose; but nothing contributed more to soothe the malecontents than the prospect of finding, in the mines of Cibao, such a rich store of treasure as would be a recompense for all their sufferings, and efface the memory of former disappointments.

When, by his unwearied endeavors, concord and order were so far restored that he could venture to leave the island, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries, that he might be able to ascertain whether those new countries with which he had opened a communication were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be considered as a separate portion of the globe hitherto unvisited. He appointed his brother Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers, to govern the island in his absence; and gave the command of a body of soldiers to Don Pedro Margarita, with which he was to visit the different parts of the island, and endeavor to establish the authority of the Spaniards among the inhabitants. Having left them very particular instructions with respect to their conduct, he weighed anchor on the 24th of April, with one ship and two small barks under his command. During a tedious voyage of full five months, he had a trial of almost all the numerous hardships to which persons of his profession are exposed, without making any discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. As he ranged along the southern coast of Cuba, [19] he was entangled in a labyrinth formed by an incredible number of small islands, to which he gave the name of the Queen's Garden. In this unknown course, among rocks and shelves, he was retarded by contrary winds, assaulted with furious storms, and alarmed with the terrible thunder and lightning which is often almost incessant between the tropics. At length his provisions fell short; his crew, exhausted with fatigue as well as hunger, murmured and threatened, and were ready to proceed to the most desperate extremities against him. Beset with danger in such various forms, he was obliged to keep continual watch, to observe every occurrence with his own eyes, to issue every order, and to superintend the execution of it. On no occasion was the extent of his skill and experience as a navigator so much tried. To these the squadron owed its safety. But this unremitted fatigue of body, and intense application of mind, overpowering his constitution, though naturally vigorous and robust, brought on a feverish disorder, which terminated in a lethargy, that deprived him of sense and memory, and had almost proved fatal to his life.

But, on his return to Hispaniola [Sept. 27], the sudden emotion of joy which he felt upon meeting with his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, occasioned such a flow of spirits as contributed greatly to his recovery. It was now thirteen years since the two brothers, whom similarity of talents united in close friendship, had separated from each other, and during that long period there had been no intercourse between them. Bartholomew after finishing his negotiation in the court of England had set out for Spain by the way of France. At Paris he received an account of the extraordinary discoveries which his brother had made in his first voyage, and that he was then preparing to embark on a second expedition. Though this naturally induced him to pursue his journey with the utmost despatch, the admiral had sailed for Hispaniola before he reached Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella received him with the respect due to the nearest kinsman of a person whose merit and services rendered him so conspicuous; and as they knew what consolation his presence would afford to his brother, they persuaded him to take the command of three ships, which they had appointed to carry provisions to the colony at Isabella.

He could not have arrived at any juncture when Columbus stood more in need of a friend capable of assisting him with his counsels, or of dividing with him the cares and burdens of government. For although the provisions now brought from Europe afforded a temporary relief to the Spaniards from the calamities of famine, the supply was not in such quantity as to support them long, and the island did not hitherto yield what was sufficient for sustenance. They were threatened with another danger, still more formidable than the return of scarcity, and which demanded more immediate attention. No sooner did Columbus leave the island on his voyage of discovery, than the soldiers under Margarita, as if they had been set free from discipline and subordination, scorned all restraint. Instead of conforming to the prudent instructions of Columbus, they dispersed in straggling parties over the island, lived at discretion upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression.

As long as the Indians had any prospect that their sufferings might come to a period by the voluntary departure of the invaders, they submitted in silence, and dissembled their sorrow; but they now perceived that the yoke would be as permanent as it was intolerable. The Spaniards had built a town, and surrounded it with ramparts. They had erected forts in different places. They had enclosed and sown several fields. It was apparent that they came not to visit the country, but to settle in it. Though the number of those strangers was inconsiderable, the state of cultivation among these rude people was so imperfect, and in such exact proportion to their own consumption, that it was with difficulty they could afford subsistence to their new guests. Their own mode of life was so indolent and inactive, the warmth of the climate so enervating, the constitution of their bodies naturally so feeble, and so unaccustomed to the laborious exertions of industry, that they were satisfied with a proportion of food amazingly small. A handful of maize, or a little of the insipid bread made of the cassadaroot, was sufficient to support men whose strength and spirits were not exhausted by any vigorous efforts either of body or mind. The Spaniards, though the most abstemious of all the European nations, appeared to them excessively voracious. One Spaniard consumed as much as several Indians. This keenness of appetite surprised them so much, and seemed to be so insatiable, that they supposed the Spaniards had left their own country because it did not produce as much as was requisite to gratify their immoderate desire of food, and had come among them in quest of nourishment. Self-preservation prompted them to wish for the departure of guests who wasted so fast their slender stock of provisions. The injuries which they suffered added to their impatience for this event. They had long expected that the Spaniards would retire of their own accord. They now perceived that, in order to avert the destruction with which they were threatened, either by the slow consumption of famine, or by the violence of their oppressors, it was necessary to assume courage, to attack those formidable invaders with united force, and drive them from the settlements of which they had violently taken possession.

Such were the sentiments which universally prevailed among the Indians, when Columbus returned to Isabella. Inflamed, by the unprovoked outrages of the Spaniards, with a degree of rage of which their gentle natures, formed to suffer and submit, seemed hardly susceptible, they waited only for a signal from their leaders to fall upon the colony. Some of the caziques had already surprised and cut off several stragglers. The dread of this impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-established the authority of Columbus, as they saw no prospect of safety but in committing themselves to his prudent guidance. It was now necessary to have recourse to arms, the employing of which against the Indians Columbus had hitherto avoided with the greatest solicitude. Unequal as the conflict may seem, between the naked inhabitants of the New World armed with clubs, sticks hardened in the fire, wooden swords, and arrows pointed with bones or flints, and troops accustomed to the discipline, and provided with the instruments of destruction known in the European art of war, the situation of the Spaniards was far from being exempt from danger. The vast superiority of the natives in number compensated many defects. A handful of men was about to encounter a whole nation. One adverse event, or even any unforseen delay in determining the fate of the war, might prove fatal to the Spaniards. Conscious that success depended on the vigor and rapidity of his operations, Columbus instantly assembled his forces. They were reduced to a very small number. Diseases, engendered by the warmth and humidity of the country, or occasioned by their own licentiousness, had raged among them with much violence; experience had not yet taught them the art either of curing these, or the precautions requisite for guarding against them; two-thirds of the original adventurers were dead, and many of those who survived were incapable of service. The body which took the field [March 24, 1495] consisted only of two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty large dogs; and how strange soever it may seem to mention the last as composing part of a military force, they were not perhaps the least formidable and destructive of the whole, when employed against naked and timid Indians. All the caziques on the island, Gucanahari excepted, who retained an inviolable attachment to the Spaniards, were in arms to oppose Columbus, with forces amounting, if we may believe the Spanish historians, to a hundred thousand men. Instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses of the woods and mountains, they were so imprudent as to take their station in the Vega Real, the most open plain in the country. Columbus did not allow them time to perceive their error, or to alter their position. He attacked them during the night, when undisciplined troops are least capable of acting with union and concert, and obtained an easy and bloodless victory. The consternation with which the Indians were filled by the noise and havoc made by the fire-arms, by the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the fierce onset of the dogs was so great, that they threw down their weapons, and fled without attempting resistance. Many were slain; more were taken prisoners, and reduced to servitude; [20] and so thoroughly were the rest intimidated, that from that moment they abandoned themselves to despair, relinquishing all thoughts of contending with aggressors whom they deemed invincible.

Columbus employed several months in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the Spanish government, without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tribute upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen. Each person who lived in those districts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bell; from those in other parts of the country, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This was the first regular taxation of the Indians, and served as a precedence for exactions still more intolerable. Such an imposition was extremely contrary to those maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated with respect to the mode of treating them. But intrigues were carrying on in the court of Spain at this juncture, in order to undermine his power, and discredit his operations, which constrained him to depart from his own system of administration. Several unfavorable accounts of his conduct, as well as of the countries discovered by him, had been transmitted to Spain. Margarita and Father Boyl were now at court, and in order to justify their own conduct, or to gratify their resentment, watched with malevolent attention for every opportunity of spreading insinuations to his detriment. Many of the courtiers viewed his growing reputation and power with envious eyes. Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, who was intrusted with the chief direction of Indian affairs, had conceived such an unfavorable opinion of Columbus, for some reason which the contemporary writers have not mentioned, that he listened with partiality to every invective against him. It was not easy for an unfriended stranger, unpractised in courtly arts, to counteract the machinations of so many enemies. Columbus saw that there was but one method of supporting his own credit, and of silencing all his adversaries. He must produce such a quantity of gold as would not only justify what he had reported with respect to the rich

rees of the country, but encourage Ferdinand and Isabella to persevere in prosecuting his plans. The necessity of obtaining it forced him not only to impose this heavy tax upon the Indians, but to exact payment of it with extreme rigor; and may be pleaded in excuse for his deviating on this occasion from the mildness and humanity with which he uniformly treated that unhappy people.

The labor, attention, and foresight which the Indians were obliged to employ in procuring the tribute demanded of them, appeared the most intolerable of all evils, to men accustomed to pass their days in a careless improvident indolence. They were incapable of such a regular and persevering exertion of industry, and felt it such a grievous restraint upon their liberty, that they had recourse to an expedient for obtaining deliverance from this yoke, which demonstrates the excess of their impatience and despair. They formed a scheme of starving those oppressors whom they durst not attempt to expel; and from the opinion which they entertained with respect to the voracious appetite of the Spaniards, they concluded the execution of it to be very practicable. With this view they suspended all the operations of agriculture; they sowed no maize, they pulled up the roots of the manoic or cassada which were planted, and retiring to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, left the uncultivated plains to their enemies. This desperate resolution produced in some degree the effects which they expected. The Spaniards were reduced to extreme want; but they received such seasonable supplies of provisions from Europe, and found so many resources in their own ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men. The wretched Indians were the victims of their own ill-concerted policy. A great multitude of people, shut up in the mountainous or wooded part of the country, without any food but the spontaneous productions of the earth, soon felt the utmost distresses of famine. This brought on contagious diseases; and in the course of a few months more than a third part of the inhabitants of the island perished, after experiencing misery in all its various forms.

But while Columbus was establishing the foundations of the Spanish grandeur in the New World, his enemies labored with unwearied assiduity to deprive him of the glory and rewards which, by his services and sufferings, he was entitled to enjoy. The hardships unavoidable in a new settlement, the calamities occasioned by an unhealthy climate, the disasters attending a voyage in unknown seas, were all represented as the effects of his restless and inconsiderate ambition. His prudent attention to preserve discipline and subordination was denominated excess of rigor; the punishments which he inflicted upon the mutinous and disorderly were imputed to cruelty. These accusations gained such credit in a jealous court, that a commissioner was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, and to inspect into the conduct of Columbus. By the recommendation of his enemies, Aguado, a groom of the bedchamber, was the person to whom this important trust was committed. But in this choice they seem to have been more influenced by the obsequious attachment of the man to their interest, than by his capacity for the station. Puffed up with such sudden elevation, Aguado displayed, in the exercise of this office, all the frivolous self-importance, and acted with all the disgusting insolence which are natural to little minds, when raised to unexpected dignity, or employed in functions to which they are not equal. By listening with eagerness to every accusation against Columbus, and encouraging not only the malecontent Spaniards, but even the Indians, to produce their grievances, real or imaginary, he fomented the spirit of dissension in the island, without establishing any regulations of public utility, or that tended to redress the many wrongs, with the odium of which he wished to load the admiral's administration. As Columbus felt sensibly how humiliating his situation must be, if he should remain in the country while such a partial inspector observed his motions and controlled his jurisdiction, he took the resolution of returning to Spain, in order to lay a full account of all his transactions, particularly with respect to the points in dispute between him and his adversaries, before Ferdinand and Isabella, from whose justice and discernment he expected an equal and a favorable decison. [1496] He committed the administration of affairs, during his absence, to Don Bartholomew, his brother, with the title of Adelantado, or Lieutenant-Governor. By a choice less fortunate, and which proved the source of many calamities to the colony, he appointed Francis Roldan chief justice, with very extensive powers.

In returning to Europe, Columbus held a course different from that which he had taken in his former voyage. He steered almost due east from Hispaniola, in the parallel of twenty-two degrees of latitude; as experience had not yet discovered the more certain and expeditious method of stretching to the north, in order to fall in with the south-west winds. By this ill advised choice, which, in the infancy of navigation between the New and Old World, can hardly be imputed to the admiral as a defect in naval skill, he was exposed to infinite fatigue and danger, in a perpetual struggle with the trade winds, which blow without variation from the east between the tropics. Notwithstanding the almost insuperable difficulties of such a navigation, he persisted in his course with his usual patience and firmness, but made so little way that he was three months without seeing land. At length his provisions began to fail, the crew was reduced to the scanty allowance of six ounces of bread a day for each person. The admiral fared no better than the meanest sailor. But, even in this extreme distress, he retained the humanity which distinguishes his character, and refused to comply with the earnest solicitations of his crew, some of whom proposed to feed upon the Indian prisoners whom they were carrying over, and others insisted to throw them overboard, in order to lessen the consumption of their small stock. He represented that they were human beings, reduced by a common calamity to the same condition with themselves, and entitled to share an equal fate. His authority and remonstrances dissipated those wild ideas suggested by despair. Nor had they time to recur; as he came soon within sight of the coast of Spain, when all their fears and sufferings ended.

Columbus appeared at court with the modest but determined confidence of a man conscious not only of integrity but of having performed great services. Ferdinand and Isabella, ashamed of their own facility in lending too favorable an ear to frivolous or unfounded accusations, received him with such distinguished marks of respect as covered his enemies with shame. The censures and calumnies were no more heard of at that juncture. The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other commodities of value which Columbus produced, seemed fully to refute what the malecontents had propagated with respect to the poverty of the country. By reducing the Indians to obedience, and imposing a regular tax upon them, he had secured to Spain a large accession of new subjects, and the establishment of a revenue that promised to be considerable. By the mines which he had found out and examined, a source of wealth still more copious was opened. Great and unexpected as those advantages were, Columbus represented them only as preludes to future acquisitions, and as the earnest of more important discoveries, which he still meditated, and to which those he had already made would conduct him with ease and certainty.

The attentive consideration of all these circumstances made such an impression, not only upon Isabella, who flattered with the idea of being the patroness of all Columbus's enterprises, but even upon Ferdinand, who having originally expressed his disapprobation of his schemes, was still apt to doubt of their success, that they resolved to supply the colony of Hispaniola with every thing which could render it a permanent establishment, and to furnish Columbus with such a fleet, that he might proceed to search for those new countries of whose existence he seemed to be confident. The measures most proper for accomplishing both these designs were concerted with Columbus. Discovery had been the sole object of the first voyage to the New World; and though, in the second, settlement had been proposed, the precautions taken for that purpose had either been insufficient, or were rendered ineffectual by the mutinous spirit of the Spaniards, and the unforeseen calamities arising from various causes. Now a plan was to be formed of a regular colony, that might serve as a model in all future establishments. Every particular was considered with attention, and the whole arranged with a scrupulous accuracy. The precise number of adventurers, who should be permitted to embark was fixed. They were to be of different ranks and professions, and the proportion of each was established according to their usefulness and the wants of the colony. A suitable number of women were to be chosen to accompany these new settlers. As it was the first object to raise provisions in a country where scarcity of food had been the occasion of so much distress, a considerable body of husbandmen was to be carried over. As the Spaniards had then no conception of deriving any benefit from those productions of the New World which have since yielded such large returns of wealth to Europe, but had formed magnificent ideas, and entertained sanguine hopes with respect to the riches contained in the mines which had been discovered, a band of workmen, skilled in the various arts employed in digging and refining the precious metals, was provided. All these emigrants were to receive pay and subsistence for some years, at the public expense.

Thus far the regulations were prudent, and well adapted to the end in view. But as it was foreseen that few would engage voluntarily to settle in a country whose noxious climate had been fatal to so many of their countrymen. Columbus proposed to transport to Hispaniola such malefactors as had been convicted of crimes which, though capital, were of a less atrocious nature; and that for the future a certain proportion of the offenders usually sent to the galleys, should be condemned to labor in the mines which were to be opened. This advice, given without due reflection, was as inconsiderately adopted. The prisons of Spain were drained, in order to collect members for the intended colony; and the judges empowered to try criminals were instructed to recruit it by their future sentences. It was not, however, with such materials that the foundations of a society, destined to be permanent, should be laid. Industry, sobriety, patience, and mutual confidence, are indispensably requisite in an infant settlement, where purity of morals must contribute more towards establishin order than the operation or authority of laws. But when such a mixture of what is corrupt is admitted into the original constitution of the political body, the vices of those unsound and incurable members will probably infect the whole, and must certainly be productive of violent and unhappy effects. This the Spaniards fatally experienced; and the other European nations having successively imitated the practice of Spain in this particular, pernicious consequences have followed in their settlement, which can be imputed to no other cause.

Though Columbus obtained, with great facility and despatch, the royal approbation of every measure and regulation that he proposed, his endeavors to carry them into execution were so long retarded, as must have tired out the patience of any man less accustomed to encounter and surmount difficulties. Those delays were occasioned partly by that tedious formality and spirit of procrastination, with which the Spaniards conduct business, and partly by the exhausted state of the treasury, which was drained by the expense of celebrating the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella's only son with Margaret of Austria, and that of Joanna, their second daughter, with Philip Archduke of Austria; but must be chiefly imputed to the malicious arts of Columbus's enemies. Astonished at the reception which he met with upon his return, and overawed by his presence, they gave way, for some time, to a tide of favor too strong for them to oppose. Their enmity, however, was too inveterate to remain long inactive. They resumed their operations; and by the assistance of Fonseca, the minister for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to the Bishopric of Badajos, they threw in so many obstacles to protract the preparations for Columbus's expedition, that a year elapsed before he could procure two ships to carry over a part of the supplies destined for the colony, and almost two years were spent before the small squadron was equipped, of which he himself was to take the command.

[1498.] This squadron consisted of six ships only, of no great burden, and but indifferently provided for a long or dangerous navigation. The voyage which he now meditated was in a course different from any he had undertaken. As he was fully persuaded that the fertile regions of India lay to the south-west of those countries which he had discovered, he proposed, as the most certain method of finding out these, to stand directly south from the Canary or Cape de Verd islands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to stretch to the west before the favorable wind for such a course, which blows invariably between the tropics. With this idea he set sail [May 30], and touched first at the Canary, and then at the Cape de Verd islands [July 4]. From the former he despatched three of his ships with a supply of provisions for the colony in Hispaniola; with the other three, he continued his voyage towards the south. No remarkable occurrence happened until they arrived within five degrees of the line [July 19]. There they were becalmed, and at the same time the heat became so excessive that many of their wine casks burst, the liquors in others soured,

and their provisions corrupted. The Spaniards, who had never ventured so far to the south, were afraid that the ships would take fire, and began to apprehend the reality of what the ancients had taught concerning the destructive qualities of that torrid region of the globe. They were relieved, in some measure, from their fears by a seasonable fall of rain. This, however, though so heavy and unintermitting that the men could hardly keep the deck, did not greatly mitigate the intenseness of the heat. The admiral, who with his usual vigilance had in person directed every operation from the beginning of the voyage, was so much exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep, that it brought on a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with a fever. All these circumstances constrained him to yield to the importunities of his crew, and to alter his course to the north-west, in order to reach some of the Caribbee islands, where he might refit, and be supplied with provisions.

On the first of August, the man stationed in the round top surprised them with the joyful cry of *Land!* They stood toward it, and discovered a considerable island, which the admiral called Trinidad, a name it still retains. It lies on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the Orinoco. This, though a river only of the third or fourth magnitude in the New World, far surpasses any of the streams in our hemisphere. It rolls towards the ocean such a vast body of water, and rushes into it with such impetuous force, that when it meets the tide, which on thatcoast rises to an uncommon height, their collision occasions a swell and agitation of the waves no less surprising than formidable. In this conflict, the irresistible torrent of the river so far prevails, that it freshens the ocean many leagues with its flood. Columbus, before he could conceive the danger, was entangled among these adverse currents and tempestuous waves, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he escaped through a narrow strait, which appeared so tremendous that he called it La Boca del Drago. As soon as the consternation which this occasioned permitted him to reflect upon the nature of an appearance so extraordinary, he discerned in it a source of comfort and hope. He justly concluded that such a vast body of water as this river contained, could not be supplied by any island, but must flow through a country of immense extent, and of consequence that he was now arrived at that continent which it had long been the object of his wishes to discover. Full of this idea, he stood to the west along the coast of those provinces which are now known by the names of Para and Cumana. He landed in several places, and had some intercourse with the people, who resembled those of Hispaniola in their appearance and manner of life. They wore, as ornaments, small plates of gold, and pearls of considerable value, which they willingly exchanged for European toys. They seemed to possess a better understanding and greater courage than the inhabitants of the islands. The country produced four-footed animals of several kinds, as well as a great variety of fowls and fruits. The admiral was so much delighted with its beauty and fertility, that, with the warm enthusiasm of a discoverer, he imagined it to be the Paradise described in Scripture, which the Almighty chose for the residence of man while he retained innocence that rendered him worthy of such a habitation. [21] Thus Columbus had the glory not only of discovering to mankind the existence of a new World, but made considerable progress towards a perfect knowledge of it; and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast continent which has been the chief seat of their empire, and the source of their treasures in this quarter of the globe. The shattered condition of his ships, scarcity of provisions, his own infirmities, together with the impatience of his crew, prevented him from pursuing his discoveries any further, and made it necessary to bear away for Hispaniola. In his way thither he discovered the islands of Cubagua and Margarita, which afterwards became remarkable for their pearl-fishery. When he arrived at Hispaniola [Aug. 30], he was wasted to an extreme degree, with fatigue and sickness; but found the affairs of the colony in such a situation as afforded him no prospect of enjoying that repose of which he stood so much in need

Many revolutions had happened in that country during his absence. His brother, the adelantado, in consequence of an advice which the admiral gave before his departure, had removed the colony from Isabella to a more commodious station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of St. Domingo, which was long the most considerable European town in the New World, and the seat of the supreme courts in the Spanish dominions there. As soon as the Spaniards were established in his new settlement, the adelantado, that they might neither languish in inactivity, nor have leisure to form new cabals, marched into those parts of the island which his brother had not yet visited or reduced to obedience. As the people were unable to resist, they submitted every where to the tribute which he imposed. But they soon found the burden to be so intolerable that, overawed as they were by the superior power of their oppressors, they took arms against them. Those insurrections, however, were not formidable. A conflict with timid and naked Indians was neither dangerous nor of doubtful issue.

But while the adelantado was employed against them in the field, a mutiny of an aspect far more alarming broke out among the Spaniards. The ringleader of it was Francis Roldan, whom Columbus had placed in a station which required him to be the guardian of order and tranquillity in the colony. A turbulent and inconsiderate ambition precipitated him into this desperate measure, so unbecoming his rank. The arguments which he employed to seduce his countrymen were frivolous and ill founded. He accused Columbus and his two brothers of arrogance and severity; he pretended that they aimed at establishing an independent dominion in the country; he taxed them with an intention of cutting off part of the Spaniards by hunger and fatigue, that they might more easily reduce the remainder to subjection; he represented it as unworthy of Castilians, to remain the tame and passive slaves of these Genoese adventurers. As men have always a propensity to impute the hardships of which they feel the pressure to the misconduct of their rulers; as every nation views with a jealous eye the power and exaltation of foreigners, Roldan's insinuations made a deep impression on his countrymen. His character and rank added weight to them. A considerable number of the Spaniards made choice of him as their leader; and, taking arms against the adelantado and his brother, seized the king's magazine of provisions, and endeavored to surprise the fort at St. Domingo. This was preserved by the vigilance and courage of Don Diego Columbus. The mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Xaragua, where they continued not only to disclaim the adelantado's authority themselves, but excited the Indians to throw off the yoke.

Such was the distracted state of the colony when Columbus landed at St. Domingo. He was astonished to find that the three ships which he had despatched from the Canaries were not yet arrived. By the unskilfulness of the pilots, and the violence of currents, they had been carried a hundred and sixty miles to the west of St. Domingo, and forced to take shelter in a harbor of the province of Xaragua, where Roldan and his seditious followers were cantoned. Roldan carefully concealed from the commanders of the ships his insurrection against the adelantado, and, employing his utmost address to gain their confidence, persuaded them to set on shore a considerable part of the new settlers whom they brought over, that they might proceed by land to St. Domingo. It required but few arguments to prevail with those men to espouse his cause. They were the refuse of the jails of Spain, to whom idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence were familiar; and they returned eagerly to a course of life nearly resembling that to which they had been accustomed. The commanders of the ships perceiving, when it was too late, their imprudence in disembarking so many of their men, stood away for St. Domingo, and got safe into the port a few days after the admiral; but their stock of provisions was so wasted during a voyage of such long continuance that they brought little relief to the colony.

By this junction with a band of such bold and desperate associates, Roldan became extremely formidable, and no less extravagant in his demands. Columbus, though filled with resentment at his ingratitude, and highly exasperated by the insolence of his followers, made no haste to take the field. He trembled at the thoughts of kindling the flames of a civil war, in which, whatever party prevailed, the power and strength of both must be so much wasted as might encourage the common enemy to unite and complete their destruction. At the same time, he observed, that the prejudices and passions which incited the rebels to take arms, had so far infected those who still adhered to him, that many of them were adverse, and all cold to the service. From such sentiments, with respect to the public interest, as well as from this view of his own situation, he chose to negotiate rather than to fight. By a seasonable proclamation, offering free pardon to such as should merit it by returning to their duty, he made impression upon some of the malecontents. By engaging to grant such as should desire it the liberty of returning to Spain, he allured all those unfortunate adventurers, who, from sickness and disappointment, were disgusted with the country. By promising to re-establish Roldan in his former office, he soothed his pride; and, by complying with most of his demands in behalf of his followers, he satisfied their avarice. Thus, gradually and without bloodshed, but after many tedious negotiations, he dissolved this dangerous combination, which threatened the colony with ruin: and restored the appearance of order, regular government and tranquillity.

In consequence of this agreement with the mutineers, lands were allotted them in different parts of the island, and the Indians settled in each district were appointed to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the use of those new masters [1499]. The performance of this work was substituted in place of the tribute formerly imposed; and how necessary soever such a regulation might be in a sickly and feeble colony, it introduced among the Spaniards the *Repartimientos*, or distributions of Indians established by them in all their settlements, which brought numberless calamities upon that unhappy people, and subjected them to the most grievous oppression. This was not the only bad effect of the insurrection in Hispaniola; it prevented Columbus from prosecuting his discoveries on the continent, as self-preservation obliged him to keep near his person his brother the adelantado, and the sailors whom he intended to have employed in that service. As soon as his affairs would permit, he sent some of his ships to Spain with a journal of the voyage which he had made, a description of the new countries which he had discovered, a chart of the coast along which he had sailed, and specimens of the gold, the pearls, and other curious or valuable productions which he had acquired by trafficking with the natives. At the same time he transmitted an account of the insurrection in Hispaniola; he accused the mutineers not only of having thrown the colony into such violent convulsions as threatened its dissolution, but of having obstructed every attempt towards discovery and improvement, by their unprovoked rebellion against their superiors, and proposed several regulations for the better government of the island, as well as the extinction of that mutinous spirit, which, though suppressed at present, might soon burst out with additional rage. Roldan and his associates did not neglect to convey to Spain, by the same ships, an apology for their own conduct, together with their recriminations upon the admiral and his brothers. Unfortunately for the honor of Spain and the happiness of Columbus, the latter gained most credit in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and produced unexpected effects.

But, previous to the relating of these, it is proper to take a view of some events, which merit attention, both on account of their own importance, and their connection with the history of the New World. While Columbus was engaged in his successive voyages to the west, the spirit of discovery did not languish in Portugal, the kingdom where it first acquired vigor, and became enterprising. Self-condemnation and neglect were not the only sentiments to which the success of Columbus, and reflection upon their own imprudence in rejecting his proposals, gave rise among the Portuguese. They excited a general emulation to surpass his performances, and an ardent desire to make some reparation to their country for their own error. With this view, Emanuel, who inherited the enterprising genius of his predecessors, persisted in their grand scheme of opening a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, and soon after his accession to the throne equipped a squadron for that important voyage. He gave the command of it to Vasco de Gama, a man of noble birth, possessed of virtue, prudence, and courage, equal to the station. The squadron, like all those fitted out for discovery in the infancy of navigation, was extremely feeble, consisting only of three vessels, of neither burden nor force adequate to the service. As the Europeans were at that time little acquainted with the course of the trade-winds and periodical monsoons, which render navigation in the Atlantic ocean as well as in the sea that separates Africa from India, at some seasons easy, and at others not only dangerous but almost impracticable, the time chosen for Gama's departure was the most improper during the whole year. He set sail from Lisbon on the ninth of July, [1497], and standing towards the south, had to struggle for four months with contrary winds before he could reach the Cape of Good Hope. Here their violence began to abate [Nov. 20]; and during an interval of calm weather, Gama doubled that formidable

promontory, which had so long been the boundary of navigation, and directed his course towards the north-east, along the African coast. He touched at several ports; and after various adventures, which the Portuguese historians relate with high but just enconiums upon his conduct and intrepidity, he came to anchor before the city of Melinda. Throughout all the vast countries which extend along the coast of Africa, from the river Senegal to the confines of Zanguebar, the Portuguese had found a race of men rude and uncultivated, strangers to letters, to arts and commerce, and differing from the inhabitants of Europe no less in their features and complexion than in their manners and institutions. As they advanced from this, they observed, to their inexpressible joy, that the human form gradually altered and improved; the Asiatic features began to predominate, marks of civilization appeared, letters were known, the Mahometan religion was established, and a commerce far from being inconsiderable was carried on. At that time several vessels from India were in the port of Melinda. Gama now pursued his voyage with almost absolute certainty of success, and under the conduct of a Mahometan pilot, arrived at Calecut, upon the coast of Malabar, on the twenty-second of May, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight. What he beheld of the wealth, the populousness, the cultivation, the industry, and arts of this highly civilized country, far surpassed any idea that he had formed, from the imperfect accounts which the Europeans had hitherto received of it. But as he possessed neither sufficient force to attempt a settlement, nor proper commodities with which he could carry on commerce of any consequence, he hastened back to Portugal, with an account of his success in performing a voyage, the longest, as well as most difficult, that had ever been made since the first invention of navigation. He landed at Lisbon on the fourteenth of September, one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine, two years two months and five days from the time he left that port.

Thus, during the course of the fifteenth century, mankind made greater progress in exploring the state of the habitable globe, that in all the ages which had elapsed previous to that period. The spirit of discovery, feeble at first and cautious, moved within a very narrow sphere, and made its efforts with hesitation and timidity. Encouraged by success, it became adventurous, and boldly extended its operations. In the course of its progression, it continued to acquire vigor, and advanced at length with a rapidity and force which burst through all the limit within which ignorance and fear had hitherto circumscribed the activity of the human race. Almost fifty years were employed by the Portuguese in creeping along the coast of Africa from Cape Non to Cape de Verd, the latter of which lies only twelve degrees to the south of the former. In less than thirty years they ventured beyond the equinoctial line into another hemisphere, and penetrated to the southern extremity of Africa, at the distance of forty-nine degrees from Cape de Verd. During the last seven years of the century, a New World was discovered in the west, not inferior in extent to all the parts of the earth with which mankind were at that time acquainted. In the East, unknown seas and countries were found out, and a communication, long desired, but hitherto concealed was opened between Europe and the opulent regions of India. In comparison with events so wonderful and unexpected, all that had hitherto been deemed great or splendid faded away and disappeared. Vast objects now presented themselves. The human mind, roused and interested by the prospect, engaged with ardor in pursuit of them, and exerted its active powers in a new direction.

This spirit of enterprise, though but newly awakened in Spain, began soon to operate extensively. All the attempts towards discovery made in that kingdom had hitherto been carried on by Columbus alone, and at the expense of the Sovereign. But now private adventurers, allured by the magnificent descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, as well as by the specimens of their wealth which he produced, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and to go in quest of new countries. The Spanish court, whose scanty revenues were exhausted by the charge of its expeditions to the New World, which, though they opened alluring prospects of future benefit, yielded a very sparing return of present profit, was extremely willing to devolve the burden of discovery upon its subjects. It seized with joy an opportunity of rendering the avarice, the ingenuity, and efforts of projectors instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect to themselves. One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonzo de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. His rank and character procured him such credit with the merchants of Seville, that they undertook to equip four ships, provided he could obtain the royal license, authorising the voyage. The powerful patronage of the Bishop of Badajos easily secured success in a suit so agreeable to the court. Without consulting Columbus or regarding the rights and jurisdiction which he had acquired by the capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Ojeda was permitted to set out for the New World. In order to direct his course, the bishop communicated to him the admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries which he had discovered. Ojeda struck out into no new path of navigation, but adhering servilely to the route which Columbus had taken, arrived on the coast of Paria [May]. He traded with the natives, and, standing to the west, proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, and ranged along a considerable extent of coast beyond that on which Columbus had touched. Having thus ascertained the opinion of Columbus, that this country was a part of the continent, Ojeda returned by way of Hispaniola to Spain [October], with some reputation as a discoverer, but with little benefit to those who had raised the funds for the expedition.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage. In what station he served is uncertain, but as he was an experienced sailor, and eminently skilled in all the sciences subservient to navigation, he seems to have acquired such authority among his companions, that they willingly allowed him to have a chief share in directing their operations during the voyage. Soon after his return, he transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen; and laboring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the address and confidence to frame his narrative so as to make it appear that he had the glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up not only with art, but with some elegance. It contained an amusing history of his voyage, and judicious observations upon the natural productions, the inhabitants, and the customs of the countries which he had visited. As it was the first description of any part of the New World that was published, a performance so well calculated to gratify the passion of mankind for what is new and marvellous, circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind, often as unaccountable as unjust, has perpetuated this error. By the universal consent of nations, America is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate imposter, have robbed the discoverer of the New World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has supplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injustice, which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress. [22]

During the same year, another voyage of discovery was undertaken. Columbus not only introduced the spirit of naval enterprise into Spain, but all the first adventurers who distinguished themselves in this new career were formed by his instructions, and acquired in his voyages the skill and information which qualified them to imitate his example. Alonso Nigno, who had served under the admiral in his last expedition, fitted out a single ship, in conjunction with Christopher Guerra, a merchant of Seville, and sailed to the coast of Paria. This voyage seems to have been conducted with greater attention to private emolument than to any general or national object. Nigno and Guerra, made no discoveries of any importance; but they brought home such a return of gold and pearls as inflamed their countrymen with the desire of engaging in similar adventures.

Soon after [Jan. 13, 1500], Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of the admiral's companions in his first voyage, sailed from Palos with four ships. He stood boldly towards the south, and was the first Spaniard who ventured across the equinoctial line; but he seems to have landed on no part of the coast beyond the mouth of the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons. All these navigators adopted the erroneous theory of Columbus, and believed that the countries which they had discovered were part of the vast continent of India.

During the last year of the fifteenth century, that fertile district of America, on the confines of which Pinzon had stopped short, was more fully discovered. The successful voyage of Gama to the East Indies having encouraged the King of Portugal to fit out a fleet so powerful as not only to carry on trade but to attempt conquest, he gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coast of Africa, where he was certain of meeting with variable breezes or frequent calms, which might retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to sea, and kept so far to the west, that, to his surprise, he found himself upon the shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond the line. He imagined at first that it was some island in the Atlantic ocean, hitherto unobserved; but, proceeding along its coast for several days, he was led gradually to believe, that a country so extensive formed a part of some great continent. This latter opinion was well founded. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America now known by the name of Brasil. He landed; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the soil, and agreeableness of the climate, he took possession of it for the crown of Portugal, and despatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no less important than it was unexpected. Columbus's discovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius enlightened by science, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portnguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extensive continent.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese, by those successive voyages, were daily acquiring more enlarged ideas of the extent and opulence of that quarter of the globe which Columbus had made known to them, he himself, far from enjoying the tranquillity and honors with which his services should have been recompensed, was struggling with every distress in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command, or the ingratitude of the court which he served, could involve him. Though the pacification with Roldan broke the union and weakened the force of the mutineers, it did not extirpate the seeds of discord out of the island. Several of the malecontents continued in arms, refusing to submit to the admiral. He and his brothers were obliged to take the field alternately, in order to check their incursions, or to punish their crimes. The perpetual occupation and disquiet which this created, prevented him from giving due attention to the dangerous machinations of his enemies in the court of Spain. A good number of such as were most dissatisfied with his administration had embraced the opportunity of returning to Europe with the ships which he despatched from St. Domingo. The final disappointment of all their hopes inflamed the rage of these unfortunate adventurers against Columbus to the utmost pitch. Their poverty and distress, by exciting compassion, rendered their accusations credible, and their complaints interesting. They teased Ferdinand and Isabella incessantly with memorials, containing the detail of their own grievances, and the articles of their charge against Columbus. Whenever either the king or queen appeared in public, they surrounded them in a tumultuary manner, insisting with importunate clamours for the payment of the arrears due to them, and demanding vengeance upon the author of their sufferings. They insulted the admiral's sons wherever they met them, reproaching them as the offspring of the projector, whose fatal curiosity had discovered those pernicious regions which drained Spain of its wealth, and would prove the grave of its people. These avowed endeavors of the malecontents from America to ruin Columbus, were seconded by the secret but more dangerous insinuations of that party among the courtiers, which had always thwarted his schemes, and envied his success and credit.

Ferdinand was disposed to listen, not only with a willing but with a partial ear, to these accusations. Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which Columbus had given of the riches of America, the remittances from it had hitherto been so scanty that they fell far short of defraying the expense of the armaments fitted out. The glory of the discovery, together with the prospect of remote commercial advantages, was all that Spain had yet received in return for the efforts which she had made. But time had already diminished the first sensations of joy which the discovery of a New World occasioned, and fame alone was not an object to satisfy the cold interested mind of Ferdinand. The

nature of commerce was then so little understood that, where immediate gain was not acquired, the hope of distant benefit, or of slow and moderate returns, was totally disregarded. Ferdinand considered Spain, on this account, as having lost by the enterprise of Columbus, and imputed it to his misconduct and incapacity for government, that a country abounding in gold had yielded nothing of value to its conquerors. Even Isabella, who from the favorable opinion which she entertained of Columbus had uniformly protected him, was shaken at length by the number and boldness of his accusers, and began to suspect that a disaffection so general must have been occasioned by real grievances which called for redress. The Bishop of Badajos, with his usual animosity against Columbus, encouraged these suspicions, and confirmed them.

As soon as the queen began to give way to the torrent of calumny, a resolution fatal to Columbus was taken. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to inquire into the conduct of Columbus, and if he should find the charge of maladministration proved, to supersede him, and assume the government of the island. It was impossible to escape condemnation, when this preposterous commission made it the interest of the judge to pronounce the person whom he was sent to try, guilty. Though Columbus had now composed all the dissensions in the island; though he had brought both Spaniards and Indians to submit peaceably to his government; though he had made such effectual provision for working the mines, and cultivating the country, as would have secured a considerable revenue to the king, as well as large profits to individuals; Bovadilla, without designing to attend to the nature or merit of those services, discovered from the moment that he landed in Hispaniola, a determined purpose of treating him as a criminal. He took possession of the admiral's house in St. Domingo, from which its master happened at that time to be absent, and seized his effects, as if his guilt had been already fully proved; he rendered himself master of the fort and of the King's stores by violence; he required all persons to acknowledge him as supreme governor; he set at liberty the prisoners confined by the admiral, and summoned him to appear before his tribunal, in order to answer for his conduct; transmitting to him, together with the summons, a copy of the royal mandate, by which Columbus was enjoined to yield implicit obedience to his commands.

Columbus, though deeply affected with the ingratitude and injustice of Ferdinand and Isabella, did not hesitate a moment about his own conduct. He submitted to the will of his sovereigns with a respectful silence, and repaired directly [October] to the court of that violent and partial judge whom they had authorized to try him. Bovadilla, without admitting him into his presence, ordered him instantly to be arrested, to be loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ship. Even under this humiliating reverse of fortune, the firmness of mind which distinguishes the character of Columbus did not forsake him. Conscious of his own integrity, and solacing himself with reflecting upon the great things which he had achieved, he endured this insult offered to his character, not only with composure but with dignity. Nor had he the consolation of sympathy to mitigate his sufferings. Bovadilla had already rendered himself so extremely popular, by granting various immunities to the colony, by liberal donations of Indians to all who applied for them, and by relaxing the reins of discipline and government, that the Spaniards, who were mostly adventurers, whom their indigence or crimes had compelled to abandon their native country, expressed the most indecent satisfaction with the disgrace and imprisonment of Columbus. They flattered themselves that now they should enjoy an uncontrolled liberty more suitable to their disposition and former habits of life. Among persons thus prepared to censure the proceedings, and to asperse the character of Columbus, Bovadilla collected materials for a charge against him. All accusations the most improbable as well as inconsistent, were received. No informer, however, infamous, was rejected. The result of this inquest, no less indecent than partial, he transmitted to Spain. At the same time he ordered Columbus, with his two brothers, to be carried thither in fetters; and, adding cruelty to insult, he confined them in different ships, and excluded them from the comfort of that friendly intercourse which might have soothed their common distress. But while the Spaniards in Hispaniola viewed the arbitrary and insolent proceedings of Bovadilla with a general approbation, which reflects dishonor upon their name and country, one man still retained a proper sense of the great actions which Columbus had performed, and was touched with the sentiments of veneration and pity due to his rank, his age, and his merit. Alonzo de Valejo, the captain of the vessel on board which the admiral was confined, as soon as he was clear of the island, approached his prisoner with great respect, and offered to release him from the fetters with which he was unjustly loaded. "No," replied Columbus with a generous indignation, "I wear these irons in consequence of an order from my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this as to their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone shall set me at liberty."

Nov. 23.] Fortunately the voyage to Spain was extremely short. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella were informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner and in chains, they perceived at once what universal astonishment this event must occasion, and what an impression to their disadvantage it must make. All Europe, they foresaw, would be filled with indignation at this ungenerous requital of a man who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompense, and would exclaim against the injustice of the nation, to which he had been such an eminent benefactor, as well as against the ingratitude of the princes whose reign he had rendered illustrious. Ashamed of their own conduct, and eager not only to make some reparation for this injury, but to efface the stain which it might fix upon their character, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty [Dec. 17,] invited him to court, and remitted money to enable him to appear there in a manner suitable to his rank. When he entered the royal presence, Columbus threw himself at the feet of his sovereigns. He remained for some time silent; the various passions which agitated his mind suppressing his power of utterance. At length he recovered himself, and vindicated his conduct in a long discourse, producing the most satisfying proofs of his own integrity as well as good intention, and evidence, no less clear, of the malevolence of his enemies, who, not satisfied with having ruined his fortune, labored to deprive him of what alone was now left, his honor and his fame. Ferdinand received him with decent civility, and Isabella with tenderness and respect. They both expressed their sorrow for what had happened, disavowed their knowledge of it, and joined in promising him protection and future favor. But though they instantly degraded Bovadilla, in order to remove from themselves any suspicion of having authorized his violent proceedings, they did not restore to Columbus his jurisdiction and privileges as viceroy of those countries which he had discovered. Though willing to appear the avengers of Columbus's wrongs, that illiberal jealousy which prompted them to invest Bovadilla with such authority, as put it in his power to treat the admiral with indignity, still subsisted. They were afraid to trust a man to whom they had been so highly indebted; and retaining him at court under various pretexts, they appointed Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara, governor of Hispaniola.

Columbus was deeply affected with this new injury, which came from hands that seemed to be employed in making reparation for his past sufferings. The sensibility with which great minds feel every thing that implies any suspicion of their integrity, or that wears the aspect of an affront, is exquisite. Columbus had experienced both from the Spaniards, and their ungenerous conduct exasperated him to such a degree that he could no longer conceal the sentiments which it excited. Wherever he went he carried about with him, as a memorial of their ingratitude, those fetters with which he had been loaded. They were constantly hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders, that when he died they should be buried in his grave.

1501.] Meanwhile the spirit of discovery, notwithstanding the severe check which it had received by the ungenerous treatment of the man who first excited it in Spain, continued active and vigorous. [January] Roderigo de Bastidas, a person of distinction, fitted out two ships in copartnery with John de la Cosa, who having served under the admiral in two of his voyages was deemed the most skilful pilot in Spain. They steered directly towards the continent, arrived on the coast of Paria, and, proceeding to the west, discovered all the coast of the province now known by the name of Tierra Firmo, from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien. Not long after Ojeda, with his former associate Amerigo Vespucci, set out upon a second voyage, and, being unacquainted with the destination of Bastidas, held the same course and touched at the same places. The voyage of Bastidas was prosperous and lucrative, that of Ojeda unfortunate. But both tended to increase the ardor of discovery; for in proportion as the Spaniards acquired a more extensive knowledge of the American continent, their idea of its opulence and fertility increased.

Before these adventurers returned from their voyages, a fleet was equipped, at the public expense, for carrying over Ovando, the new governor, to Hispaniola. His presence there was extremely requisite, in order to stop the inconsiderate career of Bovadilla, whose imprudent administration threatened the settlement with ruin. Conscious of the violence and iniquity of his proceedings against Columbus, he continued to make it his sole object to gain the favor and support of his countrymen, by accommodating himself to their passions and prejudices. With this view, he established regulations in every point the reverse of those which Columbus deemed essential to the prosperity of the colony. Instead of the severe discipline necessary in order to habituate the dissolute and corrupted members of which the society was composed, to the restraints of law and subordination, he suffered them to enjoy such uncontrolled license as encouraged the wildest excesses. Instead of protecting the Indians, he gave a legal sanction to the oppression of that unhappy people. He took the exact number of such as survived their past calamities, divided them into distinct classes, distributed them in property among his adherents, and reduced all the people of the island to a state of complete servitude. As the avarice of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of searching for gold, this servitude became as grievous as it was unjust. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines, by masters who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labor so disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life, wasted that feeble race of men with such rapid consumption, as must have soon terminated in the utter extinction of the ancient inhabitants of the country.

The necessity of applying a speedy remedy to those disorders hastened Ovando's departure. He had the command of the most respectable armament hitherto fitted out for the New World. It consisted of thirty-two ships, on board of which two thousand five hundred persons embarked with an intention of settling in the country. [1502.] Upon the arrival of the new governor with this powerful reinforcemet to the colony. Bovadilla resigned his charge, and was commanded to return instantly to Spain, in order to answer for his conduct. Roldan and the other ringleaders of the mutineers, who had been most active in opposing Columbus, were required to leave the island at the same time. A proclamation was issued, declaring the natives to be free subjects of Spain, of whom no service was to be expected contrary to their own inclination, and without paying them an adequate price for their labor. With respect to the Spaniards themselves, various regulations were made, tending to suppress the licentious spirit which had been so fatal to the colony, and to establish that reverence for law and order on which society is founded, and to which it is indebted for its increase and stability. In order to limit the exorbitant gain which private persons were supposed to make by working the mines, an ordinance was published, directing all the gold to be brought to a public smelting-house, and declaring one-half of it to be the property of the crown.

While these steps were taking for securing the tranquillity and welfare of the colony which Columbus had planted, he himself was engaged in the unpleasant employment of soliciting the favor of an ungrateful court, and notwithstanding all his merit and services, he solicited in vain. He demanded, in terms of the original capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, to be reinstated in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had discovered. By a strange fatality, the circumstance which he urged in support of his claim, determined a jealous monarch to reject it. The greatness of his discoveries, and the prospect of their increasing value, made Ferdinand consider the concessions in the capitulation as extravagant and impolitic. He was afraid of intrusting a subject with the exercise of a jurisdiction that now appeared to be so extremely extensive, and might grow to be no less formidable. He inspired Isabella with the same suspicions; and under various pretexts, equally frivolous and unjust, they eluded all Columbus's requisitions to perform that which a solemn compact bound them to accomplish. After attending the court of Spain for

near two years, as an humble suitor, he found it impossible to remove Ferdinand's prejudices and apprehensions; and perceived at length that he labored in vain, when he urged a claim of justice or merit with an interested and unfeeling prince.

But even this ungenerous return did not discourage him from pursuing the great object which first called forth his inventive genius, and excited him to attempt discovery. To open a new passage to the East Indies was his original and favorite scheme. This still engrossed his thoughts; and either from his own observations in his voyage to Paria, or from some obscure hint of the natives, or from the accounts given by Bastidas and de la Cosa of their expedition, he conceived an opinion that beyond the continent of America there was a sea which extended to the East Indies, and hoped to find some strait or narrow neck of land, by which a communication might be opened with it and the part of the ocean already known. By a very fortunate conjecture, he supposed this strait or isthmus to be situated near the Gulf of Darien. Full of this idea, though he was now of an advanced age, worn out with fatigue, and broken with infirmities, he offered, with the alacrity of a youthful adventurer, to undertake a voyage which would ascertain this important point, and perfect the grand scheme which from the beginning he proposed to accomplish. Several circumstances concurred in disposing Ferdinand and Isabella to lend a favorable ear to this proposal They were glad to have the pretext of any honorable employment for removing from court a man with whose demands they deemed it impolitic to comply, and whose services it was indecent to neglect. Though unwilling to reward Columbus, they were not insensible of his merit, and from their experience of his skill and conduct, had reason to give credit to his conjectures, and to confide in his success. To these considerations, a third must be added of still more powerful influence. About this time the Portuguese fleet, under Cabral, arrived from the Indies; and by the richness of its cargo, gave the people of Europe a more perfect idea than they had hitherto been able to form, of the opulence and fertility of the East. The Portuguese had been more fortunate in their discoveries than the Spaniards. They had opened a communication with countries where industry, arts, and elegance flourished; and where commerce had been longer established, and carried to greater extent than in any region of the earth. Their first voyages thither yielded immediate as well as vast returns of profit, in commodities extremely precious and in great request. Lisbon became immediately the seat of commerce and wealth; while Spain had only the expectation of remote benefit, and of future gain from the western world. Nothing, then, could be more acceptable to the Spaniards than Columbus's offer to conduct them to the East, by a route which he expected to be shorter, as well as less dangerous than that which the Portuguese had taken. Even Ferdinand was roused by such a prospect and warmly approved of the undertaking.

But interesting as the object of this voyage was to the nation, Columbus could procure only four small barks, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons in burden, for performing it. Accustomed to brave danger, and to engage in arduous undertakings with inadequate force, he did not hesitate to accept the command of this pitiful squadron. His brother Bartholomew, and his second son Ferdinand, the historian of his actions, accompanied him. He sailed from Cadiz on the ninth of May, and touched, as usual, at the Canary islands; from thence he proposed to have stood directly for the continent; but his largest vessel was so clumsy and unfit for service, as constrained him to bear away for Hispaniola, in hopes of exchanging her for some ship of the fleet that had carried out Ovando. When he arrived at St. Domingo [June 29], he found eighteen of these ships ready loaded, and on the point of departing for Spain. Columbus immediately acquainted the governor with the destination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requested permission to enter the harbor, not only that he might negotiate the exchange of his ship, but that he might take shelter during a violent hurricane, of which he discerned the approach from various prognostics which his experience and sagacity had taught him to observe. On that account, he advised him likewise to put off for some days the departure of the fleet bound for Spain. But Ovando refused his request, and despised his counsel. Under circumstances in which humanity would have afforded refuge to a stranger, Columbus was denied admittance into a country of which he had discovered the existence and acquired the possession. His salutary warning, which merited the greatest attention, was regarded as the dream of a visionary prophet, who arrogantly pretended to predict an event beyond the reach of human foresight. The fleet set sail for Spain. Next night the hurricane came on with dreadful impetuosity. Columbus, aware of the danger, took precautions against it, and saved his little squadron. The fleet destined for Spain met with the fate which the rashness and obstinacy of its commanders deserved. Of eighteen ships two or three only escaped. In this general wreck perished Bovadilla, Roldan, and the greater part of those who had been the most active in persecuting Columbus, and oppressing the Indians. Together with themselves, all the wealth which they had acquired by their injustice and cruelty was swallowed up. It exceeded in value two hundred thousand *pesos;* an immense sum at that period, and sufficient not only to have screened them from any severe scrutiny into their conduct, but to have secured them a gracious reception in the Spanish court. Among the ships that escaped, one had on board all the effects of Columbus which had been recovered from the ruins of his fortune. Historians, struck with the exact discrimination of characters, as well as the just distribution of rewards and punishments, conspicuous in those events, universally attribute them to an immediate interposition of Divine Providence, in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, and to punish the oppressors of an innocent people. Upon the ignorant and superstitious race of men, who were witnesses of this occurence, it made a different impression. From an opinion which vulgar admiration is apt to entertain with respect to persons who have distinguished themselves by their sagacity and inventions, they believed Columbus to be possessed of supernatural powers, and imagined that he had conjured up this dreadful storm by magical art and incantations in order to be avenged of his enemies.

Columbus soon left Hispaniola [July 14], where he met with such an inhospitable reception, and stood towards the continent. After a tedious and dangerous voyage, he discovered Guania, an island not far distant from the coast of Honduras. There he had an interview with some inhabitants of the continent, who arrived in a large canoe. They appeared to be a people more civilized, and who had made greater progress in the knowledge of useful arts than any whom he had hitherto discovered. In return to the inquiries which the Spaniards made, with their usual eagerness, concerning the places where the Indians got the gold which they wore by way of ornament, they directed them to countries situated to the west, in which gold was found in such profusion that it was applied to the most common uses. Instead of steering in quest of a country so inviting, which would have conducted him along the coast of Yucatan to the rich empire of Mexico, Columbus was so bent upon his favorite scheme of finding out the strait which he supposed to communicate with the Indian ocean, that he bore away to the east towards the gulf of Darien. In this navigation he discovered all the coast of the continent, from Cape Gracias a Dios to a harbor which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. He searched in vain for the imaginary sirait, through which he expected to make his way into an unknown sea; and though he went on shore several times, and advanced into the country, he did not penetrate so far as to cross the narrow isthmus which separates the Gulf of Mexico from the great Southern ocean. He was so much delighted, however, with the fertility of the country, and conceived such an idea of its wealth from the specimens of gold produced by the natives, that he resolved to leave a small colony upon the river Belen, in the province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return himself to Spain [1503], in order to procure what was requisite for rendering the establishment permanent. But the ungovernable spirit of the people under his command, deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the first colony on the continent of America. Their insolence and rapaciousness provoked the natives to take arms; and as these were a more hardy and warlike race of men than the inhabitants of the islands, they cut off part of the Spaniards, and obliged the rest to abandon a station which was found to be untenable.

This repulse, the first that the spaniards met with from any of the American nations, was not the only misfortune that befell Columbus; it was followed by a succession of all the disasters to which navigation is exposed. Furious hurricanes with violent storms of thunder and lightning, threatened his leaky vessels with destruction; while his discontented crew, exhausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions, was unwilling or unable to execute his commands. One of his ships perished; he was obliged to abandon another, as unfit for service; and with the two which remained, he quitted that part of the continent, which, in his anguish, he named the Coast of Vexation, and bore away for Hispaniola. New distresses awaited him in his voyage. He was driven back by a violent tempest from the coast of Cuba, his ships fell foul of one another, and were so much shattered by the shock that with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica [June 24], where he was obliged to run them aground, to prevent them from sinking. The measure of his calamities seemed now to be full. He was cast ashore upon an island at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America. His ships were ruined beyond the possibility of being repaired. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola appeared impracticable; and without this it was in vain to expect relief. His genius, fertile in resources, and most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, discovered the only expedient which afforded any prospect of deliverance. He had recourse to the hospitable kindness of the natives, who, considering the Spaniards as beings of a superior nature, were eager, on every occasion, to minister to their wants. From them he obtained two of their canoes, each formed out of the trunk of a single tree hollowed with fire, and so misshapen and awkward as hardly to merit the name of boats. In these, which were fit only for creeping along the coast, or crossing from one side of a bay to another, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, gallantly offered to set out for Hispaniola, upon a voyage of above thirty leagues. This they accomplished in ten days, after surmounting incredible dangers, and enduring such fatigues, that several of the Indians who accompanied them sunk under it, and died. The attention paid to them by the governor of Hispaniola was neither such as their courage merited, nor the distress of the persons from whom they came required. Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, was afraid of allowing him to set foot in the island under his government. This ungenerous passion hardened his heart against every tender sentiment which reflection upon the services and misfortunes of that great man, or compassion for his own fellow-citizens, involved in the same calamities, must have excited. Mendez and Fieschi spent eight months in soliciting relief for their commander and associates, without any prospect of obtaining it.

During this period, various passions agitated the mind of Columbus and his companions in adversity. At first, the expectation of speedy deliverance, from the success of Mendez and Fieschi's voyage, cheered the spirits of the most desponding. After some time the most timorous began to suspect that they had miscarried in their daring attempt [1504]. At length, even the most sanguine concluded that they had perished. The ray of hope which had broke in upon them, made their condition appear now more dismal. Despair, heightened by disappointment, settled in every breast. Their last resource had failed, and nothing remained but the prospect of ending their miserable days among naked savages, far from their country and their friends. The seamen, in a transport of rage, rose in open mutiny, threatened the life of Columbus, whom they reproached as the author of all their calamities, seized ten canoes, which they had purchased from the Indians, and, despising his remonstrances and entreaties, made off with them to a distant part of the island. At the same time the natives murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards in their country. As their industry was not greater than that of their neighbors in Hispaniola, like them they found the burden of supporting so many stangers to be altogether intolerable. They began to bring in provisions with reluctance, they furnished them with a sparing hand, and threatened to withdraw those supplies altogether. Such a resolution must have been quickly fatal to the Spaniards. Their safety depended upon the good will of the Indians; and unless they could revive the admiration and reverence with which that simple people had at first beheld them, destruction was unavoidable. Though the licentious proceedings of the mutineers had in a great measure effaced those impressions which had been so favorable to the Spaniards, the ingenuity of Columbus suggested a happy artifice, that not only restored but heightened the high opinion which the Indians had originally entertained of them. By his skill in astronomy, he knew that there was shortly to be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the

principal persons of the district around him on the day before it happened, and, after reproaching them for their fickleness in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them, that the Spaniards were servants of the Great Spirit who dwells in heaven, who made and governs the world; that he, offended at their refusal to support men who were the objects of his peculiar favor, was preparing to punish this crime with exemplary severity, and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the divine wrath and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them. To this marvellous prediction some of them listened with the careless indifference peculiar to the people of America; others, with the credulous astonishment natural to barbarians. But when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red color, all were struck with terror. They ran with consternation to their houses, and returning instantly to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit to avert the destruction with which they were threatened. Columbus, seeming to be moved by their entreaties, promised to comply with their desire. The eclipse went off, the moon recovered its splendour, and from that day the Spaniards were not only furnished profusely with provisions, but the natives, with superstitious attention, avoided every thing that could give them offence.

During those transactions, the mutineers had made repeated attempts to pass over to Hispaniola in the canoes which they had seized. But, from their own misconduct or the violence of the winds and currents, their efforts were all unsuccessful. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched towards that part of the island where Columbus remained, threatening him with new insults and dangers. While they were advancing, an event happened, more cruel and afflicting than any calamity which he dreaded from them. The governor of Hispaniola, whose mind was still filled with some dark suspicions of Columbus, sent a small bark to Jamaica, not to deliver his distressed countrymen, but to spy out their condition. Lest the sympathy of those whom he employed should afford them relief, contrary to his intention, he gave the command of this vessel to Escobar, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, who, adhering to his instructions with malignant accuracy, cast anchor at some distance from the island, approached the shore in a small boat, observed the wretched plight of the Spaniards, delivered a letter of empty compliments to the admiral, received his answer, and departed. When the Spaniards first descried the vessel standing towards the island, every heart exulted, as if the long expected hour of their deliverance had at length arrived; but when it disappeared so suddenly, they sunk into the deepest dejection, and all their hopes died away. Columbus alone, though he felt most sensibly this wanton insult which Ovando added to his past neglect, retained such composure of mind as to be able to cheer his followers. He assured them that Mendez and Fieschi had reached Hispaniola in safety; that they would speedily procure ships to carry them off; but as Escobar's vessel could not take them all on board, that he had refused to go with her, because he was determined never to abandon the faithful companions of his distress. Soothed with the expectation of speedy deliverance, and delighted with his apparent generosity in attending more to their preservation than to his own safety, their spirits revived, and he regained their confidence.

Without this confidence he could not have resisted the mutineers, who were now at hand. All his endeavors to reclaim those desperate men had no effect but to increase their frenzy. Their demands became every day more extravagant, and their intentions more violent and bloody. The common safety rendered it necessary to oppose them with open force. Columbus, who had been long afflicted with the gout, could not take the field. His brother, the adelantado, marched against them [May 20]. They quickly met. The mutineers rejected with scorn terms of accommodation, which were once more offered them, and rushed on boldly to the attack. They fell not upon an enemy unprepared to receive them. In the first shock, several of their most daring leaders were slain. The adelantado, whose strength was equal to his courage, closed with their captain, wounded, disarmed, and took him prisoner. At sight of this, the rest fled with a dastardly fear suitable to their former insolence. Soon after, they submitted in a body to Columbus, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to obey all his commands. Hardly was tranquillity re-established when the ships appeared, whose arrival Columbus had promised with great address, though he could foresee it with little certainty. With transports of joy the Spaniards quitted an island in which the unfeeling jealousy of Ovando had suffered them to languish above a year, exposed to misery in all its various forms.

When they arrived at St. Domingo [Aug. 13], the governor with the mean artifice of a vulgar mind, that labors to atone for insolence by servility, fawned on the man whom he envied, and had attempted to ruin. He received Columbus with the most studied respect, lodged him in his own house, and distinguished him with every mark of honor. But amidst those overacted demonstrations of regard, he could not conceal the hatred and malignity latent in his heart. He set at liberty the captain of the mutineers, whom Columbus had brought over in chains to be tried for his crimes; and threatened such as had adhered to the admiral with proceeding with a judicial inquiry into their conduct. Columbus submitted in silence to what he could not redress; but discovered an extreme impatience to quit a country which was under the jurisdiction of a man who had treated him, on every occasion, with inhumanity and injustice. His preparations were soon finished, and he set sail for Spain with two ships [Sept. 12]. Disasters similar to those which had accompanied him through life continued to pursue him to the end of his career. One of his vessels being disabled, was soon forced back to St. Domingo; the other, shattered by violent storms, sailed several hundred leagues with jury-masts, and reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar [December].

There he received the account of an event the most fatal that could have befallen him, and which completed his misfortunes. This was the death of his patroness Queen Isabella [Nov. 9], in whose justice, humanity, and favor he confided as his last resource. None now remained to redress his wrongs, or to reward him for his services and sufferings, but Ferdinand, who had so long opposed and so often injured him. To solicit a prince thus prejudiced against him was an occupation no less irksome than hopeless. In this, however, was Columbus doomed to employ the close of his days. As soon as his health was in some degree re-established, he repaired to court; and though he was received there with civility barely decent, he plied Ferdinand with petition after petition, demanding the punishment of his oppressors, and the restitution of all the privileges bestowed upon him by the capitulation of one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. Ferdinand amused him with fair words and unmeaning promises. Instead of granting his claims, he proposed expedients in order to elude them, and spun out the affair with such apparent art, as plainly discovered his intention that it should never be terminated. The declining health of Columbus flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being soon delivered from an importunate suitor, and encouraged him to persevere in this illiberal plan. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Disgusted with ingratitude of a monarch whom he had served with such fidelity and success, exhausted with the fatigues and hardships which he had endured and broken with the infirmities which these had brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

BOOK III.

State of the colony in Hispaniola—New war with the Indians—Cruelty of the Spaniards—Fatal regulations concerning the condition of the Indians—Diminution of that people—Discoveries and settlements—First colony planted on the Continent—Conquest of Cuba—Discovery of Florida—of the South Sea—Great expectations raised by this—Causes of disappointment with respect to these for some time—Controversy concerning the treatment of the Indians—Contrary decisions—Zeal of the ecclesiastics, particularly of Las Casas—Singular proceedings of Ximenes—Negroes imported into America—Las Casas' idea of a new colony—permitted to attempt it—unsuccessful—Discoveries towards the West—Yucatan—Campeachy—New Spain—preparations for invading it

While Columbus was employed in his last voyage, several events worthy of notice happened in Hispaniola. The colony there, the parent and nurse of all the subsequent establishments of Spain in the New World, gradually acquired the form of a regular and prosperous society. The humane solicitude of Isabella to protect the Indians from oppression, and particularly the proclamation by which the Spaniards were prohibited to compel them to work, retarded, it is true, for some time the progress of improvement. The natives, who considered exemption from toil as extreme felicity, scorned every allurement and reward by which they were invited to labor. The Spaniards had not a sufficient number of hands either to work the mines or to cultivate the soil. Several of the first colonists who had been accustomed to the service of the Indians, quitted the island, when deprived of those instruments, without which they knew not how to carry on any operation. Many of the new settlers who came over with Ovando, were seized with the distempers peculiar to the climate, and in a short space above a thousand of them died. At the same time, the exacting one-half of the product of the mines, as the royal share, was found to be a demand so exorbitant that no adventurers would engage to work them upon such terms. In order to save the colony from ruin, Ovando ventured to relax the rigor of the royal edicts [1505]. He made a new distribution of the Indians among the Spaniards, and compelled them to labor, for a stated time, in digging the mines, or in cultivating the ground; but in order to screen himself from the imputation of having subjected them again to servitude, he enjoined their masters to pay them a certain sum, as the price of their work. He reduced the royal share of the gold found in the mines from the half to the third part, and soon after lowered it to a fifth, at which it long remained. Notwithstanding Isabella's tender concern for the good treatment of the Indians, and Ferdinand's eagerness to improve the royal revenue, Ovando persuaded the court to approve of both these regulations.

But the Indians, after enjoying respite from oppression, though during a short interval, now felt the yoke of bondage to be so galling that they made several attempts to vindicate their own liberty. This the Spaniards considered as rebellion, and took arms in order to reduce them to subjection. When war is carried on between nations whose state of improvement is in any degree similar, the means of defence bear some proportion to those employed in the attack; and in this equal contest such efforts must be made, such talents are displayed, and such passions roused, as exhibit mankind to view in a situation no less striking than interesting. It is one of the noblest functions of history to observe and to delineate men at a juncture when their minds are most violently agitated, and all their powers and passions are called forth. Hence the operations of war, and the struggles between contending states, have been deemed by historians, ancient as well as modern, a capital and important article in the annals of human actions. But in a contest between naked savages, and one of the most warlike of the European nations, where science, courage, and discipline on one side, were opposed by ignorance, timidity, and disorder on the other, a particular detail of events would be as unpleasant as uninstructive. If the simplicity and innocence of the Indians had inspired the Spaniards with humanity, had softened the pride of superiority into compassion, and had induced them to improve the inhabitants of the New World, instead of oppressing them, some sudden acts of violence, like the too rigorous chastisements of impatient instructors, might have been related without horror. But, unfortunately, this consciousness of superiority operated in a different manner. The Spaniards were advanced so far beyond the natives of America in improvement of every kind, that they viewed them with contempt. They conceived the Americans to be animals of an inferior nature, who were not entitled to the rights and privileges of men. In peace they subjected them to servitude. In war they paid no regard to those laws which, by a tacit convention between contending nations, regulate hostility, and set some bounds to its rage. They considered them not as men fighting in defence of their liberty, but as slaves who had revolted against their masters. Their caziques, when taken, were condemned, like the leaders of banditti, to the most cruel and ignominous punishments; and all their subjects, without regarding the distinction of ranks established among them, were reduced to the same state of abject slavery. With such a spirit and sentiments were hostilities carried on against the cazique of Higuey, a province at the eastern extremity of the island. This was occasioned by the perfidy of the Spaniards, in violating a treaty which they had made with the natives, and it was terminated by hanging up the cazique, who defended his people with bravery so far superior to that of his countrymen, as entitled him to a better fate.

The conduct of Ovando, in another part of the island,

was still more treacherous and cruel. The province anciently named Xaragua, which extends from the fertile plain where Leogane is now situated to the western extremity of the island, was subject to a female cazique, named Anacoana, highly respected by the natives. She, from that partial fondness with which the women of America were attached to the Europeans (the cause of which shall be afterwards explained), had always courted the friendship of the Spaniards, and loaded them with benefits. But some of the adherents of Roldan having settled in her country, were so much exasperated at her endeavoring to restrain their excesses, that they accused her of having formed a plan to throw off the yoke, and to exterminate the Spaniards. Ovando, though he knew well what little credit was due to such profligate men, marched, without further inquiry, towards Xaragua, with three hundred foot and seventy horsemen. To prevent the Indians from taking alarm at this hostile appearance, he gave out that his sole intention was to visit Anacoana, to whom his countrymen had been so much indebted, in the most respectful manner, and to regulate with her the mode of levying the tribute payable to the king of Spain. Anacoana, in order to receive this illustrious guest, with due honor, assembled the principal men in her dominions, to the number of three hundred; and advancing at the head of these, accompanied by a great crowd of persons of inferior rank, she welcomed Ovando with songs and dances, according to the mode of the country, and conducted him to the place of her residence. There he was feasted for some days, with all the kindness of simple hospitality, and amused with the games and spectacles usual among the Americans upon occasions of mirth and festivity. But amidst the security which this inspired, Ovando was meditating the destruction of his unsuspicious entertainer and her subjects; and the mean perfidy with which he executed this scheme, equalled his barbarity in forming it. Under color of exhibiting to the Indians the parade of a European tournament, he advanced with his troops, in battle array, towards the house in which Anacoana and the chiefs who attended her were assembled. The infantry took possession of all the avenues which led to the village. The horsemen encompassed the house. These movements were the object of admiration, without any mixture of fear, until, upon a signal which had been concerted, the Spaniards suddenly drew their swords, and rushed upon the Indians, defenceless, and astonished at an act of treachery which exceeded the conception of undesigning men. In a moment Anacoana was secured. All her attendants were seized and bound. Fire was set to the house; and without examination or conviction, all these unhappy persons, the most illustrious in their own country, were consumed in the flames. Anacoana was reserved for a more ignominious fate. She was carried in chains to St. Domingo, and, after the formality of a trial before Spanish judges, she was condemned, upon the evidence of those very men who had betrayed her, to be publicly hanged.

Overawed and humbled by this atrocious treatment of their princes and nobles, who were objects of their highest reverence, the people in all the provinces of Hispaniola submitted, without further resistance to the Spanish yoke. Upon the death of Isabella all the regulations tending to mitigate the rigor of their servitude were forgotten. The small gratuity paid to them as the price of their labor was withdrawn, and at the same time the tasks imposed upon them were increased [1506]. Ovando, without any restraint, distributed Indians among his friends in the island. Ferdinand, to whom the queen had left by will one-half of the revenue arising from the settlements in the New World, conferred grants of a similar nature upon his courtiers, as the least expensive mode of rewarding their services. They farmed out the Indians, of whom they were rendered proprietors, to their countrymen settled in Hispaniola; and that wretched people, being compelled to labor in order to satisfy the rapacity of both, the exactions of their oppressors no longer knew any bounds. But, barbarous as their policy was, and fatal to the inhabitants of Hispaniola, it produced, for some time, very considerable effects. By calling forth the force of a whole nation, and exerting itself in one direction, the working of the mines was carried on with amazing rapidity and success. During several years the gold brought into the royal smelting-houses in Hispaniola amounted annually to four hundred and sixty thousand pesos, above a hundred thousand pounds sterling; which, if we attend to the great change in the value of money since the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present times, must appear a considerable sum. Vast fortunes were created, of a sudden, by some. Others dissipated, in ostentatious profusion, what they acquired with facility. Dazzled by both, new adventurers crowded to America, with the most eager impatience, to share in those treasures which had enriched their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the mortality occasioned by the unhealthiness of the climate, the colony continued to increase.

Ovando governed the Spaniards with wisdom and justice not inferior to the rigor with which he treated the Indians. He established equal laws; and, by executing them with impartiality, accustomed the people of the colony to reverence them. He founded several new towns in different parts of the island, and allured inhabitants to them by the concession of various immunities. He endeavored to turn the attention of the Spaniards to some branch of industry more useful than that of searching for gold in the mines. Some slips of the sugarcane having been brought from the Canary islands by way of experiment, they were found to thrive with such increase in the rich soil and warm climate to which they were transplanted, that the cultivation of them soon became an object of commerce. Extensive plantations were begun; sugarworks, which the Spaniards called *ingenios*, from the various machinery employed in them, were erected, and in a few years the manufacture of this commodity was the great occupation of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and the most considerable source of their wealth.

The prudent endeavors of Ovando, to promote the welfare of the colony, were powerfully seconded by Ferdinand. The large remittances which he received from the New World opened his eyes, at length, with respect to the importance of these discoveries, which he had hitherto affected to undervalue. Fortune, and his own address, having now extricated him out of those difficulties in which he had been involved by the death of his queen [1507], and by his disputes with his son-in-law about the government of her dominions, he had full leisure to turn his attention to the affairs of America. To his provident sagacity Spain is indebted for many of those regulations which gradually formed that system of profound but jealous policy, by which she governs her dominions in the New World. He erected a court distinguished by the title of *Casa de Contratacion*, or Board of Trade, composed of persons eminent for rank and abilities, to whom he committed the administration of American affairs. This board assembled regularly in Seville, and was invested with a distinct and extensive jurisdiction. He gave a regular form to ecclesiastical government in America, by nominating archbishops, bishops, deans, together with clergymen of subordinate ranks, to take charge of the Spaniards established there, as well as of the natives who should embrace the Christian faith, but notwithstanding the obsequious devotion of the Spanish court to the papal see, such was Ferdinands' solicitude to prevent any foreign power from claiming jurisdiction, or acquiring influence, in his new dominions, that he reserved to the crown of Spain the sole right of patronage to the benefices in America, and stipulated that no papal bull or mandate should be promulgated there until it was previously examined and approved of by his council. With the same spirit of jealousy, he prohibited any goods to be exported to America, or any person to settle there without a special license from that council.

But, notwithstanding this attention to the police and welfare of the colony, a calamity impended which threatened its dissolution. The original inhabitants, on whose labor the Spaniards in Hispaniola depended for their prosperity, and even their existence, wasted so fast that the extinction of the whole race seemed to be inevitable. When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, the number of its inhabitants was computed to be at least a million. They were now reduced to sixty thousand in the space of fifteen years. This consumption of the human species, no less amazing than rapid, was the effect of several concurring causes. The natives of the American islands were of a more feeble constitution than the inhabitants of the other hemisphere. They could neither perform the same work nor endure the same fatigue with men whose organs were of a more vigorous conformation. The listless indolence in which they delighted to pass their days, as it was the effect of their debility, contributed likewise to increase it, and rendered them from habit, as well as constitution, incapable of hard labor. The food on which they subsisted afforded little nourishment, and they were accustomed to take it in small quantities, not sufficient to invigorate a languid frame, and render it equal to the efforts of active industry. The Spaniards, without attending to those peculiarities in the constitution of the Americans imposed tasks upon them which, though not greater than Europeans might have performed with ease, were so disproportioned to their strength, that [illegible] sunk under the fatigue, and ended their wretched days. Others, prompted by impatience and despair, cut short their own lives with a violent hand. Famine, brought on by compelling such numbers to abandon the culture of their lands, in order to labor in the mines, proved fatal to many. Diseases of various kinds, some occasioned by the hardships to which they were exposed, and others by their intercourse with the Europeans, who communicated to them some of their peculiar maladies, completed the desolation of the island. The Spaniards, being thus deprived of the instruments which they were accustomed to employ, found it impossible to extend their improvements, or even to carry on the works which they had already begun [1508]. In order to provide an immediate remedy for an evil so alarming, Ovando proposed to transport the inhabitants of the Lucayo islands to Hispaniola, under pretence that they might be civilized with more facility, and instructed to greater advantage in the Christian religion, if they were united to the Spanish colony, and placed under the immediate inspection of the missionaries settled there. Ferdinand, deceived by this artifice, or willing to connive at an act of violence which policy represented as necessary, gave his assent to the proposal. Several vessels were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now well acquainted, that they came from a delicious country, in which the departed ancestors of the Indians resided, by whom they were sent to invite their descendants to resort thither, to partake of the bliss enjoyed there by happy spirits. That simple people listened with wonder and credulity; and, fond of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness. By this artifice above forty thousand were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the sufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants of that island, and to mingle their groans and tears with those of that wretched race of men.

The Spaniards had, for some time, carried on their operations in the mines of Hispaniola with such ardor as well as success, that these seemed to have engrossed their whole attention. The spirit of discovery languished; and, since the last voyage of Columbus, no enterprise of any moment had been undertaken. But as the decrease of the Indians rendered it impossible to acquire wealth in that island with the same rapidity as formerly, this urged some of the more adventurous Spaniards to search for new countries, where their avarice might be gratified with more facility. Juan Ponce de Leon, who commanded under Ovando in the eastern district of Hispaniola, passed over to the island of St. Juan de Puerto Rico, which Columbus had discovered in his second voyage, and penetrated into the interior part of the country. As he found the soil to be fertile, and expected, from some symptoms, as well as from the information of the inhabitants, to discover mines of gold in the mountains, Ovando permitted him to attempt making a settlement in the island. This was easily effected by an officer eminent for conduct no less than for courage. In a few years Puerto Rico was subjected to the Spanish government, the natives were reduced to servitude; and being treated with the same inconsiderate rigor as their neighbors in Hispaniola, the race of original inhabitants, worn out with fatigue and sufferings, was soon exterminated.

About the same time Juan Diaz de Solis, in conjunction with Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of Columbus's original companions, made a voyage to the continent. They held the same course which Columbus had taken as far as the island of Guanaios; but, standing from thence to the west, they discovered a new and extensive province, afterwards known by the name of Yucatan, and proceeded a considerable way along the coast of that country. Though nothing memorable occurred in this voyage, it deserves notice, because it led to discoveries of greater importance. For the same reason the voyage of Sebastian de Ocampo must be mentioned. By the command of Ovando he sailed round Cuba, and first discovered with certainty, that this country, which Columbus once supposed to be a part of the continent, was a large island.

This voyage round Cuba was one of the last occurrences under the administration of Ovando. Even since the death of Columbus, his son, Don Diego, had been employed in soliciting Ferdinand to grant him the offices of viceroy and admiral in the New World, together with all the other immunities and profits which descended to him by inheritance, in consequence of the

original capitulation with his father. But if these dignities and revenues appeared so considerable to Ferdinand, that, at the expense of being deemed unjust as well as ungrateful, he had wrested them from Columbus, it was not surprising that he should be unwilling to confer them on his son. Accordingly Don Diego wasted two years in incessant but fruitless importunity. Weary of this, he endeavored at length to obtain by a legal sentence what he could not procure from the favor of an interested monarch. He commenced a suit against Ferdinand before the council which managed Indian affairs; and that court, with integrity which reflects honor upon its proceedings, decided against the king, and sustained Don Diego's claim of the viceroyalty, together with all the other privileges stipulated in the capitulation. Even after this decree Ferdinand's repugnance to put a subject in possession of such extensive rights might have thrown in new obstacles, if Don Diego had not taken a step which interested very powerful persons in the success of his claims. The sentence of the council of the Indies gave him a title to a rank so elevated, and a fortune so opulent, that he found no difficulty in concluding a marriage with Donna Maria, daughter of Don Ferdinand de Toledo, great commendator of Leon, and brother of the duke of Alva, a nobleman of the first rank, and nearly related to the king. The duke and his family espoused so warmly the cause of their new ally, that Ferdinand could not resist their solicitations [1509]. He recalled Ovando, and appointed Don Diego his successor, though even in conferring this favor he could not conceal his jealousy; for he allowed him to assume only the title of governor, not that of viceroy, which had been adjudged to belong to him.

Don Diego quickly repaired to Hispaniola, attended by his brother, his uncles, his wife, whom the courtesy of the Spaniards honored with the title of vice-queen, and a numerous retinue of persons of both sexes born of good families. He lived with a splendor and magnificence hitherto unknown in the New World; and the family of Columbus seemed now to enjoy the honors and rewards due to his inventive genius, of which he himself had been cruelly defrauded. The colony itself acquired new lustre by the accession of so many inhabitants, of a different rank and character from most of those who had hitherto migrated to America, and many of the most illustrious families in the Spanish settlements are descended from the persons who at that time accompanied Don Diego Columbus.

No benefits accrued to the unhappy natives from this change of governors. Don Diego was not only authorized by a royal edict to continue the *repartimientos*, or distribution of Indians, but the particular number which he might grant to every person, according to his rank in the colony, was specified. He availed himself of that permission; and soon after he landed at St. Domingo, he divided such Indians as were still unappropriated, among his relations and attendants.

The next care of the new governer was to comply with an instruction which he received from the king, about settling a colony in Cubagua, a small island which Columbus had discovered in his third voyage. Though this barren spot hardly yielded subsistence to its wretched inhabitants, such quantities of those oysters which produce pearls were found on its coast, that it did not long escape the inquisitive avarice of the Spaniards, and became a place of considerable resort. Large fortunes were acquired by the fishery of pearls, which was carried on with extraordinary ardor. The Indians, especially those from the Lucayo islands, were compelled to dive for them; and this dangerous and unhealthy employment was an additional calamity which contributed not a little to the extinction of that devoted race.

About this period, Juan Diaz de Solis and Pinzon set out, in conjunction, upon a second voyage. They stood directly south, towards the equinoctial line, which Pinzon had formerly crossed, and advanced as far as the fortieth degree of southern latitude. They were astonished to find that the continent of America stretched on their right hand through all this vast extent of ocean. They landed in different places, to take possession in name of their sovereign; but though the country appeared to be extremely fertile and inviting, their force was so small, having been fitted out rather for discovery than making settlements, that they left no colony behind them. Their voyage served, however, to give the Spaniards more exalted and adequate ideas with respect to the dimensions of this new quarter of the globe.

Though it was about ten years since Columbus had discovered the main land of America, the Spaniards had hitherto made no settlement in any part of it. What had been so long neglected was now seriously attempted, and with considerable vigor; though the plan for this purpose was neither formed by the crown, nor executed at the expense of the nation, but carried on by the enterprising spirit of private adventurers. The scheme took its rise from Alonso de Ojeda, who had already made two voyages as a discoverer, by which he acquired considerable reputation, but no wealth. But his character for intrepidity and conduct easily procured him associates, who advanced the money requisite to defray the charges of the expedition. About the same time, Diego de Nicuessa, who had acquired a large fortune in Hispaniola, formed a similar design. Ferdinand encouraged both; and though he refused to advance the smallest sum, he was extremely liberal of titles and patents. He erected two governments on the continent, one extending from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien, and the other from that to Cape Gracias a Dios. The former was given to Ojeda, the latter to Nicuessa. Ojeda fitted out a ship and two brigantines, with three hundred men; Nicuessa six vessels with seven hundred and eighty men. They sailed about the same time from St. Domingo for their respective governments. In order to give their title to those countries some appearance of validity, several of the most eminent divines and lawyers in Spain were employed to prescribe the mode in which they should take possession of them. There is not in the history of mankind any thing more singular or extravagant than the form which they devised for this purpose. They instructed those invaders, as soon as they landed on the continent, to declare to the natives the principal articles of the Christian faith; to acquaint them in particular, with the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope over all the kingdoms of the earth; to inform them of the grant which this holy pontiff had made of their country to the king of Spain; to require them to embrace the doctrines of that religion which the Spaniards made known to them; and to submit to the sovereign whose authority they proclaimed. If the natives refused to comply with this requisition, the terms of which must have been utterly incomprehensible to uninstructed Indians, then Ojeda and Nicuessa were authorized to attack them with fire and sword; to reduce them, their wives and children, to a state of servitude; and to compel them by force to recognise the jurisdiction of the church, and the authority of the monarch, to which they would not voluntarily subject themselves. [23]

As the inhabitants of the country could not at once yield assent to doctrines too refined for their uncultivated understandings, and explained to them by interpreters imperfectly acquainted with their language; as they did not conceive how a foreign priest, of whom they had never heard, could have any right to dispose of their country, or how an unknown prince should claim jurisdiction over them as his subjects; they fiercely opposed the new invaders of their territories. Ojeda and Nicuessa endeavoured to effect by force what they could not accomplish by persuasion. The contemporary writers enter into a very minute detail in relating their transactions; but as they made no discovery of importance, nor established any permanent settlement, their adventures are not entitled to any considerable place in the general history of a period where romantic valor, struggling with incredible hardships, distinguishes every effort of the Spanish arms. They found the natives in those countries of which they went to assume the government, to be of a character very different from that of their countrymen in the islands. They were free and warlike. Their arrows were dipped in a poison so noxious, that every wound was followed with certain death. In one encounter they slew above seventy of Ojeda's followers, and the Spaniards, for the first time, were taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. Nicuessa was opposed by people equally resolute in defence of their possessions. Nothing could soften their ferocity. Though the Spaniards employed every art to soothe them, and to gain their confidence, they refused to hold any intercourse, or to exchange any friendly office, with men whose residence among them they considered as fatal to their liberty and independence [1510]. This implacable enmity of the natives, though it rendered an attempt to establish a settlement in their country extremely difficult as well as dangerous, might have been surmounted at length by the perseverance of the Spaniards, by the superiority of their arms, and their skill in the art of war. But every disaster which can be accumulated upon the unfortunate combined to complete their ruin. The loss of their ships by various accidents upon an unknown coast, the diseases peculiar to a climate the most noxious in all America, the want of provisions unavoidable in a country imperfectly cultivated, dissension among themselves, and the incessant hostilities of the natives, involved them in a succession of calamities, the bear recital of which strikes one with horror. Though they received two considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola, the greater part of those who had engaged in this unhappy expedition perished, in less than a year, in the most extreme misery. A few who survived settled as a feeble colony at Santa Maria el Antigua, on the Gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, who, in the most desperate exigencies, displayed such courage and conduct as first gained the confidence of his countrymen, and marked him out as their leader in more splendid and successful undertakings. Nor was he the only adventurer in this expedition who will appear with lustre in more important scenes. Francisco Pizarro was one of Ojeda's companions, and in this school of adversity acquired or improved the talents which fitted him for the extraordinary actions which he afterwards performed. Hernan Cortes, whose name became still more famous, had likewise engaged early in this enterprise, which roused all the active youth of Hispaniola to arms; but the good fortune that accompanied him in his subsequent adventures interposed to save him from the disasters to which his companions were exposed. He was taken ill at St. Domingo before the departure of the fleet, and detained there by a tedious indisposition.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this expedition, the Spaniards were not deterred from engaging in new schemes of a similar nature. When wealth is acquired gradually by the perserving hand of industry, or accumulated by the slow operations of regular commerce, the means employed are so proportioned to the end attained, that there is nothing to strike the imagination, and little to urge on the active powers of the mind to uncommon efforts. But when large fortunes were created almost instantaneously; when gold and pearls were procured in exchange for baubles; when the countries which produced these rich commodities, defended only by naked savages, might be seized by the first bold invader; objects so singular and alluring roused a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards, who rushed with ardor into this new path that was opened to wealth and distinction. While this spirit continued warm and vigorous, every attempt either towards discovery or conquest was applauded, and adventurers engaged in it with emulation. The passion for new undertakings, which characterizes the age of discovery in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, would alone have been sufficient to prevent the Spaniards from stopping short in their career. But circumstances peculiar to Hispaniola, at this juncture, concurred with it in extending their navigation and conquests. The rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of that island having almost extirpated the race, many of the Spanish planters, as I have already observed, finding it impossible to carry on their works with the same vigor and profit, were obliged to look out for settlements in some country where people were not yet wasted by oppression. Others, with the inconsiderate levity natural to men upon whom wealth pours in with a sudden flow, had squandered in thoughtless prodigality what they acquired with ease, and were driven by necessity to embark in the most desperate schemes, in order to retrieve their affairs. From all these causes, when Don Diego Columbus proposed [1511] to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there, many persons of chief distinction in Hispaniola engaged with alacrity in the measure. He gave the command of the troops destined for that service to Diego Valasquez, one of his father's companions in his second voyage, and who, having been long settled in Hispaniola, had acquired an ample fortune, with such reputation for probity and prudence, that he seemed to be well qualified for conducting an expedition of importance. Three hundred men were deemed sufficient for the conquest of an island of above seven hundred miles in length, and filled with inhabitants. But they were of the same unwarlike character with the people of Hispaniola. They were not only intimidated by the appearance of their new enemies, but unprepared to resist them. For though, from the time that the Spaniards took possession of the adjacent island, there was reason to expect a descent on their territories, none of the small communities into which Cuba was di-

vided, had either made any provision for its own defence, or had formed any concert for their common safety. The only obstruction the Spaniards met with was from Hatuey, a cazique, who had fled from Hispaniola, and had taken possession of the eastern extremity of Cuba. He stood upon the defensive at their first landing, and endeavored to drive them back to their ships. His feeble troops, however, were soon broken and dispersed; and he himself being taken prisoner, Velasquez, according to the barbarous maxim of the Spaniards, considered him as a slave who had taken arms against his master, and condemned him to the flames. When Hatuey was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar, laboring to convert him, promised him immediate admittance into the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith. "Are there any Spaniards," says he, after some pause, "in that region of bliss which you describe?—"Yes," replied the monk, "but only such as are worthy and good." "The best of them," returned the indignant cazique, "have neither worth nor goodness: I will not go to a place where I may meet with one of that accursed race." This dreadful example of vengeance struck the people of Cuba with such terror that they scarcely gave any opposition to the progress of their invaders; and Velasquez, without the loss of a man, annexed this extensive and fertile island to the Spanish monarchy,

The facility with which this important conquest was completed served as an incitement to other undertakings. Juan Ponce de Leon, having acquired both fame and wealth by the reduction of Puerto Rico, was impatient to engage in some new enterprise. He fitted out three ships at his own expense, for a voyage of discovery [1512], and his reputation soon drew together a respectable body of followers. He directed his course towards the Lucayo islands; and after touching at several of them, as well as of the Bahama isles, he stood to the south-west, and discovered a country hitherto unknown to the Spaniards, which he called Florida, either because he fell in with it on Palm Sunday, or on account of its gay and beautiful appearance. He attempted to land in different places, but met with such vigorous opposition from the natives, who were fierce and warlike, as convinced him that an increase of force was requisite to effect a settlement. Satisfied with having opened a communication with a new country, of whose value and importance he conceived very sanguine hopes, he returned to Puerto Rico through the channel now known by the name of the Gulf of Florida.

It was not merely the passion of searching for new countries that prompted Ponce de Leon to undertake this voyage; he was influenced by one of those visionary ideas, which at that time often mingled with the spirit of discovery, and rendered it more active. A tradition prevailed among the natives of Puerto Rico, that in the isle of Bimini, one of the Lucayos, there was a fountain of such wonderful virtue as to renew the youth and recall the vigor of every person who bathed in its salutary waters. In hopes of finding this grand restorative, Ponce de Leon and his followers ranged through the islands, searching with fruitless solicitude and labor for the fountain which was the chief object of their expedition. That a tale so fabulous should gain credit among simple and uninstructed Indians is not surprising. That it should make any impression upon an enlightened people appears in the present age altogether incredible. The fact, however, is certain; and the most authentic Spanish historians mention this extravagant sally of their credulous countrymen. The Spaniards at that period were engaged in a career of activity which gave a romantic turn to their imagination, and daily presented to them strange and marvellous objects. A New World was opened to their view. They visited islands and continents, of whose existence mankind in former ages had no conception. In those delightful countries nature seemed to assume another form: every tree and plant and animal was different from those of the ancient hemisphere. They seemed to be transported into enchanted ground; and after the wonders which they had seen, nothing, in the warmth and novelty of their admiration, appeared to them so extraordinary as to be beyond belief. If the rapid succession of new and striking scenes made such impression even upon the sound understanding of Columbus, that he boasted of having found the seat of Paradise, it will not appear strange that Ponce de Leon should dream of discovering the fountain of youth.

Soon after the expedition to Florida, a discovery of much greater importance was made in another part of America. Balboa having been raised to the government of the small colony at Santa Maria in Darien, by the voluntary suffrage of his associates, was so extremely desirous to obtain from the crown a confirmation of their election, that he despatched one of his officers to Spain, in order to solicit a royal commission, which might invest him with a legal title to the supreme command. Conscious, however, that he could not expect success from the patronage of Ferdinand's ministers, with whom he was unconnected, or from negotiating in a court to the arts of which he was a stranger, he endeavored to merit the dignity to which he aspired, and aimed at performing some signal service that would secure him the preference to every competitor. Full of this idea, he made frequent inroads into the adjacent country, subdued several of the caziques, and collected a considerable quantity of gold, which abounded more in that part of the continent than in the islands. In one of those excursions, the Spaniards contended with such eagerness about the division of some gold, that they were at the point of proceeding to acts of violence against one another. A young cazique who was present, astonished at the high value which they set upon a thing of which he did not discern the use, tumbled the gold out of the balance with indignation; and turning to the Spaniards, "Why do you quarrel (says he) about such a trifle? If you are so passionately fond of gold, as to abandon your own country, and to disturb the tranquillity of distant nations for its sake, I will conduct you to a region where the metal which seems to be the chief object of your admiration and desire is so common that the meanest utensils are formed of it." Transported with what they heard, Balboa and his companions inquired eagerly where this happy country lay, and how they might arrive at it. He informed them that at the distance of six suns, that is, of six days' journey, towards the south, they should discover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was situated; but if they intended to attack that powerful state, they must assemble forces far superior in number and strength to those with which they now appeared.

This was the first information which the Spaniards received concerning the great southern ocean, or the opulent and extensive country known afterwards by the name of Peru. Balboa had now before him objects suited to his boundless ambition, and the enterprising ardor of his genius. He immediately concluded the ocean which the cazique mentioned, to be that for which Columbus had searched without success in this part of America, in hopes of opening a more direct communication with the East Indies; and he conjectured that the rich territory which had been described to him must be part of that vast and opulent region of the earth. Elated with the idea of performing what so great a man had attempted in vain, and eager to accomplish a discovery which he knew would be no less acceptable to the king than beneficial to his country, he was impatient until he could set out upon this enterprise, in comparison of which all his former exploits appeared inconsiderable. But previous arrangement and preparation were requisite to ensure success. He began with courting and securing the friendship of the neighboring caziques. He sent some of his officers to Hispaniola with a large quantity of gold, as a proof of his past success, and an earnest of his future hopes. By a proper distribution of this, they secured the favor of the governor, and allured volunteers into the service. A considerable reinforcement from that island joined him, and he thought himself in a condition to attempt the discovery.

The isthmus of Darien is not above sixty miles in breadth; but this neck of land which binds together the continents of North and South America, is strengthened by a chain of lofty mountains stretching through its whole extent, which render it a barrier of solidity sufficient to resist the impulse of two opposite oceans. The mountains are covered with forests almost inaccessible. The valleys in that moist climate where it rains during two-thirds of the year, are marshy, and so frequently overflowed that the inhabitants find it necessary, in many places, to build their houses upon trees, in order to be elevated at some distance from the damp soil, and the odious reptiles engendered in the putrid waters. Large rivers rush down with an impetuous current from the high grounds. In a region thinly inhabited by wandering savages, the hand of industry had done nothing to mitigate or correct those natural disadvantages. To march across this unexplored country with no other guides but Indians, whose fidelity could be little trusted, was, on all those accounts, the boldest enterprise on which the Spaniards had hitherto ventured in the New World. But the intrepidity of Balboa was such as distinguished him among his countrymen, at a period when every adventurer was conspicuous for daring courage [1513]. Nor was bravery his only merit; he was prudent in conduct, generous, affable, and possessed of those popular talents which, in the most desperate undertakings, inspire confidence and secure attachment. Even after the junction of the volunteers from Hispaniola, he was able to muster only a hundred and ninety men for his expedition. But they were hardy veterans, inured to the climate of America, and ready to follow him through every danger. A thousand Indians attended them to carry their provisions; and, to complete their warlike array, they took with them several of those fierce dogs, which were no less formidable than destructive to their naked enemies.

Balboa set out upon this important expedition on the first of September, about the time that the periodical rains began to abate. He proceeded by sea, and without any difficulty, to the territories of a cazique whose friendship he had gained; but no sooner did he begin to advance into the interior part of the country, than he was retarded by every obstacle, which he had reason to apprehend, from the nature of the territory, or the disposition of its inhabitants. Some of the caziques, at his approach, fled to the mountains with all their people, and carried off or destroyed whatever could afford subsistence to his troops. Others collected their subjects, in order to oppose his progress; and he quickly perceived what an arduous undertaking it was to conduct such a body of men through hostile nations, across swamps, and rivers, and woods, which had never been passed but by straggling Indians. But by sharing in every hardship with the meanest soldier, by appearing the foremost to meet every danger, by promising confidently to his troops the enjoyment of honor and riches superior to what had been attained by the most successful of their countrymen, he inspired them with such enthusiastic resolution, that they followed him without murmuring. When they had penetrated a good way into the mountains, a powerful cazique appeared in a narrow pass, with a numerous body of his subjects, to obstruct their progress. But men who had surmounted so many obstacles, despised the opposition of such feeble enemies. They attacked them with impetuosity, and, having dispersed them with much ease and great slaughter, continued their march. Though their guides had represented the breadth of the isthmus to be only a journey of six days, they had already spent twenty-five in forcing their way through the woods and mountains. Many of them were ready to sink under such uninterrupted fatigue in that sultry climate, several were taken ill of the dysentery and other diseases frequent in that country, and all became impatient to reach the period of their labors and sufferings. At length the Indians assured them, that from the top of the next mountain they should discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes. When, with infinite toil, they had climed up the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt, and advanced alone to the summit, that he might be the first who should enjoy a spectacle which he had so long desired. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country, and so honorable to himself. His followers, observing his transports of joy, rushed forward to join in his wonder, exultation, and gratitude. They held on their course to the shore with great alacrity, when Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves with his buckler and sword, took possession of that ocean in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it with these arms, against all his enemies.

That part of the great Pacific or Southern ocean which Balbao first discovered, still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave to it, and is situated to the east of Panama. From several of the petty princes, who governed in the districts adjacent to that gulf, he extorted provisions and gold by force of arms. Others sent them to him voluntarily. To these acceptable presents, some of the caziques added a considerable quantity of pearls; and he learned from them, with much satisfaction, that pearl oysters abounded in the sea which he had newly discovered.

Together with the acquisition of this wealth, which served to soothe and encourage his followers, he received accounts which confirmed his sanguine hopes of future and more extensive benefits from the expedition. All the people on the coast of the South Sea concurred in informing him that there was a mighty and opulent kingdom situated at a considerable distance towards the south-east, the inhabitants of which had tame animals to carry their burdens. In order to give the Spa-

niards an idea of these, they drew upon the sand the figure of the llamas or sheep, afterwards found in Peru, which the Peruvians had taught to perform such services as they described. As the llama in its form nearly resembles a camel, a beast of burden deemed peculiar to Asia, this circumstance in conjunction with the discovery of the pearls, another noted production of that country; tended to confirm the Spaniards in their mistaken theory with respect to the vicinity of the New World to the East Indies.

But though the information which Balboa received from the people on the coast, as well as his own conjectures and hopes, rendered him extremely impatient to visit this unknown country, his prudence restrained him from attempting to invade it with a handful of men exhausted by fatigue and weakened by diseases. [24] He determined to lead back his followers, at present, to their settlement of Santa Maria in Darien, and to return next season with a force more adequate to such an arduous enterprise. In order to acquire a more extensive knowledge of the isthmus, he marched back by a different route, which he found to be no less dangerous and difficult than that which he had formerly taken. But to men elated with success, and animated with hope, nothing is insurmountable. Balboa returned to Santa Maria [1514], from which he had been absent four months, with greater glory and more treasure than the Spaniards had acquired in any expedition in the New World. None of Balboa's officers distinguished themselves more in this service than Francisco Pizarro, or assisted with greater courage and ardor in opening a communication with those countries in which he was destined to act soon a more illustrious part.

Balboa's first care was to send information to Spain of the important discovery which he had made; and to demand a reinforcement of a thousand men, in order to attempt the conquest of that opulent country concerning which he had received such inviting intelligence. The first account of the discovery of the New World hardly occasioned greater joy than the unexpected tidings that a passage was at last found to the great southern ocean. The communication with the East Indies, by a course to the westward of the line of demarcation drawn by the Pope, seemed now to be certain. The vast wealth which flowed into Portugal, from its settlements and conquests in that country, excited the envy and called forth the emulation of other states. Ferdinand hoped now to come in for a share in this lucrative commerce, and, in his eagerness to obtain it, was willing to make an effort beyond what Balboa required. But even in this exertion, his jealous policy, as well as the fatal antipathy of Fonseca, now Bishop of Burgos, to every man of merit who distinguished himself in the New World, was conspicuous. Notwithstanding Balboa's recent services, which marked him out as the most proper person to finish that great undertaking which he had begun, Ferdinand was so ungenerous as to overlook these, and to appoint Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. He gave him the command of fifteen stout vessels and twelve hundred soldiers. These were fitted out at the public expense, with a liberality which Ferdinand had never displayed in any former armament destined for the New World; and such was the ardor of the Spanish gentlemen to follow a leader who was about to conduct them to a country where, as fame reported, they had only to throw their nets into the sea and draw out gold, that fifteen hundred embarked on board the fleet, and, if they had not been restrained, a much greater number would have engaged in the service.

Pedrarias reached the Gulf of Darien without any remarkable accident, and immediately sent some of his principal officers ashore to inform Bilboa of his arrival, with the king's commission to be governor of the colony. To their astonishment, they found Balboa, of whose great exploits they had heard so much, and of whose opulence they had formed such high ideas, clad in a canvass jacket, and wearing coarse hempen sandals used only by the meanest peasants, employed, together with some Indians, in thatching his own hut with reeds. Even in this simple garb, which corresponded so ill with the expectations and wishes of his new guests, Balboa received them with dignity. The fame of his discoveries had drawn so many adventurers from the islands, that he could now muster four hundred and fifty men. At the head of those daring veterans, he was more than a match for the forces which Pedrarias brought with him. But, though his troops murmured loudly at the injustice of the king in superseding their commander, and complained that strangers would now reap the fruits of their toil and success, Balboa submitted with implicit obedience to the will of his sovereign, and received Pedrarias with all the deference due to his character.

Notwithstanding this moderation, to which Pedrarias owed the peaceable possesion of his government, he appointed a judicial inquiry to be made into Balboa's conduct, while under the command of Nicuessa, and imposed a considerable fine upon him, on account of the irregularities of which he had then been guilty. Balboa felt sensibly the mortification of being subjected to trial and to punishment in a place where he had so lately occupied the first station. Pedrarias could not conceal his jealousy of his superior merit; so that the resentment of the one and the envy of the other gave rise to dissensions extremely detrimental to the colony. It was threatened with a calamity still more fatal. Pedrarias had landed in Darien at a most unlucky time of the year [July], about the middle of the rainy season, in that part of the torrid zone where the clouds pour down such torrents as are unknown in more temperate climates. The village of Santa Maria was seated in a rich plain, environed with marshes and woods. The constitution of Europeans was unable to withstand the pestilential influence of such a situation, in a climate naturally so noxious, and at a season so peculiarly unhealthy. A violent and destructive malady carried off many of the soldiers who accompened Pedrarias. An extreme scarcity of provision augmented this distress, as it rendered it impossible to find proper refreshment for the sick, or the necessary sustenance for the healthy. In the space of a month, above six hundred persons perished in the utmost misery. Dejection and despair spread through the colony. Many principal persons solicited their dismission, and were glad to relinquish all their hopes of wealth, in order to escape from that pernicious region. Pedrarias endeavored to divert those who remained from brooding over their misfortunes, by finding them employment. With this view, he sent several detachments into the interior parts of the country, to levy gold among the natives, and to search for the mines in which it was produced. Those rapacious adventurers, more attentive to present gain than to the means of facilitating their future progress, plundered without distinction wherever they marched. Regardless of the alliances which Balboa had made with several of the caziques, they stripped them of every thing valuable, and treated them, as well as their subjects, with the utmost insolence and cruelty. By their tyranny and exactions, which Pedrarias, either from want of authority or inclination, did not restrain, all the country from the Gulf of Darien to the lake of Nicaragua was desolated, and the Spaniards were inconsiderately deprived of the advantages which they might have derived from the friendship of the natives, in extending their conquests to the South Sea. Balboa, who saw with concern that such ill-judged proceedings retarded the execution of his favorite scheme, sent violent remonstrances to Spain against the imprudent government of Pedrarias, who had ruined a happy and flourishing colony. Pedrarias, on the other hand, accused him of having deceived the king, by magnifying his own exploits, as well as by a false representation of the opulence and value of the country.

Ferdinand became sensible at length of his imprudence in superseding the most active and experienced officer he had in the New World, and, by way of compensation to Balboa, appointed him *Adelantado*, or Lieutenant-Governor of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive privileges and authority. At the same time he enjoined Pedrarias to support Balboa in all his operations, and to consult with him concerning every measure which he himself pursued. [1515] But to effect such a sudden transition from inveterate enmity to perfect confidence, exceeded Ferdinand's power. Pedrarias continued to treat his rival with neglect; and Balboa's fortune being exhausted by the payment of his fine, and other exactions of Pedrarias, he could not make suitable preparations for taking possession of his new government. At length, by the interposition and exhortations of the Bishop of Darien, they were brought to a reconciliation; and, in order to cement this union more firmly, Pedrarias agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Balboa. [1516.] The first effect of their concord was, that Balboa was permitted to make several small incursions into the country. These he conducted with such prudence, as added to the reputation which he had already acquired. Many adventurers resorted to him, and, with the countenance and aid of Pedrarias, he began to prepare for his expedition to the South Sea. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to build vessels capable of conveying his troops to those provinces which he purposed to invade [1517.] After surmounting many obstacles, and enduring a variety of those hardships, which were the portion of the conquerors of America, he at length finished four small brigantines. In these, with three hundred chosen men, a force superior to that with which Pizarro afterwards undertook the same expedition, he was ready to sail towards Peru, when he received an unexpected message from Pedrarias. As his reconciliation with Balboa had never been cordial, the progress which his son-in-law was making revived his ancient enmity, and added to its rancour. He dreaded the prosperity and elevation of a man whom he had injured so deeply. He suspected that success would encourage him to aim at independence upon his jurisdiction; and so violently did the passions of hatred, fear, and jealousy operate upon his mind, that, in order to gratify his vengeance, he scrupled not to defeat an enterprise of the greatest moment to his country. Under pretexts which were false, but plausible, he desired Balboa to postpone his voyage for a short time, and to repair to Acla, in order that he might have an interview with him. Balboa, with the unsuspicious confidence of a man conscious of no crime, instantly obeyed the summons; but as soon as he entered the place, he was arrested by order of Pedrarias, whose impatience to satiate his revenge did not suffer him to languish long in confinement. Judges were immediately appointed to proceed to his trial. An accusation of disloyalty to the king, and of an intention to revolt against the governor was preferred against him. Sentence of death was pronounced; and though the judges who passed it, seconded by the whole colony, interceded warmly for his pardon, Pedrarias continued inexorable; and the Spaniards beheld, with astonishment and sorrow, the public execution of a man whom they universally deemed more capable than any one who had borne command in America, of forming and accomplishing great designs. Upon his death, the expedition which he had planned was relinquished. Pedrarias, notwithstanding the violence and injustice of his proceedings, was not only screened from punishment by the powerful patronage of the Bishop of Burgos and other courtiers, but continued in power. Soon after he obtained permission to remove the colony from its unwholesome station of Santa Maria to Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus; and though it did not gain much in point of healthfulness by the change, the commodious situation of this new settlement contributed greatly to facilitate the subsequent conquests of the Spaniards in the extensive countries situated upon the Southern Ocean.

During these transactions in Darien [1515], the history of which it was proper to carry on in an uninterrupted tenor, several important events occurred with respect to the discovery, the conquest, and government of other provinces in the New World. Ferdinand was so intent upon opening a communication with the Molucca or Spice Islands by the west, that in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen he fitted out two ships at his own expense, in order to attempt such a voyage, and gave the command of them to Juan Diaz de Solis, who was deemed one of the most skilful navigators in Spain. He stood along the coast of South America, and on the first of January, one thousand five hundred and sixteen, entered a river which he called Janeiro, where an extensive commerce is now carried on. From thence he proceeded to a spacious bay, which he supposed to be the entrance into a strait that communicated with the Indian Ocean; but, upon advancing further, he found it to be the mouth of Rio de la Plata, one of the vast rivers by which the southern continent of America is watered. In endeavoring to make a descent in this country, De Solis and several of his crew were slain by the natives, who, in sight of the ships, cut their bodies in pieces, roasted and devoured them. Discouraged with the loss of their commander, and terrified at this shocking spectacle, the surviving Spaniards set sail for Europe, without aiming at any further discovery. Though this attempt proved abortive, it was not without benefit. It turned the attention of ingenious men to this course of navigation, and prepared the way for a more fortunate voyage, by which, a few years posterior to this period, the great design that Ferdinand had in view was accomplished.

Though the Spaniards were thus actively employed in extending their discoveries and settlements in America, they still considered Hispaniola as their principal colony, and the seat of government. Don Diego Columbus wanted neither inclination nor abilities to have rendered the members of this colony, who were most immediately under his jurisdiction, prosperous and happy. But he was circumscribed in all his operations

by the suspicious policy of Ferdinand, who on every occasion, and under pretexts the most frivolous, retrenched his privileges, and encouraged the treasurer, the judges, and other subordinate officers to counteract his measures, and to dispute his authority. The most valuable prerogative which the govenor possessed was that of distributing Indians among the Spaniards settled in the island. The rigorous servitude of those unhappy men having been but little mitigated by all the regulations in their favor, the power of parcelling out such necessary instruments of labor at pleasure, secured to the governor great influence in the colony. In order to strip him of this, Ferdinand created a new office, with the power of distributing the Indians, and bestowed it upon Rodrigo Albuquerque, a relation of Zapata, his confidential minister. Mortified with the injustice as well as indignity of this invasion upon his rights, in a point so essential, Don Diego could no longer remain in a place where his power and consequence were almost annihilated. He repaired to Spain with the vain hopes of obtaining redress. Albuquerque entered upon his office with all the rapacity of an indigent adventurer impatient to amass wealth. He began with taking the exact number of Indians in the island, and found that from sixty thousand, who in the year one thousand five hundred and eight survived after all their sufferings, they were now reduced to fourteen thousand. These he threw into separate divisions or lots, and bestowed them upon such as were willing to purchase them at the highest price. By this arbitrary distribution several of the natives were removed from their original habitations, many were taken from their ancient masters, and all of them subjected to heavier burdens, and to more intolerable labor, in order to reimburse their new proprietors. Those additional calamities completed the misery, and hastened on the extinction of this wretched and innocent race of men.

The violence of these procedings, together with the fatal consequences which attended them, not only excited complaints among such as thought themselves aggrieved, but touched the hearts of all who retained any sentiments of humanity. From the time that ecclesiastics were sent as instructors into America, they perceived that the rigor with which their countrymen treated the natives, rendered their ministry altogether fruitless. The missionaries, in conformity to the mild spirit of that religion which they were employed to publish, early remonstrated against the maxims of the planters with respect to the Americans, and condemned the *repartimientos*, or *distributions*, by which they were given up as slaves to their conquerors as no less contrary to natural justice and the precepts of Christianity than to sound policy. The Dominicans, to whom the instruction of the Americans was originally committed, were most vehement in testifying against the *repartimientos*. In the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, Montesino, one of their most eminent preachers, inveighed against this practice, in the great church of St. Domingo, with all the impetuosity of popular eloquence. Don Diego Columbus, the principal officer of the colony, and all the laymen who had been his hearers, complained of the monk to his superiors; but they, instead of condemning, applauded his doctrine as equally pious and seasonable. The Franciscans, influenced by the spirit of opposition and rivalship which subsists between the two orders, discovered some inclination to take part with the laity, and to espouse the defence of the *repartimientos*. But as they could not with decency give their avowed approbation to a system of oppression so repugnant to the spirit of religion, they endeavored to palliate what they could not justify, and alleged, in excuse for the conduct of their countrymen, that it was impossible to carry on any improvement in the colony, unless the Spaniards possessed such dominion over the natives that they could compel them to labor.

The Dominicans, regardless of such political and interested considerations, would not relax in any degree the rigor of their sentiments, and even refused to absolve, or admit to the sacrament, such of their countrymen as continued to hold the natives in servitude. Both parties applied to the king for his decision in a matter of such importance. Ferdinand empowered a committee of his privy council, assisted by some of the most eminent civilians and divines in Spain, to hear the deputies sent from Hispaniola in support of their respective opinions. After a long discussion, the speculative point in controversy was determined in favor of the Dominicans, the Indians were declared to be a free people entitled to all the natural rights of men; but notwithstanding this decision, the *repartimientos* were continued upon their ancient footing. As this determination admitted the principles upon which the Dominicans founded their opinion, they renewed their efforts to obtain relief for the Indians with additional boldness and zeal. At length, in order to quiet the colony, which was alarmed at their remonstrances and censures, Ferdinand issued a decree of his privy council [1513], declaring, that after mature consideration of the Apostolical Bull, and other titles by which the crown of Castile claimed a right to its possessions in the New World, the servitude of the Indians was warranted both by the laws of God and of man; that unless they were subjected to the dominion of the Spaniards, and compelled to reside under their inspection, it would be impossible to reclaim them from idolatry, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith; that no farther scruple ought to be entertained concerning the lawfulness of the *repartimientos*, as the king and council were willing to take the charge of that upon their own consciences; and that therefore the Dominicans and monks of other religious orders should abstain for the future from those invectives which, from an excess of charitable but ill-informed zeal, they had uttered against that practice.

That his intention of adhering to this decree might be fully understood, Ferdinand conferred new grants of Indians upon several of his courtiers [25]. But, in order that he might not seem altogether inattentive to the rights of humanity, he published an edict, in which he endeavored to provide for the mild treatment of the Indians under the yoke to which he subjected them; he regulated the nature of the work which they should be required to perform; he prescribed the mode in which they should be clothed and fed, and gave directions with respect to their instructions in the principles of Christianity.

But the Dominicans, who from their experience of what was past judged concerning the future, soon perceived the inefficacy of those provisions, and foretold, that as long as it was the interest of individuals to treat the Indians with rigor, no public regulations could render their servitude mild or tolerable. They considered it as vain, to waste their own time and strength in attempting to communicate the sublime truths of religion to men whose spirits were broken and their faculties impaired by oppression. Some of them in despair, requested the permission of their superiors to remove to the continent, and to pursue the object of their mission among such of the natives as were not hitherto corrupted by the example of the Spaniards, or alienated by their cruelty from the Christian faith. Such as remained in Hispaniola continued to remonstrate, with decent firmness, against the servitude of the Indians.

The violent operations of Albuquerque, the new distributor of Indians, revived the zeal of the Dominicans against the *repartimientos*, and called forth an advocate for that oppressed people, who possessed all the courage, the talents, and activity requisite in supporting such a desperate cause. This was Bartholemew de las Casas, a native of Seville, and one of the clergymen sent out with Columbus in his second voyage to Hispaniola, in order to settle in that island. He early adopted the opinion prevalent among ecclesiastics, with respect to the unlawfulness of reducing the natives to servitude; and that he might demonstrate the sincerity of his conviction, he relinquished all the Indians who had fallen to his own share in the division of the inhabitants among their conquerors, declaring that he should ever bewail his own misfortune and guilt, in having exercised for a moment this impious dominion over his fellow-creatures. From that time he became the avowed patron of the Indians; and by his bold interpositions in their behalf, as well as by the respect due to his abilities and character, he had often the merit of setting some bounds to the excesses of his countrymen. He did not fail to remonstrate warmly against the proceedings of Albuquerque; and though he soon found that attention to his own interest rendered this rapacious officer deaf to admonition, he did not abandon the wretched people whose cause he had espoused. He instantly set out for Spain, with the most sanguine hopes of opening the eyes and softening the heart of Ferdinand, by that striking picture of the oppression of his new subjects which he would exhibit to his view.

He easily obtained admittance to the king, whom he found in a declining state of health. With much freedom, and no less eloquence, he represented to him all the fatal effects of the *repartimientos* in the New World, boldly charging him with the guilt of having authorized this impious measure, which had brought misery and destruction upon a numerous and innocent race of men, whom Providence had placed under his protection. Ferdinand, whose mind as well as body was much enfeebled by his distemper, was greatly alarmed at this charge of impiety, which at another juncture he would have despised. He listened with deep compunction to the discourses of Las Casas, and promised to take into serious consideration the means of redressing the evil of which he complained. But death prevented him from executing his resolution. Charles of Austria, to whom all his crowns devolved, resided at that time in his paternal dominions in the Low Countries. Las Casas, with his usual ardor, prepared immediately to set out for Flanders, in order to occupy the ear of the young monarch, when Cardinal Ximenes, who, as Regent, assumed the reins of government in Castile, commanded him to desist from the journey, and engaged to hear his complaints in person.

He accordingly weighed the matter with attention equal to its importance; and as his impetuous mind delighted in schemes bold and uncommon, he soon fixed upon a plan which astonished the ministers trained up under the formal and cautious administration of Ferdinand. Without regarding either the rights of Don Diego Columbus, or the regulations established by the late king, he resolved to send three persons to America as superintendents of all the colonies there, with authority, after examining all circumstances on the spot, to decide finally with respect to the point in question. It was a matter of deliberation and delicacy to choose men qualified for such an important station. As all the laymen settled in America, or who had been consulted in the administration of that department, had given their opinion that the Spaniards could not keep possession of their new settlements, unless they were allowed to retain their dominion over the Indians, he saw that he could not rely on their impartiality, and determined to commit the trust to ecclesiastics. As the Dominicans and Franciscans had already espoused opposite sides in the controversy, he, from the same principle of impartiality, excluded both these fraternities from the commission. He confined his choice to the monks of St. Jerome, a small but respectable order in Spain. With the assistance of their general, and in concert with Las Casas, he soon pitched upon three persons whom he deemed equal to the charge. To them he joined Zuazo, a private lawyer of distinguished probity, with unbounded power to regulate all judicial proceedings in the colonies. Las Casas was appointed to accompany them with the title of protector of the Indians.

To vest such extraordinary powers, as might at once overturn the system of government established in the New World, in four persons, who, from their humble condition in life, were little entitled to possess this high authority, appeared to Zapata, and other ministers of the late king, a measure so wild and dangerous, that they refused to issue the despatches necessary for carrying it into execution. But Ximenes was not of a temper patiently to brook opposition to any of his schemes. He sent for the refractory ministers, and addressed them in such a tone that in the utmost consternation they obeyed his orders. The superintendents, with their associates Zuazo and Las Casas, sailed for St. Domingo. Upon their arrival, the first act of their authority was to set at liberty all the Indians who had been granted to the Spanish courtiers, or to any person not residing in America. This, together with the information which had been received from Spain concerning the object of the commission, spread a general alarm. The colonists concluded that they were to be deprived at once of the hands with which they carried on their labor, and that, of consequence, ruin was unavoidable. But the fathers of St. Jerome proceeded with such caution and prudence as soon dissipated all their fears. They discovered, in every step of their conduct, a knowledge of the world, and of affairs, which is seldom acquired in a cloister; and displayed a moderation as well as gentleness still more rare among persons trained up in the solitude and austerity of a monastic life. Their ears were open to information from every quarter; they compared the different accounts which they received; and, after a mature consideration of the whole, they were fully satisfied that the state of the colony rendered it impossible to adopt the plan proposed by Las Casas, and recommended by the Cardinal. They plainly perceived that the Spaniards settled in America were so few in number, that they could neither work the mines which had been opened, nor cultivate the country; that they depended for effecting both upon the labor of the natives, and, if deprived of it, they must instantly relinquish their conquests, or give up all the advantages which

they derived from them; that no allurement was so powerful as to surmount the natural aversion of the Indians to any laborious effort, and that nothing but the authority of a master could compel them to work; and if they were not kept constantly under the eye and discipline of a superior, so great was their natural listlessness and indifference, that they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rites of Christianity which they had been already taught. Upon all those accounts, the superintendents found it necessary to tolerate the *repartimientos*, and to suffer the Indians to remain under subjection to their Spanish masters. They used their utmost endeavors, however, to prevent the fatal effects of this establishment, and to secure to the Indians the consolation of the best treatment compatible with a state of servitude. For this purpose, they revived former regulations, they prescribed new ones, they neglected no circumstance that tended to mitigate the rigor of the yoke; and by their authority, their example, and their exhortations, they labored to inspire their countrymen with sentiments of equity and gentleness towards the unhappy people upon whose industry they depended. Zuazo, in his department, seconded the endeavors of the superintendents. He reformed the courts of justice in such a manner as to render their decisions equitable as well as expeditious, and introduced various regulations which greatly improved the interior policy of the colony. The satisfaction which his conduct and that of the superintendents gave was now universal among the Spaniards settled in the New World; and all admired the boldness of Ximenes in having departed from the ordinary path of business in forming his plan, as well as his sagacity in pitching upon persons whose wisdom, moderation, and disinterestedness rendered them worthy of this high trust.

Las Casas alone was dissatisfied. The prudential consideration which influenced the superintendents made no impression upon him. He regarded their idea of acommodating their conduct to the state of the colony, as the maxim of an unhallowed timid policy, which tolerated what was unjust because it was beneficial. He contended that the Indians were by nature free, and, as their protector, he required the superintendents not to bereave them of the common privilege of humanity. They received his most virulent remonstrances without emotion, but adhered firmly to their own system. The Spanish planters did not bear with him so patiently, and were ready to tear him in pieces for insisting in a requisition so odious to them. Las Casas, in order to screen himself from their rage, found it necessary to take shelter in a convent; and perceiving that all his efforts in America were fruitless, he soon set out for Europe, with a fixed resolution not to abandon the protection of a people whom he deemed to be cruelly oppressed.

Had Ximenes retained that vigor of mind with which he usually applied to business, Las Casas must have met with no very gracious reception upon his return to Spain. But he found the Cardinal languishing under a mortal distemper, and preparing to resign his authority to the young king, who was daily expected from the Low Countries. Charles arrived, took possion of the government, and, by the death of Ximenes, lost a minister whose abilities and integrity entitled him to direct his affairs. Many of the Flemish nobility had accompanied their sovereign to Spain. From that warm predilection to his countrymen, which was natural at his age, he consulted them with respect to all the transactions in his new kingdom; and they, with an indiscreet eagerness, intruded themselves into every business, and seized almost every department of administration. The direction of American affairs was an object too alluring to escape their attention. Las Casas observed their growing influence; and though projectors are usually too sanguine to conduct their schemes with much dexterity, he possessed a bustling, indefatigable activity, which sometimes accomplishes its purposes with greater success than the most exquisite discernment and address. He courted the Flemish ministers with assiduity. He represented to them the absurdity of all the maxims hitherto adopted with respect to the government of America, particularly during the administration of Ferdinand, and pointed out the defects of those arrangements which Ximenes had introduced. The memory of Ferdinand was odious to the Flemings. The superior virtues and abilities of Ximenes had long been the object of their envy. They fondly wished to have a plausible pretext for condemning the measures both of the monarch and of the minister, and of reflecting some discredit on their political wisdom. The friends of Don Diego Columbus, as well as the Spanish courtiers who had been dissatisfied with the Cardinal's administration, joined Las Casas in censuring the scheme of sending superintendents to America. This union of so many interests and passions was irresistible; and in consequence of it the fathers of St. Jerome, together with their associate Zuazo, were recalled. Roderigo de Figueroa, a lawyer of some eminence, was appointed chief judge of the island, and received instructions, in compliance with the request of Las Casas, to examine once more, with the utmost attention, the point in controversy between him and the people of the colony, with respect to the treatment of the natives: and in the mean time to do every thing in his power to alleviate their sufferings, and to prevent the extinction of the race.

This was all that the zeal of Las Casas could procure at that juncture in favor of the Indians. The impossibility of carrying on any improvements in America, unless the Spanish planters could command the labor of the natives, was an insuperable objection to his plan of treating them as free subjects. In order to provide some remedy for this, without which he found it was in vain to mention his scheme, Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of negroes from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, and to transport them to America, in order that they might be employed as slaves in working the mines and cultivating the ground. One of the first advantages which the Portuguese had derived from their discoveries in Africa arose from the trade in slaves. Various circumstances concurred in reviving this odious commerce, which had been long abolished in Europe, and which is no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion. As early as the year one thousand five hundred and three, a few negro slaves had been sent into the New World. In the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, Ferdinand permitted the importation of them in greater numbers. They were found to be a more robust and hardy race than the natives of America. They were more capable of enduring fatigue, more patient under servitude, and the labor of one negro was computed to be equal to that of four Indians. Cardinal Ximenes, however, when solicited to encourage this commerce, peremptorily rejected the proposition, because he perceived the iniquity of reducing one race of men to slavery, while he was consulting about the means of restoring liberty to another. But Las Casas, from the inconsistency natural to men who hurry with headlong impetuosity towards a favorite point, was incapable of making this distinction. While he contended earnestly for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he labored to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one still heavier upon the Africans. Unfortunately for the latter, Las Casas's plan was adopted. Charles granted a patent to one of his Flemish favorites, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand negroes into America. The favorite sold his patent to some Genoese merchants for twenty-five thousand ducats, and they were the first who brought into a regular form that commerce for slaves between Africa and America, which has since been carried on to such an amazing extent.

But the Genoese merchants [1518], conducting their operations, at first, with the rapacity of monopolists, demanded such a high price for negroes, that the number imported into Hispaniola made no great change upon the state of the colony. Las Casas, whose zeal was no less inventive than indefatigable, had recourse to another expedient for the relief of the Indians. He observed, that most of the persons who had settled hitherto in America, were sailors and soldiers employed in the discovery or conquest of the country; the younger sons of noble families, allured by the prospect of acquiring sudden wealth; or desperate adventurers, whom their indigence or crimes forced to abandon their native land. Instead of such men, who were dissolute, rapacious, and incapable of that sober persevering industry which is requisite in forming new colonies, he proposed to supply the settlements in Hispaniola and other parts of the New World with a sufficient number of laborers and husbandmen, who should be allured by suitable premiums to remove thither. These, as they were accustomed to fatigue, would be able to perform the work to which the Indians, from the feebleness of their constitution, were unequal, and might soon become useful and opulent citizens. But though Hispaniola stood much in need of a recruit of inhabitants, having been visited at this time with the small-pox, which swept off almost all the natives who had survived their long continued oppression; and though Las Casas had the countenance of the Flemish ministers, this scheme was defeated by the bishop of Burgos, who thwarted all his projects.

Las Casas now despaired of procuring any relief for the Indians in those places where the Spaniards were already settled. The evil was become so inveterate there as not to admit of a cure. But such discoveries were daily making in the continent as gave a high idea both of its extent and populousness. In all those vast regions there was but one feeble colony planted; and except a small spot on the isthmus of Darien, the natives still occupied the whole country. This opened a new and more ample field for the humanity and zeal of Las Casas, who flattered himself that he might prevent a pernicious system from being introduced there, though he had failed of success in his attempts to overturn it where it was already established. Full of this idea, he applied for a grant of the unoccupied country stretching along the seacoast from the Gulf of Paria to the western frontier of that province now known by the name of Santa Martha. He proposed to settle there with a colony composed of husbandmen, laborers, and ecclesiastics. He engaged in the space of two years to civilize ten thousand of the natives, and to instruct them so thoroughly in the arts of social life, that from the fruits of their industry an annual revenue of fifteen thousand ducats should arise to the king. In ten years he expected that his improvements would be so far advanced as to yield annually sixty thousand ducats. He stipulated, that no soldier or sailor should ever be permitted to settle in this district; and that no Spaniard whatever should enter it without his permission. He even projected to clothe the people whom he took along with him in some distinguishing garb, which did not resemble the Spanish dress, that they might appear to the natives to be a different race of men from those who had brought so many calamities upon their country. From this scheme, of which I have traced only the great lines, it is manifest that Las Casas had formed ideas concerning the method of treating the Indians, similar to those by which the Jesuits afterwards carried on their great operations in another part of the same continent. He supposed that the Europeans, by availing themselves of that ascendant which they possessed in consequence of their superior progress in science and improvement, might gradually form the minds of Americans to relish those comforts of which they were destitute, might train them to the arts of civil life, and render them capable of its functions.

But to the bishop of Burgos, and the council of the Indies, this project appeared not only chimerical, but dangerous in a high degree. They deemed the faculties of the Americans to be naturally so limited, and their indolence so excessive, that every attempt to instruct or to improve them would be fruitless. They contended, that it would be extremely imprudent to give the command of a country extending above a thousand miles along the coast to a fanciful presumptuous enthusiast, a stranger to the affairs of the world, and unacquainted with the arts of government. Las Casas, far from being discouraged with a repulse, which he had reason to expect, had recourse once more to the Flemish favorites, who zealously patronised his scheme merely because it had been rejected by the Spanish ministers. They prevailed with their master, who had lately been raised to the Imperial dignity, to refer the consideration of this measure to a select number of his privy counsellors; and Las Casas having excepted against the members of the council of the Indies, as partial and interested they were all excluded. The decision of men chosen by recommendation of the Flemings was perfectly conformable to their sentiments. They warmly approved of Las Casas's plan, and gave orders for carrying it into execution, but restricted the territory allotted him to three hundred miles along the coast of Cumana; allowing him, however, to extend it as far as he pleased towards the interior part of the country.

This determination did not pass uncensured. Almost every person who had been in the West Indies exclaimed against it, and supported their opinion so confidently, and with such plausible reasons, as made it advisable to pause and to review the subject more deliberately. Charles himself, though accustomed, at this early period of his life, to adopt the sentiments of his ministers with such submissive deference as did not promise that decisive vigor of mind which distinguished his riper years, could not help suspecting that the eagerness with which the Flemings took part in every affair flowed from some improper motive, and began to discover an inclination to examine in person into the state

of the question concerning the character of the Americans, and the proper manner of treating them. An opportunity of making this inquiry with great advantage soon occurred [June 20]. Quevedo, the bishop of Darien, who had accompanied Pedrarias to the continent in the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen, happened to land at Barcelona, where the court then resided. It was quickly known that his sentiments concerning the talents and disposition of the Indians differed from those of Las Casas: and Charles naturally concluded that by confronting two respectable persons who, during their residence in America, had full leisure to observe the manners of the people whom they pretended to describe, he might be able to discover which of them had formed his opinion with the greatest discernment and accuracy.

A day for this solemn audience was appointed. The emperor appeared with extraordinary pomp, and took his seat on a throne in the great hall of the palace. His principal courtiers attended. Don Diego Columbus, admiral of the Indies, was summoned to be present. The bishop of Darien was called upon first to deliver his opinion. He, in a short discourse, lamented the fatal desolation of America by the extinction of so many of its inhabitants; he acknowledged that this must be imputed, in some degree, to the extensive rigor and inconsiderate proceedings of the Spaniards; but declared that all the people of the New World whom he had seen either in the continent or in the islands, appeared to him to be a race of men marked out, by the inferiority of their talents, for servitude, and whom it would be impossible to instruct or improve, unless they were kept under the continual inspection of a master. Las Casas, at greater length and with more fervor, defended his own system. He rejected with indignation the idea that any race of men was born to servitude as irreligious and inhuman. He asserted that the faculties of the Americans were not naturally despicable, but unimproved; that they were capable of receiving instruction in the principles of religion, as well as of acquiring the industry and arts which would qualify them for the various offices of social life, that the mildness and timidity of their nature rendered them so submissive and docile, that they might be led and formed with a gentle hand. He professed that his intentions in proposing the scheme now under consideration were pure and disinterested; and though from the accomplishment of his designs inestimable benefits would result to the crown of Castile, he never had claimed, nor ever would receive, any recompense on that account.

Charles, after hearing both, and consulting with his ministers, did not think himself sufficiently informed to establish any general arrangement with respect to the state of the Indians; but as he had perfect confidence in the integrity of Las Casas, and as even the bishop of Darien admitted his scheme to be of such importance that a trial should be made of its effects, he issued a patent [1522], granting him the district of Cumana formerly mentioned, with full power to establish a colony there according to his own plan.

Las Casas pushed on the preparations for his voyage with his usual ardor. But, either from his own inexperience in the conduct of affairs, or from the secret opposition of the Spanish nobility, who universally dreaded the success of an institution that might rob them of the industrious and useful hands which cultivated their estates, his progress in engaging husbandmen and laborers was extremely slow, and he could not prevail on more than two hundred to accompany him to Cumana.

Nothing, however, could damp his zeal. With this slender train, hardly sufficient to take possession of such a large territory, and altogether unequal to any effectual attempt towards civilizing its inhabitants, he set sail. The first place at which he touched was the island of Puerto Rico. There he received an account of a new obstacle to the execution of his scheme, more insuperable than any he had hitherto encountered. When he left America, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen, the Spaniards had little intercourse with any part of the continent except the countries adjacent to the Gulf of Darien. But as every species of internal industry began to stagnate in Hispaniola, when, by the rapid decrease of the natives, the Spaniards were deprived of those hands with which they had hitherto carried on their operations, this prompted them to try various expedients for supplying that loss. Considerable numbers of negroes were imported; but, on account of their exorbitant price, many of the planters could not afford to purchase them. In order to procure slaves at an easier rate, some of the Spaniards in Hispaniola fitted out vessels to cruise along the coast of the continent. In places where they found themselves inferior in strength, they traded with the natives, and gave European toys in exchange for the plates of gold worn by them as ornaments; but, whenever they could surprise or overpower the Indians, they carried them off by force, and sold them as slaves. In those predatory excursions such atrocious acts of violence and cruelty had been committed, that the Spanish name was held in detestation all over the continent. Whenever any ships appeared, the inhabitants either fled to the woods, or rushed down to the shore in arms to repel those hated disturbers of their tranquillity. They forced some parties of the Spaniards to retreat with precipitation; they cut off others; and in the violence of their resentment against the whole nation, they murdered two Dominican missionaries, whose zeal had prompted them to settle in the province of Cumana. This outrage against persons revered for their sanctity excited such indignation among the people of Hispaniola, who, notwithstanding all their licentious and cruel proceedings, were possessed with a wonderful zeal for religion, and a superstitious respect for its ministers, that they determined to inflict exemplary punishment, not only upon the perpetrators of that crime, but upon the whole race. With this view, they gave the command of five ships and three hundred men to Diego Ocampo, with orders to lay waste the country of Cumana with fire and sword, and to transport all the inhabitants as slaves to Hispaniola. This armament Las Casas found at Puerto Rico, on its way to the continent; and as Ocampo refused to defer his voyage, he immediately perceived that it would be impossible to attempt the execution of his pacific plan in a country destined to be the seat of war and desolation.

In order to provide against the effects of this unfortunate incident, he set sail directly for St. Domingo [April 11], leaving his followers cantoned out among the planters in Puerto Rico. From many concurring causes, the reception which Las Casas met with in Hispaniola was very unfavorable. In his negotiations for the relief of the Indians, he had censured the conduct of his countrymen, settled there with such honest severity as rendered him universally odious to them. They considered their own ruin as the inevitable consequence of his success. They were now elated with hope of receiving a large recruit of slaves from Cumana, which must be relinquished if Las Casas were assisted in settling his projected colony there. Figueroa, in consequence of the instructions which he had received in Spain, had made an experiment concerning the capacity of the Indians, that was represented as decisive against the system of Las Casas. He collected in Hispaniola a good number of the natives, and settled them in two villages, leaving them at perfect liberty, and with the uncontrolled direction of their own actions. But that people, accustomed to a mode of life extremely different from that which takes place wherever civilization has made any considerable progress, were incapable of assuming new habits at once. Dejected with their own misfortunes as well as those of their country they exerted so little industry in cultivating the ground, appeared so devoid of solicitude or foresight in providing for their own wants, and were such strangers to arrangement in conducting their affairs, that the Spaniards pronounced them incapable of being formed to live like men in social life, and considered them as children, who should be kept under the perpetual tutelage of persons superior to themselves in wisdom and sagacity.

Notwithstanding all those circumstances, which alienated the persons in Hispaniola to whom Las Casas applied from himself and from his measures, he, by his activity and perseverance, by some concessions and many threats, obtained at length a small body of troops to protect him and his colony at their first landing. But upon his return to Puerto Rico, he found that the diseases of the climate had been fatal to several of his people; and that others having got employment in that island, refused to follow him. With the handful that remained, he set sail and landed in Cumana. Ocampo had executed his commission in that province with such barbarous rage, having massacred many of the inhabitants, sent others in chains to Hispaniola, and forced the rest to fly for shelter to the woods, that the people of a small colony, which he had planted at a place which he named *Toledo*, were ready to perish for want in a desolated country. There, however, Las Casas was obliged to fix his residence, though deserted both by the troops appointed to protect him, and by those under the command of Ocampo, who foresaw and dreaded the calamities to which he must be exposed in that wretched station. He made the best provision in his power for the safety and subsistence of his followers, but as his utmost efforts availed little towards securing either the one or the other, he returned to Hispaniola, in order to solicit more effectual aid for the preservation of men who, from confidence in him, had ventured into a post of so much danger. Soon after his departure, the natives, having discovered the feeble and defenceless state of the Spaniards, assembled secretly, attacked them with the fury natural to men exasperated by many injuries, cut off a good number, and compelled the rest to fly in the utmost consternation to the island of Cubagua The small colony settled there on account of the pearl fishery, catching the panic with which their countrymen had been seized, abandoned the island, and not a Spaniard remained in any part of the continent, or adjacent islands, from the Gulf of Paria to the borders of Darien. Astonished at such a succession of disasters, Las Casas was ashamed to show his face after this fatal termination of all his splendid schemes. He shut himself up in the convent of the Dominicans at St. Domingo, and soon after assumed the habit of that order.

Though the expulsion of the colony from Cumana happened in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, I have chosen to trace the progress of Las Casas's negotiations from their first rise to their final issue without interruption. His system was the object of long and attentive discussion; and though his efforts in behalf of the oppressed Americans, partly from his own rashness and imprudence, and partly from the malevolent opposition of his adversaries, were not attended with that success which he promised with too sanguine confidence, great praise is due to his humane activity, which gave rise to various regulations that were of some benefit to that unhappy people. I return now to the history of the Spanish discoveries as they occur in the order of time.

Diego Velasquez, who conquered Cuba in the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, still retained the government of that island, as the deputy of Don Diego Columbus, though he seldom acknowledged his superior, and aimed at rendering his own authority altogether independent. Under his prudent administration, Cuba became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. The fame of this allured thither many persons from the other colonies, in hopes of finding either some permanent establishment or some employment for their activity. As Cuba lay to the west of all the islands occupied by the Spaniards, and as the ocean which stretches beyond it towards that quarter had not hitherto been explored, these circumstances naturally invited the inhabitants to attempt new discoveries. An expedition for this purpose, in which activity and resolution might conduct to sudden wealth, was more suited to the genius of the age than the patient industry requisite in clearing ground and manufacturing sugar. Instigated by this spirit, several officers, who had served under Pedrarias in Darien, entered into an association to undertake a voyage of discovery. They persuaded Francisco Hernandez Cordova, an opulent planter in Cuba, and a man of distinguished courage, to join with them in the adventure, and chose him to be their commander. Velasquez not only approved of the design, but assisted in carrying it on. As the veterans from Darien were extremely indigent, he and Cordova advanced money for purchasing three small vessels, and furnished them with every thing requisite either for traffic or for war. A hundred and ten men embarked on board of them, and sailed from St. Jago de Cuba, on the eighth of February, one thousand five hundred and seventeen. By the advice of their chief pilot, Antonio Alaminos, who had served under the first admiral Columbus, they stood directly west, relying on the opinion of that great navigator, who uniformly maintained that a westerly course would lead to the most important discoveries.

On the twenty-first day after their departure from St. Jago, they saw land, which proved to be *Cape Catoche*, the eastern point of that large peninsula projecting from the continent of America, which still retains its original name of *Yucatan*. As they approached the shore, five canoes came off full of people decently clad in cotton garments; an astonishing spectacle to the Spaniards, who had found every other part of America possessed by naked savages. Cordova endeavored by small presents to gain the good will of these people. They, though amazed at the strange objects now presented for the first time to their view, invited the Spaniards to visit their habitations, with an appearance of cordiality. They landed accordingly, and as they advanced into the country, they observed with new won-

der some large houses built with stone. But they soon found that, if the people of Yucatan had made progress in improvement beyond their countrymen, they were likewise more artful and warlike. For though the cazique had received Cordova with many tokens of friendship, he had posted a considerable body of his subjects in ambush behind a thicket, who, upon a signal given by him, rushed out and attacked the Spaniards with great boldness, and some degree of martial order. At the first flight of their arrows, fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded; but the Indians were struck with such terror by the sudden explosion of the fire arms, and so surprised at the execution done by them, by the cross bows, and by the other weapons of their new enemies, that they fled precipitately. Cordova quitted a country where he had met with such a fierce reception, carrying off two prisoners, together with the ornaments of a small temple which he plundered in his retreat.

He continued his course towards the west, without losing sight of the coast, and on the sixteenth day arrived at Campeachy. There the natives received them more hospitably; but the Spaniards were much surprised, that on all the extensive coast along which they had sailed, and which they imagined to be a large island, they had not observed any river. [26] As their water had began to fail, they advanced, in hopes of finding a supply; and at length they discovered the mouth of a river at Potonchan, some leagues beyond Campeachy.

Cordova landed all his troops, in order to protect the sailors while employed in filling the casks; but notwithstanding this precaution, the natives rushed down upon them with such fury and in such numbers, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed upon the spot, and one man only of the whole body escaped unhurt. Their commander, though wounded in twelve different places, directed the retreat with presence of mind equal to the courage with which he had led them on in the engagement, and with much difficulty they regained their ships. After this fatal repulse, nothing remained but to hasten back to Cuba with their shattered forces. In their passage thither they suffered the most exquisite distress for want of water, that men, wounded and sickly, shut up in small vessels, and exposed to the heat of the torrid zone, can be supposed to endure. Some of them, sinking under these calamities, died by the way: Cordova, their commander, expired soon after they landed in Cuba.

Notwithstanding the disastrous conclusion of this expedition, it contributed rather to animate than to damp a spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards. They had discovered an extensive country, situated at no great distance from Cuba, fertile in appearance, and possessed by a people far superior in improvement to any hitherto known in America. Though they had carried on little commercial intercourse with the natives, they had brought off some ornaments of gold, not considerable in value, but of singular fabric. These circumstances, related with the exaggeration natural to men desirous of heightening the merit of their own exploits, were more than sufficient to excite romantic hopes and expectations. Great numbers offered to engage in a new expedition. Velasquez, solicitous to distinguish himself by some service so meritorious as might entitle him to claim the government of Cuba independent of the admiral, not only encouraged their ardor, but at his own expense fitted out four ships for the voyage. Two hundred and forty volunteers, among whom were several persons of rank and fortune, embarked in this enterprise. The command of it was given to Juan de Grijalva, a young man of known merit and courage, with instructions to observe attentively the nature of the countries which he should discover, to barter for gold, and, if circumstances were inviting, to settle a colony in some proper station. He sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighth of April, one thousand five hundred and eighteen. The pilot, Alaminos, held the same course as in the former voyage: but the violence of the currents carrying the ships to the south, the first land which they made was the island of *Cozumel*, to the east of Yucatan. As all the inhabitants fled to the woods and mountains at the approach of the Spaniards, they made no long stay there, and without any remarkable occurrence they reached Potonchan on the opposite side of the peninsula. The desire of avenging their countrymen, who had been slain there, concurred with their ideas of good policy, in prompting them to land, that they might chastise the Indians of that district with such exemplary rigor as would strike terror into all the people round them. But though they disembarked all their troops, and carried ashore some field pieces, the Indians fought with such courage, that the Spaniards gained the victory with difficulty, and were confirmed in their opinion that the inhabitants of this country would prove more formidable enemies than any they had met with in other parts of America. From Potonchan they continued their voyage towards the west, keeping as near as possible to the shore, and casting anchor every evening, from dread of the dangerous accidents to which they might be exposed in an unknown sea. During the day their eyes were turned continually towards land, with a mixture of surprise and wonder at the beauty of the country, as well as the novelty of the objects which they beheld. Many villages were scattered along the coast, in which they could distinguish houses of stone that appeared white and lofty at a distance. In the warmth of their admiration, they fancied these to be cities adorned with towers and pinnacles; and one of the soldiers happening to remark that this country resembled Spain in appearance, Grijalva, with universal applause, called it *New Spain*, the name which still distinguishes this extensive and opulent province of the Spanish empire in America [27.] They landed in a river which the natives called *Tabasco* [June 9]; and the fame of their victory at Potonchan having reached this place, the cazique not only received them amicably, but bestowed presents upon them of such value, as confirmed the high ideas which the Spaniards had formed with respect to the wealth and fertility of the country. These ideas were raised still higher by what occurred at the place where they next touched. This was considerably to the west of Tabasco, in the province since known by the name of Guaxaca. There they were received with the respect paid to superior beings. The people perfumed them, as they landed, with incense of gum copal, and presented to them as offerings the choicest delicacies of their country. They were extremely fond of trading with their new visitants, and in six days the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold of curious workmanship, to the value of fifteen thousand pesos, in exchange for European toys of small price. The two prisoners whom Cordova had brought from Yucatan, had hitherto served as interpreters; but as they did not understand the language of this country, the Spaniards learned from the natives by signs, that they were subjects of a great monarch called Montezuma, whose dominions extended over that and many other provinces. Leaving this place, with which he had so much reason to be pleased, Grijalva continued his course towards the west. He landed on a small island [June 19], which he named the Isle of Sacrifices, because there the Spaniards beheld, for the first time, the horrid spectacle of human victims, which the barbarous superstition of the natives offered to their gods. He touched at another small island, which he called St. Juan de Ulua. From this place he despatched Pedro de Alvarado, one of his officers, to Velasquez, with a full account of the important discoveries which he had made, and with all the treasure that he acquired by trafficking with the natives. After the departure of Alvarado, he himself, with the remaining vessels, proceeded along the coast as far as the river Panuco, the country still appearing to be well peopled, fertile, and opulent.

Several of Grijalva's officers contended that it was not enough to have discovered those delightful regions, or to have performed, at their different landing-places, the empty ceremony of taking possession of them for the crown of Castile, and that their glory was incomplete, unless they planted a colony in some proper station, which might not only secure the Spanish nation a footing in the country, but with the reinforcements which they were certain of receiving, might gradually subject the whole to the dominion of their sovereign. But the squadron had now been above five months at sea; the greatest part of their provisions was exhausted, and what remained of their stores so much corrupted by the heat of the climate, as to be almost unfit for use; they had lost some men by death; others were sickly; the country was crowded with people who seemed to be intelligent as well as brave; and they were under the government of one powerful monarch, who could bring them to act against their invaders with united force. To plant a new colony under so many circumstances of disadvantage, appeared a scheme too perilous to be attempted. Grijalva, though possessed of ambition and courage, was destitute of the superior talents capable of forming or executing such a great plan. He judged it more prudent to return to Cuba, having fulfilled the purpose of his voyage, and accomplished all that the armament which he commanded enabled him to perform. He returned to St. Jago de Cuba, on the twenty-sixth of October, from which he had taken his departure about six months before.

This was the longest as well as the most successful voyage which the Spaniards had hitherto made in the New World. They had discovered that Yucatan was not an island as they had supposed, but part of the great continent of America. From Potonchan they had pursued their course for many hundred miles along a coast formerly unexplored, stretching first towards the west, and then turning to the north; all the country which they had discovered appeared to be no less valuable than extensive. As soon as Alvarado reached Cuba, Velasquez, transported with success so far beyond his most sanguine expectations, immediately despatched a person of confidence to carry this important intelligence to Spain, to exhibit the rich productions of the countries which had been discovered by his means, and to solicit such an increase of authority as might enable and encourage him to attempt the conquest of them. Without waiting for the return of his messenger, or for the arrival of Grijalva, of whom he was become so jealous or distrustful that he was resolved no longer to employ him, he began to prepare with such a powerful armament as might prove equal to an enterprise of so much danger and importance.

But as the expedition upon which Velasquez was now intent terminated in conquests of greater moment than what the Spaniards had hitherto achieved, and led them to the knowledge of a people, who, if compared with those tribes of America with whom they were hitherto acquainted, may be considered as highly civilized; it is proper to pause before we proceed to the history of events extremely different from those which we have already related, in order to take a view of the state of the New World when first discovered, and to contemplate the policy and manners of the rude uncultivated tribes that occupied all the parts of it with which the Spaniards were at this time acquainted.

BOOK IV.

View of America when first discovered, and of the manners and policy of its most uncivilized inhabitants—Vast extent of America—grandeur of the objects it presents to view—its mountains—rivers—lakes—its form favorable to commerce—temperature—predominance of cold—causes of this—uncultivated—unwholesome—its animals—soil—Inquiry how America was peopled—various theories—what appears most probable—Condition and character of the Americans—All, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, in the state of savages—Inquiry confined to the uncivilized tribes—Difficulty of obtaining information—various causes of this—Method observed in the inquiry—I. The bodily constitution of the Americans considered—II. The qualities of their minds—III. Their domestic state—IV. Their political state and institutions—V Their system of war and public security—VI. The arts with which they were acquainted—VII. Their religious ideas and institutions—VIII. Such singular and detached customs as are not reducible to any of the former heads—IX. General review and estimate of their virtues and defects.

TWENTY-SIX years had elapsed since Colnmbus had conducted the people of Europe to the New World. During that period the Spaniards had made great progress in exploring its various regions. They had visited all the islands scattered in different clusters through that part of the ocean which flows in between North and South America. They had sailed along the eastern coast of the continent from the river De la Plata to the bottom of the Mexican Gulf, and had found that it stretched without interruption through this vast portion of the globe. They had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened new prospects in that quarter. They had acquired some knowledge of the coast of Florida, which led them to observe the continent as it extended in an opposite direction; and though they pushed their discoveries no further towards the North, other nations had visited those parts which they neglected. The English in a voyage the motives and success of which shall be related in another part of this History, had sailed along the coast of America from Labrador to the confines of Florida; and the Portuguese, in quest of a shorter passage to the East Indies, had ventured into the northern seas, and viewed the same regions. Thus, at the period where I have chosen to take a view of the state of the New World, its extent was known almost from its northern extremity to thirty-five degrees south of the equator. The countries which stretch from thence to the southern boundary of America, the great empire of Peru, and the interior state of the extensive dominions subject to the sovereigns of Mexico, were still undiscovered.

When we contemplate the New World, the first circumstance that strikes us is its immense extent. It was not a small portion of the earth, so inconsiderable that it might have escaped the observation or research of former ages, which Columbus discovered. He made known a new hemisphere, larger than either Europe,

or Asia, or Africa, the three noted divisions of the ancient continent, and not much inferior in dimensions to a third part of the habitable globe.

America is remarkable, not only for its magnitude, but for its position. It stretches from the northern polar circle to a high southern latitude, above fifteen hundred miles beyond the furthest extremity of the old continent on that side of the line. A country of such extent passes through all the climates capable of becoming the habitation of man, and fit for yielding the various productions peculiar either to the temperate or to the torrid regions of the earth.

Next to the extent of the New World, the grandeur of the objects which it presents to view is most apt to strike the eye of an observer. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains in America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be considered as the base of the Andes, is elevated further above the sea than the top of the Pyrenees. This stupendous ridge of the Andes, no less remarkable for extent than elevation, rises in different places more than one-third above the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest land in the ancient hemisphere. The Andes may literally be said to hide their heads in the clouds; the storms often roll, and the thunder bursts below their summits, which, though exposed to the rays of the sun in the centre of the torrid zone, are covered with everlasting snows. [28]

From these lofty mountains descend rivers, proportionably large, with which the streams in the ancient continent are not to be compared, either for length of course, or the vast body of water which they roll towards the ocean. The Maragnon, the Orinoco, the Plata in South America, the Mississippi and St. Laurence in North America, flow in such spacious channels, that long before they feel the influence of the tide, they resemble arms of the sea rather than rivers of fresh water. [29]

The lakes of the New World are no less conspicuous for grandeur than its mountains and rivers. There is nothing in other parts of the globe which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in North America. They may properly be termed inland seas of fresh water; and even those of the second or third class in magnitude are of larger circuit (the Caspain Sea excepted) than the greatest lake of the ancient continent.

The New World is of a form extremely favorable to commercial intercourse. When a continent is formed, like Africa, of one vast solid mass, unbroken by arms of the sea penetrating into its interior parts, with few large rivers, and those at a considerable distance from each other, the greater part of it seems destined to remain for ever uncivilized, and to be debarred from any active or enlarged communication with the rest of mankind. When, like Europe, a continent is opened by inlets of the ocean of great extent, such as the Mediterranean and Baltic; or when, like Asia, its coast is broken by deep bays advancing far into the country, such as the Black Sea, the Gulfs of Arabia, of Persia, of Bengal, of Siam, and of Leotang; when the surrounding seas are filled with large and fertile islands, and the continent itself watered with a variety of navigable rivers, those regions may be said to possess whatever can facilitate the progress of their inhabitants in commerce and improvement. In all these respects America may bear a comparison with the other quarters of the globe. The Gulf of Mexico, which flows in between North and South America, may be considered as a Mediterranean sea, which opens a maritime commerce with all the fertile countries by which it is encircled. The islands scattered in it are inferior only to those in the Indian Archipelago, in number, in magnitude, and in value. As we stretch along the northern division of the American hemisphere, the Bay of Chesapeak presents a spacious inlet, which conducts the navigator far into the interior parts of provinces no less fertile than extensive; and if ever the progress of culture and population shall mitigate the extreme rigor of the climate in the more northern districts of America, Hudson's Bay may become as subservient to commercial intercourse in that quarter of the globe, as the Baltic is in Europe. The other great portion of the New World is encompassed on every side by the sea, except one narrow neck which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean; and though it be not opened by spacious bays or arms of the sea, its interior parts are rendered accessible by a number of large rivers, fed by so many auxiliary streams, flowing in such various directions, that almost without any aid from the hand of industry and art, an inland navigation may be carried on through all the provinces from the river De la Plata to the Gulf of Paria. Nor is this bounty of nature confined to the southern division of America; its northern continent abounds no less in rivers which are navigable almost to their sources, and by its immense chain of lakes provision is made for an inland communication, more extensive and commodious than in any quarter of the globe. The countries stretching from the Gulf of Darien on one side, to that of California on the other, which form the chain that binds the two parts of the American continent together, are not destitute of peculiar advantages. Their coast on one side is washed by the Atlantic Ocean, on the other by the Pacific. Some of their rivers flow into the former, some into the latter, and secure to them all the commercial benefits that may result from a communication with both.

But what most distinguishes America from other parts of the earth is the peculiar temperature of its climate, and the different laws to which it is subject with respect to the distribution of heat and cold. We cannot determine with precision the portion of heat felt in any part of the globe, merely by measuring its distance from the equator. The climate of a country is affected, in some degree, by its elevation above the sea, by the extent of continent, by the nature of the soil, the height of adjacent mountains, and many other circumstances. The influence of these, however, is from various causes less considerable in the greater part of the ancient continent; and from knowing the position of any country there, we can pronounce with greater certainty what will be the warmth of its climate, and the nature of its productions.

The maxims which are founded upon observation of our hemisphere will not apply to the other. In the New World, cold predominates. The rigor of the frigid zone extends over half of those regions which should be temperate by their position. Countries where the grape and the fig should ripen, are buried under snow one half of the year; and lands situated in the same parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual frosts, which almost destroy the power of vegetation. [30] As we advance to those parts of America which lie in the same parallel with provinces of Asia and Africa, blessed with a uniform enjoyment of such genial warmth as is most friendly to life and vegetation, the dominion of cold continues to be felt, and winter reigns, though during a short period, with extreme severity. If we proceed along the American continent into the torrid zone, we shall find the cold prevalent in the New World extending itself also to this region of the globe, and mitigating the excess of its fervor. While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually shaded under a canopy of gray clouds, which intercepts the fierce beams of the sun, without obstructing his friendly influence. Along the eastern coast of America, the climate, though more similar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheless considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitude. If from the southern tropic we continue our progress to the extremity of the American continent, we meet with frozen seas, and countries horrid, barren, and scarcely habitable for cold much sooner than in the north.

Various causes combine in rendering the climate of America so extremely different from that of the ancient continent. Though the utmost extent of America towards the north be not yet discovered, we know that it advances much nearer to the pole than either Europe or Asia. Both these have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold than that which blows over land in the same high latitudes. But in America the land stretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind, in passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates, and it is not entirely mitigated until it reach the Gulf of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America a north-westerly wind and excessive cold are synonymous terms. Even in the most sultry, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent inroads into the southern provinces, in that part of the globe.

Other causes, no less remarkable, diminish the active power of heat in those parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from east to west. As this wind holds its course across the ancient continent, it arrives at the countries which stretch along the western shores of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it had collected from the sultry plains of Asia, and the burning sands in the African deserts. The coast of Africa is, accordingly the region of the earth which feels the most fervent heat, and is exposed to the unmitigated ardor of the torrid zone. But this same wind, which brings such an accession of warmth to the other countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverses the Atlantic Ocean before it reaches the American shore. It is cooled in its passage over this vast body of water, and is felt as a refreshing gale along the coast of Brazil, [31] and Guiana, rendering these countries, though among the warmest in America, temperate, when compared with those which lie opposite to them in Africa. [32] As this wind advances in its course across America, it meets with immense plains covered with impenetrable forests, or occupied by large rivers, marshes, and stagnating waters, where it can recover no considerable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to south through the whole continent. In passing over their elevated and frozen summits, it is so thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardor to which they seem exposed by their situation. In the other provinces of America, from Tierre Ferme westward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in some places, by the elevation of the land above the sea, in others, by their extraordinary humidity, and in all, by the enormous mountains scattered over this tract. The islands of America in the torrid zone are either small or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreshing sea and land breezes.

The causes of the extrordinary cold towards the southern limits of America, and in the seas beyond it, cannot be ascertained in a manner equally satisfying. It was long supposed that a vast continent, distinguished by the name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, lay between the southern extremity of America and the Antarctic pole. The same principles which account for the extraordinary degree of cold in the northern regions in America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn and the adjacent countries. The immense extent of the southern continent, and the large rivers which it poured into the ocean, were mentioned and admitted by philosophers as causes sufficient to occasion the unusual sensation of cold, and the still more uncommon appearances of frozen seas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which such influence was ascribed, having been searched for in vain, and the space which it was supposed to occupy having been found to be an open sea, new conjectures must be formed with respect to the causes of a temperature of climate, so extremely different from that which we experience in countries removed at the same distance from the opposite pole. [33]

After contemplating those permanent and characteristic qualities of the American continent, which arise from the peculiarity of its situation, and the disposition of its parts, the next object that merits attention is its condition when first discovered, as far as that depended upon the industry and operations of man. The effects of human ingenuity and labor are more extensive and considerable than even our own vanity is apt at first to imagine. When we survey the face of the habitable globe, no small part of that fertility and beauty which we ascribe to the hand of nature, is the work of man. His efforts, when continued through a succession of ages, change the appearance and improve the qualities of the earth. As a great part of the ancient continent has long been occupied by nations far advanced in arts and industry, our eye is accustomed to view the earth in that form which it assumes when rendered fit to be the residence of a numerous race of men, and to supply them with nourishment.

But in the New World, the state of mankind was rude, and the aspect of nature extremely different. Throughout all its vast regions, there were only two monarchies remarkable for extent of territory, or distinguished by any progress in improvement. The rest of this continent was possessed by small independent tribes,

destitute of arts and industry, and neither capable to correct the effects nor desirous to meliorate the condition of that part of the earth allotted to them for their habitation. Countries occupied by such people were almost in the same state as if they had been without inhabitants. Immense forests covered a great part of the uncultivated earth; and as the hand of industry had not taught the rivers to run in a proper channel, or drained off the stagnating water, many of the most fertile plains were overflowed with inundations, or converted into marshes. In the southern provinces, where the warmth of the sun, the moisture of the climate, and the fertility of the soil, combine in calling forth the most vigorous powers of vegetation, the woods are so choked with its rank luxuriance as to be almost impervious, and the surface of the ground is hid from the eye under a thick covering of shrubs and herbs and weeds. In this state of wild unassisted nature, a great part of the large provinces in South America, which extend from the bottom of the Andes to the sea, still remain. The European colonies have cleared and cultivated a few spots along the coast; but the original race of inhabitants, as rude and indolent as ever, have done nothing to open or improve a country possessing almost every advantage of situation and climate. As we advance towards the northern provinces of America, nature continues to wear the same uncultivated aspect, and, in proportion as the rigor of the climate increases, appears more desolate and horrid. There the forests, though not encumbered with the same exuberance of vegetation, are of immense extent; prodigious marshes overspread the plains, and few marks appear of human activity in any attempt to cultivate or embellish the earth. No wonder that the colonies sent from Europe were astonished at their first entrance into the New World. It appeared to them waste, solitary, and uninviting. When the English began to settle in America, they termed the countries of which they took possession, *The Wilderness*. Nothing but their eager expectation of finding mines of gold could have induced the Spaniards to penetrate through the woods and marshes of America, where at every step, they observed the extreme difference between the uncultivated face of nature, and that which it acquires under the forming hand of industry and art. [34]

The labor and operations of man not only improve and embellish the earth, but render it more wholesome and friendly to life. When any region lies neglected and destitute of cultivation, the air stagnates in the woods; putrid exhalations arise from the waters; the surface of the earth, loaded with rank vegetation, feels not the purifying influence of the sun or of the wind; the malignity of the distempers natural to the climate increases, and new maladies no less noxious are engendered. Accordingly, all the provinces of America, when first discovered, were found to be remarkably unhealthy. This the Spaniards experienced in every expedition into the New World, whether destined for conquest or settlement. Though by the natural constitution of their bodies, their habitual temperance, and the persevering vigor of their minds, they were as much formed as any people in Europe for active service in a sultry climate, they felt severely the fatal and pernicious qualities of those uncultivated regions through which they marched, or where they endeavored to plant colonies. Great numbers were cut off by the unknown and violent diseases with which they were infected. Such as survived the destructive rage of those maladies, were not exempted from the noxious influence of the climate. They returned to Europe, according to the description of the early Spanish historians, feeble, emaciated, with languid looks, and complexions of such a sickly yellow color as indicated the unwholesome temperature of the countries where they had resided.

The uncultivated state of the New World affected not only the temperature of the air, but the qualities of its productions. The principle of life seems to have been less active and vigorous there than in the ancient continent. Notwithstanding the vast extent of America, and the variety of its climates, the different species of animals peculiar to it are much fewer in proportion than those of the other hemisphere. In the islands there were only four kinds of quadrupeds known, the largest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. On the continent, the variety was greater; and though the individuals of each kind could not fail of multiplying exceedingly when almost unmolested by men, who were neither so numerous, nor so united in society, as to be formidable enemies to the animal creation, the number of distinct species must still be considered as extremely small. Of two hundred different kinds of animals spread over the face of the earth, only about one-third existed in America at the time of its discovery. Nature was not only less prolific in the New World, but she appears likewise to have been less vigorous in her productions. The animals originally belonging to this quarter of the globe appear to be of an inferior race, neither so robust nor so fierce as those of the other continent. America gives birth to no creature of such bulk as to be compared with the elephant or rhinoceros, or that equals the lion and tiger in strength and ferocity. [35] The *Tapyr* of Brazil, the largest quadruped of the ravenous tribe in the New World, is not larger than a calf of six months old. The *Puma* and *Jaguar*, its fiercest beasts of prey, which Europeans have inaccurately denominated lions and tigers, possess neither the undaunted courage of the former, nor the ravenous cruelty of the latter. They are inactive and timid, hardly formidable to man, and often turn their backs upon the least appearance of resistance. The same qualities in the climate of America which stinted the growth, and enfeebled the spirit, of its native animals, have proved pernicious to such as have migrated into it voluntarily from the other continent, or have been transported thither by the Europeans. The bears, the wolves, the deer of America, are not equal in size to those of the Old World. Most of the domestic animals, with which the Europeans have stored the provinces wherein they settled, have degenerated with respect either to bulk or quality, in a country whose temperature and soil seem to be less favorable to the strength and perfection of the animal creation. [36]

The same causes which checked the growth and the vigor of the more noble animals, were friendly to the propagation and increase of reptiles and insects. Though this is not peculiar to the New World, and those odious tribes, nourished by heat, moisture, and corruption, infest every part of the torrid zone; they multiply faster, perhaps, in America, and grow to a more monstrous bulk. As this country is on the whole less cultivated and less peopled than the other quarters of the earth, the active principle of life wastes its force in productions of this inferior form. The air is often darkened with clouds of insects, and the ground covered with shocking and noxious reptiles. The country around Porto Bello swarms with toads in such multitudes as hide the surface of the earth. At Guayaquil, snakes and vipers are hardly less numerous. Carthagena is infested with numerous flocks of bats, which annoy not only the cattle but the inhabitants. In the islands, legions of ants have at different times consumed every vegetable production, [37] and left the earth entirely bare as if it had been burned with fire. The damp forests and rank soil of the countries on the banks of the Orinoco and Maragnon teem with almost every offensive and poisonous creature which the power of a sultry sun can quicken into life.

The birds of the New World are not distinguished by qualities so conspicuous and characteristical as those which we have observed in its quadrupeds. Birds are more independent of man, and less affected by the changes which his industry and labor make upon the state of the earth. They have a greater propensity to migrate from one country to another, and can gratify this instinct of their nature without difficulty or danger. Hence the number of birds common to both continents is much greater than that of quadrupeds; and even such as are peculiar to America nearly resemble those with which mankind were acquainted in similar regions of the ancient hemisphere. The American birds of the torrid zone, like those of the same climate in Asia and Africa, are decked in plumage which dazzles the eye with the beauty of its colors; but nature, satisfied with clothing them in this gay dress, has denied most of them that melody of sound and variety of notes which catch and delight the ear. The birds of the temperate climates there, in the same manner as in our continent, are less splendid in their appearance; but, in compensation for that defect, they have voices of greater compass, and more melodious. In some districts of America, the unwholesome temperature of the air seems to be unfavorable even to this part of the creation. The number of birds is less than in other countries, and the traveller is struck with the amazing solitude and silence of its forests. It is remarkable, however, that America, where the quadrupeds are so dwarfish and dastardly, should produce the *Condor* which is entitled to preeminence over all the flying tribe, in bulk, in strength, and in courage.

The soil in a continent so extensive as America, must, of course, be extremely various. In each of its provinces we find some distinguishing peculiarities, the description of which belongs to those who write their particular history. In general we may observe, that the moisture and cold, which predominate so remarkably in all parts of America, must have great influence upon the nature of its soil; countries lying in the same parallel with those regions which never feel the extreme rigor of winter in the ancient continent, are frozen over in America during a great part of the year. Chilled by this intense cold, the ground never acquires warmth sufficient to ripen the fruits which are found in the corresponding parts of the other continent. If we wish to rear in America the productions which abound in any particular district of the ancient world, we must advance several degrees nearer to the line than in the other hemisphere, as it requires such an increase of heat to counterbalance the natural frigidity of the soil and climate. [38] At the Cape of Good Hope, several of the plants and fruits peculiar to the countries within the tropics are cultivated with success; whereas, at St. Augustine in Florida, and Charles Town in South Carolina, though considerably nearer the line, they cannot be brought to thrive with equal certainty. [39] But, if allowance be made for this diversity in the degree of heat, the soil of America is naturally as rich and fertile as in any part of the earth. As the country was thinly inhabited, and by a people of little industry, who had none of the domestic animals which civilized nations rear in such vast numbers, the earth was not exhausted by their consumption. The vegetable productions, to which the fertility of the soil gave birth, often remained untouched, and, being suffered to corrupt on its surface, returned with increase into its bosom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nourishment from air and water; if they were not destroyed by man and other animals, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoverish it. Thus the unoccupied soil of America, may have gone on enriching for many ages. The vast number as well as enormous size of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigor of the soil in its native state. When the Europeans first began to cultivate the New World, they were astonished at the luxuriant power of vegetation in its virgin mould; and in several places the ingenuity of the planter is still employed in diminishing and wasting its superfluous fertility, in order to bring it down to a state fit for profitable culture. [40]

Having thus surveyed the state of the New World at the time of its discovery, and considered the peculiar features and qualities which distinguish and characterize it, the next inquiry that merits attention is, How was America peopled? By what course did mankind migrate from the one continent to the other? And in what quarter is it most probable that a communication was opened between them?

We know with infallible certainty that all the human race spring from the same source, and that the descendants of one man, under the protection, as well as in obedience to the command of Heaven, multiplied and replenished the earth. But neither the annals nor the traditions of nations reach back to those remote ages, in which they took possession of the different countries where they are now settled. We cannot trace the branches of this first family, or point out with certainty the time and manner in which they divided and spread over the face of the globe. Even among the most enlightened people, the period of authentic history is extremely short; and every thing prior to that is fabulous or obscure. It is not surprising, then, that the unlettered inhabitants of America, who have no solicitude about futurity, and little curiosity concerning what is passed, should be altogether unacquainted with their own original. The people on the two opposite coasts of America, who occupy those countries in America which approach nearest to the ancient continent are so remarkably rude, that it is altogether vain to search among them for such information as might discover the place from whence they came, or the ancestors of whom they are descended. Whatever light has been thrown on this subject is derived not from the natives of America, but from the inquisitive genius of their conquerors.

When the people of Europe unexpectedly discovered a New World, removed at a vast distance from every part of the ancient continent which was then known, and filled with inhabitants whose appearance and manners differed remarkably from the rest of the human species, the question concerning their original became naturally an object of curiosity and attention. The theories and speculations of ingenious men with respect to this subject, would fill many volumes; but are often so wild and chimerical, that I should offer an insult to the

understanding of my readers, if I attempted either minutely to enumerate or to refute them. Some have presumptuously imagined, that the people of America were not the offspring of the same common parent with the rest of mankind, but that they formed a separate race of men, distinguishable by peculiar features in the constitution of their bodies, as well as in the characteristic qualities of their minds. Others contend, that they are descended from some remnant of the antediluvian inhabitants of the earth, who survived the deluge which swept away the greatest part of the human species in the days of Noah; and preposterously suppose rude, uncivilized tribes, scattered over an uncultivated continent, to be the most ancient race of people on the earth. There is hardly any nation from the north to the south pole, to which some antiquary, in the extravagance of conjecture, has not ascribed the honor of peopling America. The Jews, the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Scythians, in ancient times, are supposed to have settled in this western World. The Chinese, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Welsh, the Spaniards, are said to have sent colonies thither in later ages, at different periods and on various occasions. Zealous advocates stand forth to support the respective claims of those people; and though they rest upon no better foundation than the casual resemblance of some customs, or the supposed affinity between a few words in their different languages, much erudition and more zeal have been employed, to little purpose, in defence of the opposite systems. Those regions of conjecture and controversy belong not to the historian. His is a more limited province, confined by what is established by certain or highly probable evidence. Beyond this I shall not venture, in offering a few observations which may contribute to throw some light upon this curious and much agitated question.

1. There are authors who have endeavored by mere conjecture to account for the peopling of America. Some have supposed that it was originally united to the ancient continent, and disjoined from it by the shock of an earthquake, or the irruption of a deluge. Others have imagined, that some vessel being forced from its course by the violence of a westerly wind, might be driven by accident towards the American coast, and have given a beginning to population in that desolate continent. But with respect to all those systems, it is in vain either to reason or inquire, because it is impossible to come to any decision. Such events as they suppose are barely possible, and may have happened. That they ever did happen, we have no evidence, either from the clear testimony of history, or from the obscure intimations of tradition.

2. Nothing can be more frivolous or uncertain than the attempts to discover the original of the Americans merely by tracing the resemblance between their manners and those of any particular people in the ancient continent. If we suppose two tribes, though placed in the most remote regions of the globe, to live in a climate nearly of the same temperature, to be in the same state of society, and to resemble each other in the degree of their improvement, they must feel the same wants, and exert the same endeavors to supply them. The same objects will allure, the same passions will animate them, and the same ideas and sentiments will arise in their minds. The character and occupations of the hunter in America must be litte different from those of an Asiatic who depends for subsistence on the chase. A tribe of savages on the banks of the Danube must nearly resemble one upon the plains washed by the Mississippi. Instead then of presuming from this similarity, that there is any affinity between them, we should only conclude that the disposition and manners of men are formed by their situation, and arise from the state of society in which they live. The moment that begins to vary, the character of a people must change. In proportion as it advances in improvement, their manners refine, their powers and talents are called forth. In every part of the earth, the progress of man hath been nearly the same; and we can trace him in his career from the rude simplicity of savage life, until he attains the industry, the arts, and the elegance of polished society. There is nothing wonderful, then, in the similitude between the Americans and the barbarous nations of our continent. Had Lafitau, Garcia, and many other authors attended to this, they would not have perplexed a subject, which they pretend to illustrate, by their fruitless endeavors to establish an affinity between various races of people, in the old and new continents, upon no other evidence than such a resemblance in their manners as necessarily arises from the similarity of their condition. There are, it is true, among every people, some customs which, as they do not flow from any natural want or desire peculiar to their situation, may be denominated usages of arbitrary institution. If between two nations settled in remote parts of the earth, a perfect agreement with respect to any of these should be discovered, one might be led to suspect that they were connected by some affinity. If, for example, a nation were found in America that consecrated the seventh day to religious worship and rest, we might justly suppose that it had derived its knowledge of this usage, which is of arbitrary institution, from the Jews. But, if it were discovered that another nation celebrated the first appearance of every new moon with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, we should not be entitled to conclude that the observation of this monthly festival was borrowed from the Jews, but ought to consider it merely as the expression of that joy which is natural to man on the return of the planet which guides and cheers him in the night. The instances of customs, merely arbitrary, common to the inhabitants of both hemispheres, are, indeed, so few and so equivocal, that no theory concerning the population of the New World ought to be founded upon them.

3. The theories which have been formed with respect to the original of the Americans, from observation of their religious rites and practices, are no less fanciful and destitute of solid foundation. When the religious opinions of any people are neither the result of rational inquiry, nor derived from the instructions of revelation, they must needs be wild and extravagant. Barbarous nations are incapable of the former, and have not been blessed with the advantages arising from the latter. Still, however, the human mind, even where its operations appear most wild and capricious, holds a course so regular, that in every age and country the dominion of particular passions will be attended with similar effects. The savage of Europe or America, when filled with superstitious dread of invisible beings, or with inquisitive solicitude to penetrate into the events of futurity, trembles alike with fear, or glows with impatience. He has recourse to rites and practices of the same kind, in order to avert the vengeance which he supposes to be impending over him, or to divine the secret which is the object of his curiosity. Accordingly, the ritual of superstition in one continent seems, in many particulars, to be a transcript of that established in the other, and both authorize similar institutions, sometimes so frivolous as to excite pity, sometimes so bloody and barbarous as to create horror. But without supposing any consanguinity between such distant nations, or imagining that their religious ceremonies were conveyed by tradition from the one to the other, we may ascribe this uniformity, which in many instances seems very amazing, to the natural operation of superstition and enthusiasm upon the weakness of the human mind.

4. We may lay it down as a certain principle in this inquiry, that America was not peopled by any nation of the ancient continent which had made considerable progress in civilization. The inhabitants of the New World were in a state of society so extremely rude as to be unacquainted with those arts which are the first essays of human ingenuity in its advance towards improvement. Even the most cultivated nations of America were strangers to many of those simple inventions which were almost coeval with society in other parts of the world, and were known in the earliest periods of civil life with which we have any acquaintance. From this it is manifest, that the tribes which originally migrated to America, came off from nations which must have been no less barbarous than their posterity, at the time when they were first discovered by the Europeans. For, although the elegant or refined arts may decline or perish, amidst the violent shocks of those revolutions and disasters to which nations are exposed, the necessary arts of life, when once they have been introduced among any people, are never lost. None of the vicissitudes in human affairs affect these, and they continue to be practised as long as the race of men exists. If ever the use of iron had been known to the savages of America, or to their progenitors; if ever they had employed a plough, a loom, or a forge, the utility of those inventions would have preserved them, and it is impossible that they should have been abandoned or forgotten. We may conclude, then, that the Americans sprung from some people, who were themselves in such an early and unimproved stage of society, as to be unacquainted with all those necessary arts, which continued to be unknown among their posterity when first visited by the Spaniards.

5. It appears no less evident that America was not peopled by any colony from the more southern nations of the ancient continent. None of the rude tribes settled in that part of our hemisphere can be supposed to have visited a country so remote. They possessed neither enterprise, nor ingenuity, nor power that could prompt them to undertake, or enable them to perform such a distant voyage. That the more civilized nations in Asia or Africa are not the progenitors of the Americans, is manifest not only from the observations which I have already made concerning their ignorance of the most simple and necessary arts, but from an additional circumstance. Whenever any people have experienced the advantages which men enjoy by their dominion over the inferior animals, they can neither subsist without the nourishment which these afford, nor carry on any considerable operation independent of their ministry and labor. Accordingly, the first care of the Spaniards, when they settled in America, was to stock it with all the domestic animals of Europe; and if, prior to them, the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the Chinese, or any other polished people, had taken possession of that continent, we should have found there the animals peculiar to those regions of the globe where they were originally seated. In all America, however, there is not one animal, tame or wild, which properly belongs to the warm or even the more temperate countries of the ancient continent. The camel, the dromedary, the horse, the cow, were as much unknown in America as the elephant or the lion. From which it is obvious, that the people who first settled in the western world did not issue from the countries where those animals abound, and where men, from having been long accustomed to their aid, would naturally consider it not only as beneficial, but as indispensably necessary to the improvement, and even the preservation of civil society.

6. From considering the animals with which America is stored, we may conclude that the nearest point of contact between the old and new continents is towards the northern extremity of both, and that there the communication was opened, and the intercourse carried on between them. All the extensive countries in America which lie within the tropics, or approach near to them, are filled with indigenous animals of various kinds, entirely different from those in the corresponding regions of the ancient continent. But the northern provinces of the New World abound with many of the wild animals which are common in such parts of our hemisphere as lie in a similar situation. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, and several other species, frequent the forests of North America, no less than those in the north of Europe and Asia. It seems to be evident, then, that the two continents approach each other in this quarter, and are either united, or so nearly adjacent that these animals might pass from the one to the other.

7. The actual vicinity of the two continents is so clearly established by modern discoveries, that the chief difficulty with respect to the peopling of America is removed. While those immense regions which stretch eastward from the river Oby to the sea of Kamchatka were unknown or imperfectly explored, the north-east extremities of our hemisphere were supposed to be so far distant from any part of the New World, that it was not easy to conceive how any communication should have been carried on between them. But the Russians, having subjected the western part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vast country, by advancing towards the east into unknown provinces. These were discovered by hunters in their excursions after game, or by soldiers employed in levying the taxes; and the court of Moscow estimated the importance of those countries, only by the small addition which they made to its revenue. At length Peter the Great ascended the Russian throne. His enlightened, comprehensive mind, intent upon every circumstance that could aggrandize his empire, or render his reign illustrious, discerned consequences of those discoveries which had escaped the observation of his ignorant predecessors. He perceived that in proportion as the regions of Asia extended towards the east, they must approach nearer to America; that the communication between the two continents, which had long been searched for in vain, would probably be found in this quarter; and that by opening it, some part of the wealth and commerce of the western world might be made to flow into his dominions by a new channel. Such an object suited a genius that delighted in grand schemes. Peter drew up instructions with his own hand for prosecuting this design, and gave orders for carrying it into execution

His successors adopted his ideas and pursued his plan. The officers whom the Russian court employed in this service had to struggle with so many difficulties, that their progress was extremely slow. Encouraged by some faint traditions among the people of Siberia, concerning a successful voyage in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-eight, round the north-east promontory of Asia, they attempted to follow the same course. Vessels were fitted out, with this view, at different times, from the rivers Lena and Kolyma; but in a frozen ocean, which nature seems not to have destined for navigation, they were exposed to many disasters, without being able to accomplish their purpose. No vessel fitted out by the Russian court ever doubled this formidable Cape; [41] we are indebted for what is known of those extreme regions of Asia, to the discoveries made in excursions by land. In all those provinces an opinion prevails, that there are countries of great extent and fertility which lie at no considerable distance from their own coasts. These the Russians imagined to be part of America; and several circumstances concurred not only in confirming them in this belief, but in persuading them that some portion of that continent could not be very remote. Trees of various kinds unknown in those naked regions of Asia, are driven upon the coast by an easterly wind. By the same wind, floating ice is brought thither in a few days; flights of birds arrive annually from the same quarter; and a tradition obtains among the inhabitants, of an intercourse formerly carried on with some countries situated to the east.

After weighing all these particulars, and comparing the position of the countries in Asia which had been discovered, with such parts in the northwest of America as were already known, the Russian court formed a plan, which would have hardly occurred to a nation less accustomed to engage in arduous undertakings, and to contend with great difficulties. Orders were issued to build two vessels at the small village of Ochotz, situated on the sea of Kamchatka, to sail on a voyage of discovery. Though that dreary uncultivated region furnished nothing that could be of use in constructing them, but some larch trees: though not only the iron, the cordage, the sails, and all the numerous articles requisite for their equipment, but the provisions for victualling them were to be carried through the immense deserts of Siberia, down rivers of difficult navigation, and along roads almost impassible, the mandate of the sovereign, and the perseverance of the people, at last surmounted every obstacle. Two vessels were finished, and, under the command of the Captains Behring and Tschirikow, sailed from Kamchatka, in quest of the New World in a quarter where it had never been approached. They shaped their course towards the east; and though a storm soon separated the vessels, which never rejoined, and many disasters befell them, the expectations from the voyage were not altogether frustrated. Each of the commanders discovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent; and, according to their observation, it seems to be situated within a few degrees of the north-west coast of California. Each set some of his people ashore: but in one place the inhabitants fled as the Russians approached; in another, they carried off those who landed, and destroyed their boats. The violence of the weather, and the distress of their crews, obliged both captains to quit this inhospitable coast. In their return they touched at several islands which stretched in a chain from east to west between the country which they had discovered and the coast of Asia. They had some intercourse with the natives, who seemed to them to resemble the North Americans. They presented to the Russians the *calumet*, or pipe of peace, which is a symbol of friendship universal among the people of North America, and a usage of arbitrary institution peculiar to them.

Though the islands of this New Archipelago have been frequented since that time by the Russian hunters, the court of St. Petersburgh, during a period of more than forty years, seems to have relinquished every thought of prosecuting discoveries in that quarter. But in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight it was unexpectedly resumed. The sovereign who had been lately seated on the throne of Peter the Great, possessed the genius and talents of her illustrious predecessor. During the operations of the most arduous and extensive war in which the Russian empire was ever engaged, she formed schemes and executed undertakings, to which more limited abilities would have been incapable of attending but amidst the leisure of pacific times. A new voyage of discovery from the eastern extremity of Asia was planned, and captain Krentizin and Lieutenant Levasheff were appointed to command the two vessels fitted out for that purpose. In their voyage outward they held nearly the same course with the former navigators, they touched at the same islands, observed their situation and productions more carefully, and discovered several new islands with which Behring and Tschirikow had not fallen in. Though they did not proceed so far to the east as to revisit the country which Behring and Tschirikow supposed to be part of the American continent, yet, by returning in a course considerably to the north of theirs, they corrected some capital mistakes into which their predecessors had fallen, and have contributed to facilitate the progress of future navigators in those seas. [42]

Thus the possibility of a communication between the continents in this quarter rests no longer upon mere conjecture, but is established by undoubted evidence. Some tribe, or some families of wandering Tartars, from the restless spirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the nearest islands, and, rude as their knowledge of navigation was, might, by passing from one to the other, reach at length the coast of America, and give a beginning to population in that continent. The distance between the Marian or Ladrone islands and the nearest land in Asia, is greater than that between the part of America which the Russians discovered, and the coast of Kamchatka; and yet the inhabitants of those islands are manifestly of Asiatic extract. If, notwithstanding their remote situation, we admit that the Marian islands were peopled from our continent, distance alone is no reason why we should hesitate about admitting that the Americans may derive their original from the same source It is probable that future navigators in those seas, by steering further to the north, may find that the continent of America approaches still nearer to Asia. According to the information of the barbarous people who inhabit the country about the north-east promontory of Asia, there lies, off the coast, a small island, to which they sail in less than a day. From that they can descry a large continent which, according to their description, is covered with forests, and possessed by people whose language they do not understand. By them they are supplied with the skins of martens, an animal unknown in the northern parts of Siberia, and which is never found but in countries abounding with trees. If we could rely on on this account, we might conclude that the American continent is separated from ours only by a narrow strait, and all the difficulties with respect to the communication between them would vanish. What could be offered only as a conjecture, when this history was first published, is now known to be certain. The near approach of the two continents to each other, has been discovered, and traced in a voyage undertaken upon principles so pure and so liberal, and conducted with so much professional skill, as reflect lustre upon the reign of the sovereign by whom it was planned, and do honor to the officers intrusted with the execution of it. [43]

It is likewise evident from recent discoveries, that an intercourse between our continent and America might be carried on with no less facility, from the north-west extremities of Europe. As early as the ninth century, [A. D. 830,] the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted colonies there. The communication with that country after a long interruption was renewed in the last century. Some Lutheran and Moravian missionaries, prompted by zeal for propagating the Christian faith, have ventured to settle in this frozen and uncultivated region. To them we are indebted for much curious information with respect to its nature and inhabitants. We learn that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that, at the bottom of the bay, into which this strait conducts, it is highly probable that they are united; that the inhabitants of the two countries have some intercourse with one another; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, and mode of living; that some sailors who had acquired the knowledge of a few words in the Greenlandish language, reported that these were understood by the Esquimaux; that, at length [A. D. 1764,] a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Greenlanders; that they were in every respect the same people, and he was accordingly received and entertained by them as a friend and a brother.

By these decisive facts, not only the consanguinity of the Esquimaux and Greenlanders is established, but the possibility of peopling America from the north of Europe is demonstrated. If the Norwegians, in a barbarous age, when science had not begun to dawn in the north of Europe, possessed such naval skill as to open a communication with Greenland, their ancestors, as much addicted to roving by sea, as the Tartars are to wandering by land, might, at some more remote period, accomplish the same voyage, and settle a colony there, whose descendants might, in progress of time, migrate into America. But if, instead of venturing to sail directly from their own coast to Greenland, we suppose that the Norwegians held a more cautious course, and advanced from Shetland to the Feroe islands, and from them to Iceland, in all which they had planted colonies; their progress may have been so gradual, that this navigation cannot be considered as either longer or more hazardous than these voyages which that hardy and enterprising race of men is known to have performed in every age.

8. Though it be possible that America may have received its first inhabitants from our continent, either by the north-west of Europe, or the north-east of Asia, there seems to be good reason for supposing that the progenitors of all the American nations from Cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, migrated from the latter rather than the former. The Esquimaux are the only people in America, who in their aspect or character, bear any resemblance to the northern Europeans. They are manifestly a race of men distinct from all the nations of the American continent, in language, in disposition, and habits of life. Their original, then, may warrantably be traced up to that source which I have pointed out. But among all the other inhabitants of America, there is such a striking similitude in the form of their bodies and the qualities of their minds, that notwithstanding the diversities occasioned by the influences of climate, or unequal progress in improvement, we must pronounce them to be descended from one source. There may be a variety in the shades, but we can every where trace the same original colour Each tribe has something peculiar which distinguishes it, but in all of them we discern certain features common to the whole race. It is remarkable, that in every peculiarity, whether in their persons or dispositions, which characterize the Americans, they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe. We may, therefore, refer them to the former origin, and conclude that their Asiatic progenitors, having settled in those parts of America where the Russians have discovered the proximity of the two continents, spread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progress of population in America coincides with the traditions of the Mexicans concerning their own origin, which, imperfect as they are, were preserved with more accuracy, and merit greater credit, than those of any people in the New World. According to them, their ancestors came from a remote country situated to the north-west of Mexico. The Mexicans point out their various stations as they advanced from this into the interior provinces, and it is precisely the same route which they must have held if they had been emigrants from Asia. The Mexicans, in describing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners and habits of life at that period, exactly delineate those of the rude Tartars from whom I suppose them to have sprung

Thus have I finished a Disquisition which has been deemed of so much importance that it would have been improper to omit it in writing the history of America. I have ventured to inquire, but without presuming to decide. Satisfied with offering conjectures, I pretend not to establish any system. When an investigation is, from its nature, so intricate and obscure, that it is impossible to arrive at conclusions which are certain, there may be some merit in pointing out such as are probable.

The condition and character of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deserve more attentive consideration than the inquiry concerning their original. The latter is merely an object of curiosity; the former is one of the most important as well as instructive researches which can occupy the philosopher or historian. In order to complete the history of the human mind, and attain to a perfect knowledge of its nature and operations, we must contemplate man in all those various situations wherein he has been placed. We must follow him in his progress through the different stages of society, as he gradually advances from the infant state of civil life towards its maturity and decline. We must observe at each period, how the faculties of his understanding unfold; we

must attend to the efforts of his active powers, watch the various movements of desire and affection, as they rise in his breast, and mark whither they tend, and with what ardor they are exerted The philosophers and historians of ancient Greece and Rome, our guides in this as well as every other disquisition,had only a limited view of this subject, as they had hardly any opportunity of surveying man in his rudest and most early state. In all those regions of the earth with which they were well acquainted, civil society had made considerable advances, and nations had finished a good part of their career before they began to observe them. The Scythians and Germans, the rudest people of whom any ancient author has transmitted to us an authentic account, possessed flocks and herds, had acquired property of various kinds, and, when compared with mankind in their primitive state, may be reckoned to have attained to a great degree of civilization.

But the discovery of the New World enlarged the sphere of contemplation, and presented nations to our view, in stages of their progress much less advanced than those wherein they have been observed in our continent. In America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist. We behold communities just beginning to unite, and may examine the sentiments and actions of human beings in the infancy of social life, while they feel but imperfectly the force of its ties, and have scarcely relinquished their native liberty. That state of primeval simplicity, which was known in our continent only by the fanciful description of poets, really existed in the other. The greater part of its inhabitants were strangers to industry and labor, ignorant of arts, imperfectly acquainted with the nature of property, and enjoying almost without restriction or control the blessings which flowed spontaneously from the bounty of nature. There were only two nations in this vast continent which had emerged from this rude state, and had made any considerable progress in acquiring the ideas, and adopting the institutions, which belong to polished societies. Their government and manners will fall naturally under our review in relating the discovery and conquest of the Mexican and Peruvian empires; and we shall have there an opportunity of contemplating the Americans in the state of highest improvement to which they ever attained.

At present, our attention and researches shall be turned to the small independent tribes which occupied every other part of America. Among these, though with some diversity in their character, their manners, and institutions, the state of society was nearly similar, and so extremely rude, that the denomination of *savage* may be applied to them all. In a general history of America, it would be highly improper to describe the condition of each petty community, or to investigate every minute circumstance which contributes to form the character of its members. Such an inquiry would lead to details of immeasurable and tiresome extent. The qualities belonging to the people of all the different tribes have such a near resemblance, that they may be painted with the same features. Where any circumstances seem to constitute a diversity in their character and manners worthy of attention, it will be sufficient to point these out as they occur, and to inquire into the cause of such peculiarities.

It is extremely difficult to procure satisfying and authentic information concerning nations while they remain uncivilized. To discover their true character under this rude form, and to select the features by which they are distinguished, requires an observer possessed of no less impartiality than discernment. For, in every stage of society, the faculties, the sentiments, and desires of men are so accommodated to their own state, that they become standards of excellence to themselves, they affix the idea of perfection and happiness to those attainments which resemble their own, and, wherever the objects and enjoyments to which they have been accustomed are wanting, confidently pronounce a people to be barbarous and miserable. Hence the mutual contempt with which the members of communities, unequal in their degrees of improvement, regard each other. Polished nations, conscious of the advantages which they derive from their knowledge and arts, are apt to view rude nations with peculiar scorn, and, in the pride of superiority, will hardly allow either their occupations, their feelings, or their pleasures, to be worthy of men. It has seldom been the lot of communities, in their early and unpolished state, to fall under the observation of persons endowed with force of mind superior to vulgar prejudices, and capable of contemplating man, under whatever aspect he appears, with a candid and discerning eye.

The Spaniards, who first visited America, and who had opportunity of beholding its various tribes while entire and unsubdued, and before any change had been made in their ideas or manners by intercourse with a race of men much advanced beyond them in improvement, were far from possessing the qualities requisite for observing the striking spectacle presented to their view. Neither the age in which they lived, nor the nation to which they belonged, had made such progress in true science, as inspires enlarged and liberal sentiments. The conquerors of the New World were mostly illiterate adventurers, destitute of all the ideas which should have directed them in contemplating objects so extremely different from those with which they were acquainted. Surrounded continually with danger or struggling with hardships, they had little leisure, and less capacity, for any speculative inquiry. Eager to take possession of a country of such extent and opulence, and happy in finding it occupied by inhabitants so incapable to defend it, they hastily pronounced them to be a wretched order of men, formed merely for servitude; and were more employed in computing the profits of their labor, than in inquiring into the operations of their minds, or the reasons of their customs and institutions. The persons who penetrated at subsequent periods into the interior provinces, to which the knowledge and devastations of the first conquerors did not reach, were generally of a similar character; brave and enterprising in a high degree, but so uninformed as to be little qualified either for observing or describing what they beheld.

Not only the incapacity but the prejudices of the Spaniards rendered their accounts of the people of America extremely defective. Soon after they planted colonies in their new conquests, a difference in opinion arose with respect to the treatment of the natives. One party, solicitous to render their servitude perpetual, represented them as a brutish, obstinate race, incapable either of acquiring religious knowledge, or of being trained to the functions of social life The other, full of pious concern for their conversion, contended that, though rude and ignorant, they were gentle, affectionate, docile, and by proper instructions and regulations might be formed gradually into good Christians and useful citizens. This controversy, as I have already related, was carried on with all the warmth which is natural, when attention to interest on the one hand, and religious zeal in the other, animate the disputants. Most of the laity espoused the former opinion; all the ecclesiastics were advocates for the latter; and we shall uniformly find that, accordingly as an author belonged to either of these parties, he is apt to magnify the virtues or aggravate the defects of the Americans far beyond truth. Those repugnant accounts increase the difficulty of attaining a perfect knowledge of their character, and render it necessary to peruse all the descriptions of them by Spanish writers with distrust, and to receive their information with some grains of allowance.

Almost two centuries elapsed after the discovery of America, before the manners of its inhabitants attracted, in any considerable degree, the attention of philosophers. At length they discovered that the contemplation of the condition and character of the Americans, in their original state, tended to complete our knowledge of the human species; might enable us to fill up a considerable chasm in the history of its progress; and lead to speculations no less curious than important. They entered upon this new field of study with great ardor; but, instead of throwing light upon the subject, they have contributed in some degree to involve it in additional obscurity. Too impatient to inquire, they hastened to decide; and began to erect systems, when they should have been searching for facts on which to establish their foundations. Struck with the appearance of degeneracy in the human species throughout the New World, and astonished at beholding a vast continent occupied by a naked, feeble, and ignorant race of men, some authors, of great name, have maintained that this part of the globe had but lately emerged from the sea, and become fit for the residence of man; that every thing in it bore marks of a recent original; and that its inhabitants, lately called into existence, and still at the beginning of their career, were unworthy to be compared with the people of a more ancient and improved continent. Others have imagined, that, under the influence of an unkindly climate, which checks and enervates the principle of life, man never attained in America the perfection which belongs to his nature, but remained an animal of an inferior order, defective in the vigor of his bodily frame, and destitute of sensibility, as well as of force, in the operations of his mind. In opposition to both these, other philosophers have supposed that man arrives at his highest dignity and excellence long before he reaches a state of refinement; and, in the rude simplicity of savage life, displays an elevation of sentiment, an independence of mind, and a warmth of attachment, for which it is vain to search among the members of polished societies. They seem to consider that as the most perfect state of man which is the least civilized. They describe the manners of the rude Americans with such rapture, as if they proposed them for models to the rest of the species. These contradictory theories have been proposed with equal confidence, and uncommon powers of genius and eloquence have been exerted, in order to clothe them with an appearance of truth.

As all those circumstances concur in rendering an inquiry into the state of the rude nations in America intricate and obscure, it is necessary to carry it on with caution. When guided in our researches by the intelligent observations of the few philosophers who have visited this part of the globe, we may venture to decide. When obliged to have recourse to the superficial remarks of vulgar travellers, of sailors, traders, bucaneers, and missionaries, we must often pause, and comparing detached facts, endeavor to discover what they wanted sagacity to observe. Without indulging conjecture, o betraying a propensity to either system, we must study with equal care to avoid the extremes of extravagant admiration, or of supercilious contempt for those manners which we describe.

In order to conduct this inquiry with greater accuracy, it should be rendered as simple as possible. Man existed as an individual before he became the member of a community; and the qualities which belong to him under his former capacity should be known, before we proceed to examine those which arise from the latter relation. This is peculiarly necessary in investigating the manners of rude nations. Their political union is so incomplete, their civil institutions and regulations so few, so simple, and of such slender authority, that men in this state ought to be viewed rather as independent agents, than as members of a regular society. The character of a savage results almost entirely from his sentiments or feelings as an individual, and is but little influenced by his imperfect subjection to government and order. I shall conduct my researches concerning the manners of the Americans in this natural order, proceeding gradually from what is simple to what is more complicated.

I shall consider, I. The bodily constitution of the Americans in those regions now under review. II. The qualities of their minds, III. Their domestic state. IV. Their political state and institutions. V. Their system of war, and public security. VI. The arts with which they were acquainted. VII. Their religious ideas and institutions. VIII. Such singular detached customs as are not reducible to any of the former heads. IX. I shall conclude with a general review and estimate of their virtues and defects.

I. The bodily constitution of the Americans.—The human body is less affected by climate than that of any other animal. Some animals are confined to a particular region of the globe, and cannot exist beyond it: others, though they may be brought to bear the injuries of a climate foreign to them, cease to multiply when carried out of that district which nature destined to be their mansion. Even such as seem capable of being naturalized in various climates feel the effect of every remove from their proper station, and gradually dwindle and degenerate from the vigor and perfection peculiar to their species, Man is the only living creature whose frame is at once so hardy and so flexible, that he can spread over the whole earth, become the inhabitant of every region, and thrive and multiply under every climate. Subject, however, to the general law of Nature, the human body is not entirely exempt from the operation of climate; and when exposed to the extremes either of heat or cold, its size or vigor diminishes.

The first appearance of the inhabitants of the New World filled the discoverers with such astonishment that they were apt to imagine them a race of men different from those of the other hemisphere. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the color of copper. The hair of their heads is always black, long, coarse, and uncurled. They have no beard, and every part of their body is perfectly smooth. Their persons are of a full size, extremely straight, and well proportioned. [44] Their features are regular, though often distorted by absurd endeavors to improve the beauty of their natural form, or to render their aspect more dreadful to their enemies. In the islands, where four-footed animals were both few and small, and the

earth yielded her productions almost spontaneously, the constitution of the natives, neither braced by the active exercises of the chase, nor invigorated by the labor of cultivation, was extremely feeble and languid. On the continent, where the forests abound with game of various kinds, and the chief occupation of many tribes was to pursue it, the human frame acquired greater firmness. Still, however, the Americans were more remarkable for agility than strength. They resembled beasts of prey, rather than animals formed for labor. [45] They were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it; and when roused by force from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease. This feebleness of constitution was universal among the inhabitants of those regions in America which we are surveying, and may be considered as characteristic of the species there.

The beardless countenance and smooth skin of the American seems to indicate a defect of vigor, occasioned by some vice in his frame. He is destitute of one sign of manhood and of strength. This peculiarity, by which the inhabitants of the New World are distinguished from the people of all other nations, cannot be attributed, as some travellers have supposed, to their mode of subsistence. For though the food of many Americans be extremely insipid, as they are altogether unacquainted with the use of salt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have subsisted on aliments equally simple, without this mark of degradation, or any apparent symptom of a diminution in their vigor.

As the external forms of the Americans lead us to suspect that there is some natural debility in their frame, the smallness of their appetite for food has been mentioned by many authors as a confirmation of this suspicion. The quantity of food which men consume varies according to the temperature of the climate in which they live, the degree of activity which they exert, and the natural vigor of their constitutions. Under the enervating heat of the torrid zone, and when men pass their days in indolence and ease, they require less nourishment than the active inhabitants of temperate or cold countries. But neither the warmth of their climate, nor their extreme laziness, will account for the uncommon defect of appetite among the Americans. The Spaniards were astonished with observing this, not only in the islands, but in several parts of the continent. The constitutional temperance of the natives far exceeded, in their opinion, the abstinence of the most mortified hermits: while, on the other hand, the appetite of the Spaniards appeared to the Americans insatiably voracious; and they affirmed, that one Spaniard devoured more food in a day than was sufficient for ten Americans.

A proof of some feebleness in their frame, still more striking, is the insensibility of the Americans to the charms of beauty, and the power of love. That passion which was destined to perpetuate life, to be the bond of social union, and the source of tenderness and joy, is the most ardent in the human breast. Though the perils and hardships of the savage state, though excessive fatigue on some occasions, and the difficulty at all times of procuring subsistence, may seem to be adverse to this passion, and to have a tendency to abate its vigor, yet the rudest nations in every other part of the globe seem to feel its influence more powerfully than the inhabitants of the New World. The negro glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his climate; and the most uncultivated Asiatics discover that sensibility, which, from their situation on the globe, we should expect them to have felt. But the Americans are, in an amazing degree, strangers to the force of this first instinct of nature. In every part of the New World the natives treat their women with coldness and indifference. They are neither the objects of that tender attachment which takes place in civilized society, nor of that ardent desire conspicuous among rude nations. Even in climates where this passion usually acquires its greatest vigor, the savage of America views his female with disdain, as an animal of a less noble species. He is at no pains to win her favor by the assiduity of courtship, and still less solicitous to preserve it by indulgence and gentleness. Missionaries themselves, notwithstanding the austerity of monastic ideas, cannot refrain from expressing their astonishment at the dispassionate coldness of the American young men in their intercourse with the other sex. Nor is this reserve to be ascribed to any opinion which they entertain with respect to the merit of female chastity. That is an idea too refined for a savage, and suggested by a delicacy of sentiment and affection to which he is a stranger.

But in inquiries concerning either the bodily or mental qualities of particular races of men, there is not a more common or more seducing error, than that of ascribing to a single cause, those characteristic peculiarites which are the effect of the combined operation of many causes. The climate and soil of America differ in so many respects from those of the other hemisphere, and this difference is so obvious and striking, that philosophers of great eminence have laid hold on this as sufficient to account for what is peculiar in the constitution of its inhabitants. They rest on physical causes alone, and consider the feeble frame and languid desire of the Americans, as consequences of the temperament of that portion of the globe which they occupy. But the influences of political and moral causes ought not to have been overlooked. These operate with no less effect than that on which many philosophers rest as a full explanation of the singular appearances which have been mentioned. Wherever the state of society is such as to create many wants and desires, which cannot be satisfied without regular exertions of industry, the body accustomed to labor becomes robust and patient of fatigue. In a more simple state, where the demands of men are so few and so moderate that they may be gratified, almost without any effort, by the spontaneous productions of nature, the powers of the body are not called forth, nor can they attain their proper strength. The natives of Chili and of North America, the two temperate regions in the New World, who live by hunting, may be deemed an active and vigorous race, when compared with the inhabitants of the isles, or of those parts of the continent where hardly any labor is requisite to procure subsistence. The exertions of a hunter are not, however, so regular, or so continued, as those of persons employed in the culture of the earth, or in the various arts of civilized life; and though his agility may be greater than theirs, his strength is on the whole inferior. If another direction were given to the active powers of man in the New World, and his force augmented by exercise, he might acquire a degree of vigor which he does not in his present state possess. The truth of this is confirmed by experience. Wherever the Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labor, their constitutions become robust, and they have been found capable of performing such tasks, as seemed not only to exceed the powers of such a feeble frame as has been deemed peculiar to their country, but to equal any effort of the natives either of Africa or of Europe. [46]

The same reasoning will apply to what has been observed concerning their slender demand for food. As a proof that this should be ascribed as much to their extreme indolence, and often total want of occupation, as to any thing peculiar in the physical structure of their bodies, it has been observed, that in those districts where the people of America are obliged to exert any unusual effort of activity, in order to procure subsistence, or wherever they are employed in severe labor, their appetite is not inferior to that of other men, and in some places, it has struck observers as remarkably voracious.

The operation of political and moral causes is still more conspicuous in modifying the degree of attachment between the sexes. In a state of high civilization, this passion, inflamed by restraint, refined by delicacy, and cherished by fashion, occupies and engrosses the heart. It is no longer a simple instinct of nature; sentiment heightens the ardor of desire, and the most tender emotions of which our frame is susceptible soothe and agitate the soul. This description, however, applies only to those, who, by their situation, are exempted from the cares and labors of life. Among persons of inferior order, who are doomed by their condition to incessant toil, the dominion of this passion is less violent; their solicitude to procure subsistence, and to provide for the first demand of nature, leaves little leisure for attending to its second call. But if the nature of the intercourse between the sexes varies so much in persons of different rank in polished societies, the condition of man while he remains uncivilized must occasion a variation still more apparent. We may well suppose, that amidst the hardships, the dangers, and the simplicity of domestic life, where subsistence is always precarious and often scanty, where men are almost continually engaged in the pursuit of their enemies, or in guarding against their attacks, and where neither dress nor reserve are employed as arts of female allurement, that the attention of the Americans to their women would be extremely feeble, without imputing this solely to any physical defect or degradation in their frame.

It is accordingly observed, that in those countries of America where, from the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, or some further advances which the natives have made in improvement, the means of subsistence are more abundant, and the hardships of savage life are less severely felt, the animal passion of the sexes becomes more ardent. Striking examples of this occur among some tribes seated on the banks of great rivers well stored with food, among others who are masters of hunting grounds abounding so much with game, that they have a regular and plentiful supply of nourishment with little labor. The superior degree of security and affluence which those tribes enjoy is followed by their natural effects. The passions implanted in the human frame by the hand of nature acquire additional force; new tastes and desires are formed; the women, as they are more valued and admired, become more attentive to dress and ornament; the men beginning to feel how much of their own happiness depends upon them, no longer disdain the arts of winning their favor and affection. The intercourse of the sexes becomes very different from that which takes place among their ruder countrymen; and as hardly any restraint is imposed on the gratification of desire either by religion or laws or decency, the dissolution of their manners is excessive.

Notwithstanding the feeble make of the Americans, hardly any of them are deformed, or mutilated, or defective in any one of their senses. All travellers have been struck with this circumstance, and have celebrated the uniform symmetry and perfection of their external figure. Some authors search for the cause of this appearance in their physical condition. As the parents are not exhausted or over fatigued with hard labor, they suppose that their children are born vigorous and sound. They imagine that, in the liberty of savage life, the human body, naked and unconfined from its earliest age, preserves its natural form; and that all its limbs and members acquire a juster proportion than when fettered with artificial restraints, which stint its growth and distort its shape. Something, without doubt, may be ascribed to the operation of these causes; but the true reasons of this apparent advantage, which is common to all savage nations, lie deeper, and are closely interwoven with the nature and genius of that state. The infancy of man is so long and so helpless, that it is extremely difficult to rear children among rude nations. The means of subsistence are not only scanty, but precarious. Such as live by hunting must range over extensive countries, and shift often from place to place. The care of children, as well as every other laborious task, is devolved upon the women. The distresses and hardships of the savage life, which are often such as can hardly be supported by persons in full vigor, must be fatal to those of more tender age. Afraid of undertaking a task so laborious, and of such long duration, as that of rearing their offspring, the women, in some parts of America, procure frequent abortions by the use of certain herbs, and extinguish the first sparks of that life which they are unable to cherish. Sensible that only stout and well formed children have force of constitution to struggle through such a hard infancy, other nations abandon and destroy such of their progeny as appear feeble or defective, as unworthy of attention. Even when they endeavor to rear all their children without distinction, so great a proportion of the whole number perishes under the rigorous treatment which must be their lot in the savage state, that few of those who labored under any original frailty attain the age of manhood. Thus in polished societies, where the means of subsistence are secured with certainty, and acquired with ease; where the talents of the mind are often of more importance than the powers of the body; children are preserved notwithstanding their defects or deformity, and grow up to be useful citizens. In rude nations, such persons are either cut off as soon as they are born, or, becoming a burden to themselves and to the community, cannot long protract their lives. But in those provinces of the New World, where, by the establishment of the Europeans, more regular provision has been made for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and they are restrained from laying violent hands on their children, the Americans are so far from being eminent for any superior perfection in their form, that one should rather suspect some peculiar imbecility in the race, from the extraordinary number of individuals who are deformed, dwarfish, mutilated, blind, or deaf.

How feeble soever the constitution of the Americans may be, it is remarkable that there is less variety in the human form throughout the New World than in the

ancient continent. When Columbus and the other discoverers first visited the different countries of America which lie within the torrid zone, they naturally expected to find people of the same complexion with those in the corresponding regions of the other hemisphere. To their amazement, however, they discovered that America contained no negroes; and the cause of this singular appearance became as much the object of curiosity as the fact itself was of wonder. In what part or membrane of the body that humor resides which tinges the complexion of the negro with a deep black, it is the business of anatomists to inquire and describe. The powerful operation of heat appears manifestly to be the cause which produces this striking variety in the human species. All Europe, a great part of Asia, and the temperate countries of Africa, are inhabited by men of a white complexion. All the torrid zone in Africa, some of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and several countries in Asia, are filled with people of a deep black color. If we survey the nations of our continent, making our progress from cold and temperate countries towards those parts which are exposed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we shall find that the extreme whiteness of their skin soon begins to diminish; that its color deepens gradually as we advance; and, after passing through all the successive gradations of shade, terminates in a uniform unvarying black. But in America, where the agency of heat is checked and abated by various causes, which I have already explained, the climate seems to be destitute of that force which produces such wonderful effects on the human frame. The color of the natives of the torrid zone in America is hardly of a deeper hue than that of the people in the more temperate parts of their continent. Accurate observers, who had an opportunity of viewing the Americans in very different climates, and in provinces far removed from each other, have been struck with the amazing similarity of their figure and aspect. [47]

But though the hand of nature has deviated so little from one standard in fashioning the human form in America, the creation of fancy hath been various and extravagant. The same fables that were current in the ancient continent, have been revived with respect to the New World, and America too has been peopled with human beings of monstrous and fantastic appearance. The inhabitants of certain provinces were described to be pigmies of three feet high; those of others to be giants of an enormous size. Some travellers published accounts of people with only one eye; others pretended to have discovered men without heads, whose eyes and mouths were planted in their breasts. The variety of Nature in her productions is indeed so great, that it is presumptuous to set bounds to her fertility, and to reject indiscriminately every relation that does not perfectly accord with our own limited observation and experience. But the other extreme, of yielding a hasty assent on the slightest evidence to whatever has the appearance of being strange and marvellous, is still more unbecoming a philosophical inquirer; as, in every period, men are more apt to be betrayed into error by their weakness in believing too much, than by their arrogance in believing too little. In proportion as science extends, and nature is examined with a discerning eye, the wonders which amused ages of ignorance disappear. The tales of credulous travellers concerning America, are forgotten; the monsters which they describe have been searched for in vain; and those provinces where they pretend to have found inhabitants of singular forms are now known to be possessed by a people nowise different from the other Americans.

Though those relations may, without discussion, be rejected as fabulous, there are other accounts of varieties in the human species in some parts of the New World, which rest upon better evidence, and merit more attentive examination. This variety has been particularly observed in three different districts. The first of these is situated in the isthmus of Darien, near the centre of America. Lionel Wafer, a traveller possessed of more curiosity and intelligence than we should have expected to find in an associate of Buccaneers, discovered there a race of men few in number, but of a singular make. They are of low stature, according to his description, of a feeble frame, incapable of enduring fatigue. Their color is a dead milk white; not resembling that of fair people among the Europeans, but without any tincture of a blush or sanguine complexion. Their skin is covered with a fine hairy down of a chalky white; the hair of their heads, their eyebrows, and eye-lashes, are of the same hue. Their eyes are of a singular form, and so weak that they can hardly bear the light of the sun; but they see clearly by moonlight, and are most active and gay in the night. No race similar to this has been discovered in any other part of America. Cortes, indeed, found some persons exactly resembling the white people of Darien among the rare and monstrous animals which Montezuma had collected. But as the power of the Mexican empire extended to the provinces bordering on the isthmus of Darien, they were probably brought thence. Singular as the appearance of those people may be, they cannot be considered as constituting a distinct species. Among the negroes of Africa, as well as the natives of the Indian islands, nature sometimes produces a small number of individuals, with all the characteristic features and qualities of the white people of Darien. The former are called *Albinos* by the Portuguese, the latter *Kackerlakes* by the Dutch. In Darien the parents of those *Whites* are of the same color with the other natives of the country and this observation applies equally to the anomalous progeny of the Negroes and Indians. The same mother who produces some children of a color that does not belong to the race, brings forth the rest with a complexion peculiar to her country. One conclusion may then be formed with respect to the people described by Wafer, the *Albinos* and the *Kackerlakes;* they are a degenerated breed, not a separate class of men; and from some disease or defect of their parents, the peculiar color and debility which mark their degradation are transmitted to them. As a decisive proof of this, it has been observed, that neither the white people of Darien, nor the Albinos of Africa, propagate their race; their children are of the color and temperament peculiar to the natives of their respective countries. [48]

The second district that is occupied by inhabitants differing in appearance from the other people of America, is situated in a high northern latitude, extending from the coast of Labrador towards the pole, as far as the country is habitable. The people scattered over those dreary regions are known to the Europeans by the name of *Esquimaux*. They themselves, with that idea of their own superiority, which consoles the rudest and most wretched nations, assume the name of *Keralit*, or *Men*. They are of a middle size, and robust, with heads of a disproportioned bulk, and feet as remarkably small. Their complexion though swarthy, by being continually exposed to the rigor of a cold climate, inclines to the European white, rather than to the copper color of America, and the men have beards which are sometimes bushy and long. From these marks of distinction, as well as from one still less equivocal, the affinity of their language to that of the Greenlanders, which I have already mentioned, we may conclude, with some degree of confidence, that the Esquimaux are a race different from the rest of the Americans.

We cannot decide with equal certainty concerning the inhabitants of the third district, situated at the southern extremity of America. These are the famous *Patagonians*, who during two centuries and a half, have afforded a subject of controversy to the learned, and an object of wonder to the vulgar. They are supposed to be one of the wandering tribes which occupy the vast but least known region of America, which extends from the river de la Plata to the Straits of Magellan. Their proper station is in that part of the interior country which lies on the banks of the river Negro; but in the hunting season, they often roam as far as the straits which separate Tierra del Fuego from the main land. The first accounts of this people were brought to Europe by the companions of Magellan, who described them as a gigantic race, above eight feet high, and of strength in proportion to their enormous size. Among several tribes of animals, a disparity in bulk as considerable may be observed. Some large breeds of horses and dogs exceed the more diminutive races in stature and strength, as far as the Patagonian is supposed to rise above the usual standard of the human body. But animals attain the highest perfection of their species only in mild climates, or where they find the most nutritive food in greatest abundance. It is not then in the uncultivated waste of the Magellanic regions, and among a tribe of improvident savages, that we should expect to find man possessing the highest honors of his race, and distinguished by a superiority of size and vigor, far beyond what he has reached in any other part of the earth. The most explicit and unexceptionable evidence is requisite, in order to establish a fact repugnant to those general principles and laws, which seem to affect the human frame in every other instance, and to decide with respect to its nature and qualities. Such evidence has not hitherto been produced. Though several persons, to whose testimony great respect is due, have visited this part of America since the time of Magellan, and have had interviews with the natives; though some have affirmed, that such as they saw were of gigantic stature, and others have formed the same conclusion from measuring their footsteps, or from viewing the skeletons of their dead; yet their accounts vary from each other in so many essential points, and are mingled with so many circumstances manifestly false or fabulous, as detract much from their credit. On the other hand, some navigators, and those among the most eminent of their order for discernment and accuracy, have asserted that the natives of Patagonia, with whom they had intercourse, though stout and well made, are not of such extraordinary size as to be distinguished from the rest of the human species. [49] The existence of this gigantic race of men seems, then, to be one of those points in natural history, with respect to which a cautious inquirer will hesitate, and will choose to suspend his assent until more complete evidence shall decide whether he ought to admit a fact, seemingly inconsistent with what reason and experience have discovered concerning the structure and condition of man, in all the various situations in which he has been observed.

In order to form a complete idea with respect to the constitution of the inhabitants of this and the other hemisphere, we should attend not only to the make and vigor of their bodies, but consider what degree of health they enjoy, and to what period of longevity they usually arrive. In the simplicity of the savage state, when man is not oppressed with labor, or enervated by luxury, or disquieted with care, we are apt to imagine that this life will flow on almost untroubled by disease or suffering, until his days be terminated in extreme old age by the gradual decays of nature. We find, accordingly, among the Americans, as well as among other rude people, persons whose decrepid and shrivelled form seems to indicate an extraordinary length of life. But as most of them are unacquainted with the art of numbering, and all of them as forgetful of what is past, as they are improvident of what is to come, it is impossible to ascertain their age with any degree of precision. It is evident that the period of their longevity must vary considerably, according to the diversity of climates, and their different modes of subsistence. They seem, however, to be every where exempt from many of the distempers which afflict polished nations. None of the maladies, which are the immediate offspring of luxury ever visited them; and they have no names in their languages by which to distinguish this numerous train of adventitious evils.

But whatever be the situation in which man is placed, he is born to suffer; and his diseases in the savage state, though fewer in number, are, like those of the animals whom he nearly resembles in his mode of life, more violent and more fatal. If luxury engenders and nourishes distempers of one species, the rigor and distresses of savage life bring on those of another. As men in this state are wonderfully improvident, and their means of subsistence precarious, they often pass from extreme want to exuberant plenty, according to the vicissitudes of fortune in the chase, or in consequence of the various degrees of abundance with which the earth affords to them its productions in different seasons. Their inconsiderate gluttony in the one situation, and their severe abstinence in the other, are equally pernicious. For though the human constitution may be accustomed by habit, like that of animals of prey, to tolerate long famine, and then to gorge voraciously, it is not a little affected by such sudden and violent transitions. The strength and vigor of savages are at some seasons impaired by what they suffer from a scarcity of food; at others they are afflicted with disorders arising from indigestion and a superfluity of gross aliment. These are so common, that they may be considered as the unavoidable consequence of their mode of subsisting, and cut off considerable numbers in the prime of life. They are likewise extremely subject to consumptions, to pleuritic, asthmatic, and paralytic disorders, brought on by the immoderate hardships and fatigue which they endure in hunting and in war; or owing to the inclemency of the seasons to which they are continually exposed. In the savage state, hardships and fatigue violently assault the constitution. In polished societies, intemperance undermines it. It is not easy to determine which of them operates with most fatal effect, or tends most to abridge human life. The influence of the former is certainly most extensive. The pernicious consequences of luxury reach only a few members in any community; the distresses of savage life are felt by all. As far as I can judge, after very minute inquiry the general period of human life is

shorter among savages than in well regulated and industrious societies.

One dreadful malady, the severest scourge with which, in this life, offended Heaven chastens the indulgence of criminal desire, seems to have been peculiar to the Americans. By communicating it to their conquerors, they have not only amply avenged their own wrongs, but, by adding this calamity to those which formerly imbittered human life, they have, perhaps, more than counterbalanced all the benefits which Europe has derived from the discovery of the New World. This distemper, from the country in which it first raged, or from the people by whom it was supposed to have been spread over Europe, has been sometimes called the Neapolitan, and sometimes the French disease. At its first appearance, the infection was so malignant, its symptoms so violent, its operation so rapid and fatal, as to baffle all the efforts of medical skill. Astonishment and terror accompanied this unknown affliction in its progress, and men began to dread the extinction of the human race by such a cruel visitation. Experience, and the ingenuity of physicians, gradually discovered remedies of such virtue as to cure or to mitigate the evil. During the course of two centuries and a half, its virulence seems to have abated considerably. At length, in the same manner with the leprosy, which raged in Europe for some centuries, it may waste its force and disappear; and in some happier age, this western infection, like that from the east, may be known only by description. [50]

II. After considering what appears to be peculiar in the bodily constitution of the Americans, our attention is naturally turned towards the powers and qualities of their minds. As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant state to vigor and maturity of understanding, something similar to this may be observed in the progress of the species. With respect to it, too, there is a period of infancy, during which several powers of the mind are not unfolded, and all are feeble and defective in their operation. In the early ages of society, while the condition of man is simple and rude, his reason is but little exercised, and his desires move within a very narrow sphere. Hence arise two remarkable characteristics of the human mind in this state. Its intellectual powers are extremely limited; its emotions and efforts are few and languid. Both these distinctions are conspicuous among the rudest and most unimproved of the American tribes, and constitute a striking part of their description.

What, among polished nations, is called speculative reasoning or research, is altogether unknown in the rude state of society, and never becomes the occupation or amusement of the human faculties, until man be so far improved as to have secured, with certainty, the means of subsistence, as well as the possession of leisure and tranquillity. The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within the small circle of objects immediately conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that escapes his observation, or is perfectly indifferent to him. Like a mere animal, what is before his eyes interests and affects him; what is out of sight, or at a distance, makes little impression. There are several people in America, whose limited understandings seem not to be capable of forming an arrangement for futurity; neither their solicitude nor their foresight extend so far. They follow blindly the impulse of the appetite which they feel, but are entirely regardless of distant consequences, and even of those removed in the least degree from immediate apprehension. While they highly prize such things as serve for present use, or minister to present enjoyment, they set no value upon those which are not the object of some immediate want. When, on the approach of the evening, a Carribbee feels himself disposed to go to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock. But, in the morning when he is sallying out to the business or passtime of the day, he will part with it for the slightest toy that catches his fancy. At the close of winter, while the impression of what he has suffered from the rigor of the climate, is fresh in the mind of the North American, he sets himself with vigor to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season; but, as soon as the weather becomes mild, he forgets what is past, abandons his work, and never thinks of it more until the return of cold compels him, when too late, to resume it.

If in concerns the most interesting, and seemingly the most simple, the reason of man while rude and destitute of culture, differs so little from the thoughtless levity of children, or the improvident instinct of animals, its exertions in other directions cannot be very considerable. The objects towards which reason turns, and the disquisitions in which it engages, must depend upon the state in which man is placed, and are suggested by his necessities and desires. Disquisitions, which appear the most necessary and important to men in one state of society, never occur to those in another. Among civilized nations, arithmetic, or the art of numbering, is deemed an essential and elementary science: and in our continent, the invention and use of it reaches back to a period so remote as is beyond the knowledge of history. But among savages, who have no property to estimate, no hoarded treasures to count, no variety of objects or multiplicity of ideas to enumerate, arithmetic is a superfluous and useless art. Accordingly, among some tribes in America it seems to be quite unknown. There are many who cannot reckon further than three; and have no denomination to distinguish any number above it. Several can proceed as far as ten, others to twenty. When they would convey an idea of any number beyond these, they point to the hair of their head, intimating that it is equal to them, or with wonder declare it to be so great that it cannot be reckoned. Not only the Americans, but all nations while extremely rude, seem to be unacquainted with the art of computation. As soon, however, as they acquire such acquaintaace or connexion with a variety of objects, that there is frequent occasion to combine or divide them, their knowledge of numbers increases, so that the state of this art among any people may be considered as one standard by which to estimate the degree of their improvement. The Iroquoise, in North America, as they are much more civilized than the rude inhabitants of Brazil, Paraguay, or Guiana, have likewise made greater advances in this respect; though even their arithmetic does not extend beyond a thousand, as in their petty transactions they have no occasion for any higher number. The Cherokee, a less considerable nation on the same continent, can reckon only as far as a hundred, and to that extent have names for the several numbers; the smaller tribes in their neighborhood can rise no higher than ten. [51]

In other respects, the exercise of the understanding among rude nations is still more limited. The first ideas of every human being must be such as he receives by the senses. But in the mind of man, while in the savage state, there seem to be hardly any ideas but what enter by this avenue. The objects around him are presented to his eye. Such as may be subservient to his use, or can gratify any of his appetites, attract his notice; he views the rest without curiosity or attention. Satisfied with considering them under that simple mode in which they appear to him, as separate and detached, he neither combines them so as to form general classes, nor contemplates their qualities apart from the subject in which they inhere, nor bestows a thought upon the operations of his own mind concerning them. Thus he is unacquainted with all the ideas which have been denominated *universal*, or *abstract*, or *of reflection*. The range of his understanding must, of course, be very confined, and his reasoning powers be employed merely on what is sensible. This is so remarkably the case with the ruder nations of America, that their language, (as we shall afterwards find) have not a word to express any thing but what is material or corporeal. *Time*, *space*, *substance*, and a thousand terms, of those present abstract and universal ideas, are altogether unknown to them. A naked savage, cowering over the fire in his miserable cabin, or stretched under a few branches which afford him a temporary shelter, has as little inclination as capacity for useless speculation. His thoughts extend not beyond what relates to animal life; and when they are not directed towards some of its concerns, his mind is totally inactive. In situations where no extraordinary effort either of ingenuity or labor is requisite, in order to satisfy the simple demands of nature the powers of the mind are so seldom roused to any exertion, that the rational faculties continue almost dormant and unexercised. The numerous tribes scattered over the rich plains of South America, the inhabitants of some of the islands, and of several fertile regions on the continent, come under this description. Their vacant countenance, their staring unexpressive eye, their listless inattention, and total ignorance of subjects which seemed to be the first which should occupy the thoughts of rational beings, made such impression upon the Spaniards, when they first beheld those rude people, that they considered them as animals of an inferior order, and could not believe that they belonged to the human species. It required the authority of a papal bull to counteract this opinion, and to convince them that the Americans were capable of the functions and entitled to the privileges of humanity. Since that time, persons more enlightened and impartial than the discoverers or conquerors of America, have had an opportunity of contemplating the most savage of its inhabitants, and they have been astonished and humbled with observing how nearly man in this condition approaches to the brute creation. But in severer climates, where subsistence cannot be procured with the same ease, where men must unite more closely, and act with greater concert, necessity calls forth their talents and sharpens their invention, so that the intellectual powers are more exercised and improved. The North American tribes, and the natives of Chili, who inhabit the temperate regions in the two great districts of America, are people of cultivated and enlarged understandings, when viewed in comparison with some of those seated in the islands, or on the banks of the Maragnon and Orinoco. Their occupations are more various, their system of policy, as well as of war, more complex, their arts more numerous, But even among them, the intellectual powers are extremely limited in their operations, and, unless when turned directly to those objects which interest a savage, are held in no estimation. Both the North Americans and Chilese, when not engaged in some of the functions belonging to a warrior or hunter, loiter away their time in thoughtless indolence, unacquainted with any other subject worthy of their attention, or capable of occupying their minds. If even among them reason is so much circumscribed in its exertions, and never arrives, in its highest attainments, at the knowledge of those general principles and maxims which serve as the foundation of science, we may conclude that the intellectual powers of man in the savage state are destitute of their proper object, and cannot acquire any considerable degree of vigor and enlargement.

From the same causes, the active efforts of the mind are few, and on most occasions languid. If we examine into the motives which rouse men to activity in civilized life, and prompt them to persevere in fatiguing exertions of their ingenuity or strength, we shall find that they arise chiefly from acquired wants and appetites. These are numerous and importunate; they keep the mind in perpetual agitation, and in order to gratify them, invention must be always on the stretch, and industry must be incessantly employed. But the desires of simple nature are few, and where a favorable climate yields almost spontaneously what suffices to gratify them they scarcely stir the soul, or excite any violent emotion. Hence the people of several tribes in America waste their life in a listless indolence. To be free from occupation, seems to be all the enjoyment towards which they aspire. They will continue whole days stretched out in their hammocks, or seated on the earth in perfect idleness, without changing their posture, or raising their eyes from the ground, or uttering a single word.

Such is their aversion to labor that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehension of future evil can surmount it. They appear equally indifferent to both, discovering little solicitude, and taking no precautions to avoid the one or to secure the other. The cravings of hunger may rouse them; but as they devour, with little distinction, whatever will appease its instinctive demands, the exertions which these occasion are of short duration. Destitute of ardor, as well as variety of desire, they feel not the force of those powerful springs which give vigor to the movements of the mind, and urge the patient hand of industry to persevere in its efforts. Man, in some parts of America, appears in a form so rude that we can discover no effects of his activity, and the principle of understanding, which should direct it, seems hardly to be unfolded. Like the other animals he has no fixed residence; he has erected no habitation to shelter him from the inclemency of the weather; he has taken no measures for securing certain subsistence; he neither sows nor reaps; but roams about as led in search of the plants and fruits which the earth brings forth in succession; and in quest of the game which he kills in the forest, or of the fish which he catches in the rivers.

This description, however, applies only to some tribes Man cannot continue long in this state of feeble and uninformed infancy. He was made for industry and action, and the powers of his nature, as well as the necessity of his condition, urge him to fulfil his destiny. Accordingly, among most of the American nations, especially those seated in rigorous climates, some efforts are employed, and some previous precautions are taken, for securing subsistence. The career of regular industry is begun and the laborious arm has made the first essays of its powers. Still, however,

the improvident and slothful genius of the savage state predominates. Even among those more improved tribes, labor is deemed ignominious and degrading. It is only to work of a certain kind that a man will deign to put his hand. The greater part is devolved entirely upon the women. One half of the community remains inactive, while the other is oppressed with the multitude and variety of its occupations. Thus their industry is partial, and the foresight which regulates it is no less limited. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the chief arrangement with respect to their manner of living They depend for their subsistence, during one part of the year, on fishing; during another, on hunting; during a third, on the produce of their agriculture. Though experience has taught them to foresee the return of those various seasons, and to make some provision for the respective exigencies of each, they either want sagacity to proportion this provision to their consumption, or are so incapable of any command over their appetites, that, from their inconsiderate waste, they often feel the calamities of famine as severely as the rudest of the savage tribes. What they suffer one year does not augment their industry, or render them more provident to prevent similar distresses. This inconsiderate thoughtlessness about futurity, the effect of ignorance and the cause of sloth, accompanies and characterizes man in every stage of savage life; and, by a capricious singularity in his operations he is then least solicitous about supplying his wants, when the means of satisfying them are most precarious, and procured with the greatest difficulty. [52]

III. After viewing the bodily constitutions of the Americans, and contemplating the powers of their minds, we are led, in the natural order of inquiry, to consider them as united together in society. Hitherto our researches have been confined to the operations of understanding respecting themselves as individuals; now they will extend to the degree of their sensibility and affection towards their species

The domestic state is the first and most simple form of human association. The union of the sexes among different animals is of longer or shorter duration in proportion to the ease or difficulty of rearing their offspring. Among those tribes where the season of infancy is short, and the young soon acquire vigor or agility, no permanent union is formed. Nature commits the care of training up the offspring to the mother alone, and her tenderness, without any other assistance, is equal to the task. But where the state of infancy is long and helpless, and the joint assiduity of both parents is requisite in tending their feeble progeny, there a more intimate connexion takes place, and continues until the purpose of nature be accomplished, and the new race grow up to full maturity. As the infancy of man is more feeble and helpless than that of any other animal, and he is dependent during a much longer period on the care and foresight of his parents, the union between husband and wife came early to be considered not only as a solemn but as a permanent contract. A general state of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes never existed but in the imagination of poets. In the infancy of society when men, destitute of arts and industry, lead a hard precarious life, the rearing of their progeny demands the attention and efforts of both parents; and if their union had not been formed and continued with this view, the race could not have been preserved. Accordingly in America, even among the rudest tribes, a regular union between husband and wife was universal, and the rights of marriage were understood and recognised. In those districts where subsistence was scanty, and the difficulty of maintaining a family was great, the man confined himself to one wife. In warmer and more fertile provinces, the facility of procuring food concurred with the influence of climate in inducing the inhabitants to increase the number of their wives. In some countries the marriage-union subsisted during life; in others, the impatience of the Americans under restraint of any species, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompted them to dissolve it on very slight pretexts, and often without assigning any cause.

But in whatever light the Americans considered the obligation of this contract, either as perpetual or only as temporary; the condition of women was equally humiliating and miserable. Whether man has been improved by the progress of arts and civilization in society, is a question which, in the wantonness of disputation, has been agitated among philosophers. That women are indebted to the refinements of polished manners, for a happy change in their state, is a point which can admit of no doubt. To despise and to degrade the female sex is a characteristic of the savage state in every part of the globe. Man proud of excelling in strength and in courage, the chief marks of pre-eminence among rude people, treats woman, as an inferior, with disdain. The Americans, perhaps from that coldness and insensibility which has been considered as peculiar to their constitution, add neglect and harshness to contempt. The most intelligent travellers have been struck with this inattention of the Americans to their women. It is not, as I have already observed, by a studied display of tenderness and attachment that the American attempts to gain the heart of the woman whom he wishes to marry. Marriage itself, instead of being a union of affection and interests between equals, becomes among them the unnatural conjunction of a master with his slave. It is the observation of an author whose opinions are deservedly of great weight, that wherever wives are purchased their condition is extremely depressed. They become the property and the slaves of those who buy them. In whatever part of the globe this custom prevails, the observation holds. In countries where refinement has made some progress, women when purchased are excluded from society, shut up in sequestered apartments, and kept under the vigilant guard of their masters. In ruder nations they are degraded to the meanest functions. Among many people of America the marriage contract is properly a purchase. The man buys his wife of her parents. Though unacquainted with the use of money, or with such commercial transactions as take place in more improved society, he knows how to give an equivalent for any object which he desires to possess. In some places, the suitor devotes his service for a certain time to the parents of the maid whom he courts; in others he hunts for them occasionally, or assists in cultivating their fields and forming their canoes; in others, he offers presents of such things as are deemed most valuable on account of their usefulness or rarity. In return for these he receives his wife; and this circumstance, added to the low estimation of women among savages, leads him to consider her as a female servant whom he has purchased, and whom he has a title to treat as an inferior. In all unpolished nations, it is true, the functions in domestic economy which fall naturally to the share of women are so many, that they are subjected to hard labor, and must bear more than their full portion of the common burden. But in America their condition is so peculiarly grievous, and their depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife among most tribes is no better than a beast of burden, destined to every office of labor and fatigue. While the men loiter out the day in sloth, or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed upon them without pity, and services are received without complacence or gratitude. Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence; they must regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence. There are districts in America where this dominion is so grievous, and so sensibly felt, that some women, in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, have destroyed their female children in their infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they knew they were doomed. Thus the first institution of social life is perverted. That state of domestic union towards which nature leads the human species, in order to soften the heart to gentleness and humanity, is rendered so unequal as to establish a cruel distinction between the sexes, which forms the one to be harsh and unfeeling, and humbles the other to servility and subjection.

It is owing, perhaps, in some measure, to this state of depression, that women in rude nations are far from being prolific. The vigor of their constitution is exhausted by excessive fatigue, and the wants and distresses of savage life are so numerous as to force them to take various precautions in order to prevent too rapid an increase of their progeny. Among wandering tribes, or such as depend chiefly upon hunting for subsistence, the mother cannot attempt to rear a second child until the first has attained such a degree of vigor as to be in some measure independent of her care. From this motive it is the universal practice of the American women to suckle their children during several years; and, as they seldom marry early, the period of their fertility is over before they can finish the long but necessary attendance upon two or three children. Among some of the least polished tribes, whose industry and foresight do not extend so far as to make any regular provision for their subsistence, it is a maxim not to burden themselves with rearing more than two children; and no such numerous families as are frequent in civilized societies are to be found among men in the savage state. When twins are born, one of them commonly is abandoned, because the mother is not equal to the task of rearing both. [53] When a mother dies while she is nursing a child, all hope of preserving its life fails, and it is buried together with her in the same grave. As the parents are frequently exposed to want by their own improvident indolence, the difficulty of sustaining their children becomes so great that it is not uncommon to abandon or destroy them. Thus their experience of the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity, amidst the hardships of savage life, often stifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and suppresses the strong emotions of parental tenderness.

But though necessity compels the inhabitants of America thus to set bounds to the increase of their families, they are not deficient in affection and attachment to their offspring. They feel the power of this instinct in its full force, and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpless, no people exceed them in tenderness and care. But in rude nations the dependence of children upon their parents is of shorter continuance than in polished societies. When men must be trained to the various functions of civil life by previous discipline and education, when the knowledge of abstruse sciences must be taught, and dexterity in intricate arts must be acquired, before a young man is prepared to begin his career of action, the attentive feelings of a parent are not confined to the years of infancy, but extend to what is more remote, the establishment of his child in the world. Even then his solicitude does not terminate. His protection may still be requisite, and his wisdom and experience still prove useful guides. Thus a permanent connexion is formed; parental tenderness is exercised, and filial respect returned, throughout the whole course of life. But in the simplicity of the savage state the affection of parents, like the instinctive fondness of animals, ceases almost entirely as soon as their offspring attain maturity. Little instruction fits them for that mode of life to which they are destined. The parents, as if their duty were accomplished, when they have conducted their children through the helpless years of infancy, leave them afterwards at entire liberty. Even in their tender age, they seldom advise or admonish; they never chide or chastise them. They suffer them to be absolute masters of their own actions. In an American hut, a father, a mother, and their posterity, live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connection. As filial love is not cherished by the continuance of attention or good offices, the recollection of benefits received in early infancy is too faint to excite it. Conscious of their own liberty, and impatient of restraint, the youth of America are accustomed to act as if they were totally independent. Their parents are not objects of greater regard than other persons. They treat them always with neglect, and often with such harshness and insolence as to fill those who have been witnesses of their conduct with horror. Thus the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result necessarily from his circumstances and condition in that period of his progress, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render the union between husband and wife unequal. They shorten the duration and weaken the force of the connection between parents and children.

IV. From the domestic state of the Americans, the transition to the consideration of their civil government and political institutions is natural. In every inquiry concerning the operations of men when united together in society, the first object of attention should be their mode of subsistence. Accordingly as that varies, their laws and policy must be different. The institution suited to the ideas and exigencies of tribes which subsist chiefly by fishing or hunting, and which have as yet acquired but an imperfect conception of any species of property, will be much more simple than those which must take place when the earth is cultivated with regular industry; and a right of property, not only in its productions, but in the soil itself, is completely ascertained.

All the people of America, now under review, belong to the former class. But though they may all be comprehended under the general denomination of savage, the advances which they had made in the art of procuring to themselves a certain and plentiful subsistence were very unequal. On the extensive plains of South America man appears in one of the rudest

states in which he has ever been observed, or perhaps can exist. Several tribes depend entirely upon the bounty of nature for subsistence. They discover no solicitude, they employ little foresight, they scarcely exert any industry to secure what is necessary for their support. The *Topayers*, of Brazil, the *Guaxeros*, of Terra Firme, the *Caiguas*, the *Moxos*, and several other people of Paraguay, are unacquainted with every species of cultivation. They neither sow nor plant. Even the culture of the manioc, of which cassada bread is made of is an art too intricate for their ingenuity, or too fatiguing to their indolence. The roots which the earth produces spontaneously; the fruits, the berries, and the seeds which they gather in the woods; together with lizards and other reptiles, which multiply amazingly with the heat of the climate in a fat soil, moistened by frequent rains, supply them with food during some part of the year. At other times they subsist by fishing; and nature seems to have indulged the laziness of the South American tribes by the liberality with which she ministers in this way to their wants. The vast rivers of that region in America abound with an infinite variety of the most delicate fish. The lakes and marshes formed by the annual overflowing of the waters are filled with all the different species, where they remain shut up, as in natural reservoirs, for the use of the inhabitants. They swarm in such shoals, that in some places they are catched without art or industry. [54] In others, the natives have discovered a method of infecting the water with the juice of certain plants, by which the fish are so intoxicated that they float on the surface, and are taken with the hand. [55] Some tribes have ingenuity enough to preserve them without salt, by drying or smoking them upon hurdles over a slow fire. The prolific quality of the rivers in South America, induces many of the natives to resort to their banks, and to depend almost entirely for nourishment on what their waters supply with such profusion. In this part of the globe hunting seems not to have been the first employment of men, or the first effort of their invention and labor to obtain food. They were fishers before they became hunters; and as the occupations of the former do not call for equal exertions of activity or talents with those of the latter, people in that state appear to possess neither the same degree of enterprise nor of ingenuity. The petty nations adjacent to the Maragnon and Orinoco are manifestly the most inactive and least intelligent of all the Americans.

None but tribes contiguous to great rivers can sustain themselves in this manner. The greater part of the American nations, dispersed over the forests with which their country is covered, do not procure subsistence with the same facility. For although these forests, especially in the southern continent of America, are stored plentifully with game, considerable efforts of activity and ingenuity are requisite in pursuit of it. Necessity incited the natives to the one, and taught them the other. Hunting became their principal occupation; and as it called forth strenuous exertions of courage, of force, and of invention, it was deemed no less honorable than necessary. This occupation was peculiar to the men. They were trained to it from their earliest youth. A bold and dexterous hunter ranked next in fame to the distinguished warrior, and an alliance with the former is often courted in preference to one with the latter. Hardly any device, which the ingenuity of man has discovered for ensnaring or destroying wild animals, was unknown to the Americans. While engaged in this favorite exercise, they shake off the indolence peculiar to their nature, the latent powers and vigor of their minds are roused, and they become active, persevering, and indefatigable. Their sagacity in finding their prey and their address in killing it are equal. Their reason and their senses being constantly directed towards this one object, the former displays such fertility of invention and the latter acquire such a degree of acuteness as appear almost incredible. They discern the footsteps of a wild beast, which escape every other eye, and can follow them with certainty through the pathless forest. If they attack their game openly, their arrow seldom errs from the mark: if they endeavor to circumvent it by art, it is almost impossible to avoid their toils. Among several tribes, their young men were not permitted to marry until they had given such proofs of their skill in hunting as put it beyond doubt that they were capable of providing for a family. Their ingenuity, always on the stretch, and sharpened by emulation as well as necessity, has struck out many inventions which greatly facilitate success in the chase. The most singular of these is the discovery of a poison, in which they dip the arrows employed in hunting. The slightest wound with those envenomed shafts is mortal. If they only pierce the skin, the blood fixes and congeals in a moment, and the strongest animal falls motionless to the ground. Nor does this poison, notwithstanding its violence and subtlety, infect the flesh of the animal which it kills. That may be eaten with perfect safety, and retain its native relish and qualities. All the nations situated upon the banks of the Maragnon and Orinoco are acquainted with this composition, the chief ingredient in which is the juice extracted from the root of the *curare*, a species of withe. In other parts of America they employ the juice of the *manchenille* for the same purpose, and it operates with no less fatal activity. To people possessed of those secrets the bow is a more destructive weapon than the musket, and, in their skilful hands, does great execution among the birds and beasts which abound in the forests of America.

But the life of a hunter gradually leads man to a state more advanced. The chase, even where prey is abundant, and the dexterity of the hunter much improved, affords but an uncertain maintenance, and at some seasons it must be suspended altogether. If a savage trusts to his bow alone for food, he and his family will be often reduced to extreme distress. [56] Hardly any region of the earth furnishes man spontaneously with what his wants require. In the mildest climates, and most fertile soils, his own industry and foresight must be exerted in some degree to secure a regular supply of food. Their experience of this surmounts the abhorrence of labor natural to savage nations, and compels them to have recourse to culture, as subsidiary to hunting. In particular situations, some small tribes may subsist by fishing, independent of any production of the earth raised by their own industry. But throughout all America, we scarcely meet with any nation of hunters which does not practise some species of cultivation.

The agriculture of the Americans, however, is neither extensive nor laborious. As game and fish are their principal food, all they aim at by cultivation is to supply any occasional defect of these. In the southern continent of America, the natives confined their industry to rearing a few plants, which, in a rich soil and warm climate, were easily trained to maturity. The chief of these is *maize*, well known in Europe by the name of Turkey or Indian wheat, a grain extremely prolific, of simple culture, agreeable to the taste, and affording a strong hearty nourishment. The second is the *manioc*, which grows to the size of a large shrub or small tree, and produces roots somewhat resembling parsnips. After carefully squeezing out the juice, these roots are grated down to a fine powder, and formed into thin cakes called *cassada* bread, which, though insipid to the taste, proves no contemptible food. As the juice of the manioc is a deadly poison, some authors have celebrated the ingenuity of the Americans in converting a noxious plant into wholesome nourishment. But it should rather be considered as one of the desperate expedients for procuring subsistence to which necessity reduces rude nations; or, perhaps, men were led to the use of it by a progress in which there is nothing marvellous. One species of manioc is altogether free of any poisonous quality, and may be eaten without any preparation but that of roasting it in the embers. This, it is probable, was first used by the Americans as food; and, necessity having gradually taught them the art of separating its pernicious juice from the other species, they have by experience found it to be more prolific as well as more nourishing. [57] The third is the *plantain*, which, though it rises to the height of a tree, is of such quick growth, that in less than a year it rewards the industry of the cultivator with its fruit. This, when roasted, supplies the place of bread, and is both palatable and nourishing. [58] The fourth is the *potatoe*, whose culture and qualities are too well known to need any description. The fifth is *pimento*, a small tree yielding a strong aromatic spice. The Americans, who, like other inhabitants of warm climates, delight in whatever is hot and of poignant flavor, deem this seasoning a necessary of life, and mingle it copiously with every kind of food they take.

Such are the various productions, which were the chief object of culture among the hunting tribes on the continent of America: and with a moderate exertion of active and provident industry these might have yielded a full supply to the wants of a numerous people. But men, accustomed to the free and vagrant life of hunters, are incapable of regular application to labor, and consider agriculture as a secondary and inferior occupation. Accordingly, the provision for subsistence, arising from cultivation, was so limited and scanty among the Americans, that, upon any accidental failure of their usual success in hunting, they were often reduced to extreme distress.

In the islands, the mode of subsisting was considerably different. None of the large animals which abound on the continent were known there. Only four species of quadrupeds, besides a kind of small dumb dog existed in the islands, the biggest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. To hunt such a diminutive prey was an occupation which required no effort either of activity or courage. The chief employment of a hunter in the isles was to kill birds, which on the continent are deemed ignoble game, and left chiefly to the pursuit of boys. This want of animals, as well as their peculiar situation, led the islanders to depend principally upon fishing for their subsistence. Their rivers, and the sea with which they are surrounded, supplied them with this species of food. At some particular seasons, turtle, crabs, and other shellfish abounded in such numbers that the natives could support themselves with a facility in which their indolence delighted. At other times, they ate lizards and various reptiles of odious forms. To fishing the inhabitants of the islands added some degree of agriculture. Maize, [59] manioc, and other plants were cultivated in the same manner as on the continent. But all the fruits of their industry, together with what their soil and climate produced spontaneously, afforded them but a scanty maintenance. Though their demands for food were very sparing, they hardly raised what was sufficient for their own consumption. If a few Spaniards settled in any district, such a small addition of supernumerary mouths soon exhausted their scanty stores, and brought on a famine.

Two circumstances common to all the savage nations of America, concurred with those which I have already mentioned, not only in rendering their agriculture imperfect, but in circumscribing their power in all their operations. They had no tame animals; and they were unacquainted with the useful metals.

In other parts of the globe, man, in his rudest state, appears as lord of the creation, giving law to various tribes of animals, which he has tamed and reduced to subjection. The Tartar follows his prey on the horse which he has reared; or tends his numerous herds, which furnish him both with food and clothing: the Arab has rendered the camel docile, and avails himself of its persevering strength: the Laplander has formed the reindeer to be subservient to his will; and even the people of Kamchatka have trained their dogs to labor. This command over the inferior creatures is one of the noblest prerogatives of man, and among the greatest efforts of his wisdom and power. Without this his dominion is incomplete. He is a monarch who has no subjects, a master without servants, and must perform every operation by the strength of his own arm. Such was the condition of all the rude nations in America. Their reason was so little improved, or their union so incomplete, that they seem not to have been conscious of the superiority of their nature, and suffered all the animal creation to retain its liberty, without establishing their own authority over any one species. Most of the animals, indeed, which have been rendered domestic in our continent, do not exist in the New World; but those peculiar to it are neither so fierce nor so formidable as to have exempted them from servitude. There are some animals of the same species on both continents. But the rein-deer, which has been tamed and broken to the yoke in the one hemisphere, runs wild in the other. The *bison* of America is manifestly of the same species with the horned cattle of the other hemisphere. The latter, even among the rudest nations in our continent, have been rendered domestic; and, in consequence of his dominion over them, man can accomplish works of labor with greater facility, and has made a great addition to his means of subsistence. The inhabitants of many regions of the New World, where the bison abounds, might have derived the same advantages from it. It is not of a nature so indocile, but that it might have been trained to be as subservient to man as our cattle. But a savage, in that uncultivated state wherein the Americans were discovered, is the enemy of the other animals, not their superior. He wastes and destroys, but knows not how to multiply or to govern them.

This, perhaps, is the most notable distinction between the inhabitants of the Ancient and New Worlds, and a high pre-eminence of civilized men above such as continue rude. The greatest operations of man in changing and improving the face of nature, as well as his most considerable efforts in cultivating the earth

are accomplished by means of the aid which he receives from the animals that he has tamed, and employs in labor. It is by their strength that he subdues the stubborn soil, and converts the desert or marsh into a fruitful field. But man, in his civilized state, is so accustomed to the service of the domestic animals, that he seldom reflects upon the vast benefits which he derives from it. If we were to suppose him, even when most improved, to be deprived of their useful ministry, his empire over nature must in some measure cease, and he would remain a feeble animal, at a loss how to subsist, and incapable of attempting such arduous undertakings as their assistance enables him to execute with ease.

It is a doubtful point, whether the dominion of man over the animal creation, or his acquiring the useful metals, has contributed most to extend his power. The era of this important discovery is unknown, and in our hemisphere very remote. It is only by tradition, or by digging up some rude instruments of our forefathers, that we learn that mankind were originally unacquainted with the use of metals, and endeavored to supply the want of them by employing flints, shells, bones, and other hard substances, for the same purposes which metals serve among polished nations. Nature completes the formation of some metals. Gold, silver, and copper, are found in their perfect state in the clefts of rocks, in the sides of mountains, or the channels of rivers. These were accordingly the metals first known, and first applied to use. But iron, the most serviceable of all, and to which man is most indebted, is never discovered in its perfect form; its gross and stubborn ore must feel twice the force of fire, and go through two laborious processes, before it becomes fit for use. Man was long acquainted with the other metals before he acquired the art of fabricating iron, or attained such ingenuity as to perfect an invention, to which he is indebted for those instruments wherewith he subdues the earth, and commands all its inhabitants. But in this, as well as in many other respects, the inferiority of the Americans was conspicuous. All the savage tribes, scattered over the continent and islands, were totally unacquainted with the metals which their soil produces in great abundance, if we except some trifling quantity of gold, which they picked up in the torrents that descended from their mountains, and formed into ornaments. Their devices to supply this want of the serviceable metals were extremely rude and awkward. The most simple operation was to them an undertaking of immense difficulty and labor. To fell a tree with no other instruments than hatchets of stone, was employment for a month. To form a canoe into shape, and to hollow it, consumed years; and it frequently began to rot before they were able to finish it. Their operations in agriculture were equally slow and defective. In a country covered with woods of the hardest timber, the clearing of a small field destined for culture required the united efforts of a tribe, and was a work of much time and great toil. This was the business of the men, and their indolence was satisfied with performing it in a very slovenly manner. The labor of cultivation was left to the women, who, after digging, or rather stirring the field, with wooden mattocks, and stakes hardened in the fire, sowed or planted it; but they were more indebted for the increase to the fertility of the soil than to their own rude industry.

Agriculture, even when the strength of man is seconded by that of the animals which he has subjected to the yoke, and his power augmented by the use of the various instruments with which the discovery of metals has furnished him, is still a work of great labor; and it is with the sweat of his brow that he renders the earth fertile. It is not wonderful, then, that people destitute of both these advantages should have made so little progress in cultivation, that they must be considered as depending for subsistence on fishing and hunting, rather than on the fruits of their own labor.

From this description of the mode of subsisting among the rude American tribes, the form and genius of their political institutions may be deduced, and we are enabled to trace various circumstances of distinction between them and more civilized nations.

1. They were divided into small independent communities. While hunting is the chief source of subsistence, a vast extent of territory is requisite for supporting a small number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals on which they depend for food diminish, or fly at a greater distance from the haunts of their enemy. The increase of a society in this state is limited by its own nature, and the members of it must either disperse, like the game which they pursue, or fall upon some better method of procuring food than by hunting. Beasts of prey are by nature solitary and unsocial, they go not forth to the chase in herds, but delight in those recesses of the forest where they can roam and destroy undisturbed. A nation of hunters resembles them both in occupation and in genius. They cannot form into large communities, because it would be impossible to find subsistence; and they must drive to a distance every rival who may encroach on those domains, which they consider as their own. This was the state of all the American tribes; the numbers in each were inconsiderable, though scattered over countries of great extent; they were far removed from one another, and engaged in perpetual hostilities or rivalship. In America, the word *nation* is not of the same import as in other parts of the globe. It is applied to small societies, not exceeding, perhaps, two or three hundred persons, but occupying provinces, greater than some kingdoms in Europe. The country of Guiana, though of larger extent than the kingdom of France, and divided among a greater number of nations, did not contain above twenty-five thousand inhabitants. In the provinces which border on the Orinoco, one may travel several hundred miles in different directions, without finding a single hut, or observing the footsteps of a human creature. In North America, where the climate is more rigorous, and the soil less fertile, the desolation is still greater. There, journeys of some hundred leagues have been made through uninhabited plains and forests. [60] As long as hunting continues to be the chief employment of man, to which he trusts for subsistence, he can hardly be said to have occupied the earth. [61]

2. Nations which depend upon hunting are in a great measure strangers to the idea of property. As the animals on which the hunter feeds are not bred under his inspection, nor nourished by his care, he can claim no right to them while they run wild in the forest. Where game is so plentiful that it may be catched with little trouble, men never dream of appropriating what is of small value, or of easy acquisition. Where it is so rare, that the labor or danger of the chase requires the united efforts of a tribe, or village, what is killed is a common stock belonging equally to all, who, by their skill or their courage, have contributed to the success of the excursion. The forest or hunting-grounds are deemed the property of the tribe, from which it has a title to exclude every rival nation. But no individual arrogates a right to any district of these in preference to his fellow-citizens. They belong alike to all; and thither, as to a general and undivided store, all repair in quest of sustenance. The same principles by which they regulate their chief occupation extend to that which is subordinate. Even agriculture has not introduced among them a complete idea of property. As the men hunt, the women labor together, and after they have shared the toils of the seed time, they enjoy the harvest in common. Among some tribes, the increase of their cultivated lands is deposited in a public granary, and divided among them at stated times, according to their wants. [62] Among others, though they lay up separate stores, they do not acquire such an exclusive right of property, that they can enjoy superfluity while those around them suffer want. Thus the distinctions arising from the inequality of possessions are unknown. The terms rich or poor enter not into their language; and being strangers to property, they are unacquainted with what is the great object of laws and policy, as well as the chief motive which induced mankind to establish the various arrangements of regular government.

3. People in this state retain a high sense of equality and independence. Wherever the idea of property is not established, there can be no distinction among men but what arises from personal qualities. These can be conspicuous only on such occasions as call them forth into exertion. In times of danger, or in affairs of intricacy, the wisdom and experience of age are consulted, and prescribe the measures which ought to be pursued. When a tribe of savages takes the field against the enemies of their country, the warrior of most approved courage leads the youth to the combat. If they go forth in a body to the chase, the most expert and adventurous hunter is foremost, and directs their motions. But during seasons of tranquillity and inaction, when there is no occasion to display those talents, all pre-eminence ceases. Every circumstance indicates that all the members of the community are on a level. They are clothed in the same simple garb. They feed on the same plain fare. Their houses and furniture are exactly similar. No distinction can arise from the inequality of possessions. Whatever forms dependence on one part, or constitutes superiority on the other, is unknown. All are freemen, all feel themselves to be such, and assert with firmness the rights which belong to that condition. This sentiment of independence is imprinted so deeply in their nature that no change of condition can eradicate it, and bend their minds to servitude. Accustomed to be absolute masters of their own conduct, they disdain to execute the orders of another; and having never known control they will not submit to correction. [63] Many of the Americans, when they found that they were treated as slaves by Spaniards, died of grief; many destroyed themselves in despair.

4. Among the people in this state, government can assume little authority, and the sense of civil subordination must remain very imperfect. While the idea of property is unknown, or incompletely conceived; while the spontaneous productions of the earth, as well as the fruits of industry, are considered as belonging to the public stock, there can hardly be any such subject of difference or discussion among the members of the same community, as will require the hand of authority to interpose in order to adjust it. Where the right of separate and exclusive possession is not introduced, the great object of law and jurisdiction does not exist. When the members of a tribe are called into the field, either to invade the territories of their enemies, or to repel their attacks; when they are engaged together in the toil and dangers of the chase, they then perceive that they are part of a political body. They are conscious of their own connexion with the companions in conjunction with whom they act; and they follow and reverence such as excel in conduct and valor. But during the intervals between such common efforts they seem scarcely to feel the ties of political union. [64] No visible form of government is established. The names of *magistrate* and *subject* are not in use. Every one seems to enjoy his natural independence almost entire. If a scheme of public utility be proposed, the members of the community are left at liberty to choose whether they will or will not assist in carrying it into execution. No statute imposes any service as a duty, no compulsory laws oblige them to perform it. All their resolutions are voluntary and flow from the impulse of their own minds. The first step towards establishing a public jurisdiction has not been taken in those rude societies. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If violence is committed, or blood is shed, the community does not assume the power either of inflicting or of moderating the punishment. It belongs to the family and friends of the person injured or slain to avenge the wrong, or to accept of the reparation offered by the aggressor. If the elders interpose, it is to advise, not to decide, and it is seldom their counsels are listened to; for, as it is deemed pusillanimous to suffer an offender to escape with impunity, resentment is implacable and everlasting. The object of government among savages is rather foreign than domestic. They do not aim at maintaining interior order and police by public regulations, or the exertions of any permanent authority, but labor to preserve such union among the members of their tribe, that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act against them with concert and vigor.

Such was the form of political order established among the greater part of the American nations. In this state were almost all the tribes spread over the provinces extending eastward of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the confines of Florida. In a similar condition were the people of Brazil, the inhabitants of Chili, several tribes of Paragua and Guiana, and in the countries which stretch from the mouth of the Orinoco to the peninsula of Yucatan. Among such an infinite number of petty associations, there may be peculiarities which constitute a distinction, and mark the various degrees of their civilization and improvement. But an attempt to trace and enumerate these would be vain, as they have not been observed by persons capable of discerning the minute and delicate circumstances which serve to discriminate nations resembling one another in their general character and features. The description which I have given of the political institutions which took place among those rude tribes in America, concerning which we have received the most complete information, will apply, with little variation, to every people, both in its northern and southern division, who have advanced no further in civilization than to add some slender degree of agriculture to fishing and hunting.

Imperfect as those institutions may appear, several tribes were not so far advanced in their political progress. Among all those petty nations which trusted for subsistence entirely to fishing and hunting without any

species of cultivation, the union was so incomplete, and their sense of mutual dependence so feeble, that hardly any appearance of government or order can be discerned in their proceedings. Their wants are few, their objects of pursuit simple, they form into separate tribes, and act together, from instinct, habit, or convenience, rather than from any formal concert and association. To this class belong the Californians, several of the small nations in the extensive country of Paragua, some of the people on the banks of the Orinoco, and on the river St. Magdalene, in the new kingdom of Granada.

But though among these last mentioned tribes there was hardly any shadow of regular government, and even among those which I first described its authority is slender and confined within narrow bounds, there were, however, some places in America where government was carried far beyond the degree of perfection which seems natural to rude nations. In surveying the political operations of man, either in his savage or civilized state, we discover singular and eccentric institutions, which start as it were from their station, and fly off so wide, that we labor in vain to bring them within the general laws of any system, or to account for them by those principles which influence other communities in a similar situation. Some instances of this occur among those people of America whom I have included under the common denomination of savage. These are so curious and important that I shall describe them, and attempt to explain their origin.

In the New World, as well as in other parts of the globe, cold or temperate countries appear to be the favorite seat of freedom and independence. There the mind, like the body, is firm and vigorous. There men, conscious of their own dignity, and capable of the greatest efforts in asserting it, aspire to independence, and their stubborn spirits stoop with reluctance to the yoke of servitude. In warmer climates, by whose influence the whole frame is so much enervated that present pleasure is the supreme felicity, and mere repose is enjoyment, men acquiesce, almost without a struggle, in the dominion of a superior. Accordingly, if we proceed from north to south along the continent of America, we shall find the power of those vested with authority gradually increasing, and the spirit of the people becoming more tame and passive. In Florida, the authority of the sachems, caziques, or chiefs, was not only permanent, but hereditary. They were distinguished by peculiar ornaments, they enjoyed prerogatives of various kinds, and were treated by their subjects with that reverence which people accustomed to subjection, pay to a master.

Among the Natchez, a powerful tribe now extinct, formerly situated on the banks of the Mississippi, a difference of rank took place, with which the northern tribes were altogether unacquainted. Some families were reputed noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignity. The body of the people was considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellations which distinguished the high elevation of the one state, and the ignominious depression of the other. The former were called *Respectable;* the latter, the *Stinkards.* The great Chief, in whom the supreme authority was vested, is reputed to be a being of superior nature, the brother of the sun, the sole object of their worship. They approach this great Chief with religious veneration, and honor him as the representative of their deity. His will is a law, to which all submit with implicit obedience. The lives of his subjects are so absolutely at his disposal, that if any one has incurred his displeasure, the offender comes with profound humility and offers him his head. Nor does the dominion of the Chiefs end with their lives; their principal officers, their favorite wives, together with many domestics of inferior rank, are sacrificed at their tombs, that they may be attended in the next world by the same persons who served them in this; and such is the reverence in which they are held, that those victims welcome death with exultation, deeming it a recompense of their fidelity and a mark of distinction to be selected to accompany their deceased master. Thus a perfect despotism, with its full train of superstition, arrogance, and cruelty, is established among the Natchez, and, by a singular fatality, that people has tasted of the worst calamities incident to polished nations, though they themselves are not far advanced beyond the tribes around them in civility and improvement. In Hispaniola, Cuba, and the larger islands, their caziques or chiefs possessed extensive power. The dignity was transmitted by hereditary right from father to son. Its honors and prerogatives were considerable. Their subjects paid great respect to the caziques, and executed their orders without hesitation or reserve. They were distinguished by peculiar ornaments, and in order to preserve or augment the veneration of the people, they had the address to call in the aid of superstition to uphold their authority. They delivered their mandates as the oracles of heaven, and pretended to possess the power of regulating the seasons, and of dispensing rain or sunshine according as their subjects stood in need of them.

In some parts of the southern continent, the power of the caziques seems to have been as extensive as in the isles. In Bogota, which is now a province of the new kingdom of Granada, there was settled a nation more considerable in number, and more improved in the various arts of life, than any in America, except the Mexican and Peruvians. The people of Bogota subsisted chiefly by agriculture. The idea of property was introduced among them, and its rights, secured by laws, handed down by tradition, and observed with great care. They lived in towns which may be termed large when compared with those in other parts of America. They were clothed in a decent manner, and their houses may be termed commodious when compared with those of the small tribes around them. The effect of this uncommon civilization were conspicuous. Government had assumed a regular form. A jurisdiction was established, which took cognizance of different crimes, and punished them with rigor. A distinction of ranks was known; their chief, to whom the Spaniards gave the title of monarch, and who merited that name on account of his splendour as well as power, reigned with absolute authority. He was attended by officers of various conditions; he never appeared in public without a numerous retinue; he was carried in a sort of palanquin with much pomp, and harbingers went before him to sweep the road and strew it with flowers. This uncommon pomp was supported by presents or taxes received from his subjects, to whom their prince was such an object of veneration that none of them presumed to look him directly in the face, or ever approached him but with an averted countenance. There were other tribes on the same continent, among which, though far less advanced than the people of Bogota in their progress towards refinement, the freedom and independence natural to man in his savage state was much abridged, and their caziques had assumed extensive authority.

It is not easy to point out the circumstances, or to discover the causes which contributed to introduce and establish among each of those people a form of government so different from that of the tribes around them, and so repugnant to the genius of rude nations. If the persons who had an opportunity of observing them in their original state had been more attentive and more discerning, we might have received information from their conquerors sufficient to guide us in this inquiry. If the transactions of people unacquainted with the use of letters were not involved in impenetrable obscurity, we might have derived some information from this domestic source. But as nothing satisfactory can be gathered either from the accounts of the Spaniards, or from their own traditions, we must have recourse to conjectures in order to explain the irregular appearances in the political state of the people whom I have mentioned. As all those tribes which had lost their native liberty and independence were seated in the torrid zone, or in countries approaching to it, the climate may be supposed to have had some influence in forming their minds to that servitude which seems to be the destiny of man in those regions of the globe. But though the influence of climate, more powerful than that of any other natural cause, is not to be overlooked, that alone cannot be admitted as a solution of the point in question. The operations of mind are so complex that we must not attribute the form which they assume to the force of a single principle or cause. Although despotism be confined in America to the torrid zone, and to the warm regions bordering upon it, I have already observed that these countries contain various tribes, some of which possess a high degree of freedom, and others are altogether unacquainted with the restraints of government. The indolence and timidity peculiar to the inhabitants of the islands, render them so incapable of the sentiments or efforts necessary for maintaining independence, that there is no occasion to search for any other cause of their tame submission to the will of a superior. The subjection of the Natchez, and of the people of Bogota, seems to have been the consequence of a difference in their state from that of the other Americans. They were settled nations, residing constantly in one place. Hunting was not the chief occupation of the former, and the latter seem hardly to have trusted to it for any part of their subsistence. Both had made such progress in agriculture and arts that the idea of property was introduced in some degree in the one community, and fully established in the other. Among people in this state, avarice and ambition have acquired objects, and have begun to exert their power; views of interest allure the selfish; the desire of pre-eminence excites the enterprising; dominion is courted by both; and passions unknown to man in his savage state prompt the interested and ambitious to encroach on the rights of their fellow-citizens. Motives, with which rude nations are equally unacquainted, induce the people to submit tamely to the usurped authority of their superiors. But even among nations in this state, the spirit of subjects could not have been rendered so obsequious, or the power of rulers so unbounded, without the intervention of superstition. By its fatal influence the human mind, in every stage of its progress, is depressed, and its native vigor and independence subdued. Whoever can acquire the direction of this formidable engine, is secure of dominion over his species. Unfortunately for the people whose institutions are the subject of inquiry, this power was in the hands of their chiefs. The caziques of the isles could put what responses they pleased into the mouths of their *Cemis* or gods; and it was by their interposition, and in their name, that they imposed any tribute or burden on their people. The same power and prerogative was exercised by the great chief of the Natchez, as the principal minister as well as the representative of the Sun, their deity. The respect which the people of Bogota paid to their monarchs was likewise inspired by religion, and the heir apparent of the kingdom was educated in the innermost recess of their principal temple, under such austere discipline, and with such peculiar rites, as tended to fill his subjects with high sentiments concerning the sanctity of his character, and the dignity of his station. Thus superstition, which in the rudest period of society, is either altogether unknown, or wastes its force in childish unmeaning practices, had acquired such an ascendant over those people of America, who had made some little progress towards refinement, that it became the chief instrument of bending their minds to an untimely servitude, and subjected them, in the beginning of their political career, to a despotism hardly less rigorous than that which awaits nations in the last stage of their corruption and decline.

V. After examining the political institutions of the rude nations in America, the next object of attention is their art of war, or their provision for public security and defence. The small tribes dispersed over America are not only independent and unconnected, but engaged in perpetual hostilities with one another. Though mostly strangers to the idea of separate property, vested in any individual, the rudest of the American nations are well acquainted with the rights of each community to its own domains. This right they hold to be perfect and exclusive, entitling the possessor to oppose the encroachment of neighboring tribes. As it is of the utmost consequence to prevent them from destroying or disturbing the game in their hunting grounds, they guard this national property with a jealous attention. But as their territories are extensive, and the boundaries of them not exactly ascertained, innumerable subjects of dispute arise, which seldom terminate without bloodshed. Even in this simple and primitive state of society, interest is a source of discord, and often prompts savage tribes to take arms in order to repel or punish such as encroach on the forests or plains to which they trust for subsistence.

But interest is not either the most frequent or the most powerful motive of the incessant hostilities among rude nations. These must be imputed to the passion of revenge, which rages with such violence in the breast of savages, that eagerness to gratify it may be considered as the distinguishing characteristic of men in their uncivilized state. Circumstances of powerful influence, both in the interior government of rude tribes, and in their external operations against foreign enemies, concur in cherishing and adding strength to a passion fatal to the general tranquillity. When the right of redressing his own wrongs is left in the hands of every individual, injuries are felt with exquisite sensibility, and vengeance exercised with unrelenting rancor. No time can obliterate the memory of an offence, and it is seldom that it can be expiated but by the blood of the offender. In carrying on their public wars, savage nations are influenced by the same ideas, and animated with the same spirit, as in prosecuting private vengeance. In small communities, every man is touched with the injury or affront offered to the body of which he is a member, as if it were a personal attack

upon his own honor or safety. The desire of revenge is communicated from breast to breast, and soon kindles into rage. As feeble societies can take the field only in small parties, each warrior is conscious of the importance of his own arm, and feels that to it is committed a considerable portion of the public vengeance. War, which between extensive kingdoms is carried on with little animosity, is prosecuted by small tribes with all the rancor of a private quarrel. The resentment of nations is as implacable as that of individuals. It may be dissembled or suppressed, but is never extinguished; and often, when least expected or dreaded, it bursts out with redoubled fury. When polished nations have obtained the glory of victory, or have acquired an addition of territory, they may terminate a war with honor. But savages are not satisfied until they extirpate the community which is the object of their hatred. They fight, not to conquer, but to destroy. If they engage in hostilities, it is with a resolution never to see the face of the enemy in peace, but to prosecute the quarrel with immortal enmity. The desire of vengeance is the first and almost the only principle which a savage instils into the minds of his children. This grows up with him as he advances in life; and as his attention is directed to few objects, it acquires a degree of force unknown among men whose passions are dissipated and weakened by the variety of their occupations and pursuits. The desire of vengeance, which takes possession of the heart of savages, resembles the instinctive rage of an animal rather than the passion of a man. It turns, with undiscerning fury, even against inanimate objects. If hurt accidentally by a stone, they often seize it in a transport of anger, and endeavor to wreak their vengeance upon it. If struck with an arrow in a battle, they will tear it from the wound, break and bite it with their teeth, and dash it on the ground. With respect to their enemies their rage of vengeance knows no bounds. When under the dominion of this passion, man becomes the most cruel of all animals. He neither pities, nor forgives, nor spares.

The force of this passion is so well understood by the Americans themselves, that they always apply to it in order to excite their people to take arms. If the elders of any tribe attempt to rouse their youth from sloth, if a chief wishes to allure a band of warriors to follow him in invading an enemy's country, the most persuasive topics of their martial eloquence are drawn from revenge. "The bones of our countrymen," say they, "lie uncovered; their bloody bed has not been washed clean. Their spirits cry against us; they must be appeased. Let us go and devour the people by whom they were slain. Sit no longer inactive upon your mats; lift the hatchet, console the spirits of the dead, and tell them that they shall be avenged."

Animated with such exhortations, the youth snatch their arms in a transport of fury, raise the song of war, and burn with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies. Private chiefs often assemble small parties and invade a hostile tribe without consulting the rulers of the community. A single warrior, prompted by caprice or revenge, will take the field alone, and march several hundred miles to surprise and cut off a straggling enemy. [65] The exploits of a noted warrior, in such solitary excursions, often form the chief part in the history of an American campaign; [66] and their elders connive at such irregular sallies, as they tend to cherish a martial spirit, and accustom their people to enterprise and danger. But when a war is national, and undertaken by public authority, the deliberations are formal and slow. The elders assemble, they deliver their opinions in solemn speeches, they weigh with maturity the nature of the enterprise, and balance its beneficial or disadvantageous consequences with no inconsiderable portion of political discernment or sagacity. Their priests and soothsayers are consulted, and sometimes they ask the advice even of their women. If the determination be for war, they prepare for it with much ceremony. A leader offers to conduct the expedition, and is accepted. But no man is constrained to follow him; the resolution of the community to commence hostilities imposes no obligation upon any member to take part in the war. Each individual is still master of his own conduct, and his engagement in the service is perfectly voluntary.

The maxims by which they regulate their military operations, though extremely different from those which take place among more civilized and populous nations, are well suited to their own political state, and the nature of the country in which they act. They never take the field in numerous bodies, as it would require a greater effort of foresight and industry than is usual among savages, to provide for their subsistence during a march of some hundred miles through dreary forests, or during a long voyage upon their lakes and rivers. Their armies are not encumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his arms, carries a mat and a small bag of pounded maize, and with these is completely equipped for any service. While at a distance from the enemy's frontier, they disperse through the woods, and support themselves with the game which they kill, or the fish which they catch. As they approach nearer to the territories of the nation which they intend to attack, they collect their troops, and advance with greater caution. Even in their hottest and most active wars they proceed wholly by stratagem and ambuscade. They place not their glory in attacking their enemies with open force. To surprise and destroy is the greatest merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers. War and hunting are their only occupations, and they conduct both with the same spirit and the same arts. They follow the track of their enemies through the forest. They endeavor to discover their haunts, they lurk in some thicket near to these, and, with the patience of a sportsman lying in wait for game, will continue in their station day after day until they can rush upon their prey when most secure, and least able to resist them. If they meet no straggling party of the enemy, they advance towards their villages, but with such solicitude to conceal their own approach, that they often creep on their hands and feet through the woods, and paint their skins of the same color with the withered leaves, in order to avoid detection. If so fortunate as to remain unobserved, they set on fire the enemies' huts in the dead of night, and massacre the inhabitants as they fly naked and defenceless from the flames. If they hope to effect a retreat without being pursued, they carry off some prisoners, whom they reserve for a more dreadful fate. But if, notwithstanding all their address and precautions, they find that their motions are discovered, that the enemy has taken the alarm, and is prepared to oppose them, they usually deem it most prudent to retire. They regard it as extreme folly to meet an enemy who is on his guard, upon equal terms, or to give battle in an open field. The most distinguished success is a disgrace to a leader if it has been purchased with any considerable loss of his followers, [67] and they never boast of a victory if stained with the blood of their own countrymen. To fall in battle, instead of being reckoned an honorable death, is a misfortune which subjects the memory of a warrior to the imputation of rashness or imprudence. [68]

This system of war was universal in America; and the small uncivilized tribes, dispersed through all its different regions and climates, display more craft than boldness in carrying on their hostilities. Struck with this conduct, so opposite to the ideas and maxims of Europeans, several authors contend that it flows from a feeble and dastardly spirit peculiar to the Americans, which is incapable of any generous or manly exertion. But when we reflect that many of these tribes, on occasions which call for extraordinary efforts, not only defend themselves with obstinate resolution, but attack their enemies with the most daring courage, and that they possess fortitude of mind superior to the sense of danger or the fear of death, we must ascribe their habitual caution to some other cause than constitutional timidity. The number of men in each tribe is so small, the difficulty of rearing new members amidst the hardships and dangers of savage life is so great, that the life of a citizen is extremely precious, and the preservation of it becomes a capital object in their policy. Had the point of honor been the same among the feeble American tribes as among the powerful nations of Europe, had they been taught to court fame or victory in contempt of danger and death, they must have been ruined by maxims so ill adapted to their condition. But wherever their communities are more populous, so that they can act with considerable force, and can sustain the loss of several of their members without being sensibly weakened, the military operations of the Americans more nearly resemble those of other nations. The Brazilians, as well as the tribes situated upon the banks of the river De la Plata, often take the field in such numerous bodies as deserve the name of armies. They defy their enemies to the combat, engage in regular battles, and maintain the conflict with that desperate ferocity which is natural to men who, having no idea of war but that of exterminating their enemies, never give or take quarter. [69] In the powerful empires of Mexico and Peru, great armies were assembled, frequent battles were fought, and the theory as well as practice of war were different from what took place in those petty societies which assume the name of nations.

But though vigilance and attention are the qualities chiefly requisite where the object of war is to deceive and to surprise; and though the Americans, when acting singly, display an amazing degree of address in concealing their own motions, and discovering those of an enemy, yet it is remarkable that, when they take the field in parties, they can seldom be brought to observe the precautions most essential to their own security. Such is the difficulty of accustoming savages to subordination, or to act in concert; such is their impatience under restraint, and such their caprice and presumption, that it is rarely they can be brought to conform themselves to the counsels and directions of their leaders. They never station sentinels around the place where they rest at night, and after marching some hundred miles to suprise an enemy, are often surprised themselves, and cut off, while sunk in as profound sleep as if they were not within reach of danger.

If, notwithstanding this negligence and security, which often frustrate their most artful schemes, they catch the enemy unprepared, they rush upon them with the utmost ferocity, and tearing off the scalps of all those who fall victims to their rage, [70] they carry home those strange trophies in triumph. These they preserve as monuments, not only of their own prowess, but of the vengeance which their arm has inflicted upon the people who were objects of public resentment. They are still more solicitous to seize prisoners. During their retreat, if they hope to effect it unmolested, the prisoners are commonly exempt from any insult, and treated with some degree of humanity, though guarded with the most strict attention.

But after this temporary suspension, the rage of the conquerors rekindles with new fury. As soon as they approach their own frontier, some of their number are despatched to inform their countrymen with respect to the success of the expedition. Then the prisoners begin to feel the wretchedness of their condition. The women of the village, together with the youth who have not attained to the age of bearing arms, assemble, and forming themselves into two lines, through which the prisoners must pass, beat and bruise them with sticks or stones in a cruel manner. After this first gratification of their rage against their enemies, follow lamentations for the loss of such of their own countrymen as have fallen in the service, accompanied with words and actions which seem to express the utmost anguish and grief. But in a moment, upon a signal given, their tears cease; they pass, with a sudden and unaccountable transition, from the depths of sorrow to the transports of joy; and begin to celebrate their victory with all the wild exultation of a barbarous triumph. The fate of the prisoners remains still undecided. The old men deliberate concerning it. Some are destined to be tortured to death, in order to satiate the revenge of the conquerors; some to replace the members which the community has lost in that or former wars. They who are reserved for this milder fate, are led to the huts of those whose friends have been killed. The women meet them at the door, and if they receive them, their sufferings are at an end. They are adopted into the family, and, according to their phrase, are seated upon the mat of the deceased. They assume his name, they hold the same rank, and are treated thenceforward with all the tenderness due to a father, a brother, a husband, or a friend. But, if either from caprice or an unrelenting desire of revenge, the women of any family refuse to accept of the prisoner who is offered to them, his doom is fixed. No power can then save him from torture and death.

While their lot is in suspense, the prisoners themselves appear altogether unconcerned about what may befall them. They talk, they eat, they sleep, as if they were perfectly at ease, and no danger impending. When the fatal sentence is intimated to them, they receive it with an unaltered countenance, raise their death song, and prepare to suffer like men. Their conquerors assemble as to a solemn festival, resolved to put the fortitude of the captive to the utmost proof. A scene ensues, the bare description of which is enough to chill the heart with horror, wherever men have been accustomed, by milder institutions, to respect their species, and to melt into tenderness at the sight of human sufferings. The prisoners are tied naked to a stake, but so as to be at liberty to move round it. All who are present, men, women, and children, rush upon them like furies. Every species of torture is applied that the rancor of revenge can invent. Some burn their limbs with red hot irons, some mangle their bodies with knives, others tear their flesh from their bones

pluck out their nails by the roots, and rend and twist their sinews. They vie with one another in refinements of torture. Nothing sets bounds to their rage but the dread of abridging the duration of their vengeance by hastening the death of the sufferers; and such is their cruel ingenuity in tormenting, that, by avoiding industriously to hurt any vital part, they often prolong this scene of anguish for several days. In spite of all that they suffer, the victims continue to chant their death song with a firm voice, they boast of their own exploits, they insult their tormenters for the want of skill in avenging their friends and relations, they warn them of the vengeance which awaits them on account of what they are now doing, and excite their ferocity by the most provoking reproaches and threats. To display undaunted fortitude, in such dreadful situations is the noblest triumph of a warrior. To avoid the trial by a voluntary death, or to shrink under it, is deemed infamous and cowardly. If any one betray symptoms of timidity, his tormentors often despatch him at once with contempt, as unworthy of being treated like a man. Animated with those ideas, they endure without a groan what it seems almost impossible that human nature should sustain. They appear to be not only insensible to pain, but to court it. "Forbear," said an aged chief of the Iroquois, when his insults had provoked one of his tormentors to wound him with a knife, "forbear these stabs of your knife, and rather let me die by fire, that those dogs, your allies, from beyond the sea, may learn by my example to suffer like men." This magnimity of which there are frequent instances among the American warriors, instead of exciting admiration, or calling forth sympathy, exasperates the fierce spirits of their torturers to fresh acts of cruelty. Weary, at length of contending with men whose constancy of mind they cannot vanquish, some chief, in a rage, puts a period to their sufferings, by despatching them with his dagger or club.

This barbarous scene is often succeeded by one no less shocking. As it is impossible to appease the fell spirit of revenge which rages in the heart of a savage, this frequently prompts the Americans to devour those unhappy persons who have been the victims of their cruelty. In the ancient world, tradition has preserved the memory of barbarous nations of cannibals, who fed on human flesh. But in every part of the New World there were people to whom this custom was familiar. It prevailed in the southern continent, in several of the islands, and in various districts of North America. Even in those parts where circumstances with which we are unacquainted had in a great measure abolished this practice, it seems formerly to have been so well known that it is incorporated into the idiom of their language. Among the Iroquois, the phrase by which they express their resolution of making war against an enemy is, "Let us go and eat that nation." If they solicit the aid of a neighboring tribe, they invite it "to eat broth made of the flesh of their enemies." [71] Nor was the practice peculiar to rude unpolished tribes; the principle from which they took rise is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Americans, that it subsisted in Mexico, one of the civilized empires in the New World, and relics of it may be discovered among the more mild inhabitants of Peru. It was not scarcity of food, as some authors imagine, and the importunate cravings of hunger, which forced the Americans to those horrid repasts on their fellow-creatures. Human flesh was never used as common food in any country, and the various relations concerning people who reckoned it among the stated means of subsistence, flow from the credulity and mistakes of travellers. The rancor of revenge first prompted men to this barbarous action. The fiercest tribes devoured none but prisoners taken in war, or such as they regarded as enemies. [72] Women and children who were not the objects of enmity, if not cut off in the fury of their first inroad into a hostile country, seldom suffered by the deliberate effects of their revenge.

The people of South America gratify their revenge in a manner somewhat different, but with no less unrelenting rancor. Their prisoners, after meeting at their first entrance with the same rough reception as among the North Americans, are not only exempt from injury, but treated with the greatest kindness. They are feasted and caressed, and some beautiful young women are appointed to attend and solace them. It is not easy to account for this part of their conduct, unless we impute it to a refinement in cruelty. For, while they seem studious to attach the captives to life, by supplying them with every enjoyment that can render it agreeable, their doom is irrevocably fixed. On a day appointed the victorious tribe assembles, the prisoner is brought forth with great solemnity, he views the preparations for the sacrifice with as much indifference as if he himself was not the victim, and meeting his fate with undaunted firmness, is despatched with a single blow. The moment he falls, the women seize the body and dress it for the feast. They besmear their children with the blood, in order to kindle in their bosoms a hatred of their enemies, which is never extinguished, and all join in feeding upon the flesh with amazing greediness and exultation. To devour the body of a slaughtered enemy they deem the most complete and exquisite gratification of revenge. Wherever this practice prevails, captives never escape death, but they are not tortured with the same cruelty as among tribes which are less accustomed to such horrid feasts. [73]

As the constancy of every American warrior may be put to such severe proof, the great object of military education and discipline in the New World is to form the mind to sustain it. When nations carry on war with open force, defy their enemies to the combat, and vanquish them by the superiority of their skill or courage, soldiers are trained to be active, vigorous, and enterprising. But in America, where the genius and maxims of war are extremely different, passive fortitude is the quality in highest estimation. Accordingly, it is early the study of the Americans to acquire sentiments and habits which will enable them to behave like men when their resolution shall be put to the proof. As the youth of other nations exercise themselves in feats of activity and force, those of America vie with one another in exhibitions of their patience under sufferings. They harden their nerves by those voluntary trials, and gradually accustom themselves to endure the sharpest pain without complaining. A boy and a girl will bind their naked arms together, and place a burning coal between them, in order to try who first discovers such impatience as to shake it off. All the trials customary in America, when a youth is admitted into the class of warriors, or when a warrior is promoted to the dignity of captain or chief, are accommodated to this idea of manliness. They are not displays of valor, but of patience; they are not exhibitions of their ability to offend, but of their capacity to suffer. Among the tribes on the banks of the Orinoco, if a warrior aspires to the rank of captain, his probation begins with a long fast, more rigid than any ever observed by the most abstemious hermit. At the close of this the chiefs assemble, each gives him three lashes with a large whip, applied so vigorously that his body is almost flayed, and if he betrays the least symptoms of impatience or even sensibility he is disgraced for ever, and rejected as unworthy of the honor to which he aspires. After some interval, the constancy of the candidate is proved by a more excrutiating trial. He is laid in hammoc with his hands bound fast, and innumerable multitude of venomous ants, whose bite occasions exquisite pain, and produces a violent inflammation, are thrown upon him. The judges of his merit stand around the hammoc, and, while these cruel insects fasten upon the most sensible parts of his body, a sigh, a groan, an involuntary motion, expressive of what he suffers, would exclude him for ever from the rank of captain. Even after this evidence of his fortitude, it is not deemed to be completely ascertained, but must stand another test more dreadful than any he has hitherto undergone. He is again suspended in his hammoc, and covered with leaves of the palmetto. A fire of stinking herbs is kindled underneath, so as he may feel its heat and be involved in its smoke. Though scorched and almost suffocated, he must continue to endure with the same patient insensibility. Many perish in this rude essay of their firmness and courage, but such as go through it with applause, receive the ensigns of their new dignity with much solemnity, and are ever after regarded as leaders of approved resolution, whose behavior in the most trying situations will do honor to their country. In North America the previous trial of a warrior is neither so formal nor so severe. Though even there, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by insults more intolerable to a haughty spirit than both.

The amazing steadiness with which the Americans endure the most exquisite torments, has induced some authors to suppose that, from the peculiar feebleness of their frame, their sensibility is not so acute as that of other people; as women, and persons of a relaxed habit, are observed to be less affected with pain than robust men, whose nerves are more firmly braced. But the constitution of the Americans is not so different in its texture from that of the rest of the human species as to account for this diversity in their behavior. It flows from a principle of honor, instilled early and cultivated with such care, as to inspire man in his rudest state with an heroic magnanimity, to which philosophy hath endeavored in vain to form him, when more highly improved and polished. This invincible constancy he has been taught to consider as the chief distinction of a man, and the highest attainment of a warrior. The ideas which influence his conduct, and the passions which take possession of his heart, are few. They operate of course with more decisive effect than when the mind is crowded with a multiplicity of objects, or distracted by the variety of its pursuits; and when every motive that acts with any force in forming the sentiments of a savage, prompts him to suffer with dignity, he will bear what might seem to be impossible for human patience to sustain. But wherever the fortitude of the Americans is not roused to exertion by their ideas of honor, their feelings of pain are the same with those of the rest of mankind. [74] Nor is that patience under sufferings for which the Americans have been so justly celebrated, a universal attainment. The constancy of many of the victims is overcome by the agonies of torture. Their weakness and lamentations complete the triumph of their enemies, and reflect disgrace upon their own country.

The perpetual hostilities carried on among the American tribes are productive of very fatal effects. Even in seasons of public tranquillity, their imperfect industry does not supply them with any superfluous store of provisions; but when the irruption of an enemy desolates their cultivated lands, or disturbs them in their hunting excursions, such a calamity reduces a community, naturally unprovident and destitute of resources, to extreme want. All the people of the district that is invaded are frequently forced to take refuge in woods and mountains, which can afford them little subsistence, and where many of them perish. Notwithstanding their excessive caution in conducting their military operations, and the solicitude of every leader to preserve the lives of his followers, as the rude tribes in America seldom enjoy any interval of peace, the loss of men among them is considerable in proportion to the degree of population. Thus famine and the sword combine in thinning their numbers. All their communities are feeble, and nothing now remains of several nations which were once considerable, but the name.

Sensible of this continual decay, there are tribes which endeavor to recruit their national force when exhausted, by adopting prisoners taken in war, and by this expedient prevent their total extinction. The practice, however, is not universally received. Resentment operates more powerfully among savages than considerations of policy. Far the greater part of their captives was anciently sacrificed to their vengeance, and it is only since their numbers began to decline fast, that they have generally adopted milder maxims. But such as they do naturalize renounce for ever their native tribe, and assume the manners as well as passions of the people by whom they are adopted so entirely, that they often join them in expeditions against their own countrymen. Such a sudden transition, and so repugnant to one of the most powerful instincts implanted by nature, would be deemed strange among many people; but among the members of small communities, where national enmity is violent and deep rooted, it has the appearance of being still more unaccountable. It seems, however, to result naturally from the principles upon which war is carried on in America. When nations aim at exterminating their enemies, no exchange of prisoners can ever take place. From the moment one is made a prisoner, his country and his friends consider him as dead. [75] He has incurred indelible disgrace by suffering himself to be surprised or to be taken by an enemy; and were he to return home, after such a stain upon his honor, his nearest relations would not receive or even acknowledge that they knew him. Some tribes were still more rigid, and if a prisoner returned, the infamy which he had brought on his country was expiated, by putting him instantly to death. As the unfortunate captive is thus an outcast from his own country, and the ties which bound him to it are irreparably broken, he feels less reluctance in forming a new connexion with people, who, as an evidence of their friendly sentiments, not only deliver him from a cruel death, but offer to admit him to all the rights of a fellow-citizen. The perfect similarity of manners among savage nations facilitates and completes the union, and induces a captive to transfer not only his allegiance, but his affection to the community into the bosom of which he is received.

But though war be the chief occupation of men in their rude state, and to excel in it their highest dis-

tinction and pride their inferiority is always manifest when they engage in competition with polished nations. Destitute of that foresight which discerns and provides for remote events, strangers to the union and mutual confidence requisite in forming any extensive plan of operations, and incapable of the subordination no less requisite in carrying such plans into execution, savage nations may astonish a disciplined enemy by their valor, but seldom prove formidable to him by their conduct; and whenever the contest is of long continuance, must yield to superior art. [76] The empires of Peru and Mexico, though their progress in civilization, when measured by the European or Asiatic standards, was inconsiderable, acquired such an ascendancy over the rude tribes around them, that they subjected most of them with great facility to their power. When the people of Europe overran the various provinces of America, this superiority was still more conspicuous. Neither the courage, nor number of the natives could repel a handful of invaders. The alienation and enmity, prevalent among barbarians, prevented them from uniting in any common scheme of defence, and while each tribe fought separately, all were subdued.

VI. The arts of rude nations unacquainted with the use of metals, hardly merit any attention on their own account, but are worthy of some notice, as far as they serve to display the genius and manners of man in this stage of his progress. The first distress a savage must feel, will arise from the manner in which his body is affected by the heat, or cold, or moisture of the climate under which he lives; and his first care will be to provide some covering for his own defence. In the warmer and more mild climates of Ameriea, none of the rude tribes were clothed. To most of them nature had not even suggested any idea of impropriety in being altogether uncovered. As under a mild climate there was little need of any defence from the injuries of the air, and their extreme indolence shunned every species of labor to which it was not urged by absolute necessity, all the inhabitants of the isles, and a considerable part of the people on the continent, remained in this state of naked simplicity. Others were satisfied with some slight covering, such as decency required. But though naked, they were not unadorned. They dressed their hair in many different forms. They fastened bits of gold, or shells, or shining stones, in their ears, their noses and cheeks. They stained their skins with a great variety of figures; and they spent much time, and submitted to great pain, in ornamenting their persons in this fantastic manner. Vanity, however, which finds endless occupation for ingenuity and invention in nations where dress has become a complex and intricate art, is circumscribed within so narrow bounds, and confined to so few articles among naked savages, that they are not satisfied with those simple decorations, and have a wonderful propensity to alter the natural form of their bodies, in order to render it (as they imagine) more perfect and beautiful. This practice was universal among the rudest of the American tribes. Their operations for that purpose begin as soon as an infant is born. By compressing the bones of the skull, while still soft and flexible, some flatten the crown of their heads; some squeeze them into the shape of a cone; others mould them as much as possible into a square figure; and they often endanger the lives of their posterity by their violent and absurd efforts to derange the plan of nature, or to improve upon her designs. But in all their attempts either to adorn or to new model their persons, it seems to have been less the object of the Americans to please, or to appear beautiful, than to give an air of dignity and terror to their aspect. Their attention to dress had more reference to war than to gallantry. The difference in rank and estimation between the two sexes was so great, as seems to have extinguished, in some measure, their solicitude to appear mutually amiable. The man deemed it beneath him to adorn his person, for the sake of one on whom he was accustomed to look down as a slave. It was when the warrior had in view to enter the council of his nation, or to take the field against its enemies, that he assumed his choicest ornaments, and decked his person with the nicest care. The decorations of the women were few and simple; whatever was precious or splendid was reserved for the men. In several tribes the women were obliged to spend a considerable part of their time every day in adorning and painting their husbands, and could bestow little attention upon ornamenting themselves. Among a race of men so haughty as to despise, or so cold as to neglect them, the women naturally became careless and slovenly, and the love of finery and show, which had been deemed their favorite passion, was confined chiefly to the other sex. To deck his person was the distinction of a warrior, as well as one of his most serious occupations. [77] In one part of their dress, which at first sight appears the most singular and capricious, the Americans have discovered considerable sagacity in providing against the chief inconveniencies of their climate, which is often sultry and moist to excess. All the different tribes, which remain unclothed, are accustomed to anoint and rub their bodies with the grease of animals, with viscous gums, and with oils of different kinds. By this they check that profuse perspiration, which in the torrid zone wastes the vigor of the frame, and abridges the period of human life. By this, too, they provide a defence against the extreme moisture during the rainy season. [78] They likewise, at certain seasons, temper paint of different colors with those unctuous substances, and bedaub themselves plentifully with that composition. Sheathed with this impenetrable varnish, their skins are not only protected from the penetrating heat of the sun, but as all the innumerable tribes of insects have an antipathy to the smell or taste of that mixture, they are delivered from their teasing persecution, which amidst forests and marshes, especially in the warmer regions, would have been altogether intolerable in a state of perfect nakedness.

The next object to dress that will engage the attention of a savage, is to prepare some habitation which may afford him shelter by day, and a retreat at night. Whatever is connected with his ideas of personal dignity, whatever bears any reference to his military character, the savage warrior deems an object of importance. Whatever relates only to peaceable and inactive life, he views with indifference. Hence, though finically attentive to dress, he is little solicitous about the elegance or disposition of his habitation. Savage nations, far from that state of improvement, in which the mode of living is considered as a mark of distinction, and unacquainted with those wants, which require a variety of accommodation, regulate the construction of their houses according to their limited ideas of necessity. Some of the American tribes were so extremely rude, and had advanced so little beyond the primæval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day, they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. [79] In the rainy season they retire into caves, formed by the hand of Nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. Others, who have no fixed abode, and roam through the forest in quest of game, sojourn in temporary huts, which they erect with little labor, and abandon without any concern The inhabitants of those vast plains, which are deluged by the overflowing of rivers during the heavy rains that fall periodically between the tropics, raise houses upon piles fastened in the ground, or place them among the boughs of trees, and are thus safe amidst that wide extended inundation which surrounds them. Such were the first essays of the rudest Americans towards providing themselves with habitations. But even among tribes which are more improved, and whose residence is become altogether fixed, the structure of their houses is extremely mean and simple. They are wretched huts, sometimes of an oblong and sometimes of a circular form, intended merely for shelter, with no view to elegance, and little attention to conveniency. The doors are so low that it is necessary to bend or to creep on the hands and feet in order to enter them. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to convey out the smoke. To follow travellers in other minute circumstances of their descriptions, is not only beneath the dignity of history, but would be foreign to the object of my researches. One circumstance merits attention, as it is singular, and illustrates the character of the people. Some of their houses are so large as to contain accommodation for fourscore or a hundred persons. These are built for the reception of different families, which dwell together under the same roof, [80] and often around a common fire, without separate apartments, or any kind of screen or partition between the spaces which they respectively occupy. As soon as men have acquired distinct ideas of property; or when they are so much attached to their females, as to watch them with care and jealousy; families of course divide and settle in separate houses, where they can secure and guard whatever they wish to preserve. This sigular mode of habitation among several people of America, may therefore be considered not only as the effect of their imperfect notions concerning property, but as a proof of inattention, and indifference towards their women. If they had not been accustomed to perfect equality, such an arrangement could not have taken place. If their sensibility had been apt to have taken alarm, they would not have trusted the virtue of their women amidst the temptations and opportunities of such a promiscuous intercourse. At the same time, the perpetual concord, which reigns in habitations where so many families are crowded together, is surprising, and affords a striking evidence that they must be people of either a very gentle, or of a very phlegmatic temper, who in such a situation, are unacquainted with animosity, brawling, and discord.

After making some provision for his dress and habitation, a savage will perceive the necessity of preparing proper arms with which to assault or repel an enemy. This, accordingly, has early exercised the ingenuity and invention of all rude nations. The first offensive weapons were doubtless such as chance presented, and the first efforts of art to improve upon these, were extremely awkward and simple. Clubs made of some heavy wood, stakes hardened in the fire, lances whose heads were armed with flint or the bones of some animal, are weapons known to the rudest nations. All these, however, are of use only in close encounter. But men wished to annoy their enemies while at a distance, and the bow and arrow it the most early invention for this purpose. This weapon is in the hands of people whose advances in improvement are extremely inconsiderable, and is familiar to the inhabitants of every quarter of the globe. It is remarkable, however, that some tribes in America were so destitute of art and and ingenuity; that they had not attained to the discovery of this simple invention, and seem to have been unacquainted with the use of any missile weapon. The sling, though in its construction not more complex than the bow, and among many nations of equal antiquity, was little known to the people of North America, or the islands, but appears to have been used by a few tribes in the southern continent. [81] The people, in some provinces of Chili, and those of Patagonia, towards the southern extremity of America, use a weapon peculiar to themselves. They fasten stones, about the size of a fist, to each end of a leather thong of eight feet in length, and swing these round their heads, throw them with such dexterity, that they seldom miss the object at which they aim.

Among people who had hardly any occupation but war or hunting, the chief exertions of their invention, [82] as well as industry, were naturally directed towards these objects. With respect to every thing else, their wants and desires were so limited, that their invention was not upon the stretch. As their food and habitations are perfectly simple, their domestic utensils are few and rude. Some of the southern tribes had discovered the art of forming vessels of earthern ware, and baking them in the sun, so as they could endure the fire. In North America, they hollowed a piece of hard wood in the form of a kettle, and filling it with water, brought it to boil, by putting red-hot stones into it. [83] These vessels they used in preparing part of their provisions; and this may be considered as a step towards refinement and luxury; for men in their rudest state were not acquainted with any method of dressing their victuals but by roasting them on the fire; and among several tribes in America, this is the only species of cookery yet known. But the masterpiece of art, among the savages of America, is the construction of the canoes. An Esquimaux, shut up in his boat of whalebone, covered with the skins of seals, can brave that stormy ocean on which the barrenness of his country compels him to depend for the chief part of his subsistence. The people of Canada venture upon their rivers and lakes in boats made of the bark of trees, and so light that two men can carry them, wherever shallows or cataracts obstruct the navigation. [84] In these frail vessels they undertake and accomplish long voyages. The inhabitants of the isles and of the southern continent form their canoes by hollowing the trunk of a large tree, with infinite labor; and though in appearance they are extremely awkward and unwieldy, they paddle and steer them with such dexterity, that Europeans, well acquainted with all the improvements in the science of navigation, have been astonished at the rapidity of their motion, and the quickness of their evolutions. Their *pirogues*, or war boats, are so large as to carry forty or fifty men; their canoes, employed in fishing and in short voyages are less capacious. The form as well as materials of all these various kinds of vessels, is well adapted to the service for which they are destined; and the more minutely they are examined, the mechanism of their structure, as well as neatness of their fabric, will appear the more surprising.

But, in every attempt towards industry among the Americans, one striking quality in their character is conspicuous. They apply to work without ardor, carry it on with little activity, and, like children, are easily diverted from it. Even in operations which seem the most interesting, and where the most powerful motives urge them to vigorous exertions, they labor with a languid listlessness. Their work advances under their hand with such slowness, that an eye witness compares it to the imperceptible progress of vegetation. They will spend so many years in forming a canoe, that it often begins to rot with age before they finish it. They will suffer one part of a roof to decay and perish, before they complete the other. The slightest manual operation consumes an amazing length of time, and what in polished nations would hardly be an effort of industry, is among savages an arduous undertaking. This slowness of the Americans in executing works of every kind may be imputed to various causes. Among savages, who do not depend for subsistence upon the efforts of regular industry, time is of so little importance that they set no value upon it; and provided they can finish a design, they never regard how long they are employed about it. The tools which they employ are so awkward and defective that every work in which they engage must necessarily be tedious. The hand of the most industrious and skilful artist, were it furnished with no better instrument than a stone hatchet, a shell, or the bone of some animal, would find it difficult to perfect the most simple work. It is by length of labor that he must endeavor to supply his defect of power. But above all, the cold phlegmatic temper peculiar to the Americans, renders their operations languid. It is almost impossible to rouse them from that habitual indolence to which they are sunk; and unless when engaged in war or in hunting, they seem incapable of exerting any vigorous effort. Their ardor of application is not so great as to call forth that inventive spirit which suggests expedients for facilitating and abridging labor. They will return to a task day after day, but all their methods of executing it are tedious and operose. [85] Even since the Europeans have communicated to them the knowledge of their instruments, and taught them to imitate their arts, the peculiar genius of the Americans is conspicuous in every attempt they make. They may be patient and assiduous in labor, they can copy with a servile and minute accuracy, but discover little invention and no talents for despatch. In spite of instruction and example, the spirit of the race predominates; their motions are naturally tardy, and it is in vain to urge them to quicken their pace. Among the Spaniards in America, *the work of an Indian* is a phrase by which they describe any thing, in the execution of which an immense time has been employed and much labor wasted.

VII. No circumstance respecting rude nations has been the object of greater curiosity than their religious tenets and rites; and none, perhaps, has been so imperfectly understood, or represented with so little fidelity. Priests and missionaries are the persons who have had the best opportunities of carrying on this inquiry among the most uncivilized of the American tribes. Their minds, engrossed by the doctrines of their own religion, and habituated to its institutions, are apt to discover something which resembles those objects of their veneration, in the opinions and rites of every people. Whatever they contemplate they view through one medium, and draw and accommodate it to their own system. They study to reconcile the institutions which fall under their observation to their own creed, not to explain them according to the rude notions of the people themselves. They ascribe to them ideas which they are incapable of forming, and suppose them to be acquainted with principles and facts, which it is impossible that they should know. Hence, some missionaries have been induced to believe, that even among the most barbarous nations in America, they had discovered traces, no less distinct than amazing, of their acquaintance with the sublime mysteries and peculiar institutions of Christianity. From their own interpretation of certain expressions and ceremonies, they have concluded that these people had some knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the incarnation of the Son of God, of his expiatory sacrifice, of the virtue of the cross, and of the efficacy of the Sacraments. In such unintelligent and credulous guides we can place little confidence.

But even when we make our choice of conductors with the greatest care, we must not follow them with implicit faith. An inquiry into the religious notions of rude nations is involved in peculiar intricacies, and we must often pause in order to separate the facts which our informers relate from the reasonings with which they are accompanied, or the theories which they build upon them. Several pious writers, more attentive to the importance of the subject than the condition of the people whose sentiments they were endeavoring to discover, have bestowed much unprofitable labor in researches of this nature. [86]

There are two fundamental doctrines, upon which the whole system of religion, as far as it can be discovered by the light of nature, is established. The one respects the being of a God, the other the immortality of the soul. To discover the ideas of the uncultivated nations under our review, with regard to those important points, it is not only an object of curiosity, but may afford instruction. To these two articles I shall confine my researches, leaving subordinate opinions, and the detail of local superstitions, to more minute inquirers. Whoever has had any opportunity of examining into the religious opinions of persons in the inferior ranks of life, even in the most enlightened and civilized nations, will find that their system of belief is derived from instruction, not discovered by inquiry. That numerous part of the human species, whose lot is labor, whose principal and almost sole occupation is to secure subsistence, views the arrangement and operations of nature with little reflection, and has neither leisure, nor capacity for entering into that path of refined and intricate speculation which conducts to the knowledge of the principles of natural religion. In the early and most rude periods of savage life, such disquisitions are altogether unknown. When the intellectual powers are just beginning to unfold, and their first feeble exertions are directed towards a few objects of primary necessity and use; when the faculties of the mind are so limited as not to have formed abstract or general ideas; when language is so barren as to be destitute of names to distinguish any thing that is not perceived by some of the senses; it is preposterous to expect that man should be capable of tracing with accuracy the relation between cause and effect; or to suppose that he should rise from the contemplation of the one to the knowledge of the other, and form just conceptions of a Deity, as the Creator and Governor of the universe. The idea of creation is so familiar, wherever the mind is enlarged by science and illuminated with revelation, that we seldom reflect how profound and abstruse this idea is, or consider what progress man must have made in observation and research, before he could arrive at any knowledge of this elementary principle in religion. Accordingly, several tribes have been discovered in America, which have no idea whatever of a Supreme Being, and no rites of religious worship. Inattentive to that magnificent spectacle of beauty and order presented to their view, unaccustomed to reflect either upon what they themselves are, or to inquire who is the author of their existence, men, in their savage state, pass their days like the animals around them, without knowledge or veneration of any superior power. Some rude tribes have not in their language any name for the Deity, nor have the most accurate observers been able to discover any practice or institution which seemed to imply that they recognised his authority, or were solicitous to obtain his favor. [87] It is however only among men in the most uncultivated state of nature, and while their intellectual faculties are so feeble and limited as hardly to elevate them above the irrational creation, that we discover this total insensibility to the impressions of any invisible power.

But the human mind, formed for religion, soon opens to the reception of ideas, which are destined, when corrected and refined, to be the great source of consolation amidst the calamities of life. Among some of the American tribes, still in the infancy of improvement, we discern apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These apprehensions are originally indistinct and perplexed, and seem to be suggested rather by the dread of impending evils than to flow from gratitude for blessings received. While nature holds on her course with uniform and undisturbed regularity, men enjoy the benefits resulting from it, without inquiring concerning its cause. But every deviation from this regular course rouses and astonishes them. When they behold events to which they are not accustomed, they search for the reasons of them with eager curiosity. Their understanding is unable to penetrate into these; but imagination, more forward and ardent faculty of the mind, decides without hesitation. It ascribes the extraordinary occurrences in nature to the influence of invisible beings, and supposes that the thunder, the hurricane, and the earthquake are effects of their interposition. Some such confused notion of spiritual or invisible power, superintending over those natural calamities which frequently desolate the earth, and terrify its inhabitants, may be traced among many rude nations. [88] But besides this, the disasters and dangers of savage life are so many, and men often find themselves in situations so formidable, that the mind, sensible of its own weakness, has no resource but in the guidance and protection of wisdom and power superior to what is human. Dejected with calamities which oppress him, and exposed to dangers which he cannot repel, the savage no longer relies upon himself; he feels his own impotence, and sees no prospect of being extricated, but by the interposition of some unseen arm. Hence, in all unenlightened nations, the first rites or practices which bear any resemblance to acts of religion, have it for their object to avert evils which men suffer or dread. The *Manitous* or *Okkis* of the North Americans were amulets or charms, which they imagined to be of such virtue as to preserve the persons who reposed confidence in them from any disastrous event, or they were considered as tutelary spirits, whose aid they might implore in circumstances of distress. The *Cemis* of the islanders were reputed by them to be the authors of every calamity that afflicts the human race; they were represented under the most frightful forms, and religious homage was paid to them with no other view than to appease these furious deities. Even among those tribes whose religious system was more enlarged, and who had formed some conception of benevolent beings, which delighted in conferring benefits, as well as of malicious powers prone to inflict evil; superstition still appears as the offspring of fear, and all its efforts were employed to avert calamities. They were persuaded that their good deities, prompted by the beneficence of their nature, would bestow every blessing in their power, without solicitation or acknowledgement; and their only anxiety was to soothe and deprecate the wrath of the powers whom they regarded as the enemies of mankind.

Such were the imperfect conceptions of the greater part of the Americans with respect to the interposition of invisible agents, and such, almost universally, was the mean and illiberal object of their superstitions. Were we to trace back the ideas of other nations to that rude state in which history first presents them to our view, we should discover a surprising resemblance in their tenets and practices; and should be convinced, that in similar circumstances, the faculties of the human mind hold nearly the same course in their progress, and arrive at almost the same conclusions. The impressions of fear are conspicuous in all the systems of superstition formed in this situation. The most exalted notions of men rise no higher than to a perplexed apprehension of certain beings, whose power, though supernatural, is limited as well as partial.

But, among other tribes, which have been longer united, or have made greater progress in improvement, we discern some feeble pointing towards more just and adequate conceptions of the power that presides in nature. They seem to perceive that there must be some universal cause to whom all things are indebted for their being. If we may judge by some of their expressions, they appear to acknowledge a divine power to be the maker of the world, and the disposer of all events. They denominate him the *Great Spirit*. But these ideas are faint and confused, and when they attempt to explain them, it is manifest that among them the word *spirit* has a meaning very different from that in which we employ it, and that they have no conception of any deity but what is corporeal. They believe their gods to be of the human form, though of a nature more excellent than man, and retail such wild incoherent fables concerning their functions and operations, as are altogether unworthy of a place in history. Even among these tribes, there is no established form of public worship; there are no temples erected in honor of their deities; and no ministers peculiarly consecrated to their service. They have the knowledge, however, of several superstitious ceremonies and practices handed down to them by tradition, and to these they have recourse with a childish credulity, when roused by any emergence from their usual insensibility, and excited to acknowledge the power, and to implore the protection of superior beings.

The tribe of the Natchez, and the people of Bogota had advanced beyond the other uncultivated nations of America in their ideas of religion, as well as in their political institutions; and it is no less difficult to explain the cause of this distinction than of that which we have already considered. The Sun was the chief object of religious worship among the Natchez. In their temples, which were constructed with some magnificence, and decorated with various ornaments, ac

cording to their mode of architecture, they preserved a perpetual fire, as the purest emblem of their divinity. Ministers were appointed to watch and feed this sacred flame. The first function of the great chief of the nation, every morning, was an act of obeisance to the Sun; and festivals returned at stated seasons, which were celebrated by the whole community with solemn but unbloody rites. This is the most refined species of superstition known in America, and perhaps one of the most natural as well as most seducing. The Sun is the apparent source of the joy, fertility, and life, diffused through nature; and while the human mind, in its earlier essays towards inquiry, contemplates and admires his universal and animating energy, its admiration is apt to stop short at what is visible, without reaching to the unseen cause; and pays that adoration to the most glorious and beneficial work of God, which is due only to him who formed it. As fire is the purest and most active of the elements, and in some of its qualities and effects resembles the Sun, it was, not improperly, chosen to be the emblem of his powerful operation. The ancient Persians, a people far superior in every respect, to that rude tribe whose rites I am describing, founded their religious system on similar principles, and established a form of public worship, less gross and exceptionable than that of any people destitute of guidance from revelation. This surprising coincidence in sentiment between two nations, in such different states of improvement, is one of the many singular and unaccountable circumstances which occur in the history of human affairs.

Among the people of Bogota, the Sun and Moon were, likewise, the chief objects of veneration. Their system of religion was more regular and complete, though less pure, than that of the Natchez. They had temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, and that long train of ceremonies, which superstition introduces, wherever she has fully established her dominion over the minds of men. But the rites of their worship are cruel and bloody. They offered human victims to their deities, and many of their practices nearly resembled the barbarous institutions of the Mexicans, the genius of which we shall have an opportunity of considering more attentively in its proper place.

With respect to the other great doctrine of religion, concerning the immortality of the soul, the sentiments of the Americans were more united: the human mind even when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thoughts of annihilation, and looks forward with hope and expectation to a state of future existence. This sentiment, resulting from a secret consciousness of its own dignity, from an instinctive longing after immortality, is universal, and may be deemed natural. Upon this are founded the most exalted hopes of man in his highest state of improvement; nor has nature withheld from him this soothing consolation, in the most early and rude period of his progress. We can trace this opinion from one extremity of America to the other, in some regions more faint and obscure, in others more perfectly developed, but nowhere unknown. The most uncivilized of its savage tribes do not apprehend death as the extinction of being. All entertain hopes of a future and more happy state, where they shall be for ever exempt from the calamities which imbitter human life in its present condition. This future state they conceive to be a delightful country, blessed with perpetual spring, whose forests abound with game, whose rivers swarm with fish, where famine is never felt, and uninterrupted plenty shall be enjoyed without labor or toil. But as men, in forming their first imperfect ideas concerning the invisible world, suppose that there they shall continue to feel the same desires, and to be engaged in the same occupations, as in the present world; they naturally ascribe eminence and distinction, in that state to the same qualities and talents which are here the objects of their esteem. The Americans, accordingly allotted the highest place, in their country of spirits, to the skilful hunter, to the adventurous and successful warrior, and to such as had tortured the greatest number of captives, and devoured their flesh. These notions were so prevalent that they gave rise to a universal custom, which is at once the strongest evidence that the Americans believe in a future state, and the best illustration of what they expect there. As they imagine, that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, that their friends may not enter upon it defenceless and unprovided, they bury together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons used in hunting or war; they deposit in their tombs the skins or stuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, maize, venison, domestic utensils, and whatever is reckoned among the necessaries in their simple mode of life. In some provinces, upon the decease of a cazique or chief, a certain number of his wives, of his favorites, and of his slaves, were put to death and interred together with him, that he might appear with the same dignity, in his future station, and waited upon by the same attendants. This persuasion is so deep rooted that many of the deceased person's retainers offer themselves as voluntary victims, and court the privilege of accompanying their departed master, as a high distinction. It has been found difficult, on some occasions, to set bounds to this enthusiasm of affectionate duty, and to reduce the train of a favorite leader to such a number as the tribe could afford to spare. [89]

Among the Americans, as well as other uncivilized nations, many of the rites and observances which bear some resemblance to acts of religion, have no connection with devotion, but proceed from a fond desire of prying into futurity. The human mind is most apt to feel and to discover this vain curiosity, when its own powers are most feeble and uninformed. Astonished with occurrences of which it is unable to comprehend the cause, it naturally fancies that there is something mysterious and wonderful in their origin. Alarmed at events of which it cannot discern the issue or the consequences, it has recourse to other means of discovering them than the exercise of its own sagacity. Wherever superstition is so established as to form a regular system, this desire of penetrating into the secrets of futurity is connected with it. Divination becomes a religious act. Priests, as the ministers of heaven, pretend to deliver its oracles to men. They are the only soothsayers, augurs, and magicians, who profess the sacred and important art of disclosing what is hidden from other eyes.

But, among rude nations, who pay no veneration to any superintending power, and who have no established rites or ministers of religion, their curiosity to discover what is future or unknown, is cherished by a different principle, and derives strength from another alliance. As the diseases of men in the savage state, are (as has been already observed) like those of the animal creation, few, but extremely violent, their impatience under what they suffer, and solicitude for the recovery of health, soon inspired them with extraordinary reverence for such as pretended to understand the nature of their maladies, and to be possessed of knowledge sufficient to preserve or deliver them from their sudden and fatal effects. These ignorant pretenders, however, were such utter strangers to the structure of the human frame, as to be equally unacquainted with the causes of its disorders, and the manner in which they will terminate. Superstition, mingled frequently with some portion of craft, supplied what they wanted in science. They imputed the origin of diseases to supernatural influence, and prescribed or performed a variety of mysterious rites, which they gave out to be of such efficacy as to remove the most dangerous and inveterate maladies. The credulity and love of the marvellous, natural to uninformed men, favored the deception, and prepared them to be the dupes of those impostors. Among savages, their first physicians are a kind of conjurors or wizards, who boast that they know what is past, and can fortell what is to come. Incantations, sorcery, and mummeries of diverse kinds, no less strange than frivolous, are the means which they employ to expel the imaginary causes of malignity; and relying upon the efficacy of these, they predict with confidence what will be the fate of their deluded patients. Thus superstition, in its earliest form, flowed from the solicitude of man to be delivered from present distress, not from his dread of evils awaiting him in a future life, and was originally ingrafted on medicine, not on religion. One of the first and most intelligent historians of America, was struck with this alliance between the art of divination and that of physic, among the people of Hispaniola. But this was not peculiar to them. The *Alexis*, the *Piayas*, the *Autmoins*, or whatever was the distinguishing name of their diviners and charmers in other parts of America, were all the physicians of their respective tribes, in the same manner as the *Bubitos* of Hispaniola. As their function led them to apply to the human mind when enfeebled by sickness, and as they found it, in that season of dejection, prone to be alarmed with imaginary fears, or amused with vain hopes, they easily induced it to rely with implicit confidence on the virtue of their spells, and the certainty of their predictions.

Whenever men acknowledge the reality of supernatural power and discernment in one instance, they have a propensity to admit it in others. The Americans did not long suppose the efficacy of conjuration to be confined to one object. They had recourse to it in every situation of danger or distress. When the events of war were peculiarly disastrous, when they met with unforeseen disappointment in hunting, when inundations or drought threatened their crops with destruction, they called upon their conjurors to begin their incantations, in order to discover the causes of those calamities, or to foretell what would be their issue. Their confidence in this delusive art gradually increased, and manifested itself in all the occurrences of life. When involved in any difficulty, or about to enter upon any transaction of moment, every individual regularly consulted the sorcerer, and depended upon his instructions to extricate him from the former, as well as to direct his conduct in the latter. Even among the rudest tribes in America, superstition appears in this form, and divination is an art in high esteem. Long before man had acquired such knowledge of a deity as inspires reverence, and leads to adoration, we observe him stretching out a presumptuous hand to draw aside that veil with which Providence kindly conceals its purposes from human knowledge; and we find him laboring with fruitless anxiety to penetrate into the mysteries of the divine administration. To discern and to worship a superintending power, is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human understanding; a vain desire of prying into futurity is the error of its infancy, and a proof of its weakness.

From this weakness proceeded likewise the faith of the Americans in dreams, their observation of omens, their attention to the chirping of birds, and the cries of animals, all which they suppose to be indications of future events; and if any one of these prognostics is deemed unfavorable, they instantly abandon the pursuit of those measures on which they are most eagerly bent.

VIII. But if we would form a complete idea of the uncultivated nations of America, we must not pass unobserved some singular customs, which, though universal and characteristic, could not be reduced, with propriety, to any of the articles into which I have divided my inquiry concerning their manners.

Among savages, in every part of the globe, the love of dancing is a favorite passion. As, during a great part of their time, they languish in a state of inactivity and indolence, without any occupation to rouse or interest them, they delight universally in a pastime which calls forth the active powers of their nature into exercise. The Spaniards, when they first visited America, were astonished at the fondness of the natives for dancing, and beheld with wonder a people, cold and unanimated in most of their other pursuits, kindle into life, and exert themselves with ardor, as often as this favorite amusement recurred. Among them, indeed, dancing ought not to be denominated an amusement. It is a serious and important occupation which mingles in every occurrence of public or private life. If any intercourse be necessary between two American tribes, the ambassadors of the one approach in a solemn dance, and present the calumet or emblem of peace; the sachems of the other receive it with the same ceremony. If war is denounced against an enemy, it is by a dance expressive of the resentment which they feel, and of the vengeance which they meditate. If the wrath of their gods is to be appeased, or their beneficence to be celebrated; if they rejoice at the birth of a child, or mourn the death of a friend, they have dances appropriated to each of these situations, and suited to the different sentiments with which they are then animated. If a person is indisposed, a dance is prescribed as the most effectual means of restoring him to health; and if he himself cannot endure the fatigue of such an exercise, the physician or conjuror performs it in his name, as if the virtue of his activity could be transferred to his patient.

All their dances are imitations of some action; and though the music by which they are regulated is extremely simple, and tiresome to the ear by its dull monotony, some of their dances appear wonderfully expressive and animated. The war dance is, perhaps, the most striking. It is the representation of a complete American campaign. The departure of the warriors from their village, their march into the enemy's country, the caution with which they encamp, the address with which they station some of their party in ambush, the manner of surprising the enemy, the noise and ferocity of the combat, the scalping of those who are slain, the seizing of prisoners, the triumphant return of the conquerors, and the torture of the victims, are successively exhibited. The performers enter with such enthusiastic ardor into their several parts; their gestures, their countenance, their voice, are so wild and so well adapted to their various situations that Euro-

peans can hardly believe it to be a mimic scene, or view it without emotions of fear and horror.

But however expressive some of the American dances may be, there is one circumstance in them remarkable, and connected with the character of the race. The songs, the dances, the amusements of other nations, expressive of the sentiments which animate their hearts, are often adapted to display or excite that sensibility which mutually attaches the sexes. Among some people, such is the ardor of this passion, that love is almost the sole object of festivity and joy; and as rude nations are strangers to delicacy, and unaccustomed to disguise any emotion of their minds, their dances are often extremely wanton and indecent. Such is the *Calenda*, of which the natives of Africa are so passionately fond; and such the feats of the dancing girls which the Asiatics contemplate with so much avidity of desire. But among the Americans, more cold and indifferent to their females, from causes which I have already explained, the passion of love mingles but little with their festivals and pastimes. Their songs and dances are mostly solemn and martial; they are connected with some of the serious and important affairs of life; and, having no relation to love or gallantry, are seldom common to the two sexes, but executed by the men and women apart. [90] If, on some occasions, the women are permitted to join in the festival, the character of the entertainment is still the same, and no movement or gesture is expressive of attachment, or encourages familiarity.

An immoderate love of play, especially at games of hazard, which seems to be natural to all people unaccustomed to the occupations of regular industry, is likewise universal among the Americans. The same causes, which so often prompt persons in civilized life, who are at their ease, to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. The former are independent of labor, the latter do not feel the necessity of it; and as both are unemployed, they run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and to agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage in play become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms, are staked at the gaming table, and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or of hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast. Among several tribes, such gaming parties frequently recur, and become their most acceptable entertainment at every great festival. Superstition, which is apt to take hold of those passions which are most vigorous, frequently lends its aid to confirm and strengthen this favorite inclination. Their conjurors are accustomed to prescribe a solemn match at play as one of the most efficacious methods of appeasing their gods, or of restoring the sick to health.

From causes similiar to those which render them fond of play, the Americans are extremely addicted to drunkenness. It seems to have been one of the first exertions of human ingenuity to discover some composition of an intoxicating quality; and there is hardly any nation so rude, or so destitute of invention, as not to have succeeded in this fatal research. The most barbarous of the American tribes have been so unfortunate as to attain this art; and even those which are so deficient in knowledge, as to be unacquainted with the method of giving an inebriating strength to liquors by fermentation, can accomplish the same end by other means. The people of the islands of North America, and of California, used, for this purpose, the smoke of tobacco, drawn up with a certain instrument into the nostrils, the fumes of which ascending to the brain, they felt all the transports and phrensy of intoxication. [91] In almost every other part of the New World, the natives possessed the art of extracting an intoxicating liquor from maize or the manioc root, the same substances which they convert into bread. The operation by which they effect this nearly resembles the common one of brewing, but with this difference, that, in place of yeast, they use a nauseous infusion of a certain quantity of maize or manioc chewed by their women. The saliva excites a vigorous fermentation, and in a few days the liquor becomes fit for drinking. It is not disagreeable to the taste, and, when swallowed in large quantities, is of an intoxicating quality. This is the general beverage of the Americans, which they distinguish by various names, and for which they feel such a violent and insatiable desire as it is not easy either to conceive or describe. Among polished nations, where a succession of various functions and amusements keeps the mind in continual occupation, the desire for strong drink is regulated in a great measure by the climate, and increases or diminishes according to the variations of its temperature. In warm regions, the delicate and sensible frame of the inhabitants does not require the stimulation of fermented liquors. In colder countries, the constitution of the natives, more robust and more sluggish, stands in need of generous liquors to quicken and animate it. But among savages, the desire of something that is of power to intoxicate is in every situation the same. All the people of America, if we except some small tribes near the Straits of Magellan, whether natives of the torrid zone, or inhabitants of its more temperate regions, or placed by a harder fate in the severe climate towards its northern or southern extremity, appear to be equally under the dominion of this appetite. Such a similarity of taste, among people in such different situations, must be ascribed to the influence of some moral cause, and cannot be considered as the effect of any physical or constitutional want. While engaged in war or in the chase, the savage is often in the most interesting situations, and all the powers of his nature are roused to the most vigorous exertions. But those animating scenes are succeeded by long intervals of repose, during which the warrior meets with nothing that he deems of sufficient dignity or importance to merit his attention. He languishes and mopes in this season of indolence. The posture of his body is an emblem of the state of his mind. In one climate, cowering over the fire in his cabin; in another, stretched under the shade of some tree, he dozes away his time in sleep, or in an unthinking joyless inactivity not far removed from it. As strong liquors awake him from this torpid state, give a brisker motion to his spirits, and enliven him more thoroughly than either dancing or gaming, his love of them is excessive. A savage, when not engaged in action, is a pensive melancholy animal; but as soon as he tastes, or has a prospect of tasting, the intoxicating draught, he becomes gay and frolicsome. Whatever be the occasion or pretexts on which the Americans assemble, the meeting always terminates in a debauch. Many of their festivals have no other object, and they welcome the return of them with transports of joy. As they are not accustomed to restrain any appetite, they set no bounds to this. The riot often continues without intermission several days; and whatever may be the fatal effects of their excess, they never cease from drinking as long as one drop of liquor remains. The persons of greatest eminence, the most distinguished warriors, and the chiefs most renowned for their wisdom, have no greater command of themselves than the most obscure members of the community. Their eagerness for present enjoyment renders them blind to its fatal consequences; and those very men, who in other situations seem to possess a force of mind more than human, are in this instance inferior to children, in forsight as well as consideration, and mere slaves of brutal appetite. When their passions, naturally strong, are heightened and inflamed by drink, they are guilty of the most enormous outrages, and the festivity seldom concludes without deeds of violence or bloodshed.

But, amidst this wild debauch, there is one circumstance remarkable; the women, in most of the American tribes, are not permitted to partake of it. [92] Their province is to prepare the liqour, to serve it about to the guests, and to take care of their husbands and friends when their reason is overpowered. This exclusion of the women from an enjoyment so highly valued by savages, may be justly considered as a mark of their inferiority, and as an additional evidence of that contempt with which they were treated in the New World. The people of North America, when first discovered, were not acquainted with any intoxicating drink; but as the Europeans early found it their interest to supply them with spirituous liquors, drunkenness soon became as universal among them as among their countrymen to the south; and their women, having acquired this new taste, indulge it with as little decency and moderation as the men.

It were endless to enumerate all the detached customs which have excited the wonder of travellers in America; but I cannot omit one seemingly as singular as any that has been mentioned. When their parents and other relations become old, or labor under any distemper which their slender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, the Americans cut short their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burden of supporting and tending them. This practice prevailed among the ruder tribes in every part of the continent, from Hudson's Bay to the river De la Plata; and however shocking it may be to those sentiments of tenderness and attachment, which, in civilized life, we are apt to consider as congenial with our frame, the condition of man in the savage state leads and reconciles him to it. The same hardships and difficulty of procuring subsistence, which deter savages, in some cases, from rearing their children, prompt them to destroy the aged and infirm. The declining state of the one is as helpless as the infancy of the other. The former are no less unable than the latter to perform the functions that belong to a warrior or hunter, or to endure those various distresses in which savages are so often involved by their own want of foresight and industry. Their relations feel this; and, incapable of attending to the wants or weaknesses of others, their impatience under an additional burden prompts them to extinguish that life which they find it difficult to sustain. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An American, broken with years and infirmities, conscious that he can no longer depend on the aid of those around him, places himself contentedly in his grave; and it is by the hands of his children or nearest relations that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releases him for ever from the sorrows of life.

IX. After contemplating the rude American tribes in such various lights; after taking a view of their customs and manners from so many different stations, nothing remains but to form a general estimate of their character compared with that of more polished nations. A human being, as he comes originally from the hand of nature, is every where the same. At his first appearance in the state of infancy, whether it be among the rudest savages or in the most civilized nation, we can discern no quality which marks any distinction or superiority. The capacity of improvement seems to be the same; and the talents he may afterwards acquire, as well as the virtues he may be rendered capable of exercising, depend, in a great measure, upon the state of society in which he is placed. To this state his mind naturally accommodates itself, and from it receives discipline and culture. In proportion to the wants which it accustoms a human being to feel, and the functions in which these engage him, his intellectual powers are called forth. According to the connexions which it establishes between him and the rest of his species, the affections of his heart are exerted. It is only by attending to this great principle that we can discover what is the character of man in every different period of his progress.

If we apply it to savage life, and measure the attainments of the human mind in that state by this standard, we shall find, according to an observation which I have already made, that the intellectual powers of man must be extremely limited in their operations. They are confined within the narrow sphere of what he deems necessary for supplying his own wants. Whatever has not some relation to these neither attracts his attention, nor is the object of his inquiries. But however narrow the bounds may be within which the knowledge of a savage is circumscribed, he possesses thoroughly that small portion which he has attained. It was not communicated to him by formal instruction; he does not attend to it as a matter of mere speculation and curiosity; it is the result of his own observation, the fruit of his own experience, and accommodated to his condition and exigencies. While employed in the active occupations of war or of hunting, he often finds himself in difficult and perilous situations, from which the efforts of his own sagacity must extricate him. He is frequently engaged in measures, where every step depends upon his own ability to decide, where he must rely solely upon this own penetration to discern the dangers to which he is exposed, and upon his own wisdom in providing against them. In consequence of this, he feels the knowledge which he possesses, and efforts which he makes, and either in deliberation or action rests on himself alone.

As the talents of individuals are exercised and improved by such exertions, much political wisdom is said to be displayed in conducting the affairs of their small communities. The council of old men in an American tribe, deliberating upon its interests, and determining with respect to peace or war, has been compared to the senate in more polished republics. The proceedings of the former, we are told, are often no less formal and sagacious than those of the latter. Great political wisdom is exhibited in pondering the various measures proposed, and in balancing their probable advantages against the evils of which they may be productive. Much address and eloquence are employed by the leaders, who aspire at acquiring such confidence with

their countrymen, as to have an ascendant in those assemblies. But, among savage tribes, the field for displaying political talents cannot be extensive. Where the idea of private property is incomplete, and no criminal jurisdiction is established, there is hardly any function of internal government to exercise. Where there is no commerce, and scarcely any intercourse among separate tribes; where enmity is implacable, and hostilities are carried on almost without intermission; there will be few points of public concern to adjust with their neighbors; and that department of their affairs which may be denominated foreign, cannot be so intricate as to require much refined policy in conducting it. Where individuals are so thoughtless and improvident as seldom to take effectual precautions for self-preservation, it is vain to expect that public measures and deliberations will be regulated by the contemplation of remote events. It is the genius of savages to act from the impulse of present passion. They have neither foresight nor temper to form complicated arrangements with respect to their future conduct. The consultations of the Americans, indeed, are so frequent, and their negotiations are so many, [93] and so long protracted, as to give their proceedings an extraordinary aspect of wisdom But this is not owing so much to the depth of their schemes, as to the coldness and phlegm of their temper, which render them slow in determining. If we except the celebrated league, that united the Five Nations in Canada, into a federal republic, which shall be considered in its proper place, we can discern few such traces of political wisdom, among the rude American tribes, as discover any great degree of foresight or extent of intellectual abilities. Even among them, we shall find public measures more frequently directed by the impetuous ferocity of their youth, than regulated by the experience and wisdom of their old men.

As the condition of man in the savage state is unfavorable to the progress of the understanding, it has a tendency likewise, in some respects, to check the exercise of affection, and to render the heart contracted. The strongest feeling in the mind of a savage is a sense of his own independence. He has sacrificed so small a portion of his natural liberty by becoming a member of society, that he remains, in a great degree, the sole master of his own actions. He often takes his resolutions alone, without consulting or feeling any connection with the persons around him. In many of his operations he stands as much detached from the rest of his species as if he had formed no union with them. Conscious how little he depends upon other men, he is apt to view them with a careless indifference. Even the force of his mind contributes to increase this unconcern; and as he looks not beyond himself in deliberating with respect to the part which he should act, his solicitude about the consequences of it seldom extends further. He pursues his own career, and indulges his own fancy, without inquiring or regarding whether what he does be agreeable or offensive to others, whether they may derive benefit or receive hurt from it. Hence the ungovernable caprice of savages, their impatience under any species of restraint, their inability to suppress or moderate any inclination, the scorn or neglect with which they receive advice, their high estimation of themselves, and their contempt of other men. Among them, the pride of independence produces almost the same effects with interestedness in a more advanced state of society; it refers every thing to a man himself, it leads him to be indifferent about the manner in which his actions may affect other men, and renders the gratification of his own wishes the measure and end of conduct.

To the same cause may be imputed the hardness of heart and insensibility remarkable in all savage nations. Their minds, roused only by strong emotions, are little susceptible of gentle, delicate, or tender affections. Their union is so incomplete that each individual acts as if he retained all his natural rights entire and undiminished. If a favor is conferred upon him, or any beneficial service is performed on his account, he receives it with much satisfaction, because it contributes to his enjoyment; but this sentiment extends not beyond himself, it excites no sense of obligation, he neither feels gratitude, nor thinks of making any return.[94] Even among persons the most closely connected, the exchange of those good offices which strengthen attachment, mollify the heart, and sweeten the intercourse of life, is not frequent. The high ideas of independence among the Americans nourish a sullen reserve, which keeps them at a distance from each other. The nearest relations are mutually afraid to make any demand, or to solicit any service, lest it should be considered by the other as imposing a burden, or laying a restraint upon his will.

I have already remarked the influence of this hard unfeeling temper upon domestic life, with respect to the connection between husband and wife, as well as that between parents and children. Its effects are no less conspicuous, in the performance of those mutual offices of tenderness which the infirmities of our nature frequently exact. Among some tribes, when any of their number are seized with any violent disease, they are generally abandoned by all around them, who, careless of their recovery, fly in the utmost consternation from the supposed danger of infection. But even where they are not thus deserted, the cold indifference with which they are attended can afford them little consolation. No look of sympathy, no soothing expressions, no officious services, contribute to alleviate the distress of the sufferers, or to make them forget what they endure. Their nearest relations will often refuse to submit to the smallest inconveniency, or to part with the least trifle, however much it may tend to their accommodation or relief. So little is the breast of a savage susceptible of those sentiments which prompt men to that feeling attention which mitigates the calamities of human life, that, in some provinces of America, the Spaniards have found it necessary to enforce the common duties of humanity by positive laws, and to oblige husbands and wives, parents and children, under severe penalties, to take care of each other during their sickness. The same harshness of temper is still more conspicuous in their treatment of the animal creation. Prior to their intercourse with the people of Europe, the North Americans had some tame dogs, which accompanied them in their hunting excursions, and served them with all the ardor and fidelity peculiar to the species. But, instead of that fond attachment which the hunter naturally feels towards those useful companions of his toils, they requite their services with neglect, seldom feed, and never caress them. In other provinces the Americans have become acquainted with the domestic animals of Europe, and availed themselves of their service; but it is universally observed that they always treat them harshly, and never employ any method either for breaking or managing them, but force and cruelty. In every part of the deportment of man in his savage state, whether towards his equals of the human species, or towards the animals below him, we recognise the same character, and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, and regulated by its own caprice, with little attention or sensibility to the sentiments and feelings of the beings around him.

After explaining how unfavorable the savage state is to the cultivation of the understanding, and to the improvement of the heart, I should not have thought it necessary to mention what may be deemed its lesser defects, if the character of nations, as well as of individuals, were not often more distinctly marked by circumstances apparently trivial than by those of greater moment. A savage frequently placed in situations of danger and distress, depending on himself alone, and wrapped up in his own thoughts and schemes, is a serious melancholy animal. His attention to others is small. The range of his own ideas is narrow. Hence that taciturnity which is so disgusting to men accustomed to the open intercourse of social conversation. When they are not engaged in action, the Americans often sit whole days in one posture, without opening their lips. When they go forth to war, or to the chase, they usually march in a line at some distance from one another, and without exchanging a word. The same profound silence is observed when they row together in a canoe. It is only when they are animated by intoxicating liquors, or roused by the jollity of the festival and dance, that they become gay and conversible.

To the same causes may be imputed the refined cunning with which they form and execute their schemes. Men who are not habituated to a liberal communication of their own sentiments and wishes, are apt to be so distrustful as to place little confidence in others, and to have recourse to an insidious craft in accomplishing their own purposes. In civilized life, those persons who by their situations have but a few objects of pursuit on which their minds incessantly dwell, are most remarkable for low artifice in carrying on their little projects. Among savages, whose views are equally confined, and their attention no less persevering, those circumstances must operate still more powerfully, and gradually accustom them to a disingenuous subtlety in all their transactions. The force of this is increased by habits which they acquire in carrying on the two most interesting operations wherein they are engaged. With them war is a system of craft, in which they trust for success to stratagem more than to open force, and have their invention continually on the stretch to circumvent and surprise their enemies. As hunters, it is their constant object to ensnare in order that they may destroy. Accordingly, art and cunning have been universally observed as distinguishing characteristics of all savages. The people of the rude tribes of America are remarkable for their artifice and duplicity. Impenetrably secret in forming their measures, they pursue them with a patient undeviating attention, and there is no refinement of dissimulation which they cannot employ, in order to ensure success. The natives of Peru were engaged above thirty years in concerting the plan of that insurrection which took place under the vice-royalty of the Marquis de Villa Garcia; and though it was communicated to a great number of persons, in all different ranks, no indication of it ever transpired during that long period; no man betrayed his trust, or, by an unguarded look, or rash word, gave rise to any suspicion of what was intended. The dissimulation and craft of individuals is no less remarkable than that of nations. When set upon deceiving, they wrap themselves up so artificially, that it is impossible to penetrate into their intentions, or to detect their designs.

But if there be defects or vices peculiar to the savage state, there are likewise virtues which it inspires, and good qualities, to the exercise of which it is friendly. The bonds of society sit so loose upon the members of the more rude American tribes, that they hardly feel any restraint. Hence the spirit of independence, which is the pride of a savage, and which he considers as the unalienable prerogative of man. Incapable of control, and disdaining to acknowledge any superior, his mind, though limited in its powers, and erring in many of its pursuits, acquires such elevation by the consciousness of its own freedom, that he acts on some occasions with astonishing force, and perseverance, and dignity.

As independence nourishes this high spirit among savages, the perpetual wars in which they are engaged call it forth into action. Such long intervals of tranquillity as are frequent in polished societies are unknown in the savage state. Their enmities, as I have observed, are implacable and immortal. The valor of the young men is never allowed to rust in inaction. The hatchet is always in the hand, either for attack or defence. Even in their hunting excursions, they must be on their guard against surprise from the hostile tribes by which they are surrounded. Accustomed to continual alarms, they grow familiar with danger; courage becomes an habitual virtue, resulting naturally from their situation, and strengthened by constant exertions. The mode of displaying fortitude may not be the same in small and rude communities, as in more powerful and civilized states. Their system of war, and standard of valor may be formed upon different principles; but in no situation does the human mind rise more superior to the sense of danger, or the dread of death, than in its most simple and uncultivated state.

Another virtue remarkable among savages, is attachment to the community of which they are members From the nature of their political union, one might expect this tie to be extremely feeble. But there are circumstances which render the influence, even of their loose mode of association, very powerful. The American tribes are small; combined against their neighbors, in prosecution of ancient enmities, or in avenging recent injuries, their interests and operations are neither numerous nor complex. These are objects which the uncultivated understanding of a savage can comprehend. His heart is capable of forming connections which are so little diffused. He assents with warmth to public measures, dictated by passions similar to those which direct his own conduct. Hence the ardor with which individuals undertake the most perilous service, when the community deems it necessary. Hence their fierce and deep rooted antipathy to the public enemies. Hence their zeal for the honor of their tribe, and that love of their country, which prompts them to brave danger that it may triumph, and to endure the most exquisite torments, without a groan, that it may not be disgraced.

Thus, in every situation where a human being can be placed ever, in the most unfavorable, there are virtues which peculiarly belong to it; there are affections which it calls forth; there is a species of happiness which it yields. Nature, with the most beneficent intention, conciliates and forms the mind to its condition; the ideas and wishes of man extend not beyond that state of society to which he is habituated. What

it presents as objects of contemplation or enjoyment, fills and satisfies his mind, and he can hardly conceive any other mode of life to be pleasant, or even tolerable. The Tartar, accustomed to roam over extensive plains, and to subsist on the product of his herds, imprecates upon his enemy, as the greatest of all curses, that he may be condemned to reside in one place, and to be nourished with the top of a weed. The rude Americans, fond of their own pursuits, and satisfied with their own lot, are equally unable to comprehend the intention or utility of the various accommodations, which, in more polished society are deemed essential to the comfort of life. Far from complaining of their own situation, or viewing that of men in a more improved state with admiration or envy, they regard themselves as the standard of excellence, as beings the best entitled, as well as the most perfectly qualified to enjoy real happiness. Unaccustomed to any restraint upon their will or their actions, they behold with amazement the inequality of rank, and the subordination which takes place in civilized life, and consider the voluntary submission of one man to another as a renunciation no less base than unaccountable, of the first distinction of humanity. Void of foresight as well as free from care themselves, and delighted with that state of indolent security, they wonder at the anxious precautions, the unceasing industry, and complicated arrangements of Europeans, in guarding against distant evils, or providing for future wants; and they often exclaim against their preposterous folly, in thus multiplying the troubles and increasing the labor of life. This preference of their own manners is conspicuous on every occasion. Even the names, by which the various nations wish to be distinguished, are assumed from this idea of their own pre-eminence. The appellation which the Iroquois gave to themselves is *the chief of men*. *Caraibe*, the original name of the fierce inhabitants of the Windward Islands, signifies *the warlike people*. The Cherokees, from an idea of their own superiority, call the Europeans *Nothings*, or *the accursed race*, and assume to themselves the name of *the beloved people*. The same principle regulated the notions of the other Americans concerning the Europeans; for although at first they were filled with astonishment at their arts, and with dread of their power, they soon came to abate their estimation of men whose maxims of life were so different from their own. Hence they called them the froth of the sea, men without father or mother. They supposed, that either they had no country of their own, and therefore invaded that which belonged to others; or that, being destitute of the necessaries of life at home, they were obliged to roam over the ocean, in order to rob such as were more amply provided.

Men thus satisfied with their own condition are far from any inclination to relinquish their own habits, or to adopt those of civilized life. The transition is too violent to be suddenly made. Even where endeavors have been used to wean a savage from his own customs, and to render the accommodations of polished society familiar to him; even where he has been allowed to taste of those pleasures, and has been honored with those distinctions, which are the chief objects of our desire, he droops and languishes under the restraint of laws and forms, he seizes the first opportunity of breaking loose from them, and returns with transport to the forest or the wild, where he can enjoy a careless and uncontrolled freedom.

Thus I have finished a laborious delineation of the character and manners of the uncivilized tribes scattered over the vast continent of America. In this, I aspire not at rivalling the great masters who have painted and adorned savage life, either in boldness of design, or in the glow and beauty of their coloring. I am satisfied with the more humble merit of having persisted with patient industry, in viewing my subject in many various lights, and collecting from the most accurate observers such detached, and often minute features, as might enable me to exhibit a portrait that resembles the original.

Before I close this part of my work, one observation more is necessary, in order to justify the conclusions which I have formed, or to prevent the mistakes into which such as examine them may fall. In contemplating the inhabitants of a country so widely extended as America, great attention should be paid to the diversity of climates under which they are placed. The influence of this I have pointed out with respect to several important particulars which have been the object of research; but even where it has not been mentioned, it ought not to be overlooked. The provinces of America are of such different temperament, that this alone is sufficient to constitute a distinction between their inhabitants. In every part of the earth where man exists, the power of climate operates, with decisive influence, upon his condition and character. In those countries which approach near to the extremes of heat or cold, this influence is so conspicuous as to strike every eye. Whether we consider man merely as an animal, or as being endowed with rational powers which fit him for activity and speculation, we shall find that he has uniformly attained the greatest perfection of which his nature is capable, in the temperate regions of the globe. There his constitution is most vigorous, his organs most acute, and his form most beautiful. There, too, he possesses a superior extent of capacity, greater fertility of imagination, more enterprising courage, and a sensibility of heart which gives birth to desires, not only ardent, but persevering. In this favorite situation he has displayed the utmost efforts of his genius, in literature, in policy, in commerce, in war, and in all the arts which improve or embellish life.

This powerful operation of climate is felt most sensibly by rude nations, and produces greater effects than in societies more improved. The talents of civilized men are continually exerted in rendering their own condition more comfortable; and by their ingenuity and inventions, they can in a great measure supply the defects, and guard against the inconveniences of any climate. But the improvident savage is affected by every circumstance peculiar to his situation. He takes no precaution either to mitigate or to improve it. Like a plant or an animal, he is formed by the climate under which he is placed, and feels the full force of its influence.

In surveying the rude nations of America, this natural distinction between the inhabitants of the temperate and torrid zones is very remarkable. They may, accordingly, be divided into two great classes. The one comprehends all the North Americans from the river St. Laurence to the Gulf of Mexico, together with the people of Chili, and a few small tribes towards the extremity of the southern continent. To the other belong all the inhabitants of the islands, and those settled in the various provinces which extend from the isthmus of Darien almost to the southern confines of Brasil, along the east side of the Andes. In the former, which comprehends all the regions of the temperate zone that in America are inhabited, the human species appears manifestly to be more perfect. The natives are more robust, more active, more intelligent, and more courageous. They possess, in the most eminent degree, that force of mind, and love of independence, which I have pointed out as the chief virtues of man in his savage state. They have defended their liberty with persevering fortitude against the Europeans, who subdued the other rude nations of America with the greatest ease. The natives of the temperate zone are the only people in the New World who are indebted for their freedom to their own valor. The North Americans, though long encompassed by three formidable European powers, still retain part of their original possessions, and continue to exist as independent nations. The people of Chili, though early invaded, still maintain a gallant contest with the Spaniards, and have set bounds to their encroachments; whereas, in the warmer regions, men are more feeble in their frame, less vigorous in the efforts of their minds, of a gentle but dastardly spirit, more enslaved by pleasure, and more sunk in indolence. Accordingly, it is in the torrid zone that the Europeans have most completely established their dominion over America; the most fertile and desirable provinces in it are subjected to their yoke; and if several tribes there still enjoy independence, it is either because they have never been attacked by an enemy already satiated with conquest, and possessed of larger territories than he was able to occupy, or because they have been saved from oppression by their remote and inaccessible situation.

Conspicuous as this distinction may appear between the inhabitants of those different regions, it is not, however, universal. Moral and political causes, as I have formerly observed, affect the disposition and character of individuals, as well as nations, still more powerfully than the influence of climate. There are, accordingly, some tribes, in various parts of the torrid zone, possessed of courage, high spirit, and the love of independence, in a degree hardly inferior to the natives of more temperate climates. We are too little acquainted with the history of these people, to be able to trace the several circumstances in their progress and condition, to which they are indebted for this remarkable pre-eminence. The fact, nevertheless, is certain. As early as the first voyage of Columbus, he received information that several of the islands were inhabited by the *Carribbees*, a fierce race of men, nowise resembling their feeble and timid neighbors. In his second expedition to the New World, he found this information to be just, and was himself a witness of their intrepid valor. [95] The same character they have maintained invariably in all subsequent contests with the people of Europe; and even in our own times we have seen them make a gallant stand in defence of the last territory which the rapacity of the invaders had left in their possession. [96] Some nations in Brasil were no less eminent for vigor of mind and bravery in war. The people of the isthmus of Darien boldly met the Spaniards in the field, and frequently repelled those formidable invaders. Other instances might be produced. It is not by attending to any single cause or principle, how powerful and extensive soever its influence may appear, that we can explain the actions, or account for the character of men. Even the law of climate, more universal, perhaps, in its operation than any that affects the human species, cannot be applied, in judging of their conduct, without many exceptions.

BOOK V.

History of the conquest of New Spain by Cortes.

When Grijalva [1518.] returned to Cuba, he found the armament destined to attempt the conquest of that rich country which he had discovered almost complete. Not only ambition, but avarice, had urged Velasquez to hasten his preparations; and having such a prospect of gratifying both, he had advanced considerable sums out of his private fortune towards defraying the expenses of the expedition. At the same time, he exerted his influence as governor, in engaging the most distinguished persons in the colony to undertake the service. [97] At a time when the spirit of the Spanish nation was adventurous to excess, a number of soldiers, eager to embark in any daring enterprise, soon appeared. But it was not so easy to find a person qualified to take the command in an expedition of so much importance; and the character of Velasquez, who had the right of nomination, greatly increased the difficulty of the choice. Though of most aspiring ambition, and not destitute of talents for government, he possessed neither such courage, nor such vigor and activity of mind, as to undertake in person the conduct of the armament which he was preparing. In this embarrassing situation, he formed the chimerical scheme, not only of achieving great exploits by a deputy, but of securing to himself the glory of conquests which were to be made by another. In the execution of this plan, he fondly aimed at reconciling contradictions. He was solicitous to choose a commander of intrepid resolution, and of superior abilities, because he knew these to be requisite in order to ensure success; but, at the same time, from the jealousy natural to little minds, he wished this person to be of a spirit so tame and obsequious as to be entirely dependent on his will. But when he came to apply those ideas in forming an opinion concerning the several officers who occurred to his thoughts as worthy of being intrusted with the command, he soon perceived that it was impossible to find such incompatible qualities united in one character. Such as were distinguished for courage and talents were too high spirited to be passive instruments in his hands. Those who appeared more gentle and tractable were destitute of capacity, and unequal to the charge. This augmented his perplexity and his fears. He deliberated long and with much solicitude, and was still wavering in his choice when Amador de Lares, the royal treasurer in Cuba, and Andres Duera, his own secretary, the two persons in whom he chiefly confided, were encouraged by this irresolution to propose a new candidate; and they supported their recommendation with such assiduity and address, that, no less fatally for Velasquez than happily for their country, it proved successful.

The man whom they pointed out to him was Fernando Cortes. He was born at Medellin, a small town in Estremadura, in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-five, and descended from a family of noble blood, but of very moderate fortune. Being originally destined by his parents to the study of law, as the most likely method of bettering his condition, he was sent early to the university of Salamanca, where he imbibed some tincture of learning. But he was soon disgusted with an academic life, which did not suit his ardent and restless genius, and retired to Medellin, where he gave himself up entirely to active sports and martial exercises. At this period of life he was so impetuous, so overbearing, and so dissipated, that his father was glad

to comply with his inclination, and sent him abroad as an adventurer in arms. There were in that age two conspicuous theatres, on which such of the Spanish youth as courted military glory might display their valor; one in Italy, under the command of the Great Captain; the other in the New World. Cortes preferred the former, but was prevented by indisposition from embarking with a reinforcement of troops sent to Naples. Upon this disappointment he turned his views towards America, whither he was allured by the prospect of the advantages which he might derive from the patronage of Ovando, [98] the governor of Hispaniola, who was his kinsman. When he landed at St. Domingo, in one thousand five hundred and four, his reception was such as equalled his most sanguine hopes, and he was employed by the Governor in several honorable and lucrative stations. These, however, did not satisfy his ambition; and, in the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, he obtained permission to accompany Diego Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba. In this service he distinguished himself so much, that, notwithstanding some violent contests with Velasquez, occasioned by trivial events unworthy of remembrance, he was at length taken into favor, and received an ample concession of lands and of Indians, the recompense usually bestowed upon adventurers in the New World.

Though Cortes had not hitherto acted in high command, he had displayed such qualities in several scenes of difficulty and danger, as raised universal expectation, and turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him as one capable of performing great things. The turbulence of youth, as soon as he found objects and occupations suited to the ardor of his mind, gradually subsided and settled into a habit of regular indefatigable activity. The impetuosity of his temper, when he came to act with his equals, insensibly abated, by being kept under restraint, and mellowed into a cordial soldierly frankness. These qualities were accompanied with calm prudence in concerting his schemes, with persevering vigor in executing them, and with, what is peculiar to superior genius, the art of gaining the confidence and governing the minds of men. To all which were added the inferior accomplishments that strike the vulgar, and command their respect; a graceful person, a winning aspect, extraordinary address in martial exercises, and a constitution of such vigor as to be capable of enduring any fatigue.

As soon as Cortes was mentioned to Velasquez by his two confidants, he flattered himself that he had at length found what he had hitherto sought in vain, a man with talents for command, but not an object for jealousy. Neither the rank nor the fortune of Cortes, as he imagined, was such that he could aspire at independence. He had reason to believe that by his own readiness to bury ancient animosities in oblivion, as well as his liberality in conferring several recent favors, he had already gained the good will of Cortes, and hoped, by this new and unexpected mark of confidence, that he might attach him for ever to his interest.

Cortes, receiving his commission [Oct. 23,] with the warmest expressions of respect and gratitude to the governor, immediately erected his standard before his own house, appeared in a military dress, and assumed all the ensigns of his new dignity. His utmost influence and activity were exerted in persuading many of his friends to engage in the service, and in urging forward the preparations for the voyage. All his own funds, together with what money he could raise by mortgaging his lands and Indians, were expended in purchasing military stores and provisions, or in supplying the wants of such of his officers as were unable to equip themselves in a manner suited to their rank. [99] Inoffensive and even laudable as this conduct was, his disappointed competitors were malicious enough to give it a turn to his disadvantage. They represented him as aiming already, with little disguise, at establishing an independent authority over his troops, and endeavoring to secure their respect or love by his ostentatious and interested liberality. They reminded Velasquez of his former dissensions with the man in whom he now reposed so much confidence, and foretold that Cortes would be more apt to avail himself of the power which the governor was inconsiderately putting in his hands, to avenge past injuries than to requite recent obligations. These insinuations made such impression upon the suspicious mind of Velasquez, that Cortes soon observed some symptoms of a growing alienation and distrust in his behavior, and was advised by Lares and Duero to hasten his departure before these should become so confirmed as to break out with open violence. Fully sensible of this danger, he urged forward his preparations with such rapidity that he set sail from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth of November. Velasquez accompanying him to the shore, and taking leave of him with an appearance of perfect friendship and confidence, though he had secretly given it in charge to some of Cortes' officers, to keep a watchful eye upon every part of their commander's conduct.

Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores, of which his stock was still very incomplete. He had hardly left St. Jago, when the jealousy which had been working in the breast of Velasquez grew so violent that it was impossible to suppress it. The armament was no longer under his own eye and direction; and he felt that as his power over it ceased, that of Cortes would become more absolute. Imagination now aggravated every circumstance which had formerly excited suspicion: the rivals of Cortes industriously threw in reflections which increased his fear; and with no less art than malice they called superstition to their aid, employing the predictions of an astrologer in order to complete the alarm. All these, by their united operation, produced the desired effect. Velasquez repented bitterly of his own imprudence, in having committed a trust of so much importance to a person whose fidelity appeared so doubtful, and hastily despatched instructions to Trinidad, empowering Verdugo, the chief magistrate there, to deprive Cortes of his commission. But Cortes had already made such progress in gaining the esteem and confidence of his troops, that, finding officers as well as soldiers equally zealous to support his authority, he soothed or intimidated Verdugo, and was permitted to depart from Trinidad without molestation.

From Trinidad Cortes sailed for the Havana, in order to raise more soldiers, and to complete the victualling of his fleet. There several persons of distinction entered into the service, and engaged to supply what provisions were still wanting; but as it was necessary to allow them some time for performing what they had promised, Vslasquez, sensible that he ought no longer to rely on a man of whom he had so openly discovered his distrust, availed himself of the interval which this unavoidable delay afforded, in order to make one attempt more to wrest the command out of the hands of Cortes. He loudly complained of Verdugo's conduct, accusing him either of childish facility, or of manifest treachery, in suffering Cortes to escape from Trinidad. Anxious to guard against a second disappointment, he sent a person of confidence to the Havana, with peremptory injunctions to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, to send him prisoner to St. Jago under a strong guard, and to countermand the sailing of the armament until he should receive further orders. He wrote likewise to the principal officers, requiring them to assist Barba in executing what he had given him in charge. But before the arrival of this messenger, a Franciscan friar of St. Jago had secretly conveyed an account of this interesting transaction to Bartholomew de Olmedo, a monk of the same order, who acted as chaplain to the expedition. Cortes, forewarned of the danger, had time to take precautions for his own safety. His first step was to find some pretext for removing from the Havana Diego de Ordaz, an officer of great merit, but in whom, on account of his known attachment to Velasquez, he could not confide in this trying and delicate juncture. He gave him the command of a vessel destined to take on board some provisions in a small harbor beyond Cape Antonio, and thus made sure of his absence without seeming to suspect his fidelity. When he was gone, Cortes no longer concealed the intentions of Velasquez from his troops; and as officers and soldiers were equally impatient to set out on an expedition, in preparing for which most of them had expended all their fortunes, they expressed their astonishment and indignation at that illiberal jealousy to which the governor was about to sacrifice, not only the honor of their general, but all their sanguine hopes of glory and wealth. With one voice they entreated that he would not abandon the important station to which he had such a good title. They conjured him not to deprive them of a leader whom they followed with such well founded confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood in maintaining his authority. Cortes was easily induced to comply with what he himself so ardently desired. He swore that he would never desert soldiers who had given him such a signal proof of their attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country which had been so long the object of their thoughts and wishes. This declaration was received with transports of military applause, accompanied with threats and imprecations against all who should presume to call in question the jurisdiction of their general, or to obstruct the execution of his designs.

Every thing was now ready for their departure; but though this expedition was fitted out by the united effort of the Spanish power in Cuba; though every settlement had contributed its quota of men and provisions; though the governor had laid out considerable sums, and each adventurer had exhausted his stock, or strained his credit, the poverty of the preparations was such as must astonish the present age, and bore, indeed, no resemblance to an armament destined for the conquest of a great empire. The fleet consisted of eleven vessels; the largest of a hundred tons, which was dignified by the name of Admiral; three of seventy or eighty tons, and the rest small open barks. On board of these were six hundred and seventeen men; of which five hundred and eight belonged to the land service, and a hundred and nine were seamen or artificers. The soldiers were divided into eleven companies, according to the number of the ships; to each of which Cortes appointed a captain, and committed to him the command of the vessel while at sea, and of the men when on shore. [100] As the use of fire arms among the nations of Europe was hitherto confined to a few battalions of regularly disciplined infantry, only thirteen soldiers were armed with muskets, thirty-two were cross-bow men, and the rest had swords and spears. Instead of the usual defensive armour, which must have been cumbersome in a hot climate, the soldiers wore jackets quilted with cotton, which experience had taught the Spaniards to be a sufficient protection against the weapons of the Americans. They had only sixteen horses, ten small field pieces, and four falconets.

With this slender and ill provided train did Cortes set sail [Feb. 10, 1519,] to make war upon a monarch whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown. As religious enthusiasm always mingled with the spirit of adventure in the New World, and, by a combination still more strange, united with avarice, in prompting the Spaniards to all their enterprises, a large cross was displayed in their standards, with this inscription, *Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer.*

So powerfully were Cortes and his followers animated with both these passions, that no less eager to plunder the opulent country whither they were bound, than zealous to propagate the Christian faith among its inhabitants, they set out, not with the solicitude natural to men going upon dangerous services, but with that confidence which arises from security of success, and certainty of the divine protection.

As Cortes had determined to touch at every place where Grijalva had visited, he steered directly towards the island of Cozumel; there he had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language understood through a large extent of country, and possessing besides a considerable share of prudence and sagacity, proved extremely useful as an interpreter. From Cozumel, Cortes proceeded to the river of Tabasco [March 4,] in hopes of a reception as friendly as Grijalva had met with there, and of finding gold in the same abundance; but the disposition of the natives, from some unknown cause, was totally changed. After repeated endeavors to conciliate their good will, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed with great slaughter in several successive actions. The loss which they had sustained, and still more the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effect of the fire arms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the King of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves. [101]

Cortes continued his course to the westward, keeping as near the shore as possible, in order to observe the country; but could discover no proper place for landing until he arrived at St. Juan de Ulua. As he entered this harbor, [April 2,] a large canoe full of people, among whom were two who seemed to be persons of distinction, approached his ship with signs of peace and amity. They came on board without fear or distrust, and addressed him in a most respectful manner, but in a language altogether unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity and distress at an

event of which he instantly foresaw the consequences, and already felt the hesitation and uncertainty with which he should carry on the great schemes which he meditated, if, in his transactions with the natives, he must depend entirely upon such an imperfect, ambiguous, and conjectural mode of communication as the use of signs. But he did not remain long in his embarrassing situation; a fortunate accident extricated him when his own sagacity could have contributed little towards his relief. One of the female slaves, whom he had received from the cazique of Tabasco, happened to be present at the first interview between Cortes and his new guests. She perceived his distress, as well as the confusion of Aguilar; and, as she perfectly understood the Mexican language, she explained what they had said in the Yucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Donna Marina, and who makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the New World, where great revolutions were brought about by small causes and inconsiderable instruments, was born in one of the provinces of the Mexican Empire. Having been sold as a slave in the early part of her life, after a variety of adventures she fell into the hands of the Tabascans, and had resided long enough among them to acquire their language without losing the use of her own Though it was both tedious and troublesome to converse by the intervention of two different interpreters, Cortes was so highly pleased with having discovered this method of carrying on some intercourse with the people of a country into which he was determined to penetrate, that in the transports of his joy he considered it as a visible interposition of Providence in his favor.

He now learned that the two persons whom he had received on board of his ship were deputies from Teutile and Pilpatoe, two officers intrusted with the government of that province by a great monarch whom they called Montezuma; and that they were sent to inquire what his intentions were in visiting their coast, and to offer him what assistance he might need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, struck with the appearance of those people, as well as the tenor of the message, assured them, in respectful terms, that he approached their country with most friendly sentiments, and came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully, in person, to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any answer, he landed his troops, his horses, and artillery; and, having chosen proper ground, began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of those fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity of which they had ere long good reason to repent

Next day Teutile and Pilpatoe entered the Spanish camp with a numerous retinue; and Cortes, considering them as the ministers of a great monarch entitled to a degree of attention very different from that which the Spaniards were accustomed to pay the petty caziques with whom they had intercourse in the isles, received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them, that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, of Austria, King of Castile, the greatest monarch of the East, and was intrusted with propositions of such moment, that he could impart them to none but the Emperor Montezuma himself, and therefore required them to conduct him, without loss of time, into the presence of their master. The Mexican officers could not conceal their uneasiness at a request which they knew would be disagreeable, and which they foresaw might prove extremely embarrassing to their sovereign, whose mind had been filled with many disquieting apprehensions ever since the former appearance of the Spaniards on his coasts. But before they attempted to dissuade Cortes from insisting on his demand, they endeavored to conciliate his good will by entreating him to accept of certain presents, which, as humble slaves of Montezuma, they laid at his feet They were introduced with great parade, and consisted of fine cotton cloth, of plumes of various colors, and of ornaments of gold and silver to a considerable value; the workmanship of which appeared to be as curious as the materials were rich. The display of these produced an effect very different from what the Mexicans intended. Instead of satisfying, it increased the avidity of the Spaniards, and rendered them so eager and impatient to become masters of a country which abounded with such precious productions, that Cortes could hardly listen with patience to the arguments which Pilpatoe and Teutile employed to dissuade him from visiting the capital, and in a haughty determined tone, he insisted on his demand of being admitted to a personal audience of their sovereign. During this interview, some painters, in the train of the Mexican chiefs, had been diligently employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ships, the horses, the artillery, the soldiers, and whatever else attracted their eyes as singular. When Cortes observed this, and was informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, in order to convey to him a more lively idea of the strange and wonderful objects now presented to their view than any words could communicate, he resolved to render the representation still more animating and interesting, by exhibiting such a spectacle as might give both them and their monarch an awful impression of the extraordinary prowess of his followers, and the irresistible force of their arms. The trumpets, by his order, sounded an alarm; the troops, in a moment, formed in order of battle, the infantry performed such martial exercises as were best suited to display the effect of their different weapons; the horse, in various evolutions, gave a specimen of their agility and strength; the artillery, pointed towards the thick woods which surrounded the camp, were fired, and made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on with that silent amazement which is natural when the mind is struck with objects which are both awful and above its comprehension. But, at the explosion of the cannon, many of them fled, some fell to the ground, and all were so much confounded at the sight of men whose power so nearly resembled that of the gods, that Cortes found it difficult to compose and reassure them. The painters had now many new objects on which to exercise their art, and they put their fancy on the stretch in order to invent figures and symbols to represent the extraordinary things which they had seen.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma with those pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards, and by them Cortes sent a present of some European curiosities to Montezuma, which, though of no great value, he believed would be acceptable on account of their novelty. The Mexican monarchs, in order to obtain early information of every occurrence in all the corners of their extensive empire, had introduced a refinement in police unknown at that time in Europe. They had couriers posted at proper stations along the principal roads; and as these were trained to agility by a regular education, and relieved one another at moderate distances, they conveyed intelligence with surprising rapidity. Though the capital in which Montezuma resided was above a hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Ulua, Cortes's presents were carried thither, and an answer to his demands received in a few days. The same officers who had hitherto treated with the Spaniards were employed to deliver this answer; but as they knew how repugnant the determination of their master was to all the schemes and wishes of the Spanish commander, they would not venture to make it known until they had previously endeavored to soothe and mollify him. For this purpose they renewed their negotiation, by introducing a train of a hundred Indians loaded with presents sent to him by Montezuma. The magnificence of these was such as became a great monarch, and far exceeded any idea which the Spaniards had hitherto formed of his wealth. They were placed on mats spread on the ground in such order as showed them to the greatest advantage. Cortes and his officers viewed with admiration the various manufactures of the country; cotton stuffs so fine, and of such delicate texture as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colors, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation. But what chiefly attracted their eyes were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. [102] These were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold; and that nothing might be wanted which could give the Spaniards a complete idea of what the country afforded, with some boxes filled with pearls, precious stones, and grains of gold unwrought, as they had been found in the mines or rivers. Cortes received all these with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were bestowed. But when the Mexicans, presuming upon this, informed him that their master, though he had desired him to accept of what he had sent as a token of regard for that monarch whom Cortes represented, would not give his consent that foreign troops should approach nearer to his capitol, or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions, the Spanish general declared, in a manner more resolute and peremptory than formerly, that he must insist on his first demand, as he could not without dishonor, return to his own country, until he was admitted into the presence of the prince whom he was appointed to visit in the name of his sovereign. The Mexicans, astonished at seeing any man dare to oppose that will which they were accustomed to consider as supreme and irresistible, yet afraid of precipitating their country into an open rupture with such formidable enemies, prevailed with Cortes to promise that he would not remove from his present camp until the return of a messenger whom they sent to Montezuma for further instructions.

The firmness with which Cortes adhered to his original proposal should naturally have brought the negotiation between him and Montezuma to a speedy issue, as it seemed to leave the Mexican monarch no choice, but either to receive him with confidence as a friend, or to oppose him openly as an enemy. The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in possession of extensive power. The Mexican empire at this period was at a pitch of grandeur to which no society ever attained in so short a period. Though it had subsisted, according to their own traditions, only a hundred and thirty years, its dominion extended from the North to the South Sea, over territories stretching, with some small interruption, above five hundred leagues from east to west, and more than two hundred from north to south, comprehending provinces not inferior in fertility, population and opulence, to any in the torrid zone. The people were warlike and enterprising; the authority of the monarch unbounded, and his revenues considerable. If, with the forces which might have been suddenly assembled in such an empire, Montezuma had fallen upon the Spaniards while encamped on a barren unhealthy coast, unsupported by any ally, without a place of retreat, and destitute of provisions, it seems to be impossible, even with all the advantages of their superior discipline and arms, that they could have stood the shock, and they must either have perished in such an unequal contest, or have abandoned the enterprise.

As the power of Montezuma enabled him to take this spirited part, his own dispositions were such as seemed naturally to prompt him to it. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, he was the most haughty, the most violent, and the most impatient of control. His subjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigor; but they were impressed with such an opinion of his capacity as commanded their respect; and, by many victories over the latter, he had spread far the dread of his arms, and had added several considerable provinces to his dominions. But though his talents might be suited to the transactions of a state so imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, and sufficient to conduct them while in their accustomed course, they were altogether inadequate to a conjuncture so extraordinary, and did not qualify him either to judge with the discernment, or to act with the decision requisite in such trying emergence.

From the moment that the Spaniards appeared on his coast, he discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment. Instead of taking such resolutions as the consciousness of his own power, or the memory of his former exploits, might have inspired he deliberated with an anxiety and hesitation which did not escape the notice of his meanest courtiers. The perplexity and discomposure of Montezuma's mind upon this occasion, as well as the general dismay of his subjects, were not owing wholly to the impression which the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance and the terror of their arms. Its origin may be traced up to a more remote source. There was an opinion, if we may believe the earliest and most authentic Spanish historians, almost universal among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders, who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to overrun and desolate their country. Whether this disquieting apprehension flowed from the memory of some natural calamity which had afflicted that part of the globe, and impressed the minds of the inhabitants with superstitious fears and forebodings, or whether it was an imagination accidentally suggested by the astonishment which the first sight of a new race of men occasioned, it is impossible to determine. But as the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the New World, they were more deeply affected by the appearance of the Spaniards, whom their credulity instantly represented as the instrument destined to bring about this fatal revolution which they dreaded Under

those circumstances it ceases to be incredible that a handful of adventurers should alarm the monarch of a great empire, and all his subjects.

Notwithstanding the influence of this impression, when the messenger arrived from the Spanish camp with an account that the leader of the strangers, adhering to his original demand, refused to obey the order enjoining him to leave the country, Montezuma assumed some degree of resolution; and in a transport of rage natural to a fierce prince unaccustomed to meet with any opposition to his will, he threatened to sacrifice those presumptuous men to his gods. But his doubts and fears quickly returned; and instead of issuing orders to carry his threats into execution, he again called his ministers to confer and offer their advice. Feeble and temporising measures will always be the result when men assemble to deliberate in a situation where they ought to act. The Mexican counsellors took no effectual measure for expelling such troublesome intruders, and were satisfied with issuing a more positive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but this they preposterously accompanied with a present of such value as proved a fresh inducement to remain there.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards were not without solicitude, or a variety of sentiments, in deliberating concerning their own future conduct. From what they had already seen, many of them formed such extravagant ideas concerning the opulence of the country, that despising danger or hardships when they had in view treasures which appeared to be inexhaustible, they were eager to attempt the conquest. Others, estimating the power of the Mexican empire by its wealth, and enumerating the various proofs which had occured of its being under a well regulated administration, contended that it would be an act of the wildest frenzy to attack such a state with a small body of men, in want of provisions, unconnected with any ally, and already enfeebled by the diseases peculiar to the climate, and the loss of several of their number. Cortes secretly applauded the advocates for bold measures, and cherished their romantic hopes, as such ideas corresponded with his own, and favored the execution of the schemes which he had formed. From the time that the suspicions of Velasquez broke out with open violence in the attempts to deprive him of the command, Cortes saw the necessity of dissolving a connection which would obstruct and embarrass all his operations, and watched for a proper opportunity of coming to a final rupture with him. Having this in view, he had labored by every art to secure the esteem and affection of his soldiers. With his abilities for command, it was easy to gain their esteem; and his followers were quickly satisfied that they might rely, with perfect confidence, on the conduct and courage of their leader. Nor was it more difficult to acquire their affection. Among adventurers nearly of the same rank, and serving at their own expense, the dignity of command did not elevate a general above mingling with those who acted under him. Cortes availed himself of this freedom of intercourse to insinuate himself into their favor, and by his affable manners, by well timed acts of liberality to some, by inspiring all with vast hopes, and by allowing them to trade privately with the natives, [103] he attached the greater part of his soldiers so firmly to himself, that they almost forgot that the armament had been fitted out by the authority and at the expense of another.

During these intrigues, Teutile arrived with the present from Montezuma, and, together with it, delivered the ultimate order of that monarch to depart instantly out of his dominions; and when Cortes, instead of complying, renewed his request of an audience, the Mexican turned from him abrubtly, and quitted the camp with looks and gestures which strongly expressed his surprise and resentment. Next morning, none of the natives, who used to frequent the camp in great numbers in order to barter with the soldiers, and to bring in provisions, appeared. All friendly correspondence seemed now to be at an end, and it was expected every moment that hostilities would commence. This, though an event that might have been foreseen, occasioned a sudden consternation among the Spaniards, which emboldened the adherents of Velasquez not only to murmur and cabal against their general, but to appoint one of their number to remonstrate openly against his imprudence in attempting the conquest of a mighty empire with such inadequate force, and to urge the necessity of returning to Cuba, in order to refit the fleet and augment the army. Diego de Ordaz, one of his principal officers, whom the malecontents charged with this commission, delivered it with a soldierly freedom and bluntness, assuring Cortes that he spoke the sentiments of the whole army. He listened to this remonstrance without any appearance of emotion, and as he well knew the temper and wishes of his soldiers, and foresaw how they would receive a proposition fatal at once to all the splendid hopes and schemes which they had been forming with such complaceny, he carried his dissimulation so far as to seem to relinquish his own measures in compliance with the request of Ordaz, and issued orders that the army should be in readiness next day to re-embark for Cuba. As soon as this was known, the disappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened; the emissaries of Cortes, mingling with them, inflamed their rage; the ferment became general; the whole camp was almost in open mutiny; all demanding with eagerness to see their commander. Cortes was not slow in appearing; when, with one voice, officers and soldiers expressed their astonishment and indignation at the orders which they had received. It was unworthy, they cried, of the Castillian courage to be daunted at the first aspect of danger, and infamous to fly before any enemy appeared. For their parts, they were determined not to relinquish an enterprise that had hitherto been successful, and which tended so visibly to spread the knowledge of true religion, and to advance the glory and interest of their country. Happy under his command, they would follow him with alacrity through every danger in quest of those settlements and treasures which he had so long held out to their view; but if he chose rather to return to Cuba, and tamely give up all his hopes of distinction and opulence to an envious rival, they would instantly choose another general to conduct them in that path of glory which he had not spirit to enter.

Cortes, delighted with their ardor, took no offence at the boldness with which it was uttered. The sentiments were what he himself had inspired, and the warmth of expression satisfied him that his followers had imbibed them thoroughly. He affected, however, to be surprised at what he heard, declaring that his orders to prepare for embarking were issued from a persuasion that this was agreeable to his troops; that, from deference to what he had been informed was their inclination, he had sacrificed his own private opinion, which was firmly bent on establishing immediately a settlement on the sea coast, and then on endeavoring to penetrate into the interior part of the country; that now he was convinced of his error; and as he perceived that they were animated with the generous spirit which breathed in every true Spaniard, he would resume, with fresh ardor, his original plan of operation, and doubted not to conduct them, in the career of victory, to such independent fortunes as their valor merited. Upon this declaration, shouts of applause testified the excess of their joy. The measure seemed to be taken with unanimous consent; such as secretly condemned it being obliged to join in the acclamations, partly to conceal their disaffection from their general, and partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice from their fellow-soldiers.

Without allowing his men time to cool or to reflect, Cortes set about carrying his design into execution. In order to give a beginning to a colony, he assembled the principal persons in his army, and by their suffrage elected a council and magistrates, in whom the government was to be vested. As men naturally transplant the institutions and forms of the mother country into their new settlements, this was framed upon the model of a Spanish corporation. The magistrates were distinguished by the same names and ensigns of office, and were to exercise a similar jurisdiction. All the persons chosen were most firmly devoted to Cortes, and the instrument of their election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependence on Velasquez. The two principles of avarice and enthusiasm, which prompted the Spaniards to all their enterprises in the New World, seem to have concurred in suggesting the name which Cortes bestowed on his infant settlement. He called it, *The Rich Town of the True Cross.*

The first meeting of the new council was distinguished by a transaction of great moment. As soon as it assembled, Cortes applied for leave to enter; and approaching with many marks of profound respect, which added dignity to the tribunal, and set an example of reverence for its authority, he began a long harangue, in which, with much art, and in terms extremely flattering to persons just entering upon their new function, he observed, that as the supreme jurisdiction over the colony which they had planted was now vested in this court, he considered them as clothed with the authority and representing the person of their sovereign; that accordingly he would communicate to them what he deemed essential to the public safety, with the same dutiful fidelity as if he were addressing his royal master; that the security of a colony settled in a great empire, whose sovereign had already discovered his hostile intentions, depended upon arms, and the efficacy of these upon the subordination and discipline preserved among the troops; that his right to command was derived from a commission granted by the governor of Cuba; and as that had been long since revoked, the lawfulness of his jurisdiction might well be questioned; that he might be thought to act upon a defective or even a dubious title; nor could they trust an army which might dispute the powers of its general, at a juncture when it ought implicitly to obey his orders; that, moved by these considerations, he now resigned all his authority to them, that they, having both right to choose, and power to confer full jurisdiction, might appoint one in the king's name to command the army in its future operations; and as for his own part, such was his zeal for the service in which they were engaged, that he would most cheerfully take up a pike with the same hand that laid down the general's truncheon, and convince his fellow-soldiers, that though accustomed to command, he had not forgotten how to obey. Having finished his discourse, he laid the commission from Velasquez upon the table, and, after kissing his truncheon, delivered it to the chief magistrate, and withdrew.

The deliberations of the council were not long, as Cortes had concerted this important measure with his confidants, and had prepared the other members with great address for the part which he wished them to take. His resignation was accepted; and as the uninterrupted tenor of their prosperity under his conduct afforded the most satisfying evidence of his abilities for command, they, by their unanimous suffrage, elected him chief justice of the colony, and captain-general of its army, and appointed his commission to be made out in the king's name, with most ample powers, which were to continue in force until the royal pleasure should be further known. That this deed might not be deemed the machination of a junto, the council called together the troops, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. The soldiers, with eager applause, ratified the choice which the council had made; the air resounded with the name of Cortes, and all vowed to shed their blood in support of his authority.

Cortes, having now brought his intrigues to the desired issue, and shaken off his mortifying dependence on the governor of Cuba, accepted of the commission, which vested in him supreme jurisdiction, civil as well as military over the colony, with many professions of respect to the council and gratitude to the army. Together with this new command, he assumed greater dignity, and began to exercise more extensive powers. Formerly he had felt himself to be only the deputy of a subject; now he acted as the representative of his sovereign. The adherents of Velasquez, fully aware of what would be the effect of this change in the situation of Cortes, could no longer continue silent and passive spectators of his actions. They exclaimed openly against the proceedings of the council as illegal, and against those of the army as mutinous. Cortes, instantly perceiving the necessity of giving a timely check to such seditious discourse by some vigorous measure, arrested Ordaz, Escudero, and Velasquez de Leon, the ringleaders of this faction and sent them prisoners aboard the fleet, loaded with chains. Their dependants, astonished and overawed, remained quiet; and Cortes, more desirous to reclaim than to punish his prisoners, who were officers of great merit, courted their friendship with such assiduity and address, that the reconciliation was perfectly cordial; and on the most trying occasions, neither their connection with the governor of Cuba, nor the memory of the indignity with which they had been treated, tempted them to swerve from an inviolable attachment to his interest. In this, as well as his other negotiations at this critical conjuncture, which decided with respect to his future fame and fortune Cortes owed much of his success to the Mexican gold, which he distributed with a liberal hand both among his friends and his opponents.

Cortes, having thus rendered the union between himself and his army indissoluble, by engaging it to join him in disclaiming any dependence on the governor of Cuba, and in repeated acts of disobedience to his authority, thought he now might venture to quit the camp in which he had hitherto remained, and advance into the country. To this he was encouraged by an event no less fortunate than seasonable. Some Indians having approached his camp in a mysterious manner, were introduced into his presence. He found that

they were sent with a proffer of friendship from the cazique of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance; and from their answers to a variety of questions which he put to them, according to his usual practice in every interview with the people of the country, he gathered, that their master, though subject to the Mexican empire, was impatient of the yoke, and filled with such dread and hatred of Montezuma, that nothing could be more acceptable to him than any prospect of deliverance from the oppression under which he groaned. On hearing this, a ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortes. He saw that the great empire which he intended to attack was neither perfectly united, nor its sovereign universally beloved. He concluded, that the causes of disaffection could not be confined to one province, but that in other corners there must be malecontents, so weary of subjection, or so desirous of change, as to be ready to follow the standard of any protector Full of those ideas, on which he began to form a scheme that time and more perfect information concerning the state of the country enabled him to mature, he gave a most gracious reception to the Zempoallans, and promised soon to visit their cazique.

In order to perform this promise, it was not necessary to vary the route which he had already fixed for his march. Some officers, whom he had employed to survey the coast, having discovered a village named Quiabislan, about forty miles to the northward, which, both on account of the fertility of the soil and commodiousness of the harbor, seemed to be a more proper station for a settlement than that where he was encamped, Cortes determined to remove thither. Zempoalla lay in his way, where the cazique received him in the manner which he had reason to expect; with gifts and caresses, like a man solicitous to gain his good will; with respect approaching almost to adoration, like one who looked up to him as a deliverer. From him he learned many particulars with respect to the character of Montezuma, and the circumstances which rendered his dominion odious. He was a tyrant, as the cazique told him with tears, haughty, cruel, and suspicious; who treated his own subjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by excessive exactions, and often tore their sons and daughters from them by violence: the former to be offered as victims to his gods; the latter to be reserved as concubines for himself or favorites. Cortes, in reply to him, artfully insinuated, that one great object of the Spaniards in visiting a country so remote from their own, was to redress grievances, and to relieve the oppressed; and having encouraged him to hope for this interposition in due time, he continued his march to Quiabislan.

The spot which his officers had recommended as a proper situation, appeared to him to be so well chosen, that he immediately marked out ground for a town. The houses to be erected were only huts; but these were to be surrounded with fortifications of sufficient strength to resist the assaults of an Indian army. As the finishing of those fortifications was essential to the existence of a colony, and of no less importance in prosecuting the designs which the leader and his followers meditated, both in order to secure a place of retreat, and to preserve their communication with the sea, every man in the army, officers as well as soldiers, put his hand to the work, Cortes himself setting them an example of activity and perseverance in labor. The Indians of Zempoalla and Quiabislan lent their aid; and this petty station, the parent of so many mighty settlements, was soon in a state of defence.

While engaged in this necessary work, Cortes had several interviews with the caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabislan; and availing himself of their wonder and astonishment at the new objects which they daily beheld, he gradually inspired them with such a high opinion of the Spaniards, as beings of a superior order, and irresistible in arms, that, relying on their protection, they ventured to insult the Mexican power, at the very name of which they were accustomed to tremble. Some of Montezuma's officers having appeared to levy the usual tribute, and to demand a certain number of human victims, as an expiation for their guilt in presuming to hold intercourse with those strangers whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions; instead of obeying the order, the caziques made them prisoners, treated them with great indignity, and as their superstition was no less barbarous than that of the Mexicans, they prepared to sacrifice them to their gods. From this last danger they were delivered by the interposition of Cortes, who manifested the utmost horror at the mention of such a deed. The two caziques having now been pushed to an act of such open rebellion, as left them no hope of safety but in attaching themselves inviolably to the Spaniards, they soon completed their union with them, by formally acknowledging themselees to be vassals of the same monarch. Their example was followed by the Totonaques, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous part of the country. They willingly subjected themselves to the crown of Castile, and offered to accompany Cortes, with all their forces, in his march towards Mexico.

Cortes had now been above three months in New Spain; and though this period had not been distinguished by martial exploits, every moment had been employed in operations which, though less splendid, were more important. By his address in conducting his intrigues with his own army, as well as his sagacity in carrying on his negotiations with the natives, he had already laid the foundations of his future success. But whatever confidence he might place in the plan which he had formed, he could not but perceive, that as his title to command was derived from a doubtful authority, he held it by a precarious tenure. The injuries which Velasquez had received were such as would naturally prompt him to apply for redress to their common sovereign; and such a representation, he foresaw, might be given of his conduct that, he had reason to apprehend, not only that he might be degraded from his present rank, but subjected to punishment. Before he began his march, it was necessary to take the most effectual precautions against this impending danger. With this view he persuaded the magistrates of the colony at Vera Cruz to address a letter to the king, the chief object of which was to justify their own conduct in establishing a colony independent on the jurisdiction of Velasquez. In order to accomplish this, they endeavored to detract from his merit in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordova and Grijalva, affirming that these had been equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expeditions, and not by the governor. They contended that the sole object of Velasquez was to trade or barter with the natives, not to attempt the conquest of New Spain, or to settle a colony there. They asserted that Cortes and the officers who served under him had defrayed the greater part of the expense of fitting out the armament. On this account, they humbly requested their sovereign to ratify what they had done in his name, and to confirm Cortes in the supreme command by his royal commission. That Charles might be induced to grant more readily what they demanded, they gave him a pompous description of the country which they had discovered; of its riches, the number of its inhabitants, their civilization and arts; they related the progress which they had already made in annexing some parts of the country situated on the sea coast to the crown of Castile; and mentioned the schemes which they had formed, as well as the hopes which they entertained, of reducing the whole to subjection.* Cortes himself wrote in a similar strain; and as he knew that the Spanish court, accustomed to the exaggerated representations of every new county by its discoverers, would give little credit to their splendid accounts of New Spain, if these were not accompanied with such a specimen of what it contained as would excite a high idea of its opulence, he solicited his soldiers to relinquish what they might claim as their part of the treasures which had hitherto been collected, in order that the whole might be sent to the king. Such was the ascendant which he had acquired over their minds, and such their own romantic expectations of future wealth, that an army of indigent and rapacious adventurers was capable of this generous effort, and offered to their sovereign the richest present that had hitherto been transmitted from the New World. [104] Portocarrero and Montejo, the chief magistrates of the colony, were appointed to carry this present to Castile, with express orders not to touch at Cuba in their passage thither

While a vessel was preparing for their departure an unexpected event occasioned a general alarm. Some soldiers and sailors, secretly attached to Velasquez, or intimidated at the prospect of the dangers unavoidable in attempting to penetrate into the heart of a great empire with such unequal force, formed the design of seizing one of the brigantines, and making their escape to Cuba, in order to give the governor such intelligence as might enable him to intercept the ship which was to carry the treasure and despatches to Spain. This conspiracy, though formed by persons of low rank, was conducted with profound secrecy; but at the moment when every thing was ready for execution, they were betrayed by one of their associates.

Though the good fortune of Cortes interposed so seasonably on this occasion, the detection of this conspiracy filled his mind with most disquieting apprehensions, and prompted him to execute a scheme which he had long revolved. He perceived that the spirit of disaffection still lurked among his troops; that though hitherto checked by the uniform success of his schemes, or suppressed by the hand of authority various events might occur which would encourage and call it forth. He observed, that many of his men, weary of the fatigue of service, longed to revisit their settlements in Cuba; and that upon any appearance of extraordinary danger or any reverse of fortune, it would be impossible to restrain them from returning thither. He was sensible, that his forces, already too feeble, could bear no diminution, and that a very small defection of his followers would oblige him to abandon the enterprise. After ruminating often, and with much solicitude, upon those particulars, he saw no hope of success but in cutting off all possibility of retreat, and in reducing his men to the necessity of adopting the same resolution with which he himself was animated either to conquer or to perish. With this view he determined to destroy his fleet; but as he durst not venture to execute such a bold resolution by his single authority, he labored to bring his soldiers to adopt his ideas with respect to the propriety of this measure. His address in accomplishing this was not inferior to the arduous occasion in which it was employed. He persuaded some that the ships had suffered so much by having been long at sea, as to be altogether unfit for service; to others he pointed out what a seasonable reinforcement of strength they would derive from the junction of a hundred men, now unprofitably employed as sailors; and to all he represented the necessity of fixing their eyes and wishes upon what was before them, without allowing the idea of a retreat once to enter their thoughts. With universal consent the ships were drawn ashore, and after stripping them of their sails, rigging, iron works, and whatever else might be of use, they were broke in pieces. Thus, from an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing parallel in history, five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, filled with powerful and unknown nations; and, having precluded every means of escape, left themselves without any resource but their own valor and perseverance.

Nothing now retarded Cortes; the alacrity of his troops and the disposition of his allies were equally favorable. All the advantages, however, derived from the latter, though procured by much assiduity and address, were well nigh lost in a moment, by an indiscreet sally of religious zeal, which on many occasions precipitated Cortes into actions inconsistent with the prudence that distinguishes his character. Though hitherto he had neither time nor opportunity to explain to the natives the errors of their own superstition, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith, he commanded his soldiers to overturn the altars and to destroy the idols in the chief temple of Zempoalla, and in their place to erect a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. The people beheld this with astonishment and horror; the priests excited them to arms; but such was the authority of Cortes, and so great the ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired, that the commotion was appeased without bloodshed, and concord perfectly re-established.

Cortes began his march from Zempoalla, on the sixteenth of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse and six field pieces. The rest of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to his interest. The cazique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and with two hundred of those Indians called *Tamemes*, whose office, in a country where tame animals were unknown, was to carry burdens, and to perform all servile labor. They were a great relief to the Spanish soldiers, who hitherto had been obliged not only to carry their own baggage, but to drag along the artillery by main force. He

* In this letter it is asserted, that though a considerable number of Spaniards have been wounded in their various encounters with the people of Tobasco, not one of them died, and all had recovered in a very short time. This seems to confirm what I observe in p. 123, concerning the imperfection of the offensive weapons used by the Americans. In this letter, the human sacrifices offered by the Mexicans to their deities are described minutely, and with great horror; some of the Spaniards, it is said, had been eye-witnesses of those barbarous rites. To the letter is subjoined a catalogue and description of the presents sent to the emperor. That published by Gemara, Cron. c. 29, seems to have been copied from it. Pet. Martyr describes many of the articles in his treatise, 'De Insulis nuper inventis,' p. 351, &c

offered likewise a considerable body of his troops, but Cortes was satisfied with four hundred; taking care, however, to choose persons of such note as might prove hostages for the fidelity of their master. Nothing memorable happened in his progress, until he arrived on the confines of Tlascala. The inhabitants of that province, a warlike people, were implacable enemies of the Mexicans, and had been united in an ancient alliance with the caziques of Zempoalla. Though less civilized than the subjects of Montezuma, they were advanced in improvement far beyond the rude nations of America whose manners we have described. They had made considerable progress in agriculture; they dwelt in large towns; they were not strangers to some species of commerce; and in the imperfect accounts of their institutions and laws, transmitted to us by the early Spanish writers, we discern traces both of distributive justice and of criminal jurisdiction in their interior police. But still, as the degree of their civilization was incomplete, and as they depended for subsistence not on agriculture alone, but trusted for it in a great measure to hunting, they retained many of the qualities natural to men in this state. Like them they were fierce and revengeful; like them, too, they were high spirited and independent. In consequence of the former, they were involved in perpetual hostilities, and had but a slender and occasional intercourse with neighboring states. The latter inspired them with such detestation of servitude, that they not only refused to stoop to a foreign yoke, and maintain an obstinate and successful contest in defence of their liberty against the superior power of the Mexican empire, but they guarded with equal solicitude against domestic tyranny; and disdaining to acknowledge any master, they lived under the mild and limited jurisdiction of a council elected by their several tribes.

Cortes, though he had received information concerning the martial character of this people, flattered himself that his professions of delivering the oppressed from the tyranny of Montezuma, their inveterate enmity to the Mexicans, and the example of their ancient allies the Zempoallans, might induce the Tlascalans to grant him a friendly reception. In order to dispose them to this, four Zempoallans of great eminence were sent ambassadors, to request in his name, and in that of their cazique, that they would permit the Spaniards to pass through the territories of the republic in their way to Mexico. But instead of the favorable answer which was expected, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors, and, without any regard to their public character, made preparations for sacrificing them to their gods. At the same time they assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders if they should attempt to make their passage good by force of arms. Various motives concurred in precipitating the Tlascalans into this resolution. A fierce people, shut up within its own narrow precincts, and little accustomed to any intercourse with foreigners, is apt to consider every stranger as an enemy, and is easily excited to arms. They concluded, from Cortes's proposal of visiting Montezuma in his capital, that, notwithstanding all his professions, he courted the friendship of a monarch whom they both hated and feared. The imprudent zeal of Cortes in violating the temples in Zempoalla, filled the Tlascalans with horror; and as they were no less attached to their superstition than the other nations of New Spain, they were impatient to avenge their injured gods, and to acquire the merit of offering up to them as victims, those impious men who had dared to profane their altars; they contemned the small number of the Spaniards, as they had not yet measured their own strength with that of these new enemies, and had no idea of the superiority which they derived from their arms and discipline.

Cortes, after waiting some days in vain for the return of his ambassadors, advanced [Aug. 30,] into the Tlascalan territories. As the resolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and in the first encounter, wounded some of the Spaniards, and killed two horses; a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of their courage, Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose the stations where he halted, with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults, the Tlascalans advancing with numerous armies, and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valor and perseverence to which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World. The Spanish historians describe those successive battles with great pomp, and enter into a minute detail of particulars, mingling many exaggerated and incredible circumstances [105] with such as are real and marvellous. But no power of words can render the recital of a combat interesting, where there is no equality of danger; and when the narrative closes with an account of thousands slain on the one side, while not a single person falls on the other, the most labored descriptions of the previous disposition of the troops, or of the various vicissitudes in the engagement, command no attention.

There are some circumstances, however, in this war, which are memorable, and merit notice, as they throw light upon the character both of the people of New Spain, and of their conquerors. Though the Tlascalans brought into the field such numerous armies as appear sufficient to have overwhelmed the Spaniards, they were never able to make any impression upon their small battallion. Singular as this may seem, it is not inexplicable. The Tlascalans, though addicted to war, were like all unpolished nations, strangers to military order and discipline, and lost in a great measure the advantage which they might have derived from their numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, by their constant solicitude to carry off the dead and wounded. This point of honor, founded on a sentiment of tenderness natural to the human mind, and strengthened by anxiety to preserve the bodies of their countrymen from being devoured by their enemies, was universal among the people of New Spain. Attention to this pious office occupied them even during the heat of combat, broke their union, and diminished the force of the impression which they might have made by a joint effort.

Not only was their superiority in number of little avail, but the imperfection of their military weapons rendered their valor in a great measure inoffensive. After three battles and many skirmishes and assaults, not one Spaniard was killed in the field. Arrows and spears, headed with flint or the bones of fishes, stakes hardened in the fire, and wooden swords, though destructive weapons among naked Indians, were easily turned aside by the Spanish bucklers, and could hardly penetrate the *escaupilss*, or quilted jackets, which the soldiers wore. The Tlascalans advanced boldly to the charge, and often fought hand to hand. Many of the Spaniards were wounded though all slightly, which cannot be imputed to any want of courage or strength in their enemies, but to the defect of the arms with which they assailed them.

Notwithstanding the fury with which the Tlascalans attacked the Spaniards, they seemed to have conducted their hostilities with some degree of barbarous generosity. They gave the Spaniards warning of their hostile intentions; and as they knew that their invaders wanted provisions, and imagined perhaps, like the other Americans, that they had left their own country because it did not afford them subsistence, they sent to their camp a large supply of poultry and maize, desiring them to eat plentifully, because they scorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, and it would be an affront to their gods to offer them famished victims, as well as disagreeable to themselves to feed on such emaciated prey.

When they were taught by the first encounter with their new enemies, that it was not easy to execute this threat; when they perceived, in the subsequent engagements, that notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valor, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was slain or taken, they began to conceive them to be a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not avail. In this extremity, they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the mysterious causes of such extraordinary events, and to declare what new means they should employ in order to repulse those formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this response: That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the east; that, by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigor declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. Theories less plausible have gained credit with more enlightened nations, and have influenced their conduct. In consequence of this, the Tlascalans, with the implicit confidence of men who fancy themselves to be under the guidance of Heaven, acted in contradiction to one of their most established maxims in war, and ventured to attack the enemy, with a strong body, in the night time, in hopes of destroying them when enfeebled and surprised. But Cortes had greater vigilance and discernment, than to be deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at his outposts, observing some extraordinary movement among the Tlascalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and sallying out, dispersed the party with great slaughter, without allowing it to approach the camp. The Tlascalans convinced by sad experience that their priests had deluded them, and satisfied that they attempted in vain either to deceive or to vanquish their enemies, their fierceness abated, and they began to incline seriously to peace.

They were at a loss, however, in what manner to address the strangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct which seemed to favor each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners whom they took, not only without injury, but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory; this lenity amazed people, who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and disposed them to entertain favorable sentiments of the humanity of their new enemies. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seized fifty of their countrymen who brought provisions to his camp, and supposing them to be spies, had cut off their hands; this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the fire-arms and horses, filled them with dreadful impressions of the ferocity of their invaders. [106] This uncertainty was apparent in the mode of addressing the Spaniards. "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." The peace, which both parties now desired with equal ardor, was soon concluded. The Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury or violence.

This treaty was concluded at a seasonable juncture for the Spaniards. The fatigue of service among a small body of men, surrounded by such a multitude of enemies was incredible. Half the army was on duty every night, and even they whose turn it was to rest, slept always upon their arms, that they might be ready to run to their posts on a moment's warning. Many of them were wounded; a good number, and among these Cortes himself, labored under the distempers prevalent in hot climates, and several had died since they set out from Vera Cruz. Notwithstanding the supplies which they received from the Tlascalans, they were often in want of provisions, and so destitute of the necessaries most requisite in dangerous service, that they had no salve to dress their wounds, but what was composed of the fat of the Indians whom they had slain. Worn out with such intolerable toil and hardships, many of the soldiers began to murmur, and when they reflected on the multitude and boldness of their enemies, more were ready to despair. It required the utmost exertion of Cortes's authority and address to check this spirit of despondency in its progress, and to reanimate his followers with their wonted sense of their own superiority over the enemies with whom they had to contend. The submission of the Tlascalans, and their own triumphant entry into the capital city, where they were received with the reverence paid to beings of a superior order, banished at once from the minds of the Spaniards all memory of past sufferings, dispelled every anxious thought with respect to their future operations, and fully satisfied them that there was not now any power in America able to withstand their arms.

Cortes remained twenty days in Tlascala, in order to allow his troops a short interval of repose after such hard service. During that time he was employed in transactions and inquiries of great moment with respect to his future schemes. In his daily conferences with the Tlascalan chiefs, he received information concerning every particular relative to the state of the Mexican empire, or to the qualities of its sovereign, which could be of use in regulating his conduct, whether he should be obliged to act as a friend or as an enemy. As he found that the antipathy of his new allies to the Mexican nation was no less implacable than had been represented, and perceived what benefit he might derive from the

aid of such powerful confederates, he employed all his powers of insinuation in order to gain their confidence. Nor was any extraordinary exertion of these necessary. The Tlascalans, with the levity of mind natural to unpolished men, were, of their own accord, disposed to run from the extreme of hatred to that of fondness. Every thing in the appearance and conduct of their guests was to them matter of wonder. [107] They gazed with admiration at whatever the Spaniards did, and, fancying them to be of heavenly origin, were eager not only to comply with their demands, but to anticipate their wishes. They offered, accordingly, to accompany Cortes in his march to Mexico, with all the forces of the republic, under the command of their most experienced captains.

But, after bestowing so much pains on cementing this union, all the beneficial fruits of it were on the point of being lost by a new effusion of that intemperate religious zeal with which Cortes was animated no less than the other adventurers of the age. They all considered themselves as instruments employed by Heaven to propagate the Christian faith, and the less they were qualified, either by their knowledge or morals, for such a function, they were more eager to discharge it. The profound veneration of the Tlascalans for the Spaniards having encouraged Cortes to explain to some of their chiefs the doctrines of the Christian religion, and to insist that they should abandon their own superstitions, and embrace the faith of their new friends, they, according to an idea universal among barbarous nations, readily acknowledged the truth and excellence of what he taught; but contended, that the *Teules* of Tlascala were divinities no less than the God in whom the Spaniards believed; and as that Being was entitled to the homage of Europeans, so they were bound to revere the same powers which their ancesters had worshipped. Cortes continued, nevertheless, to urge his demand in a tone of authority, mingling threats with his arguments, until the Tlascalans could bear it no longer, and conjured him never to mention this again, lest the gods should avenge on their heads the guilt of having listened to such a proposition. Cortes, astonished and enraged at their obstinacy, prepared to execute by force what he could not accomplish by persuasion, and was going to overturn their altars and cast down their idols with the same violent hand as at Zempoalla, if Father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, had not checked his inconsiderate impetuosity. He represented the imprudence of such an attempt in a large city newly reconciled, and filled with people no less superstitious than warlike; he declared, that the proceeding at Zempoalla had always appeared to him precipitate and unjust; that religion was not to be propagated by the sword, or infidels to be converted by violence; that other weapons were to be employed in this ministry; patient instuction must enlighten the understanding, and pious example captivate the heart, before men could be induced to abandon error, and embrace the truth. Amidst scenes where a narrow minded bigotry appears in such close union with oppression and cruelty, sentiments so liberal and humane soothe the mind with unexpected pleasure; and at a time when the rights of conscience were little understood in the Christian world, and the idea of toleration unknown, one is astonished to find a Spanish monk of the sixteenth century among the first advocates against persecution, and in behalf of religious liberty. The remonstrances of an ecclesiastic, no less respectable for wisdom than virtue, had their proper weight with Cortes. He left the Tlascalans in the undisturbed exercise of their own rites, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims in sacrifice.

Cortes, as soon as his troops were fit for service, resolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasives of the Tlascalans, who represented his destruction as unavoidable if he put himself in the power of a prince so faithless and cruel as Montezuma. As he was accompanied by six thousand Tlascalans, he had now the command of forces which resembled a regular army They directed their course towards Cholula [Oct. 13]; Montezuma, who had at length consented to admit the Spaniards into his presence, having informed Cortes that he had given orders for his friendly reception there. Cholula was a considerable town, and though only five leagues distant from Tlascala, was formerly an independent state, but had been lately subjected to the Mexican empire. This was considered by all the people of New Spain as a holy place, the sanctuary and chief seat of their gods, to which pilgrims resorted from every province and a greater number of human victims were offered in its principal temple than even in that of Mexico. Montezuma seems to have invited the Spaniards thither, either from some superstitious hope that the gods would not suffer this sacred mansion to be defiled, without pouring down their wrath upon those impious strangers, who ventured to insult their power in the place of its peculiar residence; or from a belief that he himself might there attempt to cut them off with more certain success, under the immediate protection of his divinities.

Cortes had been warned by the Tlascalans, before he set out on his march, to keep a watchful eye over the Cholulans. He himself, though received into the town with much seeming respect and cordiality, observed several circumstances in their conduct which excited suspicion. Two of the Tlascalans, who were encamped at some distance from the town, as the Cholulans refused to admit their ancient enemies within its precincts, having found means to enter in disguise, acquainted Cortes that they observed the women and children of the principal citizens retiring in great hurry every night; and that six children had been sacrificed in the chief temple, a rite which indicated the execution of some warlike enterprise to be approaching. At the same time, Marina the interpreter received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town; that some of the streets were barricaded, and in others, pits or deep trenches were dug, and slightly covered over, as traps into which the horses might fall; that stones or missive weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was now at hand, and their ruin unavoidable. Cortes, alarmed at this concurring evidence, secretly arrested three of the chief priests, and extorted from them a confession, that confirmed the intelligence which he had received. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly resolved to prevent his enemies, and to inflict on them such dreadful vengeance as might strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror. For this purpose, the Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large court, which had been allotted for their quarters near the centre of the town; the Tlascalans had orders to advance; the magistrates and several of the chief citizens were sent for, under various pretexts, and seized. On a signal given, the troops rushed out and fell upon the multitude, destitute of leaders, and so much astonished, that the weapons dropping from their hands, they stood motionless, and incapable of defence. While the Spaniards pressed them in front, the Tlascalans attacked them in the rear. The streets were filled with bloodshed and death. The temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests and some of the leading men, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days; during which, the wretched inhabitants suffered all that the destructive rage of the Spaniards, or the implacable revenge of their Indian allies could inflict. At length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of six thousand Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard. Cortes then released the magistrates, and, reproaching them bitterly for their intended treachery, declared, that as justice was now appeased, he forgave the offence, but required them to recall the citizens who had fled, and re-establish order in the town. Such was the ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over this superstitious race of men, and so deeply were they impressed with an opinion of their superior discernment, as well as power, that, in obedience to this command, the city was in a few days filled again with people, who, amidst the ruins of their sacred buildings, yielded respectful service to men whose hands were stained with the blood of their relations and fellow-citizens. [108]

From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico [Oct. 29], which was only twenty leagues distant. In every place through which he passed, he was received as a person possessed of sufficient power to deliver the empire from the oppression under which it groaned; and the caziques or governors communicated to him all the grievances which they felt under the tyrannical government of Montezuma, with that unreserved confidence which men naturally repose in superior beings. When Cortes first observed the seeds of discontent in the remote provinces of the empire, hope dawned upon his mind; but when he now discovered such symptoms of alienation from their monarch near the seat of government, he concluded that the vital parts of the constitution were affected, and conceived the most sanguine expectations of overturning a state whose natural strength was thus divided and impaired. While those reflections encouraged the general to persist in his arduous undertaking, the soldiers were no less animated by observations more obvious to their capacity. In descending from the mountains of Chalco, across which the road lay, the vast plain of Mexico opened gradually to their view. When they first beheld this prospect, one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth; when they observed fertile and cultivated fields stretching further than the eye could reach; when they saw a lake resembling the sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and discovered the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets; the scene so far exceeded their imagination, that some believed the fanciful descriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight; others could hardly persuade themselves that this wonderful spectacle was any thing more than a dream. [109] As they advanced, their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased. They were now fully satisfied that the country was rich beyond any conception which they had formed of it, and flattered themselves that at length they should obtain an ample recompense for all their services and sufferings.

Hitherto they had met with no enemy to oppose their progress, though several circumstances occurred which led them to suspect that some design was formed to surprise and cut them off. Many messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next to retire, as his hopes or fears alternately prevailed; and so wonderful was this infatuation, which seems to be unaccountable on any supposition but that of a superstitious dread of the Spaniards, as beings of a superior nature, that Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital, before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy. But as no sign of open hostility appeared, the Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuations of Montezuma's sentiments, continued their march along the causeway which led to Mexico through the lake, with great circumspection and the strictest discipline, though without seeming to suspect the prince whom they were about to visit.

When they drew near the city, about a thousand persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of these in his order passed by Cortes, and saluted him according to the mode deemed most respectful and submissive in their country. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself, and soon after his harbingers came in sight. There appeared first two hundred persons in a uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, alike in fashion, marching two and two, in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colors. Four of his principal favorites carried him on their shoulders, others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head Before him marched three officers with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals, and at that signal all the people bowed their heads, and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. At the same time Montezuma alighted from his chair, and, leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a slow and stately pace, his attendants covering the streets with cotton cloths, that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accosted him with profound reverence, after the European fashion. He returned the salutation, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. This ceremony the customary expression of veneration from inferiors towards those who were above them in rank, appeared such amazing condescension in a proud monarch, who scarcely deigned to consider the rest of mankind as of the same species with himself, that all his subjects firmly believed those persons, before whom he humbled himself in this manner, to be something more than human. Accordingly, as they marched through the crowd, the Spaniards frequently, and with much satisfaction, heard themselves denominated *Teules*, or divinities. Nothing material passed in this first interview. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception, and immediately took leave of him, with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. "You are now," says he, "with your brothers in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allot

ted to the Spaniards for their lodging, was a house built by the father of Montezuma. It was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defence as well as for ornament, and its apartments and courts were so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, by planting the artillery so as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large division of his troops to be always on guard, and by posting sentinels at proper stations, with injunctions to observe the same vigilant discipline as if they were in sight of an enemy's camp.

In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests with the same pomp as in their first interview, and brought presents of such value, not only to Cortes and to his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch to be suitable to the opulence of his kingdom. A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma with respect to the Spaniards. It was an established tradition, he told him, among the Mexicans, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted this colony returned to his own country, promising that at some future period his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitution and laws; that from what he had heard and seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons whose appearance the Mexican traditions and prophecies taught them to expect; that accordingly he had received them not as strangers, but as relations of the same blood and parentage, and desired that they might consider themselves as masters in his dominions, for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will, and even to prevent their wishes. Cortes made a reply in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intention of sending him into that country; artfully endeavoring so to frame his discourse, that it might coincide as much as possible with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes and some of his principal attendants wereadmitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings and the number of its inhabitants, to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet so little resembling the structure of a European city, filled them with surprise and admiration.

Mexico, or *Tenuchtitlan*, as it was anciently called by the natives, is situated in a large plain, environed by mountains of such height that, though within the torrid zone, the temperature of its climate is mild and healthful. All the moisture which descends from the high grounds, is collected in several lakes, the two largest of which, of about ninety miles in circuit, communicate with each other. The waters of the one are fresh, those of the other brackish. On the banks of the latter, and on some small islands adjoining to them, the capital of Montezuma's empire was built. The access to the city was by artificial causeways or streets formed of stones and earth, about thirty feet in breadth. As the waters of the lake during the rainy season overflowed the flat country, these causeways were of considerable length. That of Tacuba, on the west, extended a mile and a half; that of Tepeaca, on the north-west, three miles; that of Cuoyacan, towards the south, six miles. On the east* there was no causeway, and the city could be approached only by canoes. In each of these causeways were openings at proper intervals, through which the waters flowes, and over these beams of timber were laid, which being covered with earth, the causeway or street had every where a uniform appearance. As the approaches to the city were singular, its construction was remarkable. Not only the temples of their gods, but the houses belonging to the monarch, and to persons of distinction, were of such dimensions, that, in comparison with any other buildings which hitherto had been discovered in America, they might be termed magnificent. The habitations of the common people were mean, resembling the huts of other Indians. But they were all placed in a regular manner, on the banks of the canals which passed through the city, in some of its districts, or on the sides of the streets which intersected it in other quarters. In several places were large openings or squares, one of which, allotted for the great market, is said to have been so spacious, that forty or fifty thousand persons carried on traffic there. In this city, the pride of the New World, and the noblest monument of the industry and art of man, while unacquainted with the use of iron, and destitute of aid from any domestic animal, the Spaniards, who are most moderate in their computations, reckon that there were at least sixty thousands inhabitants.

But how much soever the novelty of those objects might amuse or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation. From a concurrence of circumstances, no less unexpected than favorable to their progress, they had been allowed to penetrate into the heart of a powerful kingdom, and were now lodged in its capital without having once met with open opposition from its monarch. The Tlascalans, however, had earnestly dissuaded them from placing such confidence in Montezuma, as to enter a city of such peculiar situation as Mexico, where that prince would have them at mercy, shut up as it were in a snare, from which it was impossible to escape. They assured them that the Mexican priests had, in the name of the gods, counselled their sovereign, to admit the Spaniards into the capital, that he might cut them off there at one blow with perfect security. They now perceived too plainly, that the apprehensions of their allies were not destitute of foundation; that, by breaking the bridges placed at certain intervals on the causeways, or by destroying part of the causeways themselves, their retreat would be rendered impracticable, and they must remain cooped up in the centre of a hostile city, surrounded by multitudes sufficient to overwhelm them, and without a possibility of receiving aid from their allies. Montezuma had, indeed, received them with distinguished respect. But ought they to reckon upon this as real, or to consider it as feigned? Even if it were sincere, could they promise on its continuance? Their safety depended upon the will of a monarch in whose attachment they had no reason to confide; and an order flowing from his caprice, or a word uttered by him in passion, might decide irrevocably concerning their fate.

These reflections, so obvious as to occur to the meanest soldier, did not escape the vigilant sagacity of their general. Before he set out from Cholula, Cortes had received advice from Villa Rica, that Qualpopoca, one of the Mexican generals on the frontiers, having assembled an army in order to attack some of the people whom the Spaniards had encouraged to throw off the Mexican yoke, Escalante had marched out with part of the garrison to support his allies; that an engagement had ensued, in which, though the Spaniards were victorious, Escalante with seven of his men, had been mortally wounded, his horse killed, and one Spaniard had been surrounded by the enemy and taken alive; that the head of this unfortunate captive, after being carried in triumph to different cities, in order to convince the people that their invaders were not immortal, had been sent to Mexico. Cortes, though alarmed with this intelligence, as an indication of Montezuma's hostile intentions, had continued his march. But as soon as he entered Mexico he became sensible, that, from an excess of confidence in the superior valor and discipline of his troops, as well as from the disadvantage of having nothing to guide him in an unknown country, but the defective intelligence which he had received from people with whom his mode of communication was very imperfect, he had pushed forward into a situation where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was dangerous to retire. Disgrace, and perhaps ruin, was the certain consequence of attempting the latter. The success of his enterprise depended upon supporting the high opinion which the people of New Spain had formed with respect to the irresistible power of his arms. Upon the first symptoms of timidity on his part, their veneration would cease, and Montezuma, whom fear alone restrained at present, would let loose upon him the whole force of his empire. At the same time, he knew that the countenance of his own sovereign was to be obtained only by a series of victories, and that nothing but the merit of extraordinary success could screen his conduct from the censure of irregularity. From all these considerations, it was necessary to maintain his station, and to extricate himself out of the difficulties in which one bold step had involved him, by venturing upon another still bolder. The situation was trying, but his mind was equal to it; and after revolving the matter with deep attention, he fixed upon a plan no less extraordinary than daring. He determined to seize Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him as a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. From the superstitious veneration of the Mexicans for the person of their monarch, as well as their implicit submission to his will, he hoped, by having Montezuma in his power, to acquire the supreme direction of their affairs; or, at least, with such a sacred pledge in his hands, he made no doubt of being secure from any effort of their violence.

This he immediately proposed to his officers. The timid startled at a measure so audacious, and raised objections. The more intelligent and resolute, conscious that it was the only resource in which there appeared any prospect of safety, warmly approved of it, and brought over their companions so cordially to the same opinion, that it was agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Lugo, Velasquez de Leon, and Davila, five of his principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers. Thirty chosen men followed, not in regular order, but sauntering at some distance, as if they had no object but curiosity; small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the court; and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalan allies, were under arms ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his attendants were admitted without suspicion; the Mexicans retiring, as usual, out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had employed in former conferences, reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent assault made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanded public reparation for the loss which they had sustained by the death of some of their companions, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing color, either from consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness, and, as a proof of it, gave orders instantly to bring Qualpopoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied with seeming complaisance, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt remaining in his own mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbor hostile intentions against them, unless as an evidence of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honored as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange a proposal bereaved Montezuma of speech, and almost of motion. At length indignation gave him utterance, and he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavored alternately to soothe and to intimidate him. The altercation became warm; and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, exclaimed with impatience, "Why waste more time in vain? Let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. The Spaniards, he was sensible, had now proceeded so far, as left him no hope that they would recede. His own danger was imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both, and abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request.

His officers were called. He communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters. When it was known that the strangers were conveying away the Emperor, the people broke out into the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction, as the punishment justly due to their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared, with a seeming gayety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was hushed; and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice that he went to reside for some time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed.

Thus was a powerful prince seized by a few strangers in the midst of his capital, at noonday, and carried off

* I am indebted to M. Clavigero for correcting an error of importance in my description of Mexico. From the east, where Tezeuco was situated, there was no causeway, as I have observed, and yet by some inattention on my part, or on that of the printer, in all the former editions, one of the causeways was said to lead to Tezeuco. M. Clavigero's measurement of the length of these causeways differs somewhat from that which I have adopted from F. Torribio. Clavig. ii. p. 72.

as a prisoner, without opposition or bloodshed. History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution; and were not all the circumstances of this extraordinary transaction authenticated by the most unquestionable evidence, they would appear so wild and extravagant as to go far beyond the bounds of that probability which must be preserved even in fictitious narrations.

Montezuma was received in the Spanish quarters with all the ceremonious respect which Cortes had promised. He was attended by his own domestics, and served with his usual state. His principal officers had free access to him, and he carried on every function of government as if he had been at perfect liberty. The Spaniards, however, watched him with the scrupulous vigilance which was natural in guarding such an important prize, [110] endeavoring at the same time to sooth and reconcile him to his situation by every external demonstration of regard and attachment. But from captive princes, the hour of humiliation and suffering is never far distant. Qualpopoca, his son, and five of the principal officers who served under him, were brought prisoners to the capital [Dec. 4], in consequence of the orders which Montezuma had issued. The Emperor gave them up to Cortes, that he might inquire into the nature of their crime, and determine their punishment. They were formally tried by a Spanish court martial; and though they had acted no other part than what became loyal subjects and brave men, in obeying the orders of their lawful sovereign, and in opposing the invaders of their country, they were condemned to be burnt alive. The execution of such atrocious deeds is seldom long suspended. The unhappy victims were instantly led forth. The pile on which they were laid was composed of the weapons collected in the royal magazine for the public defence. An innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, the double insult offered to the majesty of their empire, an officer of distinction committed to the flames by the authority of strangers for having done what he owed in duty to his natural sovereign; and the arms provided by the foresight of their ancestors for avenging public wrongs, consumed before their eyes.

But these were not the most shocking indignities which the Mexicans had to bear. The Spaniards, convinced that Qualpopoca would not have ventured to attack Escalante without orders from his master, were not satisfied with inflicting vengeance on the instrument employed in committing that crime while the author of it escaped with impunity. Just before Qualpopoca was led out to suffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, followed by some of his officers, and a soldier, carrying a pair of fetters; and approaching the monarch with a stern countenance told him, that as the persons who were now to undergo the punishment which they merited, had charged him as the cause of the outrage committed, it was necessary that he likewise should make atonement for that guilt; then turning away abruptly, without waiting for a reply, commanded the soldier to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were instantly executed. The disconsolate monarch, trained up with an idea that his person was sacred and inviolable, and considering this profanation of it as the prelude of immediate death, broke out into loud lamentations and complaints. His attendants, speechless with horror, fell at his feet, bathing them with their tears; and, bearing up the fetters in their hands, endeavored with officious tenderness to lighten their pressure. Nor did their grief and despondency abate, until Cortes returned from the execution, and with a cheerful countenance ordered the fetters to be taken off. As Montezuma's spirits had sunk with unmanly dejection, they now rose into indecent joy; and with an unbecoming transition, he passed at once from the anguish of despair to transports of gratitude and expressions of fondness towards his deliverer.

In those transactions, as represented by the Spanish historians, we search in vain for the qualities which distinguish other parts of Cortes's conduct. To usurp a jurisdiction which could not belong to a stranger, who assumed no higher character than that of an ambassador from a foreign prince, and, under color of it, to inflict a capital punishment on men whose conduct entitled them to esteem, appears an act of barbarous cruelty. To put the monarch of a great kingdom in irons, and, after such ignominious treatment, suddenly to release him, seems to be a display of power no less inconsiderate than wanton. According to the common relation, no account can be given either of the one action or the other: but that Cortes, intoxicated with success, and presuming on the ascendant which he had acquired over the minds of the Mexicans, thought nothing too bold for him to undertake, or too dangerous to execute. But, in one view, these proceedings, however repugnant to justice and humanity, may have flowed from that artful policy which regulated every part of Cortes's behavior towards the Mexicans. They had conceived the Spaniards to be an order of beings superior to men. It was of the utmost consequence to cherish this illusion, and to keep up the veneration which it inspired. Cortes wished that shedding the blood of a Spaniard should be deemed the most heinous of all crimes; and nothing appeared better calculated to establish this opinion than to condemn the first Mexicans who had ventured to commit it to a cruel death, and to oblige their monarch himself to submit to a mortifying indignity as an expiation for being accessary to a deed so atrocious. [111]

1520.] The rigor with which Cortes punished the unhappy persons who first presumed to lay violent hands upon his followers, seems accordingly to have made all the impression that he desired. The spirit of Montezuma was not only overawed but subdued. During six months that Cortes remained in Mexico, the monarch continued in the Spanish quarters with an appearance of as entire satisfaction and tranquillity as if he had resided there not from constraint, but through choice. His ministers and officers attended him as usual. He took cognisance of all affairs; every order was issued in his name. The external aspect of government appearing the same, and all its ancient forms being scrupulously observed, the people were so little sensible of any change, that they obeyed the mandates of their monarch with the same submissive reverence as ever. Such was the dread which both Montezuma and his subjects had of the Spaniards, or such the veneration in which they held them, that no attempt was made to deliver their sovereign from confinement; and though Cortes, relying on this ascendant which he had acquired over their minds, permitted him not only to visit his temples, but to make hunting excursions beyond the lake, a guard of a few Spaniards carried with it such a terror as to intimidate the multitude, and secure the captive monarch.

Thus, by the fortunate temerity of Cortes in seizing Montezuma, the Spaniards secured at once to themselves more extensive authority in the Mexican Empire than it was possible to have acquired in a long course of time by open force; and they exercised more absolute sway in the name of another, than they could have done in their own. The arts of polished nations, in subjecting such as are less improved, have been nearly the same in every period. The system of screening a foreign usurpation, under the sanction of authority derived from the natural rulers of a country, the device of employing the magistrates and forms already established as instruments to introduce a new dominion, of which we are apt to boast as sublime refinements in policy peculiar to the present age, were inventions of a more early period, and had been tried with success in the West long before they were practised in the East.

Cortes availed himself to the utmost of the powers which he possessed by being able to act in the name of Montezuma. He sent some Spaniards, whom he judged best qualified for such commissions, into different parts of the empire, accompanied by persons of distinction, whom Montezuma appointed to attend them, both as guides and protectors. They visited most of the provinces, viewed their soil and productions, surveyed with particular care the districts which yielded gold or silver, pitched upon several places as proper stations for future colonies, and endeavored to prepare the minds of the people for submitting to the Spanish yoke. While they were thus employed, Cortes, in the name and by the authority of Montezuma, degraded some of the principal officers in the empire, whose abilities or independent spirit excited his jealousy, and substituted in their place persons less capable or more obsequious.

One thing still was wanting to complete his security. He wished to have such command of the lake as might ensure him a retreat if, either from levity or disgust, the Mexicans should take arms against him, and break down the bridges or causeways. This, too, his own address, and the facility of Montezuma, enabled him to accomplish. Having frequently entertained his prisoner with pompous accounts of the European marine, and art of navigation, he awakened his curiosity to see those moving palaces which made their way through the water, without oars. Under pretext of gratifying this desire, Cortes persuaded Montezuma to appoint some of his subjects to fetch part of the naval stores which the Spaniards had deposited at Vera Cruz to Mexico, and to employ others in cutting down and preparing timber. With their assistance, the Spanish carpenters soon completed two brigantines, which afforded a frivolous amusement to the monarch, and were considered by Cortes as a certain resource if he should be obliged to retire.

Encouraged by so many instances of the monarch's tame submission to his will, Cortes ventured to put it to a proof still more trying. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Castile, to hold his crown of him as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition, the last and most humbling that can be made to one possessed of sovereign authority, Montezuma was so obsequious as to comply. He called together the chief men of his empire, and in a solemn harangue, reminding them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people sprung from the same stock with themselves, in order to take possession of the supreme power, he declared his belief that the Spaniards were this promised race; that therefore he recognised the right of their monarch to govern the Mexican empire; that he would lay his crown at his feet, and obey him as a tributary. While uttering these words, Montezuma discovered how deeply he was affected in making such a sacrifice. Tears and groans frequently interrupted his discourse. Overawed and broken as his spirit was, it still retained such a sense of dignity as to feel that pang which pierces the heart of princes when constrained to resign independent power. The first mention of such a resolution struck the assembly dumb with astonishment. This was followed by a sudden murmur of sorrow, mingled with indignation, which indicated some violent irruption of rage to be near at hand. This Cortes foresaw, and seasonably interposed to prevent it by declaring that his master had no intention to deprive Montezuma of the royal dignity, or to make any innovation upon the constitution and laws of the Mexican empire. This assurance, added to their dread of the Spanish power and to the authority of their monarch's example, extorted a reluctant consent from the assembly. [112] The act of submission and homage was executed with the formalities which the Spaniards were pleased to prescribe.

Montezuma, at the desire of Cortes, accompanied this profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and after his example his subjects brought in very liberal contributions. The Spaniards now collected all the treasures which had been either voluntarily bestowed upon them at different times by Montezuma, or had been extorted from his people under various pretexts; and having melted the gold and silver, the value of these, without including jewels and ornaments of various kinds, which were preserved on account of their curious workmanship, amounted to six hundred thousand *pesos*. The soldiers were impatient to have it divided, and Cortes complied with their desire. A fifth of the whole was first set apart as the tax due to the king. Another fifth was allotted to Cortes as commander in chief. The sums advanced by Velasquez, by Cortes, and by some of the officers, towards defraying the expense of fitting out the armament, were then deducted. The remainder was divided among the army, including the garrison at Vera Cruz, in proportion to their different ranks. After so many defalcations, the share of a private man did not exceed a hundred pesos. This sum fell so far below their sanguine expectations that some soldiers rejected it with scorn, and others murmured so loudly at this cruel disappointment of their hopes, that it required all the address of Cortes, and no small exertion of his liberality, to appease them. The complaints of the army were not altogether destitute of foundation. As the crown had contributed nothing towards the equipment or success of the armament, it was not without regret that the soldiers beheld it sweep away so great a proportion of the treasure purchased by their blood and toil. What fell to the share of the general appeared according to the ideas of wealth in the sixteenth century, an enormous sum. Some of Cortes's favorites had secretly appropriated to their own use several ornaments of gold, which neither paid the royal fifth, nor were brought into account as part of the common stock. It was, however, so manifestly the interest of Cortes at this period to make a large remittance to the king, that it is highly probable those concealments were not of great consequence.

The total sum amassed by the Spaniards bears no proportion to the ideas which might be formed, either by reflecting on the descriptions given by historians of the ancient splendor of Mexico or by considering the

productions of its mines in modern times. But among the ancient Mexicans, gold and silver were not the standards by which the worth of other commodities was estimated; and destitute of the artificial value derived from this circumstance, were no further in request than as they furnished materials for ornaments and trinkets. These were either consecrated to the gods in their temples, or were worn as marks of distinction by their princes and some of their most eminent chiefs. As the consumption of the precious metals was inconsiderable, the demand for them was not such as to put either the ingenuity or industry of the Mexicans on the stretch in order to augment their store. They were altogether unacquainted with the art of working the rich mines with which their country abounded. What gold they had was gathered in the beds of the rivers, native, and ripened into a pure metallic state. The utmost effort of their labor in search of it was to wash the earth carried down by torrents from the mountains, and to pick out the grains of gold which subsided; and even this simple operation, according to the report of the persons whom Cortes appointed to survey the provinces where there was a prospect of finding mines, they performed very unskilfully. From all those causes, the whole mass of gold in possession of the Mexicans was not great. As silver is rarely found pure, and the Mexican art was too rude to conduct the process for refining it in a proper manner, the quantity of this metal was still less considerable. Thus, though the Spaniards had exerted all the power which they possessed in Mexico, and often with indecent rapacity, in order to gratify their predominant passion, and though Montezuma had fondly exhausted his treasures, in hopes of satiating their thirst for gold, the product of both, which probably included a great part of the bullion in the empire, did not rise in value above what has been mentioned. [113]

But however pliable Montezuma might be in other matters, with respect to one point he was inflexible. Though Cortes often urged him, with the importunate zeal of a missionary, to renounce his false gods, and to embrace the Christian faith, he always rejected the proposition with horror. Superstition, among the Mexicans, was formed into such a regular and complete system, that its institutions naturally took fast hold of the mind; and while the rude tribes in other parts of America were easily induced to relinquish a few notions and rites, so loose and arbitrary as hardly to merit the name of a public religion, the Mexicans adhered tenaciously to their mode of worship, which, however barbarous, was accompanied with such order and solemnity as to render it an object of the highest veneration. Cortes, finding all his attempts ineffectual to shake the constancy of Montezuma, was so much enraged at his obstinacy, that in a transport of zeal he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols in the grand temple by force. But the priests taking arms in defence of their altars, and the people crowding with great ardor to support them, Cortes's prudence overruled his zeal, and induced him to desist from his rash attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing in their stead an image of the Virgin Mary. [114]

From that moment the Mexicans, who had permitted the imprisonment of their sovereign, and suffered the exactions of strangers without a struggle began to meditate how they might expel or destroy the Spaniards, and thought themselves called upon to avenge their insulted deities. The priests and leading men held frequent consultations with Montezuma for this purpose. But as it might prove fatal to the captive monarch to attempt either the one or the other by violence, he was willing to try more gentle means. Having called Cortes into his presence, he observed, that now, as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people signified their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable destruction would fall suddenly on their heads. The tenor of this unexpected requisition, as well as the determined tone in which it was uttered, left Cortes no room to doubt, that it was the result of some deep scheme concerted between Montezuma and his subjects. He quickly perceived that he might derive more advantage from a seeming compliance with the monarch's inclinations, than from an ill-timed attempt to change or oppose it; and replied, with great composure, that he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but as he had destroyed the vessels in which he arrived, some time was requisite for building other ships. This appeared reasonable. A number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz to cut down timber, and some Spanish carpenters were appointed to superintend the work. Cortes flattered himself that during this interval he might either find means to avert the threatened danger, or receive such reinforcements as would enable him to despise it.

Almost nine months were elapsed since Portocarrero and Montejo had sailed with his despatches to Spain; and he daily expected their return with a confirmation of his authority from the king. Without this, his condition was insecure and precarious; and after all the great things which he had done, it might be his doom to bear the name and suffer the punishment of a traitor. Rapid and extensive as his progress had been, he could not hope to complete the reduction of a great empire with so small a body of men, which by this time diseases of various kinds considerably thinned; nor could he apply for recruits to the Spanish settlements in the islands, until he received the royal approbation of his proceedings.

While he remained in this cruel situation, anxious about what was past, uncertain with respect to the future, and by the late declaration of Montezuma, oppressed with a new addition of cares, a Mexican courier arrived with an account of some ships having appeared on the coast. Cortes, with fond credulity, imagining that his messengers were returned from Spain, and that the completion of all his wishes and hopes was at hand, imparted the glad tidings to his companions, who received them with transports of mutual gratulation. Their joy was not of long continuance. A courier from Sandoval, whom Cortes had appointed to succeed Escalante in command of Vera Cruz, brought certain information that the armament was fitted out by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, and instead of bringing the aid which they expected, threatened them with immediate destruction.

The motives which prompted Velasquez to this violent measure are obvious. From the circumstances of Cortes's departure, it was impossible not to suspect his intention of throwing off all dependence upon him. His neglecting to transmit any account of his operations to Cuba, strengthened this suspicion, which was at last confirmed beyond doubt by the indiscretion of the officers whom Cortes sent to Spain. They, from some motive which is not clearly explained by the contemporary historians, touched at the island of Cuba, contrary to the peremptory orders of their general. By this means Velasquez not only learned that Cortes and his followers, after formally renouncing all connection with him, had established an independent colony in New Spain, and were soliciting the king to confirm their proceedings by his authority; but he obtained particular information concerning the opulence of the country, the valuable presents which Cortes had received, and the inviting prospects of success that opened to his view. Every passion which can agitate an ambitious mind; shame, at having been so grossly overreached; indignation, at being betrayed by the man whom he had selected as the object of his favor and confidence; grief, for having wasted his fortune to aggrandize an enemy; and despair of recovering so fair an opportunity of establishing his fame and extending his power, now raged in the bosom of Velasquez. All these, with united force, excited him to make an extraordinary effort in order to be avenged on the author of his wrongs, and to wrest from him his usurped authority and conquests. Nor did he want the appearance of a good title to justify such an attempt. The agent whom he sent to Spain with an account of Grijalva's voyage, had met with a most favorable reception; and from the specimens which he produced, such high expectations were formed concerning the opulence of New Spain, that Velasquez was authorized to prosecute the discovery of the country, and appointed governor of it during life, with more extensive power and privileges than had been granted to any adventurer from the time of Columbus. Elated by this distinguishing mark of favor, and warranted to consider Cortes not only as intruding upon his jurisdiction, but as disobedient to the royal mandate, he determined to vindicate his own rights, and the honor of his sovereign by force of arms. [115] His ardor in carrying on his preparations was such as might have been expected from the violence of the passions with which he was animated; and in a short time an armament was completed, consisting of eighteen ships which had on board fourscore horsemen, eight hundred foot soldiers, of which eighty were musketeers, and a hundred and twenty cross-bow men, together with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. As Velasquez's experience of the fatal consequence of committing to another what he ought to have executed himself, had not rendered him more enterprising, he vested the command of this formidable body, which, in the infancy of the Spanish power in America, merits the appellation of an army, in Pamphilo de Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, to send them prisoners to him, and then to complete the discovery and conquest of the country in his name.

After a prosperous voyage, Narvaez landed his men without opposition near St. Juan de Ulua [April]. Three soldiers, whom Cortes had sent to search for mines in that district, immediately joined him. By this accident he not only received information concerning the progress and situation of Cortes, but, as these soldiers had made some progress in the knowledge of the Mexican language, he acquired interpreters, by whose means he was enabled to hold some intercourse with the people of the country. But, according to the low cunning of deserters, they framed their intelligence with more attention to what they thought would be agreeable than to what they knew to be true; and represented the situation of Cortes to be so desperate, and the disaffection of his followers to be so general, as increased the natural confidence and presumption of Narvaez. His first operation, however, might have taught him not to rely on their partial accounts. Having sent to summon the governor of Vera Cruz to surrender, Guevara, a priest whom he employed in that service, made the requisition with such insolence, that Sandoval, an officer of high spirit, and zealously attached to Cortes, instead of complying with his demands, seized him and his attendants, and sent them in chains to Mexico.

Cortes received them not like enemies, but as friends, and, condemning the severity of Sandoval, set them immediately at liberty. By this well timed clemency, seconded by caresses and presents, he gained their confidence, and drew from them such particulars concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave him a view of the impending danger in its full extent. He had not to contend now with half naked Indians, no match for him in war, and still more inferior in the arts of policy, but to take the field against an army in courage and martial discipline equal to his own, in number far superior, acting under the sanction of royal authority, and commanded by an officer of known bravery. He was informed that Narvaez, more solicitous to gratify the resentment of Velasquez than attentive to the honor or interest of his country, had begun his intercourse with the natives, by representing him and his followers as fugitives and outlaws, guilty of rebellion against their own sovereign, and of injustice in invading the Mexican empire; and had declared that his chief object in visiting the country was to punish the Spaniards who had committed these crimes, and to rescue the Mexicans from oppression. He soon perceived that the same unfavorable representations of his character and actions had been conveyed to Montezuma, and that Narvaez had found means to assure him, that as the conduct of those who kept him under restraint was highly displeasing to the King his master, he had it in charge not only to rescue an injured monarch from confinement, but to reinstate him in the possession of his ancient power and independence. Animated with this prospect of being set free from subjection to strangers, the Mexicans in several provinces began openly to revolt from Cortes, and to regard Narvaez as a deliverer no less able than willing to save them. Montezuma himself kept up a secret intercourse with the new commander, and seemed to court him as a person superior in power and dignity to those Spaniards whom he had hitherto revered as the first of men. [116]

Such were the various aspects of danger and difficulty which presented themselves to the view of Cortes. No situation can be conceived more trying to the capacity and firmness of a general, or where the choice of the plan which ought to be adopted was more difficult. If he should wait the approach of Narvaez in Mexico, destruction seemed to be unavoidable; for, while the Spaniards pressed him from without, the inhabitants, whose turbulent spirit he could hardly restrain with all his authority and attention, would eagerly lay hold on such a favorable opportunity of avenging all their wrongs. If he should abandon the capital, set the captive monarch at liberty, and to march out to meet the enemy, he must at once forego the fruits of all his toils and victories, and relinquish advantages which could not be recovered without extraordinary efforts and infinite danger. If, instead of employing force, he should have recourse to conciliating measures, and attempt an accommodation with Narvaez; the natural haughtiness of that officer, augmented by consciousness of his present superiority, forbade him to entertain any sanguine hope of success. After revolving every

scheme with deep attention, Cortes fixed upon that which in execution was most hazardous, but, if successful, would prove most beneficial to himself and to his country; and with the decisive intrepidity suited to desperate situations, determined to make one bold effort for victory under every disadvantage, rather than sacrifice his own conquests and the Spanish interests in Mexico.

But though he foresaw that the contest must be terminated finally by arms, it would have been not only indecent but criminal to have marched against his countrymen, without attempting to adjust matters by an amicable negotiation. In this service he employed Olmedo, his chaplain, to whose character the function was well suited, and who possessed, besides, such prudence and address as qualified him to carry on the secret intrigues in which Cortes placed his chief confidence. Narvaez rejected with scorn every scheme of accommodation that Olmedo proposed, and was with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands on him and his attendants. He met, however, with a more favorable reception among the followers of Narvaez, to many of whom he delivered letters, either from Cortes or his officers, their ancient friends and companions. Cortes artfully accompanied these with presents of rings, chains of gold, and other trinkets of value, which inspired those needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth that he had acquired, and with envy of their good fortune who were engaged in his service. Some, from hopes of becoming sharers in those rich spoils, declared for an immediate accommodation with Cortes. Others, from public spirit, labored to prevent a civil war, which, whatever party should prevail, must shake, and perhaps subvert the Spanish power in a country where it was so imperfectly established. Narvaez disregarded both, and by a public proclamation denounced Cortes and his adherents rebels and enemies to their country. Cortes, it is probable, was not much surprised at the untractable arrogance of Narvaez; and after having given such a proof of his own pacific disposition as might justify his recourse to other means, he determined to advance towards an enemy whom he had labored in vain to appease.

He left a hundred and fifty men in the capital, [May,] under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of distinguished courage, for whom the Mexicans had conceived a singular degree of respect. To the custody of this slender garrison he committed a great city, with all the wealth he had amassed, and, what was of still greater importance, the person of the imprisoned monarch. His utmost art was employed in concealing from Montezuma the real cause of his march. He labored to persuade him, that the strangers who had lately arrived were his friends and fellow-subjects; and that, after a short interview with them, they would depart together, and return to their own country. The captive prince, unable to comprehend the designs of the Spaniard, or to reconcile what he now heard with the declarations of Narvaez, and afraid to discover any symptom of suspicion or distrust of Cortes, promised to remain quietly in the Spanish quarters, and to cultivate the same freindship with Alvarado which he had uniformly maintained with him. Cortes, with seeming confidence in this promise, but relying principally upon the injunctions which he had given Alvarado to guard his prisoner with the most scrupulous vigilance, set out from Mexico.

His strength, even after it was reinforced by the junction of Sandoval and the garrison of Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. As he hoped for success chiefly from the rapidity of his motions, his troops were not encumbered either with baggage or artillery. But as he dreaded extremely the impression which the enemy might make with their cavalry, he had provided against this danger with the foresight and sagacity which distinguish a great commander. Having observed that the Indians in the province of Cinantla used spears of extraordinary length and force, he armed his soldiers with these, and accustomed them to that deep and compact arrangement which the use of this formidable weapon, the best perhaps that was ever invented for defence, enabled them to assume.

With this small but firm battalion, Cortes advanced towards Zempoalla, of which Narvaez had taken possession. During his march, he made repeated attempts towards some accommodation with his opponent. But Narvaez requiring that Cortes and his followers should instantly recognise his title to be governor of New Spain, in virtue of the powers which he derived from Velasquez, and Cortes refusing to submit to any authority which was not founded on a commission from the Emperor himself, under whose immediate protection he and his adherents had placed their infant colony; all these attempts proved fruitless. The intercourse, however, which this occasioned between the two parties, proved of no small advantage to Cortes, as it afforded him an opportunity of gaining some of Narvaez's officers by liberal presents, of softening others by a semblance of moderation, and of dazzling all by the appearance of wealth among his troops, most of his soldiers having converted their share of the Mexican gold into chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, which they displayed with military ostentation. Narvaez and a little junto of his creatures excepted, all the army leaned towards an accommodation with their countrymen. This discovery of their inclination irritated his violent temper almost to madness. In a transport of rage, he set a price upon the head of Cortes, and of his principal officers; and having learned that he was now advanced within a league of Zempoalla with his small body of men, he considered this as an insult which merited immediate chastisement, and marched out with all his troops to offer him battle.

But Cortes was a leader of greater abilities and experience than, on equal ground, to fight an enemy so far superior in number, and so much better appointed. Having taken his station on the opposite bank of the river de Canoas, where he knew that he could not be attacked, he beheld the approach of the enemy without concern, and disregarded this vain bravade. It was then the beginning of the wet season, and the rain had poured down, during a great part of the day, with a violence peculiar to the torrid zone. The followers of Narvaez, unaccustomed to the hardships of military service, murmured so much at being thus fruitlessly exposed, that, from their unsoldierlike impatience, as well as his own contempt of his adversary, their general permitted them to retire to Zempoalla. The very circumstance which induced them to quit the field, encouraged Cortes to form a scheme by which he hoped at once to terminate the war. He observed that his hardy veterans, though standing under the torrents which continued to fall without a single tent or any shelter whatsoever to cover them, were so far from repining at hardships which were become familiar to them, that they were still fresh and alert for service. He forsaw that the enemy would naturally give themselves up to repose after their fatigue, and that, judging of the conduct of others by their own effeminacy, they would deem themselves perfectly secure at a season so unfit for action. He resolved, therefore, to fall upon them in the dead of night, when the suprise and terror of this unexpected attack might more than compensate the inferiority of his numbers. His soldiers, sensible that no resource remained but in some desperate effort of courage, approved of the measure with such warmth, that Cortes, in a military oration which he addressed to them before they began their march, was more solicitous to temper than to inflame their ardor. He divided them into three parties. At the head of the first he placed Sandoval; intrusting this gallant officer with the most dangerous and important service, that of seizing the enemy's artillery, which was planted before the principal tower of the temple where Narvaez had fixed his head-quarters. Christoval de Olid commanded the second, with orders to assault the tower, and lay hold on the general. Cortes himself conducted the third and smallest division, which was to act as a body of reserve, and to support the other two as there should be occasion. Having passed the river de Canoas, which was much swelled with the rains, not without difficulty, the water reaching almost to their chins, they advanced in profound silence, without beat of drum, or sound of any warlike instrument; each man armed with his sword, his dagger, and his Chinantlan spear. Narvaez, remiss in proportion to his security, had posted only two sentinels to watch the motions of an enemy whom he had such good cause to dread. One of these was seized by the advanced guard of Cortes's troops; the other made his escape, and, hurrying to the town with all the precipitation of fear and zeal, gave such timely notice of the enemy's approach, that there was full leisure to have prepared for their reception. But, through the arrogance and infatuation of Narvaez, this important interval was lost. He imputed this alarm to the cowardice of the sentinel, and treated with derision the idea of being attacked by forces so unequal to his own. The shouts of Cortes's soldiers, rushing on to the assault, convinced him at last that the danger which he despised was real. The rapidity with which they advanced was such that only one cannon could be fired before Sandoval's party closed with the enemy, drove them from their guns, and began to force their way up the steps of the tower. Narvaez, no less brave in action than presumptuous in conduct, armed himself in haste, and by his voice and example animated his men to the combat. Olid advanced to sustain his companions; and Cortes himself rushing to the front, conducted and added new vigor to the attack. The compact order in which this small body pressed on, and the impenetrable front which they presented with their long spears bore down all opposition before it. They had now reached the gate, and were struggling to burst it open, when a soldier having set fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, compelled Narvaez to sally out. In the first encounter he was wounded in the eye with the spear, and, falling to the ground, was dragged down the steps, and in a moment clapped in fetters. The cry of victory resounded among the troops of Cortes. Those who had sallied out with their leader now maintained the conflict feebly, and began to surrender. Among the remainder of his soldiers, stationed in two smaller towers of the temple, terror and confusion prevailed. The darkness was so great, that they could not distinguish between their friends and foes. Their own artillery was pointed against them. Wherever they turned their eye, they beheld lights gleaming through the obscurity of the night, which, though proceeding only from a variety of shining insects that abound in moist and sultry climates, their affrighted imaginations represented as numerous bands of musketeers advancing with kindled matches to the attack. After a short resistance, the soldiers compelled their officers to capitulate, and before morning all laid down their arms, and submitted quietly to their conquerors.

This complete victory proved more acceptable, as it was gained almost without bloodshed, only two soldiers being killed on the side of Cortes, and two officers, with fifteen private men of the adverse faction. Cortes treated the vanquished not like enemies, but as countrymen and friends, and offered either to send them back directly to Cuba, or to take them into his service, as partners in his fortune, on equal terms with his own soldiers. This latter proposition, seconded by a seasonable distribution of some presents from Cortes, and liberal promises of more, opened prospects so agreeable to the romantic expectations which had invited them to engage in this service, that all, a few partisans of Narvaez excepted, closed with it, and vied with each other in professions of fidelity and attachment to a general, whose recent success had given them such a striking proof of his abilities for command. Thus, by a series of events no less fortunate than uncommon, Cortes not only escaped from perdition which seemed inevitable, but, when he had least reason to expect it, was placed at the head of a thousand Spaniards, ready to follow wherever he should lead them. Whoever reflects upon the facility with which this victory was obtained, or considers with what sudden and unanimous transition the followers of Narvaez ranged themselves under the standard of his rival, will be apt to ascribe both events as much to the intrigues as to the arms of Cortes, and cannot but suspect that the ruin of Narvaez was occasioned no less by the treachery of his own followers, than by the valor of the enemy.

But in one point the prudent conduct and good fortune of Cortes were equally conspicuous. If, by the rapidity of his operations after he began his march, he had not brought matters to such a speedy issue, even this decisive victory would have come too late to have saved his companions whom he left in Mexico. A few days after the discomfiture of Narvaez, a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and, having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built in order to secure the command of the lake, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several of them, and wounded more, had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities with such fury, that though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be soon cut off by famine, or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Zempoalla, the Mexicans flattered themselves that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of strangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppressors were divided, and the arms of one party turned against the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Consultations were held, and schemes formed with this intention. The Spaniards in Mexico, conscious of their

own feebleness, suspected and dreaded those machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, possessed neither that extent of capacity nor dignity of manners, by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendant over the minds of the Mexicans, as never allowed them to form a just estimate of his weakness or of their own strength. Alvarado knew no mode of supporting his authority but force. Instead of employing address to disconcert the plans or to soothe the spirits of the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their solemn festivals. When the principal persons in the empire were dancing, according to custom, in the court of the great temple, he seized all the avenues which led to it; and allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honor of their gods, and partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of that conspiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspicious of any danger, and massacred a great number, none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city, but the whole empire with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the safety of their monarch, whose life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He set out instantly with all his forces, and returned from Zempoalla with no less rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlascala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed; no person of note appearing to meet him with the usuul respect; no provision was made for the subsistence of his troops; and though he was permitted to advance without opposition, the solitude and silence which reigned in every place, and the horror with which the people avoided all intercourse with him, discovered a deep rooted antipathy that excited the most just alarm. But implacable as the enmity of the Mexicans was, they were so unacquainted with the science of war, that they knew not how to take the proper measures either for their own safety or the destruction of the Spaniards. Uninstructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, instead of breaking down the causeways and bridges, by which they might have enclosed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march into the city [June 24] without molestation, and to take quiet possession of his ancient station.

The transports of joy with which Alvarado and his soldiers received their companions cannot be expressed. Both parties were so much elated, the one with their seasonable deliverance, and the other with the great exploits which they had achieved, that this intoxication of success seems to have reached Cortes himself; and he behaved on this occasion neither with his usual sagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but embittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people. The forces of which he had now the command appeared to him so irresistible that he might assume a higher tone, and lay aside the mask of moderation under which he had hitherto concealed his designs. Some Mexicans, who understood the Spanish language, heard the contemptuous words which Cortes uttered, and, reporting them to their countrymen, kindled their rage anew. They were now convinced that the intentions of the general were equally bloody with those of Alvarado, and that his original purpose in visiting their country had not been, as he pretended, to court the alliance of their sovereign, but to attempt the conquest of his dominions. They resumed their arms with the additional fury which this discovery inspired, attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced the next day with extraordinary martial pomp to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge; though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and, meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance. The utmost efforts of Cortes abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valor of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had continued so long passive under it. The soldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, were astonished to find that they were involved in a dangerous war with an enemy whose vigor was still unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakness in giving such easy credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. But surprise and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was necessary to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire in compliance with their national custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally, next day, with such a considerable force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important service. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting were employed to ensure success. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods, and in presence of their wives and children. Notwithstanding their numbers, and enthusiastic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could close with them, the superiority of their discipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow streets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could seldom come to a fair rencounter with the enemy, and, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of houses. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell, and part of the city was burnt, the Spaniards weary with the slaughter, and harrassed by multitudes which successively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed, and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the centre of a hostile city, nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained, to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects. When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the assault, that unfortunate prince, at the mercy of the Spaniards, and reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace, and of the slavery of his people, [117] advanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he used to appear on solemn occasions. At sight of their sovereign, whom they had long been accustomed to honor, and almost to revere as a god, the weapons dropped from their hands, every tongue was silent, all bowed their heads, and many prostrated themselves on the ground. Montezuma addressed them with every argument that could mitigate their rage, or persuade them to cease from hostilities. When he ended his discourse, a sullen murmur of disapprobation ran through the ranks; to this succeeded reproaches and threats; and the fury of the multitude rising in a moment above every restraint of decency or respect, flights of arrows and volleys of stones poured in so violently upon the ramparts, that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to cover Montezuma with their bucklers, had time to lift them in his defence, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and the blow of a stone on his temple struck him to the ground. On seeing him fall, the Mexicans were so much astonished, that with a transition not uncommon in popular tumults, they passed in a moment from one extreme to the other, remorse succeeded to insult, and they fled with horror, as if the vengeance of heaven were pursuing the crime which they committed. The Spaniards without molestation carried Montezuma to his apartments, and Cortes hastened thither to console him under his misfortune. But the unhappy monarch now perceived how low he was sunk; and the haughty spirit which seemed to have been so long extinct, returning, he scorned to survive this last humiliation, and to protract an ignominious life, not only as the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but as the object of contempt or detestation among his subjects. In a transport of rage he tore the bandages from his wounds, and refused, with such obstinacy, to take any nourishment, that he soon ended his wretched days, rejecting with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Christian faith.

Upon the death of Montezuma, Cortes, having lost all hope of bringing the Mexicans to an accommodation, saw no prospect of safety but in attempting a retreat, and began to prepare for it. But a sudden motion of the Mexicans engaged him in new conflicts. They took possession of a high tower in the great temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and placing there a garrison of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could stir without being exposed to their missile weapons. From this post it was necessary to dislodge them at any risk; and Juan de Escobar, with a numerous detachment of chosen soldiers, was ordered to make the attack. But Escobar, though a gallant officer, and at the head of troops accustomed to conquer, and who now fought under the eyes of their countrymen, was thrice repulsed. Cortes, sensible that not only the reputation but the safety of his army depended on the success of this assault, ordered a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and rushed with his drawn sword into the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with such vigor, that they gradually forced their way up the steps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower. There a dreadful carnage began; when two young Mexicans of high rank, observing Cortes as he animated his soldiers by his voice and example, resolved to sacrifice their own lives in order to cut off the author of all the calamities which desolated their country. They approached him in a suppliant posture, as if they had intended to lay down their arms, and seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along to be dashed in pieces by the same fall. But Cortes, by his strength and agility, broke loose from their grasp, and the gallant youths perished in this generous though unsuccessful attempt to save their country.* As soon as the Spaniards became masters of the tower, they set fire to it, and, without farther molestation, continued the preparations for their retreat.

This became the more necessary, as the Mexicans were so much astonished at the last effort of the Spanish valor, that they began to change their whole system of hostility, and, instead of incessant attacks, endeavored, by barricading the streets and breaking down the causeways, to cut off the communication of the Spaniards with the continent, and thus to starve an enemy whom they could not subdue. The first point to be determined by Cortes and his followers, was, whether they should march out openly in the face of day, when they could discern every danger, and see how to regulate their own motions, as well as how to resist the assaults of the enemy; or, whether they should endeavor to retire secretly in the night? The latter was preferred, partly from hopes that their national superstition would restrain the Mexicans from venturing to attack them in the night, and partly from their own fond belief in the predictions of a private soldier, who having acquired universal credit by a smattering of learning, and his pretensions to astrology, boldly assured his countrymen of success, if they made their retreat in this manner. They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon had the conduct of the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the prisoners, among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma, together with several Mexicans of distinction, the artillery, the baggage, and a portable bridge of timber in-

* M. Clavigero has censured me with asperity for relating this gallant action of the two Mexicans, and for supposing that there were battlements round the temple of Mexico. I related the attempt to destroy Cortes on the authority of Herr. dec. 2. lib. x. c. 9. and of Torquemado lib. iv. c. 69. I followed them likewise in supposing the uppermost platform of the temple to be encompassed by a battlement or rail.

tended to be laid over the breaches in the causeway. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba, because it was shorter than any of the rest, and, lying most remote from the road towards Tlascala and the sea-coast, had been left more entire by the Mexicans. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered.

But the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushing forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged so fast into the stones and mud, that it was impossible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side; and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet crowded together as they were on a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their firearms, or the superiority of their other weapons. All Mexico was now in arms; and so eager were the people on the destruction of their oppressors, that they who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of the delay, pressed forward with such ardor as drove on their countrymen in front with irresistible violence. Fresh warriors instantly filled the place of such as fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the main land. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his presence and example, to persevere in the efforts requisite to effect it. He met with part of his soldiers who had broke through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake; and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba. But when the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered battalion reduced to less than half its number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds, the thoughts of what they had suffered, and the remembrance of so many faithful friends and gallant followers who had fallen in that night of sorrow,* pierced his soul with such anguish, that while he was forming their ranks, and issuing some necessary orders, his soldiers observed the tears trickling from his eyes, and remarked with much satisfaction, that while attentive to the duties of a general, he was not insensible to the feelings of a man.

In this fatal retreat many officers of distinction perished [118], and among these Velasquez de Leon, who having forsaken the party of his kinsman, the governor of Cuba, to follow the fortune of his companions, was, on that account, as well as for his superior merit, respected by them as the second person in the army. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were lost; the greater part of the horses, and above two thousand Tlascalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved a great cause of their calamity; for many of the soldiers having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action, and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously, the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice. Amidst so many disasters, it was some consolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whose function as interpreters was of such essential importance, had made their escape.

The first care of Cortes was to find some shelter for his wearied troops; for as the Mexicans infested them on every side, and the people of Tacuba began to take arms, he could not continue in his present station. He directed his march towards the rising ground, and having fortunately discovered a temple situated on an eminence, took possession of it. There he found not only the shelter for which he wished, but, what was no less wanted, some provisions to refresh his men; and though the enemy did not intermit their attacks throughout the day, they were with less difficulty prevented from making any impression. During this time Cortes was engaged in deep consultation with his officers, concerning the route which they ought to take in their retreat. They were now on the west side of the lake. Tlascala, the only place where they could hope for a friendly reception, lay about sixty-four miles to the east of Mexico; so that they were obliged to go round the north end of the lake before they could fall into the road which led thither. A Tlascalan soldier undertook to be their guide, and conducted them through a country in some places marshy, in others mountainous, in all ill cultivated and thinly peopled. They marched for six days with little respite, and under continual alarms, numerous bodies of the Mexicans hovering around them, sometimes harassing them at a distance with their missile weapons, and sometimes attacking them closely in front, in rear, in flank, with great boldness, as they now knew that they were not invincible. Nor were the fatigue and danger of those incessant conflicts the worst evils to which they were exposed. As the barren country through which they passed afforded hardly any provisions, they were reduced to feed on berries, roots, and the stalks of green maize; and at the very time that famine was depressing their spirits and wasting their strength, their situation required the most vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. Amidst those complicated distresses, one circumstance supported and animated the Spaniards. Their commander sustained this sad reverse of fortune with unshaken magnanimity. His presence of mind never forsook him; his sagacity foresaw every event, and his vigilance provided for it. He was foremost in every danger, and endured every hardship with cheerfulness. The difficulties with which he was surrounded seemed to call forth new talents; and his soldiers, though despairing themselves, continued to follow him with increasing confidence in his abilities.

On the sixth day they arrived near to Otumba, not far from the road between Mexico and Tlascala. Early next morning they began to advance towards it, flying parties of the enemy still hanging on their rear; and, amidst the insults with which they accompanied their hostilities, Marina remarked that they often exclaimed with exultation, "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the vengeance due to your crimes." The meaning of this threat the Spaniards did not comprehend, until they reached the summit of an eminence before them. There a spacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vast army, extending as far as the eye could reach. The Mexicans, while with one body of their troops they harassed the Spaniards in their retreat, had assembled their principal force on the other side of the lake; and marching along the road which led directly to Tlascala, posted it in the plain of Otumba, through which they knew Cortes must pass. At the sight of this incredible multitude, which they could survey at once from the rising ground, the Spaniards were astonished, and even the boldest began to despair. But Cortes, without allowing leisure for their fears to acquire strength by reflection, after warning them briefly that no alternative now remained but to conquer or to die, led them instantly to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with unusual fortitude. Such however was the superiority of the Spanish discipline and arms, that the impression of this small body was irresistible; and whichever way its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed their most numerous battalions. But while these gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another, and the Spaniards, though successful in every attack, were ready to sink under those repeated efforts, without seeing any end of their toil, or any hope of victory. At that time Cortes observed the great standard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing; and fortunately recollecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle, he assembled a few of his bravest officers, whose horses were still capable of service, and, placing himself at their head, pushed forward towards the standard with an impetuosity which bore down every thing before it. A chosen body of nobles, who guarded the standard made some resistance, but were soon broken. Cortes with a stroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him on the ground. One of the Spanish officers, alighting, put an end to his life, and laid hold of the imperial standard. The moment that their leader fell, and the standard, towards which all directed their eyes, disappeared, a universal panic struck the Mexicans; and, as if the bond which held them together had been dissolved, every ensign was lowered, each soldier threw away his weapons, and all fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards unable to pursue them far, returned to collect the spoils of the field, which were so valuable as to be some compensation for the wealth which they had lost in Mexico; for in the enemy's army were most of their principal warriors dressed out in their richest ornaments as if they had been marching to assured victory. Next day [July 8], to their great joy, they entered the Tlascalan territories.

But amidst their satisfaction in having got beyond the precincts of a hostile country, they could not look forward without solicitude, as they were still uncertain what reception they might meet with from allies to whom they returned in a condition very different from that in which they had lately set out from their dominions. Happily for them, the enmity of the Tlascalans to the Mexican name was so inveterate, their desire to avenge the death of their countrymen so vehement, and the ascendant which Cortes had acquired over the chiefs of the republic so complete, that, far from entertaining a thought of taking any advantage of the distressed situation in which they beheld the Spaniards, they received them with a tenderness and cordiality which quickly dissipated all their suspicions.

Some interval of tranquillity and indulgence was now absolutely necessary; not only that the Spaniards might give attention to the cure of their wounds, which had been too long neglected, but in order to recruit their strength, exhausted by such a long succession of fatigue and hardships. During this, Cortes learned that he and his companions were not the only Spaniards who had felt the effects of the Mexican enmity. A considerable detachment which was marching from Zempoalla towards the capital, had been cut off by the people of Tepeaca. A smaller party, returning from Tlascala to Vera Cruz, with the share of the Mexican gold allotted to the garrison, had been surprised and destroyed in the mountains. At a juncture when the life of every Spaniard was of importance, such losses were deeply felt. The schemes which Cortes was meditating rendered them peculiarly afflictive to him. While his enemies, and even many of his own followers, considered the disasters which had befallen him as fatal to the progress of his arms, and imagined that nothing now remained but speedily to abandon a country which he had invaded with unequal force, his mind, as eminent for perseverance as for enterprise, was still bent on accomplishing his original purpose, of subjecting the Mexican empire to the crown of Castile. Severe and unexpected as the check was which he had received, it did not appear to him a sufficient reason for relinquishing the conquests which he had already made, or against resuming his operations with better hopes of success. The colony at Vera Cruz was not only safe, but had remained unmolested. The people of Zempoalla and the adjacent districts had discovered no symptoms of defection. The Tlascalans continued faithful to their alliance. On their martial spirit, easily roused to arms, and inflamed with implacable hatred of the Mexicans, Cortes depended for powerful aid. He had still the command of a body of Spaniards, equal in number to that with which he had opened his way into the centre of the empire, and had taken possession of the capital; so that with the benefit of greater experience, as well as more perfect knowledge of the country, he did not despair of quickly recovering all that he had been deprived of by untoward events.

Full of this idea, he courted the Tlascalan chiefs with such attention, and distributed among them so liberally the rich spoils of Otumba, that he was secure of obtaining whatever he should require of the republic. He drew a small supply of ammunition and two or three field-pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz. He despatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. As he knew that it would be vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unless he could secure the command of the lake, he gave orders

* Noche triste is the name by which it is still distinguished in New Spain

to prepare in the mountains of Tlascala, materials for building twelve brigantines, so as they might be carried thither in pieces ready to be put together, and launched when he stood in need of their service.

But while, with provident attention, he was taking those necessary steps towards the execution of his measures, an obstacle arose in a quarter where it was least expected, but most formidable. The spirit of discontent and mutiny broke out in his own army. Many of Narvaez's followers were planters rather than soldiers; and had accompanied him to New Spain with sanguine hopes of obtaining settlements, but with little inclination to engage in the hardships and dangers of war. As the same motives had induced them to enter into their new engagements with Cortes, they no sooner became acquainted with the nature of the service, than they bitterly repented of their choice. Such of them as had the good fortune to survive the perilous adventures in which their own imprudence had involved them, happy in having made their escape, trembled at the thoughts of being exposed a second time to similar calamities. As soon as they discovered the intention of Cortes, they began secretly to murmur and cabal, and, waxing gradually more audacious, they, in a body offered a remonstrance to their general against the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his shattered forces, and formally required him to lead them back directly to Cuba. Though Cortes, long practised in the arts of command, employed arguments, entreaties, and presents to convince or to soothe them; though his own soldiers, animated with the spirit of their leader, warmly seconded his endeavors; he found their fears too violent and deep rooted to be removed, and the utmost he could effect was to prevail with them to defer their departure for some time, on a promise that he would, at a more proper juncture, dismiss such as should desire it.

That the malecontents might have no leisure to brood over the causes of their disaffection, he resolved instantly to call forth his troops into action. He proposed to chastise the people of Tepeaca for the outrage which they had committed; and as the detachment which they had cut off happened to be composed mostly of soldiers who had served under Narvaez, their companions, from the desire of vengeance, engaged the more willingly in this war. He took the command in person, [August] accompanied by a numerous body of Tlascalans, and in a space of a few weeks, after various encounters, with great slaughter of the Tepeacans, reduced that province to subjection. During several months, while he waited for the supplies of men and ammunition which he expected, and was carrying on his preparations for constructing the brigantines, he kept his troops constantly employed in various expeditions against the adjacent provinces, all of which were conducted with a uniform tenor of success. By these, his men became again accustomed to victory, and resumed their wonted sense of superiority; the Mexican power was weakened; the Tlascalan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards; and the chiefs of the republic delighted to see their country enriched with the spoils of all the people around them; and astonished every day with fresh discoveries of the irresistible prowess of their allies, they declined no effort requisite to support them.

All those preparatory arrangements, however, though the most prudent and efficacious which the situation of Cortes allowed him to make, would have been of little avail without a reinforcement of Spanish soldiers. Of this he was so deeply sensible, that it was the chief object of his thoughts and wishes; and yet his only prospect of obtaining it from the return of the officer whom he had sent to the isles to solicit aid, was both distant and uncertain. But what neither his own sagacity nor power could have procured, he owed to a series of fortunate and unforeseen incidents. The governor of Cuba, to whom the success of Narvaez appeared an event of infallible certainty, having sent two small ships after him with new instructions, and a supply of men and military stores, the officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coast, artfully decoyed them into the harbor of Vera Cruz, seized the vessels, and easily persuaded the soldiers to follow the standard of a more able leader than him whom they were destined to join. Soon after, three ships of more considerable force came into the harbor separately. These belonged to an armament fitted out by Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who, being possessed with the rage of discovery and conquest which animated every Spaniard settled in America, had long aimed at intruding into some district of New Spain, and dividing with Cortes the glory and gain of annexing that empire to the crown of Castile. They unadvisedly made their attempt on the northern provinces, where the country was poor, and the people fierce and warlike; and after a cruel succession of disasters, famine compelled them to venture into Vera Cruz, and cast themselves upon the mercy of their countrymen [Oct. 28]. Their fidelity was not proof against the splendid hopes and promises which had seduced other adventurers; and, as if the spirit of revolt had been contagious in New Spain, they likewise abandoned the master whom they were bound to serve, and enlisted under Cortes. Nor was it America alone that furnished such unexpected aid; a ship arrived from Spain, freighted by some private merchants with military stores, in hopes of a profitable market in a country, the fame of whose opulence began to spread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchased a cargo which to him was invaluable, and the crew, following the general example, joined him at Tlascala.

From those various quarters, the army of Cortes was augmented with a hundred and eighty men, and twenty horses, a reinforcement too inconsiderable to produce any consequence which would have entitled it to have been mentioned in the history of other parts of the globe. But in that of America, where great revolutions were brought about by causes which seemed to bear no proportion to their effects, such small events rise into importance, because they were sufficient to decide with respect to the fate of kingdoms. Nor is it the least remarkable instance of the singular felicity conspicuous in many passages of Cortes's story, that the two persons chiefly instrumental in furnishing him with those seasonable supplies, should be an avowed enemy who aimed at his destruction, and an envious rival who wished to supplant him.

The first effect of the junction with his new followers was to enable him to dismiss such of Narvaez's soldiers as remained with reluctance in his service. After their departure, he still mustered five hundred and fifty infantry, of which fourscore were armed with muskets or crossbows, forty horsemen, and a train of nine field-pieces. At the head of these, accompanied by ten thousand Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his march towards Mexico, on the twenty-eighth of December, six months after his disastrous retreat from that city.

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother Quetlavaca to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it. As from the vicinity of Tlascala, he could not be unacquainted with the motions and intentions of Cortes, he observed the storm that was gathering, and began early to provide against it. He repaired what the Spaniards had ruined in the city, and strengthened it with such new fortifications as the skill of his subjects was capable of erecting. Besides filling his magazines with the usual weapons of war, he gave directions to make long spears headed with the swords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. He summoned the people in every province of the empire to take arms against their oppressors, and as an encouragement to exert themselves with vigor, he promised them exemption from all the taxes which his predecessors had imposed. But what he labored with the greatest earnestness was, to deprive the Spaniards of the advantages which they derived from the friendship of the Tlascalans, by endeavoring to persuade that people to renounce all connexion with men who where not only avowed enemies of the gods whom they worshipped, but who would not fail to subject them at last to the same yoke which they were now inconsiderately lending their aid to impose upon others. These representations, no less striking than well founded, were urged so forcibly by his ambassadors, that it required all the address of Cortes to prevent their making a dangerous impression.

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foresight uncommon in an American, his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned among the greatest calamities brought upon them by their invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valor, that in this dangerous crisis, his countrymen, with one voice, called him to the supreme command.

1521.] As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his head-quarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines, as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cazique, or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the cazique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.

As the preparations for constructing the brigantines advanced slowly under the unskilful hands of soldiers and Indians, whom Cortes was obliged to employ in assisting three or four carpenters who happened fortunately to be in his service; and as he had not yet received the reinforcement which he expected from Hispaniola, he was not in a condition to turn his arms directly against the capital. To have attacked at this period, a city so populous, so well prepared for defence, and in a situation of such peculiar strength, must have exposed his troops to inevitable destruction. Three months elapsed before the materials for the brigantines were finished, and before he heard any thing with respect to the success of the officer whom he had sent to Hispaniola. This, however, was not a season of inaction to Cortes. He attacked successively several of the towns situated around the lake; and though all the Mexican power was exerted to obstruct his operations, he either compelled them to submit to the Spanish crown, or reduced them to ruins. The inhabitants of other towns he endeavored to conciliate by more gentle means; and though he could not hold any intercourse with them but by the intervention of interpreters, yet, under all the disadvantages of that tedious and imperfect mode of communication he had acquired such thorough knowledge of the state of the country, as well as of the dispositions of the people, that he conducted his negotiations and intrigues with astonishing dexterity and success. Most of the cities adjacent to Mexico were originally the capitals of small independent states; and some of them having been but lately annexed to the Mexican empire, still retained the remembrance of their ancient liberty, and bore with impatience the rigorous yoke of their new masters. Cortes, having early observed symptoms of their disaffection, availed himself of this knowledge to gain their confidence and friendship. By offering with confidence to deliver them from the odious dominion of the Mexicans, and by liberal promises of more indulgent treatment if they would unite with him against their oppressors, he prevailed on the people of several considerable districts, not only to acknowledge the King of Castile as their sovereign, but to supply the Spanish camp with provisions, and to strengthen his army with auxiliary troops. Gautimozin, on the first appearance of defection among his subjects, exerted himself with vigor to prevent or to punish their revolt; but, in spite of his efforts, the spirit continued to spread. The Spaniards gradually acquired new allies, and with deep concern he beheld Cortes arming against his empire those very hands which ought to have been active in its defence, and ready to advance against the capital at the head of a numerous body of his own subjects.

While, by those various methods, Cortes was gradually circumscribing the Mexican power in such a manner that his prospect of overturning it seemed neither to be uncertain nor remote, all his schemes were well nigh defeated by a conspiracy no less unexpected than dangerous. The soldiers of Narvaez had never united perfectly with the original companions of Cortes, nor did they enter into his measures with the same cordial zeal. Upon every occasion that required any extraordinary effort of courage or of patience, their spirits were apt to sink; and now, on a near view of what they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce a city so inaccessible as Mexico, and defended by a numerous

army, the resolution even of those among them who had adhered to Cortes when he was deserted by their associates, began to fail. Their fears led them to presumptuous and unsoldierlike discussions concerning the propriety of their general's measures, and the improbability of their success. From these they proceeded to censure and invectives, and at last began to deliberate how they might provide for their own safety, of which they deemed their commander to be totally negligent. Antonia Villefagna, a private soldier, but bold, intriguing, and strongly attached to Velasquez, artfully fomented this growing spirit of disaffection. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malecontents, where, after many consultations, they could discover no method of checking Cortes in his career, but by assassinating him and his most considerable officers, and conferring the command upon some person who would relinquish his wild plans, and adopt measures more consistent with the general security. Despair inspired them with courage. The hour for perpetrating the crime, the persons whom they destined as victims, the officers to succeed them in command, were all named: and the conspirators signed an association, by which they bound themselves with most solemn oaths, to mutual fidelity. But on the evening before the appointed day, one of Cortes's ancient followers, who had been seduced into the conspiracy, touched with compunction at the imminent danger of a man whom he had long been accustomed to revere, or struck with horror at his own treachery, went privately to his general and revealed to him all that he knew. Cortes, though deeply alarmed, discerned at once what conduct was proper in a situation so critical. He repaired instantly to Villefagna's quarters, accompanied by some of his most trusty officers. The astonishment and confusion of the man at this unexpected visit anticipated the confession of his guilt. Cortes, while his attendants seized the traitor, snatched from his bosom a paper, containing the association, signed by the conspirators. Impatient to know how far the infection extended, he retired to read it, and found there names which filled him with surprise and sorrow. But aware how dangerous a strict scrutiny might prove at such a juncture, he confined his judicial inquiries to Villefagna alone. As the proofs of his guilt were manifest, he was condemned after a short trial, and next morning he was seen hanging before the door of the house in which he had lodged. Cortes called his troops together, and having explained to them the atrocious purpose of the conspirators, as well as the justice of the punishment inflicted on Villefagna, he added, with an appearance of satisfaction, that he was entirely ignorant with respect to all the circumstances of this dark transaction, as the traitor, when arrested, had suddenly torn and swallowed a paper which probably contained an account of it, and under the severest tortures possessed such constancy as to conceal the names of his accomplices. This artful declaration restored tranquillity to many a breast that was throbbing, while he spoke, with consciousness of guilt and dread of detection; and by this prudent moderation, Cortes had the advantage of having discovered, and of being able to observe such of his followers as were disaffected; while they, flattering themselves that their past crime was unknown, endeavored to avert any suspicion of it by redoubling their activity and zeal in his service.

Cortes did not allow them leisure to ruminate on what had happened; and as the most effectual means of preventing the return of a mutinous spirit, he determined to call forth his troops immediately to action. Fortunately, a proper occasion for this occurred without his seeming to court it. He received intelligence that the materials for building the brigantines were at length completely finished, and waited only for a body of Spaniards to conduct them to Tezeuco. The command of this convoy, consisting of two hundred foot soldiers, fifteen horsemen, and two field-pieces, he gave to Sandoval, who, by the vigilance, activity, and courage which he manifested on every occasion, was growing daily in his confidence, and in the estimation of his fellow-soldiers. The service was no less singular than important; the beams, the planks, the masts, the cordage, the sails, the ironwork, and all the infinite variety of articles requisite for the construction of thirteen brigantines, were to be carried sixty miles over land, through a mountainous country, by people who were unacquainted with the ministry of domestic animals, or the aid of machines to facilitate any work of labor. The Tlascalans furnished eight thousand *Tamenes*, an inferior order of men destined for servile tasks, to carry the materials on their shoulders, and appointed fifteen thousand warriors to accompany and defend them. Sandoval made the disposition for their progress with great propriety, placing the *Tamenes* in the centre, one body of warriors in the front, another in the rear, with considerable parties to cover the flanks. To each of these he joined some Spaniards, not only to assist them in danger, but to accustom them to regularity and subordination. A body so numerous, and so much encumbered, advanced leisurely but in excellent order; and in some places, where it was confined by the woods or mountains, the line of march extended above six miles Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds; but perceiving no prospect of success in attacking an enemy continually on his guard, and prepared to receive them, they did not venture to molest him; and Sandoval had the glory of conducting safely to Tezeuco, a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended.

This was followed by another event of no less moment. Four ships arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition and arms. Elevated with observing that all his preparatory schemes, either for recruiting his own army, or impairing the force of the enemy, had now produced their full effect, Cortes impatient to begin the siege in form, hastened the launching of the brigantines. To facilitate this, he had employed a vast number of Indians for two months, in deepening the small rivulet which runs by Tezeuco into the lake, and in forming it into a canal near two miles in length; [119] and though the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, as well as of the danger which threatened them, endeavored frequently to interrupt the laborers, or to burn the brigantines, the work was at last completed. On the twenty-eighth of April, all the Spanish troops, together with the auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with extraordinary military pomp, rendered more solemn by the celebration of the most sacred rites of religion, the brigantines were launched. As they fell down the canal in order, Father Olmedo blessed them, and gave each its name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoisted their sails and bore away before the wind. A general shout of joy was raised; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which, by means so extraordinary that their success almost exceeded belief, had acquired command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico would have continued to set the Spanish power and arms at defiance.

Cortes determined to attack the city from three different quarters; from Tepeaca on the north side of the lake, from Tabuca on the west, and from Cuyocan towards the south. These towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. He appointed Sandoval to command in the first, Pedro de Alvarado in the second, and Christoval de Olid in the third; allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounting now to eighty-six horsemen, and eight hundred and eighteen foot soldiers; of whom one hundred and eighteen were armed with muskets or cross-bows. The train of artillery consisted of three battering cannon, and fifteen field-pieces. He reserved for himself, as the station of greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with twenty-five Spaniards.

As Alvarado and Olid proceeded towards the posts assigned them [May 10], they broke down the aqueducts which the ingenuity of the Mexicans had erected for conveying water into the capital, and, by the distress to which this reduced the inhabitants, gave a beginning to the calamities which they were destined to suffer. Alvarado and Olid found the towns of which they were ordered to take possession deserted by their inhabitants, who had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, as there alone he could hope to make a successful stand against the formidable enemies who were approaching to assault him.

The first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the fleet of brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Though the brigantines, after all the labor and merit of Cortes in forming them, were of inconsiderable bulk, rudely constructed, and manned chiefly with landsmen hardly possessed of skill enough to conduct them, they must have been objects of terror to a people unacquainted with any navigation but that of their lake, and possessed of no vessel larger than a canoe. Necessity, however, urged Guatimozin to hazard the attack; and hoping to supply by numbers what he wanted in force, he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up; in a moment the sails were spread, the brigantines, with the utmost ease, broke through their feeble opponents, overset many canoes, and dissipated the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that the progress of the Europeans in knowledge and arts rendered their superiority greater on this new element than they had hitherto found it by land.

From that time Cortes remained master of the lake, and the brigantines not only preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their different stations, though at considerable distance from each other, but were employed to cover the causeways on each side, and keep off the canoes when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. Cortes formed the brigantines in three divisions, appointing one to cover each of the stations from which an attack was to be carried on against the city, with orders to second the operations of the officer who commanded there. From all the three stations he pushed on the attack against the city with equal vigor; but in a manner so very different from the conduct of sieges in regular war, that he himself seems afraid it would appear no less improper than singular to persons unacquainted with his situation. Each morning his troops assaulted the barricades which the enemy had erected on the causeways, forced their way over the trenches which they had dug, and through the canals where the bridges were broken down, and endeavored to penetrate into the heart of the city, in hopes of obtaining some decisive advantage which might force the enemy to surrender, and terminate the war at once; but when the obstinate valor of the Mexicans rendered the efforts of the day ineffectual, the Spaniards retired in the evening to their former quarters. Thus their toil and danger were in some measure continually renewed; the Mexicans repairing in the night what the Spaniards had destroyed through the day, and recovering the posts from which they had driven them. But necessity prescribed this slow and untoward mode of operation. The number of his troops were so small that Cortes durst not, with a handful of men, attempt to make a lodgment in a city where he might be surrounded and annoyed by such a multitude of enemies. The remembrance of what he had already suffered by the ill judged confidence with which he had ventured into such a dangerous situation, was still fresh in his mind. The Spaniards, exhausted with fatigue, were unable to guard the various posts which they daily gained; and though their camp was filled with Indian auxiliaries, they durst not devolve this charge upon them, because they were so little accustomed to discipline, that no confidence could be placed in their vigilance. Besides this, Cortes was extremely solicitous to preserve the city as much as possible from being destroyed, both because he destined it to be the capital of his conquests, and wished that it might remain as a monument of his glory. From all these considerations, he adhered obstinately, for a month after the siege was opened, to the system which he had adopted. The Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed valor which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded to another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unintermitting service, which were rendered more intolerable by the injuries of the season, the periodical rains being now set in with their usual violence.

Astonished and disconcerted with the length and difficulties of the siege, Cortes determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city, before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto followed, and had recourse to any other mode of attack. With this view he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval to advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command in person [July 3] of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence, and the expectation of some decisive event, the Spaniards pushed forward with irresistible impetuosity. They broke through one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and, having entered the city, gained ground incessantly in spite of the multitude and ferocity of their opponents. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progress, did not forget that he might still find it necessary to retreat; and, in order to secure it, appointed Julian de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which

ne had received from Hispaniola, to fill up the canals and gaps in the causeway as the main body advanced. That officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, neglected the important charge committed to him, and hurried on, inconsiderately, to mingle with the combatants. The Mexicans, whose military attention and skill were daily improving, no sooner observed this than they carried an account of it to their monarch.

Guatimozin instantly discerned the consequence of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and, with admirable presence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops posted in the front to slacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to push forward, while he despatched a large body of chosen warriors through different streets, some by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the causeway which had been left open. On a signal which he gave, the priests in the principal temples struck the great drums consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with contempt of death, and enthusiastic ardor, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on no less by religious fury than hope of success, began to retire, at first leisurely, and with a good countenance; but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them through shoals which the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to stop and rally his flying troops; fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavors to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed, with more attention to their situation than to his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their own lives, he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. Above sixty Spaniards perished in the rout; and what rendered the disaster more afflicting, forty of these fell alive into the hands of an enemy never known to show mercy to a captive.

The approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in what was hardly less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendor, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom, they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stript naked, and compelled to dance before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought that they could distinguish each unhappy victim by the well known sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld [120.]

Cortes, who, besides all that he felt in common with his soldiers, was oppressed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity, could not, like them, relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish. He was obliged to assume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the spirit and hopes of his followers. The juncture, indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They sent the heads of Spaniards whom they had sacrificed to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their invaders, which had been shed so plentifully on his altars, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days time those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity re-established in the empire.

A prediction uttered with such confidence, and in terms so void of ambiguity, gained universal credit among a people prone to superstition. The zeal of the provinces, which had already declared against the Spaniards, augmented; and several which had hitherto remained inactive, took arms, with enthusiastic ardor, to execute the decree of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries who had joined Cortes, accustomed to venerate the same deities with the Mexicans, and to receive the responses of their priests with the same implicit faith, abandoned the Spaniards as a race of men devoted to certain destruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken, and the Spanish troops were left almost alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage, from the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations, during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines, which kept the enemy at a distance, his troops lay in safety, and the fatal term expired without any disaster.

Many of his allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their station. Other tribes, judging that the gods, who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his standard; and such was the levity of a simple people, moved by every slight impression, that in a short time after such a general defection of his confederates, Cortes saw himself, if we may believe his own account, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Indians. Even with such a numerous army, he found it necessary to adopt a new and more wary system of operation. Instead of renewing his attempts to become master of the city at once, by such bold but dangerous efforts of valor as he had already tried, he made his advances gradually, and with every possible precaution against exposing his men to any calamity similar to that which they still bewailed. As the Spaniards pushed forward, the Indians regularly repaired the causeways behind them. As soon as they got possession of any part of the town, the houses were instantly levelled with the ground. Day by day, the Mexicans, forced to retire as their enemies gained ground, were hemmed in within more narrow limits. Gautimozin, though unable to stop the career of the enemy, continued to defend his capital with obstinate resoluton, and disputed every inch of ground. The Spaniards not only varied their mode of attack, but, by orders of Cortes, changed the weapons with which they fought. They were again armed with the long Chinantlan spears which they had employed with such success against Narvaez; and, by the firm array in which this enabled them to range themselves, they repelled, with little danger, the loose assault of the Mexicans: incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts which they renewed every day. While war wasted without, famine began to consume them within the city. The Spanish brigantines having the entire command of the lake, rendered it almost impossible to convey to the besieged any supply of provisions by water. The immense number of his Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues to the city by land. The stores which Guatimozin had laid up were exhausted by the multitudes which had crowded into the capital to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. Not only the people, but persons of the highest rank, felt the utmost distresses of famine. What they suffered brought on infectious and mortal distempers, the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes.

But, under the pressure of so many and such various evils, the spirit of Guatimozin remained firm and unsubdued. He rejected with scorn every overture of peace from Cortes; and, disdaining the idea of submitting to the oppressors of his country, determined not to survive its ruin. The Spaniards continued their progress. At length all the three divisons penetrated into the great square in the centre of the city, and made a secure lodgment there [July 27.] Three-fourths of the city were now reduced and laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was so closely pressed, that it could not long withstand assailants, who attacked it from their new station with superior advantage, and more assured expectation of success. The Mexican nobles, solicitous to save the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place where resistance was now vain, that he might rouse the more distant provinces of the empire to arms, and maintain there a more successful struggle with the public enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of this measure, they endeavored to amuse Cortes with overtures of submission, that, while his attention was employed in adjusting the articles of pacification, Guatimozin might escape unperceived. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greater sagacity and discernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes, suspecting their intention, and aware of what moment it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval; the officer on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observing some large canoes crowded with people rowing across the lake with extraordinary rapidity, instantly gave the signal to chase. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the swiftest sailing brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropped their oars, and all on board, throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize; and Guatimozin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up into his hands, requesting only that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a supplicant. "I have done," said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use."

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital which yet remained undestroyed [Aug. 13]. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued seventy-five days, hardly one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in the attack, or of the other in the defence of a city, on the fate of which both knew that the fortune of the empire depended. As the struggle here was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds. The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise if they had trusted for success to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbors who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to shake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. How much soever this account of the reduction of Mexico may detract, on the one hand, from the marvellous relations of some Spanish writers, by ascribing that to simple and obvious causes which they attribute to the romantic valor of their countrymen, it adds, on the other, to the merit and abilities of Cortes, who, under every disadvantage, acquired such an ascendant over unknown nations, as to render them instruments towards carrying his schemes into execution. [121]

The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprise, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the cruel disappointment of those sanguine hopes which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, their rapaciousness could only collect an inconsiderable booty amidst ruins and desolation. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries, while the Spaniards were engaged in conflict with the enemy, had carried off the most valuable part of the spoil. The sum to be divided among the conquerors was so small that many of them disdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their share, and all murmured and exclaimed; some against Cortes and his confidants, whom they suspected of having secretly appropriated to their own use a large portion of the riches which should have been brought into the common stock; others, against Guatimozin, whom they accused of obstinacy in refusing to discover the place where he had hidden his treasure.

Arguments, entreaties, and promises were employed in order to soothe them, but with so little effect, that Cortes, from solicitude to check this growing spirit of discontent, gave way to a deed which stains the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence

for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favorite, to torture, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the high spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with scorn, checked his weakness by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, the favorite persevered in his dutiful silence and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.

The fate of the capital, as both parties had foreseen, decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marching through them without interruption, penetrated in different quarters to the great Southern Ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short as well as easy passage to the East Indies, and secure to the crown of Castile all the envied wealth of those fertile regions; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery.

He did not know, that during the progress of his victorious arms in Mexico, the very scheme, of which he began to form some idea, had been undertaken and accomplished. As this is one of the most splendid events in the history of the Spanish discoveries, and has been productive of effects peculiarly interesting to those extensive provinces which Cortes had now subjected to the crown of Castile, the account of its rise and progress merits a particular detail.

Ferdinand Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman of honorable birth, having served several years in the East Indies, with distinguished valor, under the famous Albuquerque, demanded the recompense which he thought due to his services, with the boldness natural to a high spirited soldier. But as his general would not grant his suit, and he expected greater justice from his sovereign, whom he knew to be a good judge and a generous rewarder of merit, he quitted India abruptly, and returned to Lisbon. In order to induce Emanuel to listen more favorably to his claim, he not only stated his past services, but offered to add to them by conducting his countrymen to the Molucca or Spice Islands, by holding a westerly course; which he contended would be both shorter and less hazardous than that which the Portuguese now followed by the Cape of Good Hope, through the immense extent of the Eastern Ocean. This was the original and favorite project of Columbus, and Magellan founded his hopes of success on the ideas of that great navigator, confirmed by many observations, the result of his own naval experience, as well as that of his countrymen in their intercourse with the East. But though the Portuguese monarchs had the merit of having first awakened and encouraged the spirit of discovery in that age, it was their destiny, in the course of a few years, to reject two grand schemes for this purpose, the execution of which would have been attended with a great accession of glory to themselves, and of power to their kingdom. In consequence of some ill founded prejudice against Magellan, or of some dark intrigue which contemporary historians have not explained, Emanuel would neither bestow the recompense which he claimed, nor approve of the scheme which he proposed; and dismissed him with a disdainful coldness intolerable to a man conscious of what he deserved, and animated with the sanguine hopes of success peculiar to those who are capable of forming or of conducting new and great undertakings. In a transport of resentment, [1517] Magellan formally renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Castile, where he expected that his talents would be more justly estimated. He endeavored to recommend himself by offering to execute, under the patronage of Spain, that scheme which he had laid before the court of Portugal, the accomplishment of which, he knew, would wound the monarch against whom he was exasperated in the most tender part. In order to establish the justness of his theory, he produced the same arguments which he had employed at Lisbon; acknowledging, at the same time, that the undertaking was both arduous and expensive, as it could not be attempted but with a squadron of considerable force, and victualled for at least two years. Fortunately, he applied to a minister who was not apt to be deterred either by the boldness of a design, or the expense of carrying it into execution. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the affairs of Spain, discerning at once what an increase of wealth and glory would accrue to his country by the success of Magellan's proposal, listened to it with a most favorable ear. Charles V., on his arrival in his Spanish dominions, entered into the measure with no less ardor, and orders were issued for equipping a proper squadron at the public charge, of which the command was given to Magellan, whom the king honored with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain general.

On the tenth of August, one thousand five hundred and nineteen, Magellan sailed from Seville with five ships, which, according to the ideas of the age, were deemed to be of considerable force, though the burden of the largest did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons. The crews of the whole amounted to two hundred and thirty-four men, among whom were some of the most skilful pilots in Spain, and several Portuguese sailors, in whose experience, as more extensive, Magellan placed still greater confidence. After touching at the Canaries, he stood directly south towards the equinoctial line along the coast of America, but was so long retarded by tedious calms, and spent so much time in searching every bay and inlet for that communication with the Southern Ocean which he wished to discover, that he did not reach the river De la Plata till the twelfth of January, [1520.] That spacious opening through which its vast body of water pours into the Atlantic allured him to enter; but after sailing up it for some days, he concluded from the shallowness of the stream and the freshness of the water, that the wished-for strait was not situated there, and continued his course towards the south. On the thirty-first of March he arrived in the Port of St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees south of the line, where he resolved to winter. In this uncomfortable station he lost one of his squadron; and the Spaniards suffered so much from the excessive rigor of the climate, that the crews of three of his ships, headed by their officers, rose in open mutiny, and insisted on relinquishing the visionary project of a desperate adventurer, and returning directly to Spain. This dangerous insurrection Magellan suppressed, by an effort of courage no less prompt than intrepid, and inflicted exemplary punishment on the ringleaders. With the remainder of his followers, overawed but not reconciled to his scheme, he continued his voyage towards the south, and at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs and remonstrances of the people under his command. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and with tears of joy he returned thanks to Heaven for having thus far crowned his endeavors with success.

But he was still at a greater distance than he imagined from the object of his wishes. He sailed during three months and twenty days in a uniform direction towards the north-west without discovering land. In this voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, he suffered incredible distress. His stock of provisions was almost exhausted, the water became putrid, the men were reduced to the shortest allowance with which it was possible to sustain life, and the scurvy, the most dreadful of all the maladies with which sea-faring people are inflicted, began to spread among the crew. One circumstance alone afforded them some consolation; they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such favorable winds that Magellan bestowed on that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it still retains. When reduced to such extremity that they must have sunk under their sufferings, they fell in with a cluster of small but fertile islands [March 6,] which afforded them refreshments in such abundance, that their health was soon re-established. From these isles, which he called *De los Ladrones*, he proceeded on his voyage, and soon made a more important discovery of the islands now known by the name of the *Philippines*. In one of these he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of troops well armed; and while he fought at the head of his men with his usual valor, he fell [April 26] by the hands of those barbarians, together with several of his principal officers.

The expedition was prosecuted under other commanders. After visiting many of the smaller isles scattered in the eastern part of the Indian ocean, they touched at the great Island of Borneo, [Nov. 8] and at length landed in Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had arrived at that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce, which they themselves had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction. There, and in the adjacent isles, the Spaniards found a people acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of the precious spices, which are the distinguished production of these islands; and with that, as well as with specimens of the rich commodities yielded by the other countries which they had visited, the *Victory*, which, of the two ships that remained of the squadron, was most fit for a long voyage, set sail for Europe, [Jan. 1522] under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the Portuguese, by the Cape of Good Hope, and after disasters and sufferings he arrived at St. Lucar on the seventh of September, one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, having sailed round the globe in the space of three years and twenty-eight days.

Though an untimely fate deprived Magellan of the satisfaction of accomplishing this great undertaking, his contemporaries, just to his memory and talents ascribed to him not only the honor of having formed the plan, but of having surmounted almost every obstacle, to the completion of it; and in the present age his name is still ranked among the highest in the roll of eminent and successful navigators. The naval glory of Spain now eclipsed that of every other nation; and by a singular felicity she had the merit, in the course of a few years, of discovering a new continent almost as large as that part of the earth which was formerly known, and of ascertaining by experience the form and extent of the whole of the terraqueous globe.

The Spaniards were not satisfied with the glory of having first encompassed the earth; they expected to derive great commercial advantages from this new and boldest effort of their maritime skill. The men of science among them contended, that the Spice Islands, and several of the richest countries in the East, were so situated as to belong of right to the crown of Castile, in consequence of the partitions made by Alexander VI. The merchants, without attending to this discussion, engaged eagerly in that lucrative and alluring commerce, which was now open to them. The Portuguese, alarmed at the intrusion of such formidable rivals, remonstrated and negotiated in Europe, while in Asia, they obstructed the trade of the Spaniards by force of arms. Charles V., not sufficiently instructed with respect to the importance of this valuable branch of commerce, or distracted by the multiplicity of his schemes and operations, did not afford his subjects proper protection. At last, the low state of his finances, exhausted by the efforts of his arms in every part of Europe, together with the dread of adding a new war with Portugal to those in which he was already engaged, induced him to make over his claim of the Moluccas to the Portuguese for three hundred and fifty thousand ducats. He reserved, however, to the crown of Castile the right of reviving its pretensions on repayment of that sum; but other objects engrossed his attention and that of his successors; and Spain was finally excluded from a branch of commerce in which it was engaging with sanguine expectations of profit.

Though the trade with the Moluccas was relinquished, the voyage of Magellan was followed by commercial effects of great moment to Spain. Philip II., in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, reduced those islands which he discovered in the Eastern ocean to subjection, and established settlements there; between which and the kingdom of New Spain a regular intercourse, the nature of which shall be explained in its proper place, is still carried on. I return now to the transactions in New Spain.

At the time that Cortes was acquiring such extensive territories for his native country, and preparing the way for future conquests, it was his singular fate not only to be destitute of any commission or authority from the sovereign whom he was serving with such successful zeal, but to be regarded as an undutiful and seditious subject. By the influence of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, his conduct in assuming the government of New Spain was declared to be an irregular usurpation, in contempt of the royal authority; and Christoval de Tapia received a commission, empowering him to supersede Cortes, to seize his person, to confiscate his effects, to make a strict scrutiny into his proceedings, and to transmit the result of all the inquiries carried on in New Spain to the Council of the Indies, of which

ne Bishop of Burgos was president A few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, Tapia landed at Vera Cruz with the royal mandate to strip its conqueror of his power, and treat him as a criminal. But Fonseca had chosen a very improper instrument to wreak his vengeance on Cortes. Tapia had neither the reputation nor the talents that suited the high command to which he was appointed. Cortes, while he publicly expressed the most respectful veneration for the emperor s authority, secretly took measures to defeat the effect of his commission; and having involved Tapia and his followers in a multiplicity of negotiations and conferences, in which he sometimes had recourse to threats, but more frequently employed bribes and promises, he at length prevailed upon that weak man to abandon a province which he was unworthy of governing.

But notwithstanding the fortunate dexterity with which he had eluded this danger, Cortes was so sensible of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, that he despatched deputies to Spain [May 15,] with a pompous account of the success of his arms, with further specimens of the productions of the country, and with rich presents to the emperor, as the earnest of future contributions from his new conquests; requesting, in recompense for all his services, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be intrusted with the government of those dominions, which his conduct and the valor of his followers had added to the crown of Castile. The juncture in which his deputies reached the court was favorable. The internal commotions in Spain, which had disquieted the beginning of Charles's reign, were just appeased. The ministers had leisure to turn their attention towards foreign affairs. The account of Cortes's victories filled his countrymen with admiration. The extent and value of his conquests became the object of vast and interesting hopes. Whatever stain he might have contracted, by the irregularity of the steps which he took in order to attain power, was so fully effaced by the splendor and merit of the great actions which this had enabled him to perform, that every heart revolted at the thought of inflicting any censure on a man whose services entitled him to the highest marks of distinction. The public voice declared warmly in favor of his pretensions; and Charles, arriving in Spain about this time, adopted the sentiments of his subjects with a youthful ardor Notwithstanding the claims of Velasquez, and the partial representations of the Bishop of Burgos, the emperor appointed Cortes captain general and governor of New Spain, judging that no person was so capable of maintaining the royal authority, or of establishing good order both among his Spanish and Indian subjects, as the victorious leader whom the former had long been accustomed to obey, and the latter had been taught to fear and to respect.

Even before his jurisdiction received this legal sanction, Cortes ventured to exercise all the powers of a governor, and, by various arrangements, endeavored o render his conquest a secure and beneficial acquisition to his country. He determined to establish the seat of government in its ancient station, and to raise Mexico again from its ruins; and having conceived high ideas concerning the future grandeur of the state of which he was laying the foundation, he began to rebuild its capital on a plan which hath gradually formed the most magnificent city in the New World. At the same time, he employed skilful persons to search for mines, in different parts of the country, and opened some which were found to be richer than any which the Spaniards had hitherto discovered in America. He detached his principal officers into the remote provinces, and encouraged them to settle there, not only by bestowing upom them large tracts of land, but by granting them the same dominion over the Indians, and the same right to their service, which the Spaniards had assumed in the islands.

It was not however, without difficulty that the Mexican empire could be entirely reduced into the form of a Spanish colony. Enraged and rendered desperate by oppression, the natives often forgot the superiority of their enemies, and ran to arms in defence of their liberties. In every contest, however, the European valor and discipline prevailed. But fatally for the honor of their country, the Spaniards sullied the glory redounding from these repeated victories by their mode of treating the vanquished people. After taking Guatimozin, and becoming masters of his capital, they supposed that the king of Castile entered on possession of all the rights of the captive monarch, and affected to consider every effort of the Mexicans to assert their own independence, as the rebellion of vassals against their sovereign, or the mutiny of slaves against their master. Under the sanction of those ill founded maxims, they violated every right that should be held sacred between hostile nations. After each insurrection, they reduced the common people, in the provinces which they subdued, to the most humiliating of all conditions, that of personal servitude. Their chiefs, supposed to be more criminal, were punished with greater severity, and put to death in the most ignominious or the most excruciating mode that the insolence or the cruelty of their conquerors could devise. In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious as disgrace the enterprising valor that conducted them to success. In the country of Panuco, sixty caziques or leaders, and four hundred nobles were burnt at one time. Nor was this shocking barbarity perpetrated in any sudden sally of rage, or by a commander of inferior note. It was the act of Sandoval, an officer whose name is entitled to the second rank in the annals of New Spain, and executed after a solemn consultation with Cortes; and to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled, and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies. It seems hardly possible to exceed in horror this dreadful example of severity; but it was followed by another, which affected the Mexicans still more sensibly, as it gave them a most feeling proof of their own degradation, and of the small regard which their haughty masters retained for the ancient dignity and splendor of their state. On a slight suspicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, that Guatimozin had formed a scheme to shake off the yoke, and to excite his former subjects to take arms, Cortes, without the formality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch, together with the caziques of Tezeuco and Tacuba, the two persons of greatest eminence in the empire, to be hanged; and the Mexicans, with astonishment and horror, beheld this disgraceful punishment inflicted upon persons to whom they were accustomed to look up with reverence hardly inferior to that which they paid to the gods themselves. [122] The example of Cortes and his principal officers encouraged and justified persons of subordinate rank to venture upon committing greater excesses. Nuno de Guzman, in particular, stained an illustrious name by deeds of peculiar enormity and rigor, in various expeditions which he conducted.

One circumstance, however, saved the Mexicans from further consumption, perhaps from as complete as that which had depopulated the islands. The first conquerors did not attempt to search for the precious metals in the bowels of the earth. They were neither sufficiently wealthy to carry on the expensive works which are requisite for opening those deep recesses where nature has concealed the veins of gold and silver, nor sufficiently skilful to perform the ingenious operations by which those precious metals are separated from their respective ores. They were satisfied with the more simple method, practised by the Indians, of washing the earth carried down rivers and torrents from the mountains, and collecting the grains of native metal deposited there. The rich mines of New Spain, which have poured forth their treasures with such profusion on every quarter of the globe, were not discovered for several years after the conquest. By that time [1552], &c.], a more orderly government and police were introduced into the colony; experience, derived from former errors, had suggested many useful and humane regulations for the protection and preservation of the Indians; and though it then became necessary to increase the number of those employed in the mines, and they were engaged in a species of labor more pernicious to the human constitution, they suffered less hardship or diminution than from the ill judged, but less extensive, schemes of the first conquerors.

While it was the lot of the Indians to suffer, their new masters seemed not to have derived any considerable wealth from their ill conducted researches. According to the usual fate of first settlers in new colonies, it was their lot to encounter danger and to struggle with difficulties; the fruits of their victories and toils were reserved for times of tranquillity, and reaped by successors of great industry, but of inferior merit. The early historians of America abound with accounts of the sufferings and of the poverty of its conquerors. In New Spain, their condition was rendered more grievous by a peculiar arrangement. When Charles V. advanced Cortes to the government of that country, he at the same time appointed certain commissioners to receive and administer the royal revenue there, with independent jurisdiction. These men, chosen from inferior stations in various departments of public business at Madrid, were so much elevated with their promotion, that they thought they were called to act a part of the first consequence. But being accustomed to the minute formalities of office, and having contracted the narrow ideas suited to the sphere in which they had hitherto moved, they were astonished on arriving in Mexico [1524], at the high authority which Cortes exercised, and could not conceive that the mode of administration, in a country recently subdued and settled, must be different from what took place in one where tranquillity and regular government had been long established. In their letters, they represented Cortes as an ambitious tyrant, who, having usurped a jurisdiction superior to law, aspired at independence, and, by his exorbitant wealth and extensive influence, might accomplish those disloyal schemes which he apparently meditated. These insinuations made such deep impression upon the Spanish ministers most of whom had been formed to business under the jealous and rigid administration of Ferdinand, that unmindful of all Cortes's past services, and regardless of what he was then suffering in conducting that extraordinary expedition, in which he advanced from the lake of Mexico to the western extremities of Honduras, [123] they infused the same suspicions into the minds of their master, and prevailed on him to order a solemn inquest to be made into his conduct [1525], with powers to the licentiate Ponce de Leon, intrusted with that commission, to seize his person, if he should find that expedient, and send him prisoner to Spain.

The sudden death of Ponce de Leon, a few days after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commission. But as the object of his appointment was known, the mind of Cortes was deeply wounded with this unexpected return for services which far exceeded whatever any subject of Spain had rendered to his sovereign. He endeavored, however, to maintain his station, and to recover the confidence of the court. But every person in office, who had arrived from Spain since the conquest, was a spy upon his conduct, and with malicious ingenuity gave an unfavorable representation of all his actions. The apprehensions of Charles and his ministers increased. A new commission of inquiry was issued [1528], with more extensive powers, and various precautions were taken in order to prevent or to punish him, if he should be so presumptuous as to attempt what was inconsistent with the fidelity of a subject. Cortes beheld the approaching crisis of his fortune with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind conscious of high desert, and receiving unworthy treatment. But though some of his desperate followers urged him to assert his own rights against his ungrateful country, and with a bold hand to seize that power which the courtiers meanly accused him of coveting, he retained such self-command, or was actuated with such sentiments of loyalty, as to reject their dangerous counsels, and to choose the only course in which he could secure his own dignity, without departing from his duty. He resolved not to expose himself to the ignominy of a trial in that country which had been the scene of his triumphs; but, without waiting for the arrival of his judges, to repair directly to Castile, and commit himself and his cause to the justice and generosity of his sovereign.

Cortes appeared in his native country with the splendour that suited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, several curious productions of the country, [124] and was attended by some Mexicans of the first rank, as well as by the most considerable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed at once every suspicion and fear that had been entertained with respect to his intentions. The emperor, having now nothing to apprehend from the designs of Cortes, received him like a person whom consciousness of his own innocence had brought into the presence of his master, and who was entitled, by the eminence of his services, to the highest marks of distinction and respect. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of an ample territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him; and as his manners were correct and elegant, although he had passed the greater part of his life among rough adventurers, the emperor admitted him to the same familiar intercourse with himself, that was enjoyed by noblemen of the first rank.

But, amidst those external proofs of regard, symptoms of remaining distrust appeared. Though Cortes earnestly solicited to be reinstated in the government of New Spain, Charles, too sagacious to commit such an important charge to a man whom he had once sus

pected, peremptorily refused to invest him again with powers which he might find it impossible to control. Cortes, though dignified with new titles, returned to Mexico [1530], with diminished authority. The military department, with powers to attempt new discoveries, was left in his hands; but the supreme direction of civil affairs was placed in a board called *The Audience of New Spain*. At a subsequent period, when, upon the increase of the colony, the exertion of authority more united and extensive became necessary, Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank, was sent thither as *Viceroy*, to take the government into his hands.

This division of power in New Spain proved, as was unavoidable, the source of perpetual dissension, which imbittered the life of Cortes, and thwarted all his schemes. As he had now no opportunity to display his active talents but in attempting new discoveries, he formed various schemes for that purpose, all of which bear impressions of a genius that delighted in what was bold and splendid. He early entertained an idea, that, either by steering through the Gulf of Florida along the east coast of North America, some strait would be found that communicated with the western ocean; or that, by examining the isthmus of Darien, some passage would be discovered between the North and South Seas. But having been disappointed in his expectations with respect to both, he now confined his views to such voyages of discovery as he could make from the ports of New Spain in the South Sea. There he fitted out successively several small squadrons, which either perished in the attempt, or returned without making any discovery of moment. Cortes, weary of intrusting the conduct of his operations to others, took the command of a new armament in person [1536]; and, after enduring incredible hardships, and encountering dangers of every species, he discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greater part of the gulf which separates it from New Spain. The discovery of a country of such extent would have reflected credit on a common adventurer; but it could add little new honor to the name of Cortes, and was far from satisfying the sanguine expectations which he had formed. Disgusted with ill success, to which he had not been accustomed, and weary of contesting with adversaries to whom he considered it as a disgrace to be opposed, he once more sought for redress in his native country [1540].

But his reception there was very different from that which gratitude, and even decency, ought to have secured for him. The merit of his ancient exploits was already, in a great measure, forgotten or eclipsed by the fame of recent and more valuable conquests in another quarter of America. No service of moment was now expected from a man of declining years, and who began to be unfortunate. The emperor behaved to him with cold civility; his ministers treated him sometimes with neglect, sometimes with insolence. His grievances received no redress; his claims were urged without effect; and after several years spent in fruitless application to ministers and judges, an occupation the most irksome and mortifying to a man of high spirit, who had moved in a sphere where he was more accustomed to command than to solicit, Cortes ended his days on the second of December, one thousand five hundred and forty-seven, in the sixty-second year of his age. His fate was the same with that of all the persons who distinguished themselves in the discovery or conquest of the New World. Envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he served, he has been admired and celebrated by succeeding ages. Which has formed the most just estimate of his character, an impartial consideration of his actions must determine.

BOOK VI.

History of the conquest of Peru by Pizarro and of the dissensions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that country—Origin, progress, and effects of these.

1523.] From the time that Nugnez de Balboa discovered the great Southern Ocean, and received the first obscure hints concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. In an age when the spirit of adventure was so ardent and vigorous, that large fortunes were wasted, and the most alarming dangers braved, in pursuit of discoveries merely possible, the faintest ray of hope was followed with an eager expectation, and the slightest information was sufficient to inspire such perfect confidence as conducted men to the most arduous undertakings. [125]

Accordingly, several armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whose talents and resources were unequal to the attempt. As the excursions of those adventurers did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of Tierra Firme, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with dismal accounts concerning the distresses to which they had been exposed, and the unpromising aspect of the places which they had visited. Damped by these tidings, the rage for discovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion that Balboa had founded visionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill understood, or calculated to deceive.

1524.] But there were three persons settled in Panama, on whom the circumstances which deterred others made so little impression, that, at the very moment when all considered Balboa's expectations of discovering a rich country, by steering towards the east, as chimerical, they resolved to attempt the execution of his scheme. The names of those extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of an honorable family by a very low woman, and according to the cruel fate which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been so totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he seems to have destined him never to rise beyond the condition of his mother. In consequence of this ungenerous idea, he set him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aspiring mind of young Pizarro disdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enlisted as a soldier, and after serving some years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening such a boundless range to active talents, allured every adventurer whose fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There Pizarro early distinguished himself. With a temper of mind no less daring than the constitution of his body was robust, he was foremost in every danger, patient under the greatest hardships, and unsubdued by any fatigue. Though so illiterate that he could not even read, he was soon considered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved successful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perseverance with ardor, and was as cautious in executing as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and by depending on himself alone in his struggles to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to assume a superior part in conducting the former, and in governing the latter.

Almagro had as little to boast of his descent as Pizarro. The one was a bastard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepid valor, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro these virtues were accompanied with the openness, generosity, and candor, natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro, they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purposes, and with sagacity to penetrate into those of other men.

Hernando de Luque was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not described, had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence.

Such were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpose was authorized by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the least wealthy of the three, as he could not throw so large a sum as his associates into the common stock, engaged to take the department of greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon discovery. Almagro offered to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest. As the spirit of enthusiasm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that strange union both acquired an increase of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the most solemn act of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three, and, reserving one part to himself, gave the other two to his associates, of which they partook; and thus, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects.

The attempt was begun with a force more suited to the humble condition of the three associates than to the greatness of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Pizarro set sail from Panama [Nov. 14], with a single vessel of small burden and a hundred and twelve men. But in that age, so little were the Spanish acquainted with the peculiarities of the climate in America, that the time which Pizarro chose for his departure was the most improper in the whole year; the periodical winds, which were then set in, being directly adverse to the course which he proposed to steer. After beating about for seventy days, with much danger and incessant fatigue, Pizarro's progress towards the south-east was not greater than what a skilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at several places on the coast of Tierra Firme, but found every where the same uninviting country which former adventurers had described; the low grounds converted into swamps by an overflowing of rivers; the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and those fierce and hostile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and, above all, the distempers of a moist, sultry climate, combined in wasting his slender band of followers. [1525.] The undaunted resolution of their leader continued, however, for some time, to sustain their spirits, although no sign had yet appeared of discovering those golden regions to which he had promised to conduct them. At length he was obliged to abandon that inhospitable coast, and retire to Chuchama, opposite to the pearl islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama.

But Almagro, having sailed from that port with seventy men, stood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his associates. Not finding them there, he landed his soldiers, who, in searching for their companions, underwent the same distresses, and were exposed to the same dangers, which had driven them out of the country. Repulsed at length by the Indians in a sharp conflict, in which their leader lost one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewise were compelled to re-embark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found some consolation in recounting to each other their adventures, and comparing their sufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan [June 24,] in the province of Popayan, where both the country and inhabitants appeared with a more promising aspect, that dawn of better fortune was sufficient to determine such sanguine projectors not to abandon their scheme, notwithstanding all that they had suffered in prosecuting it. [126]

1526.] Almagro repaired to Panama in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had suffered gave his countrymen such an unfavorable idea of the service, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourscore men. Feeble as this reinforcement was, Almagro took the command of it, and, having joined Pizarro, they did not hesitate about resuming their operations. After a long series of disasters and disappointments, not inferior to those which they had already experienced, part of the armament reached the Bay of St. Matthew, on the coast of Quito, and landing at Tacamez, to the south of the river of Emeraulds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet discovered in the Southern Ocean, the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton stuff, and adorned with several trinkets of gold and silver.

But notwithstanding those favorable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of the persons who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of those who listened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durst not venture to invade a country so populous with a handful of men enfeebled by fatigue and diseases. They retired to the small island of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his associates returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing such a reinforcement as might enable them to take possession of the opulent territories whose existence seemed to be no longer doubtful.

But some of the adventurers, less enterprising, or less hardy, than their leaders, having secretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their sufferings and losses to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavorable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedrarias in the government of that settlement

After weighing the matter with that cold economical prudence which appears the first of all virtues to persons whose limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great designs, he concluded an expedition, attended with such certain waste of men, to be so detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raising of new levies, but despatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with those measures, which they could not prevent, and durst not oppose, found means of communicating their sentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquish an enterprise that was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune, which were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obstinacy on all its purposes, needed no incentive to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities to which they had been exposed were still so recent in their memories, and the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends, after a long absence, rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his service had resolution to remain with their commander.

This small but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona. This, as it was further removed from the coast than Gallo, and uninhabited, they considered as a more secure retreat, where, unmolested, they might wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted that the activity of their associates would be able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold solicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public service, and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage, to perish like the most odious criminals in a desert island. Overcome by those entreaties and expostulations, the governor at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But that he might not seem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterprise, he would not permit one landman to embark on board of it.

By this time, Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an island infamous for the most unhealthy climate in that region of America. [127] During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of succour from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitless expectations, and disspirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But, on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived; and, with a rapid transition not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, high confidence succeeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro easily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the vessel from Panama, to resume his former scheme with fresh ardor. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east, and, more fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, discovered the coast of Peru. After touching at several villages near the shore, which they found to be nowise inviting, they landed at Tumbez, a place of some note about three degrees south of the line, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the *Incas* or sovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity so far surpassing the other inhabitants of the New World as to have the use of tame domestic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice was such a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of those precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his companions seemed now to have attained to the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

But with the slender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain possession. He ranged, however, for some time along the coast, maintaining every where a peaceable intercourse with the natives, no less astonished at their new visitants than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld. [1527.] Having explored the country as far as requisite to ascertain the importance of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their *Llamas* or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep, some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Castilian language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama, towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence No adventurer of the age suffered hardships or encountered dangers which equal those to which he was exposed during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he surmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the history of the New World, where so many romantic displays of those virtues occur.

1528.] Neither the splendid relation that Pizarro gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had discovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unreasonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any settlement there, could move the governor of Panama to swerve from his former plan of conduct. He still contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade such a mighty empire, and refused to authorize an expedition which he foresaw would be so alluring that it might ruin the province in which he presided, by an effort beyond its strength. His coldness, however, did not in any degree abate the ardor of the three associates; but they perceived that they could not carry their scheme into execution without the countenance of superior authority, and must solicit their sovereign to grant that permission which they could not extort from his delegate. With this view, after adjusting among themselves that Pizarro should claim the station of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of bishop in the country which they proposed to conquer, they sent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now so much exhausted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found some difficulty in borrowing the small sum requisite towards equipping him for the voyage.

Pizarro lost no time in repairing to court; and new as the scene might be to him, he appeared before the emperor with the unembarrassed dignity of a man conscious of what his services merited; and he conducted his negotiation with an insinuating dexterity of address, which could not have been expected either from his education or former habits of life. His feeling description of his own sufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed by the specimens of its productions which he exhibited, made such an impression both on Charles and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be interested in the success of its leader. Presuming on these dispositions in his favor, Pizarro paid little attention to the interest of his associates. As the pretensions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he attained for him the ecclesiastical dignity to which he aspired. For Almagro he claimed only the command of the fortress which should be erected at Tumbez. To himself he secured whatever his boundless ambition could desire. He was appointed [July 26] governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer, with supreme authority, civil as well as military; and with full right to all the privileges and emoluments usually granted to adventurers in the New World. His jurisdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coast to the south of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to serve under him. In return for those concessions, which cost the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the success of Pizarro's own efforts, he engaged to raise two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ships, arms, and warlike stores requisite towards subjecting to the crown of Castile the country of which the government was allotted him.

1529.] Inconsiderable as the body of men was which Pizarro had undertaken to raise, his funds and credit were so low that he could hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to steal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers, who had it in charge to examine whether he had fulfilled the stipulations of his contract. Before his departure, however, he received some supply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whose talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory similar to that which he himself had finished.

He landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, of whom the first was born in lawful wedlock, the two latter, like himself, were of illegitimate birth, and by Francisco de Alcantara, his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of such abilities and courage as fitted them to take a distinguished part in his subsequent transactions.

1530.] On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found Almagro so much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negotiation, that he not only refused to act any longer in concert with a man by whose perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honors to which he had a just claim, but labored to form a new association, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his discoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture so fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquish the office of adelantado, and promising to concur in soliciting that title, with an independent government for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted soldier, which had been violent, but was not implacable. Luque, highly satisfied with having been successful in all his own pretensions, cordially seconded Pizarro's endeavors. A reconciliation was effected, and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterprise should be carried on at the common expense of the associates, and the profits accruing from it should be equally divided among them.

Even after their reunion, and the utmost efforts of their interest, three small vessels, with a hundred and eighty soldiers, thirty-six of whom were horsemen, composed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the astonishing progress of the Spaniards in America had inspired them with such ideas of their own superiority, that Pizarro did not hesitate to sail with this contemptible force, [Feb. 1531,] to invade a great empire, Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he should be able to muster. As the season for embarking was properly chosen, and the course of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days; though by the force of the winds and currents he was carried above a hundred leagues to the north of Tumbez, the place of his destination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without losing a moment, he began to advance towards the south, taking care, however, not to depart far from the sea shore, both that he might easily effect a junction with the supplies which he expected from Panama, and secure a retreat in case of any disaster, by keeping as near as possible to his ships. But as the country in several parts on the coast of Peru is barren, unhealthful, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to pass all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greatest; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives when he should have studied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diseases of various kinds brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced corresponded so ill with the alluring description of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every soldier must have become cold to the service, if even in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met with some appearances of wealth, and cultivation, which seemed to justify the report of their leader. At length they reached the province of Coaque [April 14]; and having surprised the principal settlement of the natives, they seized their vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, to the amount of thirty thousand pesos, with other booty of such value as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes

Pizarro himself was so much delighted with this rich

spoil, which he considered as the first fruits of a land abounding with treasure, that he instantly despatched one of his ships to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua with a considerable sum to several persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coast, and disdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to submit to his yoke. This sudden appearance of invaders, whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed to be so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna in the bay of Guayaquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had passed, and its inhabitants fiercer and less civilized than those of the continent, they defended themselves with such obstinate valor, that Pizarro spent six months in reducing them to subjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the distempers which raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months.

While he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his attention to spread the fame of his first success to Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua [1532], which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he considered as a reinforcement of great consequence to his feeble band, especially as the one was under the command of Sebastian Benalcazar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had served in America. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura [May 16], and in an advantageous station near the mouth of it he established the first Spanish colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the situation of its affairs at that juncture. Without some knowledge of these, he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a suitable attention to them, it is impossible to account for the progress which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the causes of their subsequent success.

At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its sovereigns extended in length, from north to south, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth, from east to west, was much less considerable; being uniformly bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, stretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the rest of the New World, was originally possessed by small independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were so little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, they must be classed among the most unimproved savages of America. Strangers to every species of cultivation or regular industry, without any fixed residence, and unacquainted with those sentiments and obligations which form the first bonds of social union, they are said to have roamed about naked in the forests, with which the country was then covered, more like wild beasts than like men. After they had struggled for several ages with the hardships and calamities which are inevitable in such a state, and when no circumstance seemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared, on the banks of the lake Titiaca, a man and woman of majestic form, clothed in decent garments. They declared themselves to be children of the Sun, sent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miseries of the human race, to instruct and to reclaim them. At their persuasion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whose name they were supposed to speak, several of the dispersed savages united together, and, receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they settled, and began to lay the foundations of a city.

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for such were the names of those extraordinary personages, having thus collected some wandering tribes, formed that social union which, by multiplying the desires and uniting the efforts of the human species, excites industry and leads to improvement. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and other useful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and to weave. By the labor of the one sex, subsistence became less precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfortable. After securing the objects of first necessity in an infant state, by providing food, raiment, and habitations for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing such laws and policy as might perpetuate their happiness. By his institutions, which shall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were established, and the duties resulting from them prescribed with such propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In public administration, the functions of persons in authority were so precisely defined, and the subordination of those under their jurisdiction maintained with such a steady hand, that the society in which he presided soon assumed the aspect of a regular and well governed state.

Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the *Incas* or *Lords* of Peru. At first its extent was small. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts he exercised absolute and uncontrolled authority. His successors, as their dominions extended, arrogated a similar jurisdiction over the new subjects which they acquired; the despotism of Asia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. The monarch himself appeared with ensigns of royalty reserved for him alone; and received from his subjects marks of obsequious homage and respect which approached almost to adoration.

But, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarch seems to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their subjects. It was not the rage of conquest, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a succession of twelve monarchs, it is said that not one deviated from this beneficent character.

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son by another of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and splendor than any of his predecessors, the destination of Huana Capac concerning the succession appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valor Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in a civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information with respect to it they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and a usurper. Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom which he had invaded, that without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose that, after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen [128], and a hundred and two foot soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer despatched by the Inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declaring that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favored the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapa-

clousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the Inca's fears that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupe, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. [129] From Motupe they advanced towards the mountains which encompassed the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here likewise, from the same inconsiderate credulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and, as an evidence of their sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country. They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cazique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that a European of the sixteenth century could form.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpose, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspicious simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the Inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service, which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning [Nov. 16], the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendor and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the Inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in a uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colors, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the Popes, the donation made to the King of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, and to submit to the King of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and, turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs." [130]

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca. [131]

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, labored to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which indeed they were in nowise solicitous to conceal, and, by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the Inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the subjects of the Inca were afraid of endangering his life by forming any other scheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was still entire, no preparations were made, and no army assembled to avenge their own wrongs or those of their monarch. The Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmolested. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and, instead of meeting with any opposition, were every where received with marks of the most submissive respect. [132]

Inconsiderable as those parties were, and desirous as Pizarro might be to obtain some knowledge of the interior state of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time [December,] received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with such a reinforcement as would almost double the number of his followers. The arrival of this long expected succour was not more agreeable to the Spaniards than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies increase; and as he knew neither the source whence they derived their supplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might rise [1533]. While disquieted with such apprehensions, he learned that some Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and, as an inducement to espouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure greatly beyond that which Atahualpa had engaged to pay for his ransom. If the Spaniards should listen to this proposal, Atahualpa perceived his own destruction to be inevitable; and suspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favorable ear to it, he determined to sacrifice his brother's life that he might save his own; and his orders for this purpose were executed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality.

Meanwhile, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from

different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treasure. A great part of the stipulated quantity was now amassed, and Atahualpa assured the Spaniards that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited. But such vast piles of gold presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except some pieces of curious fabric reserved as a present for the emperor. After setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thousand pesos as a donative to the soldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred pesos to Pizarro and his followers. The festival of St. James [July 25], the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the partition of this enormous sum, and the manner of conducting it strongly marks the strange alliance of fanaticism with avarice, which I have more than once had occasion to point out as a striking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though assembled to divide the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty, the transaction began with a solemn invocation of the name of God, as if they could have expected the guidance of heaven in distributing those wages of iniquity. In this division above eight thousand pesos, at that time not inferior in effective value to as many pounds sterling in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier. Pizarro himself, and his officers, received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

There is no example in history of such a sudden acquisition of wealth by military service, nor was ever a sum so great divided among so small a number of soldiers. Many of them having received a recompense for their services far beyond their most sanguine hopes, were so impatient to retire from fatigue and danger, in order to spend the remainder of their days in their native country in ease and opulence, that they demanded their discharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, sensible that from such men he could expect neither enterprise in action nor fortitude in suffering, and persuaded that wherever they went the display of their riches would allure adventurers, less opulent but more hardy, to his standard, granted their suit without reluctance, and permitted above sixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent to Spain with an account of his success, and the present destined for the emperor.

The Spaniards having divided among them the treasure amassed for the Inca's ransom, he insisted with them to fulfil their promise of setting him at liberty. But nothing was further from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long service in the New World, he had imbibed those ideas and maxims of his fellow-soldiers, which led them to consider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor entitled to the rights of men. In his compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuse his captive with such a prospect of recovering his liberty, as might induce him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accomplished this, he no longer regarded his plighted faith; and at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had secretly resolved to bereave him of life. Many circumstances seem to have concurred in prompting him to this action, the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquests of the New World.

Though Pizarro had seized the Inca in imitation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he did not possess talents for carrying on the same artful plan of policy. Destitute of the temper and address requisite for gaining the confidence of his prisoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being master of his person and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and discernment than Montezuma, and seems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual suspicion and distrust accordingly took place between them. The strict attention with which it was necessary to guard a captive of such importance, greatly increased the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconsiderable; and Pizarro felt him as an encumbrance, from which he wished to be delivered.

Almagro and his followers had made a demand of an equal share in the Inca's ransom; and though Pizarro had bestowed upon the private men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, and endeavored to soothe their leader by presents of great value, they still continued dissatisfied. They were apprehensive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a prisoner, Pizarro's soldiers would apply whatever treasure should be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity stipulated for his ransom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They insisted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereafter be on an equal footing.

Pizarro himself began to be alarmed with accounts of forces assembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and suspected Atahualpa of having issued orders for that purpose. These fears and suspicions were artfully increased by Philippillo, one of the Indians, whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourse with the captive monarch, he presumed, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, to raise his affections to a Coya, or descendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and seeing no prospect of gratifying that passion during the life of the monarch, he endeavored to fill the ears of the Spaniards with such accounts of the Inca's secret designs and preparations, as might awaken their jealousy, and excite them to cut him off.

While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philippillo labored to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of birth and education superior to the rough adventurers with whom they served, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their society. But in the presence of the governor he was always uneasy and overawed. This dread soon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired most was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he showed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazemeent, they all, without hesitation, returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and, on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment Atahualpa considered him as a mean person less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death.

But in order to give some color of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing It consisted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a bastard, had dispossessed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted but commanded the offering of human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that since his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation, some of which are so ludicrous, others so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a serious procedure, is not less surprising than his injustice, did this strange court go on to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no jurisdiction. With respect to each of the articles, witnesses were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn best suited his malevolent intentions. To judges pre-determined in their opinion, this evidence appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Astonished at his fate Atahualpa endeavored to avert it by tears, by promises, and by entreaties that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console and attempted to convert him. The most powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith, was a promise of mitigation in his punishment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake.

Happily for the credit of the Spanish nation, even among the profligate adventurers which it sent forth to conquer and desolate the New World, there were persons who retained some tincture of the Castilian generosity and honor. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had set out for Spain, and Soto was sent on a separate command at a distance from Caxamalca, this odious transaction was not carried on without censure and opposition. Several officers, and among those some of the greatest reputation and most respectable families in the service, not only remonstrated but protested against this measure of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and a usurpation of jurisdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their laudable endeavors were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of such as held every thing to be lawful which they deemed advantageous, prevailed. History, however, records even the unsuccessful exertions of virtue with applause; and the Spanish writers, in relating events where the valor of their nation is more conspicuous than its humanity, have not failed to preserve the names of those who made this laudable effort to save their country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty, hoping that a young man without experience might prove a more passive instrument in his hands than an ambitious monarch, who had been accustomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, as Inca. But neither possessed the authority which belonged to a sovereign of Peru. The violent convulsions into which the empire had been thrown, first by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invasion of the Spaniards, had not only deranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almost dissolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of strangers, and at last suffering an ignominious death, the people in several provinces, as if they had been set free from every restraint of law and decency, broke out into the most licentious excesses. So many descendants of the Sun, after being treated with the utmost indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the state diminished with their number, but the accustomed reverence for that sacred race sensibly decreased. In consequence of this state of things, ambitious men in different parts of the empire aspired to independent authority, and usurped jurisdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, seized the brother and children of his master, put them to a cruel death, and, disclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavored to established a separate kingdom for himself.

The Spaniards with pleasure beheld the spirit of discord diffusing itself, and the vigor of government relaxing among the Peruvians. They considered those disorders as symptoms of a state hastening towards its dissolution. Pizarro no longer hesitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received such considerable reinforcements, that he could venture, with little danger, to penetrate so far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca operated as he had foreseen. No sooner did his brother Ferdinand, with the officers and soldiers to whom he had given their discharge after the partition

of the Inca's ransom, arrive at Panama, and display their riches in the view of their astonished countrymen, than fame spread the account with such exaggeration through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly restrain the people under their jurisdiction, from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth which seemed to be opened in Peru. In spite of every check and regulation, such numbers resorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a considerable garrison in St Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had assembled some large bodies of troops to oppose his progress. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America ; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded ; the natives were put to flight with incredible slaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet possession of that capital. The riches found there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a superstitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred to their rapacious conquerors, exceed in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom. But as the Spaniards were now accustomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parcelled out among a great number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the same surprise, either from novelty, or the largeness of the sum that fell to the share of each individual. [133]

During the march to Cuzco, that son of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died ; and as the Spaniards substituted no person in his place, the title of Manco Capac seems to have been universally recognised.

While his fellow-soldiers were thus employed, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprising officer, was ashamed of remaining inactive, and impatient to have his name distinguished among the discoverers and conquerors of the New World. The seasonable arrival of a fresh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua put it in his power to gratify this passion. Leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement intrusted to his care, he placed himself at the head of the rest, acd set out to attempt the reduction of Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasure. Notwithstanding the distance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the best troops in Peru commanded by a skilful leader, the valor, good conduct, and perseverance of Benalcazar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification there. The natives now acquainted to their sorrow with the predominant passion of their invaders, and knowing how to disappoint it, had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had supported them under all the dangers and hardships wherewith they had to struggle in carrying it on.

Benalcazar was not the only Spanish leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. The fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the conquest of Mexico, having obtained the government of Guatimala as a recompense for his valor, soon became disgusted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to be again engaged in the bustle of military service. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this passion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he resolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of such distinction as to serve on horseback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without sufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the course of the river Guayoquil, and crossing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the most impracticable in all America, his troops endured such fatigue in forcing their way through forests and marshes on the low grounds, and suffered so much from excessive cold when they began to ascend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and half their horses died, and the rest were so much dispirited and worn out, as to be almost unfit for service. [134] There they met with a body, not of Indians, but of Spaniards, drawn in hostile array against them. Pizarro having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with some troops to oppose this formidable invader of his jurisdiction ; and these were joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though surprised at the sight of enemies whom he did not expect, advanced boldly to the charge. But, by the interposition of some moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place ; and the fatal period when Spaniards suspended their conquests to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was postponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's paying him a hundred thousand pesos to defray the expense of his armament. Most of his followers remained in the country ; and an expedition, which threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its strength.

1534.] By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immense quantities of gold and silver which he imported [135] filled the kingdom with no less astonishment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a present so rich as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquisitions in America, even after they had been ten years masters of Mexico. In recompense of his brother's services, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of seventy leagues, extending along the coast, to the southward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honors which he had so long desired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of country, stretching beyond the southern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himself did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a distinction always acceptable to a Spanish gentleman, and soon set out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank than had yet served in that country.

Some account of his negotiations reached Peru before he arrived there himself. Almagro no sooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than pretending that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, he attempted to render himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties was supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the sword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. The reconciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engrossing to himself all the honors and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his associate, was always present in both their thoughts. The former, conscious of his own perfidy, did not expect forgiveness ; the latter feeling, that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avenged ; and though avarice and ambition had induced them not only to dissemble their sentiments, but even to act in concert while in pursuit of wealth and power, no sooner did they obtain possession of these, than the same passions which had formed this temporary union, gave rise to jealousy and discord. To each of them was attached a small band of interested dependants, who, with the malicious art peculiar to such men, heightened their suspicions, and magnified every appearance of offence. But with all those seeds of enmity in their minds, and thus assiduously cherished, each was so thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the consequence of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizarro at Cuzco, and the address mingled with firmness which he manifested in his expostulations with Almagro and his partisans, averted that evil for the present. A new reconciliation took place ; the chief article of which was, that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili ; and if he did not find in that province an establishment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of indemnification, should yield up to him a part of Peru. This new agreement, though confirmed [June 12] with the same sacred solemnities as their first contract, was observed with as little fidelity.

Soon after he concluded this important transaction, Pizarro marched back to the countries on the sea coast ; and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity undisturbed by any enemy, either Spaniard or Indian, he applied himself with that persevering ardor, which distinguishes his character, to introduce a form of regular government into the extensive provinces subject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any disquisition concerning the principles o civil policy, and little accustomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural sagacity supplied the want both of science and experience. He distributed the country into various districts ; he appointed proper magistrates to preside in each ; and established regulations concerning the administration of justice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely simple, but well calculated to promote the public prosperity. But though, for the present, he adapted his plan to the infant state of his colony, his aspiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur He considered himself as laying the foundation of a great empire, and deliberated long, and with much solicitude, in what place he should fix the seat of government. Cuzco, the imperial city of the Incas, was situated in a corner of the empire, above four hundred miles from the sea, and much further from Quito, a province of whose value he had formed a high idea. No other settlement of the Peruvians was so considerable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their residence in it. But in marching through the country, Pizarro had been struck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a small river of the same name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbor in the Pacific Ocean, he founded a city which he destined to be the capital of his government, [Jan. 18, 1535.] He gave it the name of Ciudad de los Reyes, either from the circumstance of having laid the first stone at that season when the church celebrates the festival of the Three Kings, or, as is more probable, in honor of Juana and Charles, the joint sovereigns of Castile. This name it still retains among the Spaniards in all legal and formal deeds ; but it is better known to foreigners by that of *Lima*, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley in which it is situated. Under his inspection, the buildings advanced with such rapidity, that it soon assumed the form of a city, which, by a magnificent palace that he erected for himself, and by the stately houses built by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur.

In consequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili ; and as he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues most admired by soldiers, boundless liberality and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and seventy men, the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been assembled in Peru From impatience to finish the expedition, or from that contempt of hardship and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had served long in America, Almagro, instead of advancing along the level country on the coast, chose to march across the mountains by a route that was shorter indeed, but almost impracticable. In this attempt his troops were exposed to every calamity which men can suffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigor of the climate in those elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them perished ; and the survivors when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and in their bodily constitution, as well as vigor of spirit, nearly resembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and still more astonished at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their fire-arms, the Chilese soon recovered so far from their surprise, as not only to defend themselves with obstinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceness than any American nation had hitherto discovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some considerable quantities of gold ; but were so far from thinking of making any settlement amidst such formidable neighbors, that in spite of all the experience and valor of their leader, the final issue of the expedition still remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from it by an unexpected revolution at Peru. The causes of this important event I shall endeavor to trace to their source.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spanish colony in America, and all with such high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at

once, that, to men possessed with notions so extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by schemes of patient industry, would have been not only a disappointment but an insult. In order to find occupation for men who could not with safety be allowed to remain inactive, Pizarro encouraged some of the most distinguished officers who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose; and about the time that Almagro set out for Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country. No sooner did Manco Capac, the Inca, observe the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in thus dispersing their troops, and that only a handful of soldiers remained in Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, than he thought that the happy period was at length come for vindicating his own rights, for avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards who allowed him to reside in the palace of his ancestors at Cuzco, he found means of communicating his scheme to the persons who were to be intrusted with the execution of it. Among people accustomed to revere their sovereign as a divinity, every hint of his will carries the authority of a command; and they themselves were now convinced, by the daily increase in the number of their invaders, that the fond hopes which they had long entertained of their voluntary departure were altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requisite to expel them, and the preparations for it were carried on with the secrecy and silence peculiar to Americans.

After some unsuccessful attempts of the Inca to make his escape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time in Cuzco [1536], he obtained permission from him to attend a great festival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that solemnity, the great men of the empire were assembled. As soon as the Inca joined them, the standard of war was erected; and in a short time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards, living securely on the settlements allotted them, were massacred. Several detachments, as they marched carelessly through a country which seemed to be tamely submissive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spanish writers) to two hundred thousand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endeavored to defend with only one hundred and seventy Spaniards. Another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. There was no longer any communication between the two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country, intercepted every messenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worst concerning the other, and imagined that they themselves were the only persons who had survived the general extinction of the Spanish name in Peru.

It was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, that the Peruvians made their chief efforts. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardor, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the same undaunted ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted some of their operations in a manner which discovered greater sagacity, and a genius more susceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only observed the advantages which the Spaniards derived from their discipline and their weapons, but they endeavored to imitate the former, and turned the latter against them. They armed a considerable body of their bravest warriors with the swords, the spears, and bucklers, which they had taken from the Spanish soldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the country. These they endeavored to marshal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irresistible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acquired skill and resolution enough to use them. A few of the boldest, among whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on the horses which they had taken, and advanced briskly to the charge like Spanish cavaliers, with their lances in the rest. It was more by their numbers, however, than by those imperfect essays to imitate European arts and to employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards [136]. In spite of the valor, heightened by despair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered possession of one half of his capital, and in their various efforts to drive him out of it the Spaniards lost Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of all the brothers, together with some other persons of note. Worn out with the fatigue of incessant duty, distressed with want of provisions, and despairing of being able any longer to resist an enemy whose numbers daily increased, the soldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their countrymen, if any of them yet survived, or of forcing their way to the sea, and finding some means of escaping from a country which had been so fatal to the Spanish name. While they were brooding over those desponding thoughts, which their officers labored in vain to dispel, Almagro appeared suddenly in the neighborhood of Cuzco.

The accounts transmitted to Almagro concerning the general insurrection of the Peruvians, were such as would have induced him, without hesitation to relinquish the conquest of Chili, and hasten to the aid of his countrymen. But in this resolution he was confirmed by a motive less generous, but more interesting. By the same messenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his jurisdiction. Upon considering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifest beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he was equally solicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of their capital, and to wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accomplish both, he ventured to return by a new route; and in marching through the sandy plains on the coast, he suffered from heat and drought, calamities of a new species hardly inferior to those in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the summits of the Andes.

1537.] His arrival at Cuzco was in a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal solicitude. The former, as he did not study to conceal his pretensions, were at a loss whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions against him as an enemy. The latter, knowing the points in contest between him and his countrymen, flattered themselves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operations. Almagro himself, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had happened in his absence, and solicitous to learn the precise posture of affairs, advanced towards the capital slowly, and with great circumspection. Various negotiations with both parties were set on foot. The Inca conducted them on his part with much address. At first he endeavored to gain the friendship of Almagro; and after many fruitless overtures, despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by surprise with a numerous body of chosen troops. But the Spanish discipline and valor maintained their wonted superiority. The Peruvians were repulsed with such slaughter that a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.

The Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head against the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took measures to obstruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however, restrained both parties for some time from turning their arms against one another, while surrounded by common enemies who would rejoice in the mutual slaughter. Different schemes of accommodation were proposed. Each endeavored to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. The generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros, who were disgusted with their harsh, domineering manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, surprised the sentinels, or was admitted by them, and, investing the house where the two brothers resided, compelled them, after an obstinate defence, to surrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name.

Two or three persons only were killed in this first act of civil hostility; but it was soon followed by scenes more bloody. Francisco Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who had invested Lima, and received some considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garrison were not already cut off by the Peruvians. This body, which at that period of the Spanish power in America must be deemed a considerable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with astonishment that they beheld their countrymen posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress. Almagro, however, wished rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promises, endeavored to seduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unshaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amused him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning, while a large detachment of chosen soldiers passed the river by night [July 12], fell upon his camp by surprise, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took him prisoner, together with his principal officers.

By the sudden route of this body, the contest between the two rivals must have been decided, if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who having served under the Constable Bourbon, when he led the imperial army to Rome, had been accustomed to bold and decisive measures, advised him instantly to issue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other persons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he discerned at once the utility of the counsel, and though he had courage to have carried it into execution, suffered himself to be influenced by sentiments unlike those of a soldier of fortune grown old in service, and by scruples which suited not the chief of a party who had drawn his sword in civil war. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the blood of his opponents; and the dread of being deemed a rebel deterred him from entering a province which the king had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms must terminate the dispute between him and Pizarro, and resolved not to shun that mode of decision: yet, with a timid delicacy, preposterous at such a juncture, he was so solicitous that his rival should be considered as the aggressor, that he marched quietly back to Cuzco, to wait his approach.

Pizarro was still unacquainted with all the interesting events which had happened near Cuzco. Accounts of Almagro's return, of the loss of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the imprisonment of the other two, and of the defeat of Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almost overwhelmed a spirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudest shocks of adversity. But the necessity of attending to his own safety, as well as the desire of revenge, preserved him from sinking under it. He took measures for both with his wonted sagacity. As he had the command of the seacoast, and expected considerable supplies both of men and military stores, it was no less his interest to gain time, and to avoid action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and to bring the contest to a speedy issue. He had recourse to arts which he had formerly practised with success; and Almagro was again weak enough to suffer himself to be amused with a prospect of terminating their differences by some amicable accommodation. By varying his overtures, and shifting his ground as often as it suited his purpose, sometimes seeming to yield to every thing which his rival could desire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexterously protracted the negotiation to such a length, that, though every day was precious to Almagro, several months elapsed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and of the officers with whom he consulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the soldiers to whose custody they were committed, and not only made their escape themselves, but persuaded sixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight. Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the governor scrupled not at one act of perfidy more to procure the release of the other. He proposed that every point in controversy between Almagro and himself should be submitted to the decision of their sovereign; that until his award was known, each should retain undisturbed possession of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers whom Almagro purposed to send thither to represent the justice of his claims. Obvious as the design of Pizarro was in those propositions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his sincerity, and concluded an agreement on these terms.

The moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his opera-

tions by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every disguise which his concern for it had obliged him to assume. The treaty was forgotten; pacific and conciliating measures were no more mentioned; it was in the field he openly declared, and not in the cabinet,—by arms and not by negotiation,—that it must now be determined who should be master of Peru. The rapidity of his preparations suited such a decisive resolution. Seven hundred men were soon ready to march towards Cuzco. The command of these was given to his two brothers, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his most violent schemes, as they were urged on, not only by the enmity flowing from the rivalship between their family and Almagro, but animated with the desire of vengeance, excited by recollection of their own recent disgrace and sufferings. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco, they marched towards the south along the coast as far as Nasca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, instead of hearkening to some of his officers, who advised him to attempt the defence of those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reasons seem to have induced him to take this resolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening such a feeble body by sending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverse party, both in number and discipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage.

The Pizarros advanced without any obstruction, but what arose from the nature of the desert and horrid regions through which they marched. As soon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long protracted contest to an issue. Though countrymen and friends, the subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal standard displayed; and though they beheld the mountains that surrounded the plain in which they were drawn up, covered with a vast multitude of Indians assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained master of the field; so fell and implacable was the rancor which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacific counsel, not a single overture towards accommodation proceeded from either side. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this crisis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity, and he was obliged to commit the leading his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendant either over the spirit or affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere.

The conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage [April 26]. On the side of Almagro were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the insurrection of the Indians, the emperor had sent from Spain. As the use of fire arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America, hastily equipped for service, at their own expense, this small band of soldiers regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well sustained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavored to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the route became general. The barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; the meanness of private revenge instigated others to single out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and several officers of distinction were massacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty soldiers fell in the field; a large proportion, where the number of combatants was few, and the heat of the contest soon over. Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, had insisted on being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a veteran leader long accustomed to victory. He endeavored to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance.

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World, there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that, after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompense which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavored to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged the most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted with the ardor and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

Almagro himself remained for several months in custody, under all the anguish of suspense. For although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence constrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as several of their own followers in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As soon as they set out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. The sentence astonished him; and though he had often braved death with undaunted spirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications unworthy of his former fame. He besought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of his own most attached friends, he had spared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to suffer him to pass the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The entreaties, says a Spanish historian, of a man so much beloved touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a stern eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As soon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded. He suffered in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and left one son by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a prisoner in Lima, he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

1539.] As, during the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance, unfavorable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendor, endeavored to efface the impression which their accusation had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious that while the leaders, intrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy, in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease, and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing therefore remained, but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorized to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmness justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was intrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained above twenty years.

1540.] While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candor of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favorites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valor and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompense due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces; and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World. Pedro de Valdivia reassumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzola Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in

Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, near one half of whom were horsemen; with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men: but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labor, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent; and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Maragnon until it joined the ocean and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; his crime is in some measure balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the south, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean [137,] where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safely to the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorada*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the world; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had intrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions [1541]. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly. Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those which they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and swordbelts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellano, only four score got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passad. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessaries, [138] and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or for contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life: it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbor a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrado, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday the twenty-sixth of June, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house, in complete armor; and, drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the King, but let the tyrant die!" Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived; yet as he was just risen from table, and most of the domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the stair-case before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the stair-case, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing their swords followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry; and, supported by his half brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigor of a youthful combatant. "Courage" cried he, "companions! we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity." But the armor of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could hardly wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground, and expired.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and, waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and, assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, was pillaged by the soldiers, who had the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The boldness and success of the conspiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many soldiers to his standard. Every adventurer of desperate fortune, all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro (and from the rapaciousness of his government in the latter years of his life the number of malcontents was considerable), declared without hesitation in favor of Almagro, and he was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the command of them himself, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro speedily collected such a respectable force, the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous assassination of a man to whom his country was so highly indebted, filled every impartial person with hor

ror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretensions, led others to consider him as a usurper. The officers who commanded in some provinces refused to recognize his authority until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations were begun in order to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Those seeds of discord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired great vigor and activity when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was known. After a long and disastrous voyage, he was driven by stress of weather into a small harbor in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no less tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commission appointing him governor of Peru, with the same privileges and authority; and his jurisdiction was acknowledged without hesitation by Benalcazar, adelantado or lieutenant-general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but showed that he possessed the talents which the exercise of it at that juncture required. By his influence and address he soon assembled such a body of troops as not only to set him above all fear of being exposed to any insult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity which became his character. By despatching persons of confidence to the different settlements in Peru with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commission, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleasure with respect to the government of the country. By private emissaries, he excited such officers as had discovered their disapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifest their duty to their sovereign by supporting the person honored with his commission. Those measures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it necessary to chose a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the safest as well as the most just.

Almagro observed the rapid progress of this spirit of disaffection to his cause; and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, [1542,] where the most considerable body of opponents had erected the royal standard, under the command of Pedro Alverez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the skilful guide of his youth and of his counsels, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for their violence, but concerted with little sagacity, and executed with no address. Holguin, who, with forces far inferior to those of the opposite party, was descending towards the coast at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco, deceived his inexperienced adversary by a very simple stratagem, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the first to declare against Almagro as a usurper.

Soon after Vaca de Castro entered their camp with the troops which he brought from Quito; and erecting the royal standard before his own tent, he declared that, as governor, he would discharge in person all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenor of his past life to the habits of a sedentary and pacific profession, he at once assumed the activity and discovered the decision of an officer long accustomed to command. Knowing his strength to be now far superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the contest by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining a pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of decision. They met at Chupaz, [Sept. 16,] about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animosity inspired by the violence of civil rage, the rancor of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at last for Vaco de Castro. The superior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro with a gallant spirit worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquished, especially such as were conscious that they might be charged with being accessary to the assassination of Pizarro, rushing on the swords of the enemy, chose to fall like soldiers rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater.

If the military talents displayed by Vaca de Castro, both in the council and in the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more astonished at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid dispenser of justice, and persuaded that it required examples of extraordinary severity to restrain the licentious spirit of soldiers so far removed from the seat of government, he proceeded directly to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer the death of traitors, others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, being betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly beheaded in Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the spirit of the party, was extinct.

During those violent convulsions in Peru, the emperor and his ministers were intently employed in preparing regulations, by which they hoped not only to reestablish tranquillity there, but to introduce a more perfect system of internal policy into all their settlements in the New World. It is manifest from all the events recorded in the history of America, that, rapid and extensive as the Spanish conquests there had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occasional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of the first armaments for discovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the busy reigns of Ferdinand and Charles V., the former the most intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the most ambitious, was encumbered with such a multiplicity of schemes, and involved in war with so many nations of Europe, that he had not leisure to attend to distant and less interesting objects. The care of prosecuting discovery, or of attempting conquest, was abandoned to individuals; and with such ardor did men push forward in this new career, on which novelty, the spirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in less than half a century almost the whole of that extensive empire which Spain now possesses in the New World, was subjected to its dominion. As the Spanish court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not entitled to claim much from their success. The sovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and silver, was reserved for the crown; every thing else was seized by the associates in each expedition as their own right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded served to indemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themselves for the service, and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which custom had introduced, as permanent establishments which their successful valor merited. In the infancy of those settlements, when their extent as well as their value was unknown, many irregularities escaped observation, and it was found necessary to connive at many excesses. The conquered people were frequently pillaged with destructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out among its new masters in exorbitant shares, far exceeding the highest recompense due to their services. The rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their establishments upon any general or extensive plan of policy, attentive only to private interest, unwilling to forego present gain from the prospect of remote or public benefit, seem to have had no object but to amass sudden wealth, without regarding what might be the consequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length discovered to the Spanish court the importance of its American possessions, the necessity of new-modelling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices prevalent among military adventurers, it was found requisite to substitute the institutions of regular government.

One evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen settled in the islands, and employed themselves in searching for gold and silver with the same inconsiderate eagerness. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labor by masters, who in imposing tasks had no regard either to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and perished so fast, that there was reason to apprehend that Spain, instead of possessing countries peopled to such a degree as to be susceptible of progressive improvement, would soon remain proprietor only of a vast uninhabited desert.

The emperor and his ministers were so sensible of this, and so solicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquisitions of no value, that from time to time various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for securing to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treatment. But the distance of America from the seat of empire, the feebleness of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of soldiers unaccustomed to restraint, prevented these salutary regulations from operating with any considerable influence. The evil continued to grow, and at this time the emperor found an interval of leisure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive consideration. He consulted not only with his ministers and the members of the council of the Indies, but called upon several persons who had resided long in the New World to aid them with the result of their experience and observation. Fortunately for the people of America, among these was Barthoiomew de las Casas, who happened to be then at Madrid on a mission from a Chapter of his order at Chiapa. Though since the miscarriage of his former schemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued shut up in his cloister, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects of his pity was so far from abating, that, from an increased knowledge of their sufferings, its ardor had augmented. He seized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favorite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld had made a deep impression, he described the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World, the Indian race almost totally swept away in the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapid decay. With the decisive tone of one strongly prepossessed with the truth of his own system, he imputed all this to a single cause, to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be freemen, and treating them as subjects, not as slaves. Nor did he confide for the success of this proposal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he composed his famous treatise concerning the destruction of America, in which he relates, with many horrid circumstances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated description, the devastation of every province which had been visited by the Spaniards.

The emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of so many actions shocking to humanity. But as his views extended far beyond those of Las Casas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppression was but one step towards rendering his possessions in the New World a valuable acquisition, and would be of little avail, unless he could circumscribe the power and usurpations of his own subjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were mostly persons of such mean birth, and of such an abject rank in society, as gave no distinction in the eye of a monarch. The exorbitant wealth with which some of them returned, gave umbrage to an age not accustomed to see men in inferior condition elevated above their level, and rising to emulate or to surpass the ancient nobility in splendor. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themselves were of such enormous extent [139], that, if the country should ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the soil, they must grow too wealthy and too powerful for subjects. It appeared to Charles that this abuse required a remedy no less than the other, and that the regulations concerning both must be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.

With this view he framed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies, concerning the station and jurisdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America; the administration of justice; the order of government, both ecclesiastical and civil. These were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm, and occasioned the most violent convulsions: "That as the *repartimientos* or shares of land seized by several persons appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences are

empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: That upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: That the Indians shall henceforth be exempt from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labor in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries: That the stated tribute due by them to their superior shall be ascertained, and they shall be paid as servants for any work they voluntarily perform: That all persons who are or have been in public offices, all ecclesiastics of every denomination, all hospitals and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and these be annexed to the crown: That every person in Peru, who had any criminal concerns in the contest between Pizarro and Almagro should forfeit his lands and Indians."

All the Spanish ministers who had hitherto been intrusted with the direction of American affairs, and who were best acquainted with the state of the country, remonstrated against those regulations as ruinous to their infant colonies. They represented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was so extremely small, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vast regions over which they were scattered; that the success of every scheme for this purpose must depend upon the ministry and service of the Indians, whose native indolence and aversion to labor, no prospect of benefit or promise of reward could surmount; that the moment the right of imposing a task, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their masters, every work of industry must cease, and all the sources from which wealth began to pour in upon Spain must be stopped for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and so much impressed at present with the view of the disorders which reigned in America, that he was willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, persisted in his resolution of publishing the laws. That they might be carried into execution with greater vigor and authority, he authorized Francisco Tello de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as *Visitador*, or superintendent of that country, and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendozo, the viceroy in enforcing them. He appointed Blasco Nugnez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the title of viceroy; and in order to strengthen his adminstration, he established a court of royal audience in Lima [1543], in which four lawyers of eminence were to preside as judges.

The viceroy and superintendent sailed at the same time; and an account of the laws which they were to enforce reached America before them. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without distinction, and there was hardly one who might not on some pretext be included under the other regulations, and suffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been so long accustomed to the restraints of law and authority under the steady and prudent administration of Mendoza, that, how much soever the spirit of the new statutes was detested and dreaded, no attempt was made to obstruct the publication of them by any act of violence unbecoming subjects. The magistrates and principal inhabitants, however, presented dutiful addresses to the viceroy and superintendent, representing the fatal consequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long residence in the country, was so thoroughly acquainted with its state, that he knew what was for its interest as well as what it could bear; and Sandoval, though new in office, displayed a degree of moderation seldom possessed by persons just entering upon the exercise of power. They engaged to suspend, for some time, the execution of what was offensive in the new laws, and not only consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain with respect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in supporting their sentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of men whose abilities and integrity entitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted such a relaxation of the rigor of the laws as re-established the colony in its former tranquillity.

In Peru the storm gathered with an aspect still more fierce and threatening, and was not so soon dispelled. The conquerors of Peru, of a rank much inferior to those who had subjected Mexico to the Spanish crown, further removed from the inspection of the parent state, and intoxicated with the sudden acquisition of wealth, carried on all their operations with greater license and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidst the general subversion of law and order, occasioned by two successive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himself, without any guide but his own interest or passions, this turbulent spirit rose above all sense of subordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a respectable court of judicature, would of themselves have appeared formidable restraints, to which they would have submitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation against the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be stripped at once of all they had earned so hardly during many years of service and suffering. As the account of the new laws spread successively through the different settlements, the inhabitants ran together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming against the injustice and ingratitude of their sovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their possessions. "Is this," cried they, "the recompense due to persons, who, without public aid, at their own expense, and by their own valor, have subjected to the crown of Castile territories of such immense extent and opulence? Are these the rewards bestowed for having endured unparalleled distress, for having encountered every specious of danger in the service of their country? Whose merit is so great, whose conduct has been so irreprochable, that he may not be condemned by some penal clause in regulations, conceived in terms as loose and comprehensive, as if it had been intended that all should be entangled in their snare? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held some public office, and all, without distinction, have been constrained to take an active part in the contest between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property because they had done their duty? Were the latter to be punished on account of what they could not avoid? Shall the conquerors of this great empire, instead of receiving marks of distinction, be deprived of the natural consolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for subsistence on the scanty supply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers? We are not able now," continued they, "to explore unknown regions in quest of more secure settlements; our constitutions debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active service; but still we possess vigor sufficient to assert our just rights, and we will not tamely suffer them to be wrested from us."

By discourses of this sort, uttered with vehemence, and listened to with universal approbation, their passions were inflamed to such a pitch that they were prepared for the most violent measures; and began to hold consultations in different places, how they might oppose the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the address of Vaca de Castro, who flattered them with hopes, that, as soon as the viceroy and judges should arrive, and had leisure to examine their petitions and remonstrances, they would concur with them in endeavoring to procure some mitigation in the rigor of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the state of the country, or to the sentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to these, and even some concessions on the part of government, were now become requisite to compose the present ferment, and to soothe the colonists into submission, by inspiring them with confidence in their superiors. But without profound discernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, such a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy possessed none of these. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage; the former harsh and uncomplying, the latter bordering so frequently on rashness or obstinacy, that, in his situation, they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he landed at Tumbez [March 4], Nugnez Vela seems to have considered himself merely as an executive officer, without any discretionary power; and regardless of whatever he observed or heard concerning the state of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigor. In all the towns through which he passed, the natives were declared to be free, every person in public office was deprived of his lands and servants, and as an example of obedience to others, he would not suffer a single Indian to be employed in carrying his own baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and consternation went before him as he approached, and so little solicitous was he to prevent these from augmenting, that, on entering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his sovereign, not to dispense with his laws. This harsh declaration was accompanied with what rendered it still more intolerable, haughtiness in deportment, a tone of arrogance and decision in discourse, and an insolence of office grievous to men little accustomed to hold civil authority in high respect. Every attempt to procure a suspension or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy considered as flowing from a spirit of disaffection that tended to rebellion. Several persons of rank were confined, and some put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Castro was arrested; and notwithstanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit, in having prevented a general insurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and shut up in the common jail.

But however general the indignation was against such proceedings, it is probable the hand of authority would have been strong enough to suppress it, or to prevent it bursting out with open violence, if the malecontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only person able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addresses were sent to him, conjuring him to stand forth as their common protector, and offering to support him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no less daring. The behavior of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himself dwelt continually on his mind. Ferdinand a state prisoner in Europe, the children of the governor in custody of the viceroy, and sent aboard his fleet, himself reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country for the discovery and conquest of which Spain was indebted to his family—these thoughts prompted him to seek for vengeance, and to assert the rights of his family, of which he now considered himself as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can easily surmount that veneration for his sovereign which seems to be interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms against the royal standard filled him with horror. He hesitated long, and was still unresolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the universal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of becoming soon a victim himself to the severity of the new laws, moved him to quit his residence at Chuquisaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with transports of joy as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervor of their zeal, they elected him procurator-general of the Spanish nation in Peru, to solicit the repeal of the late regulations. They empowered him to lay their remonstrances before the royal audience in Lima, and upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authorized him to march thither in arms [1544]. Under sanction of this nomination Pizarro took possession of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Gumanga, and set out for Lima as if he had been advancing against a public enemy. Disaffection having now assumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of such distinguished name, many persons of note resorted to his standard; and a considerable part of the troops, raised by the viceroy to oppose his progress, deserted to him in a body.

Before Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened there, which encouraged him to proceed with almost certainty of success. The violence of the viceroy's administration was not more formidable to the Spaniards of Peru than his overbearing haughtiness was odious to his associates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, some symptoms of coldness between the viceroy and them began to appear. But as soon as they entered upon the exercise of their respective offices, both parties were so much exasperated by frequent contests, arising from interference of jurisdiction and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual disgust soon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every measure, set at liberty prisoners whom he had confined, justified the malecontents, and applauded their remonstrances. At a time when both departments of government should have united against the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for superiority. The judges at length prevailed. The viceroy, universally odious, and abandoned even by his own guards, was seized in his palace [Sept. 18], and carried to a

desert island on the coast, to be kept there until he could be sent home to Spain.

The judges, in consequence of this, having assumed the supreme direction of affairs into their own hands, issued a proclamation suspending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and sent a message to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could request, to dismiss his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man so daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requisition. It was made, probably, with no such attention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the president of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aspiring lawyer, seems to have held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himself to his service. The imprisonment of the viceroy, the usurpation of the judges, together with the universal confusion and anarchy consequent upon events so singular and unexpected, opened new and vast prospects to Pizarro. He now beheld the supreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to push on towards the object which fortune presented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his resolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Instead of the inferior function of procurator for the Spanish settlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and Captain-general of the whole province, and required the court of audience to grant him a commission to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppose him, such a request carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from unwillingness to relinquish power, or from a desire of preserving some attention to appearances, hesitated, or seemed to hesitate, about complying with what he demanded. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, seized several officers of distinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience issued a commission in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered the town that day with extraordinary pomp, to take possession of his new dignity.

Oct. 28.] But amidst the disorder and turbulence which accompanied this total dissolution of the frame of government, the minds of men, set loose from the ordinary restraints of law and authority, acted with such capricious irregularity, that events no less extraordinary than unexpected followed in rapid succession. Pizarro had scarcely begun to exercise the new powers with which he was invested, when he beheld formidable enemies rise up to oppose him. The viceroy having been put on board a vessel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under custody of Juan Alvarez one of their own number; as soon as they were out at sea, Alvarez, either touched with remorse, or moved by fear, kneeled down to his prisoner, declared him from that moment to be free, and that he himself, and every person in the ship, would obey him as the legal representative of their sovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered the pilot of the vessel to shape his course towards Tumbez, and as soon as he landed there, erected the royal standard, and resumed his functions of viceroy. Several persons of note, to whom the contagion of the seditious spirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, instantly avowed their resolution to support his authority. The violence of Pizarro's government, who observed every individual with the jealousy natural to usurpers, and who punished every appearance of disaffection with unforgiving severity, soon augmented the number of the viceroy's adherents, as it forced some leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering such strength at Tumbez, that his forces began to assume the appearance of what was considered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exasperated by the cruelty and oppression of Pizarro's lieutenant-governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conspiracy against his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy.

1545.] Pizarro, though alarmed with those appearances of hostility in the opposite extremes of the empire, was not disconcerted. He prepared to assert the authority, to which he had attained, with the spirit and conduct of an officer accustomed to command, and marched directly against the viceroy as the enemy who was nearest as well as most formidable. As he was master of the public revenues in Peru, and most of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were so numerous, that the viceroy, unable to face them, retreated towards Quito. Pizarro followed him; and in that long march, through a wild, mountainous country, suffered hardships, and encountered difficulties, which no troops but those accustomed to serve in America could have endured or surmounted. [140] The viceroy had scarcely reached Quito, when the vanguard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fourscore, was as hardy and active as any young soldier under his command. Nugnez Vela, instantly abandoned a town incapable of defence, and, with a rapidity more resembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to pursue; but, finding it impossible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he despatched Carvajal to oppose Centeno, who was growing formidable in the southern provinces of the empire, and he himself remained there to make head against the viceroy.

By his own activity, and the assistance of Benalcazar, Nugnez Vela soon assembled four hundred men in Popayan. As he retained, amidst all his disasters, the same elevation of mind, and the same high sense of his own dignity, he rejected with disdain the advice of some of his followers who urged him to make overtures of accommodation to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the sword that a contest with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito [1546.] Pizarro relying on the superior number, and still more on the discipline and valor of his troops, advanced resolutely to meet him [Jan. 18]. The battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the possession of a great empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the issue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans pushed forward with such regular and well directed force, that they soon began to make impression on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a soldier were equally displayed, held victory for some time in suspense. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds; and the route of his followers became general. They were hotly pursued. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops assembled by Centeno were dispersed soon after by Carvajal, and he himself compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for several months concealed in a cave. Every person in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to those of Chili, submitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojosa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South Sea, but had taken possession of Panama, and placed a garrison in Nombre de Dios, on the opposite side of the isthmus, which rendered him master of the only avenue of communication between Spain and Peru, that was used at that period.

After this decisive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for some time at Quito; and during the first transports of their exultation, they ran into every excess of licentious indulgence, with the riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary success. But amidst this dissipation, their chief and his confidants were obliged to turn their thoughts sometimes to what was serious, and deliberated with much solicitude concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no less bold and decisive in council than in the field, had from the beginning warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was vain to think of holding a middle course; that he must either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained possession of the government of Peru, he inculcated the same maxim with greater earnestness. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonstrated with him in a tone still more peremptory. "You have usurped," said he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occasion, "the supreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commission to the viceroy. You have marched in hostile array against the royal standard; you have attacked the representative of your sovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monarch will forgive such insults on his dignity; or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or sincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favor of another. Assume yourself the sovereignty over a country to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of discovery and conquest. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any consequence inviolably to your interest, by liberal grants of land and Indians, or by instituting ranks of nobility, and creating titles of honor similar to those which are courted with so much eagerness in Europe. By establishing orders of knighthood, with privileges and distinctions resembling those in Spain, you may bestow a gratification upon the officers in your service, suited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavor to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya or daughter of the Sun next in succession to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancien princes, to unite with the Spaniards in support of your authority. Thus, at the head of the ancient inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new settlers there, you may set at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with ease any feeble force which it can send at such a distance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counsellor, warmly seconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he possessed in demonstrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raised to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own aspiring valor and personal merit

Pizarro listened attentively to both, and could not conceal the satisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they presented to his view. But, happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men possess that superior strength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing such daring schemes, as cannot be accomplished without overturning the established order of society, and violating those maxims of duty which men are accustomed to hold sacred. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents circumscribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Instead of aspiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed; and for that purpose he sent an officer of distinction thither, to give such a representation of his conduct, and of the state of the country, as might induce the emperor and his ministers, either from inclination or from necessity, to continue him in his present station.

While Pizarro was deliberating with respect to the part which he should take, consultations were held in Spain, with no less solicitude, concerning the measures which ought to be pursued in order to re-establish the emperor's authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the last excesses of outrage to which the male contents had proceeded in that country, the court had received an account of the insurrection against the viceroy, of his imprisonment, and the usurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution so alarming called for an immediate interposition of the emperor's abilities and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war against the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the most interesting and arduous enterprises in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the disorders in Peru devolved upon his son Philip, and the counsellors whom Charles had appointed to assist him in the government of Spain during his absence. At first view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared so repugnant to the duty of subjects towards their sovereign, that the greater part of the ministers insisted on declaring them instantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to punish them with exemplary rigor. But when the fervor of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obstacles to the execution of this measure presented themselves. The veteran bands of infantry, the strength and glory of the Spanish armies, were then employed in Germany. Spain, exhausted of men and money by a long series of wars, in which she had been involved by the restless ambition of two successive monarchs, could not easily equip an armament of sufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To transport any respectable body of troops to a country so remote as Peru, appeared almost impossible. While Pizarro continued master of the South Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by land through the new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, across regions of prodigious extent, desolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hostile tribes, would be attended with insurmountable danger and hardships. The passage to the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan was so tedious, so uncertain, and so little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a course of navigation so remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquish the system which the ardor of their loyalty had first suggested, and to attempt by lenient measures what could not be effected by force. It was manifest from Pizarro's solicitude to represent his conduct in a favorable

ight to the emperor, that notwithstanding the excesses of which he had been guilty, he still retained sentiments of veneration for his sovereign. By a proper application to these, together with some such concessions as should discover a spirit of moderation and forbearance in government, there was still room to hope that he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might so far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his usurped authority.

The success, however, of this negotiation, no less delicate than it was important, depended entirely on the abilities and address of the person to whom it should be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various persons, the Spanish ministers fixed with unanimity of choice upon Pedro de la Gasca, a priest in no higher station than that of counsellor to the Inquisition. Though in no public office, he had been occasionally employed by government in affairs of trust and consequence, and had conducted them with no less skill than success; displaying a gentle and insinuating temper, accompanied with much firmness; probity, superior to any feeling of private interest; and a cautious circumspection in concerting measures, followed by such vigor in executing them as is rarely found in alliance with the other. These qualities marked him out for the function to which he was destined. The emperor, to whom Gasca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter containing expressions of good will and confidence, no less honorable to the prince who wrote, than to the subject who received it. Gasca, notwithstanding his advanced age and feeble constitution, and though, from the apprehensions natural to a man, who, during the course of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate, did not hesitate a moment about complying with the will of his sovereign. But as a proof that it was from this principle alone he acted, he refused a bishopric which was offered to him in order that he might appear in Peru with a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of President of the Court of Audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no salary on account of his discharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expense of supporting his family should be defrayed by the public; and as he was to go like a minister of peace with his gown and breviary, and without any retinue but a few domestics, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden.

But while he discovered such disinterested moderation with respect to whatever related personally to himself, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He insisted, as he was to be employed in a country so remote from the seat of government, where he could not have recourse to his sovereign for new instructions on every emergence; and as the whole success of his negotiations must depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be invested with unlimited authority; that his jurisdiction must reach to all persons and to all causes; that he must be empowered to pardon, to punish, or to reward, as circumstances and the behavior of different men might require; that in case of resistance from the malecontents, he might be authorized to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpose, and to call for assistance from the governors of all the Spanish settlements in America. These powers, though manifestly conducive to the great objects of his mission, appeared to the Spanish ministers to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a subject, and they refused to grant them. But the emperor's views were more enlarged. As, from the nature of his employment, Gasca must be intrusted with discretionary power in several points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circumscribed in any one particular, Charles scrupled not to invest him with authority to the full extent that he demanded. Highly satisfied with this fresh proof of his master's confidence, Gasca hastened his departure, and, without either money or troops, set out to quell a formidable rebellion.

On his arrival at Nombre de Dios [July 27], he found Hernan Mexia, an officer of note posted there, by order of Pizarro with a considerable body of men, to oppose the landing of any hostile forces. But Gasca appeared in such pacific guise, with a train so little formidable, and with a title of no such dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much respect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama, and met with a similar reception from Hinojosa, whom Pizarro had intrusted with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet stationed there. In both places he held the same language, declaring that he was sent by their sovereign as a messenger of peace, not as a minister of vengeance; that he came to redress all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon past offences, and to re-establish order and justice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the simplicity of his manners, the sanctity of his profession, and a winning appearance of candor, gained credit to his declarations. The veneration due to a person clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commission, began to revive among men accustomed for some time to nothing more respectable than a usurped jurisdiction. Hinojosa, Mexia, and several other officers of distinction, to each of whom Gasca applied separately, were gained over to his interest, and waited only for some decent occasion of declaring openly in his favor.

This the violence of Pizarro soon afforded them. As soon as he heard of Gasca's arrival at Panama, though he received, at the same time, an account of the nature of his commission, and was informed of his offers not only to render every Spaniard in Peru easy concerning what was past, by an act of general oblivion, but secure with respect to the future, by repealing the obnoxious laws; instead of accepting with gratitude his sovereign's gracious concessions, he was so much exasperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his station as governor of the country, that he instantly resolved to oppose the president's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exercising any jurisdiction there. To this desperate resolution he added another highly preposterous. He sent a new deputation to Spain to justify this conduct, and to insist, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himself during life, as the only means of preserving tranquillity there. The persons intrusted with this strange commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the president, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewise secret instructions to Hinojosa, directing him to offer Gasca a present of fifty thousand pesos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off, either by assassination or poison.

Many circumstances concurred in pushing on Pizarro to those wild measures. Having been once accustomed to supreme command, he could not bear the thoughts descending to a private station. Conscious of his own demerit, he suspected that the emperor studied only to deceive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidants, no less guilty, entertained the same apprehensions. The approach of Gasca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above six thousand Spaniards settled in Peru; and at the head of these he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain should refuse to grant what he required. But he knew not that a spirit of defection had already begun to spread among those whom he trusted most. Hinojosa, amazed at Pizarro's precipitate resolution of setting himself in opposition to the emperor's commission, and disdaining to be his instrument in perpetrating the odious crimes pointed out in his secret instructions, publicly recognised the title of the president to the supreme authority in Peru. The officers under his command did the same. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been sent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gasca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being master of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

1547.] Irritated almost to madness by events so unexpected, he openly prepared for war; and in order to give some color of justice to his arms, he appointed the court of audience in Lima to proceed to the trial of Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding in their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal commission, did not scruple to prostitute the dignity of his function by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemning him to death on that account. Wild and even ridiculous as this proceeding was, it imposed on the low illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the semblance of a legal sanction warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted from every quarter to his standard, and he was soon at the head of a thousand men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Gasca, on his part, perceiving that force must be employed in order to accomplish the purpose of his mission, was no less assiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other settlements on the continent; and with such success, that he was soon in a condition to detach a squadron of his fleet, with a considerable body of soldiers, to the coast of Peru [April]. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for some time to make any descent, they did more effectual service by setting ashore in different places persons who dispersed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the pacific intentions, as well as mild temper, of the president. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful. All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's violent administration, all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deserted a cause which they now deemed to be unjust. Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay concealed, assembled about fifty of his former adherents, and with this feeble half-armed band advanced boldly to Cuzco. By a sudden attack in the night-time, in which he displayed no less military skill than valor, he rendered himself master of that capital, though defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Most of these having ranged themselves under his banners, he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops.

Pizarro, though astonished at beholding one enemy approaching by sea, and another by land, at a time when he trusted to a union of all Peru in his favor, was of a spirit more undaunted, or more accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, than to be disconcerted or appalled. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the most urgent, he instantly set out to oppose him. Having provided horses for all his soldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminished, by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became suspicious to excess, and punished without mercy all whom he suspected, the rage of desertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within sight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake of Titiaca, he could not muster more than four hundred soldiers. But these he justly considered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious, like himself, of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveness, and without any hope but in the success of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack Centeno's troops, [Oct. 20,] though double to his own in number. The royalists did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru. At length the intrepid valor of Pizarro, and the superiority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immense, [141] and the treatment of the vanquished cruel. By this signal success the reputation of Pizarro was re-established; and being now deemed invincible in the field, his army increased daily in number.

But events happened in other parts of Peru, which more than counterbalanced the splendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive dominion, erected the royal standard, and Aldana, with a detachment of soldiers from the fleet, took possession of the town. About the same time, Gasca landed at Tumbez with five hundred men. Encouraged by his presence, every settlement in the low country declared for the king. The situation of the two parties was now perfectly reversed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were possessed by Pizarro; all the rest of the empire, from Quito, southward, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the president. As his numbers augmented fast, Gasca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behavior still continued to be gentle and unassuming; he expressed on every occasion, his ardent wish of terminating the contest without bloodshed. More solicitous to reclaim than to punish, he upbraided no man for past offences, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a sense of their duty. Though desirous of peace, he did not slacken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco. There he remained for some months, not only that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, but that he might train his new soldiers to the use of arms, and accustom them

to the discipline of a camp, before he led them against a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the success which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thousand men under his command, refused to listen to any terms, although Cepeda, together with several of his officers, and even Carvajal himself, [142] gave it as their advice, to close with the president's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws. Gasca, having tried in vain every expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, began to move towards Cuzco [Dec. 29] at the head of sixteen hundred men.

Pizarro, confident of victory, suffered the royalists to pass all the rivers which lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without opposition, [1548] and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himself that a defeat in such a situation as rendered escape impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal chose his ground, and made the disposition of the troops with the discerning eye and profound knowledge in the art of war conspicuous in all his operations. As the two armies moved forward slowly to the charge, [April 9,] the appearance of each was singular. In that of Pizarro, composed of men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America, every officer, and almost all the private men, were clothed in stuffs of silk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their arms, their standards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp. That of Gasca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. He himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclesiastics, marching along the lines, blessing the men, and encouraging them to a resolute discharge of their duty.

When both armies were just ready to engage, Cepeda set spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president. Garcilasso de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of persons in such high rank struck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and strength of armies depend, ceased at once. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank. Some silently slipped away, others threw down their arms, the greatest number went over to the royalists. Pizarro, Carvajal, and some leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to stop them, but in vain. In less than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro, seeing all irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers, who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?"—"Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with such a reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers. Carvajal, endeavoring to escape, was overtaken and seized.

Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a small number of the most distinguished or notorious offenders, were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded the day after he surrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was suitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the sentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the sentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorse for the past, or of solicitude about the future; scoffing at all who visited him, in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have shared the same fate; but the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment. He was sent, however, as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement.

In the minute details which the contemporary historians have given of the civil dissensions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumstances occur so striking, and which indicate such an uncommon state of manners as to merit particular attention.

Though the Spaniards who first invaded Peru were of the lowest order in society, and the greater part of those who afterwards joined them were persons of desperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for superiority, not one man acted as a hired soldier, that follows his standard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru considered himself as a conqueror, entitled by his services, to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valor. In the contests between the rival chiefs, each chose his side as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortunes, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their sword, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that most of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the same means, to open a way for himself to the possession of power and wealth.

But though the troops in Peru served without any regular pay, they were raised at immense expense. Among men accustomed to divide the spoils of an opulent country, the desire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardor of pursuit augmented in proportion to the hope of success. Where all were intent on the same object, and under the dominion of the same passion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of securing their attachment. Officers of name and influence, besides the promise of future establishments, received in hand large gratuities from the chief with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raise a thousand men, advanced five hundred thousand pesos. Gasca expended in levying the troops which he led against Pizarro nine hundred thousand pesos. The distribution of property, bestowed as the reward of services, was still more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompense of his perfidy and address, in persuading the court of royal audience to give the sanction of its authority to the usurped jurisdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Hinojosa, who by his early defection from Pizarro, and surrender of the fleet to Gasca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a district of country affording two hundred thousand pesos of yearly value. While such rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional shares were conferred upon those of inferior rank.

Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants and new desires. Veterans, long accustomed to hardship and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation, and indulged in all the excesses of military licentiousness. The riot of low debauchery occupied some; a relish for expensive luxuries spread among others. The meanest soldier in Peru would have thought himself degraded by marching on foot; and at a time when the prices of horses in that country were exorbitant, each insisted on being furnished with one before he would take the field. But though less patient under the fatigue and hardships of service, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever; and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to display all their ancient valor.

Together with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally distinguished. Civil discord never raged with a more fell spirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the passions which usually envenom contests among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerness to seize the valuable forfeitures, expected upon the death of every opponent, shut the door against mercy. To be wealthy was of itself sufficient to expose a man to accusation, or to subject him to punishment. On the slightest suspicions, Pizarro condemned many of the most opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without searching for any pretext to justify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of those who suffered by the hands of the executioner was not much inferior to what fell in the field; [143] and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

The violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its usual attendants, attachment and fidelity to those with whom they acted. The ties of honor, which ought to be held sacred among soldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, seem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the sense of shame were totally lost. During their dissensions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, betray the associates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nugnez Vela was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have supported his authority. The chief advisers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt were the first to forsake him, and submit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gasca by the man whom he had singled out among his officers to intrust with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in sight of the enemy, threw down their arms without striking a blow, and deserted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Instances of such general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in social union, rarely occur in history. It is only where men are far removed from the seat of government, where the restraints of law and order are little felt, where the prospect of gain is unbounded, and where immense wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciousness, the perfidy, and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

On the death of Pizarro, the malecontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity seemed to be perfectly re-established. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy the president's attention. The one was to find immediately such employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other, to bestow proper gratifications upon those to whose loyalty and valor he had been indebted for his success. The former of these was in some measure accomplished, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to prosecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the river De la Plata. The reputation of those leaders, together with the hopes of acquiring wealth, and of rising to consequence in some unexplored country, alluring many of the most indigent and desperate soldiers to follow their standards, drained off no inconsiderable portion of that mutinous spirit which Gasca dreaded.

The latter was an affair of greater difficulty and to be adjusted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The *repartimientos*, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be distributed, in consequence of the death or forfeiture of the former possessors, exceeded two millions of pesos of yearly rent. Gasca, when now absolute master of this immense property, retained the same disinterested sentiments which he had originally professed, and refused to reserve the smallest portion of it for himself. But the number of claimants was great; and whilst the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own services, and estimated the recompense which he thought due to him, the pretensions of each were so extravagant that it was impossible to satisfy all. Gasca listened to them one by one, with the most patient attention; and that he might have leisure to weigh the comparative merit of their several claims with accuracy, he retired, with the archbishop of Lima and a single secretary, to a village twelve leagues from Cusco. There he spent several days in allotting to each a district of lands and number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past services and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamor and rage, which he foresaw would burst out on the publication of his decree, notwithstanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he set out for Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for some days after his departure.

The indignation excited by publishing the decree of partition [Aug. 24] was not less than Gasca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, shame, rage, and all the other passions which most vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honor and their interest are deeply affected, conspired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military insolence. Calumny, threats, and curses, were poured out openly upon the president. He was accused of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injustice. Among soldiers prompt to action, such seditious discourse would have been soon followed by deeds no less violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards some discontented leaders, expecting them to stand forth in redress of their wrongs. By some vigorous interpositions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous spirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the present.

1549.] Gasca, however, perceiving that the flame was suppressed, rather than extinguished, labored with the utmost assiduity to soothe the malecontents, by bestowing large gratuities on some, by promising *repartimientos*, when they fell vacant, to others, and by caressing and flattering all. But that the public security might rest on a foundation more stable than their good affection, he endeavored to strengthen the hands of his successors in office, by re-establishing the regular administration of justice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and simplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labor. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca, longing to return again to a private station, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out for Spain [Feb. 1, 1550]. As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four last years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him thirteen hundred thousand pesos of public money, which the economy and order of his administration enabled him to save, after paying all the expenses of the war.

He was received in his native country with universal admiration of his abilities and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conspicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him, he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he supplied all those defects, and seemed to create instruments for executing his designs. He acquired such a naval force as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which gave laws to Peru. He vanquished their leader, on whose arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and usurpation, he established the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful sovereign. But the praise bestowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements which had seduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he returned from that trying station with integrity not only untainted but unsuspected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem; and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honored by his sovereign, and beloved by all.

Notwithstanding all Gasca's wise regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country where the authority of government had been almost forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and misrule, where there were disappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and seditious soldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to raise combustion. Several successive insurrections desolated the country for some years. But as those, though fierce, were only transient storms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the object of this history. These commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration; and by carrying off the corrupted humors which had given rise to the disorders, they contributed in the end to strengthen the society which at first they threatened to destroy. During their fierce contests, several of the first invaders of Peru, and many of those licentious adventurers whom the fame of their success had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the struggle, gradually cleared the country of a number of turbulent spirits, by executing, proscribing, or banishing their opponents. Men less enterprising, less desperate, and more accustomed to move in the path of sober and peaceable industry, settled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually established as firmly there as in other Spanish colonies

BOOK VII.

View of the institutions and manners of the Mexicans and Peruvians—Civilized states in comparison of other Americans—Record origin of the Mexicans—Facts which prove their progress in civilization—View of their policy in its various branches—of their arts—Facts which indicate a small progress in civilization—What opinion should be formed on comparing those contradictory facts—Genius of their religion—Peruvian monarchy more ancient—its policy founded on religion—Singular effects of this—Peculiar state of property among the Peruvians—Their public works and arts—roads—bridges—buildings—Their unwarlike spirit—View of other dominions of Spain in America—Cinaloa and Sonora—California—Yucatan and Honduras—Chili—Tucuman—Kingdom of Tierra Firme—New Kingdom of Granada.

As the conquest of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru forms the most splendid and interesting period in the history of America, a view of their political institutions, and a description of their national manners, will exhibit the human species to the contemplation of intelligent observers in a very singular stage of its progress. [144]

When compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states. Instead of small, inpedendent, hostile tribes, struggling for subsistence amidst woods and marshes, strangers to industry and arts, unacquainted with subordination, and almost without the appearance of regular government, we find countries of great extent subjected to the dominion of one sovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wisdom and foresight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and security of the people, the empire of laws in some measure established, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts essential to life brought to some degree of maturity, and the dawn of such as are ornamental beginning to appear.

But if the comparison be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America in improvement will be conspicuous, and neither the Mexicans nor Peruvians will be entitled to rank with those nations which merit the name of civilized. The people of both the great empires in America, like the rude tribes around them, were totally unacquainted with the useful metals, and the progress which they had made in extending their dominion over the animal creation was inconsiderable. The Mexicans had gone no further than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a species of small dogs, and rabbits. By this feeble essay of ingenuity, the means of subsistence were rendered somewhat more plentiful and secure than when men depend solely on hunting; but they had no idea of attempting to subdue the more robust animals, or of deriving any aid from their ministry in carrying on works of labor. The Peruvians seem to have neglected the inferior animals, and had not rendered any of them domestic except the duck; but they were more fortunate in taming the Llama, an animal peculiar to their country, of a form which bears some resemblance to a deer, and some to a camel, and is of a size somewhat larger than a sheep. Under the protection of man, this species multiplied greatly. Its wool furnished the Peruvians with clothing, its flesh with food. It was even employed as a beast of burden, and carried a moderate load with much patience and docility. It was never used for draught; and the breed being confined to the mountainous country, its service, if we may judge by incidents which occur in the early Spanish writers, was not very extensive among the Peruvians in their original state.

In tracing the line by which nations proceed towards civilization, the discovery of the useful metals, and the acquisition of dominion over the animal creation, have been marked as steps of capital importance in their progress. In our continent, long after men had attained both, society continued in that state which is denominated barbarous. Even with all that command over nature which these confer, many ages elapse before industry becomes so regular as to render subsistence secure, before the arts which supply the wants and furnish the accommodations of life are brought to any considerable degree of perfection, and before any idea is conceived of various institutions requisite in a well ordered society. The Mexicans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the usual metals, or the aid of domestic animals, labored under disadvantages which must have greatly retarded their progress, and in their highest state of improvement their power was so limited, and their operations so feeble, that they can hardly be considered as having advanced beyond the infancy of civil life.

After this general observation concerning the most singular and distinguishing circumstances in the state of both the great empires in America, I shall endeavor to give such a view of the constitution of the interior police of each as may enable us to ascertain their place in the political scale, to allot them their proper station between the rude tribes in the New World, and the polished states of the ancient, and to determine how far they had risen above the former, as well as how much they fell below the latter.

Mexico was first subjected to the Spanish crown But our acquaintance with its laws and manners is not, from that circumstance, more complete. What I have remarked concerning the defective and inaccurate information on which we must rely with respect to the condition and customs of the savage tribes in America, may be applied likewise to our knowledge of the Mexican empire. Cortes, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leisure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural history with new observations. They undertook their expedition in quest of one object, and seemed hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during some short interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceased, and the ardor of plunder was suspended, the institutions and manners of the people whom they invaded, drew their attention, the inquiries of illiterate soldiers were conducted with so little sagacity and precision, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order established in the Mexican monarchy are superficial, confused, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occasionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form some idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obscurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the superstition of those who succeeded them. As the memory of past events was preserved among the Mexicans by figures painted on skins, on cotton cloths, on a kind of pasteboard, or on the bark of trees, the early missionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and struck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry, which ought to be destroyed in order to facilitate the conversion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict issued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciscan monk, the first bishop of Mexico, as many records of the ancient Mexican story as could be collected were committed to the flames. In consequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who first visited New Spain (which their successors soon began to lament), whatever knowledge of remote events such rude monuments contained was almost entirely lost, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from some fragments of their historical paintings that escaped the barbarous researches of Zummaraga. From the experience of all nations it is manifest, that the memory of past transactions can neither be long preserved, nor be transmitted with any fidelity, by tradition. The Mexican paintings which are supposed to have served as annals of their empire, are few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus, amidst the uncertainty of the former, and the obscurity of the latter, we must glean what intelligence can be collected from the scanty materials scattered in the Spanish writers.*

* In the first edition, I observed that in consequence of the destruction of the ancient Mexican paintings, occasioned by the zeal of Zummaraga, whatever knowledge they might have conveyed was entirely lost. Every candid reader must have perceived that the expression was inaccurate; as in a few lines afterwards I mention someancient paintings to be still extant. M. Clavigero, not satisfied with laying hold of this inaccuracy, which I corrected in the subsequent editions, labors to render it more glaring by the manner in which he quotes the remaining part of the sentence. He reprehends with great asperity the account which I gave of the scanty materials for writing the ancient history of Mexico. Vol. I. Account of Writers, p. xxvi. Vol. II. 380. My words, however, are almost the same with those of Torquemada, who seems to have been better acquainted with the ancient monuments of the Mexicans than any Spanish author whose works I have seen. Lib. xiv. c. 6. M. Clavigero himself gives a description of the destruction of ancient paintings in almost the same terms I have used; and mentions as an additional reason of there being so small a number of ancient paintings known to the Spaniards, that the natives have become so solicitous to preserve and conceal them, that it is "difficult, if not impossible, to make them part with one of them." Vol. I. 407. II. 194. No point can be more ascertained than that few of the Mexican historical paintings have been preserved. Though several Spaniards have carried on inquiries into the antiquities of the Mexican empire, no engravings from Mexican paintings have been communicated to the public, except those by Purchas, Gemelli Carreri, and Lorenzana. It affords me some satisfaction, that in the course of my researches I have discovered two collections of Mexican paintings which were unknown to former inquirers. The cut which I published is an exact copy of the original, and gives no high idea of the progress which the Mexicans had made in the art of painting. I cannot conjecture what could induce M. Clavigero to express some dissatisfaction with me for having published it without the same colors it has in the original painting, p. xxix. He might have recollected, that neither Purchas, nor Gemelli Carreri, nor Lorenzana

According to the account of the Mexicans themselves, their empire was not of long duration. Their country, as they relate, was originally possessed, rather than peopled, by small independent tribes, whose mode of life and manners resembled those of the rudest savages which we have described. But about a period corresponding to the beginning of the tenth century in the Christian era, several tribes moved in successive migrations from unknown regions towards the north and north-west, and settled in different provinces of *Anahuac*, the ancient name of New Spain. These, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of social life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more polished than any of the former, advanced from the border of the Californian gulf, and took possession of the plains adjacent to the great lake near the centre of the country. After residing there about fifty years, they founded a town, since distinguished by the name of *Mexico*, which, from humble beginnings, soon grew to be the most considerable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were established in their new possessions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion, and were governed in peace, and conducted in war, by such as were entitled to pre-eminence by their wisdom or their valor. But among them, as in other states whose power and territories become extensive, the supreme authority centered at last in a single person; and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded the country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch in order who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election.

Such is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progress of their own empire. According to this, its duration was very short. From the first migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than three hundred years. From the establishment of monarchical government, not above a hundred and thirty years according to one account, or a hundred and ninety-seven according to another computation, had elapsed. If, on one hand, we suppose the Mexican state to have been of higher antiquity, and to have subsisted during such a length of time as the Spanish accounts of its civilization would naturally lead us to conclude, it is difficult to conceive how, among a people who possessed the art of recording events by pictures, and who considered it as an essential part of their national education, to teach their children to repeat the historical songs which celebrated the exploits of their ancestors, the knowledge of past transactions should be so slender and limited. If, on the other hand, we adopt their own system with respect to the antiquities of their nation, it is no less difficult to account either for that improved state of society, or for the extensive dominion to which their empire had attained when first visited by the Spaniards. The infancy of nations is so long, and, even when every circumstance is favorable to their progress, they advance so slowly towards any maturity of strength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans seems to be a strong presumption of some exaggeration in the splendid descriptions which have been given of their government and manners.

But it is not by theory or conjectures that history decides with regard to the state or character of nations. It produces facts as the foundation of every judgment which it ventures to pronounce. In collecting those which must regulate our opinion in the present inquiry, some occur that suggest an idea of considerable progress in civilization in the Mexican empire, and others which seem to indicate that it had advanced but little beyond the savage tribes around it. Both shall be exhibited to the view of the reader, that, from comparing them, he may determine on which side the evidence preponderates.

In the Mexican empire, the right of private property was perfectly understood, and established in its full extent. Among several savage tribes, we have seen, that the idea of a title to the separate and exclusive possession of any object was hardly known; and that among all it was extremely limited and ill defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and industry had made some progress, the distinction between property in land and property in goods had taken place. Both might be transferred from one person to another by sale or barter; both might descend by inheritance. Every person who could be denominated a freeman had property in land. This, however, they held by various tenures. Some possessed it in full right, and it descended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the highest class. The tenure by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labor of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common storehouse, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the *Calpullee*, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible permanent property, destined for the support of their families. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public security.

Another striking circumstance, which distinguishes the Mexican empire from those nations in America we have already described, is the number and greatness of its cities. While society continues in a rude state, the wants of men are so few, and they stand so little in need of mutual assistance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their industry at the same time is so imperfect, that it cannot secure subsistence for any considerable number of families settled in one spot. They live dispersed, at this period, from choice, as well as from necessity, or at the utmost assemble in small hamlets on the banks of the river which supplies them with food, or on the border of some plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labor. The Spaniards, accustomed to this mode of habitation among all the savage tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, were astonished, on entering New Spain, to find the natives residing in towns of such extent as resembled those of Europe. In the first fervor of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the second or third size, to the cities of greatest note in their own country. When, afterwards, they visited in succession Tlascala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco, and Mexico itself, their amazement increased so much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populousness bordering on what is incredible. Even when there is leisure for observation, and no interest that leads to deceive, conjectural estimates of the number of people in cities are extremely loose, and usually much exaggerated. It is not surprising, then, that Cortes and his companions, little accustomed to such computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own discoveries and conquests, should have been betrayed into this common error, and have raised their descriptions considerably above truth. For this reason, some considerable abatement ought to be made from their calculations of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the standard of their population much lower than they have done; but still they will appear to be cities of such consequence as are not to be found but among people who have made some considerable progress in the arts of social life. [145] From their accounts, we can hardly suppose Mexico, the capital of the empire, to have contained fewer than sixty thousand inhabitants.

The separation of professions among the Mexicans is a symptom of improvement no less remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of society, are so few and so simple, that each man is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. The savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skilful than his own. Time must have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art became so complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabric, that a particular course of education was requisite towards forming the artificer to expertness in contrivance and workmanship. In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch out into more numerous and minute subdivisions. Among the Mexicans, this separation of the arts necessary in life had taken place to a considerable extent. The functions of the mason, the weaver, the goldsmith, the painter, and of several other crafts, were carried on by different persons. Each was regularly instructed in his calling. To it alone his industry was confined, and by assiduous application to one object, together with the persevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artisans attained to a degree of neatness and perfection in work, far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the stated markets held in the cities, not only were their mutual wants supplied, in such orderly intercourse as characterizes an improved state of society, but their industry was daily rendered persevering and inventive.

The distinction of ranks established in the Mexican empire, is the next circumstance that merits attention. In surveying the savage tribes of America, we observed, that consciousness of equality, and impatience of subordination, are sentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a superior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition resulting from the inequality of it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by personal merit and accomplishments that distinction can be acquired. The form of society was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people was in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of *Mayaques*, nearly resembled in condition those peasants who, under various denominations, were considered during the prevalence of the feudal system, as instruments of labor attached to the soil. The *Mayaques* could not change their place of residence without permission of the superior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were settled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform several kinds of servile work. Others were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestic servitude, and felt the utmost rigor of that wretched state. Their condition was held to be so vile, and their lives deemed of so little value, that a person who killed one of these slaves was not subjected to any punishment. Even those considered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior species. The nobles, possessed of ample territories, were divided into various classes, to each of which peculiar titles of honor belonged. Some of these titles, like their lands, descended from father to son in perpetual succession. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of personal distinction. The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extensive power and supreme dignity. Thus the distinction of ranks was completely established, in a line of regular subordination, reaching from the highest to the lowest member of the community. Each of these knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dress of the same fashion, or to dwell in houses of a form similar to those of the nobles, accosted them with the most submissive reverence. In the presence of their sovereign, they durst not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face. The nobles themselves, when admitted to an audience of their sovereign, entered barefooted, in mean garments, and, as his slaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This respect, due from inferiors to those above them in rank, was prescribed with such ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with the language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expressions of reverence and courtesy. The style and appellations used in the intercourse between equals would have been so unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower sphere, when he accosted a person in higher rank, as to be deemed an insult. [146] It is only in societies, which time and the institution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find such an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and such nice attention paid to their various rights.

The spirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized and bended to subordination, was prepared for submitting to monarchical government. But the description of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are so inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their constitution with any precision. Sometimes they represent the monarchs of Mexico as absolute, deciding according to

zana, thought it necessary to color the prints which they have published, and they have never been censured on that account. He may rest assured, that though the colors in the paintings in the Imperial Library are remarkably bright, they are laid on without art, and without "any of that regard to light and shade, or the rules of perspective," which M. Clavigero requires. Vol. II. 378. If the public express any desire to have the seven paintings still in my possession engraved, I am ready to communicate them. The print published by Gemelli Carreri, of the route of the ancient Mexicans when they travelled towards the lake on which they built the capital of their empire, (Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 481.) is the most finished monument of art brought from the New World, and yet a very slight inspection of it will satisfy every one, that the annals of a nation conveyed in this manner must be very meagre and imperfect.

their pleasure with respect to every operation of the state. On other occasions, we discover the traces of established customs and laws, framed in order to circumscribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which seemed to be opposed as barriers against its encroachments. This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves. The chiefs, or nobles of the first rank, submitted to the yoke with such reluctance that, from impatience to shake it off, and hope of recovering their rights, many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power against their domestic oppressor. It is not then under the dominion of Montezuma, but under the government of his predecessors, that we can discover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it seems to have subsisted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be distinguished by the name of nobility, formed the chief and most respectable order in the state. They were of various ranks, as has been already observed, and their honors were acquired and transmitted in different manners. Their number seems to have been great. According to an author accustomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom had in his territories about a hundred thousand people; and subordinate to these, there were about three thousand nobles of a lower class. The territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were hardly inferior in extent to those of the Mexican monarch. Each of these possessed complete territorial jurisdiction, and levied taxes from their own vassals. But all followed the standard of Mexico in war, serving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and most of them paid tribute to its monarch as their superior lord.

In tracing those great lines of the Mexican constitution, an image of feudal policy, in its most rigid form, rises to view, and we discern its three distinguishing characteristics, a nobility possessing almost independent authority, a people depressed into the lowest state of subjection, and a king intrusted with the executive power of the state. Its spirit and principles seem to have operated in the New World in the same manner as in the ancient. The jurisdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the shadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to excess of their own rights, they guarded with the most vigilant anxiety against the encroachments of their sovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided that the king should not determine concerning any point of general importance without the approbation of a council composed of the prime nobility. Unless he obtained their consent, he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he dispose of the most considerable branch of the public revenue at pleasure; it was appropriated to certain purposes from which it could not be diverted by the regal authority alone. In order to secure full effect to those constitutional restraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to descend by inheritance, but disposed of it by election. The right of election seems to have been originally vested in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to six electors, of whom the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were always two. From respect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon some person sprung from it. But as the activity and valor of their prince were of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a strict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or of distinguished merit were often preferred to those who were nearer the throne in direct descent. To this maxim in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for such a succession of able and warlike princes, as raised their empire in a short period to that extraordinary height of power which it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

While the jurisdiction of the Mexican monarch continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exercised with little ostentation. But as their authority became more extensive, the splendor of their government augmented. It was in this last state that the Spaniards beheld it; and struck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they describe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the silence, and the reverence with which they served him; the extent of his royal mansion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the ostentation with which his grandeur was displayed, whenever he permitted his subjects to behold him, seem to resemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Asia, rather than the simplicity of the infant states in the New World.

But it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power; they manifested it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal administration and police of their dominions. Complete jurisdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vassals, was vested in the crown. Judges were appointed for each department; and if we may rely on the account which the Spanish writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their decisions with respect to the distribution of property and the punishment of crimes, justice was administered in the Mexican empire with a degree of order and equity resembling what takes place in societies highly civilized.

Their attention in providing for the support of government was not less sagacious. Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the public markets. These duties were considerable, but not arbitrary or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind; and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art, were collected in the public storehouses. From those the emperor supplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with clothes, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various services. By their stated labor the crown lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built and kept in repair. [147]

The improved state of government among the Mexicans is conspicuous, not only in points essential to the being of a well ordered society, but in several regulations of inferior consequence with respect to police. The institution which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, stationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The structure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and causeways of great length, which served as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water, with no less ingenuity than labor, seems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The same observation may be applied to the structure of the aqueducts or conduits, by which they conveyed a stream of fresh water from a considerable distance, into the city, along one of the causeways. [148] The appointment of a number of persons to clean the streets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrol as watchmen during the night, discovers a degree of attention which even polished nations are late in acquiring.

The progress of the Mexicans in various arts is considered as the most decisive proof of their superior refinement. Cortes and the early Spanish authors describe this with rapture, and maintain, that the most celebrated European artists could not surpass or even equal them in ingenuity and neatness of workmanship. They represented men, animals, and other objects, by such a disposition of various colored feathers, as is said to have produced all the effects of light and shade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and silver have been described to be of a fabric no less curious. But in forming any idea from general descriptions, concerning the state of arts among nations imperfectly polished, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whose advances in improvement are nearly the same with our own, we view them with a critical and often with a jealous eye. Whereas when conscious of our own superiority, we survey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are astonished at works executed by them under such manifest disadvantages, and, in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to represent them as productions more finished than they really are. To the influence of this illusion, without supposing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of some Spanish authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

It is not from those descriptions, but from considering such specimens of their arts as are still preserved, that we must decide concerning that degree of merit. As the ship in which Cortes sent to Charles V. the most curious productions of the Mexican artisans, which were collected by the Spaniards when they first pillaged the empire, was taken by a french corsair, the remains of their ingenuity are less numerous than those of the Peruvians. Whether any of their works with feathers, in imitation of painting, be still extant in Spain, I have not learned; but many of their ornaments in gold and silver, as well as various utensils employed in common life, are deposited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions lately opened by the king of Spain; and I am informed by persons on whose judgment and taste I can rely, that these boasted efforts of their art are uncouth representations of common objects, or very coarse images of the human and some other forms, destitute of grace and propriety. [149] The justness of these observations is confirmed by inspecting the wooden prints and copper plates of their paintings, which have been published by various authors. In them every figure of men, of quadrupeds, or birds, as well as every representation of inanimated nature, is extremely rude and awkward.* The hardest Egyptian style, stiff and imperfect as it was, is more elegant. The scrawls of children delineate objects almost as accurately.

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different station belongs to them when considered as the records of their country, as historical monuments of its policy and transactions; and they become curious as well as interesting objects of attention. The noblest and most beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boast, is that of writing. But the first essays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the species, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection slowly, and by a gradual progression. When the warrior, eager for fame, wished to transmit some knowledge of his exploits to succeeding ages; when the gratitude of a people to their sovereign prompted them to hand down an account of his beneficent deeds to posterity; the first method of accomplishing this, which seems to have occurred to them, was to delineate, in the best manner they could, figures representing the action, of which they were solicitous to preserve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called *picture writing*, we find traces among some of the most savage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he strips a tree of its bark, and with red paint scratches upon it some uncouth figures which represent

* As a specimen of the spirit and style in which M. Clavigero makes his strictures upon my History of America, I shall publish his remarks upon this passage. "Thus far Robertson; to whom we answer, first, That there is no reason to believe that those rude works were really Mexican: secondly, That neither do we know whether those persons in whose judgment he confides, may be persons fit to merit our faith, because we have observed that Robertson trusts frequently to the testimony of Gage, Correal, Ibagnez, and other such authors, who are entirely undeserving of credit: thirdly, It is more probable that the arms of copper, believed by those intelligent judges to be certainly Oriental, are really Mexican." Vol. II. 391.—When an author, not entirely destitute of integrity or discernment, and who has some solicitude about his own character, asserts that he received his information concerning any particular point from persons "on whose judgment and taste he can rely;" a very slender degree of candor, one should think, might induce the reader to believe that he does not endeavor to impose upon the public by an appeal to testimony altogether unworthy of credit. My information concerning the Mexican works of art, deposited in the king of Spain's cabinet, was received from the late Lord Grantham, ambassador extraordinary from the court of London to that of Madrid, and from Mr. Archdeacon Waddilove, chaplain to the embassy; and it was upon their authority that I pronounced the coat of armor, mentioned in the note, to be of Oriental fabric. As they were both at Madrid in their public character, when the first edition of the History of America was published, I thought it improper at that time to mention their names. Did their decision concerning a matter of taste, or their testimony concerning a point of fact, stand in need of confirmation, I might produce the evidence of an intelligent traveller, who, in describing the royal cabinet of Madrid takes notice that it contains "specimens of Mexican and Peruvian utensils, vases, &c. in earthenware, wretched both in taste and execution." Dillon's Travels through Spain, p. 77. As Gage composed his Survey of New Spain with all the zeal and acrimony of a new convert, I have paid little regard to his testimony with respect to points relating to religion. But as he resided in several provinces in New Spain, which travellers seldom visit, and as he seems to have observed their manners and laws with an intelligent eye, I have availed myself of his information with respect to matters where religious opinion could have little influence. Correal I have seldom quoted, and never rested upon his evidence alone. The station in which Ibagnez was employed in America, as well as the credit given to his veracity, by printing his Regno Jesuitico among the large collection of documents published (as I believe by authority) at Madrid, A. D. 1767, justifies me for appealing to his authority.

the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the scalps and captives which he brought home. To those simple annals he trusts for renown, and soothes himself with hope that by their means he shall receive praise from the warriors of future times.

Compared with those awkward essays of their savage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be considered as works of composition and design. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording transactions than that of delineating the objects which they wished to represent. But they could exhibit a more complex series of events in progressive order, and describe, by a proper disposition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his accession to his death; the progress of an infant's education from its birth until it attain to the years of maturity; the different recompenses and marks of distinction conferred upon warriors, in proportion to the exploits which they had performed. Some singular specimens of this picture writing have been preserved, which are justly considered as the most curious monuments of art brought from the New World. The most valuable of these was published by Purchas in sixty-six plates. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire under its ten monarchs. The second is a tribute roll, representing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury. The third is a code of their institutions, domestic, political, and military. Another specimen of Mexican painting has been published in thirty-two plates, by the present archbishop of Toledo. To both is annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to represent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The style of painting in all these is the same. They represent *things*, not *words*. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the understanding. They may therefore be considered as the earliest and most imperfect essay of men in their progress towards discovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording transactions must have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was from its nature a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any society, its annals must have swelled to an enormous bulk. Besides this, no objects could be delineated but those of sense; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form; and as long as picture writing could not convey an idea of these, it must have been a very imperfect art. The necessity of improving it must have roused and sharpened invention; and the human mind, holding the same course in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the same successive steps, first, from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next to the allegorical symbol; then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was discovered, capable of expressing all the various combinations of sound employed in speech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we accordingly perceive that this progress was begun among them. Upon an attentive inspection of the plates, which I have mentioned, we may observe some approach to the plain or simple hieroglyphic, where some principal part or circumstance in the subject is made to stand for the whole In the annals of their kings, published by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly represented in the same manner by a rude delineation of a house; but in order to point out the particular towns which submitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, sometimes natural objects, and sometimes artificial figures, are employed. In the tribute-roll published by the Archbishop of Toledo, the house which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to represent it. The Mexicans seem even to have made some advances beyond this, towards the use of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to describe a monarch who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and those towns which he subdued. But it is only in one instance, the notation of numbers, that we discern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. The Mexican painters had invented artificial marks, or *signs of convention*, for this purpose. By means of these, they computed the years of their kings' reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treasury. The figure of a circle represented unit; and in small numbers, the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expressed by a peculiar mark; and they had such as denoted all integral numbers, from twenty to eight thousand. The short duration of their empire prevented the Mexicans from advancing further in that long course which conducts men from the labor of delineating real objects, to the simplicity and ease of alphabetic writing. Their records, notwithstanding some dawn of such ideas as might have led to a more perfect style, can be considered as little more than a species of picture-writing, so far improved as to mark their superiority over the savage tribes of America; but still so defective as to prove that they had not proceeded far beyond the first stage in that progress which must be completed before any people can be ranked among polished nations. [150]

Their mode of computing time may be considered as a more decisive evidence of their progress in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, consisting of twenty days; amounting in all to three hundred and sixty. But as they observed that the course of the sun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. These, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *supernumerary* or *waste;* and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no sacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to festivity and pastime.* This near approach to philosophical accuracy is a remarkable proof, that the Mexicans had bestowed some attention upon inquiries and speculations to which men in a very rude state never turn their thoughts.

Such are the most striking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which exhibit them to view as a people considerably refined. But from other circumstances, one is apt to suspect that their character, and many of their institutions, did not differ greatly from those of the other inhabitants of America.

Like the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were incessantly engaged in war, and the motives which prompted them to hostility seem to have been the same. They fought in order to gratify their vengeance by shedding the blood of their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking prisoners; and it was by the number of these that they estimated the glory of victory. No captive was ever ransomed or spared. All were sacrificed without mercy, and their flesh devoured with the same barbarous joy as among the fiercest savages. On some occasions it arose to even wilder excesses. Their principal warriors covered themselves with the skins of the unhappy victims, and danced about the streets, boasting of their own valor, and exulting over their enemies. Even in their civil institutions we discover traces of that barbarous disposition which their system of war inspired. The four chief counsellors of the empire were distinguished by titles, which could have been assumed only by a people who delighted in blood. [151] This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. The Tlascalans, the people of Mechoacan, and other states at enmity with the Mexicans, delighted equally in war, and treated their prisoners with the same cruelty. In proportion as mankind combine in social union, and live under the influence of equal laws and regular policy, their manners soften, sentiments of humanity arise, and the rights of the species come to be understood. The fierceness of war abates, and even while engaged in hostility, men remember what they owe one to another. The savage fights to destroy, the citizen to conquer. The former neither pities nor spares, the latter has acquired sensibility which tempers his rage. To this sensibility the Mexicans seem to have been perfect strangers; and among them war was carried on with so much of its original barbarity, that we cannot but suspect their degree of civilization to have been very imperfect.

Their funeral rites were not less bloody than those of the most savage tribes. On the death of any distinguished personage, especially of the emperor, a certain number of his attendants were chosen to accompany him to the other world; and those unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the same tomb.

Though their agriculture was more extensive than that of the roving tribes who trusted chiefly to their bow for food, it seems not to have supplied them with such subsistence as men require when engaged in efforts of active industry. The Spaniards appear not to have been struck with any superiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigor. Both, according to their observation, were of such a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the strength of one Spaniard exceeded that of several Indians. This they imputed to their scanty diet, on poor fare, sufficient to preserve life, but not to give firmness to their constitution. Such a remark could hardly have been made with respect to any people furnished plentifully with the necessaries of life. The difficulty which Cortes found in procuring subsistence for his small body of soldiers, who were often constrained to live on the spontaneous productions of the earth, seems to confirm the remark of the Spanish writers, and gives no high idea of the state of cultivation in the Mexican empire.

A practice that was universal in New Spain appears to favor this opinion. The Mexican women gave suck to their children for several years, and during that time they did not cohabit with their husbands. This precaution against a burdensome increase of progeny, though necessary, as I have already observed, among savages, who from the hardships of their condition, and the precariousness of their subsistence, find it impossible to rear a numerous family, can hardly be supposed to have continued among a people who lived at ease and in abundance.

The vast extent of the Mexican empire, which has been considered, and with justice, as the most decisive proof of a considerable progress in regular government and police, is one of those facts in the history of the New World which seems to have been admitted without due examination or sufficient evidence. The Spanish historians, in order to magnify the valor of their countrymen, are accustomed to represent the dominion of Montezuma as stretching over all the provinces of New Spain from the Northern to the Southern Ocean. But a great part of the mountainous country was possessed by the *Otomies*, a fierce uncivilized people, who seem to have been the residue of the original inhabitants. The provinces towards the north and west of Mexico, were occupied by the *Chichemecas*, and other tribes of hunters. None of these recognised the Mexican monarch as their superior. Even in the interior and more level country, there were several cities and provinces which had never submitted to the Mexican yoke. Tlascala, though only twenty-one leagues from the capital of the empire, was an independent and hostile republic. Cholula, though still nearer, had been subjected only a short time before the arrival of the Spaniards. Tepeaca, at the distance of thirty leagues from Mexico, seems to have been a separate state, governed by its own laws. Mechoacan, the frontier of which extended within forty leagues of Mexico, was a powerful kingdom remarkable for its implacable enmity to the Mexican name. By these hostile powers the Mexican empire was circumscribed on every quarter, and the high ideas which we are apt to form of it from the description of the Spanish historians, should be considerably moderated.

In consequence of this independence of several states in New Spain upon the Mexican empire, there was not any considerable intercourse between its various provinces. Even in the interior country not far distant from the capital, there seems to have been no roads to facilitate the communication of one district with another; and when the Spaniards first attempted to penetrate into its several provinces, they had to open their way through forests and marshes. Cortes, in his adventurous march from Mexico to Honduras, in 1525, met with obstructions, and endured hardships little inferior to those with which he must have struggled in the most uncivilized regions of America. In some places he could hardly force a passage through impervious woods, and plains overflowed with water. In others he found so little cultivation, that his troops were frequently in danger of perishing by famine. Such facts correspond ill with the pompous description which the Spanish writers give of Mexican police and industry, and convey an idea of a country nearly similar to that possessed by the Indian tribes in North America. Here and there a trading or a war path, as they are called in North America, led from one settlement to another; but generally there appeared no sign of any established communication, few marks of industry, and fewer monuments of art.

A proof of this imperfection in their commercial intercourse no less striking is their want of money, or some universal standard by which to estimate the value of commodities. The discovery of this is among the steps of greatest consequence in the progress of nations. Until it has been made, all their transactions must be so awkard, so operose, and so limited, that we may boldly pronounce that they have advanced but a little way in their career. The invention of such a commercial standard is of such high antiquity in our hemi-

* The Mexican mode of computing time, and every other particular relating to their chronology, have been considerably elucidated by M. Clavigero, vol. i. 288; vol. ii. 225, &c. The observations and theories of the Mexicans concerning those subjects discover a greater progress in speculative science than we find among any people in the New World.

phere, and rises so far beyond the era of authentic history, as to appear almost coeval with the existence of society. The precious metals seem to have been early employed for this purpose; and from their permanent value, their divisibility, and many other qualities, they are better adapted to serve as a common standard than any other substance of which nature has given us the command. But in the New World, where these metals abound most, the use of them was not known. The exigencies of rude tribes, or of monarchies imperfectly civilized, did not call for it. All their commercial intercourse was carried on by barter; and their ignorance of any common standard by which to facilitate that exchange of commodities which contributes so much towards the comfort of life, may be justly mentioned as an evidence of the infant state of their policy. But even in the New World the inconvenience of wanting some general instrument of commerce began to be felt and some efforts were making towards supplying that defect. The Mexicans, among whom the number and greatness of their cities gave rise to a more extended commerce than in any other part of America, had begun to employ a common standard of value which rendered smaller transactions much more easy. As chocolate was the favorite drink of persons in every rank of life, the nuts or almonds of cacao, of which it is composed, were of such universal consumption, that, in their stated markets, these were willingly received in return for commodities of small price. Thus they came to be considered as the instrument of commerce and the value of what one wished to dispose of was estimated by the number of nuts of the cacao, which he might expect in exchange for it. This seems to be the utmost length which the Americans had advanced towards the discovery of any expedient for supplying the use of money. And if the want of it is to be held, on one hand, as a proof of their barbarity, this expedient for supplying that want should be admitted, on the other, as an evidence no less satisfying of some progress which the Mexicans had made in refinement and civilization beyond the savage tribes around them.

In such a rude state were many of the Mexican provinces when first visited by their conquerors. Even their cities, extensive and populous as they were, seem more fit to be the habitation of men just emerging from barbarity, than the residence of a polished people. The description of Tlascala nearly resembles that of an Indian village. A number of low straggling huts, scattered about irregularly, according to the caprice of each proprietor, built with turf and stone, and thatched with reeds, without any light but what they received by a door, so low that it could not be entered upright. In Mexico, though from the peculiarity of its situation, the disposition of the houses was more orderly, the structure of the greater part was equally mean. Nor does the fabric of their temples, and other public edifices, appear to have been such as entitled them to the high praise bestowed upon them by many Spanish authors. As far as one can gather from their obscure and inaccurate descriptions, the great temple of Mexico, the most famous in New Spain, which has been represented as a magnificent building, raised to such a height, that the ascent to it was by a flight of a hundred and fourteen steps, was a solid mass of earth of a square form, faced partly with stone. Its base on each side extended ninety feet; and decreasing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a shrine of the deity, and two altars on which the victims were sacrificed. All the other celebrated temples of New Spain exactly resembled that of Mexico. [152] Such structures convey no high idea of progress in art and ingenuity; and one can hardly conceive that a form more rude and simple could have occurred to a nation in its first efforts towards erecting any great work.

Greater skill and ingenuity were displayed, if we may believe the Spanish historians, in the houses of the emperor, and in those of the principal nobility. There some elegance of design was visible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to. But if buildings corresponding to such descriptions had ever existed in the Mexican cities, it is probable that some remains of them would still be visible. From the manner in which Cortes conducted the siege of Mexico, we can indeed easily account for the total destruction of whatever had any appearance of splendor in that capital. But as only two centuries and a half have elapsed since the conquest of New Spain, it seems altogether incredible that in a period so short, every vestige of this boasted elegance and grandeur should have disappeared; and that in the other cities, particularly in those which did not suffer by the destructive hand of the conquerors, there are not any ruins which can be considered as monuments of their ancient magnificence.

Even in a village of the rudest Indians, there are buildings of greater extent and elevation than common dwelling houses. Such as are destined for holding the council of the tribe, and in which all assemble on occasions of public festivity, may be called stately edifices, when compared with the rest. As among the Mexicans the distinction of ranks was established, and property was unequally divided, the number of distinguished structures in their towns would of course be greater than in other parts of America. But these seem not to have been either so solid or magnificent as to merit the pompous epithets which some Spanish authors employ in describing them. It is probable that, though more ornamented, and built on a larger scale, they were erected with the same slight materials which the Indians employed in their common buildings, [153] and Time, in a space much less than two hundred and fifty years, may have swept away all remains of them [154].

From this enumeration of facts, it seems, upon the whole, to be evident, that the state of society in Mexico was considerably advanced beyond that of the savage tribes which we have delineated. But it is no less manifest that, with respect to many particulars, the Spanish accounts of their progress appear to be highly embellished. There is not a more frequent or a more fertile source of deception in describing the manners and arts of savage nations, or of such as are imperfectly civilized, than that of applying to them the names and phrases appropriated to the institutions and refinements of polished life. When the leader of a small tribe, or the head of a rude community, is dignified with the name of King or Emperor, the place of his residence can receive no other name than that of his palace; and whatever his attendants may be, they must be called his court. Under such appellations they acquire, in our estimation, an importance and dignity which does not belong to them. The illusion spreads; and giving a false color to every part of the narrative, the imagination is so much carried away with the resemblance, that it becomes difficult to discern objects as they really are. The Spaniards, when they first touched on the Mexican coast, were so much struck with the appearance of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far superior to those of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, that they fancied they had at length discovered a civilized people in the New World. This comparison between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbors, they appear to have kept constantly in view; and observing with admiration many things which marked the pre-eminence of the former, they employ, in describing their imperfect policy and infant arts, such terms as are applicable to the institutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both these circumstances concur in detracting from the credit due to the descriptions of Mexican manners by the early Spanish writers. By drawing a parallel between them and those of people so much less civilized, they raised their own ideas too high. By their mode of describing them, they conveyed ideas to others no less exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the style of the original historians, and improved upon it. The colors with which De Solis delineates the character and describes the actions of Montezuma, the splendor of his court, the laws and policy of his empire, are the same that he must have employed in exhibiting to view the monarch and institutions of a highly polished people.

But though we may admit, that the warm imagination of the Spanish writers has added some embellishment to their descriptions, this will not justify the decisive and peremptory tone with which several authors pronounce all their accounts of the Mexican power, policy, and laws, to be the fictions of men who wished to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. There are few historical facts that can be ascertained by evidence more unexceptionable, than may be produced in support of the material articles in the description of the Mexican constitution and manners. Eye-witnesses relate what they beheld. Men who had resided among the Mexicans, both before and after the conquest, describe institutions and customs which were familiar to them. Persons of professions so different that objects must have presented themselves to their view under every various aspect; soldiers, priests, and lawyers, all concur in their testimony. Had Cortes ventured to impose upon his sovereign, by exhibiting to him a picture of imaginary manners, there wanted not enemies and rivals who were qualified to detect his deceit, and who would have rejoiced in exposing it. But according to the just remark of an author, whose ingenuity has illustrated, and whose eloquence has adorned, the history of America, this supposition is in itself as improbable as the attempt would have been audacious. Who, among the destroyers of this great empire, was so enlightened by science, or so attentive to the progress and operations of men in social life, as to frame a fictitious system of policy so well combined and so consistent, as that which they delineate in their accounts of the Mexican government! Where could they have borrowed the idea of many institutions in legislation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted? There was not, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a regular establishment of posts for conveying intelligence to the sovereign of any kingdom in Europe. The same observation will apply to what the Spaniards relate with respect to the structure of the city of Mexico, the regulations concerning its police, and various laws established for the administration of justice, or securing the happiness of the community. Whoever is accustomed to contemplate the progress of nations will often, at very early stages of it, discover a premature and unexpected dawn of those ideas which gave rise to institutions that are the pride and ornament of its most advanced period. Even in a state as imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, the happy genius of some sagacious observer, excited or aided by circumstances unknown to us, may have introduced institutions which are seldom found but in societies highly refined. But it is almost impossible that the illiterate conquerors of the New World should have formed in any one instance a conception of customs and laws beyond the standard of improvement in their own age and country. Or if Cortes had been capable of this, what inducement had those by whom he was superseded to continue the deception? Why should Corita, or Motolinea, or Acosta, have amused their sovereign or their fellow-citizens with a tale purely fabulous!

In one particular, however, the guides whom we must follow have represented the Mexicans to be more barbarous, perhaps, than they really were. Their religious tenets and the rites of their worship are described by them as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Religion, which occupies no considerable place in the thoughts of a savage, whose conceptions of any superior power are obscure, and his sacred rites few as well as simple, was formed, among the Mexicans, into a regular system, with its complete train of priests, temples, victims, and festivals. This, of itself, is a clear proof that the state of the Mexicans was very different from that of the ruder American tribes. But from the extravagance of their religious notions, or the barbarity of their rites, no conclusion can be drawn with certainty concerning the degree of their civilization. For nations, long after their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners to refine, adhere to systems of superstition founded on the crude conceptions of early ages. From the genius of the Mexican religion we may, however, form a most just conclusion with respect to its influence upon the character of the people. The aspect of superstition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were clothed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. They were exhibited to the people under detestable forms, which created horror. The figures of serpents, of tigers, and of other destructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inspired their votaries. Fasts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the means employed to appease the wrath of their gods, and the Mexicans never approached their altars without sprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But, of all offerings, human sacrifices were deemed the most acceptable. This religious belief mingling with the implacable spirit of vengeance, and adding new force to it, every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and sacrificed with rites no less solemn than cruel. [155] The heart and head were the portion consecrated to the gods; the warrior, by whose prowess the prisoner had been seized, carried off the body to feast upon it with his friends. Under the impression of ideas so dreary and terrible, and accustomed daily to scenes of bloodshed rendered awful by religion, the heart of man must harden and be steeled to every sentiment of humanity. The spirit of the Mexicans was accordingly unfeeling; and the genius of their religion so far counterbalanced the influence of policy and arts, that notwithstanding their progress in both, their manners, instead of softening, became more fierce. To what circumstances it was owing that superstition assumed

such a dreadful form among the Mexicans, we have not sufficient knowledge of their history to determine. But its influence is visible, and produced an effect that is singular in the history of the human species. The manners of the people in the New World, who had made the greatest progress in the arts of policy, were, in several respects, the most ferocious, and the barbarity of some of their customs exceeded even those of the savage state.

The empire of Peru boasts of a higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had subsisted four hundred years, under twelve successive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient story, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, must have been both imperfect and uncertain. [156] Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and destitute of the only means by which the memory of past transactions can be preserved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the use of letters is known, the era where the authenticity of history commences is much posterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued every where to be long subservient to the common business and wants of life, before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down historical knowledge, in any full continued stream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is said to have subsisted.

The *Quipos*, or knots on cords of different colors, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to the obscure description of them by Acosta, which Garcilasso de la Vega has adopted with little variation and no improvement, the quipos seem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colors different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But as these knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and institutions. By the Mexican paintings and symbols, rude as they were, more knowledge of remote transactions seems to have been conveyed than the Peruvians could derive from their boasted quipos. Had the latter been even of more extensive use, and better adapted to supply the place of written records, they perished so generally, together with other monuments of Peruvian ingenuity, in the wreck occasioned by the Spanish conquest, and the civil wars subsequent to it, that no accession of light or knowledge comes from them. All the zeal of Garcilasso de la Vega, for the honor of that race of monarchs from whom he descended, all the industry of his researches, and the superior advantages with which he carried them on, opened no source of information unknown to the Spanish authors who wrote before him. In his *Royal Commentaries*, he confines himself to illustrate what they had related concerning the antiquities and institutions of Peru; and his illustrations, like their accounts, are derived entirely from the traditionary tales current among his countrymen.

Very little credit then is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conquests, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can rest upon nothing in their story as authentic, but a few facts so interwoven in the system of their religion and policy, as preserved the memory of them from being lost; and upon the description of such customs and institutions as continued in force at the time of the conquest, and fell under the immediate observation of the Spaniards. By attending carefully to these, and endeavoring to separate them from what appears to be fabulous or of doubtful authority, I have labored to form an idea of the Peruvian government and manners.

The people of Peru, as I have already observed, had not advanced beyond the rudest form of savage life, when Manco Capac, and his consort Mama Ocollo, appeared to instruct and civilize them. Who these extraordinary personages were, whether they imported their system of legislation and knowledge of arts from some country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas so far superior to those of the people whom they addressed, are circumstances with respect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his consort, taking advantage of the propensity in the Peruvians to superstition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their instructions in his name, and by authority from him. The multitude listened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians ascribe to those founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his consort, their ancestors gradually acquired some knowledge of those arts, and some relish for that industry, which render subsistence secure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Those blessings were originally confined within narrow precincts; but in process of time, the successors of Manco Capac extended their dominion over all the regions that stretch to the west of the Andes from Chili to Quito, establishing in every province their peculiar policy and religious institutions.

The most singular and striking circumstance in the Peruvian government is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make such a feeble impression on the mind of a savage, that their effect upon his sentiments and manners is hardly perceptible Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular system, and holding a considerable place in their public institutions, operated with conspicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole system of policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legislator, but as the messenger of Heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a superior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was to be held sacred; and in order to preserve it distinct, without being polluted by any mixture of less noble blood, the sons of Manco Capac married their own sisters, and no person was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by such a pure descent. To those *Children of the Sun*, for that was the appellation bestowed upon all the offspring of the first Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a superior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they issued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was supposed to be dictated.

From those ideas two consequences resulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and absolute in the most extensive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are considered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to dispute or oppose his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to control a monarch who is believed to be under the guidance of Heaven, and presumptuous to advise him, nothing remains but to submit with implicit respect. This must necessarily be the effect of every government established on pretensions of intercourse with superior powers. Such accordingly was the blind submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns. The persons of highest rank and greatest power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in testimony of this, when admitted into their presence, they entered with a burden upon their shoulders, as an emblem of their servitude, and willingness to bear whatever the Inca was pleased to impose. Among their subjects, force was not requisite to second their commands. Every officer intrusted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent observer of Peruvian manners, he might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another without meeting opposition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal *borla*, an ornament of the head peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his disposal.

Another consequence of establishing government in Peru on the foundation of religion was, that all crimes were punished capitally. They were not considered as transgressions of human laws, but as insults offered to the Deity. Each, without any distinction between such as were slight and such as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Consonantly to the same ideas, punishment followed the trespass with inevitable certainty, because an offence against Heaven was deemed such a high enormity as could not be pardoned. Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of jurisprudence so severe and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and desperate, would be more apt to multiply crimes than to restrain them. But the Peruvians, of simple manners and unsuspicious faith, were held in such awe by this rigid discipline, that the number of offenders was extremely small. Veneration for monarchs enlightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of punishment, which they were taught to consider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

The system of superstition, on which the Incas ingrafted their pretensions to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great source of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation attracted their principal homage. The Moon and Stars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to secondary honors. Wherever the propensity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore some superior power takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exists in nature, the spirit of superstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are supposed to preside in nature, and become the objects of worship, superstition always assumes a more severe and atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru The Peruvians had not, indeed, made such progress in observation or inquiry, as to have attained just conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the world.

But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its universal and vivifying energy, is the best emblem of Divine beneficence, the rites and observances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of those productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the bosom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They sacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, some of the animals which were indebted to his influence for nourishment. They presented to him choice specimens of those works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never stained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father, the Sun, would be delighted with such horrid victims [157] Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with those barbarous rites which extinguish sensibility, and suppress the feelings of nature at the sight of human sufferings, were formed by the spirit of the superstition which they had adopted, to a national character more gentle than that of any people in America.

The influence of this superstition operated in the same manner upon their civil institutions, and tended to correct in them whatever was adverse to gentleness of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the most absolute of all despotisms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion. The mind was not humbled and depressed by the idea of a forced subjection to the will of a superior; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be clothed with Divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The sovereign, conscious that the submissive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly descent, was continually reminded of a distinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was supposed to represent. In consequence of those impressions, there hardly occurs in the traditional history of Peru, any instance of rebellion against the reigning prince, and among twelve successive monarchs there was not one tyrant.

Even the wars in which the Incas engaged were carried on with a spirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like savages, to destroy and to exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirsty divinities with human sacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquished, and to diffuse the knowledge of their own institutions and arts. Prisoners seem not to have been exposed to the insults and tortures which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they subdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original subjects. This practice, so repugnant to American ferocity, and resembling the humanity of the most polished nations, must be ascribed, like other peculiarities which we have observed in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, considering the homage paid to any other object than to the heavenly powers which they adored as impious, were fond of gaining proselytes to their favorite system. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco, and

placed there as trophies of the superior power of the divinity who was the protector of their empire. The people were treated with lenity, and instructed in the religious tenets of their new masters, that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

The state of property in Peru was no less singular than that of religion, and contributed, likewise, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares. One was consecrated to the Sun, and the product of it was applied to the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The second belonged to the Inca, and was set apart as the provision made by the community for the support of government. The third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. Neither individuals, however, nor communities had a right of exclusive property in the portion set apart for their use. They possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the community. The people summoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical instruments cheered them to their labor. By this singular distribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common interest, and of mutual subserviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connexion with those around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increase he was to reap. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, in which the union of the members was so complete, and the exchange of good offices so perceptible, as to create stronger attachment, and to bind man to man in closer intercourse than subsisted under any form of society established in America. From this resulted gentle manners and mild virtues unknown in the savage state, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

But, though the institutions of the Incas were so framed as to strengthen the bonds of affection among their subjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The distinction of ranks was fully established in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of *Yanaconas*, were held in a state of servitude. Their garb and houses were of a form different from those of freemen. Like the *Tamenes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery. Next to them, in rank, were such of the people as were free, but distinguished by no official or hereditary honors. Above them were raised those whom the Spaniards call *Orejones*, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace as well as war held every office of power or trust. And the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high descent and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the Orejones, as these were elevated above the people.

Such a form of society, from the union of its members, as well as from the distinction in their ranks, was favorable to progress in the arts. But the Spaniards, having been acquainted with the improved state of various arts in Mexico several years before they discovered Peru, were not so much struck with what they observed in the latter country, and describe the appearances of ingenuity there with less warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheless, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the necessary arts of life, and in such as have some title to the name of elegant.

In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary necessity in social life, was more extensive, and carried on with greater skill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progress through the country, were so fully supplied with provisions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with few of those dismal scenes of distress occasioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were so often involved. The quantity of soil under cultivation was not left to the discretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful season was but little felt; for the product of the lands consecrated to the Sun, as well as those set apart for the Incas, being deposited in the *Tambos*, or public storehouses, it remained there as a stated provision for times of scarcity. As the extent of cultivation was determined with such provident attention to the demands of the state, the invention and industry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and soil. All the vast rivers that flow from the Andes take their course eastward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is watered only by some streams which rush down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low country is sandy and barren, and never refreshed with rain. In order to render such an unpromising region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourse to various expedients. By means of artificial canals, conducted with much patience and considerable art from the torrents that poured across their country, they conveyed a regular supply of moisture to their fields. [158] They enriched the soil by manuring it with the dung of sea fowls, of which they found an inexhaustible store on all the islands scattered along the coasts. In describing the customs of any nation thoroughly civilized, such practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable; but in the history of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as singular proofs of industry and of art. The use of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood. Nor was this labor deemed so degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both sexes joined in performing this necessary work. Even the children of the Sun set an example of industry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth.

The superior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewise, in the construction of their houses and public buildings. In the extensive plains which stretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the sky is perpetually serene, and the climate mild, their houses were very properly of a fabric extremely slight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the vicissitude of seasons is known, and their rigor felt, houses were constructed with greater solidity. They were generally of a square form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the sun, without any windows, and the door low and straight. Simple as these structures were, and rude as the materials may seem to be of which they were formed, they were so durable that many of them still subsist in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domestic state of the other American nations has vanished from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The descriptions of them by such of the Spanish writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them, while in some measure entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which still remain did not vouch the truth of their relations. These ruins of sacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonstrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who must have subsisted, during a period of some extent, in a state of no inconsiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimensions; some of a moderate size, many of immense extent, all remarkable for solidity, and resembling each other in the style of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace of the Inca, and a fortress, were so connected together as to form one great structure above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the same singular taste in building is conspicuous as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the use of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large stones and bricks which they employed in building to any considerable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they seem to have made their greatest effort towards magnificence, did not rise above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not discovered the use of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or stones were joined with so much nicety, that the seams can hardly be discerned. [159] The apartments, as far as the distribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill disposed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a single window in any part of the building; and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largest dimensions must either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by some other means. But with all these, and many other imperfections that might be mentioned in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which still remain must be considered as stupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the use of iron, and convey to us a high idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs.

These, however, were not the noblest or most useful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted stretch above fifteen hundred miles, are entitled to still higher praise. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the sea coast. From the language of admiration in which some of the early writers express their astonishment when they first viewed those roads, and from the more pompous description of later writers, who labor to support some favorite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power; but in a country where there was no tame animal except the llama, which was never used for draught, and but little as a beast of burden, where the high roads were seldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labor or art was requisite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet in breadth, and in many places so slightly formed, that time has effaced every vestige of the course in which they ran. In the low country little more seems to have been done than to plant trees or to fix posts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous task. Eminences were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preservation of the road it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper distances, Tambos, or storehouses were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progress through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its course may still be traced. Such was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this description, divested of every circumstance of manifest exaggeration or of suspicious aspect, it must be considered as a striking proof of an extraordinary progress in improvement and policy. To the savage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a distance had never occured. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the most civilized countries in Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national police to form such roads as render intercourse commodious. It was a capital object of Roman policy to open a communication with all the provinces of their extensive empire by means of those roads which are justly considered as one of the noblest monuments both of their wisdom and their power. But during the long reign of barbarism, the Roman roads were neglected or destroyed; and at the time when the Spaniards entered Peru, no kingdom in Europe could boast of any work of public utility that could be compared with the great roads formed by the Incas.

The formation of those roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the rest of America. In its course from south to north, the road of the Incas was intersected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Western Ocean. From the rapidity of their course, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, these were not fordable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for passing them. The Peruvians from their unacquaintance with the use of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not construct bridges either of stone or timber. But necessity, the parent of invention, suggested a device which supplied that defect. They formed cables of great strength, by twisting together some of the pliable withs, or osiers, with which their country abounds; six of these cables they stretched across the stream parallel to one another, and made them fast on each side. These they bound firmly together by interweaving smaller ropes so close as to form a compact piece of net-work, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they passed along it with tolerable security. [160] Proper persons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep it in repair, and to assist passengers. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and still, they are passed in *balzas*, or floats; in the construction, as well as navigation of which the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far superior to that of any people in America. These had advanced no further in naval skill than the use of the paddle or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raise a mast, and spread a sail, by means of which their balzas not only went nimbly before the

wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity.—Nor were the ingenuity and art of the Peruvians confined solely to objects of essential utility. They had made some progress in arts, which may be called elegant. They possessed the precious metals in greater abundance than any people of America. They obtained gold in the same manner with the Mexicans, by searching in the channels of rivers, or washing the earth in which particles of it were contained. But in order to procure silver, they exerted no inconsiderable degree of skill and invention. They had not, indeed, attained the art of sinking a shaft into the bowels of the earth, and penetrating to the riches concealed there; but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers and the sides of mountains, and emptied such veins as did not dip suddenly beyond their reach. In other places, where the vein lay near the surface, they dug pits to such a depth, that the person who worked below could throw out the ore, or hand it up in baskets. They had discovered the art of smelting and refining this, either by the simple application of fire, or, where the ore was more stubborn or impregnated with foreign substances, by placing it in small ovens or furnaces, on high grounds, so artificially constructed that the draught of air performed the function of a bellows, an engine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this simple device, the purer ores were smelted with facility, and the quantity of silver in Peru was so considerable, that many of the utensils employed in the functions of common life were made of it. Several of those vessels and trinkets are said to have merited no small degree of estimation, on account of the neatness of the workmanship as well as the intrinsic value of the materials. But as the conquerors of America were well acquainted with the latter, but had scarcely any conception of the former, most of the silver vessels and trinkets were melted down, and rated according to the weight and fineness of the metal in the division of the spoil.

In other works of mere curiosity or ornament, their ingenuity has been highly celebrated. Many specimens of those have been dug out of the *Guacas*, or mounds of earth, with which the Peruvians covered the bodies of the dead. Among these are mirrors of various dimensions, of hard shining stones highly polished; vessels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets, and other instruments, some destined for war, and others for labor. Some were of flint, some of copper, hardened to such a degree by an unknown process, as to supply the place of iron on several occasions. Had the use of those tools, formed of copper, been general, the progress of the Peruvians in the arts might have been such as to emulate that of more cultivated nations. But either the metal was so rare, or the operation by which it was hardened so tedious, that their instruments of copper were few, and so extremely small, that they seem to have been employed only in slighter works. But even to such a circumscribed use of this imperfect metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their superiority to the other people of America in various arts. The same observation, however, may be applied to them, which I formerly made with respect to the arts of the Mexicans. From several specimens of Peruvian utensils and ornaments, which are deposited in the royal cabinet of Madrid, and from some preserved in different collections in other parts of Europe, I have reason to believe that the workmanship is more to be admired on account of the rude tools with which it was executed, than on account of its intrinsic neatness and elegance; and that the Peruvians, though the most improved of all the Americans, were not advanced beyond the infancy of arts.

But notwithstanding so many particulars, which seemed to indicate a high degree of improvement in Peru, other circumstances occur that suggest the idea of a society still in the first stages of its transition from barbarism to civilization. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name, of a city. Every where else the people lived mostly in detached habitations, dispersed over the country, or, at the utmost, settled together in small villages. But until men are brought to assemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated in such close union as to enjoy frequent intercourse, and to feel mutual dependence, they never imbibe perfectly the spirit, or assume the manners of social life. In a country of immense extent, with only one city, the progress of manners, and the improvement either of the necessary or more refined arts, must have been so slow, and carried on under such disadvantages, that it is more surprising the Peruvians should have advanced so far in refinement, than that they did not proceed further.

In consequence of this state of imperfect union, the separation of professions in Peru was not so complete as among the Mexicans. The less closely men associate, the more simple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. The crafts of common and most necessary use in life do not, in such a state, become so complex or difficult as to render it requisite that men should be trained to them by any particular course of education. All the arts, accordingly, which were of daily and indispensible utility, were exercised by every Peruvian indiscriminately. None but the artists employed in works of mere curiosity, or ornament, constituted a separate order of men, or were distinguished from other citizens.

From the want of cities in Peru, another consequence followed. There was little commercial intercourse among the inhabitants of that great empire. The activity of commerce is coeval with the foundation of cities; and from the moment that the members of any community settle in considerable numbers in one place, its operations become vigorous. The citizen must depend for subsistence on the labor of those who cultivate the ground. They, in return, must receive some equivalent. Thus mutual intercourse is established, and the productions of art are regularly exchanged for the fruits of agriculture. In the towns of the Mexican empire, stated markets were held, and whatever could supply any want or desire of man was an object of commerce. But in Peru, from the singular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which the people were settled, there was hardly any species of commerce carried on between different provinces and the community was less acquainted with that active intercourse, which is at once a bond of union and an incentive to improvement.

But the unwarlike spirit of the Peruvians was the most remarkable as well as the most fatal defect in their character. The greater part of the rude nations of America opposed their invaders with undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or success. The Mexicans maintained the struggle in defence of their liberties, with such persevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty the Spaniards triumphed over them. Peru was subdued at once, and almost without resistance; and the most favorable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and of crushing their oppressors, were lost through the timidity of the people. Though the traditional history of the Peruvians represents all the Incas as warlike princes, frequently at the head of armies, which they led to victory and conquest, few symptoms of such a martial spirit appear in any of their operations subsequent to the invasion of the Spaniards. The influence, perhaps, of those institutions which rendered their manners gentle, gave their minds this unmanly softness; perhaps the constant serenity and mildness of the climate may have enervated the vigor of their frame; perhaps some principles in their government, unknown to us, was the occasion of this political debility. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is certain; and there is not an instance in history of any people so little advanced in refinement, so totally destitute of military enterprise. This character has descended to their posterity. The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depressed than any people of America. Their feeble spirits, relaxed in lifeless inaction, seem hardly capable of any bold or manly exertion.

But, besides these capital defects in the political state of Peru, some detached circumstances and facts occur in the Spanish writers, which discover a considerable remainder of barbarity in their manners. A cruel custom, that prevailed in some of the most savage tribes, subsisted among the Peruvians. On the death of the Incas, and of other eminent persons, a considerable number of their attendants were put to death, and interred around their Guacas, that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be served with the same respect. On the death of Huana Capac, the most powerful of their monarchs, above a thousand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb. In one particular their manners appear to have been more barbarous than those of most rude tribes. Though acquainted with the use of fire in preparing maize and other vegetables for food, they devoured both flesh and fish perfectly raw, and astonished the Spaniards with a practice repugnant to the ideas of all civilized people.

But though Mexico and Peru are the possessions of Spain in the New World, which, on account both of their ancient and present state, have attracted the greatest attention; her other dominions there are far from being inconsiderable either in extent or value. The greater part of them was reduced to subjection during the first part of the sixteenth century, by private adventurers, who fitted out their small armaments either in Hispaniola or in Old Spain; and were we to follow each leader in his progress, we should discover the same daring courage, the same persevering ardor, the same rapacious desire for wealth, and the same capacity for enduring and surmounting every thing in order to attain it, which distinguished the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conquests. But, instead of entering into a detail, which, from the similarity of the transactions, would appear almost a repetition of what has been already related, I shall satisfy myself with such a view of those provinces of the Spanish empire in America, which have not hitherto been mentioned, as may convey to my readers an adequate idea of its greatness, fertility, and opulence.

I begin with the countries contiguous to the two great monarchies of whose history and institutions I have given some account, and shall then briefly describe the other districts of Spanish America. The jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain extends over several provinces which were not subject to the dominion of the Mexicans. The countries of Cinaloa and Sonora that stretch along the east side of the Vermilion Sea, or Gulf of California, as well as the immense kingdoms of New Navarre, and New Mexico, which bend towards the west and north, did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Montezuma, or his predecessors. These regions, not inferior in magnitude to all the Mexican empire, are reduced some to a greater, others to a less degree of subjection to the Spanish yoke. They extend through the most delightful part of the temperate zone; their soil is, in general, remarkable fertile; and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are most perfect in their kind. They have all a communication either with the Pacific ocean, or with the Gulf of Mexico, and are watered by rivers which not only enrich them, but may become subservient to commerce. The number of Spaniards settled in these vast countries is indeed extremely small. They may be said to have subdued rather than to have occupied them. But if the population in their ancient establishments in America shall continue to increase, they may gradually spread over those provinces, of which, however inviting, they have not hitherto been able to take full possession.

One circumstance may contribute to the speedy population of some districts. Very rich mines both of gold and silver have been discovered in many of the regions which I have mentioned. Wherever these are opened, and worked with success, a multitude of people resort. In order to supply them with the necessaries of life, cultivation must be increased, artisans of various kinds must assemble, and industry as well as wealth will be gradually diffused. Many examples of this have occured in different parts of America since they fell under the dominion of the Spaniards. Populous villages and large towns have suddenly arisen amidst uninhabitable wilds and mountains; and the working of mines though far from being the most proper object towards which the attention of an infant society should be turned, may become the means both of promoting useful activity, and of augmenting the number of people A recent and singular instance of this has happened, which, as it is but little known in Europe, and may be productive of great effects, merits attention. The Spaniards settled in the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora had been long disturbed by the depredations of some fierce tribes of Indians. In the year 1765, the incursions of those savages became so frequent and so destructive, that the Spanish inhabitants, in despair, applied to the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of Mexico, for such a body of troops as might enable them to drive those formidable invaders from their places of retreat in the mountains. But the treasury of Mexico was so much exhausted by the large sums drawn from it, in order to support the late war against Great Britain, that the viceroy could afford them no aid. The respect due to his virtues accomplished what his official power could not effect. He prevailed with the merchants of New Spain to advance about two hundred thousand pesos for defraying the expenses of the expedition. The war was conducted by an officer of abilities; and after being protracted for three years chiefly by the difficulty of pursuing the fugitives over the mountains, and through defiles which were almost impassable, it terminated, in the year 1771, in the final submission of the tribes which had been so long the object of terror to the two provinces. In the course of this service, the Spaniards marched through countries into which they seem not to have penetrated before that time, and

discovered mines of such value as was astonishing even to men acquainted with the riches contained in the mountains of the New World. At Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which, at the depth of only sixteen inches, they found gold in grains of such a size, that some of them weighed nine marks, and in such quantities, that in a short time, with a few laborers, they collected a thousand marks of gold in grains, even without taking time to wash the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be so rich, that persons of skill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of pesos. Before the end of the year 1771, above two thousand persons were settled in Cineguilla, under the government of proper magistrates, and the inspection of several ecclesiastics. As several other mines, not inferior in richness to that of Cineguilla, have been discovered, both in Sonora and Cinaloa, [161] it is probable that these neglected and thinly inhabited provinces may soon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spanish empire of America.

The peninsula of California, on the other side of the Vermillion Sea, seems to have been less known to the ancient Mexicans than the provinces which I have mentioned. It was discovered by Cortes in the year 1536. During a long period it continued to be so little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in most charts it was represented as an island, not as a peninsula. [162] Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its situation, must be very desirable, the Spaniards have made small progress in peopling it. Towards the close of the last century, the Jesuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they possessed in their missions in Paraguay, and they labored to introduce into it the same policy, and to govern the natives by the same maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives could have induced them to settle there. Several public spirited citizens endeavored to undeceive their sovereigns, and to give them a better view of California; but in vain. At length, on the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to suspect the purity of the Order's intentions, as formerly to confide in them with implicit trust, appointed Don Joseph Galvez, whose abilities have since raised him to the high rank of minister for the Indies, to visit that peninsula. His account of the country was favorable; he found the pearl fishery on its coast to be valuable, and he discovered mines of gold of a very promising appearance. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable that, if the population of these provinces shall increase in the manner which I have supposed, California may, by degrees, receive from them such a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the desolate and useless districts of the Spanish empire.

On the east of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras was comprehended in the government of New Spain, though anciently they can hardly be said to have formed a part of the Mexican empire. These large provinces, stretching from the bay of Campeachy beyond Cape Gracios a Dios, do not, like the other territories of Spain in the New World, derive their value either from the fertility of their soil, or the richness of their mines; but they produce in greater abundance than any part of America, the logwood tree, which, in dying some colors, is so far preferable to any other material, that the consumption of it in Europe is considerable, and it has become an article in commerce of great value. During a long period, no European nation intruded upon the Spaniards in those provinces, or attempted to obtain any share in this branch of trade. But after the conquest of Jamaica by the English, it soon appeared that a formidable rival was now seated in the neighborhood of the Spanish territories. One of the first objects which tempted the English settled in that island, was the great profit arising from the logwood trade, and the facility of wresting some portion of it from the Spaniards. Some adventurers from Jamaica made the first attempt at Cape Catoche, the south-east promontory of Yucatan, and by cutting logwood there carried on a gainful traffic. When most of the trees near the coast in that place were felled, they removed to the island of Trist, in the bay of Campeachy, and in later times their principal station has been in the bay of Honduras. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavored by negotiation, remonstrances, and open force, to prevent the English from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But after struggling against it for more than a century, the disasters of the last war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant consent to tolerate this settlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories. The pain which this humbling concession occasioned seems to have prompted the Spaniards to devise a method of rendering it of little consequence, more effectual than all the efforts of negotiation or violence. The logwood produced on the west coast of Yucatan, where the soil is drier, is in quality far superior to that which grows on the marshy grounds where the English are settled. By encouraging the cutting of this, and permitting the importation of it into Spain without paying any duty, such vigor has been given to this branch of commerce, and the logwood which the English bring to market has sunk so much in value, that their trade to the bay of Honduras has gradually declined [163] since it obtained a legal sanction; and, it is probable, will soon be finally abandoned. In that event, Yucatan and Honduras will become possessions of considerable importance to Spain.

Still further east than Honduras lie the two provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which likewise belong to the viceroyalty of New Spain; but both have been so much neglected by the Spaniards, and are apparently of such small value, that they merit no particular attention.

The most important province depending on the viceroyalty of Peru is Chili. The Incas had established their dominion in some of its northern districts; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high spirited inhabitants maintained their independence. The Spaniards, allured by the fame of its opulence, early attempted the conquest of it under Diego Almagro; and after his death Pedro de Valdivia resumed the design. Both met with fierce opposition. The former relinquished the enterprise in the manner I have mentionnd. The latter, after having given many displays both of courage and military skill, was cut off, together with a considerable body of troops under his command. Francisca de Villagra, Valdivia's lieutenant, by his spirited conduct checked the natives in their career, and saved the remainder of the Spaniards from destruction. By degrees all the champaign country along the coast was subjected to the Spanish dominion. The mountainous country is still possessed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, formidable neighbors to the Spaniards; with whom during the course of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain an almost perpetual hostility, suspended only by a few intervals of insecure peace.

That part of Chili, then, which may properly be deemed a Spanish province, is a narrow district extended along the coast from the desert of Atacamas to the island of Chiloe, above nine hundred miles. Its climate is the most delicious in the New World, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the Torrid Zone, it never feels the extremity of heat, being screened on the east by the Andes, and refreshed from the west by cooling sea breezes. The temperature of the air is so mild and equable, that the Spaniards give it the preference to that of the southern provinces in their native country. The fertility of the soil corresponds with the benignity of the climate, and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. The most valuable of these, corn, wine, and oil, abound in Chili as if they had been native to the country. All the fruits imported from Europe attained to full maturity there. The animals of our hemisphere not only multiply, but improve in this delightful region. The horned cattle are of larger size than those of Spain. Its breed of horses surpasses, both in beauty and spirit, the famous Andalusian race, from which they sprung. Nor has nature exhausted her bounty on the surface of the earth; she has stored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of silver, of copper, and of lead, have been discovered in various parts of it.

A country distinguished by so many blessings, we may be apt to conclude, would early become a favorite station of the Spaniards, and must have been cultivated with peculiar predilection and care. Instead of this, a great part of it remains unoccupied. In all this extent of country, there are not above eighty thousand white inhabitants and about three times that number of Negroes and people of a mixed race. The most fertile soil in America lies uncultivated, and some of its most promising mines remain unwrought. Strange as this neglect of the Spaniards to avail themselves of advantages which seemed to court their acceptance may appear, the causes of it can be traced. The only intercourse of Spain with its colonies in the South Sea was carried on during two centuries by the annual fleet to Porto Bello. All the produce of these colonies was shipped in the ports of Callao or Arica in Peru, for Panama, and carried from thence across the isthmus. All the commodities which they received from the mother countries were conveyed from Panama to the same harbors. Thus both the exports and imports of Chili passed through the hands of merchants settled in Peru. These had of course a profit on each; and in both transactions the Chilese felt their own subordination and having no direct intercourse with the parent state, they depended upon another province for the disposal of their productions, as well as for the supply of their wants. Under such discouragements, population could not increase, and industry was destitute of one chief incitement. But now that Spain, from motives which I shall mention hereafter, has adopted a new system, and carries on her commerce with the colonies in the South Sea by ships which go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourse is opened between Chili and the mother country. The gold, the silver, and the other commodities of the province, will be exchanged in its own harbors for the manufactures of Europe. Chili may speedily rise into that importance among the Spanish settlements to which it is entitled by its natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacific Ocean. It may supply them with wine, with cattle, with horses, with hemp, and many other articles for which they now depend upon Europe. Though the new system has been established only a few years, those effects of it begin already to be observed. If it shall be adhered to with any steadiness for half a century, one may venture to foretell that population, industry, and opulence will advance in this province with rapid progress.

To the east of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata border on Chili, and like it were dependent on the viceroyalty of Peru. These regions of immense extent stretch in length from north to south above thirteen hundred miles, and in breadth more than a thousand. This country, which is larger than most European kingdoms, naturally forms itself into two great divisions, one on the north and the other on the south of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous missions of the Jesuits, and several other districts. But as disputes have long subsisted between the courts of Spain and Portugal, concerning its boundaries, which, it is probable, will be soon finally ascertained, either amicably or by the decision of the sword, I choose to reserve my account of this northern division, until I enter upon the history of Portuguese America, with which it is intimately connected; and in relating it, I shall be able, from authentic materials supplied both by Spain and Portugal, to give a full and accurate description of the operations and views of the Jesuits, in rearing that singular fabric of policy in America, which has drawn so much attention, and has been so imperfectly understood. The latter division of the province contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos Ayres, and to these I shall at present confine my observations.

The Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata; and though a succession of cruel disasters befell them in their early attempts to establish their dominion in it, they were encouraged to persist in the design, at first by the hopes of discovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the necessity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from settling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich possessions in Peru. But except at Buenos Ayres, they have made no settlement of any consequence in all the vast space which I have mentioned. There are indeed, scattered over it, a few places on which they have bestowed the name of towns, and to which they have endeavored to add some dignity, by erecting them into bishoprics; but they are no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumstance, however, which was not originally foreseen, has contributed to render this district, though thinly peopled, of considerable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the south of the Plata, instead of being covered with wood like other parts of America, forms one extensive open plain, almost without a tree. The soil is a deep fertile mould, watered by many streams descending from the Andes, and clothed in perpetual

verdure. In this rich pasturage, the horses and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree which almost exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by supplying it with cattle, horses, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no less beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe. From both, the colony has derived great advantages. But its commodious situation for carrying on contraband trade has been the chief source of its prosperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient system, with respect to its communication with America, the river De la Plata lay so much out of the course of Spanish navigation, that interlopers, almost without any risk of being either observed or obstructed, could pour in European manufactures in such quantities, that they not only supplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the eastern districts of Peru. When the Portuguese in Brazil extended their settlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spanish territories with still more facility, and in greater abundance. This illegal traffic, however detrimental to the parent state, contributed to the increase of the settlement which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of the alteration lately made in the government of this colony, the nature of which shall be described in the subsequent Book, cannot hitherto be known.

All the other territories of Spain in the New World, the islands excepted, of whose discovery and reduction I have formerly given an account, are comprehended under two great divisions; the former denominated the kingdom of Tierra Firme, the provinces of which stretch along the Atlantic, from the eastern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Orinoco; the latter, the New Kingdom of Granada, situated in the interior country. With a short view of these I shall close this part of my work.

To the east of Veragua, the last province subject to the viceroy of Mexico, lies the isthmus of Darien. Though it was in this part of the continent that the Spaniards first began to plant colonies, they have made no considerable progress in peopling it. As the country is extremely mountainous, deluged with rain during a good part of the year, remarkably unhealthful, and contains no mines of great value, the Spaniards would probably have abandoned it altogether, if they had not been allured to continue by the excellence of the harbor of Porto Bello on the one sea, and that of Panama on the other. These have been called the keys to the communication between the north and south sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies. In consequence of this advantage, Panama has become a considerable and thriving town. The peculiar noxiousness of its climate has prevented Porto Bello from increasing in the same proportion. As the intercourse with the settlements in the Pacific Ocean is now carried on by another channel, it is probable that both Porto Bello and Panama will decline, when no longer nourished and enriched by that commerce to which they were indebted for their prosperity, and even their existence.

The provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha stretch to the eastward of the isthmus of Darien. The country still continues mountainous, but its valleys begin to expand, are well watered, and extremely fertile. Pedro de Heredia subjected this part of America to the crown of Spain about the year 1532. It is thinly peopled, and of course ill cultivated. It produces, however, a variety of valuable drugs, and some precious stones, particularly emeralds. But its chief importance is derived from the harbor of Carthagena, the safest and best fortified of any in the American dominions of Spain. In a situation so favorable, commerce soon began to flourish. As early as the year 1544, it seems to have been a town of some note. But when Carthagena was chosen as the port in which the galeons should first begin to trade on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were directed to return, in order to prepare for their voyage homeward, the commerce of its inhabitants was so much favored by this arrangement, that it soon became one of the most populous, opulent, and beautiful cities in America. There is, however, reason to apprehend that it has reached its highest point of exaltation, and that it will be so far affected by the change in the Spanish system of trade with America, which has withdrawn from it the desirable visits of the galeons, as to feel at least a temporary decline. But the wealth now collected there will soon find or create employment for itself, and may be turned with advantage into some new channel. Its harbor is so safe, and so conveniently situated for receiving commodities from Europe, its merchants have been so long accustomed to convey these into all the adjacent provinces, that it is probable they will still retain this branch of trade, and Carthagena continue to be a city of great importance.

The provinces contiguous to Santa Martha on the east, was first visited by Alonso de Ojeda, in the year 1499; and the Spaniards, on their landing there, having observed some huts in an Indian village, built upon piles, in order to raise them above the stagnated water which covered the plain, were led to bestow upon it the name of Venezuela, or little Venice, by their usual propensity to find a resemblance between what they discovered in America, and the objects which were familiar to them in Europe. They made some attempts to settle there, but with little success. The final reduction of the province was accomplished by means very different from those to which Spain was indebted for its other acquisitions in the New World. The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of such variety and extent, that his revenues were not sufficient to defray the expense of carrying them into execution. Among other expedients for supplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large sums from the Velsers of Augsburg, the most opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for these, or in hopes, perhaps, of obtaining a new loan, he bestowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief from the crown of Castile, on condition that within a limited time they should render themselves masters of the country, and establish a colony there. Under the direction of such persons, it might have been expected that a settlement would have been established on maxims very different from those of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage such useful industry, as mercantile proprietors might have known to be the most certain source of prosperity and opulence. But unfortunately they committed the execution of their plan to some of those soldiers of fortune with which Germany abounded in the sixteenth century. These adventurers, impatient to amass riches, that they might speedily abandon a station which they soon discovered to be very uncomfortable, instead of planting a colony in order to cultivate and improve the country, wandered from district to district in search of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppressing them by the imposition of intolerable tasks. In the course of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in comparison with which those of the Spaniards were moderate, desolated the province so completely, that it could hardly afford them subsistence, and the Velsers relinquished a property from which the inconsiderate conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage. When the wretched remainder of the Germans deserted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding many natural advantages, it is one of their most languishing and unproductive settlements.

The provinces of Caraccas and Cumana are the last of the Spanish territories on this coast; but in relating the origin and operations of the mercantile company in which an exclusive right of trade with them has been vested, I shall hereafter have occasion to consider their state and productions.

The New Kingdom of Granada is entirely an inland country of great extent. This important addition was made to the dominions of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebastian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, two of the bravest and most accomplished officers employed in the conquest of America. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the south; the latter made his invasion from Santa Martha on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were further advanced in improvement than any people in America but the Mexicans and Peruvians, they defended themselves with great resolution and good conduct. The abilities and perseverence of Benalcazar and Quesada surmounted all opposition, though not without encountering many dangers, and reduced the country into the form of a Spanish province.

The New Kingdom of Granada is so far elevated above the level of the sea that, though it approaches almost to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its valleys is not inferior to that of the richest districts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious stones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the soil near the surface, and separated from it by repeated washing with water. This operation is carried on wholly by Negro slaves; for though the chill subterranean air has been discovered, by experience, to be so fatal to them, that they cannot be employed with advantage in the deep silver mines, they are more capable of performing the other species of labor than Indians. As the natives in the New Kingdom of Granada are exempt from that service, which has wasted their race so rapidly in other parts of America, the country is still remarkably populous. Some districts yield gold with a profusion no less wonderful than that in the vale of Cineguilla, which I have formerly mentioned, and it is often found in large *pepitas*, or grains, which manifest the abundance in which it is produced. On a rising ground near Pamplona, single laborers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thousand pesos. A late governor of Santa Fe brought with him to Spain a lump of pure gold, estimated to be worth seven hundred and forty pounds sterling. This, which is perhaps the largest and finest specimen ever found in the New World, is now deposited in the royal cabinet of Madrid. But without founding any calculation on what is rare and extraordinary, the value of the gold usually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco, is of considerable amount. Its towns are populous and flourishing. The number of inhabitants in almost every part of the country daily increases. Cultivation and industry of various kinds begin to be encouraged, and to prosper. A considerable trade is carried on with Carthagena, the produce of the mines, and other commodities, being conveyed down the great river of St. Magdalene to that city. On another quarter, the New Kingdom of Granada has a communication with the Atlantic by the river Orinoco; but the country which stretches along its banks towards the east, is little known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

BOOK VIII.

View of the interior government, commerce, &c. of the Spanish colonies—Depopulation of America—first effects of their settlements—not the consequence of any system of policy—nor to be imputed to religion—Number of Indians still remaining—Fundamental maxims on which the Spanish system of colonization is founded—Condition of different orders of men in their colonies—Chapetones—Creoles—Negroes—Indians—Ecclesiastical state and policy—Character of secular and regular clergy—Small progress of Christianity among the natives—Mines, chief object of their attention—Mode of working these—their produce—Effects of encouraging this species of industry—Other commodities of Spanish America—First effects of this new commerce with America on Spain—Why the Spanish colonies have not been as beneficial to the parent state as those of other nations—Errors in the Spanish system of regulating this commerce—confined to one port—carried on by annual fleets—Contraband trade—Decline of Spain both in population and wealth—Remedies proposed—View of the wise regulations of the Bourbon princes—A new and more liberal system introduced—beneficial effects of this—probable consequences—Trade between New Spain and the Philippines—Revenue of Spain from America—whence it arises—to what it amounts.

After tracing the progress of the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was established over almost all the vast regions in the New World still subject to their dominion. The effect of their settlements upon the countries of which they took possession, the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior structure and policy of these, together with the influence of their progressive improvement upon the parent state, and upon the commercial intercourse of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention

The first visible consequence of the establishments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree equally astonishing and deplorable. I have already, on different occasions, mentioned the disastrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemisphere commenced, both in the islands and in several parts of the continent, and have touched upon various causes of their rapid consumption. Wherever the inhabitants of America had resolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many perished in the unequal contest, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greatest desolation followed after the sword was sheathed, and the conquerors were settled in tranquillity. It was in the islands, and in those provinces of the continent which stretch from the Gulf of Trinidad to the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spanish dominion were first and most sensibly felt. All these were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by such as had made but small progress in cultivation and industry. When they were compelled by their new masters to take up a fixed resi-

dence, and to apply to regular labor; when tasks were imposed upon them disproportioned to their strength, and were enacted with unrelenting severity, they possessed not vigor either of mind or of body to sustain this unusual load of oppression. Dejection and despair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine destroyed more. In all those extensive regions, the original race of inhabitants wasted away; in some it was totally extinguished. In Mexico, where a powerful and martial people distinguished their opposition to the Spaniards by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, still greater numbers perished under the hardships of attending the Spanish armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn out with the incessant toil of carrying their baggage, provisions, and military stores.

But neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spaniards was so destructive to the people of Mexico and Peru, as the inconsiderate policy with which they established their new settlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals: the latter was a permament evil, which, with gradual consumption, wasted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a district from which he might expect an instantaneous recompense for all his services. Soldiers, accustomed to the carelessness and dissipation of a military life, had neither industry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its slow but certain returns. Instead of settling in the valleys occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the soil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they chose to fix their stations in some of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in Peru. To search for mines of gold and silver was the chief object of their activity. The prospects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually presents, correspond wonderfully with the spirit of enterprise and adventure that animated the first emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to push forward those favorite projects, so many hands were wanted, that the service of the natives became indispensably requisite. They were accordingly compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This sudden transition from the sultry climate of the valleys to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; exorbitant labor, scanty or unwholesome nourishment, and the despondency occasioned by a species of oppression to which they were not accustomed, and of which they saw no end, affected them nearly as much as their less industrious countrymen in the islands. They sunk under the united pressure of those calamities, and melted away with almost equal rapidity. In consequence of this, together with the introduction of the small-pox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives, the number of people both in New Spain and Peru was so much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almost incredible. [164]

Such are the most considerable events and causes which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to these, many authors, astonished at the suddenness of the desolation, have ascribed this unexampled event to a system of policy no less profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conscious of their own inability to occupy the vast regions which they had discovered, and foreseeing the impossibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely superior to themselves in number, in order to preserve the possession of America, resolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and, by converting a great part of the country into a desert, endeavored to secure their own dominion over it. [165] But nations seldom extend their views to objects so remote, or lay their plans so deep; and for the honor of humanity we may observe, that no nation ever deliberately formed such an execrable scheme. The Spanish monarchs, far from acting upon any such system of destruction, were uniformly solicitous for the preservation of their new subjects. With Isabella, zeal for propagating the Christian faith, together with the desire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the consolations of religion, to people destitute of spiritual light, were more than ostensible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his discoveries. Upon his success, she endeavored to fulfil her pious purpose, and manifested the most tender concern to secure not only religious instruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffensive race of men subjected to her crown. [166] Her successors adopted the same ideas, and, on many occasions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interposed, in the most vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppression of their Spanish subjects. Their regulations for this purpose were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wisdom, and dictated by humanity. After their possessions in the New World became so extensive as might have excited some apprehensions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the spirit of their regulations was as mild as when their settlements were confined to the islands alone. Their solicitude to protect the Indians seems rather to have augmented as their acquisitions increased: and from ardor to accomplish this, they enacted, and endeavored to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and spread alarm and disaffection through all the rest. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controlled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far removed from the seat of government, little accustomed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant colony, despised or eluded every regulation that set bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider and treat them as slaves. The governors themselves, and other officers employed in the colonies, several of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they presided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and, instead of checking, encouraged or connived at their excesses. The desolation of the New World should not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be considered as the effect of any system of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the indigent and often unprincipled adventurers, whose fortune it was to be the conquerors and first planters of America, who, by measures no less inconsiderate than unjust, counteracted the edicts of their sovereign, and have brought disgrace upon their country.

With still greater injustice have many authors represented the intolerating spirit of the Roman Catholic religion, as the cause of exterminating the Americans, and have accused the Spanish ecclesiastics of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of that innocent people, as idolaters and enemies of God. But the first missionaries who visited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early espoused the defence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aspersions of their conquerors, who, describing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a subordinate race of men, on whom the hand of nature had set the mark of servitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and persevering zeal of the Spanish missionaries, in protecting the helpless flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects lustre upon their function. They were ministers of peace, who endeavored to wrest the rod from the hands of oppressors. To their powerful interposition the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigor of their fate. The clergy in the Spanish settlements, regular as well as secular, are still considered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourse under the hardships and exactions to which they are too often exposed. [167]

But, notwithstanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very considerable number of the native race still remains both in Mexico and Peru, especially in those parts which were not exposed to the first fury of the Spanish arms, or desolated by the first efforts of their industry, still more ruinous. In Guatimala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire, which stretch along the South Sea, the race of Indians is still numerous. Their settlements in some places are so populous as to merit the name of cities. [168] In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at least two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but such as still forms a body of people superior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this extensive country. [169] In Peru several districts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almost entirely by Indians. In other provinces they are mingled with the Spaniards, and in many of their settlements are almost the only persons who practise the mechanic arts, and fill most of the inferior stations in society. As the inhabitants both of Mexico and Peru were accustomed to a fixed residence, and to a certian degree of regular industry, less violence was requisite in bringing them to some conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards settled among the savage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitless, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of restraint, and disdaining labor as a mark of servility, they either abandoned their original seats, and sought for independence in mountains and forests inaccessible to their oppressors, or perished when reduced to a state repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. In the districts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and to Buenos Ayres, the desolation is more general than even in those parts of Mexico and Peru of which the Spaniards have taken most full possession.

But the establishments of the Spaniards in the New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabitants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to best advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful state, equal to so great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prorogatives far beyond the limits which once circumscribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly subject to control, either in concerting or in executing their measures. In every wide-extended empire, the form of government must be simple, and the sovereign authority such, that its resolutions may be taken with promptitude, and may pervade the whole with sufficient force. Such was the power of the Spanish monarchs when they were called to deliberate concerning the mode of establishing their dominions over the most remote provinces which had ever been subjected to any European state. In this deliberation, they felt themselves under no constitutional restraint, and that, as independent masters of their own resolves, they might issue the edicts requisite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

This early interposition of the Spanish crown, in order to regulate the policy and trade of its colonies, is a peculiarity which distinguishes their progress from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portuguese, the English, and French took possession of the regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which these promised to yield were so remote and uncertain, that their colonies were suffered to struggle through a hard infancy, almost without guidance or protection from the parent state. But gold and silver, the first productions of the Spanish settlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the discovery, and almost nothing to the conquest of the New World, they instantly assumed the function of its legislators; and having acquired a species of dominion formerly unknown, they formed a plan for exercising it, to which nothing similar occurs in the history of human affairs.

The fundamental maxim of the Spanish jurisprudence, with respect to America, is to consider what has been acquired there as vested in the crown, rather than in the state. By the bull of Alexander VI., on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had been or should be discovered were bestowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Isabella. They and their successors were uniformly held to be the universal proprietors of the vast territories which the arms of their subjects conquered in the New World. From them all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who presided over the different colonies, the officers of justice, and the ministers of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removeable at their pleasure. The people who composed infant settlements were entitled to no privileges independent of the sovereign, or that served as a barrier against the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, the citizens were permitted to elect their own magistrates, who governed them by laws which the community enacted. Even in the most despotic states, this feeble spark of liberty is not extinguished. But in the cities of Spanish America, this jurisdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to public government, and the general interest, the will of the sovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

When the conquests of the Spaniards in America

were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of internal policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immense governments, one subject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The jurisdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern division of the American continent. Under that of the latter, was comprehended whatever she possessed in South America. This arrangement, which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniencies, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each viceroyalty began to improve in industry and population. The people complained of their subjection to a superior, whose place of residence was so distant, or so inaccessible, as almost excluded them from any intercourse with the seat of government. The authority of the viceroy over districts so far removed from his own eye and observation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill directed. As a remedy for those evils, a third viceroyalty has been established in the present century, at Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the jurisdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firme and the province of Quito. Those viceroys not only represent the person of their sovereign, but possess his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments in their utmost extent. Like him, they exercise supreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. They have the sole right of nominating the persons who hold many offices of the highest importance, and the occasional privilege of supplying those which, when they become vacant by death, are in the royal gift, until the successor appointed by the king shall arrive. The external pomp of their government is suited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that of Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of command, displaying such magnificence as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority.

But as the viceroys cannot discharge in person the functions of a supreme magistrate in every part of their extensive jurisdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals similar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided, is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations ; some appointed by the king, others by the viceroy, but all subject to the command of the latter, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of *Audiences*, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain. These are eleven in number, and dispense justice to as many districts into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided [170] The number of judges in the Court of Audience is various, according to the extent and importance of their jurisdiction. The station is no less honorable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by persons of such abilities and merit as render this tribunal extremely respectable. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are set apart. Though it is only in the most despotic governments that the sovereign exercises in person the formidable prerogative of administering justice to his subjects, and, in absolving or condemning, consults no law but what is deposited in his own breast ; though, in all the monarchies of Europe, judicial authority is committed to the magistrates, whose decisions are regulated by known laws and established forms ; the Spanish viceroys have often attempted to intrude themselves into the seat of justice, and, with an ambition which their distance from the control of a superior rendered bold, have aspired at a power which their master does not venture to assume. In order to check a usurpation which must have annihilated justice and security in the Spanish colonies, in subjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a single man, the viceroys have been prohibited in the most explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the Courts of Audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice, with respect to any point litigated before them. In some particular cases, in which any question of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the Court of Audience, which in those instances may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a constitutional barrier to circumscribe his jurisdiction. But as legal restraints on a person who represents the sovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little suited to the genius of Spanish policy ; the hesitation and reserve with which it confers this power on the Courts of Audience are remarkable. They may advise, they may remonstrate ; but, in the event of a direct collision between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines must be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the king and the Council of the Indies. But to be entitled to remonstrate, and inform against a person before whom all others must be silent, and tamely submit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the Courts of Audience. This is further augmented by another circumstance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any provision of a successor by the king, the supreme power is vested in the Court of Audience resident in the capital of the viceroyalty ; and the senior judge, assisted by his brethren, exercises all the functions of the viceroy while the office continues vacant. In matters which come under the cognizance of the Audiences, in the course of their ordinary jurisdiction, as courts of justice, their sentences are final in every litigation concerning property of less value than six thousand pesos ; but when the subject in dispute exceeds that sum, their decisions are subject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal Council of the Indies.

In this council, one of the most considerable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is vested the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. It was first established by Ferdinand in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524. Its jurisdiction extends to every department, ecclesiastical, civil, military, and commercial. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and must be approved of by two-thirds of the members before they are issued in the name of the king. All the offices, of which the nomination is reserved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each person employed in America, from the viceroy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their services, and inflicts the punishments due to their malversations. Before it is laid whatever intelligence, either public or secret, is received from America ; and every scheme of improving the administration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is submitted to its consideration. From the first institution of the Council of the Indies, it has been the constant object of the Catholic monarchs to maintain its authority, and to make such additions from time to time, both to its power and its splendor, as might render it formidable to all their subjects in the New World. Whatever degree of public order and virtue still remains in that country, where so many circumstances conspire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be ascribed in a great measure to the wise regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal.

As the king is supposed to be always present in his Council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he resides. Another tribunal has been instituted in order to regulate such commercial affairs, as required the immediate and personal inspection of those appointed to superintend them. This is called *Casa de la Contratacion*, or the house of trade, and was established in Seville, the port to which commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501. It may be considered both as a board of trade, and as a court of judicature. In the former capacity it takes cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourse of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities should be exported thither, and has the inspection of such as are received in return. It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the West Indies, the freight and burden of the ships, their equipment and destination. In the latter capacity, it judges with respect to every question, civil, commercial, or criminal, arising in consequence of the transactions of Spain with America ; and in both these departments its decisions are exempted from the review of any court but that of the Council of the Indies.

Such is the great outline of that system of government which Spain has established in her American colonies. To enumerate the various subordinate boards and officers employed in the administration of justice, in collecting the public revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country ; to describe their different functions, and to inquire into the mode and effect of their operations ; would prove a detail no less intricate than minute and uninteresting.

The first object of the Spanish monarchs was to secure the productions of the colonies to the parent state, by an absolute prohibition of any intercourse with foreign nations. They took possession of America by right of conquest, and conscious not only of the feebleness of their infant settlements, but aware of the difficulty in establishing their dominion over regions so extensive, or in retaining so many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intrusion of strangers ; they even shunned their inspection, and endeavored to keep them at a distance from their coasts. This spirit of jealousy and exclusion, which at first was natural, and perhaps necessary, augmented as their possessions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully understood. In consequence of it, a system of colonizing was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing similar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to send forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which served to disburden a state of its superfluous subjects, when they multiplied too fast for the territory which they occupied ; or they were military detachments, stationed as garrisons in a conquered province. The colonies of some Greek republics, and the swarms of northern barbarians which settled in different parts of Europe, were of the first species. The Roman colonies were of the second. In the former, the connection with the mother country quickly ceased, and they became independent states. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued. In their American settlements, the Spanish monarchs took what was peculiar to each, and studied to unite them. By sending colonies to regions so remote, by establishing in each a form of inferior policy and administration, under distinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legislation, as well as that of imposing taxes, together with the power of nominating the persons who filled every department of executive government, civil or military, they secured their dependence upon the parent state. Happily for Spain, the situation of her colonies was such as rendered it possible to reduce this new idea into practice. Almost all the countries which she had discovered and occupied, lay within the tropics. The productions of that large portion of the globe are different from those of Europe, even in its most southern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the soil naturally turn the industry of such as settle there into new channels. When the Spaniards first took possession of their dominions in America, the precious metals which they yielded were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themselves almost wholly in rearing such peculiar productions of the climate as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother country. Allured by vast prospects of immediate wealth, they disdained to waste their industry on what was less lucrative, but of superior moment. In order to render it impossible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts in industry which might interfere with those of the mother country, the establishment of several species of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine or olive, are prohibited in the Spanish colonies, [171] under severe penalties. They must trust entirely to the mother country for the objects of primary necessity. Their clothes, their furniture, their instruments of labor, their luxuries, and even a considerable part of the provisions which they consume were imported from Spain. During a great part of the sixteenth century, Spain, possessing an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, could supply with ease the growing demands of her colonies from her own stores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for these. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spanish bottoms. No vessel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourse of one colony with another was either absolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous restrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain ; all that it consumes must issue from them. No foreigner can enter its colonies without express permission ; no vessel of any foreign nation is received into their harbors ; and the pains of death, with confiscation of moveables, are denounced against every inhabitant who presumes to trade with them. Thus the colonies are kept in a state of perpetual pupilage ; and by the introduction of this commercial dependence, a refinement in policy of which Spain set the first example to European nations, the supremacy of the parent state hath been maintained over remote colonies during two centuries and a half.

Such are the capital maxims to which the Spanish monarchs seem to have attended in forming their new settlements in America. But they could not plant with the same rapidity that they had destroyed; and from many concurring causes, their progress has been extremely slow in filling up the immense void which their devastations had occasioned. As soon as the rage for discovery and adventure began to abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dangers and distresses which at first they did not perceive, or had despised. The numerous hardships with which the members of infant colonies have to struggle, the diseases of unwholesome climates fatal to the constitution of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country covered with forests into culture; the want of hands necessary for labor in some provinces, and the slow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils universally felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thousand. [172]

The mode in which property was distributed in the Spanish colonies, and the regulations established with respect to the transmission of it, whether by descent or by sale, were extremely unfavorable to population. In order to promote a rapid increase of people in any new settlement, property in land ought to be divided into small shares, and the alienation of it should be rendered extremely easy. But the rapaciousness of the Spanish conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they possessed power which enabled them to gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes, many seized districts of great extent, and held them as *encomiendas*. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a part of these into *Mayorasgos*, a species of fief, introduced into the Spanish system of feudal jurisprudence, which can neither be divided nor alienated. Thus a great portion of landed property, under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and descends from father to son unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor, or to the community. In the account which I have given of the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by some of the conquerors. The excesses in other provinces were similar; for, as the value of the lands which the Spaniards acquired was originally estimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general so thinly peopled, that only districts of great extent could afford such a number of laborers as might be employed in the mines with any prospect of considerable gain. The pernicious effects of those radical errors in the distribution and nature of property in the Spanish settlements are felt through every department of industry, and may be considered as one great cause of a progress in population so much slower than that which has taken place in better constituted colonies. [173]

To this we may add, that the support of the enormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiastical establishment has been a burden on the Spanish colonies, which has greatly retarded the progress of population and industry. The payment of tithes is a heavy tax on industry: and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumscribed by the wisdom of the civil magistrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, instead of any restraint on the claims of ecclesiastics, the inconsiderate zeal of the Spanish legislators admitted them into America in their full extent, and at once imposed on their infant colonies a burden which is in no slight degree oppressive to society, even in its most improved state. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tithes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law. Every article of primary necessity, towards which the attention of new settlers must naturally be turned, is subjected to that grievous exaction. Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of simple and easy culture. Its more artificial and operose productions, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal, were soon declared to be titheable; and thus the industry of the planter was taxed in every stage of its progress, from its rudest essay to its highest improvement. To the weight of this legal imposition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from superstitious reverence for ecclesiastics of every denomination, they have bestowed profuse donatives on churches and monasteries, and have unprofitably wasted a large proportion of that wealth, which might have nourished and given vigor to productive labor in growing colonies.

But so fertile and inviting are the regions of America, which the Spaniards have occupied, that, notwithstanding all the circumstances which have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increased, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders. Among these, the Spaniards who arrive from Europe, distinguished by the name of *Chapetones*, are the first in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spanish court to secure the dependence of the colonies on the parent state, all departments of consequence are filled by persons sent from Europe; and in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each must bring proof of a clear descent from a family of *Old Christians*, untainted with any mixture of Jewish or Mahometan blood, and never disgraced by any censure of the Inquisition. In such pure hands power is deemed to be safely lodged, and almost every function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every person, who, by his birth or residence in America, may be suspected of any attachment or interest adverse to the mother country, is the object of distrust to such a degree, as amounts nearly to an exclusion from all offices of confidence or authority. [174] By this conspicuous predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raised to such pre-eminence in America, that they look down with disdain upon every other order of men.

The character and state of the *Creoles*, or descendants of Europeans settled in America, the second class of subjects in the Spanish colonies, have enabled the Chapetones to acquire other advantages hardly less considerable than those which they derived from the partial favor of government. Though some of the Creolian race are descended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the noblest families in Spain; though many are possessed of ample fortunes; yet, by the enervating influence of a sultry climate, by the rigor of a jealous government, and by their despair of attaining that distinction to which mankind naturally aspire, the vigor of their minds is so entirely broken, that a great part of them waste life in luxurious indulgences, mingled with an illiberal superstition still more debasing.

Languid and unenterprising, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them so cumbersome and oppressive, that in almost every part of America they decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of every colony, as well as any trade which is permitted with the neighboring provinces, and with Spain itself, is carried on chiefly by the Chapetones; who, as the recompense of their industry, amass immense wealth, while the Creoles, sunk in sloth, are satisfied with the revenues of their paternal estates.

From this stated competition for power and wealth between those two orders of citizens, and the various passions excited by a rivalship so interesting, their hatred is violent and implacable. On every occasion, symptoms of this aversion break out, and the common appellations which each bestows on the other are as contemptuous as those which flow from the most deep-rooted national antipathy. The court of Spain, from a refinement of distrustful policy, cherishes those seeds of discord, and foments this mutual jealousy, which not only prevents the two most powerful classes of its subjects in the New World from combining against the parent state, but prompts each, with the most vigilant zeal, to observe the motions and to counteract the schemes of the other.

The third class of inhabitants in the Spanish colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of a European and a Negro, or of a European and Indian, the former called *Mulattoes*, the latter *Mestizos*. As the court of Spain, solicitous to incorporate its new vassals with its ancient subjects, early encouraged the Spaniards settled in America to marry the natives of that country, several alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies. But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their sovereigns, that this mixed breed has multiplied so greatly as to constitute a considerable part of the population in all the Spanish settlements. The several stages of descent in this race, and the gradual variations of shade until the African black or the copper color of America brighten into a European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each distinguished by a peculiar name. Those of the first and second generations are considered and treated as mere Indians and Negroes; but in the third descent, the characteristic hue of the former disappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is so entirely effaced, that they can no longer be distinguished from Europeans, and become entitled to all their privileges. It is chiefly by this mixed race, whose frame is remarkably robust and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on in the Spanish settlements, and other active functions in society are discharged, which the two higher classes of citizens, from pride, or from indolence, disdain to exercise.

The Negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies. The introduction of that unhappy part of the human species into America, together with their services and sufferings there, shall be fully explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly in order to point out a peculiarity in their situation under the Spanish dominion. In several of their settlements, particularly in New Spain, Negroes are mostly employed in domestic service. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cherished and caressed by their superiors, to whose vanity and pleasures they are equally subservient. Their dress and appearance are hardly less splendid than that of their masters, whose manners they imitate, and whose passions they imbibe. Elevated by this distinction, they have assumed such a tone of superiority over the Indians, and treat them with such insolence and scorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where Negroes seem to be more numerous, and are employed in field work as well as domestic service, they maintain their ascendant over the Indians, and the mutual hatred of one to the other subsists with equal violence. The laws have industriously fomented this aversion, to which accident gave rise, and, by most rigorous injunctions, have endeavored to prevent every intercourse that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive strength from that circumstance in population which is the weakness of other European colonies, and have secured, as associates and defenders, those very persons who elsewhere are objects of jealousy and terror.

The Indians form the last and most depressed order of men in the country which belonged to their ancestors. I have already traced the progress of the Spanish ideas with respect to the condition and treatment of that people; and have mentioned the most important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of so much consequence in the administration of their new dominions. But since the period to which I have brought down the history of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries have enabled the court of Spain to make such improvements in this part of its American system, that a short view of the present condition of the Indians may prove both curious and interesting.

By the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been so often mentioned, the high pretensions of the conquerors of the New World, who considered its inhabitants as slaves to whose service they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and entitled to the privileges of subjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed just that they should contribute towards the support and improvement of the society which had adopted them as members. But as no considerable benefit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men unacquainted with regular industry, and averse to labor, the court of Spain found it necessary to fix and secure, by proper regulations, what it thought reasonable to exact from them. With this view, an annual tax was imposed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and at the same time the nature as well as the extent of the services, which they might be required to perform, was ascertained with precision. This tribute varies in different provinces; but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four shillings a head; no exorbitant sum in countries where, as at the source of wealth, the value of money is extremely low. [175] The right of levying this tribute likewise varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vassal of the crown, or depends upon some subject to whom the district in which he resides has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of an *encomienda*. In the former case, about three-fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treasury; in the latter, the same proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. When Spain first took possession of America, the greater part of it was parceled out among its conquerors, or those who first settled there, and but a small portion reserved for the crown. As those grants, which were made for two lives only, reverted successively to the sovereign, he had it in his

power either to diffuse his favors by grants to new proprietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexations. [176] Of these, the latter has been frequently chosen; the number of Indians now depending immediately on the crown is much greater than in the first stage after the conquest, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to extend.

The benefit arising from the services of the Indians accrues either to the crown, or to the holder of the *encomienda*, according to the same rule observed in the payment of tribute. Those services, however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the tasks originally imposed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they must perform is defined, and an equitable recompense is granted for their labor. The stated services demanded of the Indians may be divided into two branches They are either employed in works of primary necessity, without which society cannot subsist comfortably, or are compelled to labor in the mines, from which the Spanish colonies derive their chief value and importance. In consequence of the former, they are obliged to assist in the culture of maize, and other grain of necessary consumption; in tending cattle; in erecting edifices of public utility; in building bridges; and in forming high roads; but they cannot be constrained to labor in raising vines, olives, and sugar-canes, or any species of cultivation which has for its object the gratification of luxury or commercial profit. In consequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleasant task of extracting ore from the bowels of the earth, and of refining it by successive processes, no less unwholesome than operose. [177]

The mode of exacting both these services is the same, and is under regulations framed with a view of rendering it as little oppressive as possible to the Indians. They are called out successively in divisions, termed *Mitas*, and no person can be compelled to go but in his turn. In Peru, the number called out must not exceed the seventh part of the inhabitants in any district. In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred. During what time the labor of such Indians as are employed in agriculture continues, I have not been able to learn. [178] But in Peru, each *mita*, or division, destined for the mines, remains there six months; and while engaged in this service, a laborer never receives less than two shillings a day, and often earns more than double that sum. No Indian, residing at a greater distance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the mita, or division employed working it; nor are the inhabitants of the low country exposed now to certain destruction, as they were at first when under the dominion of the conquerors, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound. [179]

The Indians who live in the principal towns are entirely subject to the Spanish laws and magistrates; but in their own villages they are governed by caziques, some of whom are the descendants of their ancient lords, others are named by the Spanish viceroys. These regulate the petty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of justice transmitted to them by tradition from their ancestors. To the Indians this jurisdiction, lodged in such friendly hands, affords some consolation; and so little formidable is this dignity to their new masters, that they often allow it to descend by hereditary right. For the further relief of men so much exposed to oppression, the Spanish court has appointed an officer in every district with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to assert the rights of the Indians; to appear as their defender in the courts of justice; and, by the interposition of his authority, to set bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen. A certain portion of the reserved fourth of the annual tribute is destined for the salary of the caziques and protectors; another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the instruction of the Indians. Another part seems to be appropriated for the benefit of the Indians themselves, and is applied for the payment of their tribute in years of famine, or when a particular district is affected by any extraordinary local calamity. Besides this, provision is made by various laws, that hospitals shall be founded in every new settlement for the reception of Indians. Such hospitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm, in Lima, in Cuzco, and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderness and humanity.

Such are the leading principles in the jurisprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in the provinces belonging to Spain. In those regulations of the Spanish monarchs, we discover no traces of that cruel system of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit that the necessity of securing subsistence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right to avail themselves of the labor of the Indians, we must allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompense that labor is provident and sagacious. In no code of laws is greater solicitude displayed, or precautions multiplied with more prudent concern, for the preservation, the security, and the happiness of the subject, than we discover in the collection of the Spanish laws for the Indies. But those latter regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have too often proved ineffectual remedies against the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the same causes continue to operate, the same effects must follow. From the immense distance between the power intrusted with the execution of laws, and that by whose authority they are enacted, the vigor even of the most absolute government must relax, and the dread of a superior, too remote to observe with accuracy or to punish with despatch, must insensibly abate. Notwithstanding the numerous injunctions of the Spanish monarch, the Indians still suffer, on many occasions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magistrates who ought to have protected them; unreasonable tasks are imposed; the term of their labor is prolonged beyond the period fixed by law, and they groan under many of the insults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependent people. [180] From some information on which I can depend, such oppression abounds more in Peru than in any other colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts even of those authors who are most disposed to exaggerate the sufferings of the Indians, they, in several provinces, enjoy not only ease but affluence; they possess large farms; they are masters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and industry, are supplied not only with the necessaries but with many luxuries of life.

After explaining the form of civil government in the Spanish colonies, and the state of the various orders of persons subject to it, the peculiarities in their ecclesiastical constitution merit consideration. Notwithstanding the superstitious veneration with which the Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions against the introduction of the Papal dominion in America. With this view, he solicited Alexander VI. for a grant to the crown of the tithes in all the newly-discovered countries, which he obtained on condition of his making provision for the religious instruction of the natives. Soon after Julius II. conferred on him and his successors, the right of patronage, and the absolute disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices there. But these Pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, bestowed these donations with an inconsiderate liberality, which their successors have often lamented, and wished to recall. In consequence of those grants, the Spanish monarchs have become in effect the heads of the American church. In them the administration of its revenues is vested. Their nomination of persons to supply vacant benefices is instantly confirmed by the Pope. Thus, in all Spanish America, authority of every species centres in the crown. There no collision is known between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The King is the only superior, his name alone is heard of, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there until they have been previously examined and approved of by the royal council of the Indies; and if any bull should be surreptitiously introduced and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, ecclesiastics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to seize all the copies of it, and transmit them to the council of the Indies. To this limitation of the Papal jurisdiction, equally singular, whether we consider the age and nation in which it was devised, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand and his successors have studied to maintain it in full force, Spain is indebted, in a great measure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

The hierarchy is established in America in the same form as in Spain, with its full train of archbishops, bishops, deans, and other dignataries. The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, under the denomination of *Curas*, *Doctrineros*, and *Missioneros*. The first are parish priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have settled. The second have the charge of such districts as are inhabited by Indians subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in instructing and converting those fiercer tribes which disdain submission to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote or inaccessible regions to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated So numerous are the ecclesiastics of all those various orders, and such the profuse liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immense. The Romish superstition appears with its utmost pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent, and richly adorned; and on high festivals, the display of gold and silver, and precious stones, is such as exceeds the conception of a European. An ecclesiastical establishment so splendid and extensive is unfavorable, as has been formerly observed, to the progress of rising colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are so delighted with parade that religion must assume it in order to attract their veneration, this propensity to ostentation has been indulged, and becomes less pernicious.

The early institution of monasteries in the Spanish colonies, and the inconsiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with consequences more fatal. In every new settlement, the first object should be to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the number and strength of the community. During the youth and vigor of society, while there is room to spread, and sustenance is procured with facility, mankind increase with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken possession of America, when, with a most preposterous policy, they began to erect convents, where persons of both sexes were shut up, under a vow to defeat the purpose of nature, and to counteract the first of her laws. Influenced by a misguided piety, which ascribes transcendant merit to a state of celibacy, or allured by the prospect of that listless ease which in sultry climates is deemed supreme felicity, numbers crowded into those mansions of sloth and superstition, and are lost to society. As none but persons of Spanish extract are admitted into the monasteries of the New World, the evil is more sensibly felt, and every monk or nun may be considered as an active person withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of such foundations in any situation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is so obvious, that some Catholic states have expressly prohibited any person in their colonies from taking the monastic vows. Even the Spanish monarchs, on some occasions, seem to have been alarmed with the spreading of a spirit so adverse to the increase and prosperity of their colonies, that they have endeavored to check it. But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of superstition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by ecclesiastics more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived such a high opinion of monastic sanctity, that no regulations can restrain their zeal; and, by the excess of their ill judged bounty, religious houses have multiplied to a degree no less amazing than pernicious to society. [181.]

In viewing the state of colonies, where not only the number but influence of ecclesiastics is so great, the character of this powerful body is an object that merits particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives of Spain. As persons long accustomed, by their education, to the retirement and indolence of academic life are more incapable of active enterprise, and less disposed to strike into new paths than any order of men, the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such as, from merit or rank in life, have little prospect of success in their own country. Accordingly, the secular priests in the New World are still less distinguished than their brethren in Spain for literary accomplishments of any species; and though, by the ample provision which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy the ease and independence which are favorable to the cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations. But the greatest part of the ecclesiastics in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monastic orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately sent forth missionaries to labor in it. The first attempt to instruct and convert the Americans was made by monks; and as soon as the conquest of any

province was completed, and its ecclesiastical establishment began to assume some form, the Popes permitted the missionaries of the four mendicant orders, as a reward for their services, to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all spiritual functions, and to receive the tithes and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocess, or being subject to his censures. In consequence of this, a new career of usefulness, as well as new objects of ambition, presented themselves. Whenever a call is made for a fresh supply of missionaries, men of the most ardent and aspiring minds, impatient under the restraint of a cloister, weary of its insipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irksome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their service with eagerness, and repair to the New World in quest of liberty and distinction. Nor do they pursue distinction without success. The highest ecclesiastical honors, as well as the most lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and it is chiefly to the monastic orders that the Americans are indebted for any portion of science which is cultivated among them. They are almost the only Spanish ecclesiastics from whom we have received any accounts either of the civil or natural history of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelliole superstition of their profession, have published books which give a favorable impression of their abilities. The natural and moral history of the New World, by the Jesuit Acosta, contains more accurate observations, perhaps, and more sound science, than are to be found in any description of remote countries published in the sixteenth century.

But the same disgust with monastic life, to which America is indebted for some instructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid discipline of a convent are intolerable, consider a mission to America as a release from mortification and bondage. There they soon obtain some parochial charge; and far removed by their situation, from the inspection of their monastic superiors, and exempt, by their character, from the jurisdiction of their diocesan, they are hardly subjected to any control. According to the testimony of the most zealous catholics, many of the regular clergy in the Spanish settlements are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but regardless of that external decorum and respect for the opinion of mankind, which preserve a semblance of worth where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, some regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce, and are so rapaciously eager in amassing wealth, that they become the most grievous oppressors of the Indians whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no less flagrant violation of their vow of chastity, indulge with little disguise in the most dissolute licentiousness. [182]

Various schemes have been proposed for redressing enormities so manifest and so offensive. Several persons, no less eminent for piety than discernment, have contended, that the regulars, in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloisters, and should no longer be permitted to enroach on the functions of the secular clergy. Some public-spirited magistrates, from conviction of its being necessary to deprive the regulars of a privilege bestowed at first with good intention, but of which time and experience had discovered the pernicious effects, openly countenanced the secular clergy in their attempts to assert their own rights. The prince D'Esquilache, viceroy of Peru under Phillip III., took measures so decisive and effectual for circumscribing the regulars within their proper sphere as struck them with general consternation. [183] They had recourse to their usual arts. They alarmed the superstitious, by representing the proceedings of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue in order to gain persons in power; and seconded by the powerful influence of the Jesuits, who claimed and enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America, they made a deep impression on a bigoted prince and a weak ministry. The ancient practice was tolerated The abuses which it occasioned continued to increase, and the corruption of monks, exempt from the restraints of discipline, and the inspection of any superior, became a disgrace to religion. At last, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monastic orders began to abate, and the power of the Jesuits was on the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy, by issuing an edict [June 23, 1757,] prohibiting regulars of every denomination from taking the charge of any parish with the cure of souls; and declaring that on the demise of the present incumbents, none but secular priests, subject to the jurisdiction of their diocesans, shall be presented to vacant benefices. If this regulation is carried into execution with steadiness in any degree proportional to the wisdom with which it is framed, a very considerable reformation may take place in the ecclesiastical state of Spanish America, and the secular clergy may gradually become a respectable body of men. The deportment of many ecclesiastics, even at present, seems to be decent and exemplary; otherwise we can hardly suppose that they would be held in such high estimation, and possess such a wonderful ascendant over the minds of their countrymen throughout all the Spanish settlements.

But whatever merit the Spanish ecclesiastics in America may possess, the success of their endeavors in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians, has been more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this, various reasons may be assigned. The first missionaries, in their ardor to make proselytes, admitted the people of America into the Christian church without previous instruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themselves had acquired such knowledge in the Indian language, as to be able to explain to the natives the mysteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Resting upon a subtle distinction in scholastic theology, between that degree of assent which is founded on a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded when both these are imperfect, they adopted this strange practice, no less inconsistent with the spirit of a religion which addresses itself to the understanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reason. As soon as any body of people overawed by dread of the Spanish power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expressed the slightest desire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were instantly baptized. While this rage of conversion continued, a single clergyman baptized in one day above five thousand Mexicans, and did not desist until he was so exhausted by fatigue that he was unable to lift his hands. In the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the sacrament of baptism was administered to more than four millions. Proselytes adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given assent, nor taught the absurdity of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrine and rites with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they had acquired. These sentiments the new converts transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep, that the Spanish ecclesiastics, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious institutions of their ancestors, are still remembered and held in honor by many of the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they think themselves out of reach of inspection by the Spaniards, they assemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites.

But this is not the most unsurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated understandings are so limited, their observations and reflections reach so little beyond the mere objects of sense, that they seem hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, and possess not language to express them To such men the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must be, in a great measure, incomprehensible. The numerous and splendid ceremonies of the Popish worship catch the eye, please and interest them; but when their instructers attempt to explain the articles of faith with which those external observances are connected, though the Indians may listen with patience, they so little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquiescence does not merit the name of belief. Their indifference is still greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and engrossed by the objects before them, the Indians so seldom reflect upon what is past, or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promises nor threats of religion make much impression upon them; and while their foresight rarely extends so far as the next day, it is almost impossible to inspire them with solicitude about the concerns of a future world. Astonished equally at their slowness of comprehension, and at their insensibility, some of the early missionaries pronounced them a race of men so brutish as to be incapable of understanding the first principles of religion. A council held at Lima decreed, that, on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the sacrament of the Eucharist. Though Paul III., by his famous bull issued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures entitled to all the privileges of Christians; yet after the lapse of two centuries, during which they have been members of the church, so imperfect are their attainments in knowledge that very few possess such a portion of spiritual discernment as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. established the inquisition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the jurisdiction of that severe tribunal, and still continue under the inspection of their diocesans. Even after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though some of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their frailty is still so much suspected, that few Indians are either ordained priests, or received into any religious order. [184]

From this brief survey some idea may be formed of the interior state of the Spanish colonies. The various productions with which they supply and enrich the mother country, and the system of commercial intercourse between them, come next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World had been of such moderate extent as bore a due proportion to the parent state, the progress of her colonising might have been attended with the same benefit as that of other nations. But when, in less than half a century, her inconsiderate rapacity had seized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill such vast regions with inhabitants sufficient for the cultivation of them was so obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the colonists. They did not form compact settlements, where industry, circumscribed within proper limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that sober persevering spirit which gradually converts whatever is in its possession to a proper use, and derives thence the greatest advantage. Instead of this the Spaniards, seduced by the boundless prospect which opened to them, divided their possessions in America into governments of great extent. As their number was too small to attempt the regular culture of the immense provinces which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects that allured them with hopes of sudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of industry, which lead more slowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increase of national strength.

Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or who are so enterprising and rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as soon as the several countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to settle, by the prospect of their affording gold and silver, were totally neglected. Those in which they met with a disappointment of the sanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the islands, the first fruits of their discoveries, and the first object of their attention, sunk so much in their estimation, when the mines which had been opened in them were exhausted, that they were deserted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more industrious possessors All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the quantities of gold and silver found among the natives, who searched for them with little industry and less skill, promised an unexhausted store, as the recompense of more intelligent and persevering efforts.

During several years, the ardor of their researches was kept up by hope rather than success. At length, the rich silver mines of Potosi in Peru were accidentally discovered in the year 1545 by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountains in pursuit of a llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after, the mines of Sacotecas in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of

them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firme, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting. To describe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the several processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philosopher or chymist, rather than of the historian.

The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures astonished mankind, who had been accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four, millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered t the present time. This, in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immense as this sum is, the Spanish writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it in consideration of treasure which has been extracted from the mines, and imported fraudulently into Spain without paying duty to the King. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth amounting at least to two thousand millions of pounds sterling. [185]

The mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treasure, are not worked at the expense of the crown or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the person who discovers and works a new vein is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim to such a discovery before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is measured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the customary duty to the King for what it shall produce. Invited by the facility with which such grants are obtained, and encouraged by some striking examples of success in this line of adventure, not only the sanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident, enter upon it with astonishing ardor. With vast objects always in view, fed continuallyw.th hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give up the wealth which they contain to their wishes, they deem every other occupation insipid and uninteresting. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence the cautious become enterprising, and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru by the cant name of *searchers*. These are commonly persons of desperate fortune, who, availing themselves of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the insinuating manner and confident pretensions peculiar to projectors, address the wealthy and the credulous. By plausible descriptions of the appearances which they have discovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing, when requisite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with an imposing assurance, that success is certain, and that the expense must be trifling, they seldom fail to persuade. An association is formed; a small sum is advanced by each copartner; the mine is opened; the searcher is intrusted with the sole direction of every operation; unforeseen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but, amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardor of expectation hardly abates. For it is observed, that if any person once enters this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return, his ideas alter, he seems to be possessed with another spirit; visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else.

Such is the spirit that must be formed, wherever the active exertions of any society are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and silver. No spirit is more adverse to such improvements in agriculture and commerce as render a nation really opulent. If the system of administration in the Spanish colonies had been founded upon principles of sound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legislator would have been exerted with as much ardor in restraining its subjects from such pernicious industry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of mining," says a good judge of the political conduct of nations, "instead of replacing the capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profit of stock, commonly absorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which, of all others, a prudent lawgiver, who desired to increase the capital of his nation, would least choose to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater share of that capital than would go to them of its own accord. Such, in reality, is the absurd confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that wherever there is the least probability of success, too great a share of it is apt to go to them of its own accord." But in the Spanish colonies, government is studious to cherish a spirit which it should have labored to depress, and, by the sanction of its approbation, augments that inconsiderate credulity which has turned the active industry of Mexico and Peru into such an improper channel. To this may be imputed the slender progress which Spanish America has made, during two centuries and a half, either in useful manufactures, or in those lucrative branches of cultivation which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities. In comparison with the precious metals every bounty of nature is so much despised, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of language in America, and the Spaniards settled there, denominate a country *rich*, not from the fertility of its soil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its pastures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In quest of these, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and resort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built some of the largest towns which they possess in the New World. As the activity and enterprise of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now so difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various causes, the gain of working mines is much decreased, the fascination continues, and almost every person, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is still engaged in some adventure of this kind. [186]

But though mines are the chief object of the Spaniards, and the precious metals which these yield form the principal article in their commerce with America; the fertile countries which they possess there abound with other commodities of such value, or scarcity, as to attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almost peculiar to New Spain, of such demand in commerce that the sale is always certain, and yet yields such profit as amply rewards the labor and care employed in rearing the curious insects of which this valuable drug is composed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jesuits' Bark, the most salutary simple, perhaps, and of most restorative virtue, that Providence, in compassion to human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce. The Indigo of Gautimala is superior in quality to that of any province in America, and cultivated to a considerable extent. Cacao, though not peculiar to the Spanish colonies, attains to its highest state of perfection there, and, from the great consumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The Tobacco of Cuba, of more exquisite flavor than any brought from the New World; the Sugar raised in that island, in Hispaniola, and in New Spain, together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America which enrich the Spanish commerce. To these must be added an article of no inconsiderable account, the exportation of hides; for which, as well as for many of those which I have enumerated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country, than to their own foresight and industry. The domestic animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almost exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards settled there, the herds of tame cattle became so numerous that their proprietors reckoned them by thousands. Less attention being paid to them as they continued to increase, they were suffered to run wild; and spreading over a country of boundless extent, under a mild climate and covered with rich pasture, their number became immense. They range over the vast plains which extend from Buenos Ayres towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thousand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed several days before he can disentangle himself from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and seems to have no end. They are hardly less numerous in New Spain, and in several other provinces; they are killed merely for the sake of their hides; and the slaughter at certain seasons is so great, that the stench of the carcasses, which are left in the field, would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vast flocks of *gallinazos*, or American vultures, the most voracious of all the feathered kind, did not instantly devour them. The number of those hides exported in every fleet to Europe, is very great, and is a lucrative branch of commerce.

Almost all these may be considered as staple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that last mentioned, from the productions of the mother country.

When the importation into Spain of those various articles from her colonies first became active and considerable, her interior industry and manufactures were in a state so prosperous, that with the product of these she was able both to purchase the commodities of the New World, and to answer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles V., Spain was one of the most industrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and silk, were so extensive, as not only to furnish what was sufficient for her own consumption, but to afford a surplus for exportation. When a market for them, formerly unknown, and to which she alone had access, opened in America, she had recourse to her demestic store, and found there an abundant supply. [187] This new employment must naturally have added vivacity to the spirit of industry. Nourished and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain, might have gone on increasing in the same proportion with the growth of her colonies. Nor was the state of the Spanish marine at this period less flourishing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain is said to have possessed above a thousand merchant ships, a number probably far superior to that of any nation in Europe in that age. By the aid which foreign trade and domestic industry give reciprocally to each other in their progress, the augmentation of both must have been rapid and extensive, and Spain might have received the same accession of opulence and vigor from her acquisitions in the New World that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

But various causes prevented this. The same thing happens to nations as to individuals. Wealth, which flows in gradually, and with moderate increase, feeds and nourishes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well conducted exertions; but when opulence pours in suddenly, and with too full a stream, it overturns all sober plans of industry, and brings along with it a taste for what is wild and extravagant and daring in business or in action. Such was the great and sudden augmentation of power and revenue that the possession of America brought into Spain; and some symptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy soon began to appear. For a considerable time, however, the supply of treasure from the New World was scanty and precarious; and the genius of Charles V. conducted public measures with such prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. ascended the Spanish throne, with talents far inferior to those of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a regular and considerable branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this rapid change in the state of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conspicuous. Philip, possessing that spirit of undaunted assiduity which often characterizes the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained such a high opinion of his own resources that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shut up himself in the solitude of the Escurial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and English; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garrisons in Italy, Africa, and both the Indies. By such a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, pursued with ardor during the course of a long reign Spain was drained both of men and money Under the weak administration of his successor, Philip III., [A. D. 1611,] the vigor of the nation continued to decrease, and sunk into the lowest decline, when the inconsiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his most industrious subjects, at the very time when the exhausted state of the kingdom required some extraordinary exertion of political wisdom to augment its numbers, and to revive its strength Early in the seventeenth century, Spain felt such a

diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies she was obliged to contract her operations. Her flourishing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all Europe, were ruined. Her extensive foreign commerce was lost. The trade between different parts of her own dominion was interrupted, and the ships which attempted to carry it on were taken and plundered by enemies whom she once despised. Even agriculture, the primary object of industry in every prosperous state, was neglected, and one of the most fertile countries in Europe hardly raised what was sufficient for the support of its own inhabitants.

In proportion as the population and manufactures of the parent state declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increase. The Spaniards, like their monarchs, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deserted the paths of industry to which they had been accustomed, and repaired with eagerness to those regions from which this opulence issued. By this rage of emigration another drain was opened, and the strength of the colonies augmented by exhausting that of the mother country. All those emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at first settled in America, depended absolutely upon Spain for almost every article of necessary consumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative pursuits, or prevented by restraints which government imposed, they could not turn their own attention towards establishing the manufactures requisite for comfortable subsistence. They received (as I have observed in another place) their clothing, their furniture, whatever ministers to the ease or luxury of life, and even their instruments of labor, from Europe. Spain, thinned of people and decreasing in industry, was unable to supply their growing demands. She had recourse to her neighbors. The manufactures of the Low Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into existence or animated with new vivacity, furnished in abundance whatever she required. In vain did the fundamental law, concerning the exclusion of foreigners from trade with America, oppose this innovation. Necessity, more powerful than any statute, defeated its operation, and constrained the Spaniards themselves to concur in eluding it. The English, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and and honor of Spanish merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, send out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are sold there, either in specie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allurement of profit ever induced a Spanish factor to betray or defraud the person who confided in him; and that probity, which is the pride and distinction of the nation, contributes to its ruin. In a short time, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spanish growth or fabric. All the rest was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. The treasure of the New World may be said henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe it was anticipated as the price of goods purchased from foreigners. That wealth which by an internal circulation, would have spread through each vein of industry, and have conveyed life and movement to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with such a rapid course as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artisans of rival nations, encouraged by this quick sale of their commodities, improved so much in skill and industry as to be able to afford them at a rate so low, that the manufactures of Spain, which could not vie with theirs either in quality or cheapness of work, were still further depressed. This destructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faster and more completely than even the extravagant schemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was so much astonished and distressed at beholding her American treasures vanish almost as soon as they were imported, that Philip III., unable to supply what was requisite in circulation, issued an edict, by which he endeavored to raise copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of silver; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the last resource of petty impoverished states.

Thus the possessions of Spain in America have not proved a source of population and of wealth to her in the same manner as those of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the spirit of industry subsists in full vigor, every person settled in such colonies as are similar in their situation to those of Spain, is supposed to give employment to three or four at home in supplying his wants. But wherever the mother country cannot afford this supply, every emigrant may be considered as a citizen lost to the community, and strangers must reap all the benefit of answering his demands.

Such has been the internal state of Spain from the close of the sixteenth century, and such her inability to supply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this disproportion between their demands, and her capacity of answering them, have been much increased by the mode in which Spain has endeavored to regulate the intercourse between the mother country and her colonies. It is from her idea of monopolising the trade with America, and debarring her subjects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and systematic arrangements have arisen. These are so singular in their nature and consequences as to merit a particular explanation. In order to secure the monopoly at which she aimed, Spain did not vest the trade with her colonies in an exclusive company, a plan which has been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better understood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the East and West Indies, to exclusive companies. The English, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with respect to the East Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a similar restraint upon some branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, devise a method for checking the progress of industry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The interest of the colony, and of the exclusive company, must in every point be diametrically opposite; and as the latter possesses such advantages in this unequal contest, that it can prescribe at pleasure the terms of intercourse, the former must not only buy dear and sell cheap, but must suffer the mortification of having the increase of its surplus stock discouraged by those very persons to whom alone it can dispose of its productions.

Spain, it is probable, was preserved from falling into this error of policy by the high ideas which she early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and silver were commodities of too high a value to vest a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wished to retain the direction of a commerce so inviting; and, in order to secure that, ordained the cargo of every ship fitted out for America to be inspected by the officers of the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville before it could receive a license to make the voyage; and that, on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought should be made to the same board before it could be permitted to land them. In consequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centred originally in the port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has continued, with little variation, from the middle of the sixteenth century almost to our own times. For the greater security of the valuable cargoes sent to America, as well as for the more easy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain with its colonies is carried on by fleets which sail under strong convoys. These fleets, consisting of two squadrons, one distinguished by the name of the *Galeons*, the other by that of the *Flota*, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have sailed from it since the year 1720.

The Galeons destined to supply Tierra Firme, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almost every article of luxury or necessary consumption, that an opulent people can demand, touch first at Carthagena, and then at Porto Bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and several other provinces, resort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the season when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in these two kingdoms, together with their other valuable commodities, is transported by sea to Panama. From thence, as soon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed across the isthmus, partly on mules and partly down the river Chagre to Porto Bello. This paltry village, the climate of which, from the pernicious union of excessive heat, continual moisture; and the putrid exhalations arising from a rank soil, is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the residence of a few Negroes and Mulattoes, and of a miserable garrison relieved every three months, Porto Bello assumes suddenly a very different aspect, and its streets are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and, during its prescribed term of forty days, the richest traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finished with that simplicity of transaction, and that unbounded confidence, which accompany extensive commerce. [188] The Flota holds its course to Vera Cruz. The treasures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were deposited at Puebla de los Angeles, in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither; and the commercial operations of Vera Cruz, conducted in the same manner with those of Porto Bello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as soon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havana, and return in company to Europe.

The trade of Spain with her colonies, while thus fettered and restricted, came necessarily to be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the same principles as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a single port, it was of course thrown into a few hands, and almost the whole of it was gradually engrossed by a small number of wealthy houses, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. These by combinations, which they can easily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their natural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual interest, they may raise or lower the value of them at pleasure. In consequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent., are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies. From the same engrossing spirit it frequently happens that traders of the second order, whose warehouses do not contain a complete assortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchase from the more opulent merchants such goods as they want at a lower price than that for which they are sold in the colonies. With the same vigilant jealousy that an exclusive company guards against the intrusion of the free trader, those overgrown monopolists endeavor to check the progress of every one whose encroachments they dread. This restraint of the American commerce to one port not only affects its domestic state, but limits its foreign operations. A monopolist may acquire more, and certainly will hazard less, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extensive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his interest not to enlarge, but to circumscribe the sphere of his activity; and instead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial industry, it may be the object of his attention to check and set bounds to them. By some such maxim the mercantile policy of Spain seems to have regulated its intercourse with America. Instead of furnishing the colonies with European goods in such quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate, the merchants of Seville and Cadiz seem to have supplied them with a sparing hand, that the eagerness of competition, among customers obliged to purchase in a scanty market, might enable the Spanish factors to dispose of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the last century, when the exclusive trade to America from Seville was in its most flourishing state, the burden of the two united squadrons of the Galeons and Flota did not exceed twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons. The supply which such a fleet could carry must have been very inadequate to the demands of those populous and extensive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries and many of the necessaries of life.

Spain early became sensible of her declension from her former prosperity; and many respectable and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in devising methods for reviving the decaying industry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies proposed, we may judge how desperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some, confounding a violation of police with criminality against the state, contended that, in order to check illicit commerce, every person convicted of carrying it on should be punished with death, and confiscation of all his effects. Others, forgetting the distinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, insisted that contraband trade should be ranked among the crimes reserved for the cognizance of the Inquisition; that such as were guilty of it might be tried and punished according to the secret and summary form in which that dreadful tribunal exercises its jurisdiction. Others, uninstructed by observing the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where

they have been established, have proposed to vest the trade with America in exclusive companies, which interest would render the most vigilant guardians of the Spanish commerce against the encroachment of the interlopers.

Besides these wild projects, many schemes, better digested and more beneficial, were suggested. But under the feeble monarchs with whom the reign of the Austrian line in Spain closed, incapacity and indecision are conspicuous in every department of government. Instead of taking for their model the active administration of Charles V., they affected to imitate the cautious procrastinating wisdom of Philip II.; and destitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domestic as well as foreign languished. These evils continued to increase; and Spain, with dominions more extensive and more opulent than any European state, possessed neither vigor, nor money, [189] nor industry. At length, the violence of a great national convulsion roused the slumbering genius of Spain. The efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war kindled by the dispute concerning the succession of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth, in some degree, the ancient spirit and vigor of the nation. While men were thus forming, capable of adopting sentiments more liberal than those which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the course of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected source the means of availing itself of their talents. The various powers who favored the pretensions either of the Austrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spanish throne, sent formidable fleets and armies to their support; France, England, and Holland remitted immense sums to Spain. These were spent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treasure, of which foreigners had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this era one of the most intelligent Spanish authors dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges, that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquisition of a fund of circulating specie in some measure adequate to the exigencies of the public.

As soon as the Bourbons obtained quiet possession of the throne, they discerned this change in the spirit of the people and in the state of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that family has not given monarchs to Spain remarkable for superiority of genius, they have all been beneficent princes, attentive to the happiness of their subjects, and solicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly, the first object of Philip V. to suppress an innovation which had crept in during the course of the war, and had overturned the whole system of the Spanish commerce with America. The English and Dutch, by their superiority in naval power, having acquired such command of the sea as to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furnish her subjects in America those necessaries of life without which they could not exist, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treasure, departed so far from the usual rigor of its maxims as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigor, and carried it on upon principles very different from those of the Spaniards. They supplied Peru with European commodities at a moderate price, and not in stinted quantity. The goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spanish America in such abundance as had never been known in any former period. If this intercourse had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain must have ceased, and the dependence of the colonies on the mother country have been at an end. The most peremptory injunctions were therefore issued [1713,] prohibiting the admission of foreign vessels into any port of Peru or Chili, and a Spanish squadron was employed to clear the South Sea of intruders, whose aid was no longer necessary.

But though, on the cessation of the war which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain obtained relief from one encroachmnnt on her commercial system, she was exposed to another which she deemed hardly less pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Anne to conclude a peace, which France and Spain desired with equal ardor, Philip V., not only conveyed to Great Britain the *Assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with Negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In consequence of this, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies was removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in the towns of most extensive trade, and of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American provinces, of observing their stated and occasional wants, and of knowing what commodities might be imported into them with the greatest advantage. In consequence of information so authentic and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica and other English colonies who traded to the Spanish main were enabled to assort and proportion their cargoes so exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the most fatal consequence of the Assiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the British South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authorized to make by the ship sent annually to Porto Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish continent without limitation or restraint. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons, as stipulated in the treaty, they usually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burden. She was accompanied by two or three smaller vessels, which, mooring in some neighboring creek, supplied her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods to replace such as were sold. The inspectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant presents, connived at the fraud. [190] Thus, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almost the whole trade of Spanish America was engrossed by foreigners. The immense commerce of the Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, sunk to nothing [1737]; and the squadron itself, reduced from fifteen thousand to two thousand tons, served hardly any purpose but to fetch home the royal revenue arising from the fifth on silver.

While Spain observed those encrachments, and felt so sensibly their pernicious effects, it was impossible not to make some effort to restrain them. Her first expedient was to station ships of force, under the appellation of *guarda costas*, upon the coasts of those provinces to which interlopers most frequently resorted. As private interest concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded those vessels vigilant and active, some check was given to the progress of the contraband trade, though in dominions so extensive and so accessible by sea, hardly any number of cruisers was sufficient to guard against its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourse which had been carried on with so much facility, that the merchants in the British colonies were accustomed to consider it almost as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints. These, authorized in some measure, and rendered more interesting by several unjustifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spanish guarda costas, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain [1739]; in consequence of which the latter obtained a final release from the Assiento, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies without being restrained by any engagement with a foreign power.

As the formidable encroachments of the English on their American trade, had discovered to the Spaniards the vast consumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occasional demand of the various provinces, they perceived the necessity of devising some method of supplying their colonies, different from their ancient one of sending thither periodical fleets. That mode of communication had been found not only to be uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was sometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe; but long experience had shown it to be ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely supply of what it wanted. The scarcity of European goods in the Spanish settlements frequently became excessive; their price rose to an enormous height; the vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to observe this favorable opportunity: an ample supply was poured in by interlopers from the English, the French, and Dutch islands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets so glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain has permitted a considerable part of her commerce with America to be carried on by *register ships*. These are fitted out during the intervals between the stated seasons when the Galeons and Flota sail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a license from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are destined for those ports in America where any extraordinary demand is foreseen or expected. By this expedient, such a regular supply of the commodities for which there is the greatest demand is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the same prospect of excessive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the same necessity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

In proportion as experience manifested the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of register ships increased; and at length, in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally laid aside. From that period there has been no intercourse with Chili and Peru but by single ships, despatched from time to time as occasion requires, and when the merchants expect a profitable market will open. These ships sail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people settled in those countries were formerly obliged to repair to Porto Bello or Panama. These towns, as has been formerly observed, must gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their prosperity. This disadvantage, however, is more than compensated by the beneficial effects of this new arrangement, as the whole continent of South America receives new supplies of European commodities with so much regularity, and in such abundance, as must not only contribute greatly to the happiness, but increase the population of all the colonies settled there. But as all the register ships destined for the South Seas must still take their departure from Cadiz, and are obliged to return thither, this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues subject to the restraints of a species of monopoly, and feels those pernicious effects of it which I have already described.

Nor has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its more flourishing colonies; it has extended likewise to the reviving commerce in those settlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new tastes which the people of Europe have acquired in consequence of importing the productions of those countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the most universal. The use of this liquor, made with a paste formed of the nut or almond of the cacao tree compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, so palatable, so nourishing, and so wholesome, that it has become a commercial article of considerable importance. The cacao tree grows spontaneously in several parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the best quality, next to those of Guatimala on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firme. In consequence of this acknowledged superiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extensive than in any district of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of their settlements in the small islands of Curazoa and Buenos Ayres, to the coast of Caraccas, gradually engrossed the greatest part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother country for this valuable commodity ceased almost entirely; and such was the supine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil no less disgraceful than pernicious to his subjects, Philip V., in the year 1728, granted to a body of merchants an exclusive right to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana, on condition of their employing, at their own expense, a sufficient number of armed vessels to clear the coast of interlopers. This society, distinguished sometimes by the name of the Company of Guipuscoa, from the province of Spain in which it is established, and sometimes by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the district of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with such vigor and success, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce which she had suffered to be wrested from her, and is plentifully supplied

with an article of extensive consumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent state, but the colony of Caraccas, has derived great advantages from this institution; for although, at the first aspect, it may appear to be one of those monopolies whose tendency is to check the spirit of industry instead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner by several salutary regulations framed upon foresight of such bad effects, and on purpose to obviate them. The planters in the Caraccas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities or the sale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary islands have the privilege of sending thither annually a register ship of considerable burden; and from Vera Cruz, in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In consequence of this, there is such a competition, that both with respect to what the colonies purchase and what they sell, the price seems to be fixed at its natural and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raising the former, or of degrading the latter, at pleasure; and accordingly, since it was established, the increase of culture, of population, and of live stock, in the province of Caraccas, has been very considerable. [191]

But as it is slowly that nations relinquish any system which time has rendered venerable, and as it is still more slowly that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accustomed to flow, Philip V., in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid such deference to the ancient maxim of Spain, concerning the limitation of importation from the New World to one harbor, as to oblige both the register ships which returned from Peru, and those of the Guipuscoan Company from Caraccas, to deliver their cargoes in the port of Cadiz. Since his reign, sentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to spread in Spain. The spirit of philosophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the present age to have turned from frivolous or abstruse speculations to the business and affairs of men, has extended its influence beyond the Pyrenees. In the researches of ingenious authors concerning the police or commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spanish system with respect to both met every eye, and have not only been exposed with severity, but are held up as a warning to other states. The Spaniards, stung with the reproaches of these authors, or convinced by their arguments, and admonished by several enlightened writers of their own country, seem at length to have discovered the destructive tendency of those narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce in all its operations, have so long retarded its progress. It is to the monarch now on the throne that Spain is indebted for the first public regulation formed in consequence of such enlarged ideas.

While Spain adhered with rigor to her ancient maxim concerning her commerce with America, she was so much afraid of opening any channel by which an illicit trade might find admission into the colonies, that she almost shut herself out from any intercourse with them but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no establishment, for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence, between the mother country and its American settlements. From the want of this necessary institution, the operations of the state, as well as the business of individuals, were retarded or conducted unskilfully, and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was sensibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious, that jealous spirit with which the Spanish monarchs guarded the exclusive trade, restrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. surmounted those considerations which had deterred his predecessors, and in the year 1764 appointed packet boats to be despatched on the first day of each month from Corugna to the Havana or Porto Rico. From thence letters are conveyed in smaller vessels to Vera Cruz and Porto Bello, and transmitted by post through the kingdoms of Tierra Firme, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no less regularity packet boats sail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the east of the Andes. Thus provision is made for a speedy and certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vast dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages must redound to the political and mercantile interest of the kingdom. With this new arrangement a scheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet boats, which are vessels of some considerable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of such commodities as are the product of Spain, and most in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for these, they may bring home to Corugna an equal quantity of American productions. This may be considered as the first relaxation of those rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a single port, and the first attempt to admit the rest of the kingdom to some share in it.

It was soon followed by one more decisive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the windward Islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his subjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to sail from certain ports in each province, which are specified in the edict, at any season, and with whatever cargo they deemed most proper, without any other warrant than a simple clearance from the custom-house of the place whence they took their departure. He released them from the numerous and oppressive duties imposed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole substituted a moderate tax of six in the hundred on the commodities sent from Spain. He allowed them to return either to the same port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargo on payment of the usual duties. This ample privilege, which at once broke through all the fences which the jealous policy of Spain had been laboring for two centuries and a half to throw round its commercial intercourse with the New World, was soon after extended to Louisiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy.

The propriety of this innovation, which may be considered as the most liberal effort of Spanish legislation, has appeared from its effects. Prior to the edict in favor of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconsiderable, and that of Yucatan and Campeachy was engrossed almost entirely by interlopers But as soon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourse with those provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progression of which there are few examples in the history of nations. In less than ten years, the trade of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in those settlements where, from the languishing state of industry, greater efforts were requisite to restore its activity, their commerce has been doubled. It is computed that such a number of ships is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota at the most flourishing era of their commerce. The benefits of this arrangement are not confined to a few merchants established in a favorite port. They are diffused through every province of the kingdom; and, by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, must encourage and add vivacity to the industry of the farmer and artificer. Nor does the kingdom profit only by what it exports; it derives advantage likewise from what it receives in return, and has the prospect of being soon able to supply itself with several commodities of extensive consumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The consumption of sugar in Spain is perhaps as great, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But though possessed of countries in the New World whose soil and climate are most proper for rearing the sugar-cane; though the domestic culture of that valuable plant in the kingdom of Granada was once considerable; such has been the fatal tendency of ill judged institutions in America, and such the pressure of improper taxes in Europe, that Spain has lost almost entirely this branch of industry, which has enriched other nations. This commodity, which has now become an article of primary necessity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchase of foreigners, and had the mortification to see their country drained annually of great sums on that account But, if that spirit which the permission of free trade has put in motion shall persevere in its efforts with the same vigor, the cultivation of sugar in Cuba and Porto Rico may increase so much, that in a few years it is probable that their growth of sugars may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Spain has been induced, by her experience of the beneficial consequences resulting from having relaxed somewhat of the rigor of her ancient laws, with respect to the commerce of the mother country with the colonies, to permit a more liberal intercourse of one colony with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old system, all the provinces situated on the South seas were prohibited, under the most severe penalties, from holding any communication with one another. Though each of these yields peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happiness of their respective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progress in industry, so solicitous was the Council of the Indies to prevent their receiving any supply of their wants but by the periodical fleets from Europe, that, in order to guard against this, it cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in the southern provinces of New Spain, in Guatimala, and the new kingdom of Granada, from such a correspondence with their fellow subjects as tended manifestly to their mutual prosperity. Of all the numerous restrictions devised by Spain for securing the exclusive trade with her American settlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none seems to have been more sensibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance, coeval with the settlements of Spain in the countries situated on the Pacific Ocean, is at last redressed. In the year 1774, Charles III. published an edict, granting to the four great provinces which I have mentioned the privilege of a free trade with each other. [192] What may be the effects of opening this communication between countries destined by their situation for reciprocal intercourse, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extensive. The motives for granting this permission are manifestly no less laudable than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both discover the progress of a spirit in Spain, far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which her system for regulating the trade and conducting the government of her colonies was originally founded.

At the same time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, suggested by more enlarged views of policy, into her system of American commerce, she has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. Here, too, there was much room for reformation and improvement; and Don Joseph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department of Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the best opportunities, not only of observing the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of discovering the sources of those evils. After being employed seven years in the New World on an extraordinary mission, and with very extensive powers, as inspector-general of New Spain; after visiting in person the remote provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California, and making several important alterations in the state of the police and revenue; he began his ministry with a general reformation of the tribunals of justice in America. In consequence of the progress of population and wealth in the colonies, the business of the Courts of Audience has increased so much that the number of judges of which they were originally composed has been found inadequate to the growing labors and duties of the office, and the salaries settled upon them have been deemed inferior to the dignity of the station. As a remedy for both, he obtained a royal edict, establishing an additional number of judges in each Court of Audience, with higher titles, and more ample appointments.

To the same intelligent minister Spain is indebted for a new distribution of government in its American provinces. Even since the establishment of a third viceroyalty in the new kingdom of Granada, so great is the extent of the Spanish dominions in the New World, that several places subject to the jurisdiction of each viceroy were at such an enormous distance from the capitals in which they resided, that neither their attention nor authority could reach so far. Some provinces subordinate to the viceroy of New Spain lay above two thousand miles from Mexico. There were countries subject to the viceroy of Peru still further from Lima. The people in those remote districts could hardly be said to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppression and insolence of its inferior ministers they often feel, and rather submit to these in silence than involve themselves in the expense and trouble of resorting to the distant capital, where alone they can find redress. As a remedy for this, a fourth viceroyalty has been erected, [Aug. 1776] to the jurisdiction of which are subjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, St. Cuz de la Sierra Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well judged arrangement two advantages are gained. All the inconveniencies occasioned by the remote situation of those provinces, which had been long felt, and long complained of, are in a great measure removed. The countries most distant from Lima are separated from the viceroyalty of Peru, and united under a superior, whose seat of government at Buenos Ayres will be commodious and accessible.

The contraband trade with the Portuguese, which was become so extensive as must have put a final stop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her southern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly, and with greater facility, when the supreme magistrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it was carried on, can view its progress and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zevallos, who has been raised to this new dignity, with appointments equal to those of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the state and the interests of the countries over which he is to preside, having served in them long, and with distinction. By this dismemberment, succeeding that which took place at the erection of the viceroyalty of the new kingdom of Granada, almost two-third parts of the territories originally subject to the viceroys of Peru, are now lopped off from their jurisdiction.

The limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain have likewise been considerably circumscribed, and with no less propriety and discernment. Four of its most remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a separate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is intrusted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank; but his jurisdiction is altogether independent on the viceroyalty of New Spain. The erection of this last government seems to have been suggested not only by the consideration of the remote situation of those provinces from Mexico, but by attention to the late discoveries made there which I have mentioned. Countries containing the richest mines of gold that have hitherto been discovered in the New World, and which probably may rise into greater importance, required the immediate inspection of a governor to whom they should be specially committed. As every consideration of duty, of interest, and of vanity, must concur in prompting those new governors to encourage such exertions as tend to diffuse opulence and prosperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be considerable. Many districts in America, long depressed by the languor and feebleness natural to provinces which compose the extremities of an overgrown empire, may be animated with vigor and activity when brought so near the seat of power as to feel its invigorating influence.

Such, since the accession of the princes of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, has been the progress of their regulations, and the gradual expansion of their views with respect to the commerce and government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been so entirely engrossed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was still more important, the reformation of domestic errors and defects in policy. Fully sensible of the causes to which the declension of Spain from her former prosperity ought to be imputed, they have made it a great object of their policy to revive a spirit of industry among their subjects, and to give such extent and perfection to their manufactures as may enable them to supply the demands of America from their own stock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been so fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavored to accomplish by a variety of edicts issued since the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of some branches of industry; they have lowered the taxes on others; they have entirely prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, such foreign manufactures as come in competition with their own; they have instituted societies for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of husbandmen in some uncultivated districts of Spain, and divided among them the waste fields; they have had recourse to every expedient devised by commercial wisdom or commercial jealousy, for reviving their own industry, and discountenancing that of other nations. These, however, it is not my province to explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legislation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain than an attempt to revive the spirit of industry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations, already possessed of extensive commerce, enter into competition with such advantages, derived from the large capitals and extensive credit of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, and the alertness acquired by habit in every department of business, that the state which aims at rivalling or supplanting them, must expect to struggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance slowly. If the quantity of productive industry, now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the last listless monarchs of the Austrian line, its progress must appear considerable, and is sufficient to alarm the jealousy, and to call forth the most vigorous efforts of the nations now in possession of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wresting from them. One circumstance may render those exertions of Spain an object of more serious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be ascribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its ministers. The sentiments and spirit of the people seem to second the provident care of their monarchs, and to give it greater effect. The nation has adopted more liberal ideas, not only with respect to commerce, but domestic policy. In all the later Spanish writers, defects in the arrangement of their country concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies proposed, which ignorance rendered their ancestors incapable of discerning, and pride would not have allowed them to confess. [193] But after all that the Spaniards have done, much remains to do. Many pernicious institutions and abuses, deeply incorporated with the system of internal policy and taxation, which has been long established in Spain, must be abolished before industry and manufactures can recover an extensive activity.

Still, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with respect to her colonies are too rigid and systematical to be carried into complete execution. The legislature that loads trade with impositions too heavy, or fetters it by restrictions too severe, defeats its own intention, and is only multiplying the inducements to violate its statutes, and proposing a high premium to encourage illicit traffic. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, being circumscribed in their mutual intercourse, by the jealousy of the crown, or oppressed by its exactions, have their invention continually on the stretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and ingenuity of private interest discover means of effecting this, which public wisdom cannot foresee nor public authority prevent. This spirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the highest departments in government descends to the lowest. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade are often employed as instruments in carrying it on; and the boards instituted to restrain and punish it are the channels through which it flows. The king is supposed, by the most intelligent Spanish writers, to be defrauded, by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America; and as long as it is the interest of so many persons to screen those artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. "How many ordinances," says Corita, "how many instructions, how many letters from our sovereign, are sent in order to correct abuses! and how little are they observed, and what small advantage is derived from them! To me the old observation appears just, that where there are many physicians and many medicines, there is a want of health; where there are many laws and many judges, there is want of justice. We have viceroys, presidents, governors, oydors, corrigidors, alcaldes; and thousands of alguazils abound every where; but notwithstanding all these, public abuses continue to multiply." Time has increased the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A spirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the seat of government; impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return speedily from what they are apt to consider as a state of exile in a remote unhealthful country; allured by opportunities too tempting to be resisted, and seduced by the example of those around them; find their sentiments of honor and of duty gradually relax. In private life they give themselves up to a dissolute luxury, while in their public conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their sovereign and to their country.

Before I close this account of the Spanish trade in America there remains one detached but important branch of it to be mentioned. Soon after his accession to the throne, Philip II. formed a scheme of planting a colony in the Philippine islands which had been neglected since the time of their discovery; and he accomplished it by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain [1564]. Manila, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of this new establishment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippine islands under the Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered the impropriety of fixing upon that as the port of communication with Manila, the staple of the commerce between the East and West was removed from Callao to Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain.

After various arrangements it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ships depart annually from Acapulco, which are permitted to carry out silver to the amount of five hundred thousand pesos; but they have hardly any thing else of value on board; in return for which they bring back spices, drugs, china, and japan wares, calicoes, chintz, muslins, silks, and every precious article with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people has enabled the East to supply the rest of the world. For some time the merchants of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffic, and might send annually a ship to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the vessels from Manila, and receive a proportional share of the commodities which they imported. At length the Peruvians were excluded from this trade by most rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the East reserved solely for the consumption of New Spain.

In consequence of this indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spanish colonies. The manufactures of the East are not only more suited to a warm climate, and more showy than those of Europe, but can be sold at a lower price; while, at the same time, the profits upon them are so considerable as to enrich all those who are employed either in bringing them from Manila or vending them in New Spain. As the interest both of the buyer and seller concurred in favoring this branch of commerce, it has continued to extend in spite of regulations concerted with the most anxious jealousy to circumscribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, great quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain; [194] and when the Flota arrives at Vera Cruz, from Europe, it often finds the wants of the people already supplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

There is not, in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumstance more inexplicable than the permission of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependence on the mother country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourse that might suggest to them the idea of receiving a supply of their wants from any other quarter. This permission must appear still more extraordinary, from considering that Spain herself carries on no direct trade with her settlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies which she denies to her subjects in Europe. It is probable that the colonists, who originally took possession of the Philippines, having been sent out from New Spain, began this intercourse with a country which they considered, in some measure, as the parent state, before the court of Madrid was aware of its consequences, or could establish regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give rise to a spirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigor to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between New Spain and Manila seems to be as considerable as ever, and may be considered as one chief cause of the elegance and splendor conspicuous in this part of the Spanish dominions.

But notwithstanding this general corruption in the colonies of Spain, and the diminution of the income belonging to the public, occasioned by the illicit importations made by foreigners, as well as by the various frauds of which the colonists themselves are guilty in their commerce with the parent state, the Spanish monarchs receive a very considerable revenue from their American dominions. This arises from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided, into three capital branches. The first contains what is paid to the king, as sovereign, or superior lord of the New World; to this class belongs the duty on the gold and silver raised from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians: the former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of signiory*, the latter is the *duty of vassalage*. The second branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce

which accompany and oppress it in every step of its progress, from the greatest transactions of the wholesale merchant to the petty traffic of the vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the king, as head of the church, and administrator of ecclesiastical funds in the New World. In consequence of this he receives the first fruits, annates, spoils, and other spiritual revenues, levied by the apostolic chamber in Europe; and is entitled likewise to the profit arising from the sale of the bull of Cruzado. This bull, which is published every two years, contains an absolution from past offences by the Pope, and, among other immunities, a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in dispersing those bulls extol their virtues with all the fervor of interested eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, listen with implicit assent; and every person in the Spanish colonies, of European, or Creolian, or mixed race, purchases a bull, which is deemed essential to his salvation, at the rate set upon it by government. [195]

What may be the amount of those various funds, it is almost impossible to determine with precision. The extent of the Spanish dominions in America, the jealousy of government, which renders them inaccessible to foreigners, the mysterious silence which the Spaniards are accustomed to observe with respect to the interior state of their colonies, combine in covering this subject with a veil which it is not easy to remove. But an account, apparently no less accurate than it is curious, has lately been published of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form some idea with respect to what is collected in the other provinces. According to that account the crown does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain above a million of our money, from which one half must be deducted as the expense of the provincial establishment. [196] Peru, it is probable, yields a sum not inferior to this; and if we suppose that all the other regions of America, including the islands, furnish a third share of equal value, we shall not perhaps be far wide from the truth if we conclude that the net public revenue of Spain, raised in America, does not exceed a million and a half sterling. This falls far short of the immense sums to which suppositions, founded upon conjecture, have raised the Spanish revenue in America. [197] It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers who derive a direct revenue from their colonies. All the advantage that accrues to other nations from their American dominions arises from the exclusive enjoyment of their trade: but besides this, Spain has brought her colonies towards increasing the power of the state, and, in return for protection, to bear a proportional share of the common burden.

Accordingly, the sum which I have computed to be the amount of the Spanish revenue from America arises wholly from the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the king from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties imposed on the commodities exported from Spain to America [198], as well as what is paid by those which she sends home return; the tax upon the Negro slaves with which Africa supplies the New World, together with several smaller branches of finance, bring large sums into the treasury, the precise extent of which I cannot pretend to ascertain.

But if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expense of administration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domestic police and finances, Spain has adopted a system more complex, and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals and a multitude of officers, than that of any European nation in which the sovereign possesses such extensive power. From the jealous spirit with which Spain watches over her American settlements, and her endeavors to guard against fraud in provinces so remote from inspection, boards and officers have been multiplied there with still more anxious attention. In a country where the expense of living is great, the salaries allotted to every person in public office must be high, and must load the revenue with an immense burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the new kingdom of Granada, as representatives of the king's person, among people fond of ostentation, maintain all the state and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of power, displaying such pomp as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expense incurred by supporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have, besides, peculiar appointments suited to their exalted station. The salaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate; that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thousand ducats; and that of the viceroy of Mexico twenty thousand ducats. Of late they have been raised to forty thousand.

These salaries, however, constitute but a small part of the revenue enjoyed by the viceroys. The exercise of an absolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of disposing of many lucrative offices, afford them many opportunities of accumulating wealth. To these, which may be considered as legal and allowed emoluments, large sums are often added by exactions, which, in countries so far removed from the seat of government, it is not easy to discover, and impossible to restrain. By monopolising some branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raise such an annual revenue as no subject of any European monarch enjoys. [199] From the single article of presents made to him on the anniversary of his *Name-day* (which is always observed as a high festival), I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive sixty thousand pesos. According to a Spanish saying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are unknown, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conscience. Sensible of this, the kings of Spain, as I have formerly observed, grant a commission to their viceroys only for a few years. This circumstance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardor wherewith they labor to improve every moment of a power which they know is hastening fast to a period; and short as its duration is, it usually affords sufficient time for repairing a shattered fortune, or for creating a new one. But even in situations so trying to human frailty, there are instances of virtue that remains unseduced. In the year 1772, the Marquis de Croix finished the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unsuspected integrity; and, instead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applause of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

BOOK IX.

Decline of Spain and failure of her colonization.—Separation of Brazil and independence of the several States of South America.

We now enter upon a period where an entirely new phase of circumstances is presented, a period which differs from all others in the world's history, and which marks a new era not only in the polity and limits of the nations, but in the active elements of human progress. To understand the nature of the changes in organization and government among the various divisions of the South American continent, which we shall have to follow, it is necessary to take a general but somewhat comprehensive view of the conditions that were now surrounding the nations of Europe, and also of the policy chosen by Spain as a guidance in the management of her colonies. We have seen in the previous chapter, as through a cloud of other historical facts, the gradual weakening of Spanish power. The brilliant lustre that surrounded the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella, and which shone with undiminished splendor throughout the long reign of Charles V., waned rapidly during the rule of his bigoted and despotic son. Philip II., on the resignation of Charles, entered upon the grandest heritage which the world had seen since the downfall of the Roman empire—one which has had no parallel, save in the imperial sway of Great Britain at the present day.

The sovereignty of Spain was acknowledged not only in Mexico and throughout the larger portion of South America, but in almost all the islands of the Atlantic, in the Low Countries, and in Italy, in the northern portion of Africa, and throughout many of the richest islands of Asia. Her armies were the finest in Europe, and her navies carried the flag of Castile into every known portion of the seas. No prince ever assumed the regal authority with better prospects, none ever had had a grander dominion or a finer opportunity to enhance the glory of his country, and none fell into a lower degradation.

Arrogant and tyrannical in the highest degree, Philip II. added to the worst qualities of the human heart a blind infatuation for the Church. The terrors that signalized the reign of his English wife, Queen Mary, were as nothing compared with the studied cruelties whereby he delighted to torture those of his subjects who refused to accept the extremest doctrines of the Papacy. To his perjured conscience the violation of solemn obligations was no crime, but a virtue. He ruled with the refinement of infamy. To him the honor of Spain was a laughing-stock. He flung treaties in shreds to the winds, that he might deluge the streets with blood, till at length rebellion rose out of popular desperation, and the star of Spanish power began to set for ever.

It was not in the dismal halls of the Inquisition only that the shadow first began to fall. The atrocities which Philip attempted to justify as "Acts of Faith" would alone have sufficed to brand him as pre-eminent in cruelty and religious bigotry. But these have not been always incompatible with the higher powers of government. There was, however, in Philip's character, no sufficient redeeming quality. He was the foe to liberty in every form, as he was also the enemy of toleration. He affected to despise his people, and doing so he forbade them the rights to which they were entitled, and strove by every device within his reach to deprive them of the few that they already had. He set laws at defiance, wrung oppressive taxes from both rich and poor, trampled upon ancient privileges, set violent restrictions upon trade and industry, and, in short, reduced the whole of the nation to a state of terror and degradation. But he did not crush out the spirit of independence that even in those days could make itself felt. His Moorish subjects in the southern provinces broke out into open rebellion. The Flemings in the north, under the guidance of the Prince of Orange, conspired to free themselves from a foreign yoke which had become intolerable, and a similar wish spread through the Italian provinces of the kingdom. The severest measures were taken against those who had rebelled. The public executioner was a functionary attached to all the armies of Philip which were sent to control his subjects. But towns laid waste, whole regions desolated, and men, women, and children slaughtered as victims to the mockery of justice, did not prevent the Dutch Republic, the repudiation of the Papacy in the Low Countries, the election of a Stadtholder in the person of Prince William, and thereby the first and greatest blow that was struck at the tyrannical supremacy of Spain.

But these rebellions were not the only fruits of cruelty and fanaticism. The vast wealth that had begun to pour into Spain from her American dependencies was absorbed in their suppression. Men, and money too, were lavished in warlike expeditions in France and Portugal, and in the great armada that dissolved so miserably when hurled against the homes of England. The industries of the country were paralyzed. Monopolies established to force the colonies into trade with Spain failed. Foreigners, and especially the English, supplied the colonists with articles which they could not procure in the parent country, and thus began to undermine the whole fabric of Spanish commerce. The currents of gold and silver which had been flowing from Mexico and the south were turned away from those ports in Spain whither the government had so uselessly ordered that they should be directed, and henceforth they went to enrich the treasuries of London and Amsterdam. For trade then as now was governed by enterprise, and could not be created though it might be ruined by imperial decrees.

The evil influence of this decline in the national vigor was made more evident after the death, without issue, of Charles II. The treaty of Utrecht, which closed the contest that had been raging between the Archduke Charles and Philip of Anjou since the demise of that prince, further advanced the disruption of the empire. The balance of power had already become a fiction in European politics. To maintain it, Philip, when secured on the throne, was obliged to renounce all claim to the French crown; and a similar renunciation was taken from his brothers for the kingdom of Spain. But this was not deemed sufficient, and accordingly, Minorca and Gibraltar passed into the possession of England, Sardinia became an appanage of the house of Savoy, and Austria took a part of the Low Countries, Milan, Naples, and Sicily. Independent of these direct losses of territory, the war of succession further crippled the internal resources of the country, which has at all times been remarkable for a lack of that vitality and power of resuscitation which is a characteristic of more vigorous people. The provinces which had advocated the cause of Charles were never forgiven by Philip, who deprived them of what privileges they possessed, treated them in all respects as conquered and rebellious, and thus maintained a constant drawback to the permanent strength of his kingdom. The supremacy of the house of Bourbon was in many respects an advantage. The princes of that house, or their ministers, were shrewd, politic, and capable of perceiving the several directions in which it was necessary to work in order to check, if not to stop, the downward career of the national influence. And it cannot be denied that they did check it in some measure. Native industries revived, and with them a new impulse was given to foreign trade. But it is doubtful whether the advantages were not fully counterbalanced by

still greater evils. The country became involved in dangerous and exhausting wars which it could not afford, and these not only alienated the moral sympathy of nations which should have been secured as friends, but it impelled the maritime powers to take every occasion for weakening Spain at sea, and thereby striking the heaviest blows on a place where they would be most effectual. An attempt was made to repudiate the treaty of Utrecht. But hardly had it become known, when a British squadron made its appearance in the Mediterranean, and by destroying a Spanish fleet that lay off the coast of Sicily showed that the influence of the empire had already so far abated, that concession to the dictates of other European powers had now become a necessity. Spain was no longer the autocrat of Europe, but, on the contrary, must yield submission to authorities which a few generations before she would have affected to despise. It need not be supposed that the downfall was accepted without many fierce struggles. Commercial rivalries gave the excuse for contesting the superiority of England, and invariably with results that were more or less ruinous to Spain.

In the war between England and France, which broke the short peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and supplied opportunities for Washington to display his genius in the North American Colonies, the disasters that befell the great armies of Louis XV. spread a sense of terror and consternation throughout the Peninsula. It was feared that the successful generals of George II. would not stay their progress at the French frontier, and so arose the "family compact" of the princes of Bourbon, which dragged Spain into a war that was of all others the most disastrous into which France had ever entered. Her navies were well-nigh destroyed, and English supremacy secured not only over the ocean, but in India and America. The very means taken to defend the strength of the nation proved the causes of its destruction. The Bourbon compact was met by the immediate declaration of war by England against Spain, and the speedy loss of the islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucie were the first and very early consequences of it. Havanna followed after a resistance of two months, and soon the Philippines surrendered in like manner to a British commander. These, and other colonial conquests from France as well as Spain, led to a peace which left the latter power curtailed materially in her American possessions, impoverished in her treasury, and demoralized in all that is requisite to a strong and influential people. But it did not prevent new efforts to regain a portion, at least, of their former ascendancy, and it was with more zeal than discretion that the Spanish Court at length yielded to the representations of her old ally, to take up arms and join in the confederation against England during her struggle with the thirteen colonies of America. The declaration of war by Great Britain against Holland, as a consequence of the Dutch treaty with the confederacy formed by the Empress of Russia for an armed neutrality, strengthened the hopes of Spain in making this concession to the demands of France, and she entered upon a campaign on the borders of Mexico with more than usual energy. Florida, which at the previous peace she had exchanged for Havanna, was recovered, and in the space of a few months the Spanish flag waved over many of the English forts down the course of the Mississippi. But the terms which were ultimately made for the transfer of these possessions to the United States government were no compensation for the utter ruin which this war had caused to the Spanish power. The general peace of 1783 found her with the loss of the Bahama islands, and a still more impoverished condition in regard to internal resources than had ever been experienced in all her downward career since the time of Charles V. Every effort had been strained, every available man, and more than all available money, had been used to sustain a struggle which not only left the nation enfeebled and irretrievably poor, but without the means of recovering its former life. The shock which had deprived the Spanish crown from time to time of its West Indian possessions had also ruined the trade of Spanish subjects upon the seas.

It is remarkable that throughout the unequal contest which England waged during the struggle of the North American colonies for independence, the energies of her merchants never relaxed. Their operations widened. Every new conquest was instantly taken advantage of. And thus, when peace was declared, the commerce of England was suddenly found to be more prosperous than even the most sanguine could have anticipated. This was due to several causes. The separation of the colonies and the stimulus which they received from independence was one of them. Increase of territory in all quarters of the world was another. But very much of the accession was due to losses sustained by France and Spain. The navies of these two powers were for all practical purposes annihilated, and foreign trade could not in those days be maintained where all maritime supremacy was lost. Moreover, the restrictions which Spain had long persistently imposed upon her South American colonies were materially loosened. In the West Indies, they were virtually destroyed. If there had been no nation ready at the moment to take advantage of these circumstances, a steady, peaceful competition would have gradually resuscitated foreign trade, but even then Spain, wrecked and humiliated as she was, could not have kept pace with nations of energy and enterprise. As it was, the occasion was not afforded. England had not forgotten her material interests while engaged in the overthrow of her enemies, and with new fields laid open, with comparatively large resources of both men and money still left, and with complete control of the seas, she found no difficulty in monopolizing the larger share of that commerce which was now in its infancy, but which owed its development very largely to the overthrow of Spanish traditions. Thus the paralysis of Spain was rendered not only complete, but permanent. The country, at a time when her best efforts were needed to reform the colonial system, lay prostrate and humiliated, unable to keep pace with the new sentiments she had assisted to advance, and utterly incompetent to meet the consequences of them with either vigor or statesmanship.

The policy which Spain had from the first adopted towards her colonies was not calculated to be permanent. If the parent country had retained undiminished the power left to the crown of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, the result must have been the same, and the colonies would still have successfully resisted every effort to hold them in the restrictions that they had had imposed upon them. But in the condition to which it was now reduced it was impossible that the independence of the far distant provinces of South America could be much longer delayed. The experience of the British North American colonies testifies sufficiently to this, even if the conclusion were not one to which our present acquaintance with political and social science must inevitably lead, as the only possible issue to defined causes. A vast colonial empire cannot be governed, even though the system be founded on a basis of the utmost liberality, from one great centre, however strong it may be. England tried in the eighteenth century to do so, and failed. But the British people profited by the lesson then given them; and adopting a system of decentralization, a form in fact of the grandest development of municipal government, they now control their immense colonial empire with success. Spain refused the lesson. Her system in itself was one far more despotic than any ever adopted by England, but it was adhered to with stubborn pertinacity, and ended, as was to be expected, in the secession of the provinces from the parent state.

Some Spanish writers have sought to defend the colonial policy of their country on the ground that it had for its model the customs of the most successful colonizing nation of antiquity. But the effort lacks the first element of strength. If the Spaniards who first crossed the Atlantic, or the monarchs they left behind, ever thought of the colonies that once had fringed the Mediterranean, their imitation of them was very poor. In their relations to the parent country, the South American settlements bore no resemblance, or at the best a very remote one, to either the *κληρουχίαι* or the *'αποικίαι* of the Greeks. There was not the dependence enjoyed by the former, nor the independence which signalized the latter. The colonists were scarcely citizens of Spain, and assuredly they were not indulged with anything like the political privileges that constantly were accorded by the Greeks to their migrating countrymen. The comparison, in fact, nowhere holds good. Spanish colonization was not an organized system. It was no system at all, only the rude but natural result of the discovery, in an age of adventure, of a rich, new land, full of mineral resources. The Spanish colonies were not military settlements like the modern French, nor were they free additions to the parent community like most of the modern English. Men went into the newly-found land as adventurers, they staid as tyrants, and they were treated by Spain as little better than slaves. Spain looked upon her sons as soon as they had crossed the Atlantic as merely so many agents whereby the coffers of the public treasury could be filled with gold and silver; and as so many fools who had risked their lives gratuitously to make the native populations submissive to her yoke. We have seen the immense sources from which money was made to flow from them into the Spanish treasury. The king took the lion's share always. His dues brought him immense revenues. They were derived from duties imposed upon commerce, fees paid to him as the Head of the Church, the Indian tribute or duty of vassalage, and a duty imposed upon the precious metals, or the "rights of signory," besides numberless smaller sources of emolument, which were specified with becoming care and enforced with every necessary rigor. This extended method of taxation enriched the royal coffers at home, but it drained the wealth and burdened the industry of the colonists and native population, and was attended by no equivalent advantages. The Spanish colonies derived absolutely no benefit from their connection with Spain. They did not need military protection; and when some of them did need it, they did not get it. They were not advanced in their commercial interests; for these were shackled by Spanish ordinances, and a full development was forbidden to them. They existed not as communities that had an immediate interest in their own life, but merely as tools for the enrichment of their Spanish masters. It is somewhat surprising that from the time when Cortez barbarously put to the torture the brave emperor Guatimozin of Mexico, and when Toledo murdered the last of the Incas at Cuzco, down to the period within which we are now most immediately interested, the Spanish colonies submitted with apparent equanimity to their oppressors. For more than three centuries they suffered the hardest yoke that has ever been borne by people with similar relations to a distant power. The causes which were alleged for the rebellion of the North American colonies were as nothing, either in degree or in duration, when compared with the tyranny which the Spanish colonists so long and so patiently endured. It is difficult to account for this. We shall presently come to see the influence which the American declaration of independence had, but the apathy of the Southern people cannot be accounted for by supposing the want of example. History is full of periods, and acts, and systems, of oppression. But it is also full of the struggles of people of various nationalities to attain freedom, or at least to liberate themselves from the galling burdens imposed by tyrannical rulers. If the Spanish colonists wanted history to supply them with counsel, they need not have gone far for instructions how to act. They who affected to have studied the institutions of Greece might have seen in the contest between Corcyra and Corinth, and especially if they examined the causes of it with sufficient care, an example which it ought to have been quite within their power to imitate. Nor could they have followed any portion of history, ancient or modern, national or colonial, and failed to find the lesson which without doubt they needed. Their placid submission must be attributed to another cause, and the most likely one that suggests itself is that the people in the colonies shared in the enfeeblement which destroyed the old national spirit of the parent country. Certain it must be that the men who first carried the Spanish flag victoriously through Mexico and South America, would not have brooked the insults that were heaped upon the generations that succeeded them. This degeneracy was another of the results of Spanish policy. The native races were not savages. They were people of a high degree of civilization, vastly different from the Indian tribes of North America, and capable, under a wise administration, of having been made a source of strength instead of weakness to the Spanish settlers. But Spain has never been guided by humanity or by statesmanship. The prosperity she once enjoyed was not a product of the latter, and nothing in her history ever resulted from the former; for it has no existence. Her policy from the first was not to conciliate the natives, but to destroy them. Extermination was the rule of conduct from Cortez down to the meanest Spaniard that ever set foot in America. The French rule in Hayti was noted for treachery and cruelty, but the number of natives who had previously fallen under the murderous hands of the Spaniards in that island alone has been computed variously at from a million to fourteen hundred thousand persons of all ages and both sexes. The visit of Diego de Velasquez to Cuba, and the conquests that immediately followed it, were signalized by burning at the stake all the native chiefs, and some five thousand of their principal adherents. In Porto Rico, the inhabitants were recklessly murdered under no pretence whatever, except to satiate the Spanish greed for native blood. In Jamaica, during the time that the Spaniards held control there, the same thing occurred. It is said of John de Esquimel and his followers that they never sheathed their swords as long as a native inhabitant remained within reach of their arms. Trinidad also witnessed a similar system of extermination; so too did Mexico and all the South American colonies. These murders were not unaccompanied by other outrages of the vilest kind. The whole Spanish domination was a rule of fiends. Men were subjected to torture, mutilation, and horrible deaths; women and young girls were forced to submit first to the most shocking outrages, and then to the cruel deaths which only the minds of monsters could conceive. And this was not the merely temporary condition that signalized the

entry of the Spaniards upon the land of the New world. It was a permanent feature of their colonization. The lust for blood, the tendency to barbaric inhumanity, has ever been and still is a part of the Spanish national character. It has entered into every act of the national life, and it has borne the fruits of degeneracy and weakness, as well as earning for the Spaniard even of to-day a certain amount of loathing and contempt on the part of civilized nations. Men who were actuated from generation to generation by principles such as these, no matter whether they resided in the parent country or in the provinces of the West, could not fail to sink in manliness and vigour. Such a race must become effeminate; and it did, in every place wherever it had found a footing. No nation in Europe ever sank so low as Spain, and the degradation which is suffered in the Peninsula is and ever has been shared in by the settlers in every Spanish colony throughout the world. Such being the condition to which those people found themselves reduced at the close of the eighteenth century, it is not too much to say that the disintegration of the empire followed almost as a matter of course.

For Spain was not only weak in herself, both morally and physically, as well at home as in the colonies, but the circumstances with which she had to contend were strong. We must briefly glance at these. The event which more than any other affected the course of politics all over the world, during the latter half of the last century and the first half of the present, was the secession of the North American colonies from British rule and their declaration of independence. But the effects of that secession were not foreseen by the ruling powers of the time when it took place. If England could have predicted the immense benefits that she has derived from the establishment of the great North American Republic, the colonists would have been encouraged rather than warred against in their efforts to attain a separate nationality. Nor is it likely that Louis XVI. would have afforded the assistance that he rendered to the cause of the colonists, if he had been able to foreshadow the spread of republican ideas which he thus helped to sow, and which ultimately led him to the scaffold and flooded his country with the blood of its noblest citizens. The policy adopted by the French leaders in those times, as well as during the languid war of 1812, was that which seemed to them to be the best adapted to humiliate the nation that had for many centuries been their traditional foe. Yet, in reality, it was the policy that was most beneficial to Great Britain and her colonies, and the most dangerous that could possibly have been devised for the peace and interests of both France and Spain. Ten years after the independence of the United States had been formally acknowledged, the head of the French king fell at the command of the National Convention. The germs of discontent had grown into revolution, and with alternating terms of violence and external tranquility, it has continued to imperil the social security of the people, and even more than once to endanger the political existence of the nation, to the present time.

Through the military supremacy of Napoleon, the Spaniards were a few years later compelled to cede the whole of their extensive possessions in the valley of the Mississippi, which in turn were transferred by Bonaparte to the United States, in order to weaken England, a result which the transfer utterly failed to accomplish. The ultimate exhausting wars which Spain suffered at the hands of the French emperor, and which increased the hopes of independence in her colonies, was another of the fruits of the American revolution, which she had so eagerly abetted. Indeed, every hope which Spain and France had founded on the action of the thirteen colonies was disappointed. Not a single anticipation was realized; but, on the contrary, the utmost peril resulted to the people of both nations. France lost internal peace, and Spain was soon deprived of the greatest and most valuable portion of her once magnificent colonial empire.

No event in history ever exercised so world-wide an influence as that action of the American colonies. The few events we have selected for mention were the direct and immediate consequences of it. But the acknowledgment and recognition of the United States, more than their own declaration of independence, produced an effect which was felt far and wide among the nations. If it stimulated the *canaille* of Paris, and produced a Marat and a Robespierre, it also vibrated a chord in the hearts of every oppressed people, from the extreme limits of Chili to the northern frontier of Mexico. The British colonists of North America had shown to all colonists everywhere that it was possible to wage a war of freedom against a distant power, and, under favourable conditions, with success. These conditions did not occur in the case of Spain during the eighteenth century, but they did in the early part of the nineteenth, and whenever taken advantage of, the end was favorable to the cause of independence. During the time that intervened before the opportunity came, the principles that had been so successfully maintained in the war of the Revolution strengthened, and the love for them grew more mature. The people of South America lost nothing by delay. It was better that they did not act as the French in France had done, upon the impulse of the moment. Time served to more deeply ingrain the desire for freedom into the hearts of the masses; and when the blow at last was struck, it came with multiplied force, and was driven home with increased determination—the determination that did not comprehend defeat. The prudence thus implied must not, however, be attributed wholly, or perhaps in large part, to the colonists. It was necessitated by circumstances. Spain, during the American revolutionary war, was not strong. At no time during the great wars with Napoleon was she strong. But so long as an alliance with France continued, the colonies could not safely have entered upon the struggle for freedom. Moreover, even so late as the last century, moral influences did not exercise the same force, nor did they move with the same speed, that they do now. The full effect of the declaration of American independence was not felt in the South for many years after it had been made. It was long before the knowledge of its existence reached Peru, still longer before its full meaning was appreciated, and longer again before the Spanish colonists fully understood that the cause which had been so successfully maintained in the North, was theirs to win also, if only they were willing to bide their opportunity and act with unity and decision. Nevertheless, a feeling of impatience at the rule of Spain was early perceptible. But it assumed for some years a passive form. It was, however, the first monition of future convulsion. It arose simultaneously in all the colonies, and was probably kept in abeyance for a time by a native insurrection in Perú, which, although it was sustained with variable success for two years, was at last brought entirely under subjection by the Spanish troops, who, as was their custom, barbarously put to death the chief men of the party in rebellion, and their families. This began six years after the "Declaration of Independence," and was the result of Spanish oppression. It was purely a native rising. The descendants of the incas, from the time when Huana Capac had been murdered by Pizarro, had never ceased to demand from their conquerors certain nominal privileges, in consideration of their rank and former regal power. Through a series of generations this was persistently refused, and the refusal was in some instances accompanied with acts of barbarous cruelty, as a warning that the demand should not be repeated. But it was repeated, and with such earnestness and pertinacity that the concession was at length granted, and the Spaniards consented to acknowledge a title which they had three centuries before tried to efface by the execution of the last inca at Cuzco. Scarcely had the concession been made ere the Spanish authorities repented of their generosity, and recalled the act. Sayu Tupac, in whose person this insult was offered, immediately raised the standard of revolt, and, declaring that the moment had come when his countrymen should free themselves from the tyrannical yoke of the foreigners, soon gathered around him a powerful and spirited army of native warriors. For the space of two years the contest was maintained. During the earlier part of that period success attended upon the native troops, but the Spaniards, increasing their efforts and their forces, at length gained a decisive victory. Condorcanqui, the head of the rebel movement and commander of the armies of the Peruvians, was taken prisoner and executed. His family, including his wife and children, shared a similar fate; and were soon after followed to the scaffold by a large number of their adherents.

By these means Spanish supremacy was once more maintained. But it was not to be of long duration. At that time the district known as Perú extended over the Rocky Mountains, and comprised a vast area of territory. The insurrection of the natives had shown the expediency of effecting a closer concentration of authority; and to that end the province was divided. Potosí, La Plata, Charcas, Paraguay, and Chiquitos were formed into the province of Buenos Ayres, under a new viceroyalty; and Venezuela, Caracas, Guatemala, Cumana, and Chili were set apart under another administration, but whose southern limits were left very undefined. This appeared to be a measure of sound policy, but it had not all the effect that was intended. It strengthened the influence of Spain for a brief period, but it did not reconcile the people to her rule, nor did it prevent their ultimate independence. For a few years, nothing of importance transpired, but the feeling in favour of freedom was gradually growing stronger, and the condition of the parent country was becoming more suitable for the purposes of the colonists.

We must here return for a moment to the work that was being prosecuted by Napoleon, for it now began to exercise a greater and a more direct influence upon the destiny of South America. The National Convention of France having declared the intention to propagate republican ideas throughout the monarchies of Europe, by encouraging all disaffected subjects of these nations, and supporting them in any revolt that they might undertake, the British government demanded an explanation, which being refused, the ambassador of the late king received notice to quit the kingdom, and in consequence war was declared. Eventful as this war was, it concerns us only in so far as it placed Spain at the mercy of the French. A part of those armies of the republic which overran the west of Europe, found an easy conquest in the Peninsula, and it was with comparatively small effort that the government at Madrid was brought to the feet of Napoleon. It would have been well if the humiliation had ended there, but presently we find the Spanish government yielding to the solicitations of the conqueror, and joining in the war against England. One of the first events that followed this rash enterprise was the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. This was at the moment a grievous loss to France, but it was far more serious to Spain, and it left her more than ever at the mercy of the man who then ruled the destinies of her powerful ally. Napoleon was not slow to avail himself of the fact, and his policy soon struck the final blow at Spanish supremacy everywhere, even while he was using the effeminate rulers at Madrid to serve his own ends. Having fought his way, by violence and intrigue, to the imperial crown, he planned the design for invading England, as the only European power which, remaining unconquered, seemed likely to offer any active resistance to his unlimited control over the affairs of the Continent. In this scheme he again compelled Spain to join him, and to devote her entire efforts with his to destroy British supremacy on the seas. By that means he hoped not only to effect the destruction of British commerce, but also to remove the only obstacle that presented itself to the full play of his own ambition. But the victory of Trafalgar destroyed all his hopes, and shattered the maritime power of Spain to a degree which rendered it helpless. It was the last effort of a fallen state, and it failed. The once mighty force which had been wielded by Ferdinand and Isabella was now completely gone, and the resistance which the Spanish Government at that moment could have offered against any insurrection in her colonies would have been comparatively futile. But still the apathetic people of South America were slow to avail themselves of the opportunity that now had come to them. They seemed still to lack a stimulus to action. An attack made by a small British force in 1807, upon Buenos Ayres, might have been made available, but it was not. The native inhabitants were passive, or they opposed the assailants, and it remained for other causes at length to rouse them into a movement for freedom.

Since the evacuation of Brazil by the Dutch, that rich country had remained in the peaceful possession of the Portuguese. It had partaken of many of the restrictions which had impeded the progress of the Spanish colonies. The House of Braganza has shown, in successive generations, a marked genius for government, but in the early days of South American settlement, there was no higher value attached to colonies than the wealth that they might be made to bring to the imperial treasury. Any progress which Brazil had made was due to its own magnificent resources, for their development was restricted and bound down by the most vexatious decrees from the parent state. But again, Napoleon unintentionally contributed to change all this. When Spain was no longer of any use to him, he sought new expedients to demolish the trade of England. His Berlin decree declaring the British ports to be in a state of blockade, was one of these. But the friendly commercial relations that had existed between Portugal and England were an impediment to its operation. He therefore sent a special embassy to Lisbon with a request that the Government should at once close its ports against Great Britain, and that every Englishman then in the country should be arrested and his property confiscated. The request was backed by a threat that war would be the consequence of refusal. But the reply was not waited for, though, if it had been, the nature of it may very readily be anticipated. Portugal could not have complied with such an order. Her honour stood in the way in one direction, and treaties which she had made with England would also have precluded submission. Nevertheless, the Prince Regent, to avoid war, attempted a compromise; he did consent to the first part of the demand, and the ports were closed. Meanwhile Portuguese vessels in French ports had been seized, and in a few weeks a large French army was on the march for Portugal, under the command of Marshal Junot, carrying with him a formal dec-

laration from Napoleon that the house of Braganza was deposed. Declining a contest on terms of inequality which rendered defeat inevitable, the Regent retired the whole of the national troops to the sea coast, and with his family and a large body of adherents left the country for Brazil when Junot was crossing the frontier. The reception which he received in the American colony was of the most enthusiastic description, and the policy immediately inaugurated had a marked effect upon the wealth and development of the country. Restrictions were removed from trade, the ports were opened to commerce, taxes were adjusted, privileges extended to the people, printing-presses were introduced, education was promoted, and in a very brief space the province had entered upon a new era of existence, which served not a little to give the neighboring Spanish colonies the impulse that they seemed to require.

The struggle for independence now broke out with great violence in both Chili and Buenos Ayres. In the latter province the people suddenly rose with a determination that was in marked contrast with the apparent indifference that had so long characterized them. They were massacred with unrelenting fury, and the utmost cruelties were put into operation to suppress them. But these measures had their accustomed effect. The spirit that longed for freedom had now grown into a resolute determination to secure it. Before a year had passed away, the people redoubled their efforts, and this time with more success. They deposed the Viceroy, drove him from the country, abolished all emblems of Spanish authority, and appointed a provisional government from among themselves.

A similar struggle was being enacted almost simultaneously in Chili, although at one time a Spanish army from the neighboring province of Peru threatened to obliterate the hopes of the people. The colony had been divided into thirteen districts, the whole being at that time under the governorship of General Carrasco. For some time strict unanimity could not be brought about among the inhabitants in these several districts, but at length an insurrection was successfully initiated, and Carrasco was deposed. The contest was waged with unprecedented violence on both sides. The great square of Santiago became the scene of some of the most desperate conflicts between the people and the Spanish troops. The streets flowed with blood. Women and children fell before the musket shots and bayonet charges of the infuriated soldiers. But despite repeated reverses, and the necessity for a persistent and long-continuous effort on the part of the patriots, the current of success for four long years ran in their favour. During the whole of this period the country remained in the hands of a provisional government, all attempts by the Spanish authorities to remove it being unsuccessful. One of the ablest leaders of the people—Don Juan Carrera—was at the head of the popular forces, and the energy and skill with which he defended the cause left little room for failure. Finding it, at last, impossible to regain the supremacy by means at their disposal in the provinces, the Spaniards contented themselves with a defensive strategy, but made exertions at the same time to raise an army in Peru, which still remained loyal to the old flag. With these fresh troops Chili was invaded by the Spanish General Taroja. He was met a short way across the frontier by Carrera and twice defeated. On the second occasion he was forced to retreat towards the boundary line of the province, but being met on his way by strong reinforcements, he again gave battle to the pursuing columns of the enemy, and this time with more success. Carrera was defeated, his troops put to flight, and the great cause for which they had taken up arms fell paralyzed—but not dead. Paroja overran the country and laid it waste. Villages and towns were ruthlessly pillaged, women and children insulted and butchered at the pleasure of the profligate Spanish troops; and, thus struck down, the country had once more to own allegiance to the tyrannical rule of its former masters. The submission was not for long, however. The sweets of liberty once tasted, were not to be thus easily put away forever; and in the next struggle Chili not only vindicated herself, but aided, with some foreign assistance, to secure the independence of her neighbour.

The spirit of insurrection thus dominant in the South, was no less active in the North. While Chili was striking her first blows for freedom, the people of Ecuador made several attempts to free themselves from Spanish rule at Quito, and the movement received the sympathy of the population throughout Venezuela. Several hotly contested battles were fought, in which the popular troops gained signal successes. The fortress of Puerto Cabello, one of the most important in the province, fell into their hands, and was placed soon after under the keeping of the famous Bolivar, whose name, with that of Miranda, his superior in command at that time, are among the most conspicuous in the history of South American Independence. But this fort had been made the receptacle for Spanish prisoners, who, taking a favourable opportunity, rose to the number of fifteen hundred against the garrison, killed the guards, and took the citadel; upon which event, the place was evacuated by the insurgents, who, being compelled to accept the terms of peace offered them by Monteverde, once more declared allegiance to Spain. Miranda was made prisoner and sent to Cadiz, where, after several years' confinement, loaded with irons, in a dungeon of a small fortress, he died miserably.

The ill fate of his chieftain stimulated Bolivar to renewed exertions in the cause of liberty. The parent country lay prostrate at the feet of Napoleon, and he wisely concluded, that the opportunity was one that should not be lost. Accompanied by a small band of less than a thousand adherents, he successively drove the Spanish troops from station to station, till he arrived at Bogota, at that time the centre of government of New Granada. Here he was duly honored by the Congress of that province, which happened to be in session at the time; and, after having been formally placed in supreme command of the forces of the insurgents, he continued his successful march to Carácas, receiving daily new acquisitions to his strength as he proceeded. Several skirmishes took place with small bands of the enemy, in which, being uniformly successful, the troops took fresh courage to make an attack upon the Spanish general himself. In this Monteverde was signally defeated, and such was the rapidity with which the native army now advanced, that the Spaniards were glad to come to terms. Carácas soon after capitulated, and Bolivar entered the place in triumph, proclaiming himself dictator and liberator of the western provinces.

But, unhappily, the success was not of long duration. The man who had thus carried the popular cause to so glorious a result, failed to retain the confidence he had gained. The title of "dictator," which he had assumed, was not to be in his mind an empty name. Not content with the honours he had won, he began to show an inclination for securing to himself an almost despotic power. At least, he was suspected by the people of this desire, and the suspicion was probably not without very good cause. Dissensions, accordingly, arose, and although a junta of the leading inhabitants prevailed upon Bolivar to retain the supreme authority, the Spaniards were quick to take advantage of the tone of disaffection which they noticed. On one occasion, shortly after a session of the Junta, at which the general had expressed his decision to accede to the wishes expressed to him, the news came that a Spanish force was marching upon La Puerta. Bolivar hastened to try and form a junction with the small army under Marino, and succeeded; but the combined forces were immediately attacked, and defeated with great slaughter. Caracas was retaken, and Bolivar fled to Tunja, in New Granada, where Congress gave him increased powers, making him commander-in-chief of the army, and entrusting to him an important mission against the only remaining Spanish stronghold in that province. This was not carried out, but he took Santa Fé, forced Bogota to capitulate, and defeated the Spanish troops in several minor engagements. In the midst of these successes, news was brought him of the expected arrival of strong reinforcements for the enemy from Spain, whereupon he somewhat hastily left the country, and sailed for Jamaica.

His conduct, in thus, as it were, deserting the cause at a critical moment, when his presence was most likely to be needed, has been greatly condemned. But, much as an unfavourable criticism may apparently be justified, more light than we at present possess, or perhaps ever can possess, to show the ulterior motives that he had, should be required before he is unequivocally blamed. The sincerity of Bolivar should be judged by the great work which he accomplished. There is no reason to question either his courage or his patriotism. Personal ambition sometimes swayed his judgment; but the difficulties that he had to encounter were exceedingly great, and although at times the means he took to surmount them were of a character different from what might be expected, as we review them at the present distance, and through the mist of only partial knowledge, they were generally attended by success.

He remained several months at Kingston, during the whole of which time the Spanish general, Morillo, was devastating New Grenada almost unimpeded, and punishing the native population with the cruelties inherent in his race. But Bolivar was not idle. At the commencement of the Revolution, he had visited England, to purchase arms and to enlist the sympathies of the British people. The friends he made on that occasion now stood by him. They fitted out a vessel of war, fully equipped, and stored with arms and ammunition for five thousand men, all of which he duly received when under the protection of the British flag. He also collected several negro regiments in Hayti, already drilled and under very fair discipline. The organization of this force received his constant personal attention; and with it he at length set sail for Venezuela. Here the efforts of the Spaniards had not been very energetically directed. Morillo unwisely contented himself with overrunning Grenada, and the lieutenants whom Bolivar had left behind him, taking advantage of the error, had concentrated their attention chiefly upon the neighbouring province, which remained firm in the popular cause. For a long time, however, personal jealousies and rivalries among these leaders was a mischievous and almost fatal impediment to the efforts of the commander-in-chief, who suffered several defeats before he received the acknowledgment that was due him from his own party. Treachery in the popular ranks also added to the difficulties that he had to contend with, and notwithstanding all his efforts, the Spaniards in a few months obtained possession of a vast territory which had long denied their authority.

But at this dark stage of affairs, a ray of hope suddenly gleamed upon the insurgents. The English captain who had been entrusted with the vessel sent out to Bolivar in the West Indies, had shortly before appeared off the coast of Guiana, where, in concert with a native chieftain, a successful attack was made upon the Spanish forts, and in a few weeks the entire province was freed from foreign yoke.

This sudden good fortune inspired new hopes into the people; and almost simultaneously with an intended expedition into Grenada there appeared upon the coast a flotilla from England with strong reinforcements in men, money, arms, and amunition for the popular cause. Bolivar now acted with determined resolution. Collecting all the forces at his command, he crossed the Andes, and feigning a march through Venezuela, he, with a few regiments of Englishmen, marched direct upon Bogota, driving the few Spanish troops that he met with before him, and without much delay entering the city in triumph. Here he re-established the Congress and organized a government, placing General Santander in chief command of the forces, and defining the authority of various subordinate departments. From this time the star of Spain did not recover its ascendancy. Morillo gradually retired before the victorious armies of the people, and soon after concluded a six months' truce.

But all difficulties had not ceased. Bolivar had scarcely recognized his triumph before the news was brought him that Arismendi, one of his most trusty generals, had permitted himself to be chosen vice-president by the Congress of Angostura, over an officer who had been placed in that position by the Commander-in-Chief. An immediate advance was made upon the place, Arismendi was taken prisoner and exiled, the former vice-president was replaced, and in a few months the two Congresses of New Grenada and Venezuela were called together, and the provinces were at once united into one republic under the title of Colombia, with Bolivar as President.

Although in one sense the conquest was now complete, the Spaniards continued for some time to give trouble. Seven of the provinces of New Grenada still remained subject to them, as also did two of the provinces in Venezuela. They likewise held Cartagena and Panama. As soon as Morillo had completed the arrangement for the six months' truce, he returned to Spain; leaving General Miguel de la Torre in chief command. His departure was regarded with some suspicion by Bolivar, who feared that reinforcements might possibly be sent out in response to the representations of the general. He nevertheless faithfully adhered to the terms under which he had agreed to suspend hostilities. But directly after the expiration of the period agreed upon, determined to allow the enemy no further opportunity of regaining strength, Bolivar made a desperate attack upon the army under La Torre at Carabobo, before which the royalist troops gave way on all sides. The energy and rapidity with which the movement was effected paralyzed resistance. The native troops cut down their opponents in every direction, showing little mercy; but rather a resolve to avenge the tyranny under which they had so long suffered. Their losses in this short but important conflict, have been set by some as high as 8,000 men, but while this is probably in excess, the actual amount was certainly very great. The whole of their baggage and field artillery fell into the possession of the patriots, who thus gave the final blow to Spanish rule in Venezuela. It was the decisive action of the revolution. Cartagena soon after capitulated, and the Spaniards were driven successively out of Puerto Cabello and the provinces of Genito, Guayaquil and Pasto, all of which were at once incorporated into the Republic of Colombia.

Simultaneously with the rising of the people in

Buenos Ayres, of which mention has been made, or as soon after as the force of the movement could be realized, the Paraguayans also took action in the cause of independence. But their efforts were soon decided, and the history of them presents little that is of interest. Then disaffection took the form, in the first instance, of active organization. The leaders were trusted by the people, and a Junta comprising a number of the principal inhabitants was at once formed. As soon as this became known, the Spanish authorities fitted out an army in Buenos Ayres under General Belgrano, but it was defeated with considerable loss; and from that time no important efforts were made by Spain to strengthen her position in that region. We shall have to recur to the events in Paraguay, which was not fully acknowledged as an independent state till a recent date, but in the meanwhile we must return to the more striking occurrences that were taking place on the opposite side of the continent.

The victories gained by Faroja over Carrera, the leader of the patriot forces in Chili, led to the subjection of that province for a space of about three years. The work was, during that interval, advanced quietly in La Plata, where regiments of armed men were being clandestinely but very effectually drilled under the auspices of General San Martin, a leader only second to Bolivar in patriotic zeal and military genius. Nothing could evince the apathy of the Spanish commanders in America at this time, more completely than the mistake of allowing this army to be raised, equipped, and disciplined within territory over which they at least affected to hold some control. But no means, certainly no effectual means, were taken to interfere with the proceedings of San Martin, who, when all was in readiness, crossed the frontier, marched into Chili, gave battle to the Spaniards at Chacabuco, and defeated them with great loss. The tide of fortune was changed in a subsequent engagement, but success was as enervating to the Spaniards as defeat. In this instance more so, for, while resting in complacency over the result of a victory gained against the insurgents at Chancharayada, the Chilian general suddenly fell upon them with a strong force and routed them completely, putting all, except a very small number, to the sword. This victory was decisive, though not final, since the Spanish troops kept up a desultory system of warfare, clinging pertinaciously to a few minor posts in the country, from whence they had to be displaced by successive attacks. It took place in the year 1818, but a constitution was not finally completed till fifteen years after. During the greater part of the interval, the affairs of the province were in the hands of a dictator, and it is worthy of note that after the framing of the Constitution nearly five years were occupied in considering and amending the draft, before it was promulgated. But although this delay is strangely different from what a more energetic people would be likely to tolerate, it was probably in great measure due to the events that were enacting in the adjacent province of Peru.

This was the last of the colonies to give up allegiance to Spain. It has been a question whether the division of the southern provinces into three separate jurisdictions, to which allusion has already been made, delayed or hastened the expulsion of the Spaniards. On the one side, it is urged that if the division had not taken place, the loyalty that so long marked the Peruvians would have been shared in by the whole of the provinces. On the other, it is argued that if the division had not taken place, Peru would have been carried along in the current that rolled over La Plata and Chili, and that its independence would have been accomplished earlier than it was. It matters little which view be taken, but the second seems to be the more reasonable, and to be the better warranted. Yet it only delayed the issue a very short time. The events taking place in Chili were not without their effect upon the Peruvians, who began to desire for themselves a share of the freedom which their neighbours had won. Two years elapsed, during which the strength of the popular party daily increased, till, at the end of that time, San Martin marched with an army out of Chili, and succeeded, without much difficulty, in gaining possession of the capital. Remaining long enough to recruit the energies and numbers of his troops, he then attacked the Spaniards in the field, and drove them, after a succession of victories, into the interior. The independence of the province was forthwith proclaimed, and San Martin named protector. But the enemy were not yet finally defeated. The Chilian general had been unable to follow up his successes, partly from lack of men, and partly from a want of zeal among the people, who, while heartily sympathizing in the cause and hating the Spaniards, nevertheless seemed to very much prefer that the work of liberation should be done for them, than that they should be put to too much trouble themselves. The Spanish commander kept up for some time a harassing warfare, which San Martin found himself unable to stop, and under those circumstances he sent messengers to Bolivar asking for assistance. This was readily granted; but the comparative failure which had rendered the demand necessary, combined with objections that had been taken to other parts of his policy, had rendered San Martin unpopular. During a temporary absence of the general, some Spanish forces had again entered Lima, and raised once more the standard of Spain. Bolivar, therefore, marched directly upon the capital, the enemy deserting it on his approach. He did not delay, but immediately set about crossing the Andes, determined to follow the Spanish troops till they were either defeated or driven out of the country.

At the head of about ten thousand men, he overtook them on the plains of Junin, and gained a great victory, the enemy being, to all appearance, utterly demoralized. Bolivar returned to Lima, leaving General Sucre, a Colombian officer of much repute, to complete the work, he himself undertaking to reorganize and establish the government, which, under San Martin, had already grown much in need of reform. But the tenacity with which the Spaniards clung to their cause and to their possessions exceeded his anticipations. They concentrated at Ayacucho, a town and department on the eastern slope of the Andes, where they took up a strong position, and prepared for what they could not fail to see would be a final struggle, in the event of an unfavourable result. It was their last stand; but, like an animal at bay, they did not shrink from the attack. Their numbers at this time were about nine thousand, and the native army that was approaching them under Sucre did not amount to six thousand, but they were well disciplined though rough troops, and flushed with many previous victories. They were fighting, too, for liberty and nationality.

No time was lost in preliminaries. As soon as General Sucre had brought his troops well up, he gave the order, and they rushed upon the enemy with such impetuosity that the Spanish lines gave way at the first onset. But, urged on by the untiring efforts of their officers, they rallied, and for three hours the fight was waged with unflinching determination by both sides. General Sucre set an admirable example at the head of his men, and his personal courage in great measure determined the day; for within the time mentioned the Spaniards were irretrievably beaten. Their commander, Laserna, who was also viceroy of the province, was taken prisoner, and their losses amounted to nearly 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The losses of the native army did not exceed a thousand.

Laserna at once agreed to a capitulation. He surrendered the rest of the army on the field, and agreed to give up all the fortified places, troops, and munitions of war, that then remained in Peru—thus virtually signing away all claim which Spain had ever had to her South American possessions, and ending for ever her dominion on the continent of South America. This occurred on the ninth of December, 1824.

The subsequent history of the several American republics is, for the most part, made up of a long series of internal dissensions, interspersed occasionally with international disputes. While it is not our purpose to theorise on the causes which have probably led to very much of the civil discord, it is not out of place to refer them very probably to the deficiency in statesmanship which was, for the most part, displayed by the men who guided the colonies to independence. Motives of personal interest too often influenced these men, who also showed a want of attention to details which, although apparently unimportant at the moment, have proved of great consequence since. At this day, many of the boundaries of these republics are undefined, and, consequently, are a constant source of irritation. The difficulty of arranging these would not be great, especially while the population is comparatively small. But internal jealousies present a greater obstacle than any inherent in the matter under dispute; and the development of the republics has been proportionally retarded.

The policy followed by Bolivar himself, after the battle of Ayacucho, was in some respects inexplicable. By the constitutions he prepared, slavery was abolished, but the abolition was only on paper. Slavery continued to be practically a Peruvian institution till it was formally put down by proclamation in 1855, no one having previously attempted to follow out the law as originally framed. During Bolivar's dictatorship, he conceived the plan of separating the south-eastern part of the province, and forming it into a republic by itself. This was effected, and Bolivia came into existence accordingly in 1825, with General Sucre as President, and Bolivar as constitution maker. But tranquility did not long endure. General Gamarra aspired to the chief magistracy, and Sucre was banished, and very speedily after that assassinated—the respective influences of Bolivia and Peru being the cause for several years of a series of revolutions, and the perpetuation of anarchy and misrule. Marshal Santa Cruz held the presidency for ten years, and was successful in keeping the country in a state of comparative repose. But he did so mainly through the fact that he united in his functions the two opposite factions raised up in the first instance by Bolivar. He was at the same time President of Peru. This occupation of the chief office in both States, which might have been turned to good account if there had been the men to take advantage of it, served only for a time to satisfy those opposing and turbulent interests. A revolutionary movement at length succeeded in the overthrow of Santa Cruz, notwithstanding a popular demonstration in his favour that soon afterwards occurred. The land was now laid waste by civil war, to carry on which the best resources of the people became very severely taxed; and a country which began its life under auspices the most favourable, has been cursed with poverty and much misery, through the implacable animosity of individuals who aspired to the supreme command of the government. Dr. Linares, who, in 1858, became dictator, though nominally president, had been the leader in nine unsuccessful attempts to upset the *de facto* chief; and he had few sympathizers, when, after a brief exercise of authority, he was cast into prison by some of his own subordinates. A new president, named by Congress, was next deposed by means of an insurrection raised by General Melgarejo, who, by sheer force of arms and some military genius, retained his position at the head of the republic till he saw it united in an alliance with Peru, Ecuador, and Chili, against Spain. Whether sincere or not in the wish expressed, he now declared that he would not continue in the presidency; and he went so far as to order an election, at the same time proclaiming that he would not become a candidate. But when the popular voice turned in favour of his predecessor, who had been duly appointed by Congress, but whom he now held in close confinement, his resolve melted away, and in support of his own claims, he kept the country in a state of civil war for seven years, at the end of which time the leaders of the opposite faction were forced to escape within the limits of the Argentine confederation. He now boldly assumed the position of dictator, forced the Congress to acknowledge him in that capacity, and went through the farce of proclaiming anew the constitution, and promising to restore to the people the rights which had been nominally secured to them by that instrument. For it was only a farce. Melgarejo continued to exercise supreme control till after two unsuccessful attempts had been made to supplant him by General Morales. The third—which occurred in 1871—was successful, and the dictator fled into Peru, where he was soon after murdered. Bolivia is no exception to the other South American republics, in having thus branded her early history with assassination, civil war, anarchy, and discord; but if the people have suffered, not only in the lives of their better citizens, but also in the detriment that has thereby fallen upon the material interests of their own community, the fault lies entirely at their own doors. Although the Spanish rule was bad, the descendants of the Spanish colonists have certainly failed, as a general rule, to prove to the world their capacity for self-government.

The intimate relations between Peru and Bolivia following naturally from their position and former union led to incidents more closely interwoven than have yet been fully developed. One of the most important events in the long presidency of Santa Cruz, to which reference has been made, was the invasion of Peru by that general at the head of a Bolivian army, gathered together at the invitation of the Peruvians, and which resulted in the temporary destruction of their autonomy. As in the state we have just been considering, there followed to the declaration of independence a sense of popular disaffection and the development of personal jealousies among would-be leaders in the republic of Peru. It was one of the factions thus formed, that with more zeal than patriotism, invited Santa Cruz to come to their aid. He did so, and fought many fierce battles with the opposing parties; but he then forgot the circumstances under which his presence had been solicited, and forthwith taking advantage of his successes, he overran the whole country, placed the inhabitants under contribution, and had himself proclaimed protector of the united republics. The confederation thus formed lasted till the overthrow of Santa Cruz in Bolivia at the insurrection of 1839, headed by Velazco. The misfortunes of the President in his own state, encouraged the opponent factions in Brazil to a new revolution, and it was thus that the confederation was brought to a close simultaneously with Velazco's success in Bolivia. General Gamarra succeeded to the Presidency of the Peruvian republic thus separated once more from its neighbour, and probably would have effected some useful works. But his death in the battle at Ingavi

once more created a vacancy, which this time it seemed difficult to fill. For several years the country was the scene of civil wars, conducted generally upon principles of the utmost barbarity and signalized with acts of unsparing cruelty, such as could only have been paralleled under the old Spanish rule. It was not until 1845, when General Castilla, after a series of successful conflicts, was chosen to the presidency under the Constitution, that anything like peace was restored. Castilla had been originally an officer in the Spanish service. But he joined the army of independence some time after the liberation of Colombia, and was attached to the staff of General Gamarra. After acting as Minister of War for a short space in the Peruvian republic, he became second in command of the army that invaded Bolivia, and his nomination to the presidency arose out of the reputation he had acquired in these movements. The selection, viewed from a Peruvian standpoint, was amply justified. Except that his policy was marked by extreme religious bigotry, he administered the government with considerable ability. At the end of his term of office, he was succeeded by General Echinique, but availing himself of the unpopularity of this man, he instigated an insurrection, and at length, after several important skirmishes, he gained a complete victory over the President's army in the neighborhood of Lima. This once more placed him in supreme authority, and he at once effected several necessary reforms. To him must be given the credit of abolishing slavery, and of establishing a Constitution that gave the Peruvians the privilege of universal suffrage. But he also prohibited the exercise of all religions except the Roman Catholic, and imposed heavy penalties upon any person infringing against the decree issued in the matter. A measure of this kind was strictly in accordance with the spirit of the people, and it was looked on rather as an act of moral justice than as one of intolerance and bigotry. It was justified by the surroundings, and therefore must not be judged by the more liberal spirit of the present day and amid circumstances which are different. President Castilla, who although at first in the Spanish service, was a Peruvian by birth, served his country well, both in the field and in the executive. But he did not escape the ordinary fate of South American rulers. An insurrection of a formidable character was raised against him; one too, that was then novel in some aspects. This was instigated by one Vivanco, a man of much personal ambition and power of intrigue, but far inferior to Castilla in the qualifications for government. Vivanco worked upon a plan that had not hitherto been attempted. The vessel which had been sent out to Bolivar from England with stores and ammunition to aid his cause, had now grown into a very considerable navy. Vivanco shrewdly judged that to gain this would be to place himself in a position beyond the reach of Castilla. He therefore proceeded to win over to his interests the commanders of one vessel after another, till, with the exception of two small steamers, one of which was then on a distant cruise, he had the whole Peruvian fleet at his disposal. With this he attempted to take Callao. Premising his intentions, Castilla had previously garrisoned that place with a force of four hundred and forty men, mostly Englishmen, under the command of a foreign artillery officer. The attack began from the fleet in early morning, Vivanco not doubting that the forts would be unable to make any serious reply to his artillery. But in this he was disappointed. The cannonade was so vigorous and so well sustained that Vivanco was obliged to give up the attack and to haul off his ships, but not until he had suffered considerable loss, both in men and material. He contented himself now with taking possession of some of the islands belonging to Peru, and a part of the coast of the province of Arequipa, and thereby succeeded ultimately in bringing about a diplomatic difference between the governments of Castilla and the United States.

Many portions of the mainland are rich in deposits of guano, but the Peruvian laws gave permission to foreign nations to collect that produce only from the Chincha islands. In opposition to that law, but armed with a letter of authority from the insurgent general, several United States captains undertook to load their ships from the coast of Arequipa. The government of Castilla resented this illegal interference, denying Vivanco's right to exercise any authority in the matter, and they seized the ships and imprisoned the captains of two of them. The men were liberated a day or two afterwards, but the Washington government demanded the payment of an indemnity, and upon the demand being refused, they withdrew their representative from Lima. The refusal, however, was stubbornly maintained, and public opinion has generally conceded that the action of the United States was somewhat hasty, Vivanco's position never having been other than that of a rebel against the established government of the country. The occurrence served, however, to cause Castilla to deprive Vivanco of what footing he had gained on the mainland, and accordingly an expedition was sent against Arequipa almost immediately after the arrest of the foreign captains. The rebels offered a vigorous resistance, but the place was taken by storm, and many of the garrison were massacred.

Castilla now grew ambitious of more territory. He sent a strong force into Ecuador, and in a short space succeeded so far as to venture upon the nomination of one of his own officers to the presidency of that state. But he failed to maintain him there, and thereby increased the number of his own enemies at home, who, not strong enough to resist the energy with which he defended the government, sought to assassinate him. His popularity with the army saved him more than once, and except for his unsuccessful efforts to annex the territory of Bolivia, he might perhaps have remained some time longer in power. He was succeeded to the Presidency, in 1862, by General San Ramon, but in the following year we find him in turn taking part in an insurrectionary movement, and in this kind of occupation he continued, at intervals, till his death in 1867. Although imbued with the restless and revolutionary spirit of his countrymen, Castilla was a sagacious ruler, an able soldier, and a man of much energy and personal influence over his fellow-men. Peru owes much to him, but the control that he exercised during his presidency was the strongest testimony they gave to his merits.

A common danger is often one of the best means of reconciling disputants; and a foreign war has often allayed civil discontent, at any rate for a time. This kind of remedy was offered to Peru, and in a measure it was successful, but not as completely as the interests of the people required. The circumstance has already received a passing mention, but it must now be treated at some length in order to throw a true light upon the conditions that surrounded it, and to set forth in proper colours the perfectly unjustifiable policy to which the Spanish government appears to be ever ready to lower itself for the purpose of gratifying evil passions.

Some land-owners in Talambo had procured a few colonists from the Basque provinces of Spain to work on their plantations. A dispute having arisen between some of them, the excitement spread rapidly among all, and they sought to settle the difference by recourse to violence. In the struggle two persons were killed and three or four were wounded. The Peruvian courts immediately took cognizance of the affair. The offenders were speedily brought to trial, and judgment pronounced. The decision of the lower court was appealed against in the ordinary way, and the final opinion of the superior bench was about to be rendered; which should have ended the case legally, and therefore satisfactorily. But before this could be reached, an envoy from Spain made his appearance on the scene, in the person of one Senor Mazarredo, with, at his back, the Spanish Admiral Pinzon, and a fleet. Mazarredo made a request of the Peruvian government that he should at once be recognized in the character of commissioner, with which he had been invested for the purpose of arranging the question of indemnity for alleged injury sustained by Spanish subjects. But this would have been equivalent to admitting that Peru was still a dependency of Spain, more especially as the latter power had never officially acknowledged the independence of her former colony. The Peruvian government therefore replied, offering to facilitate the mission of Senor Mazarredo in every way possible; but as the term "commissioner" could not be defined under any international law, and as they were desirous to enter into friendly relations with Senor Mazarredo, they preferred to recognize him as confidential agent, a designation that was well understood.

Thus far there are three points to be noted—the view acted upon by Spain that the disturbances at Talambo came within her powers of intervention because she had never recognized the autonomy of the Republic; next, the fact that the Spanish government interfered when the whole matter was in the Peruvian courts, and there awaiting judgment; and thirdly, the evident intention of Spain to make the matter a pretext for war. This last point is at once made plain. The reception of Senor Mazarredo by the Peruvian government was all that any reasonable power, acting both honestly and honourably, could desire. There was no necessity to admit the right of the Spanish court to interfere at that juncture. But, as an act of courtesy, and to show the willingness of the Republic to treat the whole question upon an amicable basis, Senor Mazarredo was offered recognition, not in the way that he demanded it, which was impossible, but in the only way that was possible, and which, while it altered the formalities, left the practical nature of the mission untouched.

The Spanish envoy at once refused to accede to any modification of his demand, and forthwith left Lima, taking the bellicose precaution of first addressing a memorandum to the foreign powers, in which he summed up the claims of Spain against Peru, and gave his own account of his reception at Lima, and the nature of his communication with the Peruvian government. He went to Callao, and thence, with Admiral Pinzon, sailed to the Chincha Islands, where, concentrating the Spanish fleet, they lost no time in moving to intercept the Peruvian squadron at Callao. This, again, was an act that was perfectly unwarranted by any interpretation of international law or custom. But Spain shows little regard for the amenities of civilization in her dealing with weaker powers. The act was one of force, not of right. It failed, nevertheless. The Peruvian fleet, being unable to compete with any chance of success against its more powerful enemy, took refuge under the forts of the city, and Pinzon, rather than run the risk of attacking them under those conditions, withdrew the fleet and returned to the Chincha Islands. Here a formal demand, in the name of both Pinzon and Mazarredo, was sent to the commander of a Spanish transport that happened to be in harbour, and also to the governor of the islands, for their immediate surrender; fifteen minutes only being allowed for the reply to be determined on. This reply was not a refusal, but a protest; the Spanish force being an overwhelming one compared with that at the disposal of Mazarredo. It was met by the landing of 500 Spanish marines and sailors, and the immediate hoisting of the Spanish flag at the port and the gubernatorial residence. The governor, captain of the port, and principal officers of the transport, were also arrested and placed under close guard.

As soon as these proceedings became known at Lima the utmost excitement prevailed, and a degree of patriotism was exhibited such as had never been displayed under the internecine civil quarrels that had marked the previous history of the country. All classes united in one offer of their services in defence of the national honour, and both men and money, to the full extent of the people's ability, were immediately placed at the disposal of the government. The foreign residents also met and proffered their assistance and sympathy. Several companies of Germans and Italians were at once organized for actual service; the citizens of the United States passed resolutions of condolence, drawn up maybe with more zeal than discretion, but fully expressive of firm sympathy; the English sent home an appeal for British intervention against Spain; and even the Spanish residents themselves entered their protest. They elected a deputation to wait upon Admiral Pinzon for the purpose of requesting of him the deliverance of the Peruvian provinces; they also passed resolutions expressing their gratitude to the Peruvian authorities and the Peruvian people for their noble conduct towards them during the excitement; and they adopted resolutions to send at once a commission to Spain to lay before Queen Isabella a statement declaring that all Spaniards resident in Peru enjoyed the most ample guarantees, and needed no additional protection from the home government.

The feeling which thus for a moment became dominant in Peru, was hardly less intense in the other South American republics. In Chili it was developed most strongly, and led to some changes in the ministry. Signor Tocornal, the Minister of the Interior, and Signor Saotarria, the Minister of Finance, resigned in favour of Alvaro, Covarrubias, and Alexander Reyes, who were thought more nearly to represent the popular sentiment; and Congress at once decreed that Spanish war-vessels should be forbidden to use any Chilian port, either to coal or refit. Two million dollars were likewise voted for the purpose of increasing the navy by the addition of two steam frigates from England, and resolutions were come to, with great unanimity, in favour of making common cause with Peru in case of open hostilities following the acts of war committed by Pinzon and Mazarredo.

Strange as it may seem, the spirit of dissension among themselves, which we have had occasion often to note as characteristic of the people of these countries, was not allayed by the danger that threatened in Peru. An appeal was made to Congress by the government for a grant of ten millions, and for permission to increase the army and navy, the former to any required extent, the latter to thirty thousand men. This, and more, was immediately conceded, the money grant being raised to fifty millions, with the condition only that the manner of expenditure should be fully reported to Congress. Offers of aid came in from Chili, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Argentine Republic; and the policy of an immediate declaration of war by Peru against Spain was recommended. But the Peruvians could not make up their minds. In other words, they could not agree among themselves what should be done. Congress met and showed anything except unanimity. It was only after a twenty day discussion, of very stormy character, that they suc-

ceeded in passing a law of two clauses, but of a very vague character. In the first part the executive was required to make use of every ordinary and extraordinary means which were legally within its powers to defend by force the integrity of the national territory. In the second, the executive was to make war upon Spain, as a last resource, if the Chincha Islands were not restored and the flag saluted; to obtain which end it was empowered to employ, in conformity with its constitutional privileges, every means allowed by the law of nations for entering into official relations with the Spanish government. The lack of decision here displayed was followed, very naturally, by dissatisfaction at the manner in which the executive discharged their new functions, and the ministry had to resign. Signor Calderon, who now assumed the office of Foreign Minister, at once addressed a letter to the diplomatic body which evinced an intention on his part of acting with the energy demanded by the voice of the people. He knew that the sympathies of the foreign representatives were with him, for these had already met and expressed their regret at the manner in which Pinzon and Mazarredo had violated the law of nations by their acts of hostility. But he went no further than his predecessors had done, and Congress then began to recognize the expediency of acting with more resolution. Still their advance was of a very hesitative character. They agreed upon certain resolutions, and, what was the more remarkable, the vote was unanimous. These resolutions were to the effect that the executive should give the necessary orders for effecting the removal of the Spanish forces from the Chincha Islands, and should report to Congress within eight days; also that the executive should not open any negotiations with the government at Madrid until the restoration of the islands had been accomplished.

But time was still wasted. An ultimatum accordingly reached Lima from the authorities at Madrid, before anything had been done to vindicate the national honour; and it appears to have frightened the Peruvians considerably. The Spanish government now demanded a full and immediate satisfaction for all the alleged grievances, and in default of their receiving it, the envoy, Gen. Pareja, was to proceed at once with the bombardment of all the maritime ports and the destruction of the Peruvian fleet. In this dilemma a convention of the six republics was called to meet at Lima for consultation and advice. It was there decided that in the event of any further hostilities on the part of Spain the seven states would act in accord, and a notification to that effect was transmitted to Pareja. But he refused to acknowledge the convention, and declined to hold any communication whatever except with the Peruvian government. More temporizing followed this resolve, and a commissioner in the person of Vivanco was sent, with full powers, to the Chincha Islands to treat with the Spanish admiral. The basis upon which he was to act was a general concession to the demands of Spain, on condition that Spain would acknowledge the independence of Peru, and retire from the islands. At one time this mission looked likely to be successful, but a complete agreement seeming afterwards improbable, Pareja appeared with his squadron before Callao, and upon that a treaty of peace was speedily arrived at. By the terms agreed upon, Spain was to restore the Chincha Islands, and Peru was to accredit a minister to the government at Madrid; to receive the Spanish envoy as a "Special Commissioner" in the matter of the Talambo riots; to conclude a treaty of peace, amity, navigation and commerce; to liquidate all the claims of Spanish subjects; and further to pay an indemnification of three million pesos to cover the expenses incurred by Spain since the refusal of Peru to treat with her about the conclusion of peace.

The treaty was duly signed and concluded, and a mutual interchange of salutes followed. But it is hardly to be supposed that an arrangement so humiliating could receive the unanimous approval of the people. It gave rise to much excitement and indignation, and to some dangerous encounters between Peruvians and Spaniards, both in Lima and Callao. Colonel Prado, the governor of Arequipa, headed the malcontents, and openly declared that the President had insulted the Republic by the peace he had concluded. In this he was sustained by the entire population of Arequipa, Cuzco, Puno and Mogueque; and the whole of the southern portion of the state declared for Prado and war. This zeal for the national cause in that particular locality was probably due largely to the state of feeling in Chili, where, from a sympathy for Peru, the people had been driven into a personal feeling in the matter in dispute, and thus one republic urged on the other. Spain had protested against the part taken by Chili at the beginning of the year, but mutual explanations followed, and the prospect of any further difficulty for a time disappeared. The Spanish government, however, subsequently repudiated the acts of its envoy, and ordered Admiral Pareja, as soon as he had settled with Peru, to go with a squadron to Valparaiso and demand immediate and more ample satisfaction.

This order was obeyed. Pareja arrived at Valparaiso in the Ville de Madrid, and sent a despatch to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which he stated the object of his mission, and the grievances of which he had to complain. These were of the most puerile kind. One was that some Chilian citizens who had uttered some cries in the street opposite "her Most Catholic Majesty's Legation," had not been sufficiently punished; another was that a Chilian newspaper had published something against Spain and against the things that were dearest to Spaniards; and there were others respecting the refusal of the Chilian authorities to allow Spanish men-of-war to coal in Chilian ports. For these grievances the admiral now demanded satisfaction, and gave four days for consideration. If an answer was not returned by the expiration of that period, diplomatic relations between Spain and Chili were to cease, and the demand was to be enforced if necessary. But the spirit evinced by the Chilian government is in marked contrast to the temporizing pusillanimity of the Peruvians. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Senor Alvaro Covarrubias, in a despatch dated on the fourth day after the demand had been made, reviewed each section of Pareja's letter with considerable skill. He averred that the alleged disturbances, if so they can be called, which had taken place before the Spanish legation, invoked no insult whatever to the Spanish flag, and that that fact had already been acknowledged by the Spanish government, and by Admiral Pareja himself. The publication of the articles complained of in the San Martin newspaper, had been already dealt with; and with reference to the non-coaling of Spanish vessels in Chilian ports, the Minister insisted that that decree had been issued when there appeared to be a state of actual hostilities in existence. Under the circumstances the Chilian government refused to admit any degree of culpability in the premises; and Senor Covarrubias ended his dispatch by "peremptorily and firmly refusing the humiliating and disgraceful proposal that the Spanish flag should be saluted by the guns of the Republic."

This was not the kind of answer that the Spaniard had looked for. He therefore offered to give the government a further respite of two days during which to reconsider the determination. But the government stood firm, and in the course of a reply to a second ultimatum the Foreign Minister used these words:—

"The government of the Republic henceforth refuses, whatever future contingencies may arise, all demands for indemnification arising from the employment of the forces at the command of the Spanish Admiral. The entire and exclusive responsibility of the incalculable evils which the coming conflict will bring to Chili and her people, foreign as well as native, must rest upon the oppressor, upon the government of Spain and its agents, who wish to submit the Republic to the most distressing and injurious proceedings, without a shadow of justice, without even a plausible pretext. Consequently, this government will reclaim from that of Spain the amplest and most complete reparation for all damages that may be sustained by Chili growing out of the present difficulties."

The most energetic measures now followed. The entire diplomatic corps met in Valparaiso, and sent a strongly worded protest to the Spanish admiral. But this lay unheeded. Congress was convened, and a declaration of war against Spain agreed to unanimously. The executive was authorized to raise a loan of twenty millions for the purposes of the war, and unlimited powers were further conferred upon it to increase both the army and navy to any strength that might be necessary in defence of the country. An embargo was laid upon the property of Spaniards within the Republic. Spanish subjects were placed under close vigilance of the civil authorities. Customs duties were relaxed. Means of communication between many places in the interior were opened up. Telegraphs were constructed; and the ministry, cordially aided by Congress, succeeded in maintaining perfect confidence in the national credit.

Meanwhile the Spanish admiral, with characteristic bravado, undertook more than he found he could accomplish. The force at his command consisted of six frigates—the Villa de Madrid, Resolucion, Numancia, Blanca, Berenguela, and Marquez de la Victoria; besides two gunboats. He therewith declared the blockade of forty ports; but was glad almost immediately after to reduce the number to six. Even this he found himself unable to maintain, and again he reduced the number to four; a sad falling off from his first pretensions, and one which involved a mistake of very considerable importance in case it should be availed of. But notwithstanding this, some Chilian vessels of war—the Esmeralda, corvette, and the steamers Independencia and Maipa—got through the blockading squadron, and were soon after heard from in two or three actions, which reflected great credit on the Chilian navy. A launch belonging to the Spanish frigate Resolucion fell in with the Independencia, a small tug, off the coast, and brought her to with a shot across her bows. Forty men immediately after boarded the steamer and claimed her as a prize. But her officers and crew protested against this summary proceeding by seizing the Spaniards, placing them in irons, taking the launch in tow, and delivering up the whole of them in the port of Maule. This first success was soon after followed by another of more importance. The Esmeralda, while cruising off Papudo, descried the Spanish gunboat Covadonja, and at once gave chase. She rapidly came up with her, and, getting into close quarters, managed to pour shot after shot into her with telling effect. The Spaniard replied vigorously, and the contest was carried on by both sides with great spirit for about half an hour, when the Spanish captain hauled down his flag, having two men killed and fourteen wounded. His gun practice had been so wild, that notwithstanding he had expended as many round shot as he well could within the time, the Esmeralda was absolutely unhurt. The Covadonja, although needing repairs, was a useful vessel to the Chilian navy. The prisoners secured in her were seven officers and a hundred and fifteen men. For this action, which produced a great moral effect on both sides, the commander of the Esmeralda, Don Juan lo Robolledo, was promoted, and received the highest honors from the people; but Admiral Pareja, on hearing of the occurrence, committed suicide. The command of the Spanish squadron thus devolved upon Commodore Nunez, whose first act was a further acknowledgment of weakness—the raising the blockade of every Chilian port except Valparaiso and Caldera.

Except for the breach of faith of which Spain was guilty in disavowing the action of her Charge d' Affaires in Chili, and making new demands upon the Chilian government, it is quite possible that the disaffection shown in Peru over the treaty made with Pareja might have died away without producing any very serious consequences. But the tone that was adopted by Covarrubias very much strengthened the policy taken by Colonel Prado in Arequipa, who found his adherents rapidly increasing from day to day, not in his own district only, but throughout the northern provinces. He now declared openly against the government. Colonel Noya was appointed commander of the revolutionary forces in the north, and sustained at first a few reverses. But Prado marched with ten thousand men upon Lima, being reinforced upon his way by a number of Noya's troops, who had retired from the coast for that purpose. Arrived about six miles from the capital, General Prado encountered a force of about half the number of his own army, and a furious battle was the result. The revolutionists sufferced severely, but maintained their ground, and on the following day entered Lima with but little opposition. They marched direct to the principal platz, intending to seize possession of the palace and the President. In this attempt they met with a determined resistance from a band of government troops under Celadores, every one of whom perished in the conflict. In the midst of the tumult the President escaped to an English man-of-war that was lying in the offing, and two days afterwards the Minister of War surrendered both himself and the fort of Santa Catalina to the revolutionary general. The presidency was now conferred upon General Canseco, and the whole population speedily consented to acknowledge the new government. Pezet was officially declared to be a traitor and an assassin, and an attempt was made, but unsuccessfully, to have him given up from under the protection of the British flag for trial and condemnation. His friends and adherents were removed from office, and some of them ordered to leave the country. Yet this arrangement was but temporary. The elevation of Canseco was perhaps a mistake, except so far as it proved to himself that he was not the man for the people at this crisis. In a few months another revolution was accomplished, this time without any shedding of blood. Canseco was removed and General Prado elevated to the Dictatorship by the unanimous voice of the nation. This choice was fully justified by events. General Prado had already shown himself a man of singular energy, and one quite competent to see the state of public opinion and to feel the pulse of the nation. The fundamental basis of his policy was still the same—a more dignified attitude towards Spain. But he saw the necessity of preparing the way for what he foresaw must be the consequences of such a policy. Accordingly, the state of the public treasury received his first attention. He insisted on the exercise of an increased economy in every department. Several offices were abolished, and the administration of the law was made more simple and speedy. Taxes were levied upon many articles of exportation, and

privileges and monopolies, granted by previous governments, and which yielded nothing to the revenues, were stopped. Meanwhile, negotiations were being actively carried on with the Chilian government, and as if assured of their successful issue, a number of vessels were seized and detained in the harbour of Callao, under suspicion of their being engaged in carrying supplies to the Spaniards. A defensive and offensive treaty between the two republics was concluded on the 5th of December, 1865, ratified on the 13th of the same month, and war against Spain declared on the 14th of the following January.

The activity thus displayed was not allowed to abate. The declaration of war was received throughout both republics with the greatest enthusiasm and even rejoicing, as an evidence that the national honour would now be vindicated. The Peruvian squadron almost immediately set sail to join the fleet of the allies, but suffered severe loss in the foundering of one of their largest ships, the Amazonas, of 44 guns. The combined force consisted of seven vessels, with 167 rifled guns of heavy calibre. It concentrated first near the island of Chiloe, and here, on the 7th of February, aided the land batteries in the port of San Carlos in resisting an attack from a part of the enemy's squadron. The affair lasted nearly two hours, at the end of which time the Spaniards retired without having either received or given much damage, and returned to Valparaiso, the only port under blockade, where they prepared to commit one of the most dastardly acts that has been recorded in the history of civilized warfare—the bombardment of an undefended city.

The time that intervened before this was taken advantage of by the diplomatic corps and foreign commanders to attempt to effect some kind of an arrangement as a preliminary to peace. But Admiral Nunez would not consent to include Peru or any of the sister republics in the terms, and the Chilian minister very honourably refused, therefore, to listen to them. General Kilpatrick and Commodore Rodgers, of the United States Pacific fleet, especially exerted themselves in the interests of peace, and with a view to the protection of the lives and property of United States citizens in Valparaiso. But their efforts were rendered nugatory by the obstinacy of the Spanish admiral. The arrival of Commodore De Courcy, of the British Pacific squadron, brought about a meeting of the diplomatic corps, and further efforts to arrange terms that would save the city. But they, too, were useless, and were followed by a manifesto from the Spanish admiral, which, for falsification of the circumstances and grandiloquent justification of his own conduct, could scarcely have been surpassed. This went forth on the 27th of the month, and with it a notice that the bombardment would commence on the 31st. A meeting of foreign residents was held, and the protection of their respective governments was solicited. But at this juncture a difference of opinion arose among the representatives of foreign powers. General Kilpatrick invited the English, French, Italian and Peruvian ministers to meet him. But the two first named, very reasonably, and in accordance with international law, declined, on the ground that force could not be used, and that except with that nothing could be done in the direction which all had at heart. Two strong-worded protests were now prepared, and forwarded to Admiral Nunez, the one signed by the consuls of France, England, and the Argentine Republic; the other by the consuls of the United States, Portugal, Denmark, Austria, Hanover, Prussia, Bremen, Switzerland, Oldenburg, Brazil, Italy, Colombia, Sweden and Norway, Hamburg, San Salvador, and the Sandwich Islands. The following is the concluding paragraph of these protests, which were nearly identical in form :—

"History will certainly not present in its annals any event which can rival in horror the picture which will be presented by the bombardment of this city. It will be an act of vengeance so terrible that the civilized world will shudder with horror in contemplating it, and the reprobation of the entire world will fall upon the power which may have carried it out. The burning and destruction of Valparaiso will be the certain ruin and destruction of a flourishing city; but be your excellency well persuaded that it will also be an eternal blot upon Spain. Valparaiso will rise from her ashes, but never will the stain be wiped out which sullies the flag of Spain if your excellency persists in carrying out so cruel an attempt. If, notwithstanding all, your excellency carries it out, we shall find ourselves under the inevitable necessity of protesting in the most solemn manner, as, in effect, we do now protest against such proceeding, as against the interests of our constituents, reserving to our governments the right to reclaim from the government of her Catholic Majesty the enormous injuries which these citizens will suffer. We protest in the face of the civilized world, against the consummation of an act which is in contradiction to the civilization of the age."

Strong and truthful as this language was, it was received only in contemptuous silence. In response to another appeal from the foreign residents, Commodore Rodgers expressed his inability to intervene on the part of the United States further than he had already done; and a proclamation issued by the Chilian minister urging the people to have confidence, that, come what might, nothing dishonourable would be acceded to by the government, resigned them apparently to the fate which the brutal Nunez had promised them. He was for once true to his word, even though it won for him and for the whole Spanish nation the just execration of the civilized world.

On the morning of the 31st of March, the British men-of-war Sutlej and Leander, the French frigate Egerie, and the United States fleet, anchored at the entrance of the port, and soon afterwards the Spanish squadron, consisting of the Resolucion, Numancia, Villa de Madrid, Blanca, Vencedona, Paquete de Maule, and the Berenguela, approached the city. The Resolucion took up her station opposite the railway depot, the Villa de Madrid and Blanca were about 600 yards from the Custom House, and the Vencedona lay close in shore and gave her attention chiefly to hospitals and private houses. Shortly after nine o'clock two guns were fired from the Numancia, as a signal to begin, and at eight minutes past, the first shot was fired from the Blanca, amid shouts of "Viva el Reina" from the seamen of the fleet. Not a hand was raised, nor a gun fired to resist this most dastardly attack. The city was, in fact, unprotected. Under these circumstances, for three long hours the Spaniards went bravely on, at the end of which time they had fired some 3,000 shot into the city, chiefly 32 and 68-pounders. Two days previously, Nunez had sent a request that the hospitals, and other buildings of a like kind, should be distinguished with a white flag. This was done, but it was not heeded by the Spanish gunners, who paid no regard to the nature of the places they were destroying. Hospitals, churches and private houses suffered the same fate as the Custom House, Bourse Intendencia, and other public edifices. Red hot shot were used in large numbers with the object of setting fire to the city; and they were successful. A large portion of it was destroyed by fire, and every building along the shore utterly demolished.

At eight minutes after twelve o'clock, a signal appeared from the Numancia to cease firing. The fleet then got under way, and came to their old anchorage, thus bringing to an end the act which was forever to redound to the ignominy of the Spanish character. The value of property destroyed was estimated at over ten millions of dollars, of which by far the greater portion belonged to foreigners.

In the manifesto prepared by the diplomatic body for the information of their respective governments, the nature of the bombardment was boldly described, and the document stands as an official record of the inhumanity with which the Spaniards acted on the occasion. For that reason, if for no other, it should be retained. It was signed in order by the consuls of Portugal, France, England, Hamburg, Prussia, Denmark, Belgium, Netherlands, United States, Sandwich Islands, Bremen, Oldenburg, Hanover, Brazil, Saxony, Argentine Confederation, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Austria, Salvador, Switzerland, Guatemala, Lubeck, and Colombia; and it ended in the following terms :—

"It is a notorious fact, witnessed by the whole population, that one of the frigates stationed in front of Planchada street, mostly occupied by French commerce, fired directly on that part of the city, and at a distance of about one hundred and fifty metres from the Governor's house, at which building another vessel was directing her shots. It is equally notorious that another frigate, occupied in firing at the railway station situated at the extreme end of Valparaiso, fired her whole broadside, on two separate occasions, on the centre of the part called Almendral, distant about half a kilometre from the railway buildings, which part of the city included no government property, but contains the hospitals and charitable institutions which were under the safeguard of the word of the commander of her Catholic Majesty's squadron. It is not lawful to presume that the above-mentioned commander wished to break his word; but as the fire of her Catholic Majesty's ships was not returned from shore, and the commander of each one of the vessels could take up his position at will, and without reserve or fear of being attacked, there is no reason to suppose that the above-mentioned facts could have originated in a false movement, or have had such fatal consequences. In support of this exposition, it is the duty of the undersigned to mention that various projectiles struck the Civil Hospital. Among them a grenade, which happily did not explode, fell in the room where the Sisters of Mercy were collected, together with the girls from the Asylum of Salvador; that the flag hoisted by the Argentine Consulate-General has been traversed by a ball; that various shots have passed the site of the building where the French priests are situated; that the Matriz church, serving on that day as an infirmary, has suffered considerable damage caused by various projectiles, and that all the above buildings are situate far from any state property."

Such was the official form in which this action on the part of the Spanish government was described; and so it will ever stand as a truthful charge of barbarism, cowardice and inhumanity against the people of Spain. The immediate effect throughout Europe and America, and all else within the sphere of civilization, was a loud and universal cry of shame. The sense everywhere experienced was one of horror and execration; and the world acknowledged, and will ever avow with unanimous voice, the deep infamy into which Spain in her humility had fallen.

Even Nunez himself seemed at last, when he felt the curses of his fellow-men, to recognize the baseness of his crime. For after fourteen days he declared the blockade of Valparaiso at an end, and he drew off his fleet as though cognizant of the disgrace that he had brought upon his flag. But if, out of regard to the possibility of any sense of humanity remaining his, we credit him with this degree of penitence for his iniquitous act, it did not long endure. He sailed with the squadron direct from Valparaiso to Callao, where he arrived on the 25th of April. He immediately issued a manifesto, announcing the blockade of the port from the 27th, and giving six days for the departure of neutral vessels, and four days for the removal of women and children and private property from the city. He stated his intention to bombard the place on the 1st of May, and no time was lost, as it had been at Valparaiso, in attempts at pacification. A fog only delayed the fulfillment of the threat to the second of the same month. But the interval that had already passed since the declaration of war, had not been wasted by the Peruvians. Seeing that the Spaniards were not civilized enough to spare an unprotected city, they had been doing their utmost to place theirs in a state of defence. They had erected nine formidable batteries; six on the west and three on the north side of the town. They had also two iron-clads and three small gunboats in the harbour. The guns mounted in the batteries consisted of five 24-pounders, twenty-six 32-pounders, four 300-pounder Armstrong rifles, and five 450-pounder Blakely rifles; and every preparation was made to give the enemy a merited reception.

At eleven in the morning he got under way, in response to a signal from the flag-ship, and formed in two lines opposite the opposing forts. The ships on the north side were the Villa de Madrid, Almanza, and Berenguela; while the Numancia, Blanca, and Resolucion took up positions opposite the western forts; the gunboat Vencedona lying off between the two, to render assistance to either as occasion might require. The first shot was fired from the land, and struck the side of the Numancia. This was the signal for both ships and batteries all round to open fire, and in a very few minutes the action was general. At first the firing was wild and uncertain, but when the Peruvian gunners got the range of the vessels, their shots began to tell with good effect. In twenty minutes the Villa de Madrid made signals of distress, and was towed out of range, with her rigging badly damaged and her machinery disabled. The Berenguela soon followed suit, having received a shot near the water line that went completely through the hull and placed her in an almost sinking condition. The other ships, with a short interval in the case of two of them, maintained the fight during the whole afternoon, but without in any degree slackening the fire from the land. It was not till past five o'clock, when the Spanish admiral, seeing all his efforts futile, gave the signal to cease firing, and took his ships away. One battery of two guns was blown up at the beginning of the engagement, and two guns were dismounted; but, with these exceptions, there was a continuous fire maintained throughout the day from every gun on the land side. The Spaniards suffered heavy losses in killed and wounded. An Armstrong projectile that went through the steam-pipe of the Villa de Madrid killed eighteen men and wounded twenty-one others. The admiral himself received several wounds, but none that were fatal, and all the ships except the Vencedona were so materially damaged as to be almost disabled for further offensive operations.

The lesson thus rendered was sufficient for the Spaniards, who much preferred bombarding defenceless cities to facing an enemy's battery, and they declined to interfere with either Chili or Peru for some time to come. In fact, they have never interfered with so much energy since. But their attempt had thus far had one good result. Fearing a combination of all the American provinces against them, the authorities at Madrid, as soon as war against Chili was determined on, sought to gain the good-will of the Cer'ral republics by acknowledging

their independence; a concession which they had always hitherto, with much show of determination, refused to make. To this cause Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Costa Rica owe their recognition.

But while Spain remained inactive the Peruvians continued, with much perseverance, the defensive works that they had begun. Their fleet was placed under the command of Admiral John R. Tucker, formerly an officer in the navy of the Confederate States of North America; and General Prado, to whose untiring exertions during the bombardment of Callao much of the success of the Peruvians was due, devoted himself to the financial interests of the country, and to the intellectual improvement of the people. The whole system of taxation received a thorough reformation, and the customs duties were protected as they never had been before. So satisfactory to the nation was the government of this man, that at the ensuing election for President, which took place at the expiration of the term of his dictatorship, he was unanimously chosen by the people throughout the republic to that position. Yet the revolutionary spirit would break out. Castilla first raised the flag of insurrection in the south, but died suddenly ere any mischief could be done by him. General Canseco, who had once before been vice-president, soon after took up the work where Castilla left it, and after several successes against government troops, he forced Prado to resign the presidency, and the latter forthwith retired into Chili. There was no reason for this, save the restless and revolutionary spirit that seems to be inherent in the Spanish American character, and, as we shall see, it was no indication of the permanent will of the nation. The question that now agitated them was one of religious toleration. By the first Chilian constitution the Roman Catholic religion was established in that republic to the exclusion of all others; but in the year 1865 an important amendment was agreed upon. The law then made permits worship within private buildings to persons who do not profess Roman Catholic doctrines, and it also permits such persons to establish and sustain private schools for the initiation of their own children in the teachings of their religion. But while Chili was thus advancing in the way to religious toleration, Peru was receding, and in the beginning of the year 1867 Congress passed the three following resolutions—the first unanimously, the second with three dissentients, and the third by a majority of forty-three against forty:—

I. That the Roman Catholic religion is to be the religion of the State, and as such to be protected and maintained by the State.

II. That the State cannot and will not recognize any other religion.

III. That public worship by any other sect or denomination will not be allowed or practised in the republic.

In justice to the Peruvian Congress, it must be stated that these resolutions were passed only after a long and violent discussion; but, nevertheless, they won a place in the statutes of the country—an evidence of the intolerance of the people, and as a warning to persons of any but the Roman Catholic religion who may chance to contemplate a residence within the republic.

Closer relations were now sought between the republic and those of Chili, Ecuador, and Bolivia, and treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation, identical in terms, were concluded with each. The principal features of this treaty, which presents many points of interest, are the following:—

ART. I.—There shall exist inviolable peace and perpetual friendship between the republics of Peru and Chili.

ART. II.—The citizens of each of the contracting parties will enjoy respectively in the territory of the other the same personal guarantees and civil rights that are enjoyed by their own citizens without limitation, and all the rights conferred by the constitution and laws to persons, property, correspondence, and commercial liberty to make contracts and navigate, and in one word, to exercise any legal calling; to acquire property, and transfer the same, either by vendue or by will, in conformity with international right, private and modern, and in compliance with the special laws of other of the republics. It is not prohibited to the citizens of either of the contracting parties to navigate coastwise, or upon the rivers of each, or to ports not declared ports of entry to general commerce, in vessels of any size or tonnage, always submitting themselves to the rules, regulations, laws and ordinances, special or otherwise, of the port or ports.

ART. III.—The principle of equality of flags is accepted in its fullest sense, and to this end vessels belonging to each country are to be considered as if they were registered under the laws of each country.

ART. IV.—Commerce between the high contracting parties will be treated by the rule of complete liberty and reciprocity. In consequence, the natural or manufactured product of each will be admitted into the territory of the other free of duty, local or otherwise, restricted only to the limitations and modifications that are expressed in the two articles that follow.

ART. V.—With reference to wheat and flour, this special rule is established. The first year of this treaty the duty on wheat and flour will be only reduced in Peru one-fourth of the present duty, the remaining three-fourths are to be paid; on the following year the other fourths are to be reduced one-half, and the next year are to be free. This, however, is not to prejudice more liberal dispositions that, through special circumstances, may be adopted by the Peruvian nation with respect to these two articles of Chilian production.

ART. VI.—In three years, to be counted from the day in which this treaty comes in force, the tobacco of Peru shall be admitted free, both in its introduction and sale in the Republic of Chili. It is also stipulated that in the future neither one of the contracting parties shall bond the products, natural or manufactured, of the other.

ART. VII.—There are no fiscal duties, town duties, or any other kind of imposts, to be placed upon the products, natural or manufactured, that are to be exported for the consumption of either of the parties to this contract.

ART. VIII.—The high contracting parties reserve expressly the right to suspend, during the period of the present treaty, by mutual agreement, any of the present articles.

ART. IX.—The present treaty will be observed and in full vigour, for the term of twelve years, to commence and run six months from the exchange of the ratifications, but will continue obligatory upon both parties although the time has expired, for the space of thirty months after either one of the parties has notified the other of his intention to end it. This disposition does not affect in the least the clauses of peace and friendship, which are perpetual.

It may be imagined that an engagement so closely uniting the interests of the several republics would be but a first step towards confederation, and this was the view taken by the Peruvian government, who had at the same time had that proposition under consideration, and had forwarded a memorandum upon the subject to Chili and Bolivia. Between the two latter states there had long remained a source of irritation in differences in regard to the boundary line. But these were now entirely settled, and while Peru was treaty-making and contemplating confederation, Chili was quietly attending to internal affairs. A postal treaty was negotiated with Great Britain, a large loan was also raised in London, and through the mediation of France, an exchange of prisoners was agreed upon with Spain; but the chief efforts of the people were directed to internal improvements, to remedying the evils brought about by the war, to the fortification of Valparaiso and a few other places on the coast, and to the promotion of immigration. Offers of mediation by the United States to effect a treaty of peace between the allies and Spain proved ineffectual, but the republics were content, wisely, to remain on the defensive, and it was probably the necessity for this proceeding that suggested to Senor Barrenechea the project of confederation. The following is the plan he sketched for this design:—

"Every year, succeeding the 1st of March, 1868, there shall be an assembly of plenipotentiaries from the republics of the Union, that shall deliberate on the measures to establish and maintain the federal ties, occupying themselves in preference with the following: To revise the treaty of alliance of January 12, 1866, specifically stipulating all the conditions relative to the state of war with Spain, and all that has relation to the adjustment of peace; examine and decide the questions that may arise between any of the allies, whether it has relation to the execution and observance of existing treaties, or any other motive; to give uniformity, so far as possible, to the legislatures, political, civil, criminal, commercial and public instruction; also custom-houses, type of money, extradition, etc., etc., in the four republics; to establish in common, roads, post houses, telegraphs among themselves and in connection with other nations; to adopt an international plan of immigration from Europe and the United States; to examine existing treaties with foreign powers, whether political, commercial, or for navigation, or postal, or for any purpose whatever; and fix the basis upon which such treaties can be made, establishing the principle that no treaty can be sanctioned without previous examination and common approval; to write and stipulate with foreign governments for treaties that would be of practical utility to the union and likely to promote a good understanding with all other nations; to accord the necessary measures to draw close the bonds and make them more practical and more permanent to the union of the allies, adjusting more definitely the Federal Pacto and the allied constitution.

"The first Assembly will meet at the place where the allies shall designate. When closing the sessions, the Assembly will designate the place of meeting of the following session, taking into consideration the nature of the questions that it has to treat upon, the principle of alternity, and all other circumstances that merit to be taken into consideration by the plenipotentiaries. The expenses that are attendant upon the sitting of Congress shall be paid by the government in whose territory they shall hold their session. The principle of common citizenship and the organization of a federal service, diplomatic and consular, would probably be the result of the Federal Union."

While it is necessary to remember that this proposal of the Peruvian Minister was, probably, meant to be only tentative, it is, nevertheless, of value to the political historian, in the comparison he will make between it and the Constitution of the United States of North America. The important respects in which it differed in principle from the document that bound together the thirteen colonies are curious, and it would have been interesting to observe the operation of the plan in actuality. But the time had not come for any such intimate union as it implied. An event soon occurred which went to show that the ties between the republics were not as strong as the past had seemed to indicate. The probability of Spain engaging in further hostilities had become exceedingly small. The revolution that has left that miserable country in a state well-nigh approaching anarchy, and which has prevailed down to the present time, had begun, and soon Queen Isabella was to be an exile in a foreign land. With distraction pervading every town and hamlet at home, there could be no thought for waging an inglorious war abroad. But pride would not sanction a peace which misfortune had already virtually proclaimed, and thus the formal state of war was allowed to continue.

To strengthen her maritime resources, the Chilian government had had two corvettes built in England, but the relations remaining the same with Spain, the British government had refused to permit them to sail for their destination. Negotiations were thereupon entered into with Lord Stanley, then British Minister for Foreign Affairs, for securing the departure of the two vessels, on the basis of a similar privilege being granted to Spain, whose government had also had two iron-clads recently built in England, and which were similarly detained. For some reason, which has never been very clearly explained, the Peruvian Chargé d'Affaires in London protested against the terms of the agreement. Protests were also made by foreign residents in the republic; but these rested on the belief that the sailing of the four vessels would lead to fresh acts of hostility, which would be prejudicial to commerce. The same view may have actuated the Peruvian representative, and so it was regarded by the Chilian Congress, where efforts were at once made to show that the arrangement proposed would, under any circumstances, be most advantageous to the republics. But the circumstance caused a sufficient amount of coolness between Peru and Chili to at once set the project of confederation in the background, and it gave rise, probably unjustly, to the impression abroad that the relations between them had never been as cordial as they had appeared to be.

Both republics, in common with those in the North, have since devoted themselves actively to the development of internal resources, to strengthening the social and political condition of the people, and to promoting the general advancement of the nations. In Chili, a party of progress has risen into activity, pledging itself to promote the equality of all citizens before the law, the securing of individual liberty, and the fullest exercise of municipal government. But it has been impeded in its action, chiefly through the influence of the clergy, and next through the want of decision and unanimity that has characterized its leaders. In 1869, the population of Chili was not less than two millions, but the number of votes did not exceed thirty thousand. The president, too, was less the head of a republic than a dictator and dispenser of patronage. These anomalies were fully recognized, though they have never been fully remedied; but, making due allowance for the spirit of dissatisfaction with every ruling power, which we have seen to be a feature of the Spanish-American character, it must be allowed that for some time after the departure of the Spanish fleet, there was left behind a very fair amount of contentment with the proceedings of the government. Nor is it without cause. The South American republics have all been making rapid strides in prosperity and the arts of peace during the last five or six years. Chili, after long refusing, at last consented to a proposal of media-

tion, made by the United States, for a conclusion of the differences with Spain, and the greatest trouble that has since occurred has been a series of operations against the Araucanian Indians, in which the government displayed much energy and tact. Agriculture and industrial exhibitions, the construction of railways, the opening of new mines of copper and silver, the establishment of acclimatization societies, the development of agriculture, and the promotion of education, are the works to which Chili has been now for some time devoting herself; and the fruits of this policy are already very apparent, not only in the increased wealth, industry, and happiness of the people, but in the enhanced stability of their political institutions.

Nor can less be said of her sister republics. In 1869, Peru took a step in reference to the rebellion with which Spain was contending in Cuba; but otherwise her policy, too, has been directed to the exploration of new territory, the hastening of commercial progress, the accomplishment of treaties of amity and commerce with foreign nations, and improvement in the arts of peace. Her remembrance of the treachery of Spain was shown in a manner different from that chosen by Chili, and it must be attributed to the bombardment of Callao that the insurgents of Cuba received recognition from the government at Lima. As an example of a somewhat vague and peculiarly worded official document, the decree of the Peruvian President is not without value, independently of a certain kind of curiosity that it possesses from all attendant circumstances. It ran thus :—

LIMA, *May* 13, 1869.

JOSÉ BALTA,

Constitutional President of Peru:

Whereas the insurrection in Cuba has for its object the independence of the island, and that the bonds are broken that bound Cuba to the government of Spain, there are two parties that carry on the war with a political object, and should be regarded by other nations in a spirit consonant with international right:

And as the government and the people of Peru sympathize with the whole cause proclaimed by the Cubans; and as the commander of the revolutionary forces of Cuba has asked the recognition of the party as belligerents:

And as Peru should recognize the political status of the insurgents, not considering them as subjects of a government actually at war with Peru, and without prejudice to the manifestations that Peru may hereafter make in their behalf, I decree:—

I. That the government of Peru recognizes as belligerents the political party that is now struggling for Cuban independence.

II. The citizens, ships, and other appurtenances of Cuba, serving the cause of independence, shall be considered as friends of Peru.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs is charged with the execution and circulation of this decree.

(Signed) JOSE BALTA.

J. A. BARRENECHEA.

No practical result has issued from this manifesto, which in no respect, as a matter of public policy, had anything to justify it. The act tended rather to demonstrate a sentiment unworthy of a nation than to display the sagacity or wisdom of the President.

In the eagerness of the government to develop the industrial resources of the country, and finding the efforts to attract European immigration unsuccessful, as from their nature they must be, an attempt was made in 1870 to introduce coolie labor, on a more systematic scale than had hitherto been adopted. Money was subscribed and an association of the wealthiest planters was formed for the purpose of introducing into the country a better class of Chinese. But the movement received a serious check. For a long time the coolies had been subjected to harsh treatment from native labourers, and this had been resented by frequent risings that in some instances were attended with fatal consequences. These were generally put down without much difficulty, and soon came, in fact, to be regarded as an essential concomitant of the system which had to be endured. In this way people were placed off their guard, until, at an opportune moment, a large number of Chinese on some plantations north of Lima rose suddenly and murdered the overseers and all other officers, except one, about the place; having first subjected the women and children to the grossest abuses. The insurrection was well planned, and the men, to the number of some 1,200, acted under the leadership of one of the principal head men. But they received a check in an unexpected moment. Flushed with their success on the plantations, they proceeded to the assault of a small village, which they ransacked, and thence advanced to a plantation adjoining. The owner of this place, having heard of their approach, placed his wife and children for safety in a small chapel, and, collecting all the firearms and ammunition at hand, he and a friend then also entered the place and barricaded the doors, determined to defend it to the last. A vigourous attack was made by the rioters, but in a short space sixty of their number had fallen from the rifle-bullets of the little garrison, and a retreat upon the village was determined on. The inhabitants there had erected a barricade in the meantime, and a small armed band of forty men were entrusted with the defence. The Chinese attack upon them was furious to desperation, and a hot hand-to-hand conflict ensued, in which the coolies used their long-bladed knives with fearful effect. At this juncture, the two defenders of the chapel, having first placed the women and children in safety, and gathered up a few recruits, attacked the insurgents on the rear, and, after a short contest, put them to flight. The loss to the white population was forty persons, killed, while more than three hundred of the Chinese perished. On the following day, two companies of military appeared on the scene, but the coolies had fled into the mountains, where they formed a dangerous feature in the border population.

Hardly had the excitement caused by this disastrous failure of the planters to obtain labor fairly subsided, before a wide-spread conspiracy to upset the government was discovered, involving a scheme for obtaining possession of the iron-clad fleet. Through the ministry receiving timely notice of the intentions of the conspirators, the plan failed, and the leaders were arrested. A new sensation next arose in a twofold direction. The efforts of the United States to annex San Domingo gave rise to strong opposition in all the South American republics; where it was regarded as a blow directed at their own independence. Chili formally protested against it. But in Peru it yielded in great degree to another excitement, produced by the declared intention of the Italian residents in Lima to celebrate the anniversary of Italian unity. This raised a religious tumult. The Roman Catholic clergy denounced it as an insult to the church; and to avoid disturbances, which otherwise would have been inevitable, the government issued a decree forbidding the demonstration. The incident, nevertheless, is pregnant with illustration of the sensitive character of the people under the influence of an equally sensitive ecclesiastical domination.

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to trace step by step the development to which this peculiarity of national character leads in the various forms of local disaffection, or popular insurrection as they appear in these republics, and notably in that of Peru. The coolie trade was a constant source of irritation. The policy of the President was also not by any means calculated to allay the natural predisposition to ungovernable excitement; but while all this must be admitted, the fact still remains that of all the South American republics none have made such rapid advances in every direction as Peru. It was, therefore, not without a feeling even of amazement, that the world in 1872 heard of another, and the most cruel revolution that had yet disgraced the republic. In the short space of five days the city of Lima witnessed a series of events, which is more remarkable than any that can be found in the history of South America. The two candidates for the presidency that year, Dr. Arenas and Don Manuel Prado, represented respectively the party of the administration and the democracy. Congress had been sitting in secret session since the thirteenth of July, but it was generally understood that Prado would be elected. To prevent this, General Gutierrez, the Minister of War, who exercised an undue and dangerous influence over President Balta, had been striving to induce him to annul the proceedings. How far he succeeded is not clearly known, but as soon as Balta discovered that the success of Prado was well-nigh secured, he withdrew from the scheme, or pronounced his determination to have nothing to do with it. Immediately upon this becoming known to the Minister of War, Gutierrez filled the Government square with troops, dispersed the Congress at the point of the bayonet, took Balta prisoner, placed him under close military guard, and declared the city under martial law, and himself President of the Republic. At this unexpected and despotic proceeding, the people were for the moment utterly struck down with astonishment and surprise. But the feeling did not last long. Gutierrez attempted immediately to form a cabinet, but nobody would join him, and he had to witness one of the most remarkable protests that has probably ever fallen to any one at the moment of winning, as he thought, the supreme power. Places of business were suddenly closed, as if by one tacit but unanimous consent of the owners. The fleet set sail and stood out to sea. The soldiers dropped out of the ranks and openly deserted. The diplomatic corps formally refused to recognize Gutierrez in any way. The newspapers were not published; and in all directions the entire social machinery of the city stopped, and refused to proceed for a short time in any direction. The protest, at the time, was absolutely passive and negative, but none the less strong. It was, too, only the lull whose very deadness predicts the fury of the coming storm. Nor was it long ere this was heard. Silvestre Gutierrez, brother of the dictator, being hooted by the populace at a railway station in Lima, drew a revolver and fired upon the people, whereupon he was instantly shot down, and the next moment he lay dead in the street. The mob fell upon the body, stripped it of its clothes, mangled it with their knives and dragged it through the public thoroughfares. Gutierrez, hearing of the death of his brother and chief supporter, immediately dispatched a guard from the barracks, with orders to proceed to the imprisoned President Balta and assassinate him without a moment's delay. The order was executed. Balta sick, and in bed, was shot as he lay, by three of the murderers, and his body was dragged down and pierced with the bayonets of the soldiers. This outrage roused the people to fury, and shouts of "Down with Gutierrez," "Death to the murderers," resounded throughout the city and reached the ears of the dictator in the gubernatorial palace. Prado, and the leaders of the popular party, had, at the first assault made by Gutierrez on Congress, fled, either to the foreign legations or to ships in the harbour for safety; but Colonel Herencia Zevallos now came forward and placed himself at the head of the people, amid the wildest demonstrations of applause. Gutierrez, seeing that his own fate could not long remain undecided, took command of the few troops that remained true to him, and marched at their head, pistol in hand, to the fort of Santa Catalina, where he determined to defend himself. Upon this, Zevallos took possession of the Government building, assumed direction of state affairs, appointed a Cabinet and proceeded to re-establish order, which he found no difficulty in doing. He was saved the trouble of attacking the usurper. By degrees almost all the troops whom Gutierrez had taken with him left the fort. Finding then that to attempt a defence would be impossible, he had recourse to a disguise, with the intention of escaping by flight. He had succeeded in passing through a great part of the city, when suddenly a passer-by recognized him. The alarm was immediately given, and Gutierrez fled for refuge into a druggist's shop; but only to be drawn out an instant after pierced with innumerable wounds. The body was well-nigh torn to pieces, and beaten beyond recognition. It was dragged to the public square and there hung; and on the following day, together with the bodies of Silvestre Gutierrez and another brother, it was suspended from the high towers of the cathedral; and afterward all three were burned to dust in the public place.

There is something exceptional and therefore extraordinary in the scene thus presented of a popular rising in favour of the legitimate government, and to destroy a usurper. And the order with which it was conducted is noteworthy. The people undertook of their own accord the protection of the public buildings, and only one instance of anything like violence against either public or private property was recorded; and that was comparatively unimportant.

The establishment in this way of Signor Prado in the Presidency, has been an event of the utmost importance in the future welfare of the Republic. Its foreign policy has presented little of moment. It may be summed up almost entirely in commercial treaties, protestations against the settlement of the United States Company at Samana, and co-operative negotiations in the matter of an interoceanic canal in Central America. The President took care to surround himself with the ablest men in the Republic, and his administration, devoted to the internal interests of the state, and guided by a wise and temperate policy, did much not only to allay the feverish excitement of the people which had so long prevailed, but to raise Peru to the position it now occupies as the first and the most prosperous of the South American republics.

Since her first attainment of independence, Chili has been perplexed with boundary difficulties. In the south, these still continue, the limits of the state there being very imperfectly defined, and questions of jurisdiction between Chili and the Argentine Republic are constantly arising. But in 1872 a treaty was concluded with Bolivia, by which further trouble in that direction will, it is hoped, be prevented. In this the eastern limits of Chili are declared to be the highest summits of the Andes, and the twenty-fourth degree of south latitude the dividing line. As in Peru, the attention of the government has of late been more steadily devoted to internal development, to the education of the people, the promotion of trade, the construction of railways and telegraphs,

the encouragement of mining and agriculture, and amendments of the laws. The most noticeable feature in all this is the appearance of a more tolerant feeling in matters of religion, which bids fair to develop far beyond the limits of the Chilian Republic, and to remove ere long one of the greatest obstacles to the settlement of Protestant immigrants in that part of the world.

The necessity for such extension of liberal opinions has at no time been more evident than it is in Peru at the present moment, where religious bigotry is impeding the progress of education, fettering the hands of the government, creating local disaffections among the people, and covering with a cloud of darkness the most promising state upon the continent. Whatever may be the political position of a nation, its people are not free when their fullest liberties are contracted by the intervention of a religious priestcraft.

While the events here recorded were passing on the western side of the South American Continent, others scarcely less important were attracting attention on the east. The immediate results of the escape of John VI. of Portugal to his Brazilian possessions have been already seen, and it would have prevented some future troubles, in all probability, if he had resolved at once to separate the colony from the parent country. But after the battle of Waterloo and the removal of Napoleon to St. Helena, the king became anxious to return, and he sought to satisfy his Brazilian subjects by assuming the title of King of Portugal, Algarve and Brazil. But the Portuguese Cortes were anxious to reduce Brazil to its former position as a colonial dependency, and their action was strongly resented. An order that the prince regent should return to Brazil for his education completed the indignation of the people, and an insurrection being openly declared, Don Pedro placed himself at the head of it, and soon after the independence of the empire was proclaimed, with the regent as first emperor. His coronation took place six weeks afterwards, on the 1st of December, 1822. The act was not acknowledged by the Portuguese government till three years later, and in 1826 the Emperor of Brazil became, by the death of his father, King of Portugal. He at once resigned the crown in favour of his infant daughter, Dona Maria, and thus for a time allayed the fears of his subjects, who began to think that they were once more to be dependent on the parent state. A dispute which led to a declaration of war against the Argentine Republic was soon after settled through the intervention of Great Britain, but disaffection still continued throughout the northern part of the empire, and after a succession of insurrectionary movements the emperor abdicated in 1831 in favour of his son. He now returned to Portugal, and with the assistance of English and French vessels, espoused the cause of his daughter against Don Miguel, who had usurped the throne, and he ultimately succeeded in vindicating the rights of the queen, and sending the pretender into exile. But his influence was no more felt in Brazil, where a regency continued till 1841, in which year the heir to the throne was declared to be of age, and he was crowned on the 18th of July.

Brazil had for many years looked with alarm on the strengthening of the provinces that lay on her southern boundary. This appears to have been an hereditary sentiment, founded in 1816, if not existing before, when the Portuguese took possession of Monte Video, under the pretence of destroying the revolutionary tendencies of Artigas. Accordingly, when the provinces on the Parana and Uruguay united themselves with Buenos Ayres, the Brazilian government was dismayed, and, soon after forcing a declaration of war, blockaded the city of Buenos Ayres; but, as we have already said, peace was ultimately made through British intervention. It was during this time that a popular leader among the people of Buenos Ayres arose in the person of Juan Manuel de Rosas, a descendant of an ancient Spanish family, and a man full of ambition, daring, and adventure; but who, from a life of rough culture among the herdsmen and working classes generally of the interior, had grown into a spirit of antipathy to the refinement of the aristocratic classes of the seaboard. The people were thus divided: Rosas heading a party which supported a federal form of government for the several provinces, in opposition to the constitution of 1825. This had been framed on the basis of a small but powerful aristocracy, who now, in contradistinction to the party of Rosas, styled themselves Unitarios. Rosas gained a large number of adherents from the provinces, and gradually so increased his influence that in 1827 he formally protested against the constitution, and in a brief time wielded sufficient power to place the nominee of his party, Dorrego, in the position of governor of Buenos Ayres. The treaty of peace which Dorrego made with Brazil through the ministry at London secured the recognition of Uruguay as an independent state; but three years after a confederation was formed between the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé, Corrientes, and Entre Rios; and within another year it embraced the whole of the remaining provinces. Thus was fulfilled, with a trifling exception, the programme first marked down by Rosas and his friends, and Brazil began to look with distrust upon the rising power of the confederation. Meanwhile, however, suspicions arose among the people as to the sincerity of Rosas, and several insurrections were started to effect a change in the government. These were readily put down, till the feeling took root in the ranks of the army, when, under the leadership of General Lavalle, the government was attacked, and Dorrego being taken prisoner, he was shot without a trial. The success was of short duration. Rosas was not the man to submit to defeat. He immediately organized a new force, and with the active co-operation of Lopez of Santa Fé completely overthrew Lavalle and all his hopes, Rosas occupying the position to which he had aspired, and having the army completely under his control, ready to obey his behests at any moment. An opportunity presently occurred, through the rapid changes of revolutionary action, by which the supreme authority in Buenos Ayres was at his disposal, and he was not slow in availing himself of it. He was elected governor of Buenos Ayres in 1832, and held the office with advantage to the country till the expiration of his term in 1835. Five times he refused to be nominated for re-election; but when the terms were altered and the word governor was changed for dictator, he eagerly accepted the proposal, and held it, with the sanction of the people, till 1852. During the intervening period he ruled with stern despotism. Records of the time describe him generally as a tyrant of the worst kind, a bloodthirsty and unscrupulous ruler, who never hesitated to commit the most flagrant injustice when self-interest or the fulfillment of his personal wishes demanded it. But a future generation will probably judge him less harshly. He held supreme power during a period of considerable moment in the future interests of the country he loved, and it is very doubtful whether any man of less character would have borne it as well through the dangers that beset it. He devoted himself with all his energies to extend the territory, or at least the authority, of Buenos Ayres to the provinces of Paraguay and Uruguay, and he has been condemned for a policy of aggrandizement. But any condemnation that pertains to him for that policy belongs with equal justice to Brazil. The government of the emperor had always seen the value of the provinces that lay to the Brazilian side of the Parana, both on account of their intrinsic value, and also as thereby making the river the boundary line against a republic which they never liked. Rosas saw in like manner the expediency of adding those provinces to Buenos Ayres, as well on account of their wealth in resources and their breadth of seaboard, as from the check that would thereby be given to the ambition, perhaps to the propagandism, of the Brazilians. Paraguay had the good fortune at this juncture to be under the executive control of Francia, a man hardly less notable than Rosas himself, and who proved himself quite competent to keep the territory he governed free from any serious danger on either side. Moreover the Brazilian government, much as it feared Rosas and his policy, cared not to risk a war for the conquest of both Paraguay and Uruguay at the same time. They contented themselves for some time with directing their attention upon the latter province only, and agents of both the empire and Rosas were at work for some time propagating the views of their respective governments. As usual, internal disorder soon furnished an occasion for interference. Two parties had arisen in Uruguay, and Brazil gave open support to the one headed by Rivera, which declared itself in open opposition to the policy of Rosas, and which presently had the active support of the French. The faction favourable to the confederation was under the guidance of Oribe, a direct agent of Rosas, and working entirely under his direction. A condition of war soon followed the active intervention of Rosas, but it was little more. The intervention of the French was unwarranted, and was soon ended; and the authorities at Monte Video then saw the expediency of coming to an agreement with their opposite neighbours. But the peace thus concluded did not last long. Brazil persisted in looking with a jealous eye upon the rule of Rosas, and under the pretext that treaties made in 1828 and 1840 had been broken, the emperor's government applied for assistance to England and France. Rosas had meanwhile closed the Parana to vessels belonging to Paraguay, and had threatened restrictions upon the State of Uruguay except upon specified conditions. The appeal from the Brazilian court was speedily followed by the appearance of a combined French and English squadron at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. Buenos Ayres was blockaded and the Argentine fleet taken possession of. The allies also seized the island of Martin Garcia, and declared the Parana open to the navigation of Paraguay. Rosas offered a determined resistance to these proceedings, but with little effect except to himself. The contest lasted for three years, during the whole of which time the confederation suffered great losses, and the reputation of Rosas in his own country was much weakened. Noticing this, the governor of Entre Rios, who had always sympathized with the Brazilian side of the question, placed himself at the head of the party opposed to Rosas, and co-operating with his enemies, gave battle to the Argentine dictator at Monte Caseios, and utterly defeated him. Rosas managed to escape to England, and with characteristic ingratitude, the people whom he had advanced greatly in material prosperity, and whom, in fact, he had been the chief means of converting into a nation, hailed his departure with expressions of delight. Lopez now thought to secure the dictatorship; but the conqueror of Rosas, with a triumphant army behind him, was not to be denied, and in less than six months Urquiza became dictator, and at once published a decree acknowledging the independence of Paraguay, and opening the tributaries of the La Plata to free navigation.

But it is not to be expected that a ruler from Entre Rios would long be tolerated. Having to visit Santa Fé, his absence was turned to an opportunity for indulging once more in revolution. Urquiza was summarily deposed, and Alsina chosen governor of Buenos Ayres, independent of the confederation. This led to civil war. Alsina was, in turn, removed, and the confederation in the midst of the turmoil framed the constitution that was destined to endure for some time, and into which it was hoped that Buenos Ayres would ere long be drawn. This constitution was framed upon the model of that of the United States of North America. It went into operation in 1854, the seat of government being fixed at Bajada del Parana, in Entre Rios. It did not have the immediate effect desired. Buenos Ayres formed a new constitution for herself; but at the same time a treaty was concluded with the confederation, which brought it and Buenos Ayres into much closer relations. The favourable prospect thus formed was destined soon to be destroyed. Some refugees under General Flores attempted the invasion of Buenos Ayres from Santa Fé, but were repulsed by General Mitre, and pursued into the province whence they had escaped. This led to expostulations, but the conduct of Flores was upheld by his government, and the confederation annulled the treaties of 1854 and 1855 forthwith. Urquiza at once began to levy duties on vessels from Buenos Ayres bound up the tributaries of the La Plata, and hostilities ensued which lasted four years, and ended in the union of Buenos Ayres with the confederation. But national sentiment was not satisfied, and when, in 1860, the deputies from Buenos Ayres were refused seats in the Congress, on the ground of irregularities in their election, the occasion was taken to renew the civil war. General Mitre, to whom the command of the army of Buenos Ayres was entrusted, having gained a complete victory over the Argentine troops, was elected provisionally to the presidency pending certain amendments to the constitution. In these Buenos Ayres was made provisional capital of the confederation, and in 1862 Mitre was chosen President of the Argentine Republic. Entre Rios was included in the confederation, but not with the approbation of Urquiza, who, nevertheless, soon after accepted the governorship of that province, and gave in his allegiance.

Matters being thus apparently settled in the confederation, disturbances of a more prominent character broke out in Uruguay. At the election in 1864, Aguirre, the representative of the reactionary party, was elected President; upon which Flores, the defeated candidate and representative of the liberals, placed himself at the head of an insurrection, and at once received the aid of Brazil. An imperial force even invaded the province against the elected president of the people, thus committing the government at Rio to a monstrous interference with the constitutional rights of a neighbouring nation. War against Brazil was immediately declared. Flores laid siege to the town of Paysandu, and a Brazilian fleet blockaded it on the side of the sea. It was nobly defended by a garrison of loyalists, less than seven hundred strong, which held out long after the city itself had been laid in ashes, and at last fell victims to treachery. The garrison were treated by the Brazilians with much cruelty, and their commander, General Gomez, was shot—for the crime, we presume, of being faithful to his government and country. The insurgents and their Brazilian allies thence marched on to the capital, and Monte Video was declared in a state of blockade. Upon this, Aguirre resigned the presidency, and being succeeded provisionally by Villalba, a member of the Senate, negotiations were opened with the enemy, and a treaty of peace was soon agreed upon. General Flores shortly after entered

Monte Video in triumph, supported by a brigade of Brazilian troops, and assumed the presidency—thus setting at defiance the principles of the constitution which he swore to maintain, and by the aid of foreign bayonets subverting the will of the people, and replacing the President whom they had chosen. Much has been said for the purpose of justifying the conduct of the Brazilian government in this intervention, but much more must be said before any such justification as the friends of the empire desire can become possible. The facts speak for themselves. Nothing can alter them, and unless they were altered nothing but the utter condemnation of Brazil for an unjustifiable and cruel war would be possible.

Lopez, the President of Paraguay, had not failed to send the protest of his State against the action of Brazil in this matter. But his protests were received at Rio de Janeiro with insolence, and he retaliated speedily by seizing a Brazilian vessel which he found on her way up the Parana, and detaining her crew and passengers as prisoners of war. On the next day the representative of Brazil at Assuncion was formally notified that as his government had refused attention to the protests of the President, the river would henceforth be closed to Brazilian vessels, and the imperial flag treated as that of an enemy. The Brazilian Minister thereupon demanded and received his passports, and in less than a month a Paraguayan army had entered the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso, from which communication with the capital was now completely cut off. After bombarding and carrying by assault the fort of Novo Coimbra, the most important in the province, all the principal cities, including at last the capital, fell into the hands of the invaders.

The treaty of peace which the traitor Flores entered into with Brazil did not contain any reference to Paraguay, whose President had thus nobly defended the cause of liberty, in behalf of the Uruguayans. It was followed by an offensive alliance against Lopez on the part of Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic, effected through a treaty whose political importance is too great to justify its not receiving a place here. For a long time it was kept secret, and it was not till the war had been continued several months that it gained publicity, much to the annoyance of the signatories. It was as follows:—

"The governments of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and of the Argentine Republic (against the last two of these war has been declared by the government of Paraguay, and the first is in a state of hostilities, having its internal security threatened by the same government of Paraguay, which, after having disturbed its relations with the neighbouring governments by the most abusive as well as aggressive acts, has violated its territory, broken solemn treaties, and disregarded the international law of civilized nations by committing the most unjustifiable acts), persuaded that the peace, security, and well-being of their respective nations are impossible while the actual government of Paraguay exists, and that the greatest interests demand as of imperious necessity that said government be set aside, without, however, any offence to the sovereignty, independence, and integrity of said republic and its territory, have resolved to enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, in order to obtain the object set forth above, and to this end they have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, to wit: His Excellency the Provisional Governor of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay has appointed D. Don Carlos de Castro, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil has appointed His Excellency, D. Don Octaviano de Almeida Rosa, of his Council, Deputy to the General Legislative Assembly and Official of the Imperial Order of the Rose; His Excellency the President of the Argentine Confederation has appointed Dr. Dos Rufino de Elizalde, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. After having exchanged their respective credentials and found them in good and due form, these plenipotentiaries have agreed upon and entered into the following treaty of alliance:—

"Article I. The Oriental Republic of Uruguay, His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and the Argentine Republic, contract an offensive and defensive alliance in the war which has been provoked by the government of Paraguay.

"Art. II. The allies shall use all the means at their disposal by land or on the rivers, according as may become necessary.

"Art. III. As hostilities will have to begin on the soil of the Argentine Republic, or on the adjoining border of the Paraguayan territory, the command-in-chief and direction of the allied armies shall fall to the charge of Brigadier-General Don Bartolome Mitre, President of the Argentine Republic and General-in-Chief of its army. The naval forces of the allies shall be under the immediate orders of Vice-Admiral the Viscount de Tamandaré, Commanding-in-Chief the Squadron of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil. The land forces of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, one division of the Argentine troops, and another of Brazilian, to be designated by their respective superior officers, shall form an army to be under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Don Vanancio Flores, Provisional Governor of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay. The land forces of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil shall form an army under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Don Manuel Lius Osorio, its General-in-Chief. Although the high contracting parties are agreed in not changing the theatre of the war's operations, nevertheless, in order to preserve the sovereign rights of the three nations, they now agree to follow the principle of reciprocity as regards the chief command of the allied army, so as to provide for any case which might require the war's operations to be transferred to Oriental or Brazilian territory.

"Arts. IV. and V. refer to the internal order and regulation, as well as pay, etc., of the troops, and the mutual settlement of accounts occasioned thereby.

"Art. VI. The allies solemnly bind themselves not to lay down their arms unless by common consent, nor until they have overturned the actual government of Paraguay; neither shall they separately treat of or sign any treaty of peace, truce, armistice, or agreement whatever, to end or suspend the war, except it be mutually agreed to.

"Art. VII. As the war is not waged against the people of Paraguay, but against its government, the allies may admit into a Paraguayan legion all the citizens of that nation who may wish to aid in the overthrow of said government, and will furnish them with whatever they may need, in the form and under the conditions that shall be agreed upon.

"Art. VIII. The allies bind themselves to respect the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Paraguay. In consequence, the people of Paraguay shall be enabled to choose whatever government and institutions may suit them, without having to submit, as a result of the war, to incorporation with any of the allies, or having to accept the protectorate of any of them.

"Art. IX. The independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Paraguay shall, in accordance with the preceding Article, be guaranteed collectively by the high contracting parties for the term of five years.

"Art. X. It is agreed between the high contracting parties that the exemptions, privileges, or concessions which they may obtain from the government of Paraguay shall be common to them all—gratuitously should they be so obtained, and upon common conditions, if they should be obtained conditionally.

"Art. XI. After the present government of Paraguay shall have been overthrown, the allies shall proceed to make arrangements with the newly constituted authority, in order to secure the free navigation of the rivers Parana and Paraguay, so that the laws or regulations of said Republic may not obstruct, impede, or tax the transit across or navigation along said rivers by the merchants or war vessels of the allied States, bound to points within their respective territories, or within territory which may not belong to Paraguay; and they shall require proper guarantees to secure the effectiveness of said arrangements, but on condition that said arrangements concerning river policy—whether as regards the aforementioned rivers or the Uruguay as well—shall be drawn up in common accord between the allies, and whatever other littoral States may, within the period agreed upon by the allies, accept the invitation that may be extended to them.

"Art. XII. The allies reserve to themselves the right of concerting the most suitable measures to guarantee peace with the Republic of Paraguay after the overthrow of its present government.

"Art. XIII. The allies will, at the proper time, name the plenipotentiaries who shall represent them in conference to make whatever agreements, conventions, or treaties may be necessary with the new government that shall be established in Paraguay.

"Art. XIV. The allies shall exact from said government payment for the expenses caused by this war—a war which has been forced upon them; and also reparation and indemnification for the injuries and wrong done to their private as well as public property, and to the persons of their citizens, previous to any express declaration of war; likewise for the injuries and wrongs caused subsequently, in violation of the principles that govern in the laws of war. The Oriental Republic of Uruguay shall, moreover, exact an indemnity proportionate to the injuries and wrongs which the government of Paraguay has done her in the war, into which it compelled her to enter for the defence of her rights, threatened by said government.

"Art. XV. Provides for the manner and form of the settlements to be made, under the preceding Articles.

"Art. XVI. In order to avoid the discussions and wars that arise out of questions relating to territorial boundaries, it is agreed that the allies shall require of the government of Paraguay to make a special treaty with each one to define their respective boundaries, on the following basis:—

"The Argentine Republic shall be separated from the Republic of Paraguay by the rivers Parana and Paraguay up to the points where said rivers touch Brazilian soil, such point in the case of the Paraguay River being on its right bank at the Bahia Negra.

"The Empire of Brazil shall be separated from the Republic of Paraguay, on the side of the Parana by the first river above the falls called the Seven Cataracts, the line running from the mouth of said river along its whole course to its source; according to the new map of Mouchez, said river is the Ygurey. On the left bank of the River Paraguay, it shall be separated by the River Apa, from its mouth to its source. In the interior, they shall be separated by the Maracayn range of mountains, the eastern slopes of which belong to Brazil, and the western to Paraguay, between the two points at which the shortest straight lines can be drawn respectively from the said range to the sources of the Apa and Ygurey.

"Art. XVII. The allies mutually guarantee to each other the faithful fulfillment of the agreements, conventions, and treaties that may be necessary to make with the government that is to be established in Paraguay, in accordance with the stipulations of the present treaty of alliance, which shall remain in full force and vigour until those stipulations shall be respected and fulfilled by the Republic of Paraguay. In order to obtain this result, they agree that in case one of the high contracting parties fail to obtain from the government of Paraguay the fulfillment of its agreement, or that the latter government attempt to annul the stipulations agreed to with the allies, the others shall actively use all their efforts to obtain their fulfillment. If these are useless, the allies shall join together all their means to render effective the stipulations made with them.

"Art. XVIII. This treaty shall remain in secret until the principal object of the alliance be obtained.

"Art. XIX. Such stipulations of this treaty as do not need legislative ratification shall begin to have effect as soon as they shall be approved by their respective governments, and the remainder immediately after the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place within the period of forty days from the date of this treaty, or before, if possible.

"In testimony whereof, we, etc., etc., have attached our names and seals, in the city of Buenos Ayres, this first day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1865.

"(Signed)

"C. De Castro,
"J. Octaviano De Almeida Rosa,
"Rufino De Elizalde.

"PROTOCOL.

"Their excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Argentine Republic, of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, and of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, have agreed:—

"I. That, in execution of the treaty of alliance of this date, the fortifications of Humaita shall be demolished; and it shall not be permitted to erect others of a like nature, that might impede the faithful execution of said treaty.

"II. That, it being one of the necessary measures to guarantee a peace with the government that shall be established in Paraguay, there be left in Paraguay neither arms nor munitions of war; such as may be found there shall be divided in equal parts among the allies.

"III. That the trophies or booty which may be taken from the enemy shall be divided among the allies capturing the same.

"That the commander of the allied armies shall concert the measures necessary to carry into effect what is herein stipulated.

"And they signed this protocol in Buenos Ayres on the first day of May, 1865.

"(Signed)

"Carlos De Castro,
"J. Octaviano De Almeida Rosa,
"Rufino De Elizalde."

Brazil having been the moving power in this proceeding, the disgrace of it must fall upon the empire. Considering the circumstances under which

the treaty was made, and that the justification of it rested upon an untruth, the only credit that can be found for Brazil was in the fact that her government was ashamed of what it had done. They were vastly disturbed, or pretended to be so, when the agreement that had been ratified with the southern republics became known to the world, and when they found public opinion denouncing them for their treachery. The whole proceeding is very simple and very bad, and it cannot be made better by any effort to give it an appearance of complicity. Aguirre was the legally elected president of Uruguay. Brazil, by interfering in Uruguayan affairs, and supporting the insurgent Flores in his rebellion against Aguirre, committed a work which no argument can justify, and one which Brazil dare not have attempted in the affairs of any power equal to herself in strength. Lopez did a perfectly justifiable act in protesting against this unwarrantable interference, and in taking the part of his republican neighbour against imperial impertinence The union of the republics against him at the dictation of Brazil was therefore an act of treachery to the principles they themselves professed, and of ingratitude to the nation that had voluntarily stood by one of them in defence of liberty and constitutional rights. Brazil was the first offender, and although by force of arms and superior resources she at last destroyed the President of Paraguay and placed his country at her mercy, the name of Lopez will ever be coupled with the fame that belongs to valour and patriotism, while that of the empire must perforce be content with the disgrace that attaches to an abuse of power.

Lopez had had reason to distrust the loyalty of the Argentines for some time, and without waiting for any formal declaration on their part, he followed the same course that he had pursued against Brazil, first seizing an Argentine vessel on the river, and afterwards sending an army of invasion into Argentine territory. Mutual declarations of war now took place, the republic leading off on the 16th of April and the Congress of Paraguay following suit two days later.

These notices were followed by active exertions on both sides to prepare for a vigorous campaign. Paraguay having on her part to resist the combined force of Brazil and her surrounding neighbours, found it necessary to put forth the full power of her people. The position she had gained at the outset was, nevertheless, lost. An Argentine army under General Parmero, aided by a Brazilian fleet, recaptured the city of Corientes, where Lopez had established a provisional government, but being unable to hold the place, it was abandoned on the following day. The victory, nevertheless, belonged to the allies, who took three guns, a standard, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and gained thereby a moral advantage of which some of them were much in need. The effect was, however, soon to be destroyed. A few days afterwards an army of Paraguayans under General Lagrima, to the number of eight thousand men, forced the passage of the Uruguay at San Borja by means of a number of flat-bottomed boats which they had with them. Before noon, under cover of a few pieces of artillery and in face of a fire obstinately maintained by a Brazilian force on the other side, they had nearly all the troops landed on the enemy's territory, and the force he had sent to resist them was driven back upon the town. Here the Brazilians, reinforced by a battalion of infantry and two hundred and fifty cavalry, prepared to make a stand. But they fell back at the first attack, and the Paraguayans entered the place. Resting there one day, Lagrima led his army to Itaquy, and soon after occupied the important town of Uruguyana. The impolicy of this movement, successful though it was, soon became manifest. The allies concentrated their forces between the Uruguay and Parana, where, at a review of the allied armies, it was found they mustered 20,000 men, of whom 3,000 were cavalry, and thirty-two pieces of cannon. Flores, a few days after, effected a junction with Parmero, thereby increasing the men at his command to 9,000, besides forty pieces of artillery. With this conjoined force he attacked a part of the army of Lagrima, consisting of 3,000 men, which had been in communication with the town of Uruguyana, but from which it was now cut off by a small Brazilian squadron in the Rio Grande. The battle took place close to the town Restauracion, and was furiously contested by both sides.

But the Paraguayans, overpowered by numbers, at last had to yield, though not till more than a fourth of their number had been killed. The allies, whose loss did not exceed 250, took 1,600 prisoners, including their commander, and by their victory not only cleared the way for the relief of Uruguyana, but cut off all means of retreat from the army then in possession of the city.

While these things were going on on land, the naval forces of the opposing nations were not idle. The Paraguayan fleet, consisting of eight steamers, and six rafts armed with heavy guns, descended the Parana, came in view of the Brazilian squadron of nine ships on the 11th of June, at the mouth of the Riachuelo, and without stopping, at once gave battle. Seldom has a naval contest been fought with more desperate determination on both sides. At the first onset a Brazilian vessel was boarded, and her flag hauled down by men from the Paraguayan vessels, but she was immediately afterwards boarded from another of the imperial squadron, the crew overpowered, and her flag replaced. Commanders on both sides strove to place their ships alongside the enemy, and throughout the day a series of hand-to-hand conflicts, in one of which the Paraguayan admiral was wounded, characterized the fight. A more bloody struggle has seldom been recorded. It lasted, without intermission, from half past nine in the morning till six in the evening, nor did the Paraguayans then retire till three of their ships had gone aground and been destroyed, another sunk, six of their rafts lost, and 1800 men had been killed or wounded. The Brazilians stated their loss at three hundred in killed and wounded, and serious damage done to every vessel in the fleet.

This, and the surrender of the garrison in Uruguyana, which speedily followed the victory at Restauracion, led to the evacuation of the province of Corrientes by the Paraguayan general, who retreated unmolested and in good order into his own territory. The allies thereupon, without seeking to follow him through the floods and marches that had been swelled by the heavy rains, planned an invasion of the province by the Parana. The Brazilian fleet, of sixteen ships and seventy-seven guns, accordingly assembled at the mouth of the Paraguay to carry the allied forces up the river, it being the intention of the commanders to concentrate them at Paso de la Patria on the frontier, and to make an attack upon the fortress of Humaita, where the Paraguayans took extraordinary measures of defence.

Still determined as long as possible to act on the offensive, a force of Paraguayans about 600 strong crossed over to the Argentine side of the river, near the frontier, and being reinforced by 4,000 troops, that crossed immediately after, gave battle to an army of about the same strength under General Hornos, but after a resolute struggle, which was continued with varying fortune throughout the greater part of the day, the Paraguayans were at last forced to recross the river, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. Reverses of this kind did not abate their energies or resolution. For two months they continued to harass the enemy, invading his territory and inflicting heavy loss, every contest being accompanied with great slaughter. By that time the Brazilian fleet had taken up position, one division being opposite the Paso de la Patria, and the other at the junction of the Paraguay and Parana rivers. The allies soon possessed themselves of a small island in front of Itapicu, which was regarded of much strategic importance; and in an effort to recover possession of it, a Paraguayan force under Captain Romero lost nearly a thousand men, besides 800 muskets and thirty cannons, the commander himself being taken prisoner.

The allies now entered the territory of the republic. On the 16th of April, 1866, they pushed forward an army of 15,000 men, under the Brazilian general, Osorio, landing them, without opposition, on the Paraguayan side, and at the junction of the two rivers. They advanced cautiously from this, under cover of the fleet, defeating at intervals various detachments of the enemy—never more than 3,000 strong—till they became complete masters of the Paso de la Patria and the fortress of Itapicu, which they destroyed. In this advance the allies took several prisoners, a standard, and two fine pieces of artillery. But Lopez hastened to remedy the disaster, and the effect it had had upon his troops. On the 2d of May, at the head of 8,000 men, he advanced upon the position of General Flores, and in a short time put the whole army to flight, not, however, till the allies had lost nearly seventeen hundred in killed and wounded, among whom was a large number of officers. Flores lost all his artillery and a great quantity of b ggage. At this moment, when the utter destruction of his army seemed imminent, he was suddenly and unexpectedly reinforced by a picked body of Brazilian troops, under the command of Osorio, and by these the fortune of the day was turned. They charged upon the enemy, under a heavy fire of artillery, and succeeded in cutting completely through his lines, compelling him to fall back and, finally, to retreat from the ground he had gained in the morning from Flores. The Brazilians acknowledged that the regiment under Osorio, which accomplished this, and which had gone into the conflict nearly seven hundred strong, mustered only forty-one men at the close of the day.

The same desperate indifference to everything save victory characterized the whole of this devastating and unjustifiable war—the Paraguayans, fighting as they were against enormous odds, especially signalizing themselves for daring and intrepidity. Three weeks after the event just recorded, they assembled an army of 13,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry at Tugnitz, where they attacked a combined and stronger force of the allies, but were everywhere repulsed, after five hours' fighting. Their losses on this occasion were placed at 4,570, killed, and wounded, four pieces of artillery, five standards, three regimental colors, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. The allies also suffered considerably, losing 3,317 in killed and wounded, and they appear to have suffered still more in *morale*, for they did not follow up their success, but allowed Lopez to occupy the same ground he had held before, and, in a measure, gave reason to justify a report wherein he afterwards claimed the victory. It is doubtful whether, if he had acted vigourously on the offensive the next day, he might not have inflicted a more decisive blow upon the enemy, but this he could not at that time do. Having a few days after received some heavy guns, he resolved then upon the attempt, and on the 14th of June, three weeks again after the battle of Tugnitz, he began a vigourous fire with 68 and 110-pound shot upon the camp of the allies, who also had remained inactive during the interval. The cannonade was tremendous. It was estimated that more than three thousand heavy shot fell into the midst of the enemy, who had no artillery with which to return the fire, and who suffered the entire loss of their baggage, camp material, and tents.

The allies now began to see that the work they had undertaken was not to be accomplished without much difficulty and many sacrifices. A conference of the several commanders was thereupon summoned, and, after a long discussion, it was resolved to make a simultaneous attack upon the enemy with all their forces. The fleet, led by the iron-clad Rio de Janeiro, and carrying seven thousand troops, steamed up the river on the 2d of September, but their progress was checked by a masked battery near Curupaiti, from which a heavy fire was opened as they advanced. The Paraguayans here first availed themselves of the use of torpedoes, and one of the first results was the destruction of the Rio de Janeiro by that means. The commander of the forces, Baron Porto Alegre, then landed three thousand men at a spot a little lower down the river, the Admiral meanwhile keeping up a sharp fire upon the forts. The troops advanced unflinchingly, under a storm of grape, until they came within three hundred yards, when, with loud vivas, they stormed the place, drove out the garrison, and in a few minutes had the Paraguayan flag hauled down. Their loss in this affair was not less than 1,300 men, besides the frigate, for which they took nine guns, three flags, and some ammunition.

An attempt was soon afterwards made to arrange terms for peace. Presidents Lopez and Mitre met for this purpose, but nothing was accomplished; and the allies saw no course open to them but to renew their energy. They therefore determined to attack the fortress of Curupaiti, two miles further up the river, and one of the strongest in the republic. It was garrisoned by 15,000 men, and defended by fifty-six heavy guns. On the land side the nature of the country materially added to its strength, being surrounded on the lower sides with deep marshes, which the Paraguayans had further defended with works of considerable ingenuity. The fort was bombarded on the 22d of September by all the vessels of the fleet with very little effect, although the firing was continued without intermission for more than four hours. Three of the largest iron-clads then closed in to within a hundred and fifty yards of the walls, and opened a rapid and continuous fire. But it was returned with equal vigour, and the vessels received so much damage that it became evident that success could not be secured from the river side. General Mitre, who, at the beginning of the attack, had advanced from Curuzu, had by this time carried the first line of entrenchments, the enemy retiring before him, with their guns, into Curupaiti. But the allies found that the movement was to them no gain. They had now to advance through the wide swamp that surrounded the fort, and that, too, under a merciless fire from the enemy's artillery, and in about four feet of water. With much determination and a bravery worthy of a better cause, they persevered in the attempt for nearly two hours, but found that they could neither advance before the pitiless storm of grape and round-shot that mowed through them, neither could they make any impression upon the enemy. Under these circumstances they retreated, leaving five thousand of their number dead behind them, and giving up all hope of making any further progress in the war for that year.

Curupaiti was meanwhile further strengthened. General Flores rested with his troops at home in Monte Video. President Mitre retired to Tugnitz, and active exertions for a renewal of the campaign in the following year was reverted by the allies to

their respective governments. By these the position of affairs was considered with considerable anxiety, but no alteration was made in the plans, and at the beginning of the following year a further effort to gain possession of Curupaiti was made with all the strength of the allies. The mode of procedure differed little or nothing from that tried before, and it met with a similar result. The Brazilian iron-clads were almost disabled by the fire from the fort, and the troops of the allies who tried to carry the place by assault on the land side were more than decimated. To explain their defeat, the Brazilians sent out a report that their commander, the Marquis de Caxias, had been negotiating with General Diaz, who, for a sum of three hundred thousand dollars, had agreed to admit the Brazilian troops to that part of the fortress which was entrusted to his keeping. There did not appear to be any truth in this, or if there was, Diaz can hardly be accused of treachery. He allowed the Brazilians to come almost up to the fortification, when suddenly a withering artillery fire was opened upon them from every side. Dismay instantly seized all ranks, and while every discharge from the fortress cut them down, those who were able sought safety in a precipitous retreat. This misfortune very much cooled the ardour of the allies, which was further lessened by an insurrection that had just previously broken out in some provinces of the Argentine Confederation, and which called for the presence of President Mitre and a large force of the Argentine army. The allies suffered also exceedingly from cholera and fever, acquired in the marshy districts, where their operations had recently been much confined. So that it was not till towards the end of August that active work was recommenced. It was then determined to pass by Curupaiti, which had so successfully withstood the best efforts of the allies, and forcing the passage of the rivers, to advance to Humaita, a place of about equal strength, but which had now been rendered, as it was thought, inaccessible by land batteries and torpedoes. The passage by Curupaiti was accomplished without serious loss, notwithstanding that many of the ships were struck, at point-blank distance, with projectiles varying from 80 to 250 pounds weight. Thus encouraged, renewed advances were made by land, and a series of encounters, waged with varying success, mark the history of the next few months. The losses on both sides continued to be enormous; and the heroic nature of the defense, especially when one remembers that the forces at the disposal of Lopez were not more than one-half the number of those placed in the field by the allies, is worthy of all admiration. For every reverse suffered by themselves, the Paraguayans managed to obtain compensation by an equivalent damage inflicted upon the enemy, and again the year closed with little or no variation in the position, beyond the investment of Humaita by the allies, the destruction of several ships of the enemy's squadron by the Paraguayans, and the loss of several thousands of lives on both sides. The resources of Lopez, who had entered upon the struggle with full preparation, appeared to be boundless; and only equalled by his own and his people's determination to defend their country to the last extremity. His position, too, was stronger in every respect than that of the enemy, who surpassed him only in numbers. This condition, however, is sometimes too much underrated. The allies would, except for the bonds with which they had bound themselves in the remarkable treaty given above, have gladly brought the war to a close. Yet so long as they had the world open to them behind, and the determination to be absolutely reckless of the lives of their citizens as an incentive in the conduct of the war, it must have been evident, at this stage even, that success of some kind would ultimately be theirs.

Brazil suffered least from this war. It was removed a sufficient distance from the immediate scene of the conflict to feel it but little, except in an increase of taxation. But the war was not popular. Many of the subjects of Don Pedro openly avowed the injustice of it, and more especially when it now became evident that the burden of it all must fall chiefly upon the Brazilian people. The Argentine Republic and Uruguay having been compelled to relax their efforts, new responsibilities were thrown upon the government of the Emperor, and they found it no easy matter to raise money to meet the increased demand that was being made upon them. The despatch of a large body of the National Guard to the seat of the war was strongly condemned, and produced a feeling of general discontent throughout the country. Nevertheless the Emperor would not desist from the undertaking, and with more obstinacy than wisdom, he repeatedly refused offers of mediation from foreign governments. In his speech to the Brazilian parliament, delivered at this period, occurs the following passage:—

"In all the provinces the public tranquility has remained undisturbed, and the quietness with which, in general, the late elections were conducted is another proof of the love which the Brazilian people feel for the national institutions. Thanks to Divine providence, in the greater part of the Empire the state of public health is satisfactory. The scourge of cholera morbus, which appeared in the city and in some localities of Rio Janeiro, S. Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catharina, rapidly decreased, and was less deadly than on its first appearance. The government took all possible precautions. The war provoked by the President of Paraguay has not yet arrived at the desired result; but Brazil and the Argentine and Oriental republics—faithful to the alliance contracted between them—will shortly obtain it. In the discharge of so sacred a duty the government has derived the most valuable assistance from the indefatigable efforts of all Brazilians, and confides entirely in the valour of the army, navy, national guard, and the volunteers, to whom is due the deepest gratitude of the nation. The cholera morbus, which unhappily invaded the River Platte, has made considerable ravages among the allied forces in front of the enemy. I deeply lament the death of so many brave ones who longed so ardently to risk their lives in battle for their country. The government of Peru offered its good offices to Brazil and the allied republics, as preliminary to the mediations of the same republic and those of Chili, Bolivia and Ecuador for the re-establishment of peace with Paraguay. Recently the government of the United States offered its kindly mediation for the same purpose. The allies, grateful for these offers, could not, however, accept them, as they were not consistent with the national honour. I have the pleasure to communicate to you that Brazil is on peaceful terms with all other foreign powers whose friendly relations the government seeks to cultivate. A decree explanatory of Article VII. of the Consular convention celebrated with France has been signed in Paris, and is now in force, thus putting an end to the disagreement which was evinced through the fracture of that convention on the subject of inheritances, and the government anticipates obtaining a similar result with respect to other conventions of a like nature. I am happy to announce to you that by decree of Dec. 7th, in last year, the navigation of the Amazon, of some of its affluents, and of the rivers Tocantins and San Francisco, is from the 7th of September next, free to the merchant vessels of all nations. This measure, which coincided with the expectations of Brazilians and foreigners, promises the most important benefits to the empire. The public revenue continues to increase, but the expenditure, especially what the requirements of the war have occasioned, has increased to such an extent as to produce a deficit in the State budget which it is of the utmost importance to provide for, by means which judgment and patriotism will suggest to you. The servile element in the empire cannot but merit opportunely your consideration, providing in such a manner that, respecting actual property, and without a severe blow to our chief industry—agriculture—the grand interests which belong to emancipation may be attended to. To promote colonization ought to be the object of your particular solicitude. Public instruction is a subject worthy of not less care. Among the measures called for by the service of the army, the most important are those of a law for recruiting, of a penal code, and of military law. Experience shows that an alteration of the rank of naval officers is absolutely necessary. Likewise the convenience has been recognized, by practice, of modifying the organization of the National Guard, principally for the purpose of greater mobilization in extraordinary circumstances."

The stress which the Emperor here lays upon the allegation that President Lopez had provoked the war had no effect outside of the empire, and very little, if any, in it. The fact was too glaring that Lopez had not provoked the war, and the contradiction of it in an imperial speech does not alter it. Nor is one much advanced in appreciation of what the Emperor chose to consider to be in accordance with Brazilian honour, when he refused to accept an honourable termination to a dishonourable war on the ground that the "honour" of the empire stood in the way. This speech is, indeed, a well-marked instance of imperial subterfuge and disingenuousness on the one hand, and of an ill-concealed attempt to mislead his people into mistaking a disgraceful treaty for a compact of necessity, on the other. It is one of those instances which young nations so often give, of mistaking violence for power, and noisy rioting for display of national dignity. But the world is not deceived by such demonstrations.

At the end of the year an effort was made by the British government, through their Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres, to mediate for the promotion of peace. And again it was unsuccessful. Neither side would yield anything, nor accept any compromise, upon which alone the basis of peace could rest. Nothing stayed the work of the belligerents. The beginning of 1868 found the Brazilians still investing the fortress of Humaita, and on the 19th of February, six iron-clads succeeded, though not without heavy damage, in forcing the passage of the river at that place through a point-blank fire from 180 pieces of heavy ordnance. An outlying work, armed with twenty guns, was at the same time taken by storm by the Brazilians under the Marquis de Caxias.

The passage of the river beyond Humaita being thus attained, Asuncion lay almost at the mercy of the enemy, and General Lopez saw the necessity for at once adopting new tactics. He withdrew to Tebicuari, a strong inland position, whither he removed all his material, and proceeded at once to strengthen the place by a line of earthworks. He abandoned Curupaiti, which was entered by the allies as soon as the Paraguayan garrison left. Indeed, a portion still remained when the advance guard of the enemy approached, and a slight skirmish ensued, in which about 700 men were either killed or wounded on both sides. Meanwhile, three iron-clads, after temporarily repairing damages received at Humaita, steamed up to the capital, and commenced a bombardment which was continued for three hours; the arsenal, custom-house and several private buildings being considerably injured. The only resistance offered was from a small fort armed with sixty-eight-pounders, situated at the approach to the town, but these produced little impression on the iron sides of the Brazilian vessels. An attempt, well devised but not well executed, was made by a strong force of Paraguayans to capture the eight iron-clads which were stationed between Humaita and Curupaiti, but it did not succeed, and the republicans suffered severely. Two of the vessels were boarded, but the other ships directed their fire upon them and swept the decks, killing friend and foe with unrelenting indifference. A series of similar reverses next awaited the republican arms. Several of their ships were sunk, and in a number of skirmishes on land they suffered much loss. But the result of an attempt upon Humaita gave them fresh courage. General Osorio, seeing the necessity of capturing this place, as the only remaining impediment to the freedom of the river, attacked one of the outlying works on the 16th of July with a force of 10,000 picked troops. Having carried one of the redoubts at the point of the bayonet, he sent for reinforcements to the Marquis de Caxias, having in the meantime the greatest difficulty to retain the ground he had gained. But the general, instead of complying with the request, ordered a retreat. The order was complied with; but the sound of the bugle became a signal for instant confusion. A panic seized the troops, and neither Osorio nor his officers could restrain them from precipitate flight. As they emerged from the redoubt, the garrison opened upon them a tremendous fire of grape from every gun that could be brought to bear, and thus mowed them down from all sides. Osorio had two horses killed under him. In about half an hour, all of his staff were shot down except two, and two entire battalions were annihilated. The loss to the Brazilians was acknowledged by themselves to be a thousand men; but it was actually much greater, probably not less than 2,500. A repulse scarcely less important was also suffered by the allies, two days later, in an attempt to capture a battery that had been recently constructed by the republicans to harass the allied position; but notwithstanding these events Lopez resolved to abandon the river line, and to stand upon the defensive in the interior. The evacuation of Humaita was accordingly begun on the 17th or 18th of July, and was continued for a week without the Brazilians gaining any knowledge of what was going on. First, the families were removed, about a hundred boats having been provided for the purpose. Then followed the sick, the prisoners, munitions of war, food, and finally the garrison, the outposts being maintained all the while to deceive the enemy. It was not till some of these had to be withdrawn, that the allies awoke to the knowledge that the great work before them which they had suffered so much to secure, was comparatively empty. Then the most vigorous measures were taken to destroy what there was left of the garrison, and of the people. In doing this the allies shot down several women and children, but their efforts resulted in nothing more profitable than the loss of life. If they had permitted the evacuation it would have been effected, and the allies might have marched into the place without bloodshed. But it was a craving for Paraguayan blood that chiefly influenced the troops of the allies, if we may judge from their acts, and, in this instance, they could not resist the temptation to slay, any more than they had ever been able to resist it before. Goaded to resistance by the brutal conduct of the allies, the small fraction of the garrison which still remained, determined not to yield the place. Two officers sent to demand the surrender were shot

At last, the allies finding that the course they had pursued was not likely to result in a speedy occupation of the fortress, consented to a proposal made them by a Roman Catholic priest, one Ignacio Esmerats, who offered to effect a communication with the republicans and to arrange for a capitulation. In this he was successful; the garrison obtaining honourable terms. On the fifth of August, 98 officers and 1,230 men, with Colonel Martinez, their commander, at their head, marched out of the place as best they could; for they had been three days without food, and five hundred of the number were either sick, wounded, or prostrated by starvation. The officers retained their swords and received permission to reside in any of the republics that they might select. The fortress was a few days later razed to the ground.

Lopez had taken up a position on the line of the Tebicuari, but with the intention, as it appeared, of using it to resist the advance of the enemy upon the interior. Crossing the Jacaré, a stream that flowed into the Tebicuari, the enemy took possession of some redoubts along the banks of the river and routed the Paraguayan troops in two or three skirmishes. Four small monitors now proceeded up the Tebicuari a distance of ten miles, and with the assistance rendered by these, the republicans were driven back from their whole line of defence, leaving behind them several guns and a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war. At every point, however, the progress of the allies was opposed, always with loss to both and often with very questionable gain to either, although the general result was admittedly favourable to the allies. On the 15th of November they had advanced, under General Caxias, to Villeta, occupied at the time by President Lopez. An attempt was made to take the place by storm, and afterwards to effect its reduction by means of the iron-clads on the river, but in both the allies were repulsed with considerable loss. In the following month Lopez voluntarily abandoned the position, in consequence of a severe defeat suffered by a Paraguayan force of 4,000 men under General Caballero, who were attacked in rear by an overwhelming army of Brazilians under Caxias, and after a severe and long fight completely routed.

The Brazilians, having occupied Villeta in force, proceeded to dislodge the enemy from a line of strongholds at Angostura, Lomas Valentinas, and their communications. These works mounted about sixty guns and were defended by 7,000 Paraguayans. The attacking force was double that number, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained. The first assault was made upon the centre of the communications, which the allies succeeded in taking, thereby cutting off Angostura from Lomas Valentinas, and capturing at the same time twenty-two guns and some ammunition. A column of cavalry being sent to the rear of the latter place, a vigourous effort was made to obtain possession from the front of the outer line of entrenchments, and at the same time to prevent any escape of the garrison. At sunset they had secured the first line of defence, taking sixteen guns and a large quantity of provisions, and they held their position throughout the night. Reinforcements being hurried to the front from Palmas, on the 24th of December Lopez was summoned to surrender. But the proposal was indignantly refused, the President declaring it to be the intention of himself and his people to defend the cause of Paraguay to the last extremity. Preparations were consequently made for an attack by the whole allied force. Batteries were constructed from which the fire of all the guns at the disposal of the enemy could be concentrated on Lomas Valentinas, and on the morning of the 27th a furious cannonade was directed against the place. A force of 6,000 men under Marshal Caxias marched at daybreak to attack the rear, while a similar force under Generals Obes and Castro made a similar attempt upon the front. Marshal Caxias carried the first redoubt at the point of the bayonet, capturing therewith fourteen guns and large supplies of food and ammunition, together with all the baggage and much of the correspondence of the President himself. Lopez escaped to Cerro Leon.

On the following day a summons to surrender was sent to Angostura, but the flag was fired upon, and preparations were in consequence made to carry that place also by assault. But at night a message arrived informing the garrison of the defeat and departure of Lopez from Lomas Valentinas, upon hearing which a flag of truce was sent out with a request that permission might be granted to verify the report. This was acceded to, and the Paraguayan officers were escorted through the lines of the allies to Lomas Valentinas. As soon as they realized the actual condition of affairs there, an offer of capitulation was sent to the allies, who granted the terms asked for; and six hours after, on the 30th of December, the garrison marched out with the honours of war to the number of 1,200 men. The allies destroyed the works as they advanced to Asuncion, which they entered, but found deserted. They then hurried on to Cerro Leon, where they expected to capture the President, but he was then neither to be seen nor heard of, although it became soon after known that he was occupying a strong position fifty miles from the capital, with a force of five or six thousand men.

Much of the sympathy which had at first been received by the President from foreign residents in Paraguay was lost to him in these reverses through a spirit of violent opposition which he had displayed, for several months past, to them and to the representatives of their respective governments. In the beginning of the year a conspiracy against the life of the President was said to have been discovered, and his suspicions of treachery were further increased when the allies forced the passage of Humaita and appeared before Asuncion. In this affair the names of several foreign consuls began presently to be mixed up, and Lopez took violent means to accomplish their removal. Subsequent events caused him to direct his animosity chiefly against Mr. Washburn, the representative of the United States, whom he accused of participating in the conspiracy, and who ultimately had to take refuge on a United States ship of war, whence he sent an indignant protest and denial of the accusations against him to the President. A new minister in the person of General McMahon was soon after sent from Washington in the ship of Rear-Admiral Davis, and accompanied by several vessels of the United States squadron then in Paraguayan waters. He was well received by President Lopez, who at once consented to renew the most friendly relations with the United States, and to comply with any reqnest emanating from the government at Washington. But amicably as the matter had ended, Lopez had materially weakened the sympathy that the justice of his cause hitherto had aroused, and therewith the strong moral assistance that he had enjoyed. But he did not despair of the ultimate success of his cause, or relax his efforts to sustain it. Having retreated to Ascurra, he there recruited his shattered forces to nearly 9,000 men, and prepared once more to raise about him a new stronghold of defence. In this he was aided by the laxity of the allies, who through the illness, feigned or real, of Marshal Caxias, were now under the command of the Marshal Guilherme de Souza. Their advance through the country differed little from previous experiences, except that it was accompanied by greater losses on the part of the allies than they had experienced in the preceding year. The first attack upon Ascurra signally failed, and, changing their tactics, the allies sought to make themselves masters of Perebebuy, an outlying work, which was in fact the key to Ascurra. In this they were successful after a stubborn contest, when more than a thousand men were put *hors de combat*. Lopez at once abandoned Ascurra, and being forced to accept a battle under most unfavourable conditions, was defeated with a loss of 1,200 men and twenty-three guns.

He now retreated slowly and in good order to St. Estanislas, obstinately contesting every mile of ground where the enemy attempted to check his movements; and finding that the latter were not disposed to follow him with the same vigour, he further retired to San Joaquin, and thence to Panadero, carrying on a guerilla war, for which the nature of the country was excellently adapted. But his supplies were now scanty, and his troops did not number more than 1,500 men. He was compelled in consequence to leave behind him all his heavy guns and a number of women, and to take refuge in the mountains of Maracayun, whence, as was expected by the enemy, he intended once more to obtain supplies from the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. General Camara, acting upon this suspicion, hastened to defeat any project of the kind, and to pursue the President to his last stronghold. By a well devised plan, in which the forces under his command acted with unwonted energy, the Paraguayan outposts were secured, and the camp in which the small band of half-starved republicans bravely remained to defend their beloved general to the last, was completely invested. Lopez was now secure in the hands of his enemies, but they were not content with the prize they had sacrificed so much to win, but would have also the lives of as many Paraguayans as could be had. Acting under the immediate orders of General Camara, a murderous fire was opened by his troops upon the now well-nigh defenseless enemy. The slaughter was terrible, the republicans being cut down without offering any resistance, until the whole of them were either slain or wounded. Lopez himself, with a few of his brave companions, attempted to escape into the bush, but he presently fell on a grassy bank, faint from loss of blood and fatigue. There General Camara rode up to him, and accounts differ as to what followed. On the one hand it is alleged that Camara summoned him to surrender, and then struck him with the flat side of his sword, whereupon the President died! The other is that Camara leaped from his horse, and ran the prostrate President through the body. At this time it is impossible to verify the truth of either of these statements. Probably it will ever remain impossible to do so; in that case we shall have only to accept what seems to be the more probable one, and then there can be little doubt but that the reputation of General Camara must suffer. The war, unjustly begun by the Brazilians, had been conducted throughout with the greatest barbarity by the allied armies, acting doubtless under instructions of their respective governments; and everything indicates that the feeling with which they followed up President Lopez was one of hatred and resentment, and not such as should have influenced the action of a generous foe. Cruelty was a prominent trait in the allied generals, and hence there is every reason in favour of the truth of the statement that Lopez was in fact murdered by Camara, and none whatever in support of the absurd theory that he died through a blow received from the flat side of a sword. Brazil and the allies were in short disgraced at the beginning of the war, and dishonoured at the end of it.

Late in the preceding year the allies had established a government at Asuncion, and by means of this a provisional treaty was in turn concluded with the allies immediately after the death of Lopez. Peace was declared to be restored, and the rivers Parana and Paraguay were opened to commerce. Arrangements were also effected for the organization of a permanent government, and the framing of a constitution granting perfect religious liberty, a full suffrage, and supplying means for promoting immigration, protecting property, and guarding against any monopoly of power by a self-elected dictator. This was not done without many threatened disturbances on the part of the people, who, while galled by the tyrannical rule of the Brazilians and their allies, saw all the foreign residents, and with them much wealth of the country, being driven away. But these disturbances were promptly put down by the Brazilian troops, who on more than one occasion fired upon the people indiscriminately, causing unnecessary bloodshed, and thereby increasing the hatred that was felt towards them.

The Emperor of Brazil, referring to the termination of the war in his address to the Brazilian Parliament, said:—

"I congratulate myself and you on the happy and glorious termination of the war we have sustained during five years, always with honour to our arms, against the ex-President of the republic of Paraguay. The well-grounded hopes which I manifested at the opening of the last legislative session have been realized of seeing our valiant soldiers led to a final victory, under the command of my much loved and valued son-in-law, Army Marshal the Comte d'Eu. The trust which I reposed in Brazilian firmness and patriotism has been amply justified, and history will bear witness in all time that the present generation showed itself constant and unshaken in the unanimous intent to avenge the honour of Brazil. The rejoicing of the whole population of the empire over the glorious events which have placed an end to sacrifices so noble, the enthusiasm with which it has shown its gratitude to the volunteers, the national guard, the army, and the navy, are its due homage to heroism, and the merited reward of their proved devotion to the national cause. The valuable and legal co-operation of our brave allies assisted greatly to the results obtained in the long, stubborn struggle in which we were engaged.

"If Brazil laments the loss of many of her gallant children, there remains to the memory of their deeds illustrious examples of patriotism and bravery."

Such were the words by which the Emperor attempted to gloss over the war of which he had been guilty, to brand with legality an interference with a nation's liberty, and to parade before the world Brazilian virtues which the world had obstinately refused to see.

It is a relief to turn for a moment from this to notice a movement that was now coming into prominence in the interior of the empire, and which reflects honour in place of discredit upon the national reputation. For some years there had been growing up a liberal party bent upon the abolition of slavery. It had hitherto made but slow progress, partly on account of the firm opposition of the principal slaveholders, and partly from purely political influences. But it had now become recognized on all sides that the time had arrived when something must be done towards emancipation; and many owners of slaves accepted the fact so far as to free their own slaves on condition of serving for a fixed term. The Emperor had also done the same with many under his control by paying their value into the public treasury. But the views he entertained were not fully participated in by his ministry, and some delay accordingly arose in the introduction of a measure into Parliament.

In the year 1867 the following appears to have been the basis for a scheme which met with most approbation among certain members of the executive:—

I. Slavery to cease totally in the year 1900. II. The state to indemnify those citizens who may still own slaves at that period. III. From the date of promulgation of this decree, all children born of slaves are to be free. IV. Those children who may be educated in the homes of their parents' masters shall serve them till they reach their twentieth year, and will then be restored to freedom. V. There are to be established courts of emancipation in all the towns to enforce this law and see to its proper execution. VI. A fixed amount will be set aside for the emancipation of the slaves of the nation, and the same terms will be agreed upon to effect the liberation of the slaves owned by religious orders as may be made to purchase the freedom of those held by the government. VII. There should be appropriated a fund for the annual purchase of a certain number of slaves, so that but few may be in bondage when the hour of general emancipation is at hand.

The general features of this plan were ultimately adopted, but at present the subject had not advanced sufficiently in the public mind, although it had been under consideration for several years. A conservative ministry, averse to abolition, was also in power. The Emperor, however, remained firm in his resolution, and after finding that, with his present cabinet, Congress would do nothing more in the required direction, he consented somewhat abruptly, after a short discussion with his ministers, to accept their resignation rather than forego the principle for which he contended.

The limited emancipation which had been thus far effected had been attended by the most favourable consequences, and the Emperor insisted that a further advance in the good work must be made. As a preliminary step, and to avoid unnecessary complications, a compromise was at last agreed upon, and the ministry introduced a measure which provided that the Emperor might be relieved from any payment for the slaves freed by him, but promising nothing more except an official registration of all the slaves in the empire as a preliminary step to action in the future. The government secured a majority in the house upon this bill, but it did not satisfy the Emperor, and during the next month there was a change of ministry, the Viscount de Sao Vicente, a strong abolitionist and able statesman, being at the head of the new cabinet.

Parliament did not meet again till the following May, but meanwhile the cause of emancipation had made steady and more rapid progress. A bill was introduced in June after a vote taken upon the abstract proposition found in the Emperor's speech at the opening, and in September it passed the Senate amid general rejoicing, by a majority of 44 against 33.

The provisions of this measure redound to the good sense of the Brazilian people no less than to the statesmanship of their rulers. Although professedly based upon the action long before taken by the British government, they, nevertheless, differ much in detail, and even in principle, approaching more nearly the plan of 1867. Children born of slaves after the date of the act were to be considered free. While minors they remain in the control of the masters of their mothers till eight years of age, the masters being responsible for their care during that period. At this age the mother's master has the option either to receive from the government a compensation of 600 milreis, or to avail himself of the minor's services up to the full age of twenty-one years. In the former case the government takes charge of the minor and of his education. Every minor may free himself by a compensation in money to his mother's master, the amount being regulated by estimating the balance of his term of service, unless any special agreement should exist. The master is obliged to feed and educate the children born of the daughters of his female slaves, as long as the mothers' services continue; but if the female becomes free her children under eight years of age are to be delivered to her without any compensation, unless they remain with the master by mutual consent of both mother and master. In case she is sold, her children under twelve years of age follow her, the new master assuming the rights and obligations of his predecessor. The services of the children of female slaves cease in case it is decided by a court that the masters of their mothers have ill treated or beyond measure punished them, or neglected their support and education. The government may deliver those children born of female slaves after the date of the law, when they are given up by or taken away from their masters to privileged societies. These societies are then entitled to the services of such minors throughout the terms of their minority. They may hire them out, but they are obliged to feed and educate them; to reserve a portion of their wages for their own use, and to provide them suitable employment when they become of age. If the minors are placed in public institutions, as they may be at the option of the government, the state then assumes all obligations.

In every province of the empire a certain number of slaves are to be set free annually, the number depending upon the funds at disposal for the purpose. This emancipation fund is formed out of the slave tax, a tax paid on transferring slaves, the proceeds of six yearly lotteries and a tithe of all other authorized lotteries, a special tax imposed by the bill, an amount devoted from the imperial and municipal treasuries, and from collections, donations and legacies devoted to the purpose. Slaves have a claim to manumission at any time when they can pay the ransom fixed upon either by agreement or estimate. The compensation may also consist in a contract for services, provided the term does not exceed seven years. In all cases of selling or transferring slaves, the separation of husband from wife or children under twelve years of age from their parents is entirely prohibited. Besides these provisions for the gradual manumission of the slaves, the following were declared free by the act: I. The slaves of the nation; the government being responsible for their proper employment. II. Those given to the crown in usufruct. III. The slaves of the various religious societies within seven years. IV. Slaves belonging to vacant inheritance. V. Slaves who save the lives of their masters, or the parents or children of their masters. VI. Slaves given up by their masters on account of physical infirmities; the responsibility of feeding them still remaining, however, with the masters.

The operation of this measure has fully realized the expectations of its promoters. It has satisfied the slave owners, and, as a rule, no dissatisfaction has been felt among their slaves. Only in one or two instances have anything like difficulties occurred, and these have been promptly met by the vigilance of the authorities. During the twenty-four years since the Brazilians first began to entertain the idea of abolition, the number of slaves has fallen, according to latest returns, from 2,000,000 to 1,016,262, and the productions of the country have been proportionately increasing. When this act was passed in 1871, fears were entertained by many that the same degree of prosperity could not be maintained under its operations, but these fears also proved groundless, and Brazil is at this moment more prosperous than at any time under the system of slave labour.

Ratifications of the treaty of peace between Brazil and Paraguay took place in March, 1871. The amount of indemnity to be paid to the government of the Emperor was then fixed at $360,000,000, and provision was arranged, through a joint commission, for its payment and the settlement of losses caused to public property. The rivers Parana, Paraguay and Uruguay were opened to the commerce of all nations, this liberty not being extended, however, to traders from port to port of the same nation. The same privilege was granted to ships of war belonging to the riverain states, as to merchant vessels; and they are also declared free from all dues and formalities. One article especially pronounces the adherence of both powers to the declaration of the Paris Congress of 1856; and while the Emperor binds himself to respect the independence of the Republic of Paraguay in perpetuity, and to guarantee it for five years, provision is also made for the submission of any international disputes that may in future arise, to the good offices of a friendly nation, before having recourse to hostilities. Care is taken, however, to hold security for the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaty, and the government of the Emperor is allowed to keep in the territory of the Republic such an army as he might consider necessary to ensure the proper execution of the agreement entered into. An extradition treaty, and another of amity, commerce and navigation, were signed at the same time.

The boundaries between the two states were thus defined: "The bed of the Parana, from the mouth of the Iguassu to the Salto Grande das Sete Quedas. From these falls the line runs along the highest divide of the Sierra de Maracaju to its termination, thence, as nearly as possible, in a straight line along the highest ground to the Sierra Amambahy, following the highest divide of the Sierra to the principal source of the Apa, and down the river to its junction with the Paraguay. All the streams flowing to the north and east belong to Brazil, and those to the south and west to Paraguay. The island of Fecho dos Morros, in the Upper Paraguay, was assigned to Brazil.

The completion of this treaty by Brazil without reference to her allies, created a feeling of considerable annoyance in the Argentine Confederation, which, at one time, seemed to render another war imminent. It was clearly a breach of the spirit, if not the letter, of the original treaty between the allies, and the government of the Confederation strongly protested against it. So strong was the letter sent to Rio de Janeiro by Dr. Tejedor, the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the Brazilian government considered the question of resenting it by another appeal to arms. But explanations ultimately allayed the excitement, and friendly negotiations soon after terminated in the mutual decision that the Argentine Confederation should prepare a separate treaty, wherein to settle the boundaries between the two states. A boundary dispute between Bolivia and the Confederation was also left to be decided in a similar manner, and another between Chili and the Confederation remains still a source of much irritation. This involves the possession of Patagonia, which is claimed by the Argentines, and their rights are disputed by the Chilians, who, ambitious of maritime supremacy, desire to secure the command of the Straits of Magellan. The Andean chain certainly never was admitted by Chili as her boundary in Patagonia. A treaty between the two countries in 1866 provided that each should respect the *uti possidetis* of 1810, when the first blow for independence was struck. At that time Patagonia was included in the territory known as the *Reino de Chile*. But if any dispute should subsequently arise, the treaty further provided that the question between the two countries should be submitted to the mediation of a friendly power. Chili has long desired a settlement in this way, and the Argentine government is now showing a disposition also to bring the matter to an end by arbitration. Whatever might be the result, the feeling is generally prevalent throughout the republics, though instigated by the Argentine government, that the straits should be regarded as neutral territory, and this view is equally strongly entertained by the maritime powers of Europe. In his last address to the Argentine Congress, referring to a current rumour of further difficulties having arisen upon the boundary question between that republic and Brazil, President Sarmiento said: "There is no dispute with Brazil which could lead to a war, and we are bound to adhere to the honourable engagement we have made with Chili, mutually to spare ourselves an unnecessary expenditure of money, blood, and time, and not to submit to the caprice of the wind and waves, or the incapacity of a general, misunderstandings which may be peacefully settled by an honourable arbitrator."

Although none of the republics have been entirely free from attempted insurrectionary movements during the interval that has elapsed since the termination of the war, the vigilance and energy of the respective governments have, in every case, sufficed to put down all active demonstrations of discontent, and the energies of the people, there, as well as in the empire of Brazil, have been mainly devoted to the arts of peace. Attempts to create a current of European emigration to South America failed through the inefficiency of the organization adopted for the purpose, and subsequently from a breach of faith in non-fulfilment of the engagements entered into by the governments or their representatives. The unfavourable effect of this mistake still remains, and time and honest administration of public affairs alone will remove it.

A difference which for some time existed between the Chilian Government and that of the United States, with reference to the detention of a ship called the *Good Return*, was ultimately proposed for settlement by arbitration. The *Good Return* was a whaling ship, but on a suit instituted against her on suspicion of being engaged in smuggling, an embargo, under judicial decree, was made by the government of Chili. This occurred in 1832, and the question having been made a cause of remonstrance by the authorities at Washington, it long remained in abeyance. Arrangements were at length completed between the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Santiago, and the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, for submitting it to the arbitration of the Italian Chargé d'Affaires. This proposal having been brought before the Committee of Government and Foreign Affairs, a favourable recommendation was sent to Congress. In this the Committee expressed the opinion that the submission of such questions to the impartial and strict judgment of an arbitrator, who will decide them under the inspiration of the highest justice, is the only rational method of bringing them to a satisfactory conclusion. But the Committee added a curious expression of sentiment as to the judgment which the Italian arbitrator, acting under the inspiration of the highest justice, should give. They pronounced that the republic is not fairly under any obligation to pay any sum, or rather, that it ought not to be condemned in any of the damages claimed by the United States Government, because, taking into consideration the time when the *Good Return* was detained, the motive that caused her detention, the authority that issued the order, and the impossibility, at that time, of administering quick and speedy justice,

neither the government of the republic nor the authorities generally should be blamed for any act involving responsibility. Having thus, with more zeal than discretion, fettered the freedom of the arbitrator, the Committee expressed the thought that, as it was, of all things, important to give some irrefragable testimony to other nations that the republic is animated by sentiments of good will and justice to foreign powers, it became advisable, notwithstanding their denial of responsibility, to empower the President to settle the question in the manner proposed, and a bill for the purpose was thereupon drafted, and recommended to the House of Representatives.

The proceeding thus so far advanced exhibits the extension of the principle of settling a certain class of international disputes by submitting them to the arbitration of a supposed impartial tribunal, but it cannot be examined with care in all its details, without exposing the complicated forms which even under the new, and in some respects simple, constitution of the South American republics, matters of this kind have to go through.

The prejudices which the people of Chili entertain against foreigners are doing much to impede the progress of the country. Foreigners are thereby prevented from settling in the republic, and foreign capital and enterprise are in like manner excluded. In all trades and professions the natives are protected against alien innovations, and immigrants find it difficult, if not impossible, notwithstanding special abilities and qualifications possessed by them, to enter into the pursuit of their special calling. A more liberal policy in this respect would have placed the republic, long ere this, in advance of its present position, but it is less due to the conduct of the authorities than it is to the illiberal tendencies of the national character. A remedy will therefore not very readily be found until time has helped to raise up a more cosmopolitan feeling among the population. This may be assisted by the government, which exhibits at the present time, in various ways, a good intention to promote the material interests of the country. With that view, a second international exhibition of the products of agriculture and industry of Chili and all foreign countries is being prepared for the autumn of the current year, and buildings for the purpose have been erected at Santiago, which are highly creditable to the architectural taste and utilitarian character of the government. The foreign trade of the country, which this is expected to stimulate, amounted, in 1873, to about $80,000,000; in 1872 it was $71,780,388, of which the imports were valued at $34,657,928, and the exports at $37,122,460. And, as evidence of the rapid advances that are being made, it is worthy of notice that these figures very largely exceeded those of 1871. Agriculture is in an advanced state. Hemp, flax, silk, and wheat, of the first quality, are produced in abundance. The mining interest, too, has acquired a great development. It has been claimed that the copper produced in the republic is two-thirds of the total produce of the world, but this claim is not sustained; the amount is, however, large. The silver mines of Copiapó, Huasco, Florida, and others, are remarkable for their richness; and gold, in sufficient quantity to be remunerative, is found in many parts of the country. Coal deposits, both here and in Peru, are found along the coast. Many of these are worked on a large scale, and have, to a certain extent, affected the trade with the mines of Newcastle, and others in Australia. Iron ore is found variously throughout the greater part of the southern republics.

A more just policy than has hitherto been adopted towards foreigners, would be more advantageous than any artificial, and too often delusive, measures for promoting emigration, and it would serve, beyond aught else, to effect the development of these great natural resources, which equally abound in the Eastern and Western republics, as well as throughout the entire empire of Brazil. The spirit of old Spanish exclusiveness has done, and is doing—for it has not yet died out—much to retard the material progress of the whole of South America, even as the same Spanish spirit of disaffection has kept the republican portion of the continent in a permanent condition of political and social disquietude. That this is still mischievously at work is apparent in an incident which, while we write, is recorded in the Argentine Republic, where, in the darkness and silence of the night, twenty human beings have been assassinated, by the authority of the government, in the province of Entre Rios, for having formerly taken part with Lopez. The government having offered an amnesty on condition that these men would give themselves up from their hiding-places in the forest of Jala, they trusted in the sanctity of the guarantee thus given, and presented themselves before the authorities. But their trust was ill placed. They were arrested, thrown into jail, and in less than three nights all had ceased to exist. They were ruthlessly murdered by the orders of that same government which, only a few days before, had promised them immunity from punishment. It is crimes like these that now most disgrace the South American republics.

Religious freedom is another necessity, before complete national prosperity can be attained. In the Western republics, especially, party feeling on the question of religious disabilities has run high, and been a fertile topic of discussion. In the Chilian Congress it is now undergoing debate, and although the opposition party are violent in invective, the supporters of the cause rest upon logic and the experience of history, and are confident of success. The proposal to remove, or at least to lessen, their disabilities, has received the sanction of some of the clergy, and it has been stated by a high official in the republic, that in South America, as in Europe, the time is at hand when no ecclesiastical authority will be allowed to sustain alleged rights of the Pope, contrary both to the laws of the country and to the rights of a free people. The extension of liberal principles thus indicated, together with the untiring efforts that are being made throughout the whole of the continent to promote education and to encourage commerce and every form of industrial pursuits, to construct railroads and telegraphs, to develop the mineral and agricultural resources of the several countries, and by all means to advance the interests of the people, justify the anticipation that an era of prosperity has been entered upon from which the world at large must benefit. For despite all the troubles, internal and external, which have been recorded in connection with the history of the republics, they have advanced to a high degree in material progress; and they form already a noble vindication of the struggles for independence, as well as another great tribute to the virtues of political and civil liberty.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Note [1]. Page 70.—Tyre was situated at such a distance from the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, as made it impracticable to convey commodities from thence to that city by land carriage. This induced the Phœnicians to render themselves masters of *Rainocrura* or *Rhinocolura*, the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. They landed the cargoes which they purchased in Arabia, Ethiopia, and India, at Elath, the safest harbor in the Red Sea towards the North. Thence they were carried by land to Rhinocolura, the distance not being very considerable; and, being reshipped in that port were transported to Tyre, and distributed over the world. Strabon. Geogr. edit. Casaub. lib. xvi. p. 1128. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Histor. edit. Wesselingii, lib. i. p. 70.

Note [2]. p. 70.—The Periplus Hannonis is the only authentic monument of the Carthaginian skill in naval affairs, and one of the most curious fragments transmitted to us by antiquity. The learned and industrious Mr. Dodwell, in a dissertation prefixed to the Periplus of Hanno, in the edition of the Minor Geographers published at Oxford, endeavors to prove that this is a spurious work, the composition of some Greek, who assumed Hanno's name. But M. de Montesquieu, in his l'Esprit des Loix, lib. xxi. c. 8. and M. de Bougainville, in a dissertation published tom. xxvi. of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. have established its authenticity by arguments which to me appear unanswerable. Ramusio has accompanied his translation of this curious voyage with a dissertation tending to illustrate it. Racolte de Viaggi, vol. i. p. 112. M. de Bougainville has, with great learning and ability, treated the same subject. It appears that Hanno, according to the mode of ancient navigation, undertook this voyage in small vessels so constructed that he could keep close in with the coast. He sailed from Gedes to the island of Cerne in twelve days. This is probably what is known to the moderns by the name of the Isle of Arguim. It became the chief station of the Carthaginians on that coast; and M. de Bougainville contends, that the cisterns found there are monuments of the Carthaginian power and ingenuity. Proceeding from Cerne, and still following the winding of the coast, he arrived in seventeen days, at a promontory which he called *The West Horn*, probably Cape Palmas. From this he advanced to another promontory, which he named *The South Horn*, and which is manifestly Cape de Tres Puntas, about five degrees north of the line. All the circumstances contained in the short abstract of his journal, which is handed down to us, concerning the appearance and state of the countries on the coast of Africa, are confirmed and illustrated by a comparison with the accounts of modern navigators. Even those circumstances which, from their seeming improbability, have been produced to invalidate the credibility of his relation, tend to cofirm it. He observes, that in the country to the south of Cerne, a profound silence reigned through the day; but during the night innumerable fires were kindled along the banks of the rivers, and the air resounded with the noise of pipes and drums and cries of joy. The same thing, as Ramusio observes, still takes place. The excessive heat obliges the Negroes to take shelter in the woods, or in their houses, during the day. As soon as the sun sets, they sally out, and by torchlight enjoy the pleasure of music and dancing, in which they spend the night. Ramus. i. 113. F. In another place, he mentions the sea as burning with torrents of fire. What occurred to M. Adanson, on the same coast, may explain this: "As soon," says he, "as the sun dipped beneath the horizon, and night overspread the earth with darkness, the sea lent us its friendly light. While the prow of our vessel ploughed the foaming surges, it seemed to set them all on fire. Thus we sailed in a luminous inclosure, which surrounded us like a large circle of rays, from whence darted in the wake of the ship a long stream of a light." Voy. to Senegal, p. 176. This appearance of the sea, observed by Hunter, has been mentioned as an argument against the authenticity of the Periplus. It is, however, a phenomenon very common in warm climates. Captain Cook's second voyage, vol. i. p. 15. The Periplus of Hanno has been translated, and every point with respect to it has been illustrated with much learning and ingenuity, in a work published by Don Pedr. Rodrig. Campomanes, entitled, Antiguedad maritima de Cartago, con el P riplo de su General Hannon traducido e illustrado. Mad. 1756, 4to.

Note. [3]. p. 70.—Long after the navigation of the Pœnicians and of Eudoxus round Africa, Polybius, the most intelligent and best informed historian of antiquity, and particularly distinguished by his attention to geographical researches, affirms, that it was not known, in his time, whether Africa was a continued continent stretching to the south, or whether it was encompassed by the sea. Polybii Hist. lib. iii Pliny the naturalist asserts, that there can be no communication between the southern and northern temperate zones. Plinii Hist. Natur. edit. in usum. Delph. 4to. lib. ii. c. 68. If they had given full credit to the accounts of those voyages, the former could not have entertained such a doubt, the latter could not have delivered such an opinion. Strabo mentions the voyage of Eudoxus, but treats it as a fabulous tale, lib. ii. p. 155; and, according to his account of it, no other judgment can be formed with respect to it. Strabo seems not to have known any thing with certainty concerning the form and state of the southern parts of Africa. Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1180. Ptolemy, the most inquisitive and learned of all the ancient geographers, was equally unacquainted with any parts of Africa situated a few degrees beyond the equinoctial line; for he supposes that this great continent was not surrounded by the sea, but that it stretched, without interruption, towards the south pole; and he so far mistakes its true figure that he describes the continent as becoming broader and broader as it advanced towards the south. Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9. Brietii Parallela Geogr. veteris e' novæ, p. 86.

Note [4]. p 71.—A fact recorded by Strabo affords a very strong and singular proof of the ignorance of the ancients with respect to the situation of the various parts of the earth. When Alexander marched along the banks of the Hydaspes and Acesine, two of the rivers which fall into the Indus, he observed that there were many crocodiles in those rivers, and that the country produced beans of the same species with those which were common in Egypt. From these circumstances he concluded that he had discovered the source of the Nile, and prepared a fleet to sail down the Hydaspes to Egypt. Strab. Geogr. lib. xv. p. 1020. This amazing error did not arise from any ignorance of geography peculiar to that monarch; for we are informed by Strabo, that Alexander applied with particular attention in order to acquire the knowledge of this science, and had accurate maps or descriptions of the

countries through which he marched. Lib. ii. p. 120. But in his age the knowledge of the Greeks did not extend beyond the limits of the Mediterranean.

Note [5]. p. 71.—As the flux and reflux of the sea is remarkably great at the mouth of the river Indus, this would render the phenomenon more formidable to the Greeks. Varen Geogr. vol. i. p. 251.

Note [6]. p. 71.—It is probable that the ancients were seldom induced to advance so far as the mouth of the Ganges, either by motives of curiosity or views of commercial advantage. In consequence of this, their idea concerning the position of that great river was very erroneous. Ptolemy places that branch of the Ganges, which he distinguishes by the name of the Great Mouth, in the hundred and forty-sixth degree of longitude from his first meridian in the Fortunate Islands. But its true longitude, computed from that meridian, is now determined, by astronomical observations, to be only a hundred and five degrees. A geographer so eminent must have been betrayed into an error of this magnitude by the imperfection of the information which he had received concerning those distant regions; and this affords a striking proof of the intercourse with them being extremely rare. With respect to the countries of India beyond the Ganges, his intelligence was still more defective, and his errors more enormous. I shall have occasion to observe, in another place, that he has placed the country of the Seres, or China, no less than sixty degrees further east than its true position. M. d'Anville, one of the most learned and intelligent of the modern geographers, has set this matter in a clear light, in two dissertations published in Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscript. &c. tom. xxxii. p. 573. 604.

Note [7]. p. 71.—It is remarkable, that the discoveries of the ancients were made chiefly by land; those of the moderns are carried on chiefly by sea. The progress of conquest led to the former, that of commerce to the latter. It is a judicious observation of Strabo, that the conquests of Alexander the Great made known the East, those of the Romans opened the West, and those of Mithridates King of Pontus the North. Lib. i. p. 26. When discovery is carried on by land alone, its progress must be slow and its operations confined. When it is carried on only by sea, its sphere may be more extensive, and its advances more rapid; but it labors under peculiar defects. Though it may make known the position of different countries, and ascertain their boundaries as far as these are determined by the ocean, it leaves us in ignorance with respect to their interior state. Above two centuries and a half have elapsed since the Europeans sailed round the southern promontory of Africa, and have traded in most of its ports; but, in a considerable part of that great continent, they have done little more than survey its coasts, and mark its capes and harbors. Its interior regions are in a great measure unknown. The ancients, who had a very imperfect knowledge of its coasts, except where they are washed by the Mediterranean or Red Sea, were accustomed to penetrate into its inland provinces, and, if we may rely on the testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, had explored many parts of it now altogether unknown. Unless both modes of discovery be united, the geographical knowledge of the earth must remain incomplete and inaccurate.

Note [8]. p. 72.—The notions of the ancients concerning such an excessive degree of heat in the torrid zone as rendered it uninhabitable, and their persisting in this error long after they began to have some commercial intercourse with several parts of India lying within the tropics, must appear so singular and absurd, that it may not be unacceptable to some of my readers to produce evidence of their holding this opinion, and to account for the apparent inconsistence of their theory with their experience. Cicero, who had bestowed attention upon every part of philosophy known to the ancients, seems to have believed that the torrid zone was uninhabitable, and, of consequence, that there could be no intercourse between the northern and southern temperate zones. He introduces Africanus thus addressing the younger Scipio: "You see this earth encompassed, and as it were bound in by certain zones, of which two, at the greatest distance from each other, and sustaining the opposite poles of heaven, are frozen with perpetual cold; the middle one, and the largest of all, is burnt with the heat of the sun; two are habitable; the people in the southern one are antipodes to us, with whom we have no connection." *Somnium Scipionis*, c. 6. Geminus, a Greek philosoher, contemporary with Cicero, delivers the same doctrine, not in a popular work, but in his Εισαγωγη εις Φαινομενα, a treatise purely scientific. "When we speak," says he, "of the southern temperate zone and its inhabitants, and concerning those who are called antipodes, it must be always understood, that we have no certain knowledge or information concerning the southern temperate zone, whether it be inhabited or not. But from the spherical figure of the earth, and the course which the sun holds between the tropics, we conclude that there is another zone situated to the south, which enjoys the same degree of temperature with the northern one which we inhabit." Cap. xiii. p. 31. ap. Petavii Opus de Doctr. Tempor. in quo Uranologium sive Systemata var. Auctorum. Amst. 1705. vol. 3. The opinion of Pliny the naturalist, with respect to both these points, was the same: "There are five divisions of the earth, which are called zones. All that portion which lies near to the two opposite poles is oppressed with vehement cold and eternal frost. There, unblessed with the aspect of milder stars, perpetual darkness reigns, or at the utmost, a feeble light reflected from surrounding snows. The middle of the earth, in which is the orbit of the sun, is scorched and burnt up with flames and fiery vapor. Between these torrid and frozen districts lie two other portions of the earth, which are temperate; but, on account of the burning region interposed, there can be no communication between them. Thus Heaven has deprived us of three parts of the earth." Lib. ii. c. 68. Strabo delivers his opinion to the same effect, in terms no less explicit: "The portion of the earth which lies near the equator, in the torrid zone, is rendered uninhabitable by heat." Lib. ii. p. 154. To these I might add the authority of many other respectable philosophers and historians of antiquity.

In order to explain the sense in which this doctrine was generally received, we may observe, that Parmenides, as we are informed by Strabo, was the first who divided the earth into five zones, and extended the limits of the zone which he supposed to be uninhabitable on account of heat beyond the tropics. Aristotle, as we learn likewise from Strabo, fixed the boundaries of the different zones in the same manner as they are defined by modern geographers. But the progress of discovery having gradually demonstrated that several regions of the earth which lay within the tropics were not only habitable, but populous and fertile, this induced later geographers to circumscribe the limits of the torrid zone. It is not easy to ascertain with precision the boundaries which they allotted it. From a passage in Strabo, who, as far as I know, is the only author of antiquity from whom we receive any hint concerning this subject, I should conjecture, that those who calculated according to the measurement of the earth by Eratosthenes, supposed the torrid zone to comprehend near sixteen degrees, about eight on each side of the equator; whereas such as followed the computation of Posidonius allotted about twenty-four degrees, or somewhat more than twelve degrees on each side of the equator to the torrid zone. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 151. According to the former opinion, about two-thirds of that portion of the earth which lies between the tropics was considered as habitable; according to the latter, about one-half of it. With this restriction, the doctrine of the ancients concerning the torrid zone appears less absurd; and we can conceive the reason of their asserting this zone to be uninhabitable, even after they had opened a communication with several places within the tropics. When men of science spoke of the torrid zone, they considered it as it was limited by the definition of geographers to sixteen, or at the utmost to twenty-four degrees; and as they knew almost nothing of the countries nearer to the equator they might still suppose them to be uninhabitable. In loose and popular discourse, the name of the torrid zone continued to be given to all that portion of the earth which lies within the tropics. Cicero seems to have been unacquainted with those ideas of the later geographers; and, adhering to the division of Parmenides, describes the torrid zone as the largest of the five. Some of the ancients rejected the notion concerning the intolerable heat of the torrid zone as a popular error. This we are told by Plutarch was the sentiment of Pythagoras; and we learn from Strabo, that Eratosthenes and Polybius had adopted the same opinion, lib. ii. p. 154. Ptolemy seems to have paid no regard to the ancient doctrine and opinions concerning the torrid zone.

Note [9]. p. 74.—The court of Inquisition, which effectually checks a spirit of liberal inquiry, and of literary improvement, wherever it is established, was unknown in Portugal in the fifteenth century, when the people of that country began their voyages of discovery. More than a century elapsed before it was introduced by John III., whose reign commenced A. D. 1521.

Note [10]. p. 75.—An instance of this is related by Hakluyt, upon the authority of the Portuguese historian Garcia de Resende. Some English merchants having resolved to open a trade with the coast of Guinea, John II. of Portugal despatched ambassadors to Edward IV., in order to lay before him the right which he had acquired by the Pope's bull to the dominion of that country, and to request of him to prohibit his subjects to prosecute their intended voyage. Edward was so much satisfied with the exclusive title of the Portuguese, that he issued his orders in the terms which they desired. Hakluyt, Navigations, Voyages, and Traffics of the English, vol ii. part. ii. p. 2.

Note [11]. p. 76.—The time of Columbus's death may be nearly ascertained by the following circumstances. It appears from the fragment of a letter addressed by him to Ferdinand and Isabella, A. D. 1501, that he had at that time been engaged forty years in a seafaring life. In another letter he informs them that he went to sea at the age of fourteen: from those facts it follows, that he was born A. D. 1447. Life of Christa. Columbus, by his son Don Ferdinand. Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 484, 485.

Note [12]. p. 77.—The spherical figure of the earth was known to the ancient geographers. They invented the method, still in use, of computing the longitude and latitude of different places. According to their doctrine, the equator, or imaginary line which encompasses the earth, contained three hundred and sixty degrees; these they divided into twenty-four parts, or hours, each equal to fifteen degrees. The country of the *Seres* or *Sinæ*, being the furthest part of India known to the ancients, was supposed by Marinus Tyrius, the most eminent of the ancient geographers before Ptolemy, to be fifteen hours, or two hundred and twenty-five degrees to the east of the first meridian, passing through the Fortunate Islands. Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. i. c. 11. If this supposition was well founded, the country of the Seres, or China, was only nine hours, or one hundred and thirty-five degrees west from the Fortunate or Canary Island; and the navigation in that direction was much shorter than by the course which the Portuguese were pursuing. Marco Polo, in his travels, had described countries, particularly the island of Cipango or Zipangri, supposed to be Japan, considerably to the east of any part of Asia known to the ancients. Marcus Paulus de Region. Oriental. lib. ii. c. 70. lib. iii. c. 2. Of course, this country, as it extended further to the east, was still nearer to the Canary Islands. The conclusions of Columbus, though drawn from inaccurate observations, were just. If the suppositions of Marinus had been well founded, and if the countries which Marco Polo visited, had been situated to the east of those whose longitude Marinus had ascertained, the proper and nearest course to the East Indies must have been to steer directly west. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. i. c. 2. A more extensive knowledge of the globe has now discovered the great error of Marinus, in supposing China to be fifteen hours, or two hundred and twenty-five degrees east from the Canary Islands; and that even Ptolemy was mistaken, when he reduced the longitude of China to twelve hours, or one hundred and eighty degrees. The longitude of the western frontier of that vast empire is seven hours, or one hundred and fifteen degrees from the meridian of the Canary Islands. But Columbus followed the light which his age afforded, and relied upon the authority of writers, who were at that time regarded as the instructers and guides of mankind in the science of geography.

Note [13]. p. 79.—As the Portuguese, in making their discoveries, did not depart far from the coast of Africa, they concluded that birds, whose flight they observed with great attention, did not venture to any considerable distance from land. In the infancy of navigation it was not known that birds often stretched their flight to an immense distance from any shore. In sailing towards the West Indian Islands, birds are often seen at the distance of two hundred leagues from the nearest coast. Sloane's Nat. Hist. of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 30. Catesby saw an owl at sea when the ship was six hundred leagues distant from land. Nat. Hist. of Carolina, pref. p. 7. Hist. Naturelle de M. Buffon, tom. xvi. p. 32. From which it appears that this indi

cation of land, on which Columbus seems to have relied with some confidence, was extremely uncertain. This observation is confirmed by Capt. Cook, the most extensive and experienced navigator of any age or nation. "No one yet knows (says he) to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea; for my own part, I do not believe that there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on in pointing out the vicinity of land." Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 275.

Note [14]. p. 81.—In a letter of the Admiral's to Ferdinand and Isabella, he describes one of the harbors in Cuba with all the enthusiastic admiration of a discoverer. "I discovered a river which a galley might easily enter: the beauty of it induced me to sound, and I found from five to eight fathoms of water. Having proceeded a considerable way up the river, every thing invited me to settle there. The beauty of the river, the clearness of the water through which I could see the sandy bottom, the multitude of palm trees of different kinds, the tallest and finest I had seen, and an infinite number of other large and flourishing trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plains are so wonderfully beautiful, that this country excels all others as far as the day surpasses the night in brightness and splendor, so that I often said that it would be in vain for me to attempt to give your Highness a full account of it, for neither my tongue nor my pen could come up to the truth; and indeed I am so much amazed at the sight of such beauty, that I know not how to describe it." Life of Columb. c. 30.

Note [15]. p. 81.—The account which Columbus gives of the humanity and orderly behavior of the natives on this occasion is very striking. "the king (says he in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella) having been informed of our misfortune, expressed great grief for our loss, and immediately sent aboard all the people in the place in many large canoes; we soon unloaded the ship of every thing that was upon deck, as the king gave us great assistance: he himself, with his brothers and relations, took all possible care that every thing should be properly done, both aboard and on shore. And, from time to time, he sent some of his relations weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all that he had. I can assure your Highnesses, that so much care could not have been taken in securing our effects in any part of Spain, as all our property was put together in one place near his palace, until the houses which he wanted to prepare for the custody of it were emptied. He immediately placed a guard of armed men, who watched during the whole night, and those on shore lamented as if they had been much interested in our loss. The people are so affectionate, so tractable, and so peaceable, that I swear to your Highnesses, that there is not a better race of men, nor a better country in the world. They love their neighbor as themselves; their conversation is the sweetest and mildest in the world, cheerful and always accompanied with a smile. And although it is true that they go naked, yet your Highnesses may be assured that they have many very commendable customs; the king is served with great state, and his behavior is so decent that it is pleasant to see him, as it is likewise to observe the wonderful memory which these people have, and their desire of knowing every thing, which leads them to inquire into its cause and effects." Life of Columbus, c. 32. It is probable that the Spaniards were indebted for this officious attention to the opinion which the Indians entertained of them as a superior order of beings.

Note [16]. p. 82.—Every monument of such a man as Columbus is valuable. A letter which he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, describing what passed on this occasion, exhibits a most striking picture of his intrepidity, his humanity, his prudence, his public spirit, and courtly address. "I would have been less concerned for this misfortune had I alone been in danger, both because my life is a debt that I owe to the Supreme Creator, and because I have at other times been exposed to the most imminent hazard. But what gave me infinite grief and vexation was, that after it had pleased our Lord to give me faith to undertake this enterprise, in which I had now been so successful, that my opponents would have been convinced, and the glory of your Highnesses, and the extent of your territory, increased by me; it should please the Divine Majesty to stop all by my death. All this would have been more tolerable had it not been attended with the loss of those men whom I had carried with me, upon promise of the greatest prosperity, who, seeing themselves in such distress, cursed not only their coming along with me, but that fear and awe of me which prevented them from returning, as they often had resolved to have done. But besides all this, my sorrow was greatly increased by recollecting that I had left my two sons at school at Cordova, destitute of friends, in a foreign country, when it could not in all probability be known that I had done such services as might induce your Highnesses to remember them. And though I comforted myself with the faith that our Lord would not permit that which tended so much to the glory of his Church, and which I had brought about with so much trouble, to remain imperfect, yet I considered, that, on account of my sins, it was his will to deprive me of that glory which I might have attained in this world. While in this confused state, I thought on the good fortune which accompanies your Highnesses, and imagined that although I should perish, and the vessel be lost, it was possible that you might somehow come to the knowledge of my voyage, and the success with which it was attended. For that reason I wrote upon parchment with the brevity which the situation required, that I had discovered the lands which I promised, in how many days I had done it, and what course I had followed. I mentioned the goodness of the country, the character of the inhabitants, and that your Highnesses' subjects were left in possession of all that I had discovered. Having sealed this writing, I addressed it to your Highnesses, and promised a thousand ducats to any person who should deliver it sealed, so that if any foreigner found it, the promised reward might prevail on them not to give the information to another. I then caused a great cask to be brought to me, and wrapping up the parchment in an oiled cloth, and afterwards in a cake of wax, I put it into the cask, and having stopped it well, I cast it into the sea. All the men believed that it was some act of devotion. Imagining that this might never chance to be taken up, as the ships approached nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the first, and placed it at the top of the poop, so that, if the ship sunk, the cask remaining above water might be committed to the guidance of fortune."

Note [17]. p. 82.—Some Spanish authors, with the meanness of national jealousy, have endeavored to detract from the glory of Columbus, by insinuating that he was led to the discovery of the New World, not by his own inventive or enterprising genius, but by information which he had received. According to their account a vessel having been driven from its course by easterly winds, was carried before them far to the west, and landed on the coast of an unknown country, from which it returned with difficulty; the pilot and three sailors being the only persons who survived the distresses which the crew suffered from want of provisions and fatigue in this long voyage. In a few days after their arrival, all the four died; but the pilot having been received into the house of Columbus, his intimate friend disclosed to him before his death, the secret of the discovery which he had accidentally made, and left him his papers containing a journal of the voyage, which served as a guide to Columbus in his undertaking. Gomara, as far as I know, is the first author who published this story. Hist. c. 13. Every circumstance is destitute of evidence to support it. Neither the name of the vessel nor its destination is known. Some pretend that it belonged to one of the seaport towns in Andalusia, and was sailing either to the Canaries or to Madeira; others, that it was a Biscayner in its way to England; others, in Madeira, or the Azores. The year in which this voyage was made is no less uncertain. Monson's Nav. Tracts. Churchill iii. 371. No mention is made of this pilot, or his discoveries, by And. Bernaldes, or Pet. Martyr, the contemporaries of Columbus. Herrera, with his usual judgment, passes over it in silence. Oviedo takes notice of this report, but considers it as a tale fit only to amuse the vulgar. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2. As Columbus held his course directly west from the Canaries, and never varied it, some later authors have supposed that this uniformity is a proof of his being guided by some previous information. But they do not recollect the principles on which he founded all his hopes of success, that by holding a westerly course he must certainly arrive at those regions of the east described by the ancients. His firm belief of his own system led him to take that course, and to pursue it without deviation.

The Spaniards are not the only people who have called in question Columbus's claim to the honor of having discovered America. Some German authors ascribed this honor to Martin Behaim their countryman. He was of the noble family of the Behaims of Schwartzbach, citizens of the first rank in the Imperial town of Nuremberg. Having studied under the celebrated John Muller, better known by the name of Regiomontanus, he acquired such knowledge of cosmography as excited a desire of exploring those regions, the situation and qualities of which he had been accustomed, under that able master, to investigate and describe. Under the patronage of the Dutchess of Burgundy he repaired to Lisbon, whither the fame of the Portuguese discoveries invited all the adventurous spirits of the age. There, as we learn from Herman Schedel, of whose *Chronocon Mundi*, a German translation was printed at Nuremberg, A. D. 1493, his merit as a cosmographer raised him, in conjunction with Diego Cano, to the command of a squadron fitted out for discovery in the year 1483. In that voyage he is said to have discovered the kingdom of Congo. He settled in the kingdom of Fayal, one of the Azores, and was a particular friend of Columbus. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. i. c. 2. Magellan had a terrestrial globe made by Behaim, on which he demonstrated the course that he proposed to hold in search of the communication with the South Sea, which he afterwards discovered. Gomara Hist. c. 19. Herrera, dec. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. In the year 1492, Behaim visited his relations in Nuremberg, and left with them a map drawn with his own hand, which is still preserved among the archives of the family. Thus far the story of Martin Behaim seems to be well authenticated; but the account of his having discovered any part of the New World appears to be merely conjectural.

In the first edition, as I had at that time hardly any knowledge of Behaim but what I derived from a frivolous dissertation 'De vero Novi Orbis Inventore,' published at Frankfort, A. D. 1714, by Jo. Frid. Stuvenius, I was induced, by the authority of Herrera, to suppose that Behaim was not a native of Germany; but from more full and accurate information, communicated to me by the learned Dr. John Reinhold Forster, I am now satisfied that I was mistaken. Dr. Forster has been likewise so good as to favor me with a copy of Behaim's map, as published by Doppelmayer in his account of the Mathematicians and Artists of Nuremberg. From this map the imperfection of cosmographical knowledge at that period is manifest. Hardly one place is laid down in its true situation. Nor can I discover from it any reason to suppose that Behaim had the least knowledge of any region in America. He delineates, indeed, an island to which he gives the name of St. Brandon. This, it is imagined, may be some part of Guiana, supposed at first to be an island. He places it in the same latitude with the Cape Verd isles, and I suspect it to be an imaginary island which has been admitted into some ancient maps on no better authority than the legend of the Irish St. Brandon, or Brendan, whose story is so childishly fabulous as to be unworthy of any notice. Girald. Cambrensis ap. Missingham Florilegium Sanctorum, p 427.

The pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America seem not to rest on a foundation much more solid. In the twelfth century, according to Powell, a dispute having arisen among the sons of Owen Gwyneth, King of North Wales, concerning the succession to his crown, Madoc, one of their number, weary of this contention, betook himself to sea in quest of a more quiet settlement. He steered due west, leaving Ireland to the North, and arrived in an unknown country, which appeared to him so desirable, that he returned to Wales and carried thither several of his adherents and companions. This is said to have happened about the year 1170, and after that, he and his colony were heard of no more. But it is to be observed, that Powell, on whose testimony the authenticity of this story rests, published his history above four centuries from the date of the event which he relates. Among a people as rude and as illiterate as the Welsh at that period, he memory of a transaction so remote must have been very imperfectly preserved, and would require to be confirmed by some author of greater credit, and nearer to the era of Madoc's voyage than Powell. Later antiquaries have indeed appealed to the testimony of Meredith ap Rees, a Welsh bard, who died A. D. 1477. But he too lived at such a distance of time from the event, that he cannot be considered as a witness of much more credit than Powell. Besides, his verses, published by Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 1., convey no information, but that Madoc, dissatisfied with his domestic situation, employed himself in searching the

ocean for new possessions. But even if we admit the authenticity of Powell's story, it does not follow that the unknown country which Madoc discovered by steering west, in such a course as to leave Ireland to the north, was any part of America. The naval skill of the Welsh in the twelfth century was hardly equal to such a voyage. If he made any discovery at all, it is more probable that it was Madeira, or some other of the western isles. The affinity of the Welsh language with some dialects spoken in America, has been mentioned as a circumstance which confirms the truth of Madoc's voyage. But that affinity has been observed in so few instances, and in some of these is so obscure, or so fanciful, that no conclusion can be drawn from the casual resemblance of a small number of words. There is a bird, which, as far as is yet known, is found only on the coasts of South America, from Port Desire to the Straits of Magellan. It is distinguished by the name of *Penguin*. This word in the Welsh language signifies *Whitehead*. Almost all the authors who favor the pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America, mention this as an irrefragable proof of the affinity of the Welsh language with that spoken in this region of America. But Mr. Penant, who has given a description of the Penguin, observes that all the birds of this genus have black heads; "so that we must resign every hope (adds he) founded on this hypothesis of retrieving the Cambrian race in the New World." Philos. Transact. vol. lviii. p. 91, &c. Besides this, if the Welsh, towards the close of the twelfth century, had settled in any part of America, some remains of the Christian doctrine and rites must have been found among their descendants, when they were discovered about three hundred years posterior to their migration; a period so short that, in the course of it, we cannot well suppose that all European ideas and arts would be totally forgotten. Lord Lyttleton, in his notes to the fifth book of his History of Henry II., p. 371, has examined what Powell relates concerning the discoveries made by Madoc, and invalidates the truth of his story by other arguments of great weight.

The pretensions of the Norwegians to the discovery of America seem to be better founded than those of the Germans or Welsh The inhabitants of Scandinavia were remarkable in the middle ages for the boldness and extent of their maratime excursions. In 874, the Norwegians discovered and planted a colony in Iceland. In 982, they discovered Greenland, and established settlements there. From that, some of their navigators proceeded towards the west, and discovered a country more inviting than those horrid regions with which they were acquainted. According to their representation, this country was sandy on the coasts, but in the interior parts level and covered with wood, on which account they gave it the name of *Helle-land*, and *Mark-land*, and having afterwards found some plants of the vine which bore grapes, they called it *Win-land*. The credit of this story rests, as far as I know, on the authority of the *saga*, or chronicle of King Olaus, composed by Snorro Sturlonides, or *Sturlusons*, published by Perinskiold, at Stockholm, A. D. 1697. As Snorro was born in the year 1179, his chronicle might be compiled about two centuries after the event which he relates. His account of the navigation and discoveries of *Biorn*, and his companion *Lief*, is a very rude confused tale, p. 104. 110. 326. It is impossible to discover from him what part of America it was in which the Norwegians landed. According to his account of the length of the days and nights, it must have been as far north as the fifty-eighth degree of latitude, on some part of the coast of Labradore, approaching near to the entry of Hudson's Straits. Grapes certainly are not the production of that country. Torfeus supposes that there is an error in the text, by rectifying of which the place where the Norwegians landed may be supposed to be situated in latitude 49°. But neither is that the region of the vine in America. From perusing Snorro's tale, I should think that the situation of Newfoundland corresponds best with that of the country discovered by the Norwegians. Grapes, however, are not the production of that barren island. Other conjectures are mentioned by M. Mallet, Introd. a l'Hist. de Dannem. 175, &c. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the literature of the north to examine them. It seems manifest, that if the Norwegians did discover any part of America at that period, their attempt to plant colonies proved unsuccessful, and all knowledge of it was soon lost.

Note [18]. p. 82.—Peter Martyr, ab Angleria, a Milanese gentleman, residing at that time in the court of Spain, whose letters contain an account of the transactions of that period, in the order wherein they occurred, describes the sentiments with which he himself and his learned correspondents were affected in very striking terms. "Præ lætitia prosiluisse te, vixque a lachrymis præ gaudio temperasse, quando literas adspexisti meas quibus, de antipodum orbe latenti hactenus, te certiorem feci, mi suavissime Pomponi, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo, quid senseris. Sensisti autem, tantique rem fecisti, quanti virum summa doctrina insignitum decuit. Quis namque cibus sublimibus præstari potest ingeniis, isto suavior? quod condimentum gratius? A me facio conjecturam. Beati sentio spiritus meos, quando accitos alloquor prudentes aliquos ex his qui ab ea redeunt provincia. Implicent animos pecuniarum cumulis augendis miseri avari, libidinibus obscœni; nostras nos mentes, postquam Deo pleni aliquando fuerimus, contemplando, hujuscemodi rerum notitia demulciamus." Epist. 152, Pomponio Læto.

Note [19]. p. 84.—So firmly were men of science, in that age, persuaded that the countries which Columbus had discovered were connected with the East Indies, that Benaldes, the Cura de los Palacios, who seems to have been no inconsiderable proficient in the knowledge of cosmography, contends that Cuba was not an island, but a part of the continent, and united to the dominions of the Great Khan. This he delivered as his opinion to Columbus himself, who was his guest for some time on his return from his second voyage; and he supports it by several arguments, mostly founded on the authority of Sir John Mandeville. MS. *penes me*. Antonio Gallo, who was secretary to the magistracy of Genoa towards the close of the fifteenth century, published a short account of the navigations and discoveries of his countryman Columbus, annexed to his Opuscula Historica de Rebus Populi Genuensis: in which he informs us, from letters of Columbus which he himself had seen, that it was his opinion, founded upon nautical observations, that one of the islands he had discovered was distant only two hours or thirty degrees from Cattigara, which, in the charts of the geographers of that age, was laid down, upon the authority of Ptolemy, lib. vii. c. 3, as the most easterly place in Asia. From this he concluded, that if some unknown continent did not obstruct the navigation, there must be a short and easy access, by holding a westerly course, to this extreme region of the East. Muratori Scriptores Rer. Italicarum, vol. xxiii. p. 304.

Note [20]. p. 84.—Bernaldes, the *Cura* or Rector de los Palacios, a contemporary writer, says, that five hundred of these captives were sent to Spain, and sold publicly in Seville as slaves; but that, by the change of climate and their inability to bear the fatigue of labor, they all died in a short time. MS. *penes me*.

Note [21]. p. 86.—Columbus seems to have formed some very singular opinions concerning the countries which he had now discovered. The violent swell and agitation of the waters on the coast of Trinidad led him to conclude this to be the highest part of the terraqueous globe, and he imagined that various circumstances concurred in proving that the sea was here visibly elevated. Having adopted this erroneous principle, the apparent beauty of the country induced him to fall in with a notion of Sir John Mandeville, c. 102, that the terrestrial paradise was the highest land in the earth; and he believed that he had been so fortunate as to discover this happy abode. Nor ought we to think it strange that a person of so much sagacity should be influenced by the opinion or reports of such a fabulous author as Mandeville. Columbus and the other discoverers were obliged to follow such guides as they could find; and it appears from several passages in the manuscript of Andr. Bernaldes, the friend of Columbus, that no inconsiderable degree of credit was given to the testimony of Mandeville in that age. Bernaldes frequently quotes him, and always with respect.

Note [22]. p. 87.—It is remarkable that neither Gomara nor Oviedo, the most ancient Spanish historians of America, nor Herrera, consider Ojeda, or his companion Vespucci, as the first discoverers of the continent of America. They uniformly ascribe this honor to Columbus. Some have supposed that national resentment against Vespucci, for deserting the service of Spain, and entering into that of Portugal, may have prompted these writers to conceal the actions which he performed. But Martyr and Benzoni, both Italians, could not be warped by the same prejudice. Martyr was a contemporary author; he resided in the court of Spain, and had the best opportunity to be exactly informed with respect to all public transactions; and yet neither in his Decads, the first general history published of the New World, nor in his Epistle, which contain an account of all the remarkable events of his time, does he ascribe to Vespucci the honor of having first discovered the continent. Benzoni went as an adventurer to America in the year 1541, and resided there a considerable time. He appears to have been animated with a warm zeal for the honor of Italy, his native country, and yet does not mention the exploits and discoveries of Vespucci. Herrera, who compiled his general history of America from the most authentic records, not only follows those early writers, but accuses Vespucci of falsifying the dates of both the voyages which he made to the New World, and of confounding the one with the other, in order that he might arrogate to himself the glory of having discovered the continent. Her. dec. 1. lib. iv. c. 2. He asserts, that in a judicial inquiry into this matter by the royal fiscal, it was proved by the testimony of Ojeda himself, that he touched at Hispaniola when returning to Spain from his first voyage; whereas Vespucci gave out that they returned directly to Cadiz from the coast of Paria, and touched at Hispaniola only in their second voyage; and that he had finished the voyage in five months; whereas, according to Vespucci's account, he had employed seventeen months in performing it. Viaggio primo de Am Vespucci, p. 36. Viag. secundo, p. 45. Herrera gives a more full account of this inquest in another part of his Decads, and to the same effect. Her. dec. 1. lib. vii. c. 5. Columbus was in Hispaniola when Ojeda arrived there, and had by that time come to an agreement with Roldan, who opposed Ojeda's attempt to excite a new insurrection, and, of consequence, his voyage must have been posterior to that of the admiral. Life of Columbus, c. 84. According to Vespucci's account, he set out on his first voyage May 10th, 1497. Viag. primo, p. 6. At that time Columbus was in the court of Spain preparing for his voyage, and seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of favor. The affairs of the New World were at this juncture under the direction of Antonio Torres, a friend of Columbus. It is not probable that, at that period, a commission would be granted to another person to anticipate the admiral by undertaking a voyage which he himself intended to perform. Fonseca, who patronized Ojeda, and granted the license for his voyage, was not recalled to court, and reinstated in the direction of Indian affairs, until the death of Prince John, which happened September, 1497, (P. Martyr, Ep. 182,) several months posterior to the time at which Vespucci pretends to have set out upon his voyage. A life of Vespucci was published at Florence by the Abate Bandini, A. D. 1745, 4to. It is a work of no merit, written with little judgment and less candor. He contends for his countryman's title to the discovery of the continent with all the blind zeal of national partiality, but produces no new evidence to support it. We learn from him that Vespucci's account of his voyage was published as early as the year 1510, and probably sooner. Vita di Am. Vesp. p. 52. At what time the name of America came to be first given to the New World is not certain.

Note [23.] p. 92.—The form employed on this occasion served as a model to the Spaniards in all their subsequent conquests in America. It is so extraordinary in its nature, and gives us such an idea of the proceedings of the Spaniards, and the principles upon which they founded their right to the extensive dominions which they acquired in the New World, that it well merits the attention of the reader. "I Alonso de Ojeda, servant of the most high and powerful kings of Castile and Leon, the conquerors of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notify to you, and declare in as ample form as I am capable, that God our Lord, who is one and eternal, created the heaven and the earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, and all the men who have been or shall be in the world, are descended. But as it has come to pass through the number of generations during more than five thousand years, that they have been dispersed into different parts of the world, and are divided into various kingdoms and provinces, because one country was not able to contain them, nor could they have found in one the means of subsistence and preservation: therefore God our Lord gave the charge of all those people to one man named St. Peter, whom he constituted the lord and head of all the human race, that all men, in whatever place they are born, or in whatever faith or place they are educated, might yield obedience unto him He

both subjected the whole world to his jurisdiction, and commanded him to establish his residence in Rome, as the most proper place for the government of the world. He likewise promised and gave him power to establish his authority in every other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other people of whatever sect or faith they may be. To him is given the name of *Pope*, which signifies admirable, great father and guardian, because he is the father and governor of all men. Those who lived in the time of this holy father obeyed and acknowledged him as their Lord and King, and the superior of the universe. The same has been observed with respect to them who, since his time, have been chosen to the pontificate. Thus it now continues, and will continue to the end of the world.

"One of these Pontiffs, as lord of the world, hath made a grant of these islands, and of the Tierra Firme of the ocean sea, to the Catholic Kings of Castile, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, of glorious memory, and their successors, our sovereigns, with all they contain, as is more fully expressed in certain deeds passed upon that occasion, which you may see if you desire it. Thus His Majesty is King and lord of these islands, and of the continent, in virtue of this donation; and, as King and lord aforesaid, most of the islands to which his title hath been notified, have recognised His Majesty, and now yield obedience and subjection to him as their lord, voluntarily and without resistance; and instantly, as soon as they received information, they obeyed the religious men sent by the King to preach to them, and to instruct them in our holy faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any recompense or gratuity, became Christians, and continue to be so; and His Majesty having received them graciously under his protection, has commanded that they should be treated in the same manner as his other subjects and vassals. You are bound and obliged to act in the same manner. Therefore I now entreat and require you to consider attentively what I have declared to you; and that you may more perfectly comprehend it, that you take such time as is reasonable in order that you may acknowledge the Church as the superior and guide of the universe, and likewise the holy father called the Pope, in his own right, and his Majesty, by his appointment, as King and sovereign lord of these Islands, and of the Tierra Firme; and that you consent that the aforesaid holy fathers shall declare and preach to you the doctrines above mentioned. If you do this, you act well, and perform that to which you are bound and obliged; and His Majesty, and I in his name, will receive you with love and kindness, and will leave you, your wives and children, free and exempt from servitude, and in the enjoyment of all you possess, in the same manner as the inhabitants of the islands. Besides this, His Majesty will bestow upon you many privileges, exemptions, and rewards. But if you will not comply, or maliciously delay to obey my injunction, then, with the help of God, I will enter your country by force, I will carry on war against you with the utmost violence, I will subject you to the yoke of obedience to the Church and King, I will take your wives and children, and will make them slaves, and sell or dispose of them according to His Majesty's pleasure; I will seize your goods, and do you all the mischief in my power, as rebellious subjects, who will not acknowledge or submit to their lawful sovereign. And I protest, that all the bloodshed and calamities which shall follow are to be imputed to you, and not to His Majesty, or to me, or the gentlemen who serve under me; and as I have now made this declaration and requisition unto you, I require the notary here present to grant me a certificate of this, subscribed in proper form." Herrera, dec. 1. lib. vii. c. 14.

Note [24]. p. 94.—Balboa, in his letter to the king, observes that of the hundred and ninety men, whom he took with him, there were never above eighty fit for service at one time. So much did they suffer from hunger, fatigue, and sickness. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. x. c. 16. P. Mart. decad. 226.

Note [25]. p. 95.—Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia, the principal director of American Affairs, had eight hundred Indians in property; the commendator Lope de Conchillos, his chief associate in that department, eleven hundred; and other favorites had considerable numbers. They sent overseers to the islands, and hired out those slaves to the planters. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. ix. c. 14. p. 325.

Note [26]. p. 98.—Though America is more plentifully supplied with water than the other regions of the globe, there is no river or stream of water in Yucatan. This peninsula projects from the continent a hundred leagues, but, where broadest, does not extend above twenty-five leagues. It is an extensive plain, not only without mountains, but almost without any inequality of ground. The inhabitants are supplied with water from pits, and, wherever they dig them, find it in abundance. It is probable, from all those circumstances, that this country was formerly covered by the sea. Herreræ Descriptio Indiæ Occidentalis, p. 14. Histoire Naturelle, par M. de Buffon, tom. i. p. 593.

Note [27]. p. 98—M. Clavigero censures me for having represented the Spaniards who sailed with Cordova and Grijalva, as fancying in the warmth of their imagination, that they saw cities on the coast of Yucatan adorned with towers and *cupolas*, I know not what translation of my history he has consulted (for his quotation from it is not taken from the original,) but I never imagined that any building erected by the Americans could suggest the idea of a cupola or dome, a structure which their utmost skill in architecture was incapable of rearing. My words are, that they fancied the villages which they saw from their ships "to be cities adorned with towers and pinnacles." By *pinnacles* I meant some elevation above the rest of the building; and the passage is translated almost literally from Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iii. c. 1. In almost all the accounts of new countries given by the Spanish discoverers in that age, this warmth of admiration is conspicuous; and led them to describe these new objects in the most splendid terms. When Cordova and his companions first beheld an Indian village of greater magnitude than any they had beheld in the islands, they dignified it by the name of *Grand Cairo*. B. Diaz, c. 2. From the same cause Grijalva and his associates thought the country, along the coast of which they held their course, entitled to the name of New Spain.

Note [28]. p. 99—The height of the most elevated point in the Pyrenees is, according to M. Cassini, six thousand six hundred and forty-six feet. The height of the mountain Gemmi, in the canton of Berne, is ten thousand one hundred and ten feet. The height of the Peak of Teneriffe, according to the measurement of P. Feuille, is thirteen thousand one hundred and seventy-eight feet. The height of Chimborazo, the most elevated point of the Andes, is twenty thousand two hundred and eighty feet; no less than seven thousand one hundred and two feet above the highest mountain in the ancient continent. Voyage de D. Juan Ulloa, Observations Astron. et Physiq. tom. ii. p. 114. The line of congelation on Chimborazo, or that part of the mountain which is covered perpetually with snow, is no less than two thousand four hundred feet from its summit. Prevot Hist. Gener. des Voyages, vol. iii. p. 636.

Note [29]. p. 99.—As a particular description makes a stronger impression than general assertions, I shall give one of Rio de la Plata by an eye-witness, P. Cattanco, a Modenesse Jesuit, who landed at Buenos Ayres in 1749, and thus represents what he felt when such new objects were first presented to his view. "While I resided in Europe, and read in books of history or geography, that the mouth of the river de la Plata was a hundred and fifty miles in breadth, I considered it as an exaggeration, because in this hemisphere we have no example of such vast rivers When I approached its mouth, I had the most vehement desire to ascertain the truth with my own eyes; and I found the matter to be exactly as it was represented. This I deduce particularly from one circumstance: When we took our departure from Monte Video, a fort situated more than a hundred miles from the mouth of the river, and where its breadth is considerably diminished, we sailed a complete day before we discovered the land on the opposite side of the river; and when we were in the middle of the channel, we could not discern land on either side and saw nothing but the sky and water as if we had been in some great ocean. Indeed we should have taken it to be sea, if the fresh water of the river, which was turbid like the Po, had not satisfied us that it was a river. Moreover, at Buenos Ayres, another hundred miles up the river, and where it is still much narrower, it is not only impossible to discern the opposite coast, which is indeed very low, but perceive the houses or the tops of the steeples in the Portuguese settlement at Colonia on the other side of the river." Lettera prima, published by Muratori, Il Christianesimo Felice, &c. i. p. 257.

Note [30]. p. 99—Newfoundland, part of Nova Scotia, and Canada, are the countries which lie in the same parallel of latitude with the kingdom of France; and in every part of these the water of the rivers is frozen during winter to the thickness of several feet; the earth is covered with snow as deep; almost all the birds fly during that season from a climate where they could not live. The country of the Eskimaux, part of Labrador, and the countries on the south of Hudson's Bay, are in the same parallel with Great Britain; and yet in all these the cold is so intense that even the industry of Europeans has not attempted cultivation.

Note [31]. p. 99.—Acosta is the first philosopher, as far as I know, who endeavored to account for the different degrees of heat in the old and new continents, by the agency of the winds which blow in each. Histoire Moral. &c. lib. ii. and iii. M. de Buffon adopts this theory, and has not only improved it by new observations, but has employed his amazing powers of descriptive eloquence in embellishing it and placing it in the most striking light. Some remarks may be added, which tend to illustrate more fully a doctrine of much importance in every inquiry concerning the temperature of various climates.

When a cold wind blows over land, it must in its passage rob the surface of some of its heat. By means of this the coldness of the wind is abated. But if it continue to blow in the same direction, it will come, by degrees, to pass over a surface already cooled, and will suffer no longer any abatement of its own keenness. Thus, as it advances over a large tract of land, it brings on all the severity of intense frost.

Let the same wind blow over an extensive and deep sea; the superficial water must be immediately cooled to a certain degree, and the wind proportionally warmed. But the superficial and colder water, becoming specifically heavier than the warmer water below it, descends; what is warmer supplies its place, which, as it comes to be cooled in its turn, continues to warm the air which passes over it, or to diminish its cold. This change of the superficial water and successive ascent of that which is warmer, and the consequent successive abatement of coldness in the air, is aided by the agitation caused in the sea by the mechanical action of the wind, and also by the motion of the tides. This will go on, and the rigor of the wind will continue to diminish until the whole water is so far cooled, that the water on the surface is no longer removed from the action of the wind fast enough to hinder it from being arrested by frost. Whenever the surface freezes, the wind is no longer warmed by the water from below, and it goes on with undiminished cold.

From those principles may be explained the severity of winter frosts in extensive continents; their mildness in small islands; and the superior rigor of winter in those parts of North America with which we are best acquainted. In the north-west parts of Europe, the severity of winter is mitigated by the west winds, which usually blow in the months of November, December, and part of January.

On the other hand, when a warm wind blows over land, it heats the surface, which must therefore cease to abate the fervor of the wind. But the same wind blowing over water, agitates it, brings up the colder water from below, and thus is continually losing somewhat of its own heat.

But the great power of the sea to mitigate the heat of the wind or air passing over it, proceeds from the following circumstance: that on account of the transparency of the sea, its surface cannot be heated to a great degree by the sun's rays; whereas the ground, subjected to their influence, very soon acquires great heat. When, therefore, the wind blows over a torrid continent, it is soon raised to a heat almost intolerable; but during its passage over an extensive ocean, it is gradually cooled; so that on its arrival at the furthest shore it is again fit for respiration.

Those principles will account for the sultry heats of large continents in the torrid zone; for the mild climate of islands in the same latitude; and for the superior warmth in summer which large continents, situated in the temperate or colder zones of the earth, enjoy when compared with that of islands. The heat of a climate depends not only upon the immediate effect of the sun's rays, but on their continued operation, on the effect which they have formerly produced, and which remains for some time in the ground. This is the reason why the day is warmest about two in the afternoon, the summer warmest about the middle of July, and the winter coldest about the middle of January.

The forests which cover America, and hinder the sunbeams from heating the ground, are a great cause of the temperate climate in the equatorial parts. The ground, not being heated, cannot heat the air; and the leaves, which receive the rays intercepted from the ground, have not a mass of matter sufficient to absorb heat enough for this purpose. Besides, it is a known fact, that the vegetative power of a plant occasions a perspiration from the leaves in proportion to the heat to which they are exposed: and, from the nature of evaporation, this perspiration produces a cold in the leaf proportional to the perspiration. Thus the effect of the leaf in heating the air in contact with it is prodigiously diminished. For those observations, which throw much additional light on this curious subject, I am indebted to my ingenious friend, Mr. Robison, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh.

Note [32]. p. 99.—The climate of Brazil has been described by two eminent naturalists, Piso and Margrave, who observed it with a philosophical accuracy for which we search in vain in the accounts of many other provinces in America. Both represent it as temperate and mild when compared with the climate of Africa. They ascribe this chiefly to the refreshing wind which blows continually from the sea. The air is not only cool, but chilly through the night, insomuch that the natives kindle fires every evening in their huts. Piso de Medicina Brasiliensi, lib. i. p. 1. &c. Margravius Histor. Rerum Natural. Brasiliæ, lib. viii. c. 3. p. 264. Nieuhoff, who resided long in Brazil, confirms their description. Churchill's Collection, vol. ii. p. 26. Gumilla, who was a missionary many years among the Indians upon the river Oronoco, gives a similar description of the temperature of the climate there. Hist. de l'Oronoque, tom. 1. p. 26. P. Acugna felt a very considerable degree of cold in the countries on the banks of the river Amazons. Relat. vol. ii. p. 56. M. Biet, who lived a considerable time in Cayenne, gives a similar account of the temperature of that climate, and ascribes it to the same cause. Voyage de la France, Equinox, p. 330. Nothing can be more different from these descriptions than that of the burning heat of the African coast given by M. Adanson. Voyage to Senegal, passim.

Note [33]. p. 99 —Two French frigates were sent upon a voyage of discovery in the year 1739. In latitude 44° south, they began to feel a considerable degree of cold. In latitude 48°, they met with islands of floating ice. Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes, tom. ii. p. 256, &c. Dr. Halley fell in with ice in latitude 59°. Id. tom. i. p. 47. Commodore Byron, when on the coast of Patagonia, latitude 50° 33′ south, on the fifteenth of December, which is midsummer in that part of the globe, the twenty-first of December being the longest day there, compares the climate to that of England in the middle of winter. Voyages by Hawkesworth, i. 25. Mr. Banks having landed on Terra del Fuego, in the Bay of Good Success, latitude 55°, in the sixteenth of January, which corresponds to the month of July in our hemisphere, two of his attendants died in one night of extreme cold, and all the party were in the most imminent danger of perishing. Id. ii. 51, 52. By the fourteenth of March, corresponding to September in our hemisphere, winter was set in with rigor, and the mountains were covered with snow. Ibid. 72. Captain Cook, in his voyage towards the South Pole, furnishes new and striking instances of the extraordinary predominance of cold in this region of the globe. "Who would have thought (says he) that an island of no greater extent than seventy leagues in circuit, situated between the latitude of 54° and 55°, should in the very height of summer be, in a manner, wholly covered, many fathoms deep, with frozen snow; but more especially the S. W. coast! The very summits of the lofty mountains were cased with snow and ice; but the quantity that lay in the valleys is incredible; and at the bottom of the bays, the coast was terminated by a wall of ice of considerable height." Vol. ii. p. 217.

In some places of the ancient continent, an extraordinary degree of cold prevails in very low latitudes. Mr. Bogle, in his embassy to the court of the Delai Lama, passed the winter of the year 1774, at Chamnanning, in latitude 31° 39′ N. He often found the thermometer in his room twenty-nine degrees under the freezing point by Fahrenheit's scale; and in the middle of April the standing waters were all frozen, and heavy showers of snow frequently fell. The extaordinary elevation of the country seems to be the cause of this excessive cold. In travelling from Indostan to Thibet, the ascent to the summit of the Boutan Mountains is very great, but the descent on the other side is not in equal proportion. The kingdom of Thibet is an elevated region, extremely bare and desolate. Account of Thibet, by Mr. Stewart, read in the Royal Society, p. 7. The extraordinary cold in low latitudes in America cannot be accounted for by the same cause. Those regions are not remarkable for elevation. Some of them are countries depressed and level.

The most obvious and probable cause of the superior degree of cold towards the southern extremity of America, seems to be the form of the continent there. Its breadth gradually decreases as it stretches from St. Antonia southwards, and from the bay of St. Julian to the Straits of Magellan its dimensions are much contracted. On the east and west sides it is washed by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. From its southern point it is probable that a great extent of sea without any considerable tract of land, reaches to the Antarctic pole. In whichever of these directions the wind blows, it is cooled before it approaches the Magellanic regions, by passing over a vast body of water; nor is the land there of such extent, that it can recover any considerable degree of heat in its progress over it. These circumstances concur in rendering the temperature of the air in this district of America more similar to that of an insular, than to that of a continental climate, and hinder it from acquiring the same degree of summer heat with places in Europe and Asia in a correspondent northern latitude. The north wind is the only one that reaches this part of America, after blowing over a great continent. But from an attentive survey of its position, this will be found to have a tendency rather to diminish than augment the degree of heat. The southern extremity of America is properly the termination of the immense ridge of the Andes, which stretches nearly in a direct line from north to south, through the whole extent of the continent. The most sultry regions in South America, Guiana, Brazil, Paraguay, and Tuccuman, lie many degrees to the east of the Magellanic regions. The level country of Peru, which enjoys the tropical heats, is situated considerably to the west of them. The north wind then, though it blows over land, does not bring to the southern extremity of America an increase of heat collected in its passage over torrid regions; but before it arrives there, it must have swept along the summits of the Andes, and becomes impregnated with the cold of that frozen region.

Though it be now demonstrated that there is no southern continent in that region of the globe which it was supposed to occupy, it appears to be certain from Captain Cook's discoveries, that there is a large tract of land near the south pole, which is the source of most of the ice spread over the vast southern ocean. Vol. ii. p. 230, 239, &c. Whether the influence of this remote frozen continent may reach the southern extremity of America, and affect its climate, is an inquiry not unworthy of attention.

Note [34]. p. 100.—M. Condamine is one of the latest and most accurate observers of the interior state of South America. "After descending from the Andes (says he,) one beholds a vast and uniform prospect of water and verdure, and nothing more. One treads upon the earth, but does not see it; as it is so entirely covered with luxuriant plants, weeds, and shrubs, that it would require a considerable degree of labor to clear it for the space of a foot." Relation abregee d'un Voyage, &c. p. 48. One of the singularities in the forests is a sort of osiers, or withes, called *bejucos* by the Spaniards, *lianes* by the French, and *nibbes* by the Indians, which are usually employed as ropes in America. This is one of the parasitical plants, which twists about the trees it meets with, and rising above their highest branches, its tendrils descend perpendicularly, strike into the ground, take root, rise up around another tree, and thus mount and descend alternately. Other tendrils are carried obliquely by the wind, or some accident, and form a confusion of interwoven cordage, which resembles the rigging of a ship. Bancroft, Nat. Hist. of Guiana, 99. These withes are often as thick as the arm of a man. Id. p. 75. M. Boguer's account of the forests in Peru perfectly resembles this description. Voyages au Peru, p. 16. Oviedo gives a similar description of the forests in other parts of America. Hist. lib. ix. p. 144. D. The country of the Moxos is so much overflowed, that they are obliged to reside on the summit of some rising ground during some part of the year, and have no communication with their countrymen at any distance. Lettres Edifiantes, tom. x. p. 187 Garcia gives a full and just description of the rivers, lakes, woods, and marshes in those countries of America which lie between the tropics. Origen de los Indios, lib. ii. c. 5. § 4, 5. The incredible hardships to which Gonzalez Pizarro was exposed in attempting to march into the country to the east of the Andes, convey a very striking idea of that part of America in its original uncultivated state. Garcil. de la Vega, Royal Comment, of Peru, part ii. book iii. c. 2---5.

Note [35]. p. 100.—The animals of America seem not to have been always of a size inferior to those in other quarters of the globe. From antlers of the moose-deer which have been found in America, it appears to have been an animal of great size. Near the banks of the Ohio, a considerable number of bones of an immense magnitude have been found. The place where this discovery has been made lies about one hundred and ninety miles below the junction of the river Scioto with the Ohio. It is about four miles distant from the banks of the latter, on the side of the marsh called the Salt lick. The bones lie in vast quantities about five or six feet under ground, and the stratum is visible in the bank on the edge of the Lick. *Journal of Colonel George Croglan, MS. penes me.* This spot seems to be accurately laid down by Evans in his map. These bones must have belonged to animals of enormous bulk; but naturalists being acquainted with no living creature of such size, were at first inclined to think they were mineral substances. Upon receiving a greater number of specimens, and after inspecting them more narrowly, they are now allowed to be the bones of an animal. As the elephant is the largest known quadruped, and the tusks which were found, nearly resembled, both in form and quality, the tusks of an elephant, it was concluded that the carcasses deposited on the Ohio were of that species. But Dr. Hunter, one of the persons of our age best qualified to decide with respect to this point, having accurately examined several parcels of tusks, and grinders, and jaw-bones, sent from the Ohio to London, gives it as his opinion that they did not belong to an elephant, but to some huge carnivorous animal of an unknown species. Phil. Transact. vol. lviii. p. 34. Bones of the same kind, and as remarkable for their size, have been found near the mouths of the great rivers Oby, Jeniseia, and Lena in Siberia. *Strahlenberg, Descript. of North and East Parts of Europe and Asia*, p. 402, &c. The elephant seems to be confined in his range to the torrid zone, and never multiplies beyond it. In such cold regions as those bordering on the frozen sea, he could not live. The existence of such large animals in America might open a wide field for conjecture. The more we contemplate the face of nature, and consider the variety of her productions, the more we must be satisfied that astonishing changes have been made in the terraqueous globe by convulsions and revolutions, of which no account is preserved in history.

Note [36]. p. 100.—This degeneracy of the domestic European animals in America may be imputed to some of these causes. In the Spanish settlements, which are situated either within the torrid zone, or in countries bordering upon it, the increase of heat and diversity of food prevent sheep and horned cattle from attaining the same size as in Europe. They seldom become so fat, and their flesh is not so juicy, or of such delicate flavor. In North America, where the climate is more favorable, and similar to that of Europe, the quality of the grasses which spring up naturally in their pasture grounds is not good. Mitchell, p. 151. Agriculture is still so much in its infancy, that artificial food for cattle is not raised in any quantity. During a winter, long in many provinces, and rigorous in all, no proper care is taken of their cattle. The general treatment of their horses and horned cattle is injudicious and harsh in all the English colonies. These circumstances contribute more, perhaps, than any thing peculiar in the quality of the climate, to the degeneracy of breed in the horses, cows, and sheep of many of the North American provinces.

Note [37]. p. 100.—In the year 1518, the island of Hispaniola was afflicted with a dreadful visitation of those destructive insects, the particulars of which Herrera describes, and mentions a singular instance of the superstition of the Spanish planters. After trying various methods of exterminating the ants, they resolved to implore protection of the saints; but as the calamity was new, they were at a loss to find out the saint who could give them the most effectual aid. They cast lots in order to discover the patron whom they should invoke. The lots decided in favor of St. Saturninus

They celebrated his festival with great solemnity, and immediately, adds the historian, the calamity began to abate. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iii. c. 15. p. 107.

Note [38]. p. 100.—The author of Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains supposes this difference in heat to be equal to twelve degrees, and that a place thirty degrees from the equator in the old continent is as warm as one situated eighteen degrees from it in America, tom. i. p. 11. Dr. Mitchell, after observations carried on during thirty years, contends that the difference is equal to fourteen or fifteen degrees of latitude. Present State, &c. p. 257.

Note [39]. p. 100.—January 3d, 1765, Mr. Bertram, near the head of St. John's river, in East Florida, observed a frost so intense that in one night the ground was frozen an inch thick upon the banks of the river. The limes, citrons, and banana trees, at St. Augustin, were destroyed. Bertram's Journal, p. 20. Other instances of the extraordinary operations of cold in the southern provinces of North America are collected by Dr. Mitchell. Present State, p. 206, &c. February 7th, 1747, the frost at Charleston was so intense, that a person having carried two quart bottles of hot water to bed, in the morning they were split to pieces, and the water converted into solid lumps of ice. In a kitchen where there was a fire, the water in a jar in which there was a live large eel, was frozen to the bottom. Almost all the orange and olive trees were destroyed. Description of South Carolina, 8vo. Lond. 1761.

Note [40]. p. 100.—A remarkable instance of this occurs in Dutch Guiana, a country every where level, and so low, that during the rainy seasons it is usually covered with water near two feet in height. This renders the soil so rich, that on the surface, for twelve inches in depth, it is a stratum of perfect manure, and as such has been transported to Barbadoes. On the banks of the Essequibo, thirty crops of ratan canes have been raised successively; whereas in the West Indian islands not more than two is ever expected from the richest land. The expedients by which the planters endeavor to diminish this excessive fertility of soil are various. Bancroft, Nat. Hist. of Guiana, p. 10, &c.

Note [41]. p. 102.—Muller seems to have believed, without sufficient evidence, that the Cape had been doubled, tom. i. p. 11, &c.; and the imperial academy of St. Petersburgh give some countenance to it by the manner in which *Tschukotskoi-noss* is laid down in their charts. But I am assured, from undoubted authority, that no Russian vessel has ever sailed round that cape; and as the country of *Tshutki* is not subject to the Russian empire, it is very imperfectly known.

Note [42]. p. 102.—Were this the place for entering into a long and intricate geographical disquisition, many curious observations might arise from comparing the accounts of the two Russian voyages and the charts of their respective navigations. One remark is applicable to both. We cannot rely with absolute certainty on the position which they assign to several of the places which they visited. The weather was so extremely foggy, that they seldom saw the sun or stars; and the position of the islands and supposed continents was commonly determined by reckoning, not by observation. Behring and Tschirikow proceeded much further towards the east than Krenitzin. The land discovered by Behring, which he imagined to be part of the American continent, is in the 236th degree of longitude from the first meridian in the isle of Ferro, and in 58° 28′ of latitude. Tschirikow came upon the same coast in longitude 241°, latitude 56°. Muller, i. 248, 249. The former must have advanced 60 degrees from the port of Petropawlowski, from which he took his departure, and the latter 65 degrees. But from the chart of Krenitzen's voyage, it appears that he did not sail further towards the east than to the 208th degree, and only 32 degrees from Petropawlowski. In 1741, Behring and Tschirikow, both in going and returning, held a course which was mostly to the south of that chain of islands, which they discovered; and observing the mountains and rugged aspect of the headlands which they descried towards the north, they supposed them to be promontories belonging to some part of the American continent, which, as they fancied, stretched as far south as the latitude 56. In this manner they are laid down in the chart published by Muller, and likewise in a manuscript chart drawn by a mate of Behring's ship, communicated to me by Mr Professor Robison. But in 1769, Krenitzin, after wintering in the island Alaxa, stood so far towards the north in his return, that his course lay through the middle of what Behring and Tschirikow had supposed to be a continent, which he found to be an open sea, and that they had mistaken rocky isles for the headlands of a continent. It is probable, that the countries discovered in 1741, towards the east, do not belong to the American continent, but are only a continuation of the chain of islands. The number of volcanos in this region of the globe is remarkable. There are several in Kamtchatka, and not one of the islands, great or small, as far as the Russian navigation extends, is without them. Many are actually burning, and the mountains in all bear marks of having been once in a state of eruption. Were I disposed to admit such conjectures as have found place in other inquiries concerning the peopling of America, I might suppose that this part of the earth, having manifestly suffered violent convulsions from earthquakes and volcanos, an isthmus, which may have formerly united Asia to America, has been broken, and formed into a cluster of islands by the shock.

It is singular, that at the very time the Russian navigators were attempting to make discoveries in the north-west of America, the Spaniards were prosecuting the same design from another quarter. In 1769, two small vessels sailed from Loretto in California to explore the coasts of the country to the north of that peninsula. They advanced no further than the port of Monte-Rey, in latitude 36. But, in several successive expeditions fitted out from the port of St. Blas in New Galicia, the Spaniards have advanced as far as the latitude 58. *Gazeta de Madrid*, March 19, and May 14, 1776. But as the journals of those voyages have not yet been published, I cannot compare their progress with that of the Russians, or show how near the navigators of the two nations have approached to each other. It is to be hoped that the enlightened minister who has now the direction of American affairs in Spain, will not withhold this information from the public.

Note [43]. p. 102.—Our knowledge of the vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America, which was very imperfect when I published the History of America in the year 1777, is now complete. Mr. Coxe's account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, printed in the year 1780, contains many curious and important facts with respect to the various attempts of the Russians to open a communication with the New World. The history of the great voyage of Discovery, begun by Captain Cook in 1776, and completed by Captains Clerk and Gore, published in the year 1780, communicates all the information that the curiosity of mankind could desire with regard to this subject.

At my request, my friend, Mr. Playfair, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, has compared the narrative and charts of those illustrious navigators with the more imperfect relations and maps of the Russians. The result of this comparison I communicate in his own words, with much greater confidence in his scientific accuracy, than I could have ventured to place in any observations which I myself might have made upon the subject.

"The discoveries of Captain Cook in his last voyage have confirmed the conclusions which Dr. Robertson had drawn, and have connected together the facts from which they were deduced. They have now rendered it certain that Behring and Tschirikow touched on the coast of America in 1741. The former discovered land in latitude 58°, 28′, and about 236° east from Ferro. He has given such a description of the Bay in which he anchored, and the high mountain to the westward of it which he calls St. Elias, that though the account of his voyage is much abridged in the English translation, Captain Cook recognised the place as he sailed along the western coast of America in the year 1778. The isle of St. Hermogenes, near the mouth of Cook's river, Schumagins isles on the coast of Alashka, and Foggy Isle, retain in Captain Cook's chart the names which they had received from the Russian navigator. Cook's Voy. vol. ii. p. 347.

"Tschirikow came upon the same coast about 2° 30′ farther south than Behring, near the Mount Edgecumbe of Captain Cook.

"With regard to Krenitzin, we learn from Coxe's Account of the Russian Discoveries, that he sailed from the mouth of the Kamtchatka river with two ships in the year 1768. With his own ship he reached the island of Oonolashka, in which there had been a Russian settlement since the year 1762, where he wintered probably in the same harbor or bay where Captain Cook afterwards anchored. The other ship wintered at Alashka, which was supposed to be an island, though it be in fact a part of the American continent. Krenitzin accordingly returned without knowing that either of his ships had been on the coast of America; and this is the more surprising, because Captain Cook has informed us that Alashka is understood to be a great continent, both by the Russians and the natives of Oonolashka

"According to Krenitzin, the ship which had wintered at Alashka had hardly sailed 30° to the eastward of the harbor of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtchatka; but, according to the more accurate charts of Captain Cook, it had sailed no less than 37° 17′ to the eastward of that harbor. There is nearly the same mistake of 5° in the longitude which Krenitzin assigns to Oonolashka. It is remarkable enough, that in the chart of those seas, put into the hand of Captain Cook by the Russians on that island, there was an error of the same kind, and very nearly of the same extent.

"But what is of most consequence to be remarked on the subject is, that the discoveries of Captain Cook have fully verified Dr. Robertson's conjecture 'that it is probable that future navigators in those seas, by steering farther to the north than Behring and Tschirikow or Krenitzin had done, may find that the continent of America approaches still nearer to that of Asia. See p. 102. It has accordingly been found that these two continents, which in the parallel of 55°, or that of the southern extremity of Alashka, are about four hundred leagues asunder, approach continually to one another as they stretch together toward the north, until, within less than a degree from the polar circle, they are terminated by two capes only thirteen leagues distant. The east cape of Asia is in latitude 66° 6′ and in longitude 190° 22′ east from Greenwich: the western extremity of America, or Prince of Wales' Cape, is in latitude 65° 46′, and in longitude 191° 45′. Nearly in the middle of the narrow strait (Behring's Strait) which separates these capes, are the two islands of St. Diomede, from which both continents may be seen. Captain King informs us, that as he was sailing through this strait, July 5, 1779, the fog having cleared away, he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing from the ship the continents of Asia and America at the same moment, together with the islands of St. Diomede lying between them. Cook's Voy. vol iii. p. 244.

"Beyond this point the strait opens towards the Arctic Sea, and the coasts of Asia and America diverge so fast from one another, that in the parallel of 69° they are more than one hundred leagues asunder. Ib. p. 277. To the mouth of the strait there are a number of Islands, Clerk's, King's, Anderson's, &c. which, as well as those of St. Diomede, may have facilitated the migrations of the natives from the one continent to the other. Captain Cook, however, on the authority of the Russians at Oonolashka, and for other good reasons has diminished the number of islands which had been inserted in former charts of the northern Archipelago. He has also placed Alashka, or the promontory which stretches from the continent of America S. W. towards Kamtchatka, at the distance of five degrees of longitude farther from the coast of Asia than it was reckoned by the Russian navigators.

"The geography of the Old and New World is therefore equally indebted to the discoveries made in this memorable voyage; and as many errors have been corrected, and many deficiencies supplied, by means of these discoveries, so the accuracy of some former observations has been established. The basis of the map of the Russian empire, as far as regarded Kamtchatka, and the country of the Tschutzki, was the position of four places, Yakutsh, Ochotz, Bolcheresk, and Petropawlowski, which had been determined by the astronomer Krassilnicow in the year 1744. Nov. Comment. Petrop. vol. iii. p. 465, &c. But the accuracy of his observations was contested by M. Engel, and M. Robert de Vaugondy; Coxe, Append. i. No. 2 p. 267. 272. and the former of these geographers ventured to take away no less than 28 degrees from the longitude, which on the faith of Krassilnicow's observations, was assigned to the eastern boundary of the Russian empire. With how little reason this was done, will appear from considering that our British navigators, having determined the position of Petropawlowski by a great number of very accurate observations, found the longitude of that port 158° 43′ E. from Greenwich, and its latitude 53° 1′; agreeing, the first to less than seven minutes, and the second to less than half a minute, with the calculations of the Russian astronomer a coincidence which, in the situation of so remote a place, does not leave an uncertainty of more than four

English miles, and which, for the credit of science, deserves to be particularly remarked. The chief error in the Russian maps has been in not extending the bounaaries of that empire sufficiently towards the east. For as there was nothing to connect the land of the Tschutzki and the north-east point of Asia with those places whereof the position had been carefully ascertained, except the imperfect accounts of Behring's and Synd's voyages, considerable errors could not fail to be introduced, and that point was laid down as not more than 23° 2′ east of the meridian of Petropawlowski. Coxe, App. i. No. 2. By the observations of Captain King, the difference of longitude between Petropawlowski and the East Cape is 31° 9′; that is, 8° 7′ greater than it was supposed to be by the Russian geographers." It appears from Cook's and King's Voy. iii p. 272, that the continents of Asia and America are usually joined together by ice during winter. Mr. Samwell confirms this account of his superior officer. "At this place, viz. near the latitude of 66° N. the two coasts are only thirteen leagues asunder, and about midway between them lie two islands, the distance from each to either shore is short of twenty miles. At this place the natives of Asia could find no difficulty in passing over to the opposite coast, which is in sight of their own. That in a course of years such an event would happen, either through design or accident, cannot admit of a doubt. The canoes which we saw among the Tschutzki were capable of performing a much longer voyage; and, however rude they may have been at some distant period, we can scarcely suppose them unequal to a passage of six or seven leagues. People might have been carried over by accident on floating pieces of ice. They might also have travelled across on sledges or on foot; for we have reason to believe that the strait is entirely frozen over in the winter; so that, during that season, the continents, with respect to the communication between them, may be considered as one land." Letter from Mr. Samwell, Scot's Magazine for 1788, p. 604. It is probable that this interesting portion of geographical knowledge will, in the course of a few years, receive farther improvement. Soon after the publication of Captain Cook's last voyage, the great and enlightened Sovereign of Russia, attentive to every thing that may contribute to extend the bounds of science, or to render it more accurate, formed the plan of a new voyage of discovery, in order to explore those parts of the ocean lying between Asia and America, which Captain Cook did not visit, to examine more accurately the islands which stretch from one continent almost to the other, to survey the north-east coast of the Russian empire, from the mouth of the Kovyma, or Kolyma, to the North Cape, and to settle, by astronomical observations, the position of each place worth notice. The conduct of this important enterprise is committed to Captain Billings, an English officer in the Russian service, of whose abilities for that station it will be deemed the best evidence, that he accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage. To render the expedition more extensively useful, an eminent naturalist is appointed to attend Captain Billings. Six years will be requisite for accomplishing the purposes of the voyage, Coxe's Supplement to Russian Discoveries, p. 27, &c.

Note [44]. p. 103.—Few travellers have had such opportunity of observing the natives of America, in its various districts. as Don Antonio Ulloa. In a work lately published by him, he thus describes the characteristical features of the race: "A very small forehead, covered with hair towards its extremities, as far as the middle of the eye-brows; little eyes; a thin nose, small and bending towards the upper lip; the countenance broad; the ears large; the hair very black, lank, and coarse; the limbs well turned, the feet small, the body of just proportion; and altogether smooth and free from hair, until old age, when they acquire some beard, but never on the cheeks." Noticias Americanas, &c. p. 307. M. le Chevalier de Pinto, who resided several years in a part of America which Ulloa never visited, gives a sketch of the general aspect of the Indians there. "They are all copper color with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory which they inhabit. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands, on the coast. Their face is round, further removed perhaps, than that of any people from an oval shape. Their forehead is small, the extremity of their ears far from the face, their lips thick, their nose flat, their eyes black, or of a chesnut color, small, but capable of discerning objects at a great distance. Their hair is always thick and sleek, and without any tendency to curl. They have no hair on any part of their body but the head. At the first aspect a southern American appears to be mild and innocent, but on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful, and sullen." MS. *penes me.* The two portraits drawn by hands very different from those of common travellers, have a near resemblance.

Note [45]. p. 104. Amazing accounts are given of the persevering speed of the Americans. Adair relates the adventures of a Chickkasah warrior who ran through woods and over mountains, three hundred computed miles, in a day and a half and two nights. Hist of Amer. Ind. 396.

Note [46]. p. 104. M. Godin Le Jeune, who resided fifteen years among the Indians of Peru and Quito, and twenty years in the French colony of Cayenne, in which there is a constant intercourse with the Galibis and other tribes on the Oronoco, observes, that the vigor of constitution among the Americans is exactly in proportion to their habits of labor. The Indians in warm climates, such as those on the coasts of the South Sea, on the river of Amazons, and the river Orinoco, are not to be compared for strength with those in cold countries; and yet, says he, boats daily set out from Para, a Portuguese settlement on the river of Amazons, to ascend that river against the rapidity of the stream, and with the same crew they proceed to San Pablo, which is eight hundred leagues distant. No crew of white people, or even of Negroes, would be found equal to a task of such persevering fatigue, as the Portuguese have experienced; and yet the Indians being accustomed to this labor from their infancy, perform it. MS. *penes me.*

Note [47]. p. 105. Don Antonio Ulloa, who visited a great part of Peru and Chili, the kingdom of New Granada, and several of the provinces bordering on the Mexican Gulf, while employed in the same service with the French Mathematicians during the space of ten years, and who afterwards had an opportunity of viewing the North Americans asserts "that if we have seen one American, we may be said to have seen them all, their color and make are so nearly the same." Notic. Americanas, p. 328. A more early observer, Pedro de Cieca de Leon, one of the conquerors of Peru, who had likewise traversed many provinces of America, affirms that the people, men and women, although there is such a multitude of tribes or nations as to be almost innumerable, and such diversity of climates, appear nevertheless like the children of one father and mother. Chronica del' Peru, parte i. c. 19. There is, no doubt, a certain combination of features, and peculiarity of aspect, which forms what may be called a European or Asiatic countenance. There must likewise be one that may be denominated American, common to the whole race. This may be supposed to strike the traveller at first sight, while not only the various shades, which distinguish people of different regions, but the peculiar features which discriminate individuals, escape the notice of a transient observer. But when persons who had resided so long among the Americans concur in bearing testimony to the similarity of their appearance in every climate, we may conclude that it is more remarkable than that of any other race. See likewise Garcia Origen de los Indies, p. 54. 242. Torquemada Monarch. Indiana, ii. 571.

Note. [48] p. 105.—M. le Chevalier de Pinto observes, that in the interior parts of Brazil, he had been informed that some persons resembling the white people of Darien had been found; but that the breed did not continue, and their children became like other Americans. This race, however, is very imperfectly known. MS. *penes me.*

Note [49]. p. 105.—The testimonies of different travellers concerning the Patagonians, have been collected and stated with a considerable degree of accuracy by the author of Recherches Philosophiques, &c. tom. i. 281, &c. iii. 181, &c. Since the publication of his work, several navigators have visited the Magellanic regions, and like their predecessors, differ very widely in their accounts of its inhabitants By Commodore Byron and his crew, who sailed through the Straits in 1764, the common size of the Patagonians was estimated to be eight feet, and many of them much taller. Phil. Transact. vol. lvii. p. 78. By Captain Wallis and Carteret, who actually measured them in 1766, they were found to be from six feet to six feet five and seven inches in height. Phil. Trans. vol. lx. p. 22. These, however, seem to have been the very people whose size had been rated so high in the year 1764; for several of them had beads and red baize of the same kind with what had been put on board Captain Wallis's ship, and he naturally concluded that they had got these from Mr. Byron. Hawkesw. i. In 1767 they were again measured by M. Bougainville, whose account differs little from that of Captain Wallis. Voy. 129. To these I shall add a testimony of great weight. In the year 1762, Don Bernardo Ibegnez de Echavarri accompanied the Marquis de Valdelirios to Buenos Ayres, and resided there several years. He is a very intelligent author, and his reputation for veracity unimpeached among his countrymen. In speaking of the country towards the southern extremity of America. "By what Indians," says he, "is it possessed? Not certainly by the fabulous Patagonians who are supposed to occupy this district. I have from many eye-witnesses, who have lived among those Indians, and traded much with them, a true and accurate description of their persons. They are of the same stature with the Spaniards. I never saw one who rose in height two *varas* and two or three inches," *i. e.* about 80 or 81·332 inches English, if Echavarri makes his computation according to the *vara* of Madrid. This agrees nearly with the measurement of Captain Wallis. Reyno Jesuitico, 238. Mr. Falkner, who resided as a missionary forty years in the southern parts of America, says that the Patagonians, or Puelches, are a large bodied people; but I never heard of that gigantic race which others have mentioned, though I have seen persons of all the different tribes of southern Indians." Introd. p. 26. M. Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit, who resided eighteen years in Paraguay, and who had seen great numbers of the various tribes which inhabit the countries situated upon the Straits of Magellan, confirms in every point, the testimony of his brother missionary Falkner. Dobrizhoffer enters into some detail with respect to the opinions of several authors concerning the stature of the Patagonians. Having mentioned the reports of some early travellers with regard to the extraordinary size of some bones found on that coast which were supposed to be human; and having endeavored to show that these bones belonged to some large marine or land animal, he concludes, "de hisce ossibus crede quicquid libuerit, dummodo, me suasore, Patagones pro gigantibus desinas habere." Hist. de Abissonibus, vol. ii. p. 19, &c.

Note [50]. p. 106. Antonio Sanches Ribeiro, a learned and ingenious physician, published a dissertation in the year 1765, in which he endeavors to prove that this disease was not introduced from America, but took its rise in Europe, and was brought on by an epidemical and malignant disorder. Did I chose to enter into a disquisition on this subject, which I should not have mentioned if it had not been intimately connected with this part of my inquiries, it would not be difficult to point out some mistakes with respect to the facts upon which he founds, as well as some errors in the consequences which he draws from them. The rapid communication of this disease from Spain over Europe, seems however to resemble the progress of an epidemic, rather than that of a disease transmitted by infection. The first mention of it is in the year 1493, and before the year 1497, it had made its appearance in most countries of Europe, with such alarming symptoms as rendered it necessary for the civil magistrates to interpose, in order to check its career. Since the publication of this work, a second edition of Dr. Sanchez's Dissertation has been communicated to me. It contains several additional facts in confirmation of his opinion, which is supported with such plausible arguments, as render it a subject of inquiry well deserving the attention of learned physicians.

Note [51]. p. 106.—The people of Otaheite have no denomination for any number above two hundred, which is sufficient for their transactions. Voyages by Hawkesworth, ii. 228.

Note [52]. p 107.—As the view which I have given of rude nations is extremely different from that exhibited by very respectable authors, it may be proper to produce some of the many authorities on which I found my description. The manners of the savage tribes in America have never been viewed by persons more capable of observing them with discernment, than the philosophers employed by France and Spain, in the year 1735, to determine the figure of the earth. M. Bouguer, D. Antonio d'Ulloa, and D Jorge Juan, re-

sided long among the natives of the least civilized provinces in Peru. M. de la Condamine had not only the same advantages with them for observation, but, in his voyage down the Maragnon, he had an opportunity of inspecting the state of the various nations seated on its banks, in its vast course across the continent of South America. There is a wonderful resemblance in their representation of the character of the Americans. "They are all extremely indolent," says M. Bouguer, "they are stupid, they pass whole days sitting in the same place, without moving, or speaking a single word. It is not easy to describe the degree of their indifference for wealth, and all its advantages. One does not well know what motive to propose to them, when one would persuade them to perform any service. It is vain to offer them money; they answer, that they are not hungry." Voyage au Perou, p. 102 "If one considers them as men, the narrowness of their understanding seems to be incompatible with the excellence of the soul. Their imbecility is so visible that one can hardly form an idea of them different from what one has of the brutes. Nothing disturbs the tranquillity of their souls, equally insensible to disasters and to prosperity. Though half naked, they are as contented as a monarch in his most splendid array. Riches do not attract them in the smallest degree, and the authority of dignities to which they may aspire are so little the objects of their ambition, that an Indian will receive with the same indifference the office of a judge (Alcade) or that of a hangman, if deprived of the former and appointed to the latter. Nothing can move or change them. Interest has no power over them, and they often refuse to perform a small service, though certain of a great recompense. Fear makes no impression upon them, and respect as little. Their disposition is so singular that there is no method of influencing them, no means of rousing them from that indifference which is proof against all the endeavors of the wisest persons; no expedient which can induce them to abandon that gross ignorance, or lay aside that careless negligence which disconcert the prudence and disappoint the care of such as are attentive to their welfare." Voyage d'Ulloa, tom. i. 335. 356. Of those singular qualities he produces many extraordinary instances, p. 336. 347. "Insensibility," says M. de la Condamine, "is the basis of the American character. I leave others to determine, whether this should be dignified with the name of apathy, or disgraced with that of stupidity. It arises, without doubt, from the small number of their ideas, which do not extend beyond their wants. Gluttons even to voracity, when they have wherewithal to satisfy their appetite. Temperate, when necessity obliges them, to such a degree, that they can endure want without seeming to desire any thing. Pusillanimous and cowardly to excess, unless when they are rendered desperate by drunkenness. Averse to labor, indifferent to every motive of glory, honor, or gratitude; occupied entirely by the object that is present, and always determined by it alone, without any solicitude about futurity; incapable of foresight or of reflection; abandoning themselves when under no restraint, to a puerile joy, which they express by frisking about and immoderate fits of laughter; without object or design, they pass their life without thinking, and grow old without advancing beyond childhood, of which they retain all the defects. If this description were applicable only to the Indians in some provinces of Peru, who are slaves in every respect but the name, one might believe, that this degree of degeneracy was occasioned by the servile dependence to which they are reduced; the example of the modern Greeks being proof how far servitude may degrade the human species. But the Indians in the missions of the Jesuits, and the savages who still enjoy unimpaired liberty, being as limited in their faculties, not to say as stupid, as the other, one cannot observe without humiliation, that man, when abandoned to simple nature, and deprived of the advantages resulting from education and society, differs but little from the brute creation." Voyage de la Riv. de Amaz. 52, 53. M. de Chanvalon, an intelligent and philosophical observer, who visited Martinico in 1751, and resided there six years, gives the following description of the Caraibs: "It is not the red color of their complexion, it is not the singularity of their features, which constitutes the chief difference between them and us. It is their excessive simplicity: it is the limited degree of their faculties. Their reason is not more enlightened or more provident than the instinct of brutes. The reason of the most gross peasants, that of the negroes brought up in the parts of Africa most remote from intercourse with Europeans, is such, that we discover appearances of intelligence, which, though imperfect, is capable of increase. But of this the understanding of the Caraibs seems to be hardly susceptible. If sound philosophy and religion did not afford us their light, if we were to decide according to the first impression which the view of that people makes upon the mind, we should be disposed to believe that they do not belong to the same species with us. Their stupid eyes are the true mirror of their souls; it appears to be without functions. Their indolence is extreme; they have never the least solicitude about the moment which is to succeed that which is present." Voyage a la Martinique, p. 44, 45. 51. M. de la Borde, Tertre, and Rochefort, confirm this description. "The characteristics of the Californians," says P. Venegas, "as well as of all other Indians, are stupidity and insensibility; want of knowledge and reflection; inconstancy, impetuosity, and blindness of appetite; an excessive sloth, and abhorrence of all labor and fatigue; an excessive love of pleasure and amusement of every kind, however trifling or brutal; pusillanimity; and, in fine, a most wretched want of every thing which constitutes the real man, and renders him rational, inventive, tractable, and useful to himself and society. It is not easy for Europeans, who never were out of their own country, to conceive an adequate idea of those people; for, even in the least frequented corners of the globe, there is not a nation so stupid, of such contracted ideas, and so weak both in body and mind, as the unhappy Californians. Their understanding comprehends little more than what they see; abstract ideas, and much less a chain of reasoning, being far beyond their power; so that they scarce ever improve their first ideas, and these are in general false, or at least inadequate. It is in vain to represent to them any future advantages which will result to them from doing or abstaining from this or that particular immediately present; the relation of means and ends being beyond the stretch of their faculties. Nor have they the least notion of pursuing such intentions as will procure themselves some future good, or guard them against future evils. Their will is proportional to their faculties, and all their passions move in a very narrow sphere. Ambition they have none, and are more desirous of being accounted strong than valiant. The objects of ambition with us, honor, fame, reputation, titles, posts, and distinctions of superiority, are unknown among them; so that this powerful spring of action, the cause of so much seeming good and real evil in the world, has no power here. This disposition of mind, as it gives them up to an amazing languor and lassitude, their lives fleeting away in a perpetual inactivity and detestation of labor, so it likewise induces them to be attracted by the first object which their own fancy, or the persuasion of another, places before them; and at the same time renders them as prone to alter their resolutions with the same facility. They look with indifference upon any kindness done them; nor is even the bare remembrance of it to be expected from them. In a word, the unhappy mortals may be compared to children, in whom the developement of reason is not completed. They may indeed be called a nation who never arrive at manhood." Hist. of California, English Transl. i. 64. 67. Mr. Ellis gives a similar account of the want of foresight and inconsiderate disposition of the people adjacent to Hudson's Bay. Voyage, p. 194, 195.

The incapacity of the Americans is so remarkable, that negroes from all the different provinces of Africa are observed to be more capable of improving by instruction. They acquire the knowledge of several particulars which the Americans cannot comprehend. Hence the negroes, though slaves, value themselves as a superior order of beings, and look down upon the Americans with contempt, as void of capacity and of rational discernment. Ulloa Notic. Americ. 322, 323.

NOTE [53]. p. 107.---Dobrizhoffer, the last traveller I know who has resided among any tribe of the ruder Americans, has explained so fully the various reasons which have induced their women to suckle their children long, and never to undertake rearing such as were feeble or distorted, and even to destroy a considerable number of their offspring, as to throw great light on the observations I have made, p. 144. 154. Hist. de Abissonibus, vol. ii. p. 107. 221. So deeply were these ideas imprinted in the minds of the Americans, that the Peruvians, a civilized people when compared with the barbarous tribes whose manners I am describing, retained them; and even their intercourse with the Spaniards has not been able to root them out. When twins are born in any family, it is still considered as an ominous event, and the parents have recourse to rigorous acts of mortification, in order to avert the calamities with which they are threatened. When a child is born with any deformity, they will not, if they can possibly avoid it, bring it to be baptised, and it is with difficulty they can be brought to rear it. Arriaga Extirpac. de la Idolat. del Peru, p. 32, 33.

NOTE [54]. p. 108.---The number of the fish in the rivers of South America is so extraordinary as to merit particular notice. "In the Maragnon (says P. Acugna) fish are so plentiful, that, without any art, they may take them with the hands." p. 138. "In the Orinoco (says P. Gumilla,) besides an infinite variety of other fish, tortoise or turtle abound in such numbers, that I cannot find words to express it. I doubt not but that such as read my account will accuse me of exaggeration: but I can affirm that it is as difficult to count them as to count the sands on the banks of that river. One may judge of their number by the amazing consumption of them; for all the nations contiguous to the river, and even many who are at a distance, flock thither at the season of breeding, and not only find sustenance during that time, but carry off great numbers both of the turtles and of their eggs." Hist. de l'Orenoque, ii. c. 22. p. 59. M. De la Condamine confirms their accounts, p. 159.

NOTE [55]. p. 108.---Piso describes two of these plants, the *Cururuape* and the *Guajana-Timbo*. It is remarkable, that though they have this fatal effect upon fishes, they are so far from being noxious to the human species, that they are used in medicine with success. Piso, lib. iv. c. 88. Bancroft mentions another, the *Hiarree*, a small quantity of which is sufficient to inebriate all the fish to a considerable distance, so that in a few minutes they float motionless on the surface of the water, and are taken with ease. Nat. Hist. of Guiana, p. 106.

NOTE [56]. p. 108.---Remarkable instances occur of the calamities which rude nations suffer by famine. Alvar Nuguez Cabeca de Vaca, one of the most gallant and virtuous of the Spanish adventurers, resided almost nine years among the savages of Florida. They were unacquainted with every species of agriculture. Their subsistence was poor and precarious. "They live chiefly (says he) upon roots of different plants, which they procure with great difficulty, wandering from place to place in search of them. Sometimes they kill game, sometimes they catch fish, but in such small quantities, that their hunger is so extreme as compels them to eat spiders, the eggs of ants, worms, lizards, serpents, a kind of unctuous earth, and, I am persuaded, that if in this country there were stones, they would swallow these. They preserve the bones of fishes and serpents, which they grind into powder and eat." The only season when they do not suffer much from famine, is, when a certain fruit, which he calls *Tunas*, is ripe. This is the same with the *Opuntia*, or prickly pear, of a reddish and yellow color, with a sweet insipid taste. They are sometimes obliged to travel far from their usual place of residence in order to find them. Naufragios, c. xviii. p. 20, 21, 22. In another place he observes, that they are frequently reduced to pass two or three days without food, c. xxiv. p. 27.

NOTE [57]. p. 108.---M. Fermin has given an accurate description of the two species of manioc, with an account of its culture, to which he has added some experiments, in order to ascertain the poisonous qualities of the juice extracted from that species which he calls the bitter cassava. Among the Spaniards it is known by the name of *Yuca brava*. Descr. de Surin. tom. i. p. 66.

NOTE [58]. p. 108.---The plantain is found in Asia and Africa, as well as in America. Oviedo contends, that it is not an indigenous plant of the New World, but was introduced into the Island of Hispaniola, in the year 1516, by Father Thomas de Berlanga, and that he transplanted it from the Canary Islands, whither the original slips had been brought from the East Indies. Oviedo, lib. viii. c. 1. But the opinion of Acosta and other naturalists, who reckon it an American plant, seems to be better founded. Acosta Hist. Nat. lib. iv. 21. It was cultivated by rude tribes in America, who had little intercourse with the Spaniards, and who were destitute of that ingenuity which disposes men to borrow what is useful from foreign nations. Gumil. ii. 186. Wafer's Voyage, p. 87.

Note [59]. p. 108.---It is remarkable that Acosta, one of the most accurate and best informed writers concerning the West Indies, affirms that maize, though cultivated in the continent, was not known in the islands, the inhabitants of which had none but cassada bread. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 16. But P. Martyr, in the first book of his first Decad, which was written in the year 1493, upon the return of Columbus from his first voyage, expressly mentions maize as a plant which the islanders cultivated, and of which they made bread, p. 7. Gomara likewise asserts that they were acquainted with the culture of maize. Histor. Gener. cap. 28. Oviedo describes maize without any intimation of its being a plant that was not natural to Hispaniola. Lib. vii. c. 1.

Note [60] p. 109.---New Holland, a country which formerly was only known, has lately been visited by intelligent observers. It lies in a region of the globe where it must enjoy a very favorable climate, as it stretches from the 10th to the 38th degree of southern latitude. It is of great extent, and from its square form must be much more than equal to all Europe. The people who inhabit the various parts of it appear to be of one race. They are evidently ruder than most of the Americans, and have made still less progress in improvement and the arts of life. There is not the least appearance of cultivation in any part of this vast region. The inhabitants are extremely few, so that the country appears almost desolate. Their tribes are still more inconsiderable than those of America. They depend for subsistence almost entirely on fishing. They do not settle in one place, but roam about in quest of food. Both sexes go stark naked. Their habitations, utensils, &c. are more simple and rude than those of the Americans. Voyages by Hawkesworth, iii. 622, &c. This, perhaps, is the country where man has been discovered in the earliest stage of his progress, and exhibits a miserable specimen of his condition and powers in that uncultivated state. If this country shall be more fully explored by future navigators, the comparison of the manners of its inhabitants with those of the Americans will prove an instructive article in the history of the human species.

Note [61]. p. 109.—P. Gabriel Marest, who travelled from his station among the Illinois to Michilimackinac, thus describes the face of the country:—"We have marched twelve days without meeting a single human creature. Sometimes we found ourselves in vast meadows, of which we could not see boundaries, through which there flowed many brooks and rivers, but without any path to conduct us. Sometimes we were obliged to open a passage across thick forests, through bushes, and underwood filled with briars and thorns. Sometimes we had to pass through deep marshes, in which we sunk up to the middle. After being fatigued through the day, we had the earth for our bed, or a few leaves, exposed to the wind, the rain, and all the injuries of the air." Lettr. Edifiantes, ii. 360. Dr. Backnell, in an excursion from North Carolina towards the mountains, A. D. 1730, travelled fifteen days without meeting with a human creature. Nat. Hist. of North Carolina, 389. Diego de Ordas, in attempting to make a settlement in South America, A. D. 1532, marched fifty days through a country without one inhabitant. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 11.

Note [62]. p. 109.—I strongly suspect that a community of goods, and an undivided store, are known only among the rudest tribes of hunters; and that as soon as any species of agriculture or regular industry is known, the idea of an exclusive right of property to the fruits of them is introduced. I am confirmed in this opinion by accounts which I have received concerning the state of property among the Indians in very different regions of America. "The idea of the natives of Brazil concerning property is, that if any person cultivate a field, he alone ought to enjoy the produce of it, and no other has a title to pretend to it. If an individual or family go a hunting or fishing, what is caught belongs to the individual or to the family, and they communicate no part of it to any but to their cazique, or to such of their kindred as happen to be indisposed. If any person in the village come to their hut, he may sit down freely, and eat without asking liberty. But this is the consequence of their general principle of hospitality; for I never observed any partition of the increase of their fields, or the produce of the chase, which I could consider as the result of any idea concerning a community of goods. On the contrary, they are so much attached to what they deem to be their property, that it would be extremely dangerous to encroach upon it. As far as I can see or can learn, there is not one tribe of Indians in South America among whom the community of goods which has been so highly extolled is known. The circumstance in the government of the Jesuits, most irksome to the Indians of Paraguay, was the community of goods which those fathers introduced. This was repugnant to the original ideas of the Indians. They were acquainted with the rights of private exclusive property, and they submitted with impatience to regulations which destroyed them." M. le Cheval, de Pinto, MS. *penes me.* "Actual possession (says a missionary who resided several years among the Indians of the five nations) gives a right to the soil; but, whenever a possessor sees fit to quit it, another has as good right to take it as he who left it. This law, or custom, respects not only the particular spot on which he erects his house, but also his planting-ground. If a man has prepared a particular spot of ground on which he designs in future to build or plant, no man has a right to incommode him, much less to the fruit of his labors, until it appears that he voluntarily gives up his views. But I never heard of any formal conveyance from one Indian to another in their natural state. The limit of every canton is circumscribed; that is, they are allowed to hunt as far as such a river on this hand, and such a mountain on the other. This area is occupied and improved by individuals and their families: individuals, not the community, have the use and profit of their own labors, or success in hunting." MS. of Mr. Gideon Hawley, *penes me.*

Note [63]. p. 109.—This difference of temper between the Americans and Negroes is so remarkable, that it is a proverbial saying in the French islands, "Regarder un sauvage de travers, c'est le battre; le battre, c'est le tuer; battre un Negre, c'est le nourrir." Tertre, ii. 490.

Note [64]. p. 109.—The description of the political state of the people of Cinaloa perfectly resembles that of the inhabitants of North America. "They have neither laws nor kings (says a missionary who resided long among them) to punish any crime. Nor is there among them any species of authority, or political government, to restrain them in any part of their conduct. It is true that they acknowledge certain caziques, who are heads of their families or villages; but their authority appears chiefly in war and the expeditions against their enemies. This authority the caziques obtain not by hereditary right, but by their valor in war, or by the power and number of their families and relations. Sometimes they owe their pre-eminence to their eloquence in displaying their own exploits." Ribas Histor. de las Triumph, &c. p. 11. The state of the Chiquitos in South America is nearly the same. "They have no regular form of government or civil life, but in matters of public concern they listen to the advice of their old men, and usually follow it. The dignity of Cazique is not hereditary, but conferred according to merit, as the reward of valor in war. The union among them is imperfect. Their society resembles a republic without any head, in which every man is master of himself, and, upon the least disgust, separates from those with whom he seemed to be connected." Relacion Historical de las Missiones de los Chiquitos, por P. Juan, Patr. Fernandez, p. 32, 33. Thus, under very different climates, when nations are in a similar state of society, their institutions and civil government assume the same form.

Note [65]. p. 111.—"I have known the Indians (says a person well acquainted with their mode of life) to go a thousand miles for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods, over hills and mountains, through huge cane swamps, exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of seasons, to hunger and thirst. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly contemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the craving ghosts of their deceased relations." Adair's Hist. of Amer. Indians, p. 150.

Note [66]. p. 111.—In the account of the great war between the Algonquins and Iroquois, the achievements of Piskaret, a famous chief of the Algonquins, performed mostly by himself alone, or with one or two companions, make a capital figure. De la Potherie, i. 297, &c. Colden's Hist. of Five Nations, 125, &c.

Note [67]. p. 111.—The life of an unfortunate leader is often in danger, and he is always degraded from the rank which he had acquired by his former exploits. Adair, p. 388.

Note [68]. p. 111.—As the ideas of the North Americans, with respect to the mode of carrying on war, are generally known, I have founded my observations chiefly upon the testimony of the authors who describe them. But the same maxims took place among other nations in the New World. A judicious missionary has given a view of the military operations of the people in Gran Chaco, in South America, perfectly similar to those of the Iroquois. "They are much addicted to war (says he), which they carry on frequently among themselves, but perpetually against the Spaniards. But they may rather be called thieves than soldiers, for they never make head against the Spaniards, unless when they can assault them by stealth, or have guarded against any mischance by spies, who may be called indefatigable; they will watch the settlements of the Spaniards for one, two, or three years, observing by night every thing that passes with the utmost solicitude, whether they may expect resistance or not, and until they are perfectly secure of the event, they will not venture upon an attack; so that, when they do give the assault, they are certain of success, and free from all danger. These spies, in order that they may not be observed, will creep on all four like cats in the night; but if they are discovered, make their escape with much dexterity. But, although they never choose to face the Spaniards, if they be surrounded in any place whence they cannot escape, they will fight with desperate valor, and sell their lives very dear." Lozano Descript. del Gran Chaco, p. 78.

Note [69]. p. 111.—Lery, who was an eye-witness of the proceedings of the *Toupinambos*, a Brasilian tribe, in a war against a powerful nation of their enemies, describes their courage and ferocity in very striking terms. Ego cum Gallo altero, paulo curiosius, magno nostro periculo (si enim ab hostibus capti aut lesi fuissemus, devorationi fuissemus devoti,) barbaros nostros in militiam euntes comitari volui. Hi, numero 4000 capita, cum hostibus ad littus decertarunt, tanta ferocitate, ut vel rabidos et furiosos quosque superarent Cum primum hostes conspexere, in magnos atque editos ululatus perreperunt. Hæc gens adeo fera est et truculenta, ut tantisper dum virium vel tantillum restat, continuo dimicent, fugamque nunquam capessant. Quod a natura illis inditum esse reor. Testor interea me, qui non semel, tum peditum tum equitum copias ingentes, in aciem instructas hic conspexi, tanta nunquam voluptate videndis peditum legionibus armis fulgentibus, quanta tum pugnantibus istis percussum fuisse. Lery Hist. Navigat. in Bresil. ap de Bry, iii. 207, 208, 209.

Note [70]. p. 111.—It was originally the practice of the Americans, as well as of other savage nations, to cut off the heads of the enemies whom they slew, and to carry them away as trophies. But, as they found these cumbersome in their retreat, which they always make very rapidly, and often through a vast extent of country, they became satisfied with tearing off their scalps. This custom, though most prevalent in North America, was not unknown among the Southern tribes. Lozano, p. 79.

Note [71]. p. 112.—The terms of the war song seem to be dictated by the same fierce spirit of revenge. "I go to war to revenge the death of my brothers; I shall kill; I shall exterminate; I shall burn my enemies; I shall bring away slaves; I shall devour their heart, dry their flesh, drink their blood; I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their skulls." Bossu's Travels through Louisiana, vol. i. p. 102. I am informed, by persons on whose testimony I can rely, that as the number of people in the Indian tribes has decreased so much, almost none of their prisoners are now put to death. It is considered as better policy to spare and to adopt them. Those dreadful scenes which I have described occur now so rarely, that missionaries and traders who have resided long among the Indians, never were witnesses to them.

Note [72]. p. 112.—All the travellers who have visited the most uncivilized of the American tribes, agree in this. It is confirmed by two remarkable circumstances, which occurred in the conquest of different provinces. In the expedition of Narvaez into Florida in the year 1528, the Spaniards were reduced to such extreme distress by famine, that, in order to preserve their own lives, they ate such of their companions as

happened to die. This appeared so shocking to the natives, who were accustomed to devour none but prisoners, that it filled them with horror and indignation against the Spaniards. Torquemada Monarch. Ind. ii. p. 584. Naufragios de Alv. Nugnes Cabeca de Vaca, c. xiv. p. 15. During the siege of Mexico, though the Mexicans devoured with greediness the Spaniards and Tlascalans whom they took prisoners, the utmost rigor of the famine which they suffered could not induce them to touch the dead bodies of their own countrymen. Bern. Diaz del Castillo Conquist. de la N. Espagna, p. 156.

Note [73]. p. 112. Many singular circumstances concerning the treatment of prisoners among the people of Brasil, are contained in the narrative of Stadius, a German officer in the service of the Portuguese, published in the year 1556. He was taken prisoner by the *Toupinambos*, and remained in captivity nine years. He was often present at those horrid festivals which he describes, and was destined himself to the same cruel fate with other prisoners. But he saved his life by his extraordinary efforts of courage and address. De Bry, iii. p. 34, &c. M de Lery, who accompanied M. de Villagagnon in his expedition to Brasil in the year 1556, and who resided some time in that country, agrees with Stadius in every circumstance of importance. He was frequently an eye-witness of the manner in which the Brasilians treated their prisoners. De Bry, iii. 210. Several striking particulars omitted by them, are mentioned by a Portuguese author. Purch. Pilgr. iv. 1294, &c.

Note [74]. p. 112.---Though I have followed that opinion concerning the apathy of the Americans, which appeared to me most rational, and supported by the authority of the most respectable authors, other theories have been formed with regard to it, by writers of great eminence. D. Ant. Ulloa, in a late work, contends that the texture of the skin and bodily habit of the Americans is such, that they are less sensible of pain than the rest of mankind. He produces several proofs of this, from the manner in which they endure the most cruel chirurgical operations, &c. Noticias Americanas, p. 313, 314. The same observation has been made by surgeons in Brasil. An Indian, they say, never complains under pain, and will bear the amputation of a leg or an arm without uttering a single groan. MS. *penes me.*

Note [75]. p. 112---This is an idea natural to all rude nations. Among the Romans, in the early periods of their commonwealth, it was a maxim that a prisoner "tum decessisse videtur cum captus est." Digest. lib. xlix. tit. 15. c. 18. And afterwards, when the progress of refinement rendered them more indulgent with respect to this article, they were obliged to employ two fictions of law to secure the property, and permit the return of a captive; the one by the Lex Cornelia, and the other by the Jus Postliminii. Heinec. Elem. Jur. Civ. sec. ord. Pand. ii. p. 294. Among the Negroes the same ideas prevail. No ransom was ever accepted for a prisoner. As soon as one is taken in war, he is reputed to be dead; and he is so in effect to his country and his family. Voy. du Cheval. des Marchais, i. p. 369.

Note [76]. p. 113.—The people of Chili, the most gallant and high-spirited of all the Americans, are the only exception to this observation. They attack their enemies in the open field; their troops are ranged in regular order; their battalions advance to the charge not only with courage, but with discipline. The North Americans, though many of them have substituted the European fire-arms in place of their own bows and arrows, still adhere to their ancient maxims of war, and carry it on according to their own peculiar system. But the Chilese nearly resemble the warlike nations of Europe and Asia in their military operations. Ovalle's Relation of Chili. Church. Coll. iii. p. 71. Lozano's Hist. Parag. i. 144, 145.

Note [77]. p. 113.---Herrera gives a remarkable proof of this. In Yucatan, the men are so solicitous about their dress, that they carry about with them mirrors, probably made of stone, like those of the Mexicans, Dec. iv. lib. iii. c. 8, in which they delight to view themselves; but the women never use them Dec. iv. lib. x. c. 3. He takes notice that among the fierce tribe of the *Panches*, in the new kingdom of Granada, none but distinguished warriors were permitted either to pierce their lips and to wear green stones in them, or to adorn their heads with plumes of feathers. Dec. vii. lib. ix. c. 4. In some provinces of Peru, though that empire had made considerable progress in civilization, the state of women was little improved. All the toil of cultivation and domestic work was devolved upon them, and they were not permitted to wear bracelets, or other ornaments, with which the men were fond of decking themselves, Zarate Hist. de Peru, i. p. 15, 16.

Note [78]. p. 113.---I have ventured to call this mode of annointing and painting their bodies, the *dress* of the Americans. This is agreeable to their own idiom. As they never stir abroad if they are not completely annointed; they excuse themselves when in this situation, by saying that they cannot appear because they are naked. Gumilla, Hist. de l'Orenoque, i. 191.

Note [79]. p. 113.---Some tribes in the province of Cinaloa, on the gulf of California, seem to be among the rudest people of America united in the social state. They neither cultivate nor sow; they have no houses in which they reside. Those in the inland country subsist by hunting; those on the seacoast chiefly by fishing. Both depend upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, fruits, plants, and roots of various kinds. In the rainy season, as they have no habitations to afford them shelter, they gather bundles of reeds, or strong grass; and binding them together at one end, they open them at the other, and fitting them to their heads, they are covered as with a large cap, which, like a penthouse, throws off the rain, and will keep them dry for several hours. During the warm season, they form a shed with the branches of trees, which protects them from the sultry rays of the sun. When exposed to cold they make large fires, round which they sleep in the open air. Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fe entre Gentres las mas Barbaras, &c. por. P. And. Perez de Ribas, p. 7, &c.

Note [80]. p. 113.---These houses resemble barns. "We have measured some which were a hundred and fifty paces long, and twenty paces broad. Above a hundred persons resided in some of them." Wilson's Account of Guiana. Purch. Pilgr. vol. iv. p. 1263. Ibid. 1291. "The Indian houses," says Mr. Barrere, "have a most wretched appearance, and are a striking image of the rudeness of early times. Their huts are commonly built on some rising ground, or on the banks of a river, huddled sometimes together, sometimes straggling, and always without any order. Their aspect is melancholy and disagreeable. One sees nothing but what is hideous and savage. The uncultivated fields have no gayety. The silence which reigns there, unless when interrupted by the disagreeable notes of birds, or cries of wild beasts, is extremely dismal." Relat. de la France Equin. p. 146.

Note [81]. p. 113.—Some tribes in South America can send their arrows to a great distance, and with considerable force, without the aid of the bow. They make use of a hollow reed, about nine feet long and an inch thick, which is called a *Sarbacane*. In it they lodge a small arrow, with some unspun cotton wound about its great end; this confines the air, so that they can blow it with astonishing rapidity, and a sure aim, to the distance of above a hundred paces. These small arrows are always poisoned. Fermin. Desc. de Surin. i. 55. Bancroft's Hist. of Guiana, p. 281, &c, The Sarbacane is much used in some parts of the East Indies.

Note [82]. p. 113.---I might produce many instances of this, but shall satisfy myself with one taken from the Eskimaux. "Their greatest ingenuity (says Mr. Ellis) is shown in the structure of their bows, made commonly of three pieces of wood, each making part of the same arch, very nicely and exactly joined together. They are commonly of fir or larch; and as this wants strength and elasticity, they supply both by bracing the back of the bow with a kind of thread, or line, made of the sinews of their deer, and the bow-string of the same materials. To make them draw more stiffly, they dip them into water, which causes both the back of the bow and the string to contract, and consequently gives it the greater force; and as they practice from their youth, they shoot with very great dexterity." Voyage to Hudson's Bay. p. 134.

Note [83]. p. 113.---Necessity is the great prompter and guide of mankind in their inventions. There is, however, such inequality in some parts of their progress, and some nations get so far the start of others in circumstances nearly similar, that we must ascribe this to some events in their story, or to some peculiarity in their situation, with which we are unacquainted. The people in the island of Otaheite, lately discovered in the South Sea, far excel most of the Americans in the knowledge and practice of the arts of ingenuity, and yet they had not invented any method of boiling water; and having no vessel that could bear the fire, they had no more idea that water could be made hot, than that it could be made solid. Voyages by Hawkesworth, i. 466. 484.

Note [84]. p. 118.---One of these boats, which would carry nine men, weighed only sixty pounds. Gosnol. Relat. des Voy. a la Virgin. Rec. de Voy. au Nord, tom. v. p. 403.

Note [85]. p. 113.—A remarkable proof of this is produced by Ulloa. In weaving hammocks, coverlets, and other coarse cloths which they are accustomed to manufacture, their industry has discovered no more expeditious method than to take up thread after thread, and, after counting and sorting them each time, to pass the woof between them, so that in finishing a small piece of those stuffs they frequently spend more than two years. Voyage, i. 336. Bancroft gives the same description of the Indians of Guiana, p. 255. According to Adair, the ingenuity and despatch of the North American Indians are not greater, p. 422. From one of the engravings of the Mexican paintings in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 1106, I think it probable that the people of Mexico were unacquainted with any better or more expeditious mode of weaving. A loom was an invention beyond the ingenuity of the most improved Americans. In all their works they advance so slowly, that one of their artists is two months at a tobacco-pipe with his knife before he finishes it. Adair, p. 423

Note [86]. p. 114.—The article of religion in P. Lafitau's Mœurs des Sauvages extends to 347 tedious pages in quarto.

Note [87]. p. 114.—I have referred the reader to several of the authors who describe the most uncivilized nations in America. Their testimony is uniform. That of P. Ribas concerning the people of Cinaloa coincides with the rest. "I was extremely attentive (says he), during the years I resided among them, to ascertain whether they were to be considered as idolaters; and it may be affirmed with the most perfect exactness, that though among some of them there may be traces of idolatry, yet others have not the least knowledge of God, or even of any false deity, nor pay any formal adoration to the Supreme Being who exercises dominion over the world; nor have they any conception of the providence of a Creater, or Governor, from whom they expect in the next life the reward of their good or the punishment of their evil deeds. Neither do they publicly join in any act of divine worship." Ribas Triumphos, &c. p. 16.

Note [88]. p. 114.—The people of Brasil were so much affrighted by thunder, which is frequent and awful in their country, as well as in other parts of the torrid zone, that it was not only the object of religious reverence, but the most expressive name in their language for their Deity was *Toupan*, the same by which they distinguished thunder. Piso de Medec. Brasil, p. 8. Nieuhoff. Church. Coll. ii. p. 132.

Note [89]. p. 115.—By the account which M. Dumont, an eye-witnesss, gives of the funeral of the great chief of the Natchez, it appears that the feelings of the persons who suffered on that occasion were very different. Some solicited the honor with eagerness; others labored to avoid their doom, and several saved their lives by flying to the woods. As the Indian Brahmins give an intoxicating draught to the women who are to be burned together with the bodies of their husbands, which renders them insensible of their approaching fate, the Natchez obliged their victims to swallow several large pills of tobacco, which produces a similar effect. Mem. de Louis. i. 227.

Note [90]. p. 115.—On some occasions, particularly in dances instituted for the recovery of persons who are indisposed, they are extremely licentious and indecent. De la Potherie Hist. &c, ii. p. 42. Charlev. N Fr. iii. p. 319. But the nature of their dances is commonly such as I have described.

Note [91]. p. 115.—The *Othomacoas*, a tribe seated on the banks of the Orinoco, employ for the same purpose a composition which they call *Yupa*. It is formed of the seeds of an unknown plant reduced to powder, and certain shells burned and pulverized. The effects of this when drawn up into the nostrils are so violent that they resemble madness rather than intoxication. Gumilla, i. 286.

Note [92]. p. 115.—Though this observation holds true among the greater part of the southern tribes, there are some in which the intemperance of the women is as excessive as that of the men. Bancroft's Nat. Hist. of Guiana, p. 275.

Note [93]. p. 116.—Even in the most intelligent writers concerning the manners of the Americans, one meets with inconsistent and inexplicable circumstances. The Jesuit Charlevoix, who, in consequence of a controversy between his order and that of the Franciscans, with respect to the talents and abilities of the North Americans, is disposed to represent their intellectual as well as moral qualities in the most favorable light, asserts, that they are engaged in continual negotiations with their neighbors, and conduct these with the most refined address. At the same time he adds, "that it behooves their envoys or plenipotentiaries to exert their abilities and eloquence, for, if the terms which they offer are not accepted, they had need to stand on their guard. It frequently happens that a blow with the hatchet is the only return given to their propositions. The envoy is not out of danger, even if he is so fortunate as to avoid the stroke; he may expect to be pursued, and, if taken, to be burnt." Hist. N. Fr. iii. 251. What occurs, p. 147, concerning the manner in which the Tlascalans treated the ambassadors from Zempoalla, corresponds with the fact related by Charlevoix. Men capable of such acts of violence seem to be unacquainted with the first principles upon which the intercourse between nations is founded; and instead of the perpetual negotiations which Charlevoix mentions, it seems almost impossible that there should be any correspondence whatever among them.

Note [94]. p. 117.—It is a remark of Tacitus concerning the Germans, "Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur." C. 21. An author who had a good opportunity of observing the principle which leads savages neither to express gratitude for favors which they had received, nor to expect any return for such as they bestowed, thus explains their ideas: "If (say they) you give me this, it is because you have no need of it yourself; and as for me, I never part with that which I think necessary to me." Memoire sur le Galibis; Hist. des Plantes de la Guiane Francoise par M. Aublet, tom ii. p. 110.

Note [95]. p. 118.—And Bernaldes, the contemporary and friend of Columbus, has preserved some circumstances concerning the bravery of the Caribbees, which are not mentioned by Don Ferdinand Columbus, or the other historians of that period whose works have been published. A Caribbean canoe, with four men, two women, and a boy, fell in unexpectedly with the fleet of Columbus in his second voyage, as it was steering through their islands. At first they were struck almost stupid with astonishment at such a strange spectacle, and hardly moved from the spot for above an hour. A Spanish bark, with twenty-five men, advanced towards them, and the fleet gradually surrounded them, so as to cut off their communication with their shore. "When they saw that it was impossible to escape (says the historian), they seized their arms with undaunted resolution, and began the attack. I use the expression *with undaunted resolution*, for they were few, and beheld a vast number ready to assault them. They wounded several of the Spaniards, although they had targets, as well as other defensive armour; and even after their canoe was overset, it was with no little difficulty and danger that part of them were taken, as they continued to defend themselves, and to use their bows with great dexterity while swimming in the sea." Hist. de D. Fern. y Ysab. MS. c. 119.

Note [96]. p. 118.—A probable conjecture may be formed with respect to the cause of the distinction in character between the Caribbees and the inhabitants of the larger islands. The former appear manifestly to be a separate race. Their language is totally different from that of their neighbors in the large islands. They themselves have a tradition, that their ancestors came originally from some part of the continent, and, having conquered and exterminated the ancient inhabitants, took possession of their lands, and of their women. Rochefort, 384. Tertro, 310. Hence they call themselves *Banaree*, which siginifies a man come from beyond sea. Labat, vi. 131. Accordingly, the Caribbees still use two distinct languages, one peculiar to the men, and the other to the women. Tertre, 361. The language of the men has nothing common with that spoken in the large islands. The dialect of the women considerably resembles it. Labat, 129. This strongly confirms the tradition which I have mentioned. The Caribbees themselves imagine that they were a colony from the *Galabis*, a powerful nation of Guiana, in South America. Tertre, 361. Rochefort, 348. But as their fierce manners approach nearer to those of the people in the northern continent, than to those of the natives of South America; and as their language has likewise some affinity to that spoken in Florida, their origin should be deduced rather from the former than from the latter. Labat, 128, &c. Herrera, dec. i. lib. ix. c. 4. In their wars, they still observe their ancient practice of destroying all the males, and preserving the women either for servitude or for breeding.

Note [97]. p. 197.—Our knowledge of the events which happened in the conquest of New Spain, is derived from sources of information more original and authentic than that of any transaction in the history of America. The letters of Cortes to the Emperor Charles V. are an historical monument, not only first in order of time, but of the greatest authenticity and value. As Cortes early assumed a command independent of Velasquez, it became necessary to convey such an account of his operations to Madrid, as might procure him the approbation of his sovereign.

The first of his despatches has never been made public. It was sent from Vera Cruz, July 16th, 1519. As I imagined that it might not reach the Emperor until he arrived in Germany, for which he set out early in the year 1520, in order to receive the Imperial crown; I made diligent search for a copy of this despatch, both in Spain and in Germany, but without success. This, however, is of less consequence, as it could not contain any thing very material, being written so soon after Cortes arrived in New Spain. But, in searching for the letter from Cortes, a copy of one from the colony of Vera Cruz to the Emperor has been discovered in the Imperial library at Vienna. Of this I have given some account in its proper place, see p. 122. The second despatch, dated October 30th, 1520, was published at Seville A. D. 1522, and the third and fourth soon after they were received. A Latin translation of them appeared in Germany A. D. 1532. Ramusio soon after made them more generally known, by inserting them in his valuable collection. They contain a regular and minute history of the expedition, with many curious particulars concerning the policy and manners of the Mexicans. The work does honor to Cortes; the style is simple and perspicuous; but as it was manifestly his interest to represent his own actions in the fairest light, his victories are probably exaggerated, his losses diminished, and his acts of rigor and violence softened.

The next in order is the Chronica de la Nueva Espagna, by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, published A. D. 1554. Gomara's historical merit is considerable. His mode of narration is clear, flowing, always agreeable, and sometimes elegant. But he is frequently inaccurate and credulous; and as he was the domestic chaplain of Cortes after his return from New Spain, and probably composed his work at his desire, it is manifest that he labors to magnify the merit of his hero, and to conceal or extenuate such transactions as were unfavorable to his character. Of this, Herrera accuses him in one instance, Dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 2, and it is not once only that this is conspicuous. He writes, however, with so much freedom concerning several measures of the Spanish Court, that the copies both of his Historia de las Indias, and of his Chronica, were called in by a decree of the Council of the Indies, and they were long considered as prohibited books in Spain; it is only of late that license to print them has been granted. Pinelo Biblioth. 589.

The Chronicle of Gomara induced Bernal Diaz del Castillo to compose his Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espagna. He had been an adventurer in each of the expeditions to New Spain, and was the companion of Cortes in all his battles and perils When he found that neither he himself, nor many of his fellow soldiers, were once mentioned by Gomara, but that the fame of all their exploits was ascribed to Cortes, the gallant veteran laid hold of his pen with indignation, and composed his true history. It contains a prolix, minute, confused narrative of all Cortes's operations, in such a rude vulgar style as might be expected from an illiterate soldier. But as he relates transactions of which he was witness, and in which he performed a considerable part, his account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with such a pleasant *naviete*, with such interesting details, with such amusing vanity, and yet so pardonable in an old soldier who had been (as he boasts) in a hundred and nineteen battles, as renders his book one of the most singular that is to be found in any language.

Pet. Martyr ab Angleria, in a treatise De Insulis nuper inventis, added to his Decades de Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe, gives some account of Cortes's expedition. But he proceeds no further than to relate what happened after his first landing. This work, which is brief and slight, seems to contain the information transmitted by Cortes in his first despatches, embellished with several particulars communicated to the author by the officers who brought the letters from Cortes.

But the book to which the greater part of modern historians have had recourse for information concerning the conquest of New Spain, is Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, por D. Antonio de Solis, first published A. D. 1684. I know no author in any language whose literary fame has risen so far beyond his real merit. De Solis is reckoned by his countrymen one of the purest writers in the Castillian tongue; and if a foreigner may venture to give his opinion concerning a matter of which Spaniards alone are qualified to judge, he is entitled to that praise. But though his language be correct, his taste in composition is far from being just. His periods are so much labored as to be often stiff, and sometimes tumid; the figures which he employs by way of ornament are frequently trite or improper, and his observations superficial. These blemishes, however, might easily be overlooked, if he were not defective with respect to all the great qualities of an historian. Destitute of that patient industry in research which conducts to the knowledge of truth; a stranger to that impartiality which weighs evidence with cool attention; and ever eager to establish his favorite system of exalting the character of Cortes into that of a perfect hero, exempt from error, and adorned with every virtue; he is less solicitous to discover what was true than to relate what might appear splendid. When he attempts any critical discussion, his reasonings are fallacious, and founded upon an imperfect view of facts. Though he sometimes quotes the *despatches* of Cortes, he seems not to have consulted them; and though he sets out with some censure on Gomara, he frequently prefers his authority, the most doubtful of any, to that of the other contemporary historians.

But of all the Spanish writers, Herrera furnishes the fullest and most accurate information concerning the conquest of Mexico, as well as every other transaction of America. The industry and attention with which he consulted not only the books, but the original papers and public records, which tended to throw any light upon the subject of his inquiries, were so great, and he usually judges of the evidence before him with so much impartiality and candor, that his Decads may be ranked among the most judicious and useful historical collections. If, by attempting to relate the various occurrences in the New World in a strict chronological order, the arrangement of events in his work had not been rendered so perplexed, disconnected, and obscure that it is an unpleasant task to collect from different parts of his book, and piece together the detached shreds of a story, he might justly have been ranked among the most eminent historians of his country. He gives an account of the materials from which he composed his work, Dec. vi. lib. iii. c. 19.

Note [98]. p. 119.—Cortes purposed to have gone in the train of Ovando when he set out for his government in the year 1502, but was detained by an accident. As he was attempting in a dark night to scramble up to the window of a lady's bed-chamber, with whom he carried on an intrigue, an old wall, on the top of which he had mounted, gave way, and he was so much bruised by the fall as to be unfit for the voyage. Gomara, Cronica de la Nueva Espagna, cap. 1.

Note [99]. p. 119.—Cortes had two thousand pesos in the hands of Andrew Duero, and he borrowed four thousand. Those sums are about equal in value to fifteen hundred pounds sterling; but as the price of every thing was extremely high in America, they made but a scanty stock when applied towards the equipment of a military expedition. Herrera, dec ii. lib. iii. c. 2. B. Diaz, c. 20.

Note [100] p. 119.—The names of those gallant officers, which will often occur in the subsequent story, were Juan Velasquez de Leon, Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero, Francisco de Montejo, Christoval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Salceda, Juan de Escobar, Gines de Nortes. Cortes himself commanded the Capitana, or Admiral. Francisco de Orozco, an officer formed in the wars of Italy, had the command of the artillery. The experienced Alaminos acted as chief pilot.

Note [101.] p. 119.—In those different conflicts, the Spaniards lost only two men, but had a considerable number wounded. Though there be no occasion for recourse to any supernatural cause to account either for the greatness of their victories, or the smallness of their loss, the Spanish historians fail not to ascribe both to the patronage of St. Jago, the tutelar saint of their country, who, as they relate, fought at the head of their countrymen, and, by his prowess, gave a turn to the fate of the battle. Gomara is the first who mentions this apparition of St. James. It is amusing to observe the embarrassment of B. Diaz del Castillo, occasioned by the struggle between his superstition and his veracity. The former disposed him to believe this miracle, the latter restrained him from attesting it. "I acknowledge," says he, "that all our exploits and victories are owing to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in this battle there was such a number of Indians to every one of us, that if each had thrown a handful of earth they might have buried us, if by the great mercy of God we had not been protected. It may be that the person whom Gomara mentions as having appeared on a mottled grey horse, was the glorious apostle Signor San Jago, or, Signor San Pedro, and that I, as being a sinner, was not worthy to see him. This I know, that I saw Francisco de Morla, on such a horse, but as an unworthy transgressor, did not deserve to see any of the holy apostles. It may have been the will of God, that it was so as Gomara relates, but until I read his Chronicle, I never heard among any of the conquerors that such a thing had happened." Cap. 34.

Note [102.] p. 120.—Several Spanish historians relate this occurrence in such terms as if they wished it should be believed that the Indians, loaded with the presents, had carried them from the capital, in the same short space of time that the couriers performed that journey. This is incredible, and Gomara mentions a circumstance which shows that nothing extraordinary happened on this occasion. This rich present had been prepared for Grijalva, when he touched at the same place some months before, and was now ready to be delivered, as soon as Montezuma sent orders for that purpose. Gomara Cron. c. xxvii. p. 28.

According to B. Diaz del Castillo, the value of the silver plate representing the moon was alone above twenty thousand pesos, above five thousand pounds sterling.

Note [103.] p. 121.—This private traffic was directly contrary to the instructions of Velasquez, who enjoined, that whatever was acquired by trade should be thrown into the common stock. But it appears that the soldiers had each a private assortment of toys and other goods proper for the Indian trade, and Cortes gained their favor by encouraging this underhand barter. B. Diaz, c. 41.

Note [104]. p. 122.—Gomara has published a catalogue of the various articles of which this present consisted. Cron. c. 49. P. Martyr ab Angleria, who saw them after they were brought to Spain, and who seems to have examined them with great attention, gives a description of each, which is curious, as it conveys some idea of the progress which the Mexicans had made in several arts of elegance. De Insulus nuper inventis Liber, p. 354, &c.

Note [105]. p. 123.—There is no circumstance in the history of the conquest of America which is more questionable than the account of the numerous armies brought into the field against the Spaniards. As the war with the republic of Tlascala, though of short duration, was one of the most considerable which the Spaniards waged in America, the account given of the Tlascalan armies merits some attention. The only authentic information concerning this is derived from three authors. Cortes in his second despatch to the Emperor, dated at Segura de la Frontera, Oct. 30, 1520, thus estimates the number of their troops; in the first battle 6000; in the second battle 100,000; in the third battle 150,000. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. 228. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who was an eye witness, and engaged in all the actions of this war, thus reckons their numbers: in the first battle, 3000, p. 43; in the second battle 6000, ibid; in the third battle 50,000, p. 45. Gomara, who was Cortes's chaplain after his return to Spain, and published his *Cranica* in 1552, follows the computation of Cortes, except in the second battle, where he reckons the Tlascalans at 60,000, p. 49. It was manifestly the interest of Cortes to magnify his own dangers and exploits. For it was only by the merit of extraordinary services that he could hope to atone for his irregular conduct in assuming an independent command. Bern. Diaz, though abundantly disposed to place his own prowess, and that of his fellow-conquerors, in the most advantageous point of light, had not the same temptation to exaggerate; and it is probable that his account of the numbers approaches nearer to the truth. The assembling of an army of 150,000 men, requires many previous arrangements, and such provisions for their subsistence as seems to be beyond the foresight of Americans. The degree of cultivation in Tlascala does not seem to have been so great as to have furnished such a vast army with provisions. Though this province was so much better cultivated than other regions of New Spain that it was called the *country of bread*, yet the Spaniards in their march suffered such want, that they were obliged to subsist upon *Tunas*, a species of fruit which grows wild in the fields. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vi. c. 5. p. 182.

Note [106]. p. 123.—These unhappy victims are said to be persons of distinction. It seems improbable that so great a number as fifty should be employed as spies. So many prisoners had been taken and dismissed, and the Tlascalans had sent so many messages to the Spanish quarters, that there appears to be no reason for hazarding the lives of so many considerable people in order to procure information about the position and state of their camp. The barbarous manner which Cortes treated a people unacquainted with the laws of war established among polished nations, appears so shocking to the later Spanish writers, that they diminish the number of those whom he punished so cruelly. Herrera says, that he cut off the hands of seven, and the thumbs of some more. Dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 8. De Solis relates, that the hands of fourteen or fifteen were cut off, and the thumbs of all the rest. Lib. ii. c. 20. But Cortes himself, Relat. p. 228. b. and after him Gomara, c. 48, affirm, that the hands of all the fifty were cut off.

Note [107]. p. 124.—The horses were objects of the greatest astonishment to all the people of New Spain. At first they imagined the horse and the rider, like the Centaurs of the ancients, to be some monstrous animal of a terrible form; and supposing that their food was the same as that of men, brought flesh and blood to nourish them. Even after they discovered their mistake, they believed the horses devoured men in battle, and, when they neighed, thought that they were demanding their prey. It was not the interest of the Spaniards to undeceive them. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vi. c. 11.

Note [108]. p. 124.—According to Bart. de las Casas, there was no reason for this massacre, and it was an act of wanton cruelty, perpetrated merely to strike terror into the people of New Spain. Relac. de la destruyc. p. 17, &c. But the zeal of Las Casas often leads him to exaggerate. In opposition to him, Bern. Diaz, c. 83, asserts, that the first missionaries sent into New Spain by the Emperor, made a judicial inquiry into this transaction; and, having examined the priests and elders of Cholula, found that there was a real conspiracy to cut off the Spaniards, and that the account given by Cortes was exactly true. As it was the object of Cortes at that time, and manifestly his interest, to gain the good will of Montezuma, it is improbable that he should have taken a step which tended so visibly to alienate him from the Spaniards, if he had not believed it to be necessary for his own preservation. At the same time, the Spaniards who served in America, had such contempt for the natives, and thought them so little entitled to the common rights of men, that Cortes might hold the Cholulans to be guilty upon slight and imperfect evidence. The severity of the punishment was certainly excessive and atrocious.

Note [109]. p. 124.—This description is taken almost literally from Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who was so unacquainted with the art of composition as to be incapable of embellishing his narrative. He relates in a simple and rude style what passed in his own mind and that of his fellow soldiers on that occasion; "and let it not be thought strange," says he, "that I should write in this manner of what then happened, for it ought to be considered, that it is one thing to relate another to have beheld things that were never before seen, or heard, or spoken of among men." Cap. 86. p. 64. b.

Note [110]. p. 126.—B. Diaz del Castillo, gives us some idea of the fatigue and hardships they underwent in performing this and other parts of duty. During the nine months that they remained in Mexico, every man without any distinction between officers and soldiers slept on his arms in his quilted jacket and gorget. They lay on mats, or straw spread on the floor, and each was obliged to hold himself as alert as if he had been on guard. "This," adds he, "became so habitual to me that even now, in my advanced age, I always sleep in my clothes, and never in any bed. When I visit my *Encomienda*, I reckon it suitable to my rank to have a bed carried along with my other baggage, but I never go into it; but, according to custom, I lie in my clothes and walk frequently during the night into the open air to view the stars, as I was wont when in service." Cap. 108.

Note [111]. p. 126.—Cortes himself, in his second despatch to the Emperor, does not explain the motive which induced him either to condemn Qualpopoca to the flames, or to put Montezuma in irons. Ramus. iii. 236. B. Diaz is silent with respect to his reasons for the former; and the only cause he assigns for the latter was, that he might meet with no interruption in executing the sentence pronounced against Qualpopoca. c. xcv. p. 75. But as Montezuma was his prisoner, and absolutely in his power, he had no reason to dread him, and the insult offered to that monarch could have no effect but to irritate him unnecessarily. Gomara supposes that Cortes had no other object than to occupy Montezuma with his own distress and sufferings, that he might give less attention to what befel Qualpopoca. Cron. c. 89. Herrera adopts the same opinion. Dec. ii. lib. viii. c. 9. But it seems an odd expedient, in order to make a person bear one injury, to load him with another that is greater. De Solis imagines, that Cortes had nothing else in view than to intimidate Montezuma, so that he might make no attempt to rescue the victim from their fate; but the spirit of that monarch was so submissive, and he had so tamely given up the prisoner to the disposal of Cortes, that he had no cause to apprehend any opposition from him. If the explanation which I have attempted to give of Cortes's proceedings on this occasion be not admitted, it appears to me, that they must be reckoned among the wanton and barbarous acts of oppression which occur too often in the history of the conquest of America.

Note [112]. p. 126.—De Solis asserts, lib. iv. c. 3. that the proposition of doing homage to the king of Spain came from Montezuma himself, and was made in order to induce the Spaniards to depart out of his dominions. He describes his conduct on this occasion as if it had been founded upon a scheme of profound policy and executed with such refined address as to deceive Cortes himself. But there is no hint or circumstance in the contemporary historians, Cortes, Diaz, or Gomara, to justify this theory. Montezuma, on other occasions, discovered no such extent of art and abilities. The anguish which he felt in performing this humbling ceremony is natural, if we suppose it to have been involuntary. But, according to the theory of De Solis, which supposes that Montezuma was executing what he himself had proposed, to have assumed an appearance of sorrow would have been preposterous, and inconsistent with his own design of deceiving the Spaniards.

Note [113]. p. 127.—In several of the provinces the Spaniards, with all their industry and influence, could collect no gold. In others, they procured only a few trinkets of small value. Montezuma assured Cortes, that the present which he offered to the king of Castile, after doing homage, consisted of all the treasure amassed by his father; and told him, that he had already distributed the rest of his gold and jewels among the Spaniards. B. Diaz. c. 104. Gomara relates that all the silver collected amounted to 500 marks. Cron. c. 83. This agrees with the account given by Cortes, that the royal fifth of silver was 100 marks.

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Relat. 239. B. So that the sum total of silver was only 4000 ounces, at the rate of eight ounces a mark, which demonstrates the proportion of silver to gold to have been exceedingly small.

Note [115]. p. 127.—De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. calls in question the truth of this transaction, from no better reason than that it was inconsistent with that prudence which distinguishes the character of Cortes. But he ought to have recollected the impetuosity of his zeal at Tlascala, which was no less imprudent. He asserts, that the evidence for it rests upon the testimony of B. Diaz del Castillo, of Gomara, and of Herrera. They all concur, indeed, in mentioning this inconsiderate step which Cortes took; and they had good reason to do so, for Cortes himself relates this exploit in his second despatch to the Emperor, and seems to glory in it. Cort. Relat. Ramus. iii. 140. D. This is one instance, among many, of De Solis's having consulted with little attention the letters of Cortes to Charles V. from which the most authentic information with respect to his operations must be derived.

Note [114]. p. 127.—Herrera and de Solis suppose that Velasquez was encouraged to equip this armament against Cortes by the account which he received from Spain concerning the reception of the agents sent by the colony of Vera Cruz, and the warmth with which Fonseca Bishop of Burgos had espoused his interest, and condemned the proceedings of Cortes. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix. c. 18. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. But the chronological order of events refutes this supposition. Portocarrero and Montejo sailed from Vera Cruz, July 26, 1519. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. c. 4. They landed at St. Lucar in October, according to Herrera, Ibid. But P. Martyr, who attended the court at that time, and communicated every occurrence of moment to his correspondents day by day, mentions the arrival of these agents for the first time in December, and speaks of it as a recent event. Epist. 650 All the historians agree that the agents of Cortes had their first audience of the Emperor at Tordesillas, when he went to that town to visit his mother in his way to St. Jago de Compostella. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. But the Emperor set out from Valladolid for Tordesillas on the 11th of March, 1520; and P. Martyr mentions his having seen at that time the presents made to Charles. Epist. 1665. The armament under Narvaez sailed from Cuba in April 1520. It is manifest then that Velasquez could not receive any account of what passed in this interview at Tordesillas previous to his hostile preparations against Cortes. His real motives seem to be those which I have mentioned. The patent appointing him *Adelantado* of New Spain, with such extensive powers, bears date November 13, 1549. Herrera. dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 11 He might receive it about the beginning of January. Gomara takes notice, that as soon as this patent was delivered to him, he began to equip a fleet and levy forces. Cron. c. 96.

Note [116]. p. 127.—De Solis contends, that as Narvaez had no interpreters, he could hold no intercourse with the people of the provinces, nor converse with them in any way but by signs, that it was equally impossible for him to carry on any communication with Montezuma. Liv. iv. c. 7. But it is upon the authority of Cortes himself that I relate all the particulars of Narvaez's correspondence both with Montezuma and with his subjects in the maritime provinces. Relat. Ramus. iii. 244. A. C. Cortes affirms that there was a mode of intercourse between Narvaez and the Mexicans, but does not explain how it was carried on. Bernal Diaz supplies this defect, and informs us that the three deserters who joined Narvaez acted as interpreters, having acquired a competent knowledge of the language, c. 110. With his usual minuteness he mentions their names and characters, and relates, in chapter 122, how they were punished for their perfidy. The Spaniards had now resided above a year among the Mexicans; and it is not surprising that several among them should have made some proficiency in speaking their language. This seems to have been the case. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 1. Both B. Diaz, who was present, and Herrera, the most accurate and best informed of all the Spanish writers, agree with Cortes in his account of the secret correspondence carried on with Montezuma Dec. 2. lib. x. c. 18, 19. De Solis seems to consider it as a discredit to Cortes, his hero, that Montezuma should have been ready to engage in a correspondence with Narvaez. He supposes that monarch to have contracted such a wonderful affection for the Spaniards, that he was not solicitous to be delivered from them. After the indignity with which he had been treated, such an affection is incredible; and even De Solis is obliged to acknowledge, that it must be looked upon as one of the miracles which God had wrought to facilitate the conquest, lib. iv. c. 7. The truth is, Montezuma, however much overawed by his dread of the Spaniards, was extremely impatient to recover his liberty.

Note [117]. p. 129.—These words I have borrowed from the anonymous Account of the European Settlements in America, published by Dodsley, in two volumes 8vo.; a work of so much merit, that I should think there is hardly any writer in the age who ought to be ashamed of acknowledging himself to be the author of it.

Note [118]. p. 130.—The contemporary historians differ considerably with respect to the loss of the Spaniards on this occasion. Cortes in his second despatch to the Emperor, makes the number only 150. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. p. 249. A. But it was manifestly his interest, at that juncture, to conceal from the court of Spain the full extent of the loss which he had sustained De Solis, always studious to diminish every misfortune that befell his countrymen, rates their loss at about two hundred men. Lib. iv. c. 19. B Diaz affirms that they lost 870 men, and that only 440 escaped from Mexico, c. 128. p. 108. B. Palafox, Bishop of Los Angeles, who seems to have inquired into the early transactions of his countrymen in New Spain with great attention, confirms the account of B. Diaz with respect to the extent of their loss. Virtudes del Indio, p. 22. Gomara states their loss at 450 men. Cron. c. 109. Some months afterwards, when Cortes had received several reinforcements, he mustered his troops, and found them to be only 590. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. p. 255. E. Now, as Narvaez brought 880 men into New Spain, and about 400 of Cortes's soldiers were then alive, it is evident that his loss, in the retreat from Mexico, must have been much more considerable than what he mentions. B. Diaz, solicitous to magnify the dangers and sufferings to which he and his fellow conquerors were exposed, may have exaggerated their loss; but, in my opinion, it cannot well be estimated at less than 600 men.

Note [119]. p. 132.—Some remains of this great work are still visible, and the spot where the brigantines were built and launched is still pointed out to strangers. Torquemada viewed them. Monarq. Indiana, vol. i. p. 531.

Note [120]. p. 133.—The station of Alvarado on the causeway of Tacuba was the nearest to the city. Cortes observes, that there they could distinctly observe what passed when their countrymen were sacrificed. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. p. 273. E. B. Diaz, who belonged to Alvarado's division, relates what he beheld with his own eyes. C. 151. p. 148. b. 149. a. Like a man whose courage was so clear as to be above suspicion, he describes with his usual simplicity the impression which this spectacle made upon him. "Before (says he) I saw the breasts of my companions opened, their hearts yet fluttering, offered to an accursed idol, and their flesh devoured by their exulting enemies; I was accustomed to enter a battle not only without fear, but with high spirit. But from that time I never advanced to fight with the Mexicans without a secret horror and anxiety; my heart trembled at the thoughts of the death which I had seen them suffer." He takes care to add, that as soon as the combat began, his terror went off; and indeed, his adventurous bravery on every occasion is full evidence of this. B. Diaz, c. 156. p. 157. a.

Note [121]. p. 133.—One circumstance in this siege merits particular notice. The account which the Spanish writers give of the numerous armies employed in the attack or defence of Mexico seems to be incredible. According to Cortes himself, he had at one time 150,000 of auxiliary Indians in his service. Relat. Ramus. iii. 275. E. Gomara asserts that they were above 200,000. Cron. c. 136. Herrera, an author of higher authority, says they were about 200,000. Dec. iii. lib. i. c. 19. None of the contemporary writers ascertain explicitly the number of persons in Mexico during the seige. But Cortes on several occasions mentions the number of Mexicans who were slain, or who perished for want of food; and, if we may rely on those circumstances, it is probable that above two hundred thousand must have been shut up in the town. But the quantity of provisions necessary for the subsistence of such vast multitudes assembled in one place, during three months, is so great, that it requires so much foresight and arrangement to collect these, and lay them up in magazines, so as to be certain of a regular supply, that one can hardly believe that this could be accomplished in a country where agriculture was so imperfect as in the Mexican empire, where there were no tame animals, and by a people naturally so improvident, and so incapable of executing a complicated plan, as the most improved Americans. The Spaniards, with all their care and attention, fared very poorly, and were often reduced to extreme distress for want of provisions. B. Diaz, p. 142. Cortes Relat. 271. D. Cortes on one occasion mentions slightly the subsistence of his army; and, after acknowledging that they were often in great want, adds, that they received supplies from the people of the country, of fish, and of some fruit, which he calls the cherries of the country. Ibid. B. Diaz says that they had cakes of maize, and serasas de la tierra; and when the season of these was over, another fruit, which he calls *Tunis;* but their most comfortable subsistence was a root which the Indians use as food, to which he gives the name of *Quiltes*, p. 142. The Indian auxiliaries had one means of subsistence more than the Spaniards. They fed upon the bodies of the Mexicans whom they killed in battle. Cortes Relat. 176. C. B. Diaz confirms his relation, and adds, that when the Indians returned from Mexico to their own country, they carried with them large quantities of flesh of the Mexicans salted or dried, as a most acceptable present to their friends, that they might have the pleasure of feeding upon the bodies of their enemies in their fetivals, p. 157. De Solis, who seems to consider it as an imputation of discredit to his countrymen, that they should act in concert with auxiliaries who fed upon human flesh, is solicitous to prove that the Spaniards endeavored to prevent their associates from eating the bodies of the Mexicans, lib. v. c. 24. But he has no authority for this from the original historians. Neither Cortes himself nor B. Diaz seems to have had any such scruple; and on many occasions they mention the Indian repasts, which were become familiar to them, without any mark of abhorrence. Even with this additional stock of food for the Indians, it was hardly possible to procure subsistence for armies amounting to such numbers as we find in the Spanish writers. Perhaps the best solution of the difficulty is, to adopt the opinion of B. Diaz del Castillo, the most artless of all the *Historiadores primitivos*. "When Gomara (says he) on some occasions relates, that there were so many thousand Indians our auxiliaries, and on others, that there were so many thousand houses in this or that town, no regard is to be paid to his enumeration, as he has no authority for it, the numbers not being in reality the fifth of what he relates. If we add together the different numbers which he mentions, that country would contain more millions than there are in Castile." C. 129. But though some considerable deduction should certainly be made from the Spanish accounts of the Mexican forces, they must have been very numerous; for nothing but an immense superiority in number could have enabled them to withstand a body of nine hundred Spaniards, conducted by a leader of such abilities as Cortes.

Note [122]. p. 135.—In relating the oppressive and cruel proceedings of the conquerors of New Spain, I have not followed B. de las Casas as my guide. His account of them, Relat. de la Destruyc. p. 18, &c. is manifestly exaggerated. It is from the testimony of Cortes himself, and of Gomara who wrote under his eye, that I have taken my account of the punishment of the Panucans, and they relate it without any disapprobation. B. Diaz, contrary to his usual custom, mentions it only in general terms, c. 162. Herrera, solicitous to extenuate this barbarous action of his countrymen, though he mentions 63 caziques, and 400 men of note, as being condemned to the flames, asserts that 30 only were burnt, and the rest pardoned. Dec. 3. lib. v. c. 7. But this is contrary to the testimony of the original historians, particularly of Gomara, whom it appears he had consulted, as he adopts several of his expressions in this passage. The punishment of Guatimozin is related by the most authentic of the Spanish writers. Torquemada has extracted from a history of Tezeuco, composed in the Mexican tongue, an account of this transaction, more favorable to Gautimozin than that of the Spanish authors. Mon. Indiana, i. 575. According to the Mexican account, Cortes had scarcely a shadow of evidence to justify such a wanton act of cruelty. B. Diaz affirms, that Gautimozin and his

fellow-sufferers asserted their innocence with their last breath, and that many of the Spanish soldiers condemned this action of Cortes as equally unnecessary and unjust, p. 200. b. 201. a.

Note [123]. p. 135.—The motive for undertaking this expedition was, to punish Cristoval de Olid, one of his officers who had revolted against him, and aimed at establishing an independent jurisdiction. Cortes regarded this insurrection as of such dangerous example, and dreaded so much the abilities and popularity of its author, that in person he led the body of troops destined to suppress it. He marched, according to Gomara, three thousand miles, through a country abounding with thick forests, rugged mountains, deep rivers, thinly inhabited, and cultivated only in a few places. What he suffered from famine, from the hostility of the natives, from the climate, and from hardships of every species, has nothing in history parallel to it, but what occurs in the adventures of the other discoverers and conquerors of the New World. Cortes was employed in this dreadful service above two years; and though it was not distinguished by any splendid event, he exhibited, during the course of it, greater personal courage, more fortitude of mind, more perseverance and patience than in any other period of scene in his life. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. vii. viii. ix. Gomara, Cron. c. 163—177. B. Diaz, 174—190. Cortes, MS. *penes me*. Were one to write a life of Cortes, the account of this expedition should occupy a splendid place in it. In a general history of America, as the expedition was productive of no great event, the mention of it is sufficient.

Note [124]. p. 135.—According to Herrera, the treasure which Cortes brought with him, consisted of fifteen hundred marks of wrought plate, two hundred thousand pesos of fine gold, and ten thousand of inferior standard, many rich jewels, one in particular worth forty thousand pesos, and several trinkets and ornaments of value. Dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 8. lib. iv. c. 1. He afterwards engaged to give a portion with his daughter of a hundred thousand pesos. Gomara Cron. c. 237. The fortune which he left his sons was very considerable. But, as we have before related, the sum divided among the conquerors, on the first reduction of Mexico, was very small. There appears, then, to be some reason for suspecting that the accusations of Cortes's enemies were not altogether destitute of foundation. They charged him with having applied to his own use a disproportionate share of the Mexican spoils; with having concealed the royal treasures of Montezuma and Guatimozin; with defrauding the king of his fifth; and robbing his followers of what was due to them. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 15. dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 8. Some of the conquerors themselves entertained suspicions of the same kind with respect to this part of his conduct. B. Diaz, c. 157.

Note [125]. p. 136.—In tracing the progress of the Spanish arms in New Spain, we have followed Cortes himself as our most certain guide. His despatches to the Emperor contain a minute account of his operations. But the unlettered conqueror of Peru was incapable of relating his own exploits. Our information with respect to them, and other transactions in Peru, is derived, however, from contemporary and respectable authors.

The most early account of Pizarro's transactions in Peru was published by Francisco de Xerez, his secretary. It is a simple, unadorned narrative, carried down no further than the death of Atahualpa, in 1533; for the author returned to Spain in 1534, and, soon after he landed, printed at Seville his short History of the Conquest of Peru, addressed to the Emperor.

Don Pedro Sancho, an officer who served under Pizarro, drew up an account of his expedition, which was translated into Italian by Ramusio, and inserted in his valuable collection, but has never been published in its original language. Sancho returned to Spain at the same time with Xerez. Great credit is due to what both these authors relate concerning the progress and operations of Pizarro; but the residence of the Spaniards in Peru had been so short, at the time when they left it, and their intercourse with the natives was so slender, that their knowledge of the Peruvian manners and customs is very imperfect.

The next contemporary historian is Pedro Cieza de Leon, who published his Cronica del Peru at Seville in 1553. If he had finished all that he purposes in the general division of his work, it would have been the most complete history which had been published of any region in the New World. He was well qualified to execute it, having served during seventeen years in America, and having visited in person most of the provinces concerning which he had occasion to write. But only the first part of his chronicle has been printed. It contains a description of Peru, and several of the adjacent provinces, with an account of the institutions and customs of the natives, and is written with so little art, and such an apparent regard for truth, that one must regret the loss of the other parts of his work.

This loss is amply supplied by Don Augustine Zarate, who published, in 1555, his Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquesta de la Provincia del Peru. Zarate was a man of rank and education, and employed in Peru as comptroller-general of the public revenue. His history, whether we attend to its matter or composition, is a book of considerable merit: as he had an opportunity to be well informed, and seems to have been inquisitive with respect to the manners and transactions of the Peruvians, great credit is due to his testimony.

Don Diego Fernandez published his Historia del Peru in 1571. His sole object is to relate the dissensions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that empire. As he served in a public station in Peru, and was well acquainted both with the country and with the principal actors in those singular scenes which he describes, as he possessed sound understanding and great impartiality, his work may be ranked among those of the historians most distinguished for their industry in research, or their capacity in judging with respect to the events which they relate.

The last author who can be reckoned among the contemporary historians of the conquest of Peru is Garcilasso de la Vega, Inca. For though the first part of his work, entitled *Commentarios Reales del Origin de los Incas Reies del Peru*, was not published sooner than the year 1609, seventy-six years after the death of Atahualpa the last Emperor, yet as he was born in Peru, and was the son of an officer of distinction among the Spanish conquerors, by a *Coya*, or lady of the royal race, on account of which he always took the name of Inca; as he was master of the language spoken by the Incas, and acquainted with the traditions of his countrymen, his authority is rated very high, and often placed above that of all the other historians. His work, however, is little more than a commentary upon the Spanish writers of the Peruvian story, and composed of quotations taken from the authors whom I have mentioned. This is the idea which he himself gives of it, lib. i. c. 10. Nor is it in the account of facts only that he follows them servilely. Even in explaining the institutions and rites of his ancestors, his information seems not to be more perfect than theirs. His explanation of the Quipos is almost the same with that of Acosta. He produces no specimen of Peruvian poetry, but that wretched one which he borrows from Blas Valera, an early missionary, whose memoirs have never been published. Lib. ii. c. 15. As for composition, arrangement, or a capacity of distinguishing between what is fabulous, what is probable, and what is true, one searches for them in vain in the commentaries of the Inca. His work, however, notwithstanding its great defects, is not altogether destitute of use. Some traditions which he received from his countrymen are preserved in it. His knowledge of the Peruvian language has enabled him to correct some errors of the Spanish writers, and he has inserted in it some curious facts taken from authors whose works were never published, and are now lost.

Note [126]. p. 136.—One may form an idea both of the hardships which they endured, and of the unhealthy climate in the regions which they visited, from the extraordinary mortality that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In less than nine months 130 of these died. Few fell by the sword; most of them were cut off by diseases. Xeres, p. 180.

Note [127]. p. 137. This island, says Herrera, is rendered so uncomfortable by the unwholesomeness of its climate, its impenetrable woods, its rugged mountains, and the multitude of insects and reptiles, that it is seldom any softer epithet than that of *infernal* is employed in describing it. The sun is almost never seen there, and throughout the year it hardly ever ceases to rain. Dec. iii. lib. x. c. 3. Dampier touched at this island in the year 1685; and his account of the climate is not more favorable. Vol. i. p. 172. He, during his cruise on the coast, visited most of the places where Pizarro landed, and his description of them throws light on the narrations of the early Spanish historians.

Note [128]. p. 138.—By this time horses had multiplied greatly in the Spanish settlements on the continent. When Cortes began his expedition in the year 1518, though his armament was more considerable than that of Pizarro, and composed of persons superior in rank to those who invaded Peru, he could procure no more than sixteen horses.

Note [129] p. 139.—In the year 1740, D. Ant. Ulloa and D. George Juan travelled from Guayaquil to Motupe by the same route which Pizarro took. From the description of their journey, one may form an idea of the difficulty of his march. The sandy plains between St. Michael de Pieura and Motupe extend 90 miles, without water, without a tree, a plant, or any green thing, on a dreary stretch of burning sand. Voyage, tom. i. p. 399, &c.

Note [130]. p. 139.—This extravagant and unreasonable discourse of Valverde has been censured by all historians, and with justice. But though he seems to have been an illiterate and bigotted monk, nowise resembling the good Olmedo, who accompanied Cortes; the absurdity of his address to Atahualpa must not be charged wholly upon him. His harangue is evidently a translation or paraphrase of that form, concerted by a junto of Spanish divines and lawyers in the year 1509, for explaining the right of their king to the sovereignty of the New World, and for directing the officers employed in America how they should take possession of any new country. See Note 23. The sentiments contained in Valverde's harangue must not then be imputed to the bigotted imbecility of a particular man, but to that of the age. But Gomara and Benzoni relate one circumstance concerning Valverde, which, if authentic, renders him an object not of contempt only but of horror. They assert, that during the whole action Valverde continued to excite the soldiers to slaughter, calling to them to strike the enemy not with the edge but with the points of their swords. Gom. Cron. c. 113. Benz. Histor. Nov. Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3. Such behavior was very different from that of the Roman Catholic clergy in other parts of America, where they uniformly exerted their influence to protect the Indians, and to moderate the ferocity of their countrymen.

Note [131]. p. 139.—Two different systems have been formed concerning the conduct of Atahualpa. The Spanish writers, in order to justify the violence of their countrymen, contend that all the Inca's professions of friendship were feigned; and that his intention in agreeing to an interview with Pizarro at Caxamalca, was to cut off him and his followers at one blow; that for this purpose he advanced with such a numerous body of attendants, who had arms concealed under their garments to execute this scheme. This is the account given by Xeres and Zerate, and adopted by Herrera. But if it had been the plan of the Inca to destroy the Spaniards, one can hardly imagine that he would have permitted them to march through the desert of Motupe, or have neglected to defend the passes in the mountains, where they might have been attacked with so much advantage. If the Peruvians marched to Caxamalca with an intention to fall upon the Spaniards, it is inconceivable that of so great a body of men, prepared for action, not one should attempt to make resistance, but all tamely suffer themselves to be butchered by an enemy whom they were armed to attack. Atahualpa's mode of advancing to the interview has the aspect of a peaceable procession, not of a military enterprise. He himself and his followers were in their habits of ceremony, preceded, as on days of solemnity, by unarmed harbingers. Though rude nations are frequently cunning and false; yet if a scheme of deception and treachery must be imputed either to a monarch that had no great reason to be alarmed at a visit from strangers who solicited admission into his presence as friends, or to an adventurer so daring and so little scrupulous as Pizarro, one cannot hesitate in determining where to fix the presumption of guilt. Even amidst the endeavors of the Spanish writers to palliate the proceedings of Pizarro, one plainly perceives that it was his intention, as well as his interest, to seize the Inca, and that he had taken measures for that purpose previous to any suspicion of that monarch's designs.

Garcilasso de la Vega, extremely solicitous to vindicate his countrymen the Peruvians, from the crime of having concerted the destruction of Pizarro and his followers, and no less afraid to charge the Spaniards with improper conduct towards the Inca, has framed

another system. He relates, that a man of majestic form, with a long beard, and garments reaching to the ground, having appeared in a vision to Viracocha, the eighth Inca, and declared that he was a child of the Sun, that monarch built a temple in honor of this person, and erected an image of him, resembling as nearly as possible the singular form in which he had exhibited himself to his view. In this temple divine honors were paid to him by the name of Viracocha. P. i. lib. iv. c. 21. lib. v. c. 22. When the Spaniards first appeared in Peru, the length of their beards, and the dress they wore, struck every person so much with their likeness to the image of Viracocha, that they supposed them to be children of the Sun, who had descended from heaven to earth. All concluded that the fatal period of the Peruvian empire was now approaching, and that the throne would be occupied by new possessors. Atahualpa himself, considering the Spaniards as messengers from heaven, was so far from entertaining any thoughts of resisting them, that he determined to yield implicit obedience to their commands. From these sentiments flowed his professions of love and respect. To those were owing the cordial reception of Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro in his camp, and the submissive reverence with which he himself advanced to visit the Spanish general in his quarters; but from the gross ignorance of Philipillo, the interpreter, the declaration of the Spaniards, and his answer to it, were so ill explained, that, by their mutual inability to comprehend each other's intentions, the fatal rencontre at Caxamalca, with all its dreadful consequences was occasioned.

It is remarkable, that no traces of this superstitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Spaniards are to be found either in Xeres, or Sancho, or Zarate, previous to the interview at Caxamalca; and yet the two former served under Pizarro at that time, and the latter visited Peru soon after the conquest. If either the Inca himself, or his messengers, had addressed the Spaniards in the words which Garcilasso puts in their mouths, they must have been struck with such submissive declarations; and they would certainly have availed themselves of them to accomplish their own designs with greater facility. Garcilasso himself, though his narrative of the intercourse between the Inca and the Spaniards, preceding the rencontre at Caxamalca, is founded on the supposition of his believing them to be Viracochas, or divine beings, p. ii. lib. i. c. 17. &c., yet, with his usual inattention and inaccuracy, he admits in another place that the Peruvians did not recollect the resemblance between them and the god Viracocha, until the fatal disasters subsequent to the defeat at Caxamalca, and then only began to call them Viracochas. P. i. lib. v. c. 21. This is confirmed by Herrera, dec. v. lib. ii. c. 12. In many different parts of America, if we may believe the Spanish writers, their countrymen were considered as divine beings who had descended from heaven. But in this instance, as in many which occur in the intercourse between nations whose progress in refinement is very unequal, the ideas of those who used the expression were different from those who heard it. For such is the idiom of the Indian languages, or such is the simplicity of those who speak them, that when they see any thing with which they were formerly unacquainted, and of which they do not know the origin, they say that it came down from heaven. Nugnez. Ram. iii. 327. C.

The account which I have given of the sentiments and proceedings of the Peruvians, appears to be more natural and consistent than either of the two preceding, and is better supported by the facts related by the contemporary historians.

According to Xeres, p. 200, two thousand Peruvians were killed. Sancho makes the number of the slain six or seven thousand. Ram. iii. 274. D. By Garcilasso's account, five thousand were massacred. P. ii. lib. i. c. 25. The number which I have mentioned, being the medium between the extremes, may probably be nearest the truth.

Note [132]. p. 139.—Nothing can be a more striking proof of this, than that three Spaniards travelled from Caxamalca to Cuzco. The distance between them is six hundred miles. In every place throughout this great extent of country, they were treated with all the honors which the Peruvians paid to their sovereigns, and even to their divinities. Under pretext of amassing what was wanting for the ransom of the Inca, they demanded the plates of gold with which the walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were adorned; and though the priests were unwilling to alienate those sacred ornaments, and the people refused to violate the shrine of their God, the three Spaniards, with their own hands, robbed the Temple of part of this valuable treasure; and such was the reverence of the natives for their persons, that though they beheld this act of sacrilege with astonishment, they did not attempt to prevent or disturb the commission of it. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Sancho ap. Ramus. iii 375. D.

Note [133]. p. 141.—According to Herrera, the spoil of Cuzco after setting apart the King's *fifth*, was divided among 480 persons. Each received 4000 pesos. This amounts to 1,920,000 pesos. Dec. v. lib. vi. c. 3. But as the general and other officers were entitled to a share far greater than that of the private men, the sum total must have risen much beyond what I have mentioned. Gomara, c. 123, and Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8, satisfy themselves with asserting in general, that the plunder of the Cuzco was of greater value than the ransom of Atahualpa.

Note [134]. p. 141.—No expedition in the New World was conducted with more persevering courage than that of Alvarado, and in none were greater hardships endured. Many of the persons engaged in it were, like their leader, veterans who had served under Cortes, inured to all the rigor of American war. Such of my readers as have not an opportunity of perusing the striking description of their sufferings by Zarate, or Herrera, may form some idea of the nature of their march from the sea-coast to Quito, by consulting the account which D. Ant. Ulloa gives of his own journey in 1736, nearly in the same route. Voy. tom. i. p. 178, &c., or that of M. Bouguer, who proceeded from Puerto Viejo to Quito by the same road which Alvarado took. He compares his own journey with that of the Spanish leader, and by the comparison gives a most striking idea of the boldness and patience of Alvarado in forcing his way through so many obstacles. Voyage de Perou, p. 28, &c.

Note [135]. p. 141.—According to Herrera, there was entered on account of the king in gold, 155,300 pesos, and 5,400 marks (each 8 ounces) of silver, besides several vessels and ornaments, some of gold and others of silver; on account of private persons, in gold 499,000 pesos, and 54,000 marks of silver. Dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

Note [136]. p. 142,—The Peruvians not only imitated the military arts of the Spaniards, but had recourse to devices of their own. As the cavalry were the chief objects of their terror, they endeavored to render them incapable of acting by means of a long thong with a stone fastened to each end. This, when thrown by a skilful hand, twisted about the horse and its rider, and entangled them so as to obstruct their motions. Herrera mentions this as an invention of their own. Dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4. But as I have observed, p. 113, this weapon is common among several barbarous tribes towards the extremity of South America; and it is more probable that the Peruvians had observed the dexterity with which they used it in hunting, and on this occasion adopted it themselves. The Spaniards were considerably annoyed by it. Herrera, ibid. Another instance of the ingenuity of the Peruvians deserves mention. By turning a river out of its channel, they overflowed a valley, in which a body of the enemy was posted, so suddenly, that it was with the utmost difficulty the Spaniards made their escape. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. viii. c. 5.

Note [137]. p. 142.—Herrera's account of Orellana's voyage is the most minute and apparently the most accurate. It was probably taken from the journal of Orellana himself. But the dates are not distinctly marked. His navigation down the Coca, or Napo, began early in February, 1541; and he arrived at the mouth of the river on the 26th of August, having spent near seven months in the voyage. M. de la Condamine in the year 1743, sailed from Cuenca to Para, a settlement of the Portuguese at the mouth of the river, a navigation much longer than that of Orellana, in less than four months. Voyage, p. 179. But the two adventurers were very differently provided for the voyage. This hazardous undertaking to which ambition prompted Orellana, and to which the love of science led M. de la Condamine, was undertaken in the year 1769, by Madame Godin des Odonais from conjugal affection. The narrative of the hardships which she suffered, of the dangers to which she was exposed, and of the disasters which befell her, is one of the most singular and affecting stories in any language, exhibiting in her conduct a striking picture of the fortitude which distinguishes the one sex, mingled with the sensibility and tenderness peculiar to the other. Lettre de M. Godin a M. de la Condamine.

Note [138]. p.142.—Herrera gives a striking picture of their indigence. Twelve gentlemen, who had been officers of distinction under Almagro, lodged in the same house, and having but one cloak among them, it was worn alternately by him who had occasion to appear in public, while the rest, from the want of a decent dress were obliged to keep within doors. Their former friends and companions were so much afraid of giving offence to Pizarro, that they durst not entertain, or even converse with them. One may conceive what was the condition, and what the indignation of men once accustomed to power and opulence, when they felt themselves poor and despised, without a roof under which to shelter their heads, while they beheld others, whose merits and services were not equal to theirs, living in splendor in sumptuous edifices. Dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 6.

Note [139]. p. 145.—Herrera, whose accuracy entitles him to great credit, asserts, that Gonzalo Pizarro possessed domains in the neighborhood of Chuquesaca de la Plata, which yielded him an annual revenue greater than that of the Archbishop of Toledo, the best endowed see Europe. Dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 3.

Note [140]. p. 147.—All the Spanish writers describe his march, and the distresses of both parties, very minutely. Zarate observes, that hardly any parallel to it occurs in history, either with respect to the length of the retreat, or the ardor of the pursuit. Pizarro, according to his computation, followed the viceroy upwards of three thousand miles. Lib. v. c. 16. 26

Note [142]. p. 148.—It amounted, according to Fernandez, the best informed historian of that period, to one million four hundred thousand pesos. Lib. ii. c. 79.

Note [142]. p. 149.—Carvajal, from the beginning, had been an advocate for an accommodation with Gasca. Finding Pizarro incapable of holding that bold course which he originally suggested, he recommended to him a timely submission to his sovereign as the safest measure. When the president's offers were first communicated to Carvajal, "By our Lady, (save me in that strain of buffoonery which was familiar to him,) the priest issues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap; let us not only accept them, but wear them as reliques about our necks." Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 63.

Note [143]. p. 149.—During the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, seven hundred men were killed in battle, and three hundred and eighty were hanged or beheaded. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 4. Above three hundred of these were cut off by Carvajal. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 91. Zarate makes the number of those put to a violent death five hundred. Lib. vii. c. 1

Note [144]. p. 150.—In my inquiries concerning the manners and policy of the Mexicans, I have received much information from a large manuscript of Don Alonso de Corita, one of the judges in the Court of Audience at Mexico. In the year 1553, Philip II., in order to discover the mode of levying tribute from his Indian subjects, that would be most beneficial to the crown, and least oppressive to them, addressed a mandate to all the Courts of Audience in America, enjoining them to answer certain queries which he proposed to them concerning the ancient form of government established among the various nations of Indians, and the mode in which they had been accustomed to pay taxes to their kings or chiefs. In obedience to this mandate, Corita, who had resided nineteen years in America, fourteen of which he passed in New Spain, composed the work of which I have a copy. He acquaints his sovereign, that he made it an object, during his residence in America, and in all its provinces which he had visited, to inquire diligently into the manners and customs of the natives; that he had conversed for this purpose with many aged and intelligent Indians, and consulted several of the Spanish Ecclesiastics, who understood the Indian language most perfectly, particularly some of those who landed in New Spain soon after the conquest. Corita appears to be a man of some learning, and to have carried on his inquiries with the diligence and accuracy to which he pretends. Greater credit is due to his testimony from one circumstance

His work was not composed with a view to publication, or in support of any particular theory, but contains [illegible] proposed to him [illegible]. He does not mention him [illegible] and followed as guides in [illegible], from several facts of which he takes notice, as well as from several expressions which [illegible] that this memorial of Corita was not unknown to him.

Note [145]. p. 151.—The early Spanish writers were so hasty and inaccurate in estimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns in America, that it is impossible to ascertain that of Mexico itself with any degree of precision. Cortes describes the extent and populousness of Mexico in general terms, which imply that it was not inferior to the greatest cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houses or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion, Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or scruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico must have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his usual propensity to the marvellous, asserts, that there were 120,000 houses or families in Mexico, and consequently about 600,000 inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramusio, iii 309. A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

Note [146]. p. 151.—It is to P. Torribio de Benavente that I am indebted for this curious observation. Palafox, Bishop of Ciudad de la Puebla Los Angeles, confirms and illustrates it more fully. The Mexican (says he) is the only language in which a termination indicating respect, *sdaeas reverendiales y de cortesia*, may be affixed to every word. By adding the final syllable *tzin* or *azin* to any word, it becomes a proper expression of veneration in the mouth of an inferior. If, in speaking to an equal the word Father is to be used, it is *Tatl*, but an inferior says *Tatzin*. One priest speaking to another, calls him *Teopixque*; a person of inferior rank calls him *Teopixcatzin*. The name of the emperor who reigned when Cortes invaded Mexico, was *Montezuma*; but his vassals, from reverence, pronounced it *Montezumazin*. Torribio, MS. Palaf. Virtudes del Indio, p. 65. The Mexicans had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs. The manner in which these are formed from the verbs in common use is explained by D. Jos. Aug. Aldama y Guevara in his Mexican Grammar, No. 188.

Note. [147] p. 152.—From comparing several passages in Corita and Herrera, we may collect, with some degree of accuracy, the various modes in which the Mexicans contributed towards the support of government. Some persons of the first order seem to have been exempted from the payment of any tribute, and as their only duty to the public, were bound to personal service in war, and to follow the banner of their sovereign with their vassals. 2. The immediate vassals of the crown were bound not only to personal military service, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their lands in kind. 3. Those who held offices of honor or trust paid a certain share of what they received in consequence of holding these. 4. Each *Capullæ*, or association, cultivated some part of the field allotted to it, for the behoof of the crown, and deposited the produce in the royal granaries. 5. Some part of whatever was brought to the public markets, whether fruits of the earth, or the various productions of their artists and manufacturers, was demanded for the public use, and the merchants who paid this were exempted from every other tax. 6. The *Mayeques* or *adscripti glebæ*, were bound to cultivate certain districts in every province, which may be considered as *crown lands*, and brought the increase into public storehouses. Thus the sovereign received some part of whatever was useful or valuable in the country, whether it was the natural production of the soil, or acquired by the industry of the people. What each contributed towards the support of government seems to have been inconsiderable. Corita, in answer to one of the queries put to the Audience of Mexico by Philip II., endeavors to estimate in money the value of what each citizen might be supposed to pay, and does not reckon it at more than three or four *reals*, about eighteen pence or two shillings a head.

Note [148] p. 152.—Cortes, who seems to have been as much astonished at this, as with any instance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular description of it. Along one of the causeways, says he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, composed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raised about six feet. In one of them is conveyed a stream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and supplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is necessary to clean or repair the former, the stream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit passes along two of the bridges, where there are breeches in the causeway, through which the salt water of the lakes flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and sold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramus. 241. A.

Note [149]. p. 152.—In the armoury of the royal palace of Madrid are shown suits of armour, which are called Montezuma's. They are composed of thin lacquered copperplates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges, they are evidently eastern. The forms of the silver ornaments upon them, representing dragons, &c. may be considered a confirmation of this. They are infinitely superior, in point of workmanship, to any effort of American art. The Spaniards probably received from them the Philippine islands. The only unquestionable specimen of Mexican art, that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is said to have belonged to Montezuma. It weighs 5oz. 12dwt. Three drawings of it were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, 1765. A man's head is represented on this cup. On one side the full face, on the other the profile, on the third the back parts of the head. The relievo is said to have been produced by punching the inside of the cup, so as to make the representation of a face on the outside. The features are gross, but represented with some degree of art, and certainly too rude for Spanish workmanship. This cup was purchased by Edward Earl of Oxford, while he lay in the harbor of Cadiz with the fleet under his command, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Lord Archer. I am indebted for this information to my respectable and ingenious friend Mr. Barrington. In the sixth volume of the Archæologia, p. 107, is published an account of some masks of Terra Cotta, brought from the burying ground on the American continent, about seventy miles from the British settlement on the Mosquito shore. They are said to be likenesses of chiefs, or other eminent persons. From the descriptions and engravings of them, we have an additional proof of the imperfect state of arts among the Americans.

Note [150]. p. 153.—The learned reader will perceive how much I have been indebted, in this part of my work, to the guidance of the Bishop of Gloucester, who has traced the successive steps by which the human mind advanced in this line of its progress, with much erudition, and greater ingenuity. He is the first, as far as I know, who formed a rational and consistent theory concerning the various modes of writing practised by nations, according to the various degrees of their improvement. Div. Legation of Moses, iii. 69, &c. Some important observations have been added by M. le President de Brosses, the learned and intelligent author of the Traite de la Formation Mecanique des Langues, tom. i. 295, &c.

As the Mexican paintings are the most curious monuments extant of the earliest mode of writing, it will not be improper to give some account of the means by which they were preserved from the general wreck of every work of art in America, and communicated to the public. For the most early and complete collection of these published by Purchas, we are indebted to the attention of that curious inquirer, Hakluyt. Don Antonio Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, having deemed those paintings a proper present for Charles V., the ship in which they were sent to Spain was taken by a French cruiser, and they came into the possession of Thevet, the King's geographer, who, having travelled himself into the New World, and described one of its provinces, was a curious observer of whatever tended to illustrate the manners of the Americans. On his death, they were purchased by Hakluyt, at that time chaplain of the English ambassador to the French court; and being left by him to Purchas, were published at the desire of the learned antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman. Purchas, iii. 1065. They were translated from English into French by Melchizedeck Thevenot, and published in his collection of voyages. A. D. 1683.

The second specimen of Mexican picture-writing was published by Dr. Francis Gemelli Carreri, in two copper-plates. The first is a map, or representation of the progress of the ancient Mexicans on their first arrival in the country, and of the various stations in which they settled, before they founded the capital of their empire in the lake of Mexico. The second is a Chronological Wheel, or Circle, representing the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fifty-two years. He received both from Don Carlos de Siguenza y Congorra, a diligent collector of ancient Mexican Documents. But as it seems now to be a received opinion (founded, as far as I know, on no good evidence), that Carreri was never out of Italy, and that his famous *Giro del Mundo* is an account of a fictitious voyage, I have not mentioned these paintings in the text. They have, however, manifestly the appearance of being Mexican productions, and are allowed to be so by Boturini, who was well qualified to determine whether they were genuine or suppositious, M. Clavigero likewise admits them to be genuine paintings of the ancient Mexicans. To me they always appeared to be so, though from my desire to rest no part of my narrative upon questionable authority, I did not refer to them. The style of painting in the former is considerably more perfect than any other specimen of Mexican design; but as the original is said to have been much defaced by time, I suspect that it has been improved by some touches from the hand of a European artist. Carreri, Churchill, iv. p. 487. The Chronological Wheel is a just delineation of the Mexican mode of computing time, as described by Acosta, lib. vi. c. 2. It seems to resemble one which that learned Jesuit had seen; and if it be admitted as a genuine monument, it proves that the Mexicans had artificial or arbitrary characters, which represented several things besides numbers. Each month is there represented by a symbol expressive of some work or rite peculiar to it.

The third specimen of Mexican painting was discovered by another Italian. In 1736, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci set out for New Spain, and was led by several incidents to study the language of the Mexicans, and to collect the remains of their historical monuments. He persisted nine years in his researches, with the enthusiasm of a projector, and the patience of an antiquary. In 1746, he published at Madrid, *Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*, containing an account of the result of his inquiries; and he added to it a catalogue of his American Historical Museum, arranged under thirty-six different heads. His idea of a New History appears to me the work of a whimsical credulous man. But his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls, calendars, &c. is much larger than one could have expected. Unfortunately a ship, in which he had sent a considerable part of them to Europe, was taken by an English privateer during the war between Great Britain and Spain, which commenced in the year 1739; and it is probable that they perished by falling into the hands of ignorant captors. Boturini himself incurred the displeasure of the Spanish court, and died in an hospital at Madrid. The history of which the *Idea*, &c. was only a *prospectus*, was never published. The remainder of his Museum seems to have been dispersed. Some part of it came into the possession of the present Archbishop of Toledo, when he was primate of New Spain: and he published from it that curious tribute-roll which I have mentioned.

The only other collection of Mexican paintings, as far as I can learn, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. By order of their Imperial Majesties I have obtained such a specimen of these as I desired, in eight paintings made with so much fidelity, that I am informed the copies could hardly be distinguished from the originals. According to a note in this *Codex Mexicanus*, it appears to have been a present from Emmanuel, King of Portugal, to Pope Clement VII. who died A. D. 1533. After passing through the hands of several illustrious proprietors, it fell into those of the Cardinal of Saxe-Eisenach, who presented it to the Emperor Leopold. These paintings are manifestly Mexican, but they are in a style very different from any of the former. An engraving has been made of one of them, in order to gratify such of my readers as may deem this an object worthy of their attention. Were it an object of sufficient importance, it might perhaps be possible, by recourse to the plates of Purchas, and the Archbishop of Toledo, as a key, to form plausible conjectures concerning the meaning of this picture. Many of the figures are evidently similar. A. A. are targets and darts, almost in the same form with those published by Purchas, p. 1070, 1071, &c. B. B. are figures of temples, nearly resembling those in Purchase, p. 1109 and 1113, and in Lorenzana. Plate II C

is a bale of mantles, or cotton cloths, the figure of which occurs in almost every plate of Purchas and Lorenzana. E. E. E. seem to be Mexican captains in their war dress, the fantastic ornaments of which resemble the figures in Purchas, p. 1119, 1111, 2113. I should suppose this picture to be a tribute-roll, as their mode of noting numbers occurs frequently. D. D. D., &c. According to Boturini, the mode of computation by the number of knots was known to the Mexicans as well as to the Peruvians, p. 85, and the manner in which the number of units is represented in the Mexican paintings in my possession seems to confirm this opinion. They plainly resemble a string of knots on a cord or slender rope.

Since I published the former edition, Mr. Waddilove, who is still pleased to continue his friendly attention to procure me information, has discovered, in the Library of the Escurial, a volume in folio, consisting of forty sheets of a kind of pasteboard, each the size of a common sheet of writing paper, with great variety of uncouth and whimsical figures of Mexican painting, in very fresh colors, and with an explanation in Spanish to most of them. The first twenty-two sheets are the signs of the months, days, &c. About the middle of each sheet are two or more large figures for the month, surrounded by the signs of the days. The last eighteen sheets are not so filled with figures. They seem to be signs of Deities, and images of various objects. According to this Calendar in the Escurial, the Mexican year contained 286 days, divided into 22 months of 13 days. Each day is represented by a different sign, taken from some natural object, a serpent, a dog, a lizard, a reed, a house, &c. The signs of days in the Calendar of the Escurial are precisely the same with those mentioned by Boturini, Idea, &c. p. 45. But, if we may give credit to that author, the Mexican year contained 360 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days. The order of days in every month was computed, according to him, first by what he calls a *tridecennary* progression of days from one to thirteen, in the same manner as in the Calendar of the Escurial, and then by a *septenary* progression of days from one to seven, making in all twenty In this Calendar, not only the signs which distinguish each day, but the qualities supposed to be peculiar to each month are marked. There are certain weaknesses which seem to accompany the human mind through every stage of its progress in observation and science. Slender as was the knowledge of the Mexicans in astronomy, it appears to have been already connected with judicial astrology. The fortune and character of persons born in each month are supposed to be decided by some superior influence predominant at the time of nativity. Hence it is foretold in the Calendar, that all who are born in one month will be rich, in another warlike, in a third luxurious, &c. The pasteboard, or whatever substance it may be on which the Calendar in the Escurial is painted, seems, by Mr. Waddilove's description of it, to resemble nearly that in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In several particulars the figures bear some likeness to those in the plate which I have published. The figures marked D, which induced me to conjecture that this painting might be a tribute-roll similar to those published by Purchas and the Archbishop of Toledo, Mr. Waddilove supposes to be signs of days: and I have such confidence in the accuracy of his observations, as to conclude his opinion to be well founded. It appears, from the characters in which the explanations of the figures are written, that this curious monument of Mexican art has been obtained soon after the conquest of the Empire. It is singular that it should never have been mentioned by any Spanish author.

Note [151]. p. 153.—The first was called the Prince of the Deathful Lance; the second the Divider of Men; the third the Shedder of Blood; the fourth the Lord of the Dark-house. Acosta, lib. vi. c. 25.

Note [152]. p. 154.—The temple of Cholula, which was deemed more holy than any in New Spain, was likewise the most considerable. But it was nothing more than a mount of solid earth. According to Torquemada, it was above a quarter of a league in circuit at the base, and rose to the height of forty fathoms. Mon. Ind. lib. iii. c. 19. Even M. Clavigero acknowledges that all the Mexican temples were solid structures, or earthen mounts, and of consequence cannot be considered as any evidence of their having made any considerable progress in the art of building. Clavig. ii. 207.

From inspecting various figures of temples in the paintings engraved by Purchas, there seems to be some reason for suspecting that all their temples were constructed in the same manner. See vol. iii. p. 1109, 1110, 1113.

Note [153]. p. 154.—Not only in Tlascala and Tepeaca, but even in Mexico itself, the houses of the people were mere huts built with turf or mud, or the branches of trees. They were extremely low and slight, and without any furniture but a few earthen vessels. Like the rudest Indians, several families resided under the same roof, without having any separate apartments. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. lib. x. c. 22. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 23.

Note [154]. p. 154.—I am informed by a person who resided long in New Spain, and visited almost every province of it, that there is not, in all the extent of that vast empire, any monument or vestige of any building more ancient than the conquest, nor of any bridge or highway, except some remains of the causeway from Guadaloupe to that gate of Mexico by which Cortes entered the city. MS. *penes me.* The author of another account in manuscript observes, "That at this day there does not remain even the smallest vestige of the existence of any ancient Indian building, public or private, either in Mexico or in any province of New Spain. I have travelled, says he, through all the countries adjacent to them, viz. New Galicia, New Biscay, New Mexico, Sonora, Cinaloa, the New Kingdom of Leon, and New Santandero, without having observed any monument worth notice, except some ruins near an ancient village in the valley *de Casas Grandes*, in lat. N. 3°. 46′. long. 258°. 24′. from the island of Teneriffe, or 460 leagues N. N. W. from Mexico." He describes these ruins minutely, and they appear to be the remains of a paltry building of turf and stone, plastered over with white earth or lime. A missionary informed that gentleman, that he had discovered the ruins of another edifice similar to the former, about a hundred leagues towards N. W. on the banks of the river St. Pedro. MS. *penes me.*

These testimonies derive great credit from one circumstance, that they were not given in support of any particular system or theory, but as simple answers to queries which I had proposed. It is probable, however, that when these gentlemen assert that no ruins or monuments of any ancient work whatever are now to be discovered in the Mexican empire, they meant that there were no such ruins or monuments as conveyed any idea of grandeur or magnificence in the works of its ancient inhabitants. For it appears from the testimony of several Spanish authors, that in Otumba, Tlascala, Cholula, &c. some vestiges of ancient buildings are still visible. Villa Segnor Theatro Amer. p. 143. 308. 353. D. Fran. Ant. Lorenzana, formerly Archbishop of Mexico, and now of Toledo, in his introduction to that edition of the Cartas de Relacion of Cortes, which he published at Mexico, mentions some ruins which are still visible in several of the towns through which Cortes passed in his way to the capital, p. 4, &c. But neither of these authors gives any description of them, and they seem to be so very inconsiderable, as to show only that some buildings had once been there. The large mount of earth at Cholula, which the Spaniards dignified with the name of temple, still remains, but without any steps by which to ascend, or any facing of stone. It appears now like a natural mount, covered with grass and shrubs, and possibly it was never any thing more. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 19 I have received a minute description of the remains of a temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. It is composed of large stones, fitted to each other as nicely as those in the buildings of the Peruvians, which are hereafter mentioned. At the foundation it forms a square of twenty-five yards; but as it rises in height it diminishes in extent, not gradually, but by being contracted suddenly at regular distances, so that it must have resembled the figure B. in the plate. It terminated, it is said, in a spire.

Note [155.] p. 154—The exaggeration of the Spanish historians, with respect to the number of human victims sacrificed in Mexico, appears to be very great. According to Gomara, there was no year in which twenty thousand human victims were not offered to the Mexican Divinities, and in some years they amounted to fifty thousand. Cron. c. 229. The skulls of those unhappy persons were ranged in order in a building erected for that purpose, and two of Cortes's officers, who had counted them, informed Gomara that their number was a hundred and thirty-six thousand. Ibid. c. 82. Herrera's account is still more incredible, that the number of victims was so great, that five thousand have been sacrificed in one day, nay, on some occasions, no less than twenty thousand. Dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 16. Torquemada goes beyond both in extravagance; for he asserts that twenty thousand children, exclusive of other victims, were slaughtered annually. Mon. Ind. lib. vii. c. 21. The most respectable authority in favor of such high numbers is that of Zumurraga, the first Bishop of Mexico, who, in a letter to the chapter-general of his order, A. D. 1631, asserts, that the Mexicans sacrificed annually twenty thousand victims. Davila. Teatro Eccles. 126. In opposition to all these accounts, B. de las Casas observes, that if there had been such an annual waste of the human species, the country could never have arrived at that degree of populousness for which it was remarkable when the Spaniards first landed there. This reasoning is just. If the number of victims in all the provinces of New Spain had been so great, not only must population have been prevented from increasing, but the human race must have been exterminated in a short time. For besides the waste of the species by such numerous sacrifices, it is observable that wherever the fate of captives taken in war is either certain death or perpetual slavery, as men can gain nothing by submitting speedily to an enemy, they always resist to the uttermost, and war becomes bloody and destructive to the last degree. Las Casas positively asserts, that the Mexicans never sacrificed more than fifty or a hundred persons in a year. See his dispute with Sepulveda, subjoined to his Brevissima Relacion, p. 105. Cortes does not specify what number of victims was sacrificed annually; but B. Diaz del Castillo relates that, an inquiry having been made with respect to this by the Franciscan monks who were sent into New Spain immediately after the conquest, it was found that about two thousand five hundred were sacrificed every year in Mexico, C. 207.

Note [156]. p. 155.—It is hardly necessary to observe, that the Peruvian Chronology is not only obscure, but repugnant to conclusions deduced from the most accurate and extensive observations, concerning the time that elapses during each reign, in any given succession of Princes. The medium has been found not to exceed twenty years. According to Acosta and Garcilasso de la Vega, Huana Capac, who died about the year 1527, was the twelfth Inca. According to this rule of computing, the duration of the Peruvian monarchy ought not to have been reckoned above two hundred and forty years; but they affirm that it had subsisted four hundred years. Acosta, lib. vi. c. 19 Vega, lib. i. c. 9. By this account each reign is extended at a medium to thirty-three years, instead of twenty, the number ascertained by Sir Isaac Newton's observations; but so imperfect were the Peruvian traditions, that though the total is boldly marked, the number of years in each reign is unknown.

Note [157]. p. 155.—Many of the earliest Spanish writers assert that the Peruvians offered human sacrifices. Xeres, p. 190. Zarate, lib. i. c. 11. Acosta, lib. v. c. 19. But Garcilasso de la Vega contends, that though this barbarous practice prevailed among their uncivilized ancestors, it was totally abolished by the Incas, and that no human victim was ever offered in any temple of the Sun. This assertion, and the plausible reasons with which he confirms it, are sufficient to refute the Spanish writers, whose accounts seem to be founded entirely upon report, not upon what they themselves had observed. Vega, lib. ii. c. 4. In one of their festivals, the Peruvians offered cakes of bread moistened with blood drawn from the arms, the eyebrows, and noses of their children. Id lib. vii. c. 6. This rite may have been derived from their ancient practice, in their uncivilized state, of sacrificing human victims.

Note [158] p. 156.—The Spaniards have adopted both those customs of the ancient Peruvians. They have preserved some of the aqueducts or canals, made in the days of the Incas, and have made new ones, by which they water every field that they cultivate. Ulloa Voyage, tom. i. 422. 477. They likewise continue to use *guano*, or the dung of sea-fowls, as manure. Ulloa gives a description of the almost incredible quantity of it in the small islands near the coast. Ibid. 481.

Note [159]. p. 156.—The temple of Cayambe, the palace of the Inca at Callo in the plain of Lacatunga, and that of Atun-Cannar, are described by Ulloa, tom. i. 286, &c. who inspected them with great care. M. de Condamine published a curious memoir concerning

the ruins of Atun-Cannar. Mem. de l'Academie de Berlin, A. D. 1746, p. 435. Acosta describes the ruins of Cuzco, which he had examined. Lib. vi. c. 14. Garcilasso, in his usual style, gives pompous and confused descriptions of several temples and other public edifices. Lib. iii. c. 1. c. 21. lib. vi. c. 4. Don. ——Zapata, in a large treatise concerning Peru, which has not hitherto been published, communicates some information with respect to several monuments of the ancient Peruvians, which have not been mentioned by other authors. MS. *penes me*. Articulo xx. Ulloa describes some of the ancient Peruvian fortifications, which were likewise works of great extent and solidity. Tom. i. 391. Three circumstances struck all those observers; the vast size of the stones which the Peruvians employed in some of their buildings. Acosta measured one, which was thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and six in thickness; and yet, he adds, that in the fortress at Cuzco there were stones considerably larger. It is difficult to conceive how the Peruvians could move these, and raise them to the height even of twelve feet. The second circumstance is, the imperfection of the Peruvian art, when applied to working in timber. By the patience and perseverance natural to Americans, stones may be formed into any shape, merely by rubbing one against another, or by the use of hatchets or other instruments made of stone; but with such rude tools little progress can be made in carpentry. The Peruvians could not mortise two beams together, or give any degree of union or stability to any work composed of timber. As they could not form a centre, they were totally unacquainted with the use of arches in building; nor can the Spanish authors conceive how they were able to frame a roof for those ample structures which they raised.

The third circumstance is a striking proof, which all the monuments of the Peruvians furnish, of their want of ingenuity and invention, accompanied with patience no less astonishing. None of the stones employed in those works were formed into any particular or uniform shape, which could render them fit for being compacted together in building. The Indians took them as they fell from the mountains, or were raised out of the quarries. Some were square, some triangular, some convex, some concave. Their art and industry were employed in joining them together, by forming such hollows in the one as perfectly corresponded to the projections or risings in the other. This tedious operation, which might have been so easily abridged by adapting the surface of the stones to each other, either by rubbing, or by their hatchets of copper, would be deemed incredible, if it were not put beyond doubt by inspecting the remains of those buildings. It gives them a very singular appearance to a European eye. There is no regular layer or stratum of building, and no one stone resembles another in dimensions or form. At the same time, by the persevering but ill-directed industry of the Indians, they are all joined with that minute nicety which I have mentioned. Ulloa made this observation concerning the form of the stones in the fortress of Atun-Cannar. Voy. i. p. 387. Penito gives a similar description of the fortress of Cuzco, the most perfect of all the Peruvian works. Zapata MS. *penes me*. According to M. de Condamine, there were regular strata of building in some parts of Atun-Cannar, which he remarks as singular, and as a proof of some progress in improvement.

Note [160] p. 156.—The appearance of those bridges which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are considerably agitated by the motion of every person who passes along them, is very frightful at first. But the Spaniards have found them to be the easiest mode of passing the torrents in Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more solid structures either of stone or timber. They form those hanging bridges so strong and broad, that loaded mules pass along them. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of such a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, tom. i. p. 358. A more simple contrivance was employed in passing smaller streams: A basket, in which the traveller was placed, being suspended from a strong rope stretched across the stream, it was pushed or drawn from one side to the other. Ibid.

Note [161]. p. 158.—My information with respect to those events is taken from *Noticia breve* de la expedicion militar de Sinora y Cinaloa, su exito feliz, y [illegible] de ello, se [illegible] provincias, published at Mexico, June 17th, 1771, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the merchants, who had furnished the viceroy with money for defraying the expense of the armament. The copies of this *Noticia* are very rare in Madrid; but I have obtained one, which has enabled me to communicate these curious facts to the public. According to this account, there was found in the mine Yecorato in Cinaloa a grain of gold of twenty-two carats, which weighed sixteen marks four ounces four ochavas; this was sent to Spain as a present fit for the king, and is now deposited in the royal cabinet at Madrid.

Note [162]. p. 158.—The uncertainty of geographers with respect to this point is remarkable, for Cortes seems to have surveyed its coasts with great accuracy. The Archbishop of Toledo has published from the original in the possession of the Marquis del Valle, the descendant of Cortes, a map drawn in 1541, by the pilot Domingo Castillo, in which California is laid down as a peninsula, stretching out nearly in the same direction which is now given to it in the best maps; and the point where Rio Colorada enters the gulf is marked with precision. Hist. de Nueva Espagna, 327.

Note [163.] p. 158—I am indebted for this fact to M. L'Abbe Raynal, tom. iii, 103; and upon consulting an intelligent person, long settled on the Mosquito shore, and who has been engaged in the logwood trade, I find that ingenious author has been well informed. The logwood cut near the town of St. Francis of Campeachy is of much better quality than that on the other side of Yucatan: and the English trade in the Bay of Honduras is almost at an end.

Note [164.] p. 160—P. Torribio de Benevente, or Motolinea, has enumerated ten causes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the Ten Plagues. Many of these are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the small pox. This disease was first brought into New Spain in the year 1520, by a Negro-slave, who attended Narvaez in his expedition against Cortes. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people in the provinces visited with this distemper died. To this mortality, occasioned by the small pox, Torquemada adds the destructive effects of two contagious distempers which raged in the year 1545 and 1576. In the former 800,000, in the latter, above two millions perished, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. Mon. Ind. i. 642. The small pox was not introduced into Peru for several years after the invasion of the Spaniards; but, there, too, that distemper proved very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origin, p. 88. 2. The numbers who were killed or died of famine in their war with the Spaniards, particularly during the siege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all the people engaged, either on one side or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something similar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous tasks imposed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to their Repartimientos. 5. The oppressive burden of taxes which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any provision made for their subsistence, and subjected to all the rigor of cold in those elevated regions. 7. The immense labor of rebuilding Mexico, which Cortes urged on with such precipitate ardor as destroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to servitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the silver mines. These, marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. 9. The nature of the labor to which they were subjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldness of the climate, and scarcity were so fatal, that Torribio affirms the country round several of those mines, particularly near Guaxago, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their stench, and so many vultures and other voracious birds hovered about for their prey, that the sun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, destroyed many of the natives whom they compelled to serve them as *Tamemes*, or carriers of burdens. This last mode of oppression was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who perished in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the east of the Andes, one may form some idea of what they suffered in similar services, and how fast they were wasted by them. Torribio, MS. Corita, in his Breve y Summaria Relacion, illustrates and confirms several of Torribio's observations, to which he refers. MS. *penes me*.

Note [165.] p. 160.—Even Montesquieu has adopted this idea, lib. viii. c 18. But the passion of that great man for system sometimes rendered him inattentive to research; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt, in some instances, to overlook obvious and just causes.

Note [166]. p. 160.—A strong proof of this occurs in the testament of Isabella, where she discovers the most tender concern for the humane and mild usage of the Indians. Those laudable sentiments of the queen have been adopted in the public law of Spain, and serve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title *Of the good treatment of the Indians*. Reco pil. lib. vi. tit. x.

Note [167] p. 160.—In the seventh *Title* of the first book of the *Recopilacion*, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbishops and bishops, almost a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpose, in order to defend them from oppression either with respect to their persons or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honorable and humane office, but the ecclesiastics of America actually exercise it.

Innumerable proofs of this might be produced from Spanish authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not disposed to ascribe any merit to the popish clergy to which they were not fully entitled. Survey, p. 142. 192, &c. Henry Hawks, an English merchant, who resided five years in New Spain previous to the year 1572, gives the same favorable account of the popish clergy. Hakluyt, iii. 466. By a law of Charles V. not only bishops, but other ecclesiastics, are empowered to inform and admonish the civil magistrates, if any Indian is deprived of his just liberty and rights Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley 14. and thus were constituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spanish ecclesiastics refused to grant absolution to such of their countrymen as possessed *Encomiendas*, and considered the Indians as slaves, or employed them in working their mines. Gonz. Davil. Teatro. Eccles. i. 157.

Note [168]. p. 160.—According to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 4000 families; and he mentions it only as one of the largest Indian towns in America, p. 104.

Note [169.] p. 160—It is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the state of population in those kingdoms of Europe where the police is most perfect, and where science has made the greatest progress. In Spanish America, where knowledge is still in its infancy, and few men have leisure to engage in researches merely speculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V, enjoined the viceroys and governors of the several provinces in America, to make an actual survey of the people under their jurisdiction, and to transmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In consequence of this order, the Conde de Fuen-Clara, Viceroy of New Spain, appointed D Jos. Antonio de Villa Segnor y Sanchez to execute that commission in New Spain. From the reports of the magistrates in the several districts, as well as from his own observations and long acquaintance with most of the provinces, Villa Segnor published the result of his inquiries in his *Teatro Americano*. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceses, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has published an account of five only, viz. the archbishop of Mexico, the bishoprics of Puebla de los Angeles, Mechoacan, Oazaca and Nova Galicia. The bishoprics of Yucatan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatimala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his survey of the extensive diocess of Nova Galicia, the situation of the different Indian villages is described, but he specifies the number of people only in a small part of it. The Indians of that extensive province, in which the Spanish dominion is imperfectly established, are not registered with the same accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual state of population in the five dioceses above mentioned is of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, in the dioceses of

	Families.
Mexico	105,202
Los Angeles	30,600
Mechoacan	30,840
Oaxaca	7,296
NovaGalicia	16,770
	190,708
At the rate of five to a family, the total number is	953,540
Indian families in the diocess of Mexico	119,511
Los Angeles	88,240
Mechoacan	36,196
Oaxaca	44,222
Nova Galicia	6,222
	294,391

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with great certainty on this computation of the number of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or register, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four diocesses of nine are totally omitted, and in that of Nova Galicia the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

The account of the number of Spaniards, &c. seems not to be equally complete. Of many places, Villa Segnor observes in general terms, that several Spaniards, negroes, and people of mixed race, reside there, without specifying their number. If, therefore, we make allowance for these, and for all who resided in the four diocesses omitted, the number of Spaniards, and of those of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half. In some places Villa Segnor distinguishes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, and marks their number separately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion observable in those places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the state of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifest that the number of negroes and persons of a mixed race far exceeds that of Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

Defective as this account may be, I have not been able to procure such intelligence concerning the number of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally satisfying with respect to the degree of its population. I have been informed that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the viceroyalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the king. As all females, and persons under age are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought by that account to be 2,449,120. MS. *penes me.*

I shall mention another mode by which one may compute, or at least form a guess concerning the state of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reason to consider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada exported to Peru on each new publication, is, 1,171,953; to New Spain, 2,649, 326. I am informed that but few Indians purchase bulls, and that they are sold chiefly to the Spanish inhabitants, and those of mixed race; so that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount, by this mode of computation, to at least three millions.

The number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spanish America may give us some idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate but popular notion entertained in Great Britain concerning the weak and desolate state of their colonies. The city of Mexico contains at least 150,000 people. It is remarkable that Torquemada, who wrote his *Monarquia Indiana* about the year 1612, reckons the inabitants of Mexico at that time to be only 7000 Spaniards and 8000 Indians. Lib. iii. c. 26. Tuebla de los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Segnor, p. 247. Guadalaxara contains above 30,000 exclusive of Indians. Ibid. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. De Cosme Bueno Descr. de Peru, 1764. Carthagena contains 25,000. Potosi contains 25,000. Bueno, 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a second class are still more numerous. The cities in the most thriving settlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with these.

Such are the detached accounts of the number of people in several towns, which I found scattered in authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I commuicate it to the public, both to gratify curiosity, and to rectify the mistaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Francisco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Besides the city, there are in the *Corregimiento* twenty-nine *curas* or parishes established in the principal villages, each of which has smaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of these are mostly Indians and mestizos. St. Juan de Pasto has between 6 and 8000 inhabitants, besides twenty-seven dependent villages. St. Miguel de Ibarra, 7000 citizens and ten villages. The district of Havalla, between 18 and 20,000 people. The district of Tacuna, between 10 and 12,000. The district of Ambato, between 8 and 10,000, besides sixteen depending villages The city of Riobamba, between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and nine depending villages. The district of Chimbo, between 6 and 8000. The city of Guayaquil, from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and fourteen depending villages. The district of Atuasi, between 5 and 6000 inhabitants, and four depending villages. The city of Cuenza, between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants, and nine populous depending villages. The town of Laxa, from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and fourteen depending villages. This degree of population, though slender if we consider the vast extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly supposed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the only province in Spanish America that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotton stuffs, and coarse woollen cloths are made there in such quantities as to be sufficient not only for the consumption of the province, but to furnish a considerable article for exportation into other parts of Spanish America. I know not whether the uncommon industry of this province should be considered as the cause or the effect of its populousness. But among the ostentatious inhabitants of the New World, the passion for every thing that comes from Europe is so violent, that I am informed the manufactures of Quito are so much undervalued as to be on the decline.

Note [170]. p. 161.—These are established at the following places:—St. Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firme, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalaxara in New Galicia, Santa Fe in the New Kingdom of Granada, La Plata in the country of Los Charcas, St. Francisco de Quito, St. Jago de Chili, Buenos Ayres. To each of these are subjected several large provinces, and some so far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their jurisdiction. The Spanish writers commonly reckon up twelve Courts of Audience, but they include that of Manilla, in the Philippine islands.

Note [171]. p. 161.—On account of the distance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of such bulk as wine and oil across the isthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in those provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives: but they are strictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to any of the provinces on the Pacific Ocean, which are in such a situation as to receive them from Spain Reco. lib. i. tit. xvii. l. 15—18.

Note [172]. p. 162.—This computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the discovery of America. Hist. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the spirit of a malecontent, disposed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is probable that his calculation is considerably too low.

Note [173]. p. 162.—My information with respect to the division and transmission of property in the Spanish colonies is imperfect. The Spanish authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended sufficiently to the effects of their own institutions and laws. Solorzano de Jure Ind. (vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16,) explains in some measure the introduction of the tenure of *Mayorasgo*, and mentions some of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a singular consequence of it. He observes, that in some of the best situations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houses once erected upon it; and adds, that as this ground is held by right of *Mayorasgo*, and cannot be alienated, that desolation and those ruins become perpetual, Teatr. Amer. vol. i. p. 34.

Note [174]. p. 162.—There is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or ecclesiastic. On the contrary, there are many *Cedulas*, which recommend the conferring places of trust indiscriminately on the natives of Spain and America. Betancourt y Figueroa Derecho, &c. p. 5, 6. But, notwithstanding such repeated recommendations, preferment in almost every line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author last quoted. From the discovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and sixty-nine bishops, or archbishops, have been appointed to the different dioceses in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles p. 40. This predilection for Europeans seems still to continue. By a royal mandate, issued in 1776, the chapter of the cathedral of Mexico is directed to nominate European ecclesiasties of known merit and abilities, that the King may appoint them to supply vacant benefices. MS. *penes me.*

Note [175]. p. 162.—Moderate as this tribute may appear, such is the extreme poverty of the Indians in many provinces of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios, p. 192.

Note [176]. p. 163.—In New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and services of the first conquerors, as well as the small revenue arising from the country previous to the discovery of the mines of Sacatecas, the *encomiendas* were granted for three, and sometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi, tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

Note [177]. p, 163.—D. Ant. Ulloa contends, that working in mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Mestizos and Indians, who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themselves as miners; and several of the Indians, when the legal term of their service expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. *Entreten.* p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholesomeness of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any species of labor, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be, D. Hern. Carillo Altamirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, says he, the number of Indians decreases; but in the province of Campeachy. where there are no mines, the number of Indians has increased more than a third since the conquest of America, though neither the soil nor climate be so favorable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert Collect. In another memorial presented to Philip III. in the year 1609, Captain Juan Gonzales de Azevedo asserts, that in every district of Peru where the Indians are compelled to labor in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in some places to the third, of what it was under the viceroyalty of Don Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

Note [178]. p. 163.—As labor of this kind cannot be prescribed with legal accuracy, the tasks seem to be in a great measure arbitrary, and, like the services exacted by feudal superiors *in vinea prato, aut messe,* from their vassals, are extremely burdensome, and often wantonly oppressive. Pagna Itiner. par Paroches de Indios.

Note [179]. p. 163.—The turn of service known in Peru by the name of *Mita* is called *Tanda* in New Spain. There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No person is called to serve at a greater distance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is less oppressive to the Indians than that established in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert Collect.

Note [180]. p. 163.—The strongest proof of this may be deduced from the laws themselves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuses, we may form an idea of the number of abuses that prevail. Though the laws have wisely provided that no Indian shall be obliged to serve in any mine at a greater distance from his place of residence than thirty miles; we are informed, in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altamirano presented to the king, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to serve in mines at the distance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are situated in parts of the country so barren and so distant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the necessity of procuring laborers

to work there has obliged the Spanish monarchs to dispense with their own regulations in several instances, and to permit the viceroys to compel the people of more remote provinces to resort to those mines. Escalona Gazophyl. Perub. lib. i. c. 16. But, in justice to them, it should be observed that they have been studious to alleviate this oppression as much as possible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method in order to induce the Indians to settle in some part of the country adjacent to the mines. Id. ibid.

Note [181]. p. 163.—Torquemada, after a long enumeration which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monasteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind lib. xix. c. 32. The number of Monasteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa Segnor Theat. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning those for nuns, he says that a small town might be peopled out of them, the number of persons shut up there is so great. Voy. i. 429. Philip III. in a letter to the Viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, observes, that the number of convents in Lima was so great, that they covered more ground than all the rest of the city. Solorz. lib. iii c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The first monastery in New Spain was founded A. D. 1525, four years only after the conquest. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

According to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete establishment of the American church in all the Spanish settlements was, in the year 1649, 1 patriarch, 6 archbishops, 32 bishops, 346 prebends, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 840 convents. Teatro Ecclesiastico de las Ind. Occident. Vol. i. Pref. When the order of Jesuits was expelled from all the Spanish dominions, the colleges, *professed* houses, and residences which it possessed in the province of New Spain were thirty, in Quito sixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru seventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen; in all, a hundred and twelve. Collection General de Providencias hasta aqui tomadas sobre estranamento. &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19 The number of Jesuits, priests, and novices in all these amounted to 2245. MS. *penes me.*

In the year 1644 the city of Mexico presented a petition to the king, praying that no new monastery might be founded, and that the revenues of those already established might be circumscribed, otherwise the religious houses would soon acquire the property of the whole country. The petitioners request likewise, that the bishops might be laid under restrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above six thousand clergymen without any living. Ibid. p. 16. These abuses must have been enormous indeed, when the superstition of American Spaniards was shocked, and induced to remonstrate against them.

Note [182]. p. 166.—This description of the manners of the Spanish clergy I should not have ventured to give upon the testimony of Protestant authors alone, as they may be suspected of prejudice or exaggeration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any Protestant to view the interior state of Spanish America, describes the corruption of the church which he had forsaken with so much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I should have distrusted his evidence, though it communicates some very curious and striking facts. But Benzoni mentions the profligacy of ecclesiastics in America at a very early period after their settlement there. Hist. lib. ii. c. 19. 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent observer, and zealous for his own religion, paints the dissolute manners of the Spanish ecclesiastics in Peru, particularly the regulars, in stronger colors than I have employed. Voy. p. 51. 215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account. Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumstances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reason to believe that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are still extremely indecent. Acosta himself acknowledges that great corruption of manners had been the consequence of permitting monks to forsake the retirement and discipline of the cloister, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian parishes. De Procur Ind Salute, lib. iv. c. 13, &c. He mentions particularly those vices of which I have taken notice and considers the temptations to them as so formidable, that he leans to the opinion of those who hold that the regular clergy should not be employed as parish priests. Lib. v. c. 20. From the admissions of the regulars about that many and great irregularities abounded among the monks of different orders, when set free from the restraint of monastic discipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought against them was not destitute of truth. In the French colonies the state of the regular clergy is nearly the same as in the Spanish settlements, and the same consequences have followed. M. Biet, superior of the secular priests in Cayenne, inquires, with no less appearance of piety than of candor, into the causes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from the jurisdiction and censures of their diocessans; to the temptations to which they are exposed; and to their engaging in commerce. Voy. p. 320. It is remarkable, that all the authors who censure the licentiousness of the Spanish regulars with the greatest severity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jesuits. Formed under a discipline more perfect than that of the other monastic orders, or animated by that concern for the honor of the society which takes such full possession of every member of the order, the Jesuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, maintain a most irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil. i. 34. The same praise is likewise due to the bishops and most of the dignified clergy. Frez. Ibid.

A volume of the Gazette de Mexico for the years 1728, 1729, 1730, having been communicated to me, I find there a striking confirmation of what I have advanced concerning the spirit of low illiberal superstition prevalent in Spanish America. From the newspapers of any nation one may learn what are the objects which chiefly engross its attention, and which appear to it most interesting. The Gazette of Mexico is filled almost entirely with accounts of religious functions, with descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications of saints, festivals, autos de fe, &c. Civil or commercial affairs, and even the transactions of Europe, occupy but a small corner in this magazine of monthly intelligence. From the titles of new books, which are regularly inserted in this Gazette, it appears that two thirds of them are treatises of scholastic theology or of monkish devotion.

Note [183]. p. 164.—Solorzano, after mentioning the corrupt morals of some of the regular clergy, with that cautious reserve which became a Spanish layman in touching on a subject so delicate, gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmness, against committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the testimony of several respectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. De Jure Ind. ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A striking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Esquilache to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were presented to the king by the procurators for the monastic orders, and replies were made to these in name of the secular clergy. An eager and even rancorous spirit is manifest on both sides in the conduct of this dispute.

Note [184.] p. 164—Not only the native Indians, but the *Mestizos*, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the priesthood, and refused admission into any religious order. But by a law issued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain such mestizos born in lawful wedlock, as they should find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monastery where they had gone through a regular noviciate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard seems to have been paid to this law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a representation of this to Charles II. in the year 1697, he issued a new edict, enforcing the observation of it, and professing his desire to have all his subjects, Indians and mestizos, as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the same privileges. Such, however, was the aversion of the Spaniards in America to the Indians and their race, that this seems to have produced little effect; for in the year 1795 Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But so unsurmountable are hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the present king has been constrained to enforce the former edicts anew, by a law published September 11, 1774. Real Cedula, MS. *penes me.*

M Clavigero has contradicted what I have related concerning the ecclesiastical state of the Indians, particularly their exclusion from the sacrament of the eucharist, and from holy orders, either as seculars or regulars, in such a manner as cannot fail to make a deep impression. He, from his own knowledge, asserts, "that in New Spain not only are Indians permitted to partake of the sacrament of the altar, but that Indian priests are so numerous that they may be counted by hundreds; and among these have been many hundreds of rectors, canons, and doctors, and, as report goes, even a very learned bishop. At present there are many priests, and not a few rectors, among whom there have been three or four our own pupils." Vol. II. 348, &c. I owe it, therefore, as a duty to the public as well as to myself, to consider each of these points with care, and to explain the reasons which induced me to adopt the opinion which I have published.

I knew that in the Christian church there is no distinction of persons, but that men of every nation, who embrace the religion of Jesus, are equally entitled to every Christian privilege which they are qualified to receive. I knew likewise that an opinion prevailed, not only among most of the Spanish laity settled in America, but among "many ecclesiastics (I use the words of Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 15), that the Indians were not perfect or rational men, and were not possessed of such capacity as qualified them to partake of the sacrament of the altar, or of any other benefit of our religion." It was against this opinion that Las Casas contended with the laudable zeal which I have described in Books III. and VI. But as the Bishop of Darien, Doctor Sepulvida, and other respectable ecclesiastics, vigorously supported the common opinion concerning the incapacity of the Indians, it became necessary, in order to determine the point, that the authority of the Holy See should be interposed; and accordingly Paul III. issued a bull, A. D, 1537, in which, after condemning the opinion of those who held that the Indians, as being on a level with brute beasts, should be reduced to servitude, he declares that they were really men, and as such were capable of embracing the Christian religion, and participating of all its blessings. My account of this bull, notwithstanding the cavils of M Clavigero, must appear just to every person who takes the trouble of perusing it; and my account is the same with that adopted by Torquemada, lib. xvi. c. 25, and by Garcia, Orig. p. 311. But even after this decision, so low did the Spaniards residing in America rate the capacity of the natives, that the first council of Lima (I call it by that name on the authority of the best Spanish authors) discountenanced the admission of Indians to the holy communion Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20. In New Spain the exclusion of Indians from the sacrament was still more explicit. Ibid. After two centuries have elapsed, and notwithstanding all the improvement that the Indians may be supposed to have derived from their intercourse with the Spaniards during that period, we are informed by D. Ant. Ulloa, that in Peru, where, as will appear in the sequel of this note, they are supposed to be better instructed than in New Spain, their ignorance is so prodigious that very few are permitted to communicate, as being altogether destitute of the requisite capacity. Voy. i. 341, &c. Solorz. Polit. Ind. i. 203.

With respect to the exclusion of Indians from the priesthood, either as seculars or regulars, we may observe that while it continued to be the common opinion that the natives of America, on account of their incapacity, should not be permitted to partake of the holy sacrament, we cannot suppose that they would be clothed with that sacred character which entitled them to consecrate and to dispense it. When Torquemada composed his *Monarquia Indiana* it was almost a century after the conquest of New Spain; and yet in his time it was still the general practice to exclude Indians from holy orders. Of this we have the most satisfying evidence. Torquemada having celebrated the virtues and graces of the Indians at great length, and with all the complacency of a missionary, he starts as an objection to what he had asserted, "If the Indians really possess all the excellent qualities which you have described, why are they not permitted to assume the religious habit? Why are they not ordained priests and bishops, as the Jewish and Gentile converts were in the primitive church, especially as they might be employed with such superior advantage to other persons in the instruction of their countrymen!" Lib. xvii. c. 13.

In answer to this objection, which establishes, in the most unequivocal manner, what was the general practice at that period, Torquemada observes, that although by their natural dispositions the Indians are well fitted for a subordinate situation, they are destitute of all the qualities requisite in any station of dignity and authority; and that they are in general so addicted to drunkenness, that upon the slightest temptation one cannot promise on their behaving with the decency suitable to the clerical character. The propriety of excluding them from it, on these accounts, was he ob-

served, so well justified by experience, that when a foreigner of great erudition, who came from Spain, condemned the practice of the Mexican church, he was convinced of his mistake in a public disputation with the learned and most religious Father D. Juan de Gaona, and his retraction is still extant. Torquemada indeed acknowledges, as M. Clavigero observes with a degree of exultation, that in his own time some Indians had been admitted into monasteries; but, with the art of a disputant, he forgets to mention that Torquemada specifies only two examples of this, and takes notice that in both instances those Indians had been admitted by mistake. Relying upon the authority of Torquemada with regard to New Spain, and of Ulloa with regard to Peru, and considering the humiliating depression of the Indians in all the Spanish settlements, I concluded that they were not admitted into the ecclesiastical order, which is held in the highest veneration all over the New World.

But when M. Clavigero, upon his own knowledge asserted facts so repugnant to the conclusion I had formed, I began to distrust it, and to wish for further information. In order to obtain this, I applied to a Spanish nobleman, high in office, and eminent for his abilities, who, on different occasions, has permitted me to have the honor and benefit of corresponding with him. I have been favored with the following answer: "What you have written concerning the admission of Indians into holy orders, or into monasteries, in Book VIII., especially as it is explained and limited in Note LXXXVIII. of the quarto edition, is in general accurate, and conformable to the authorities which you quote. And although the congregation of the council resolved and declared, Feb. 13, A. D. 1682, that the circumstance of being an Indian, or mulatto, or mestizo, did not disqualify any person from being admitted into holy orders, if he was possessed of what was required by the canons to entitle him to that privilege; this only proves such ordinations to be legal and valid (of which Solorzano and the Spanish lawyers and historians quoted by him, Pol. Ind. lib. ii. c. 29, were persuaded), but it neither proves the propriety of admitting Indians into holy orders, nor what was then the common practice with respect to this; but, on the contrary, it shows that there was some doubt concerning the ordaining of Indians, and some repugnance to it.

"Since that time there have been some examples of admitting Indians into holy orders. We have now at Madrid an aged priest, a native of Tlascala. His name is D. Juan Cerilo de Castilla Aquihual Cattehuttle, descended of a cazique converted to Christianity soon after the conquest. He studied the ecclesiastical sciences in a seminary of Puebla de los Angeles. He was a candidate, nevertheless, for ten years, and it required much interest before Bishop Abren would consent to ordain him. This ecclesiastic was a man of unexceptionable character, modest, self-denied, and with a competent knowledge of what relates to his clerical functions. He came to Madrid above thirty-four years ago with the sole view of soliciting admission for the Indians into the colleges and seminaries in New Spain, that if, after being well instructed and tried, they should find an inclination to enter into the ecclesiastical state, they might embrace it, and perform its functions with the greatest benefit to their countrymen, whom they could address in their native tongue. He has obtained various regulations favorable to his scheme, particularly that the first college which became vacant in consequence of the exclusion of the Jesuits should be set apart for this purpose. But neither these regulations, nor any similar ones inserted in the laws of the Indies, have produced any effect, on account of objections and representations from the greater part of persons of chief consideration employed in New Spain. Whether their opposition be well founded or not is a problem difficult to resolve, and towards the solution of which several distinctions and modifications are requisite.

"According to the accounts of this ecclesiastic, and the information of other persons who have resided in the Spanish dominions in America, you may rest assured, that in the kingdom of Tierra Firme no such thing is known as either an Indian secular priest or monk; and that in New Spain there are very few ecclesiastics of Indian race. In Peru, perhaps, the number may be greater, as in that country there are more Indians who possess the means of acquiring such a learned education as is necessary for persons who aspire to the clerical character."

Note [185]. p. 165.—Uztariz, an accurate and cautious calculator, seems to admit, that the quantity of silver which does not pay duty, may be stated thus high. According to Herrera there was not above a third of what was extracted from Potosi that paid the king's fifth. Dec. 8. lib, ii. c. 15. Solorzano asserts likewise, that the quantity of silver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly stamped, after paying the fifth. De Ind. Jure, vol. ii. lib. v. p. 846.

Note [186]. p. 165.—When the mines of Potosi were discovered in the year 1545, the veins were so near the surface, that the ore was easily extracted, and so rich that it was refined with little trouble and at a small expense, merely by the action of fire. The simple mode of refining by fusion alone continued until the year 1574, when the use of mercury in refining silver, as well as gold, was discovered. Those mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now sunk so deep, that the expense of extracting the ore is greatly increased. Besides this, the richness of the ore, contrary to what happens in most other mines, has become less as the vein continued to dip. The vein has likewise diminished to such a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards should persist in working it. Other rich mines have been successively discovered, but in general the value of the ores has decreased so much, while the expense of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain in the year 1736 reduced the duty payable to the king from a *fifth* to a *tenth*. All the quicksilver used in Peru is extracted from the famous mine of Guancabelica, discovered in the year 1563. The crown has reserved the property of this mine to itself; and the persons who purchase the quicksilver pay not only the price of it, but likewise a *fifth*, as a duty to the king. But in the year 1761 this duty on quicksilver was abolished, on account of the increase of expense in working mines. Ulloa, Entretenimientos, xii—xv. Voyage, i. p. 505. 523. In consequence of this abolition of the *fifth*, and some subsequent abatements of price, which became necessary on account of the increasing expense of working mines, quicksilver which was formerly sold at eighty pesos the quintal, is now delivered by the king at the rate of sixty pesos. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. ii. 132, note. The duty on gold is reduced to a *twentieth*, or five per cent. Any of my readers who are desirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct the working of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate description of the ancient method by Acosta, lib. iv. c. 1—13, and of their more recent improvements in the metallurgic art, by Gamboa Comment. a las ordenanz. de Minas, c. 22.

Note [187] p. 165.—Many remarkable proofs occur of the advanced state of industry in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was considerable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The causes of this I have explained. Hist. of Cha. V. p. 68. Wherever cities are populous that species of industry which is peculiar to them increases: artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American trade in giving activity to these is manifest from a singular fact. In the year 1545, while Spain continued to depend on its own industry for the supply of its own colonies, so much work was bespoke from the manufacturers, that it was supposed they could hardly finish it in less than six years. Campom. i. 406. Such a demand must have put much industry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in silk or woolen work, and that above 130,000 persons had occupation in carrying on these manufactures. Campom. ii. 472. But so rapid and pernicious was the operation of the causes which I shall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

Since the publication of the first edition, I have the satisfaction to find my ideas concerning the early commercial intercourse between Spain and her colonies confirmed and illustrated by D. Bernardo Ward, of the Junto de Comercio at Madrid, in his *Proyecto Economico*, part ii. c. i. "Under the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II." says he, "the manufactures of Spain and of the Low Countries subject to her dominion were in a most flourishing state. Those of France and England were in their infancy. The republic of the United Provinces did not then exist. No European power but Spain had colonies of any value in the New World. Spain could supply her settlements there with the productions of her own soil, the fabrics wrought by the hands of her own artisans, and all she received in return for these belonged to herself alone. Then the exclusion of foreign manufactures was proper, because it might be rendered effectual. Then Spain might lay heavy duties upon goods exported to America, or imported from it, and might impose what restraints she deemed proper upon a commerce entirely in her own hands. But when time and successive revolutions had occasioned an alteration in all those circumstances, when the manufactures of Spain began to decline, and the demands of America were supplied by foreign fabrics, the original maxims and regulations of Spain should have been accommodated to the change in her situation. The policy that was wise at one period became absurd in the other."

Note [188]. p. 166.—No bale of goods is ever opened, no chest of treasure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the persons to whom they belong; and only one instance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined silver that was brought from Peru to Porto-bello in the year 1654 was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of base metal. The Spanish merchants, with sentiments suitable to their usual integrity, sustained the whole loss, and indemnified the foreigners by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treasurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa. Retablis. de Manuf., &c. liv. ii. p. 102.

Note [189.] p. 167—Many striking proofs occur of the scarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immense sums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, Moncada asserts, that there did not remain in Spain, in 1619, above two hundred millions of *pesos*, one half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Restaur de Espagna, disc. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who published his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did not remain a hundred million. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes, on the authority of a remonstrance from the community of merchants in Toledo to Philip III, relates, as a certain proof how scarce cash had become, that persons who lent money received a third of the sum which they advanced as interest and premium Educ. Popul. i. 417.

Note [190.] p. 167—The account of the mode in which the factors of the South Sea company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto-bello, which was opened to them by the Assiento, I have taken from Don Dion. Alcedo y Herrera, president of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Don Dionysio was a person of such respectable character for probity and discernment, that his testimony in any point would be of much weight; but greater credit is due to it in this case, as he was an eye-witness of the transactions which he relates, and was often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he describes. It is probable, however, that his representation, being composed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in some instances, discover a portion of the acrimonious spirit natural at that juncture. His detail of facts is curious; and even English authors confirm it in some degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practised in the transactions of the annual ship, and that the contraband trade from Jamaica, and other British colonies, was become enormously great. But for the credit of the English nation it may be observed, that those fraudulent operations are not to be considered as deeds of the company, but as the dishonorable arts of their factors and agents. The company itself sustained a considerable loss by the Assiento trade. Many of its servants acquired immense fortunes. Anderson Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

Note [191]. p. 168.—Several facts with respect to the institution, the progress, and the effects of this company, are curious, and but little known to English readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four-hundred miles along the coast, and is one of the most fertile in America, it was so much neglected by the Spaniards, that during the twenty years prior to the establishment of the company, only five

ships sailed from Spain to that province; and, during sixteen years, from 1706 to 1722, not a single ship arrived from the Caraccas in Spain. Noticias de Real Campania de Caraccas, p. 28. During this period Spain must have been supplied almost entirely with a large quantity of cacao, which it consumes, by foreigners. Before the erection of the company neither tobacco nor hides were imported from Caraccas into Spain. Ibid. p. 117. Since the commercial operations of the company, begun in the year 1731, the importation of cacao into Spain has increased amazingly. During thirty years subsequent to 1701, the number of *fanegas* of cacao (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caraccas was 643,215. During eighteen years subsequent to 1731, the number of *fanegas* imported was 869,247; and if we suppose the importation to be continued in the same proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 *fanegas*, which is an increase of 805,531 *fanegas*. Id. p. 148. During eight years subsequent to 1756, there have been imported into Spain by the company 88,482 *arrobas* (each twenty-five pounds) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354. Id. 161. Since the publication of the Noticias de Compania, in 1715, its trade seems to be on the increase. During five years subsequent to 1769, it has imported 179,156, *fanegas* of cacao into Spain, 96,208 *arrobas* of tobacco, 75,496 hides, and 221,432 pesos in specie. Campomanes, ii. 162. The last article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives cash from Mexico in return for the cacao, with which it supplies that province, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchasing European goods. But, besides this, the most explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cacoa raised in the province is double what it yielded in 1731; the number of its live stock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the bishop, which arises wholly from tithes, has increased from eight to twenty thousand pesos. Notic. p. 60. In consequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cacao imported into Spain, its price has decreased from eighty pesos for the *fanega* to forty. Ibid. 61. Since the publication of the first edition, I have learned that Guyana, including all the extensive provinces situated on the banks of Orinoco, the Islands of Trinidad and Margarita are added to the countries with which the company of Caraccas had liberty of trade by their former charters. Real Cedula, Nov. 19, 1776. But I have likewise been informed, that the institution of this company has not been attended with all the beneficial effects which I have ascribed to it. In many of its operations the illiberal and oppressive spirit of monopoly is still conspicuous. But in order to explain this, it would be necessary to enter into minute details, which are not suited to the nature of this work.

Note [192]. p. 168.—This first experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has produced effects so remarkable, as to merit some further illustration. The towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville, for the province of Andalusia; Alicant and Carthagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Aragon; Santandor, for Castile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Asturias. Append. ii. a la Educ Popul. p. 41. These are either the ports of chief trade in their respective districts, or those most conveniently situated for the exportation of their respective productions. The following facts give a view of the increase of trade in the settlements to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the custom house at the Havanna were computed to be 104,208 pesos annually. During the five years preceeding 1774, they rose at a medium to 308,000 pesos a year. In Yucatan the duties have arisen from 8000 to 15,000. In Hispaniola, from 2500 to 5600. In Porto Rico, from 1200 to 7000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 pesos. Educ. Popul. i. 450, &c.

Note [193]. p. 169.—The two treatises of Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, *Fiscal del real Consejo y Supremo* (an officer in rank and power nearly similar to that of Attorney-General in England), and Director of the Royal Academy of History, the one entitled Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular, the other Discurso sobre la Educacion Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento, the former published in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a decisive proof of this. Almost every point of importance with respect to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domestic as well as foreign, is examined in the course of these works; and there are not many authors, even in the nations most eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their inquiries with a more thorough knowledge of those various subjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm researches of philosophy with the ardent zeal of a public spirited citizen. These books are in high estimation among the Spaniards; and it is a decisive evidence of the progress of their own ideas, that they are capable of relishing an author whose sentiments are so liberal.

Note [194]. p. 169.—The galeon employed in that trade, instead of the six hundred tons to which it is limited by law, Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15, is commonly from twelve hundred to two thousand tons burden. The ship from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anson, instead of the 500,000 pesos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 pesos, besides uncoined silver equal in value to 43,611 pesos more. Anson's Voy. 384.

Note [195]. p. 169.—The price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different persons. Those in the lowest order who are servants or slaves, pay two reals of plate, or one shilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals, and those in public office, or who hold encomiendas, sixteen reals. Solorz. de Jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an English merchant who resided long in the Spanish settlements, the bull of Cruzado bore a higher price in the year 1570, being then sold for four reals at the lowest. Hakluyt, iii. 461. The price seems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls issued in the last *Predicacion* will appear from the ensuing table, which will give some idea of the proportional numbers of the different classes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were issued for New Spain—

Bulls at 10 pesos each	4
at 2 pesos each	22,601
at 1 peso each	164,220
at 2 reals each	2,462,500
	2,649,325

For Peru—

at 16 pesos 4½ reals each	3
at 3 pesos 3 reals each	14,202
at 1 peso 5½ reals each	78,822
at 4 reals each	410,325
at 3 reals each	668,601
	1,171,953

Note. [196] p. 169.—As Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information contained in his Theatro Americano, published in Mexico A. D. 1746, was accompant-general in one of the most considerable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had access to proper information, his testimony with respect to this point merits great credit. No such accurate detail of the Spanish revenues in any part of America has hitherto been published in the English language; and the particulars of it may appear curious and interesting to some of my readers.

From the bull of Cruzado, published every two years, there arises an annual revenue in pesos	150,000
From the duty on silver	700,000
From the duty on gold	60,000
From tax on cards	70,000
From tax on pulque, a drink used by the Indians	161,000
From tax on stamped paper	41,000
From ditto on ice	15,522
From ditto on leather	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder	71,550
From ditto on salt	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechoachan	1,000
From ditto on alum	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los gallos	21,100
From the half of ecclesiastical annats	49,000
	1,381,172
From royal ninths of bishoprics, &c.	68,800
From the tribute of Indians	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on sale of goods	721,875
From the Almajorifasgo, custom house	373,333
From the mint	357,500
	3,552,680

This sum amounts to 819,161 sterling.; and if we add to it the profit accruing from the sale of 5000 quintals of quicksilver, imported from the mines of Almadan, in Spain, on the King's account, and what accrues from the *Averia*, and some other taxes which Villa Segnor does not estimate, the public revenue in new Spain may well be reckoned above a million pounds sterling money. Theat. Mex. vol. i. p. 38, &c. According to Villa Segnor, the total produce of the Mexican mines amounts at a medium to eight millions of Pesos in silver annually, and to 5912 marks of gold. Ibid. p. 44. Several branches of the revenue have been explained in the course of the history; some of which there was no occasion of mentioning, require a particular illustration. The right to the *tithes* in the New World is vested in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner: One fourth is allotted to the bishop of the diocess, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of these, under the denomination of *los dos Novenos reales*, are paid to the crown, and constitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other seven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the building and support of churches, and other pious uses. Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley, 23, &c, Avendano Thesaur. Indic. vol. i. p. 184.

The *Alcavala* is a duty levied by an excise on the sale of goods. In Spain it amounts to ten per cent. In America to four per cent. Salorzano, Polit. Indiana, lib. vi. c. 8. Avendano, vol. i. 186.

The *Almajorifasco*, or custom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen per cent. Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv. Ley, i. Avendano, vol. i. p. 188.

The *Averio*, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ships sailing to and from America, was first imposed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition to the South Sea. It amounts to two per cent. on the value of goods. Avendano, vol. i. p. 189. Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley, 43, 44.

I have not been able to procure any accurate detail of the several branches of revenue in Peru later than the year 1614. From a curious manuscript containing a state of that viceroyalty in all its departments, presented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, accomptant-general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears that the public revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes states his accounts, amounted in ducats at 4*s.* 11*d.* to 2,372,768

Expenses of government	1,242,992
Net free revenue	1,129,776
The total in sterling money	£583,303
Expenses of government	305,568
Net free revenue	277,735

But several articles appear to be omitted in this computation, such as the duty on stamped paper, leather, ecclesiastical annats, &c. so that the revenue of Peru may be well supposed equal to that of Mexico.

In computing the expense of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a standard. There the annual establishment for defraying the charge of administration exceeds one half of the revenue collected, and there is no reason for supposing it to be less in New Spain.

I have obtained a calculation of the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two last articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas (Excise) and Aduanas (Customs), &c. in pesos fuertes	2,500,000
Duties on gold and silver	3,000,000
	5,500,000

Brought forward	5.500,000
Bull of Cruzado - - - - -	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians - - - - -	2,000,000
By sale of quicksilver - - - -	200,000
Paper exported on the king's account, and sold in the royal warehouses - -	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other small duties - - - - - - - -	1,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one real de la Plata for each mark - - -	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the coasting trade from province to province	500,000
Assiento of Negroes - - - - -	200,000
From the trade of *Mathe*, or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolized by the Jesuits - - - - - - - -	500,000
From other revenues formerly belonging to that order - - - - - -	400,000
Total	12,000,000
Total in sterling money	£2,700,009
Deduct half, as the expense of administration, and there remains net free revenue	£1,350,000

Note [197]. p. 169.—An author long conversant in commercial speculation has computed, that from the mines of New Spain alone the king receives annually, as his fifth, the sum of two millions of our money. Harris, Collect. of Voy. ii. p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines must be ten millions sterling; a sum so exorbitant, and so little corresponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it is founded must evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of pesos, which, at at four shillings and sixpence a peso, amounts to 7,425.000*l.* sterling, the king's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000*l.* But from this sum must be deducted what is lost by a fraudulent withholding of the fifth due to the crown, as well as the sum necessary for defraying the expense of administration. Educ. Popular. vol. ii. p. 131. note. Both these sums are considerable.

Note [198]. p. 169.—According to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 per cent. As most of the goods with which Spain supplies her colonies are foreign, such a tax upon a trade so extensive must yield a considerable revenue. Retablis. de Manuf. et du Commerce d'Esp. p. 151. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America to be about two millions and a half sterling. p. 97.

Note [199]. p. 169.—The Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of salt, and by embarking deeply in the manilla trade, as well as in that to Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchase from the Conde Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was successful in his suit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the usual time.

THE

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY JAMES GRAHAME, ESQ.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

Having presented to our readers two interesting works, "Belknap's Biographies of the Early Discoverers of America," and "Robertson's History of South America," works which will hold a high rank in the estimation of many generations yet unborn, we shall now begin in good earnest, upon the History of the North American Colonies which in little more than two centuries have grown up into a great nation, whose history will hereafter be sought for, not only by Americans, but by every civilized nation under the sun, as most of the reform going on in the world sprung from the influence of our institutions. Several writers of distinction have made great researches among the worm-eaten pages of manuscripts, pamphlets, and partial histories to obtain a knowledge of the rise and progress of this nation from its beginning up to its present growth. Foreigners have taken a deep interest in the subject, and several of them have written on it with great candor and ability. Among these historians no one stands higher, in the estimation of the judicious and discriminating, than James Grahame, Esq. He writes without prejudice, in a style of neatness and perspicuity which often rises to eloquence. Every history adds something to enlighten the public. Like stars in the *milky way* although of different magnitude and brightness these works shed a lustre on each other and increase the glory of the hemisphere of knowledge.

PREFACE.

The composition which I now deliver to the public, is the first of a threefold series of works, which, when completed, will form *The History of the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the English Colonies to the Establishment of their Independence.* My plan is restricted to the history of those provinces of North America (originating all except New York and Delaware, from British colonization,) which, at the era of the American Revolution, were included in the United States; the illustration of the rise and formation of this great republic, being the end of my labors.

The present work, the first of the projected series, embraces the rise of such of those States, comprehended within my general plan, as were founded prior to the British Revolution in 1688, and traces their progress till that epoch. In some instances I have found it necessary to carry forward the history of particular states, somewhat beyond this precise boundary; partly because the influence of the British Revolution did not immediately extend to them, and partly in order to exhibit a complete view of certain interesting transactions, of which the account would otherwise be broken and defective. A second performance, for which I have already collected a considerable mass of materials, will embrace the further history of these earlier states, together with the rise and progress of those which were subsequently formed, till the commencement of the American Revolution. This second work, which like the present, will occupy, I believe, two volumes, I consider the most difficult and important portion of my labors. Two additional volumes, I trust, will enable me to complete my general plan, and embrace the history of the revolutionary war, and the establishment and consolidation of the North American Republic.

In the collection of materials for the composition of this work, I have been obliged to incur a degree of labor and expense, which, had I originally foreseen, I doubt I could have ventured to encounter. Considering the connection that so long subsisted between Great Britain and the American States, the information concerning the early history of many of these provinces, which the public libraries of Great Britain are capable of supplying, is amazingly scanty. Many valuable works illustrative of the history and statistics both of particular states and of the whole North American commonwealth;* a defect the more discreditable, as these works have long enjoyed a high repute at the seats of learning on the continent of Europe, and as the greater part of them might be procured without difficulty in London or from America.

After borrowing all the materials that I could so procure, and purchasing as many more as I could find in Britain, my collection proved still so defective in many respects, that in the hope of enlarging it, I undertook a journey to Gottingen; and in the library of this place, as I had been taught to expect, I found an ampler col-

*In the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh, for example, there is not a single separate history of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Maryland, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania; there is not one of the statistical works of Pitkin or Seybert; and although there are the first volumes, respectively, of Hutchinson's History of Massachussetts and of Hazard's Historical Collections, none of the posterior volumes of these interesting works have ever been procured. But the negative catalogue of the Advocates Library, in this department, is too copious for further quotation.

To the British Museum I am indebted for the perusal of several works of very great rarity; particularly Denton's description of New York, and Archdale's Description of Carolina. But this collection though much richer than the Advocates' Library, is yet exceedingly defective in American history.

lection of North American literature, than any or indeed all the libraries of Britain could supply. From the resources of the Gottingen Library, aided by the liberality with which its administrators are always willing to render it subservient to the purposes of literary inquiry, I have derived the greatest advantage and assistance. Yet even this admirable repository of history is not entirely perfect; and I have still to lament my inability to procure some works illustrative of my subject, which, whatever may be their value, it would have been satisfactory to have had an opportunity of perusing. Hopkin's History of Providence in particular, Vanderdonck's History of New Netherlands, and Holm's History of Swedeland in America, are books which I have been hitherto unable to procure. The learned Ebeling has characterized the first of these as a book not easily met with; and that I am not chargeable with negligent inquiry, may be inferred, I think, from the fact, that I have succeeded in procuring and consulting various works which Ebeling confesses his inability to obtain, besides many of whose existence he seems not to have been aware.* Even those which for the present I am obliged to dispense with, as well as various other works of infrequent occurrence and applicable to a later portion of time, I still hope to procure for the elucidation of the vast and varied subject of my second composition.

History addresses her lessons to all mankind: but when she records the fortunes of an existing people, it is to them that her admonitions are especially directed. There has never been a people on whose character their own historical recollections were calculated to exercise a more animating or salutary influence, than the nation whose history I have undertaken to relate.

In national societies established after the manner of the United States of North America, history does not begin with obscure or fabulous legends. The origin of the nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions, may be distinctly known. The people may obtain an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the character of their earliest national ancestors, and of every succeeding generation through which the inheritance of the national name and fortunes has devolved to themselves. When this interesting knowledge is blended with the information that their existence as a people originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude, and magnanimity, and that every successive acquisition by which their liberty and happiness have been extended and secured, has arisen from the exercise of the same qualities, and evinced their faithful preservation and unimpaired efficacy,—respect for antiquity becomes the motive and the pledge of virtue; the whole nation feels itself ennobled by ancestors whose renown will continue to the end of time the honor or reproach of their successors; and the love of virtue is so interwoven with patriotism and with national glory, as to prevent the one from becoming a selfish principle, and the other a splendid or mischievous illusion. If an inspired apostle might with complacency proclaim himself *a citizen of no mean city*, a North American may feel grateful exultation in avowing himself the native of no ignoble land,—but of a land that has yielded as great an increase of glory to God and of happiness to man, as any other portion of the world, since the first syllable of recorded time, has ever had the honor of producing. A nobler model of human character could hardly be proposed to the inhabitants of New England, Pennsylvania, and others of the North American States, than that which their own early history supplies. It is at once their interest and their honor to preserve with sacred care a model so richly fraught with the instructions of wisdom and the incitements of duty. The memory of the saints and heroes whom they claim as their natural or national ancestors will bless all those who account it blessed; and the ashes of their fathers will give forth a nobler influence than the bones of the prophet of Israel, in reviving piety and invigorating virtue. So much, at the same time, of human weakness and imperfection is discernible in the conduct, or is attested by the avowals of these eminent men, and so steady and explicit was their reference to heavenly aid, for all the good they were enabled to perform or attain, that the admiration they so strongly claim never exceeds a just subordination to the glory of the Most High, and enforces the scriptural testimony to the riches of divine grace, and the reflected lustre of human virtue.

The most important requisite of historical compositions, and that in which, I suspect, they are commonly most defective, is truth—a requisite, of which even the sincerity of the historian is insufficient to assure us. In tracing ascertained and important facts, either backward into their original, or forward into their operation, the historian frequently encounters, on either hand, a perplexing variety of dissimilar causes and diverging effects; among which it is no less difficult than important to discriminate the peculiar springs of action, and to preserve the moral stream of events. Indiscriminate detail would produce intolerable fatigue and confusion; while selection inevitably infers the risk of error. The sacred historians often record events with little or no reference to their historical pedigree; and have thus given to some parts of the only history that is infallibly authentic, an appearance of improbability, which the more reasoning productions of uninspired narrators have exchanged, at least as frequently, for substantial misrepresentation. It may be thought an imprudent avowal, and yet I have no desire to conceal, that, in examining and comparing historical records, I have often been forcibly reminded of Sir Robert Walpole's assurance to his son, that "*History must be false.*"* Happily, this apophthegm applies, if not exclusively, at least most forcibly to that which Walpole probably regarded as the main trunk of history, but which is really the most insignificant branch of it,—the intrigues of cabinets, the secret machinations and designs of ministers, and the contests of trading politicians.

In surveying the contests of human beings, it is difficult, or rather it is impossible, for a man of like feelings with themselves, to escape entirely the contagion of those passions which the contests arose from or engendered. Thus partialities are secretly insinuated into the mind; and in balancing opposite testimony, these partialities find a sure, though secret means of exerting their influence. I am not desirous of concealing that I feel such partialities within myself; and if my consciousness of their existence should not exempt me from their influence, I hope the avowal, at least, will prevent the error from extending to my readers. I am sensible of a strong predilection in favor of America, and the *colonial side* in the great controversies between her people and the British government, which must occupy so prominent a place in the ensuing pages. Against the influence of this predilection, I hope I am sufficiently on my guard; and my apprehensions of it are moderated by the recollection that there is a wisdom which is divinely declared to be *without partiality, and without hypocrisy*, and attainable by all who seek it in sincerity from its heavenly source.

I am far from thinking or from desiring it should be thought, that every part of the conduct of America throughout these controversies to which I have alluded, was pure and blameless. Much guile, much evil passion, violence, and injustice, dishonored many of the councils and proceedings of the leaders and assemblies of America; and it was the conduct of one of the States, the most renowned for piety and virtue, that suggested to her historian the melancholy observation, "that in all ages and countries communities of men have done that, of which most of the individuals of whom they consisted would, acting separataly, have been ashamed."† But mingled masses are justly denominated from the elements and qualities that preponderate in their composition; and sages and patriots will be equally voted out of the world if we can never recognize the lineaments of worth and wisdom under the rags of mortal imperfection. There exists in some romantic speculative minds, a platonic love of liberty, as well as virtue, that consists with a cordial disgust for every visible and actual incarnation of either of these principles; and which, when not corrected by sense and experience, conducts to endless error or incurable misanthropy.

Whoever examines the histories of individuals or communities, must expect to be disappointed and perplexed by numberless inconsistencies. Much error is produced and continued in the world by unwillingness or inability to make candid concessions, or indeed to distinguish candor from sincerity—to admit in an adversary the excellence that condemns our vehement hate; in a friend or hero, the defects that sully the pleasing image of virtue, that diminish our exultation, bid us *cease from man*, and shew us *the end of all perfection*. With partial views, we encounter the opposite partialities of antagonists, and by mutual commission and perception of injustice, render each other's misapprehensions incurable. It should be the great end of his history to correct the errors by which experience is thus rendered useless: and this end I have proposed, in humble reliance on Divine Guidance, to pursue.

Hastings, January, 1827.

BOOK I.

VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I

Cabot despatched by Henry the Seventh—visits the Coast of North America—Neglect of Henry to profit by Cabot's Discovery—and of his immediate Successors—Reign of Elizabeth—favorable to maritime Adventures—Rise of the Slave Trade—Sir Walter Raleigh—projects a colony in North America—first Expedition fails—Elizabeth names the Country Virginia—Greenville despatched by Raleigh—establishes a Colony at Roanoak—Misfortunes of the Colonists—their Return—Use of Tobacco introduced in England—Farther Efforts of Raleigh—terminate unsuccessfully—Accession of James to the English Crown—Gosnold's Voyage—its Effects—James divides North America between two Companies—Tenor of their Charters—Royal Code of Laws—The first Body of Colonists embarked by the London Company—arrive in the Bay of Chesapeak—found James Town—Dissentions of the Colonists—Hostility of the Indians—Distress and Confusion of the Colony—Services of Captain Smith—he is taken Prisoner by the Indians—his Liberation—he preserves the Colony—The Colonists deceived by Appearances of Gold—Smith Surveys the Bay of Chesapeak—elected President of the Colony—New Charter—Lord Delaware appointed Governor—Newport, Gates, and Somers sent out to preside till Lord Delaware's Arrival—are wrecked on the Coast of Bermudas—Captain Smith Returns to England.

It was on the third of August, 1492, a little before sun-rise, that Christopher Columbus, undertaking the most memorable enterprise that human genius ever planned or human skill and courage ever performed, set sail from Spain for the discovery of the western world. On the 13th of October, about two hours before midnight, a light in the island of San Salvador was descried by Columbus from the deck of his vessel, and America for the first time beheld by European eyes.* Of the vast and important consequences that depended on this spectacle, perhaps not even the comprehensive mind of Columbus was fully sensible; but to the end of time, the heart of every human being who reads the story will confess the interest of that eventful moment, and partake the feelings of that illustrious man. On the following day, the adventurers, preceded by their commander, took possession of the soil; and a connexion that was to subsist for ever was established between Europe and America. The cross was planted on the shores of the western world; and in the hour that witnessed this great re-union of mankind, the knee was bowed to that Being who has proclaimed himself the brother of the whole human race, and the author of a common salvation to all the ends of the earth.

The intelligence of this successful voyage was received in Europe with the utmost surprise and admiration. In England, more especially, it was calculated to produce a very powerful impression, and to awaken at once emulation and regret. While Columbus was proposing his schemes with little prospect of success at the court of Spain, he had despatched his brother

* I am indebted for the [illegible] of various individuals [illegible] and executor, Mr James Chalmers of London.

* Horace Walpole's works.—A curious illustration of historical inaccuracy was related by the late President Jefferson to an intelligent English traveller. The Abbe Raynal, in his History of the British Settlements in America, has recounted a remarkable story which implies the existence of a particular law in New England. Some Americans being in company with the Abbe at Paris, questioned the truth of the story, alleging that no such law had ever existed in New England. The Abbe maintained the authenticity of his history, till he was reminded by Dr Franklin, who was present, and after listening for some time in silence to the dispute, said, "I can account for all this: you took the anecdote from a newspaper, of which I was at that time editor, and, happening to be very short of news, I composed and inserted the whole story." Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States p. 382, 383.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 156. This observation referred to the dispute between Massachusetts and the confederated States of New England in 1649.

* Dr. Robertson is of opinion that the Ancients had no notion of the existence of the western world, and has collected from ancient writers many proofs, not only of ignorance, but of most barbarous error respecting the territorial resources of the earth: Hist. of America, B. I. Yet a Roman writer, to whose sentiments he has not adverted, is supposed to have prophesied the discovery of America 1400 years before this event took place. The passage occurs in one of Seneca's tragedies

—— "Venient annis
Secula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysique novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule."

Medea. Act II. Chorus

Bartholomew to the court of Henry the VIIth in England, there to solicit patronage and offer the fruits of discovery. Bartholomew was taken prisoner by pirates, and after a long detention was reduced to such poverty that on his arrival in London he was compelled, by the labor of his hands, to procure the means of arraying himself in habiliments suited to his interview with a monarch. On such slight circumstances the fates of nations, at times, seem to depend; while in reality, they are over-ruled, not by circumstances, but by that Being who arranges and disposes circumstances in harmony with the predeterminations of his own will. The propositions of Bartholomew were favorably received by Henry: but before a definitive arrangement was concluded, Bartholomew was recalled by the intelligence that his brother's plans had at length been sanctioned and adopted by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

If the cautious temper and frugal disposition of Henry contributed to diminish his regrets for the abandonment of a hazardous and expensive undertaking, the astonishing success with which its actual prosecution by others had been attended, revived the former projects of his mind, and whetted it to a degree of enterprise that showed him both instructed and provoked by his disappointment. In this disposition he listened readily to the proposals of one Gabato or Cabot, a Venetian, residing in Bristol; who, from considering the discoveries of Columbus towards the south-west, had formed the opinion that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west, and now offered the king to conduct an expedition in this direction. Henry, prompted by his avarice and stung by his disappointment, eagerly embraced the proposals of Cabot, and not only granted him a commission of discovery, but, on two subsequent occasions, issued similar commissions for the discovery and appropriation of unknown territories.

The commission to Cabot, the only one which was productive of interesting consequences, was granted on the 5th of March, 1495, (about two years after the return of Columbus from America,) and empowered this adventurer and his sons to sail under the flag of England in quest of countries yet unoccupied by any christian state; to take possession of them in the name of Henry, and plant the English banner on the walls of their castles and cities, and to maintain with the inhabitants a traffic exclusive of all competitors, and exempted from customs; under the condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit on every voyage to the crown. About two years after the date of his commission, [1497,] Cabot, with his second son, Sebastian, embarked at Bristol, in a ship furnished by the king, and was attended by four small vessels equipped by the merchants of that city. Sebastian Cabot appears to have greatly excelled his father in genius and nautical science; and it is to him alone that historians have ascribed all the discoveries with which the name of Cabot is associated.

The navigators of that age were not less influenced by the opinions than incited by the example of Columbus, who erroneously supposed that the islands he had discovered in his first voyage were outskirts or dependencies of India, and not far remote from the Indian continent. Influenced by this notion, Sebastian Cabot conceived the hope that by steering to the north-west he might fulfil the design, and even improve the performance of Columbus, and reach India by a shorter course than his predecessor had taken. Pursuing this track, he discovered the islands of Newfoundland and St. John; and still continuing to hold a westerly course, soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the confines of Labrador to the coast of Virginia. Thus conducted by Cabot, who was himself guided by the genius of Columbus, did the English achieve the honor of being the second nation that had visited the western world, and the first that had discovered that vast continent that stretches from the Gulf of Mexico towards the North Pole. For it was not till the following year [1498] that Columbus, in his second voyage, was enablad to complete his own discovery, and proceed beyond the islands he had first visited, to the continent of America.

Cabot, disappointed in his main object of finding a western passage to India returned to England to relate the discoveries he had already effected, without attempting either by settlement or conquest to gain a footing on the American continent.* He would willingly have resumed his voyages in the service of England, but he found that in his absence the king's ardor for discovery had greatly abated. Seated on a throne which he had gained by conquest in a country exhausted by civil wars, involved in hostilities with Scotland, and harassed by the insurrections of his subjects and the machinations of pretenders to his crown, Henry had little leisure for the execution of distant projects; and his sordid disposition found little attraction in the prospect of a colonial settlement, which was not likely to be productive of immediate pecuniary gain. He was engaged, too, at this time, in negotiating the marriage of his son with the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, and must, therefore, have felt himself additionally disinclined to pursue a project that could not fail to give umbrage to this jealous prince, who claimed the whole continent of America, in virtue of a donation from the Pope. Nor were the subjects of Henry in a condition to avail themselves of the ample field that Cabot's discovery had opened to their enterprise and activity. The civil wars had dissipated wealth, repressed commerce, and even excluded the English people from sharing in the general improvement which the nations of Europe had now begun to experience. All the advantages, then, that England, for the present, derived from the voyage of Cabot was, that right of property which is supposed to arise from priority of discovery—a right which, from the extent of the territory, the mildness of its climate, and the fertility of its soil, afforded an ample prospect of advantageous colonization. But from the circumstances in which the nation was placed, or rather from the designs of that Providence which governs circumstances, and renders them subservient to the destinies of nations and individuals, was England prevented from occupying this important field, till the moral and religious advancement which her people were soon to undergo, had qualified her to become the parent of North America. Cabot finding that Henry had abandoned his colonial projects, soon after transferred his services to the Spaniards; and the English seemed contented to surrender their discoveries and the discoverer to the superior fortune of that successful people. The only immediate fruit that England derived from his enterprise is said to have been the importation from America of the first turkeys* that had ever been seen in Europe.

It is remarkable, that of these first expeditions to the western world, by Spain and England, not one was either projected or commanded by a citizen of the state which supplied the subordinate adventurers, defrayed the expense of the equipment, and reaped the benefit of the enterprise. The honor of the achievement was thus more widely distributed. The Spanish adventurers were conducted by Columbus, a native of Genoa; the English, by John Cabot, a citizen of Venice: and though Sebastian Cabot, whose superior genius soon assumed the chief direction of the enterprise, had himself been born in England, it was by the experience and instructions of his father that his genius had been trained to naval affairs, and it was to the father that the projection of the voyage was due, and the chief command intrusted. Happily for the honor of the English nation, the parallel extends no farther; and the treatment which the two discoverers experienced from the countries that had employed them, differed as widely as the histories of the two empires which they respectively contributed to found. Columbus was loaded with chains in the country which he had the glory of discovering, and died the victim of ingratitude and disappointment among the people whom he had conducted to so much wealth and renown. Cabot, after spending some years in the service of Spain, also experienced her ingratitude; and returning, in his old age, to England, he obtained a kind and honorable reception from the nation which had, as yet, derived only barren hopes, and a seemingly relinquished title from his expedition. He received the dignity of knighthood, the appointment of Grand Pilot of England, and a pension that enabled him to spend his old age in circumstances of honor and comfort.

From this period till the reign of Elizabeth, no general or deliberate design was formed in England for the acquisition of territory, or the establishment of colonies in America. During the reign of Henry the VIIIth, the vigor and attention of the English government were for many years absorbed by the wars and intrigues of the continent; and the innovations in religious doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution that attended its close, found ample employment at home for the minds of the king, and of the great bulk of the people. It was during this reign that the full light of the Reformation broke forth in Germany, and was rapidly diffused over Europe. Henry, at first, resolutely opposed himself to the adversaries of the church of Rome, and even attempted, by his pen, to stem the progress of the innovations. But his subsequent controversy with the Papal See excited and sanctioned a spirit of inquiry among his own subjects, which spread far beyond his expectations and desires, and eluded all his attempts to control and restrain it. A discussion of the pretensions of the church of Rome naturally begot inquiry into her doctrines; for her grand pretensions to infallibility formed the only authority to which many of these doctrines were indebted for their reception. The very art that had been employed (says an ingenious philosopher) to weave the whole of the popish institutions into one coherent system, and to make every superstitious device repose on the authority and conduce to the aggrandisement of the church of Rome, now contributed to accelerate and complete her downfall. In a system so overgrown with abuses, the spirit of inquiry, wherever it obtained admission, could not fail to detect error; and even a single instance of such detection, by loosening the corner-stone of infallibility, shook the whole edifice to its foundation. The progress of this spirit of inquiry exercised a powerful and salutary influence on the character and fortune of every nation in which it gained admission. A subject of intellectual exercise had at length been found, that could interest the dullest, and engross the most vigorous faculties; the contagion of fervent zeal and earnest inquiry was rapidly propagated; a universal promotion of mind attended the spread of the reformed doctrines, and every nation into which they flowed was elevated in the scale of moral and intellectual being. Introduced into England by the power of a haughty, capricious, and barbarous tyrant, whose object was not the emancipation of his subjects, but the deliverance of himself from a power which he wrested from the Pope only to exercise with his own hands; it was some time before these doctrines worked their way into the minds of the people, and, expelling the corruptions and adulterations of the royal teacher, attained their full maturity of influence and vigor. Besides leavening the national creed with much of the ancient superstition, Henry encumbered the national worship with many of the popish institutions: retaining whatever was calculated to prove a useful auxiliary to royal authority, or to gratify the pomp and pride of his own sensual imagination. In the composition of the ecclesiastical body, he preserved the powerful hierarchy, and in the solemnities of worship the gorgeous ceremonial of the church of Rome. But he found it easier to establish ecclesiastical constitutions, than to limit the stream of human opinion, or stay the heavenly shower by which it was slowly but gradually reinforced and enlarged; and in an after age, the repugnance that manifested itself between the constitution of the English church and the religious sentiments of the English people, produced consequences of very great importance in the history of England and the settlement of America.

The rupture between Henry the VIIIth and the Roman see removed whatever obstacle the popish donative to Spain might have interposed to the appropriation of American territory by the English crown: but of the two immediate successors of that monarch, the one neglected this advantage, and the other renounced it. During the reign of Edward the VIth, the court of the royal minor was distracted by faction, or occupied by the war with Scotland; and the attention of the king and people was engrossed by the care of extending and confirming the establishment of the protestant doctrines. Introduced by Henry, and patronized by Edward, these doctrines multiplied their converts with a facility that savored somewhat of the weight of human authority, and the influence of secular interests; till, under the direction of Providence, the same earthly power that had been employed to facilitate the introduction of truth, was permitted to attempt its suppression. The royal authority, which Henry had blindly made subservient to the establishment of the protestant doctrines, was now employed by Mary with equal blindness as an instrument to sift and purify the protestant body, to separate the genuine from the unsound, and to enable the true believers, by more than mortal fortitude, faithfulness, and patience, to make full proof

* Churchill's Collection of Voyages, iii. 211. He composed, on his return, a chart of the whole North American continent. This interesting document (attached to which was a portrait of the Navigator, and a brief account of his voyage) was long suspended in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, and is supposed to have perished by the fire which destroyed that Gallery, in the reign of William the IIId. Entick's Gen. Hist. of the Late War, vol. i. p. 169.

* Why this bird received the name it enjoys in England, has never been satisfactorily explained. By the French it was called "coq d'Inde," on account of its American original; America being then generally termed Western India.

of christian character and divine grace. This prince restoring the connexion between England and the church of Rome, and united in marriage to Philip of Spain, was bound by double ties to refrain from contesting the Spanish claims on America. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth, that the obstacles created by the pretensions of Spain were finally removed, and the prospect of collision with the designs of that power, so far from appearing objectionable, presented the strongest attractions to the minds of the English.

But, although during this long period the occupation of America had been utterly neglected, the naval resources adapted to the formation and maintenance of colonies were diligently cultivated in England, and a vigorous impulse was communicated to the spirit of commercial enterprise. Under the directions of Cabot, in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, the English merchants visited the coast of Brazil, and traded with the settlements of the Portuguese. In the reign of Edward the VIth, the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, which had been previously established, were extended and encouraged; and an association of adventurers for the discovery of new countries was incorporated by royal charter. Even Mary contributed to promote this direction of the national spirit; she founded the Corporation of Merchants to Russia, and endeavored to protect their traffic, by establishing a friendly relation with the sovereign of that country. During her reign, an attempt highly creditable to the national energy, and not wholly unsuccessful, was made to reach India by land; and a commercial intercourse was established with the coast of Africa. Many symptoms conspired to indicate with what steady vigor and persevering ardor the people of England might be expected to improve every opportunity of exercising and extending their resources, and how high a rank they were destined to hold in the scale of nations, when the strength of their character should be thoroughly developed by the progress of their recent improvement, and the principles and policy of their government should more happily concur with the genius and sentiments of the people.

The Spaniards in the meantime had extended their settlements over the continent of South America, and achieved an extent of conquest and accession of treasure that dazzled the eyes and excited the emulation of all Europe. The more active spirits among the Spanish people, restrained at home by the illiberal genius of their government, eagerly rushed into the outlet of enterprise presented to them on the vast theatre of Mexico and Peru. The paganism of the natives of these regions allured the invasion of bigots long wedded to a faith that recognised compulsion as an instrument of conversion; and their wealth and effeminacy not less powerfully tempted the cupidity of men in whom pride inflamed the desire of riches, while it inspired contempt of industry. Thus every prospect that could address itself prevailing to human desires, or to the peculiarities of Spanish character, contributed to promote that series of rapid and vigorous invasions, by which the Spaniards overran so large a portion of the continent of South America. The real and lasting effect of their acquisitions has corresponded in a manner very satisfactory to the moral eye, with the character and merit of the achievements by which they were earned. The history of the expeditions which terminated in the conquest of Mexico and Peru displays, perhaps, more strikingly than any other portion of the records of the human race, what amazing exertions the mind of man can prompt him to attempt, and sustain him to endure—how signally he is capable of misdirecting the energies with which his Creator has endowed him—and how fatally disposed to exercise them more vigorously in the commission of wickedness than the practice of virtue. Wholly revolted from God, in the darkness of a disordered nature, and never wholly returning in this life to an entire subordination, men seem to be capable of obtaining a more perfect co-operation of their active faculties, and more extensive contribution of the resources of their nature to the production of evil than to the prosecution of good.* To consider the courage, the patience, the vigor, the fortitude, evinced by the conquerors of South America, in conjunction with the sordid, unjust, and barbarous ends to which they were made subservient, might degrade these virtues for ever in our esteem, if we did not recollect that energy is the gift of God, and the abuse of it the invention of man; and that genius and valor, even when employed to debase and oppress mankind, are not more justly obnoxious to reproach, than the wine which often wastes the strength it was given to restore, or the food which sometimes abridges the life it was meant to prolong. The inflexible pride and deliberate tyranny of these adventurers, their arrogant disregard of the rights of human nature, and calm survey of the desolation of empires and destruction of happiness and life, is rendered the more striking and instructive by the humility of their own original circumstances, which seemed to level and unite them by habit and sympathy with the mass of mankind. Whence we reasonably conclude, that the illusions of royalty are not indispensably requisite to distend the heart with pride and to harden it with cruelty, and that Pyrrhus and Alexander were composed of the same materials with Cortes and Pizarro. The conquests of the Spaniards were accomplished with such rapidity, and followed with such barbarous oppression, that a very few years sufficed not only entirely to subjugate, but almost wholly to extirpate, the slothful and effeminate idolaters whom it was the will of God to destroy by their hands. The settlements that were founded in the conquered countries produced, from the nature of the soil, a vast influx of gold and silver into Spain, and finally exercised a most pernicious influence on the liberty, industry, and prosperity of her people. But it was long before the bitter harvest of this golden shower was reaped; and in an age so ignorant of political science, it could not be foreseen through the pomp and renown with which the acquisition of so much empire, and the administration of so much treasure, seemed to invest the Spanish monarchy. The achievements of the original adventurers, embellished by the romantic genius of Spain, and softened by national partiality,* had now occupied the pens of Spanish historians, and excited a thirst for similar projects, and hopes of similar enrichment in every nation where the tidings were made known. The study of the Spanish language, and the acquaintance with Spanish literature which the marriage of Philip and Mary introduced into England, awakened the more active spirits in this country to similar views and projects, and gave to the rising spirit of adventure a strong determination towards the continent of America.

The reign of Elizabeth was productive of the first attempts that the English had ever made to establish a permanent settlement in America. But many causes contributed to enfeeble their exertions for this purpose, and to retard the accomplishment of this great design. The civil government of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign was highly acceptable to her subjects; and her commercial policy, though frequently perverted by the interests of arbitrary power, and the principles of a narrow and erroneous system, was in the main, perhaps, not less laudably designed than judiciously directed to the cultivation of their resources and the promotion of their prosperity. By permitting a free exportation of corn, she promoted at once the agriculture and the commerce of England; and by treaties with foreign powers, she endeavored to establish commercial relations between their subjects and her own.† Sensible how much the strength and safety of the state and the prosperity of the people must depend on a naval force, she took every means to encourage navigation; and so much increased the shipping of the kingdom both by building large vessels herself, and by promoting ship-building among the merchants, that she was styled by her subjects the Restorer of naval glory, and the Queen of the northern seas. Rigidly just in discharging the ancient debts of the crown, as well as in fulfilling all her own engagements, yet forbearing towards her people in the imposition of taxes; frugal in the expenditure of her resources, and yet evincing a steady vigor in the prosecution of well directed projects; the policy of her civil government at once conveyed the wisest lessons to her subjects, and happily concurred with the general frame of their sentiments and character. Perhaps there never was a human being (assuredly never a woman) so little amiable, who, as a sovereign, was so popular and so much respected.

During a reign so favorable to commercial enterprise, the spirit that had been long growing up in the minds of the English was called forth into vigorous and persevering exertion. Under the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and conducted by Martin Frobisher, an expedition was despatched for the discovery of a north-west passage to India; but after exploring the coasts of Labrador and Greenland, Frobisher was compelled to return with the tidings of disappointment. [1578.] If the ardor of the English was damped by the result of this enterprise, it was quickly revived by the successful expedition of Sir Francis Drake, who, with a feeble squadron, undertook and accomplished the same enterprise that for sixty years had formed the peculiar glory of the Portuguese navigator Magellan, and obtained for England the honor of being the second nation that had completely circumnavigated the globe. A general enthusiasm was excited by this splendid achievement, and a passion for naval exploits laid hold of the spirits of almost all the eminent leaders of the age.

But still no project of effecting a permanent settlement abroad had been entertained or attempted in England. The happiness that was enjoyed by the subjects of Elizabeth enforced those attractions that bind the hearts of men to their native land, and which are rarely surmounted but by the experience of intolerable hardships at home, or the prospect of sudden enrichment abroad.* But the territory of North America held out none of the allurements that had invited and rewarded the Spanish adventurers; it presented no hopes but of distant gain, and invited no exertions but of patient industry. The prevalence of the protestant doctrines in England, and the increasing influence of a sense of religion on the minds of the people, disinclined many to abandon the only country where the Reformation appeared to be securely established; engrossed the minds of others with schemes for the improvement of the constitution and ritual of their national church; and probably repressed in some ardent spirits the epidemical thirst of adventure, and reconciled them to that moderate competency which the state of society in England rendered easily attainable, and the simplicity of manners preserved from contempt.

But if the immediate influence of religious principle was unfavorable to projects of emigration, it was to the further development of this noble principle that England was soon to be indebted for her greatest and most illustrious colonial establishment. The ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth was far from giving the same general satisfaction that her civil government afforded to her subjects. Inheriting the arrogant temper, the lofty pretensions, and ambitious taste of her father, with little of his zeal and none of his bigotry, religious considerations often mingled with her policy; but religious sentiments had but little, if any, influence on her heart. Like him, she wished to adapt the establishments of christianity to the pomp and vanity of royalised human nature; and by a splendid hierarchy and gorgeous ceremonial, mediate an agreemant between the lottiness of her heart and the humility of the gospel. But the persecution that the English protestants had undergone from Mary had not only deepened and purified the religious sentiments of a great body of the people, but associated with many of the ceremonies retained in the national church the idea of popery and the recollection of persecution. This repugnance between the sentiments of the men who now began to be termed puritans, and the ecclesiastical policy of the English government, continued to increase during the whole reign of Elizabeth: but as the influence which it exercised on the colonization of America did not appear till the following reign, I shall defer the further account of it till we come to trace its effects in the rise and progress of the colonies of New England.

During this reign, there was introduced into England a branch of that inhuman traffic in negro slaves, which afterwards engrossed so large a portion of her commercial wealth and adventure, and converted a numerous body of her merchants into a confederacy of robbers, and much of what she termed her trade into

* Truth is proverbially the daughter of Time; and the proverb has been remarkably verified by the progress of human opinion with respect to the conduct of the Spanish conquerors of South America. Some specimens of the ignorance that prevailed at a pretty late period in England on this subject will be found in Note H.

† She obtained from John Basilides, the czar of Muscovy, a patent which conferred the whole trade of his dominions on the English. With this grant the tyrant, who lived in continual dread of a revolt of his subjects, purchased from Elizabeth the assurance of an asylum from their fury in England. But his son Theodore revoked it, and answered to the Queen's remonstrances, that he was determined to rob neither his own subjects nor foreigners by submitting to monopolies what should be free to all mankind. Camden, p. 493. So superior was the commercial policy which natural justice taught this barbarian, to the system which Elizabeth derived from her boasted learning and renowned ability, and which loaded the freedom and industry of her people with patents, monopolies, and exclusive companies.

* Who is he that hath judgment, courage, and any industry or quality, with understanding, will leave his country, his hopes at home, his certain estate, his friends, pleasures, liberty, and the preferment that England doth afford to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by enjoying his deserts? Smith's Hist. of Virginia, &c. B. vi.

acts of deliberate fraud and atrocious violence. The first Englishman who brought this guilt upon himself and his country was Sir John Hawkins, who afterwards attained so much nautical celebrity, and was created an admiral and treasurer of the British navy. His father, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of these countries, which he transmitted to his son in the copious journals of his voyages and observations, which he left behind him at his death. In these compositions he described the soil of America and the West Indies as endowed with extraordinary richness and fertility, but utterly neglected from the want of cultivators. The natives of Europe were represented as unequal to the toil of agriculture in so sultry a climate; but those of Africa as peculiarly well adapted to this employment. Forcibly struck with these remarks, Hawkins deduced from them the project of transporting Africans into the western world; and having drawn up a plan for the execution of this design, he laid it before some of his opulent neighbors, and solicited their approbation and concurrence. A subscription was opened and speedily completed by Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and others, who plainly perceived the vast emolument that might be derived from such a traffic. By their assistance Hawkins was enabled to set sail for Africa in the year 1562, and, having reached Sierra Leone,* he began his commerce with the negroes. While he trafficked with them in the usual articles of barter, he took occasion to give them an inviting description of the country to which he was bound, contrasting the fertility of its soil and the enjoyments of its inhabitants with the barrenness of Africa and the poverty of the African tribes. Finding that the unsuspecting negroes listened to him with implicit belief, and were greatly delighted with the European luxuries and ornaments which he displayed to them, he offered, if any of them were willing to exchange their destitute circumstances for a happier condition, to transport them to this more bountiful region, where he assured them of a kind reception, and of an ample participation of the luxuries with which he had made them acquainted, as the certain recompense of easy labor. The negroes were ensnared by his flattering promises, and three hundred of them, accepting his offer, consented to embark along with him for Hispaniola. On the night before their embarkation, they were attacked by a hostile tribe; and Hawkins hastening with his crew to their assistance, repulsed the assailants, and carried a number of them as prisoners on board his vessels. The next day he set sail with his mixed cargo of human creatures, and during the passage treated the negroes who had voluntarily accompanied him in a different manner from his prisoners of war. On his arrival at Hispaniola he disposed of the whole cargo to great advantage, and endeavored to inculcate on the Spaniards who bought the negroes, the same distinction in the treatment of them which he himself had observed. But having now put the fulfilment of his promises out of his own power, it was not permitted to him so to limit the evil consequences of his perfidy; and the Spaniards having purchased all the Africans at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and consequently treated them all alike.

When Hawkins returned to England with a rich freight of pearls, sugar, and ginger, which he had received in exchange for his slaves, the success of his voyage excited universal interest and curiosity respecting this novel and extraordinary description of trade. At first the nation was shocked with the barbarous aspect of a traffic in the persons of men; and the public feeling having penetrated into the court, the queen sent for Hawkins to inquire in what manner this new branch of commerce was conducted; declaring to him that "if any of the Africans were carried away without their own consent, it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers." Hawkins, in reply, assured her that no expedition where he had the command should any of the natives of Africa be carried away without their own free will and consent, except such captives as might be taken in war: and he declared that so far from feeling any scruple concerning the justice of his undertaking, he considered it an act of humanity to carry men from a worse condition to a better; from a state of heathen barbarism to an opportunity of sharing the blessings of civil society and the christian religion. It is believed, indeed, and seems consonant with probability, that Hawkins, so far from intending that the negroes whom he sold should be consigned to a state of perpetual slavery, expected that they would be advanced to the condition of free servants whenever their labors had yielded to their masters an equivalent for the expense of their purchase. The queen appeared to be satisfied with his account, and dismissed him with the assurance that, while he and his associates acted with humanity and justice, they should enjoy her countenance and protection.

The very next voyage that Hawkins undertook, demonstrated still more clearly the deceitfulness of that unction which he had applied to his conscience, and the futility even of those intentions of which the fulfilment seemed to depend entirely on himself. In his passage he met with an English ship of war, which joined itself to the expedition, and accompanied him to the coast of Africa. On his arrival, he began as formerly to traffic with the negroes, and endeavored, by reiteration of his former topics of persuasion, to induce them to embark in his vessels. But they had now become reserved and jealous of his designs, and as none of their neighbors had returned, they were apprehensive that the English had killed and devoured them; a supposition which, however offensive to the English, did greatly and erroneously extenuate the inhumanity of which they had been actually guilty. The crew of the ship of war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to deride the gentle and dilatory methods of proceeding to which Hawkins confined himself, and proposed having immediate recourse to violence and compulsion. The sailors belonging to his own fleet joined with the crew of the man of war, and, applauding the proposal, began to make preparations for carrying it into effect. Hawkins protested against such unwarrantable cruelty, and vainly endeavored to prevail on them to desist from their purpose; the instructions of the queen and the dictates of conscience were ineffectually cited to men whom he had initiated in piracy and injustice, and who were not able to discover the moral superiority of calm treachery over undisguised violence. They pursued their design, and after several unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, the cargo was at length completed by force and barbarity. Such was the origin of the English branch of the slave trade, which I have related the more minutely, not only on account of the remarkable and instructive circumstance that attended the commencement of the practice, [See Note 1] but on account of the influence which it subsequently exercised on the colonization and condition of some of the provinces of North America.

The spirit of adventure which had been excited in England found a more inviting scene for its exertion in the southern than in the northern regions of America: and when, after twenty years of peace, Elizabeth was involved in hostilties with Philip, the prospect of enrichment and renown by the plunder of the Spanish colonies opened a new career, which was eargerly embraced and successfully prosecuted by the enterprising spirit of adventurers of all ranks in England. Accordingly, for many years, the most eminent and popular exploits of the English were performed in the predatory wars which they waged with the colonies and colonial commerce of Spain. Even in scenes so unfavorable to the production or display of the better qualities of human nature, the manly character and moral superiority of the English were frequently and signally evinced. Drake and many others of the adventurers in the same career were men equally superior to avarice and fear, and who, how willing soever to encounter danger in quest of wealth, thought it not valuable enough to be obtained by cruelty or fraud.

And yet it was to this spirit, so unfavorable to industrious colonization, and so strongly attracted to a more congenial sphere in the south, that North America was indebted for the first attempt to colonize her territory. Thus irregular and incalculable (to created wisdom) is the influence of human passions on the stream of human affairs.

The most illustrious adventurer in England was Sir Walter Raleigh, a man endowed with brilliant genius, unbounded ambition, and unconquerable activity; whose capacious mind, strongly impregnated with the enthusiasm, credulity, and sanguine expectation peculiar to the age, no single project, however vast, could fill, and whose ardent spirit no single enterprise, however arduous, could absorb. The extent of his capacity combined acquirements that are commonly esteemed remote, and almost incompatable with each other. He was, at once, the most industrious scholar and the most accomplished courtier of his age; a profound and indefatigable projector, yet a gallant soldier so contemptible (says an old writer) that he might have been judged unfit for action; so active that he seemed to have no leisure for speculation. Whatever was sublime and brilliant, touched his kindred soul; and whatever he undertook, he seemed to have been born for. Uncontrolled by steady principle and sober calculation, his fancy and his passions so far prevailed over his moral sentiments, as sometimes to sully his character,* and something of the boundless and transcendent so mingled with his designs, as frequently to mar his conduct, and discomfit his undertakings. But, though adversity might cloud his fortunes, it could never depress his spirit, or strip his genius of a single ray. The frustration of his efforts and the wreck of his projects served only to display the exhaustless opulence and indestructible vigor of that mind, of which no accumulation of disaster nor variety of discouragement could either repress the ardor or narrow the range. Amidst disappointment and impoverishment, pursued by royal hatred, and forsaken by his popularity, he continued to project and attempt the foundation of empires; and in old age and a prison he composed the History of the World. Perhaps there never was a distinguished reputation so much indebted to genius, and so little to success. So powerful indeed is the association that connects merit with success, and yet so strong the claim of Raleigh to evade the censure that this rule implies, that it is with the greatest difficulty that, even amidst uninterrupted disaster, we can bring ourselves to consider him an unsuccessful man. He had unfortunately adopted the maxim that "whatever is not extraordinary, is nothing;"† and his mind (till the last scene of his life) was not sufficiently pervaded by religion to recognize that nobility of purpose which ennobles the commonest actions, and directs to the attainment of a dignity that consist less in performing things great in themselves, than in doing ordinary things with an extraordinary elevation of soul. Whatever judgment may be formed of his character, we must acknowledge that in genius he was worthy of the honor which he may perhaps be considered to have attained, of originating the settlements that grew up into the North American republic.

In conjunction with his half-brother and kindred spirit, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Raleigh projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America which Cabot had visited; and a patent for this purpose was procured without difficulty in favor of Gilbert, from Elizabeth. [1578] This patent authorized him to discover and appropriate all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by christian powers, and to hold them of the crown of England, with the obligation of paying the fifth part of the produce of all gold or silver mines; it permitted the subjects of Elizabeth to accompany the expedition,‡ and guaranteed to them a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights of free denizens of England; it invested Gilbert with the powers of civil and criminal legislation over all the inhabitants of the territory he might occupy; but with this provision, that his laws should be framed with as much conformity as possible to the statutes and policy of England, and should not derogate from the supreme allegiance due

* It is remarkable that this should be the very spot where, two centuries after, the most distinguished efforts of the English have been made to promote the liberty and happiness of the Africans.

* One of the most formidable charges to which the character of Raleigh has been exposed is derived from the monstrous fictions with which his account of Guiana is replete. But Hume and the other writers who have loaded him with the guilt of these fictions have very unfairly omitted to notice that not one of them is related on his own authority. He has merely repeated (no doubt in a manner very little creditable to his own judgment) the fables that were related to him by the natives with whom he conversed. Savages and barbarians are very prone to practise such deceits upon travellers. The Barbary Moors not only described a petrified city to Bruce, but persisted in their story till they came near to the place.

† Lloyd. 671. This will remind the classical reader of the vision of aliquid immensum infinitumque, that warmed the fancy of Cicero, but could not actuate his disposition or influence his conduct with the same power which it exerted over the conceptions, the undertakings, and the fortunes of Raleigh. To the Englishman may, with equal justice, be applied that beautiful apostrophe to the memory of the Roman—"admirabile posteris vigebis ingenium; et uno proscriptus sæculo, proscribes tyrannum omnibus."

‡ Strange as it may appear, this provision was absolutely necessary to evade the obstruction of the existing law of England. By the ancient law, as declared in the Great Charter of King John, all men might go freely out of the kingdom, saving their faith due to the king. But no such clause appears in the charter of his successor; and during the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted, that any subject departing the realm without a license under the Great Seal should forfeit his personal estate, and lose the profits of his lands for life. 23 Eliz. cap. III. Even now a king of England may enjoin any of his subjects not to leave the kingdom, or having left it, to return, and enforce his injunction by the severest penalties

to the English crown. The endurance of this patent, in so far as related to the appropriation of territory, was limited to six years; and all persons were prohibited from establishing themselves within two hundred leagues of any spot which the adventurers might occupy during that period.

The extraordinary powers thus committed to the leader of the expedition did not prevent the accession of a numerous body of subordinate adventurers. Gilbert had gained distinction by his services both in France and Ireland; and the weight of his character concurring with the spirit of the times, and powerfully aided by the zeal of Raleigh, whose admirable genius peculiarly fitted him to obtain an ascendant over the minds of men, and to spread the contagion of his own enthusiasm, soon collected a sufficient body of associates, and effected the equipment of the first expedition of British emigrants to America. But in the composition of this body there were elements very ill fitted to establish an infant society on a solid or respectable basis; the officers were disunited, the crew licentious and ungovernable; and happily for the credit of England, it was not the will of Providence that the adventurers should gain a footing in any new region. Gilbert approaching the continent too far towards the north, was dismayed by the inhospitable aspect of the coast of Cape Breton; his largest vessel was shipwrecked; [1580] and two voyages, in the last of which he himself perished, finally terminated in the frustration of the enterprise and dispersion of the adventurers.*

But the ardor of Raleigh, neither daunted by difficulties nor damped by miscarriage, and continually refreshed by the suggestions of a fertile and uncurbed imagination, was incapable of abandoning a project that had gained his favor and exercised his genius. Applying to the queen, in whose esteem he then held a distinguished place, he easily prevailed with her to grant him a patent, in all respects similar to that which had been previously intrusted to Gilbert. [1584.] Not less prompt in executing than intrepid in projecting his schemes, Raleigh quickly despatched two small vessels commanded by Amadas and Barlow, to visit the districts he intended to occupy, and to examine the accommodations of their coasts, the productions of the soil, and the circumstances of the inhabitants. These officers, avoiding the error of Gilbert in holding too far north, steered their course by the Canaries, and, approaching the North American continent by the Gulf of Florida, anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Worthy of the trust reposed in them, they behaved with great courtesy to the inhabitants, whom they found living in all the rude independence and laborless, but hardy, simplicity of savage life, and of whose hospitality, as well as of the mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil, they published the most flattering accounts on their return to England. The intelligence diffused general satisfaction, and was so agreeable to Elizabeth, that, in exercise of the parentage she proposed to assume over the country, and as a memorial that this acquisition originated with a virgin queen, she thought proper to bestow on it the name of Virginia.

This encouraging prospect not only quickened the diligence of Raleigh, but, by its influence on the public mind, enabled him the more rapidly to complete his preparations for a permanent settlement; and he was soon enabled to equip and despatch a squadron of seven ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most generous spirits of the time, and eminent for valor in the age of the brave. But this gallant leader unfortunately was more infected with the spirit of predatory enterprise then so prevalent among the English, than endued with the qualities which his peculiar duty required; and commencing his expedition by cruising among the West India islands and capturing the vessels of Spain, he familiarized his followers to habits and views very remote from pacific industry, patience, and moderation. At length he landed a hundred and eight men† [Aug. 1585] at Roanoak, and left them there to attempt, as they best could, the arduous task of founding and maintaining a social establishment. The command of this feeble body was committed to Captain Lane, assisted by some persons of note; of whom the most eminent were Amadas, who had conducted the former voyage, and Thomas Heriot, the celebrated improver of algebraical calculation, a man whose sense and virtue might have saved the colony, if they had been shared by his associates, and whose unremitted endeavors to instruct the savages, and diligent inquiries into their habits and character, by adding to the stock of human knowledge, and by extending the example of virtue, rendered the expedition not wholly unproductive of benefit to mankind, and honor to their Creator. The selection of such a man to accompany and partake the enterprise reflects additional honor on his friend and patron Raleigh. Heriot endeavored to avail himself of the admiration expressed by the savages for the guns, the clock, the telescopes, and other implements that attested the superiority of the colonists, in order to lead their minds to the great Source of all sense and science. But while they hearkened to his instructions, they accommodated their import to their own depraved notions of Divine Nature; they acknowledged that the God of the strangers was more powerful and more beneficent to his people than the deities they served, and discovered a great anxiety to touch and embrace the Bible, and apply it to their breasts and heads.‡ In the hands of an artful or superstitious priest, such practices, and dispositions would probably have produced a plentiful crop of prentended miracles and imaginary cures, and terminated in an exchange of superstition, instead of a renovation of nature. But Heriot was incapable of flattering or deceiving the savages by encouraging their idolatry and merely changing its direction: he labored to convince them that salvation was to be attained by acquaintance with the contents of the Bible, and not by an ignorant veneration of the exterior of the book. By these labors, which were too soon interrupted, and which have obtained but little notice from the historians of the visible kingdoms of this world, he succeeded in making such impression on the minds of the Indians, that Wingina, the king, when attacked by a severe disorder, rejected the assistance of his own priests, and sent to beg the attendance and prayers of the English; and his example was followed by many of his subjects.

But unfortunately for the stability of the settlement, the majority of the colonists were much less distinguished by piety or prudence than by a vehement impatience to acquire sudden wealth: their first pursuit was gold; and smitten with the pursuasion that every part of America was pervaded by the mines that enriched the Spanish colonies, their chief efforts were directed to the discovery and attainment of treasures that happily had no existence. The natives soon discovering the object which they sought with such avidity, amused them with tales of a neighboring country abounding in mines, and where pearl was so plentiful, that even the walls of the houses glittered with it. Eagerly listening to these agreeable fictions, the adventurers consumed their time and endured amazing hardships in pursuit of a phantom, to the utter neglect of the means of providing for their future subsistence. The detection of the imposture produced mutual suspicion and disgust between them and the savages, and finally led to open enmity and acts of bloodshed. The stock of provisions brought from England was exhausted; the additional supplies they had been taught to expect did not arrive; and the hostility of the Indians left them no other dependence than on the precarious resources of the woods and rivers. Thus straitened for provisions and surrounded by enemies, the colonists were reduced to the extremity of distress and danger, when a prospect of deliverance was unexpectedly presented to them by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake with a fleet which he was conducting home from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Drake agreed to furnish them with a reinforcement to their numbers, and a liberal supply of provisions; and if this had been effected, it seems probable that, from the ample aid soon after transmitted by Raleigh, the colonists might have been able to maintain their footing in America. But Drake's intentions were frustrated by a violent storm which carried out to sea the very ship which he had freighted with these necessary supplies. And as he could not afford to weaken his fleet by a further contribution for their defence or subsistence, the adventurers, now completely exhausted and discouraged, unanimously determined to abandon the country. In compliance with their united request, Drake accordingly received them on board his vessels, and reconducted them to England. [1586.] Such was the abortive issue of the first colony planted by the English in America.

Of the political consequences that resulted from this expedition, the catalogue, though not very copious, is by no means devoid of interest. An important accession was made to the scanty stock of knowledge respecting North America; the spirit of mining adventure received a signal check; and the use of tobacco, already introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese into other parts of Europe, was now imported into England. This herb the Indians esteemed their principal medicine, and ascribed its virtues to the inhabitation of one of those spiritual beings which they supposed to reside in all the extraordinary productions of nature. Lane and his associates, acquiring a relish for its properties, brought a quantity of tobacco with them to England, and taught the use of it to their countrymen. Raleigh eagerly adopted, and with the help of some young men of fashion, encouraged the practice, which soon established and spread itself with a vigor that outran the help of courtiers, and defied the hinderance of kings, and, creating a new and almost universal appetite in human nature, formed an important source of revenue to England and multiplied the ties that united Europe with America.*

But the disasters that attended this unsuccessful undertaking did not terminate with the return of Lane and his followers to England. A few days after their departure from Roanoak, a vessel, despatched by Raleigh, reached the evacuated settlement with a plentiful supply of whatever they could require; and only a fortnight after this bark set sail to return from its fruitless voyage, a still stronger reinforcement of men and provisions arrived in three ships equipped by Raleigh, and commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Disappointed of meeting the vessel that had preceded him, and unable to obtain any tidings of the colony, yet unwilling to abandon the possession of the country, Grenville landed fifty men at Roanoak, and leaving them in possession of an ample supply of provisions, returned to England to communicate the state of affairs and obtain further directions.

This succession of disasters excited much gloomy speculation and superstitious surmise in England, but could neither vanquish the hopes nor exhaust the resources of Raleigh. In the following year [1587] he fitted out and despatched three ships under the command of Captain White, with directions to join the small body that Grenville had established at Roanoak, and thence to transfer the settlement to the bay of Chesapeak, of which the superior advantages had been discovered in the preceeding year by Lane. A charter of incorporation was granted to White and twelve of his more eminent associates, as Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia. Instructed by the calamities that had befallen the former expeditions, more efficacious means were adopted in the equipment of this squadron for preserving and continuing the colony. The stock of provisions was more abundant; the number of men greater, and the means of recruiting their numbers afforded by a competent intermixture of women. But the full extent of the preceeding calamities had yet to be learned: and on landing at Roanoak in quest of the detachment that Grenville had placed there, White and his companions could find no other trace of them than the significant memorial presented by a ruined fort and a parcel of scattered bones. The apprehensions excited by this melancholy spectacle were confirmed by the intelligence of a friendly native, who informed them that their countrymen had fallen victims to the enmity of the Indians. Instructed rather than discouraged by this calamity, they endeavored to effect a reconciliation with the savages; and, determining to remain at Roanoak, they proceeded to repair the houses and revive the colony. One of the natives was baptised into the christian faith, and, retaining an unshaken attachment to the English, contributed his efforts to pacify and conciliate his countrymen. But finding themselves destitute of many articles which they judged essential to their comfort and preservation in a country covered

* [illegible] has erroneously stated the number at a hundred and eight.

† Heriot, apud Smith, B. i. p. 11. Heriot has not escaped the imputation of [illegible]. But from this censure he was defended by Bishop Corbet, who declared that "Heriot's deep mine was without dross." Stith, p. 20.

‡ In the year 1692, that is, thirty-six years after its first introduction into Europe, and seven years after its first introduction as an European colony, the annual import of tobacco into England amounted to an hundred and forty-two thousand and eighty-five pounds weight. Stith, p. 246. Yet this quantity appears quite insignificant when compared with the present consumption of tobacco in Britain.

with forests and peopled only by a few scattered tribes of savages, the colonists deputed their governor to solicit for them the requisite supplies; and White proceeded for this purpose to England. On his voyage thither, he touched at a port in Ireland, where he is said to have left some specimens of the potatoe plant which he had brought with him from America. But whether this memorable importation was due to him, or, as some writers have maintained, to certain of the earlier associates of Raleigh's adventures, it must be acknowledged that to the enterprise of Raleigh and the soil of America Great Britain is indebted for her acquaintance with the potatoe, and with tobacco, the staple article of diet, and the most cherished as well as most innocent luxury of a great proportion of her people.

White arrived at a juncture the most unfavorable for the success of his mission. All England was now engrossed with the more immediate concern of self-preservation: the formidable armada of Spain was preparing to invade her, and the whole naval and military resources of the empire were under requisition for the purposes of national defence. The hour of his country's danger could not fail to find ample employment for the generous spirit of Raleigh: yet he mingled with his distinguished efforts to repel the enemy some exertions for the preservation of the colony he had planted. For this purpose, he had with his usual promptitude equipped a small squadron which he committed to the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville, when the queen interposed to detain the ships of force, and to prohibit Grenville from leaving England at such a crisis. [1588.] White, however, was enabled to reimbark for America with two vessels; but yielding to the temptation of trying his fortune by the way, in a cruise against the Spaniards, he was beaten by a superior force, and totally disabled from pursuing his voyage. The colony at Roanoak was therefore left to depend on its own feeble resources, which probably the hope of foreign succour contributed to render the less available. What its fate was may be easily guessed, but never was known. [1589.] An expedition conducted by White in the following year found the territory evacuated of the colonists, and no further tidings of their destiny were ever obta ned.

This last expedition was not despatched by Raleigh, but by his successors in the American patent. And our history is now to take leave of that illustrious man, with whose schemes and enterprises it ceases to have any further connexion. The ardor of his mind was not exhausted, but diverted by a multiplicity of new and not less arduous undertakings. Intent on peopling and improving a large district in Ireland which the queen had conferred on him; involved in the conduct of a scheme, and expense of an armament for establishing Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal; and already revolving his last and wildest project of an expedition for the discovery of mines in Guiana; it became impossible for him to continue the attention and prolong the efforts he had devoted to his Virginia colony. Desirous, at the same time, that a project which he had carried so far should not be entirely abandoned, and hoping that the spirit of commerce would preserve an intercourse with Virginia that might terminate in a colonial establishment, he consented to assign his patent to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London, who undertook to establish and maintain a traffic between England and Virginia. The patent which he thus transferred had already cost him the enormous sum of 40,000*l.*, without affording him the slightest return of pecuniary profit: yet the only personal consideration for which he stipulated with the assignees was a small share of whatever gold or silver ore they might eventually discover. It is impossible to consider the fate of this his earliest and most illustrious project—the unrivalled genius to which it owed its conception—the steady vigor with which it was pursued—the insurmountable patience with which it was revived from disaster and disappointment—and the surprising train of incidents by which the design was so often baffled, and success only brought so near, that it might seem as if by some fatality to elude his grasp, without acknowledging that the course of this world is overruled by a higher Power than the wisdom of man, and that human exertion has, in itself, no efficacy to accomplish its designs. The same Almighty Being that enables created agency to advance a certain length, enjoins that it prevails no farther; and is glorified alike by the magnitude of human efforts, and the failure of human designs.

It appeared very soon that Raleigh had transferred his patent to hands very different from his own The last mentioned expedition, which was productive of nothing but tidings of the destruction of those adventurers whom White had conducted, was the most considerable effort that the London company performed. Satisfied with a paltry traffic carried on by a few small vessels, they made no attempt to take possession of the country · and at the period of Elizabeth's death, not a single Englishman was settled in America. The exertions of Raleigh, however, had united the views and hopes of his countrymen, by a strong association, with settlements in Virginia, and given a bias to the national mind which only the encouragement of more favorable circumstances was wanting to develop. But the war with Spain, that endured till the close of Elizabeth's reign, allured men of enterprise and activity into the career of predatory adventure, and obstructed the formation of peaceable and commercial settlements.

[1603.] The accession of James to the English crown, was by a singular coincidence, an event no less favorable to the colonization of America, than fatal to the illustrious projector of this design. Peace was immediately concluded with Spain; and England, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquillity, was enabled to direct to more bloodless pursuits the energies matured in a war which had strongly excited the spirit of the nation without impairing its strength. From the inability of government in that age to collect and blend all the resources and wield with its own hand all the disposable force of the empire, war was chiefly productive of a series of partial efforts and privateering expeditions, which widely diffused the allurements of ambition, and multiplied the opportunities of advancement. This had been remarkably exemplified in the war with Spain; and many ardent spirits to which it had supplied opportunities of animating exertion and flattering ascendency became impatient of the restraint and inactivity to which the peace consigned them, and began to look abroad for a new sphere of enterprise and exertion.

The prevalence of this disposition naturally led to a revival of the projects for colonizing North America, and was the more readily guided into that direction by the success of a voyage that had been undertaken in the last year of Elizabeth's reign. Bartholomew Gosnold, who planned and performed this voyage in a small vessel containing only thirty men, was led by his experience in navigation to suspect that the right track had not yet been discovered, and that in steering by the Canary Islands and the Gulf of Florida, a circuit of at least a thousand leagues was unnecessarily made. In prosecution of this conjecture, he abandoned the southern track, and, steering more to the westward, was the first who reached America by this directer course. He found himself further north than any of Raleigh's colonists had gone, and landing in the region which now forms the province of Massachussetts* bay, he carried on an advantageous trade with the natives, and freighted his vessel with abundance of rich peltry. He visited two adjacent islands, one of which he named Martha's Vineyard, the other Elizabeth's Island. The aspect of the country appeared so inviting, and the climate so salubrious, that twelve of the crew at first determined to remain there: but reflecting on the melancholy fate of the colonists at Roanoak, their resolution failed; and the whole party reluctantly quitting this agreeable quarter, returned to England after an abscence of less than four months.

The report of this voyage produced a strong impression on the public mind, and led to important consequences. Gosnold had discovered a route that greatly shortened the voyage to North America, and found a healthy climate, a fertile soil, and a coast abounding with excellent harbours. He had seen many fruits esteemed in Europe growing plentifully in the woods; and having sown some European grain, had found it grow with rapidity and vigor. Encouraged by his success, and perhaps not insensible to the hope of finding gold and silver or some new and lucrative subject of commerce in the unexplored interior of so fine a country, he endeavored to procure associates in an undertaking to transport a colony to America. Similar plans began to be formed in various parts of the kingdom; but the spirit of adventure was controlled by a salutary caution awakened by the recollection of past disappointments.

These projects were powerfully aided by the judicious counsel and zealous encouragement of Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial knowledge, the patron and counsellor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, the correspondent of the leaders who conducted them, and the historian of the exploits they gave rise to. [1603.] By his persuasion two vessels were fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, and despatched to examine the discoveries of Gosnold, and verify his statement. They returned with an ample confirmation of his veracity. [1605.] A similar expedition was equipped and despatched by Lord Arundel of Wardour, which not only produced additional testimony to the same effect, but reported so many additional particulars in favor of the country, that all doubts were removed; and an association sufficiently numerous, wealthy, and powerful, to attempt a settlement being soon formed, a petition was presented to the king for his sanction of the plan and the interposition of his authority towards its execution.

The attention of James had been already directed to the advantages that might be derived from colonies, at the time when he attemped to civilize the more barbarous clans of his ancient subjects by planting detachments of industrious traders in the Highlands of Scotland. Well pleased to resume a favorite speculation, and willing to encourage a scheme that opened a safe and peaceful career to the active genius of his new subjects, he listened readily to the application, and, highly commending the plan, acceded to the wishes of its projectors. Letters patent were issued [1606,] to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea-coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, together with all islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores. The design of the patentees is declared to be "to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia;" and, as the main recommendation of the design, it set forth, that "so noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government." The patentees were required to divide themselves into two distinct companies, the one consisting of London adventurers, termed the first or southern colony the second or northern colony composed of merchants belonging to Plymouth and Bristol. The territory appropriated to the first or southern colony was generally called Virginia, and retained that appellation after the second or northern colony obtained, in 1614, the name of New England. The adventurers were authorized to transport to their respective territories as many English subjects as should be willing to accompany them, and to make shipments of arms and provisions for their use, with exemption from customs for the space of seven years. The colonists and their children were to enjoy the same liberties and privileges in the American settlements as if they had remained or were born in England.* The administration of each of the colonies was committed to two boards of council; the supreme government being vested in a board resident in England, to be nominated by the king, and directed by such ordinances as he might enact for their use; and the subordinate jurisdiction devolving on a colonial council equally indebted to the appointment and subjected to the instructions of the king. Liberty to search for and open mines (which, under all the feudal governments, were supposed to have been originally reserved by the sovereign), was conferred on the colonists, with an appropriation of part of the produce to the crown; and the more valuable privilege of unrestrained liberty of trade with other nations was also extended to them. The president and council within the colonies were authorised to levy duties on foreign commodities, which, for twenty-one years, were to be applied to the use of the adventurers, and afterwards to be paid into the royal exchequer.

* He appears to have been the second Englishman who landed in New England. The first was Sir Francis Drake, who remained there a few days and traded with the natives in his return from the West Indies in 1586. It is even said that Drake persuaded one of the Indian chiefs of that region to declare his territorries subject to queen Elizabeth. Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Amer. i. 25.

* This provision (whether suggested by the caution of the prince or the apprehension of the colonists) occurs in almost all the colonial charters. It is, however, omitted in the most accurate of them all, the charter of Pennsylvania, which was attentively revised and adjusted by that eminent lawyer the Lord Keeper Guildford. When King William was about to renew the charter of Massachusetts, after the Revolution, he was advised by the ablest lawyers in England that such a provision was nugatory; the law necessarily inferring that the colonists were Englishmen, and both entitled to the rights and burdened with the duties attached to that character. Chalmers's Annals, p. 15.

The terms of this charter strongly illustrates both the character of the monarch who granted, and the designs of the persons who procured it. Neither of these parties seem to have intended or foreseen the foundation of a great and opulent society. The arbitrary spirit of the royal grantor is discernable in the subjection of the emigrant body to a corporation in which they were not represented, and over whose deliberations they had no control. There is likewise a manifest inconsistency between the reservation to the colonists of all the privileges of Englishmen, and the assumption of legislative power by the king, the control of whose legislative functions constitutes the most valuable political privilege that Englishmen enjoy. But we have no reason to suppose that the charter was unacceptable to the patentees; on the contrary, its most objectionable provisions are not more congenial to the character of the king than conformable to the views which the leading members of that body plainly appear to have adopted. Their object (notwithstanding the more liberal designs professed in the charter) was rather to explore the continent and appropriate its treasures by the agency of a body of adventurers over whom they retained a complete control, than to establish a permanent and extensive settlement. The instructions to the colonial governors which accompanied the second shipment sent out by the London company demonstrated (very disagreeably to the wiser emigrants, and very injuriously to the rest), that the chief objects of their concern were not patient industry and colonization, but territorial discovery and immediate gain. In furtherance of these views they took care, by mixing no women with the first emigrants, to retain the colony in dependence upon England for its supplies of men, and to give free scope to the cupidity and the roving spirit of minds undivided by the hopes and unfixed by the comforts and attachments of domestic life.

Lightly as we must esteem the wisdom and liberality of James's institutions, it will enhance our estimate of the difficulty of his task, and abate our censure of his performance, if we compare him as a maker of constitutions with the most eminent philosopher that England has produced, aided too by the knowledge and experience of an additional century. The materials for this judgment will be supplied when the progress of our history shall have reached the settlement of Carolina; but I will venture to anticipate it by affirming, that, unfortunately for the credit of philosophy, the production of James will rather gain than lose by comparison with the performance of Locke.

The king appears to have been more honestly occupied with genuine colonizing ideas than the patentees. While their leaders were employed in making preparations to secure the benefits of the grant, James was assiduously engaged in the task, which his vanity rendered a rich enjoyment, and the well guarded liberties of England a rare one, of digesting a code of laws for the colonies that were about to be planted. This code being at length prepared, was issued under the sign manual and privy seal of England. [1606.] It enjoined the preaching of the gospel and the observance of divine worship, in conformity with the doctrines and rites of the church of England. The legislative and executive powers within the colonies were vested in the colonial councils; but with this important provision, that laws originating there should in substance be consonant to the English laws, that they should continue in force only till modified or repealed by the king or the supreme council in England, and that their penal inflictions should not extend to death or dismemberment. Persons attempting to withdraw the people from their allegiance to the English crown were to be imprisoned; or, in cases highly aggravated, to be remitted for trial to England. Tumults, mutiny, and rebellion, murder and incest, were to be punished with death; and for these the criminal was to be tried by a jury. Inferior crimes were to be punished in a summary way at the discretion of the president and council. Lands were to be holden by the same tenures that were established in England; but for five years after the settlement of each colony, a community of labor and gains was to have place among the colonists. Kindness to the heathen, and the communication of religious instruction to them, were enjoined. And finally, a power was reserved to the king and his successors to enact further laws, provided they should be consistent with the jurisprudence of England.

These regulations in the main are creditable to the sovereign who enacted them. No attempt was made nor right pretended to legislate for the Indian tribes; and if the ancient territories which they rather claimed than occupied, were appropriated and disposed of without any regard to their pretensions, at least, no jurisdiction was assumed over their actions, and, in point of personal liberty, they were regarded as an independent people. This was an advance in equity beyond the practice of the Spaniards, and the ideas of queen Elizabeth, whose patents asserted the jurisdiction of the English crown and of the colonial laws over the old as well as the new inhabitants of her projected colonies. In the criminal legislation of this code, we may observe a distinction which trial by jury has enabled to prevail over that ingenious and perhaps necessary principle of ancient colonial policy, which intrusted the proconsular governors with the power of inflicting death, but restrained them from awarding less formidable penalties, as more likely to give scope to the operation of interest or caprice. If the charter evinced a total disregard of political liberty, the code, by introducing trial by jury, interwove with the very origin of society a habit and practice well adapted to keep alive the spirit and principles of freedom.

The London company, to which the plantation of the southern colony was committed applied themselves immediately to the formation of a settlement. But though many persons of distinction were included among the proprietors, their funds at first were scanty, and their first efforts proportionably feeble. Three small vessels, of which the largest did not exceed a hundred tons burthen, under the command of Captain Newport, formed the first squadron that was to execute what had been so long and so vainly attempted, and sailed [Dec.] with a hundred and five men destined to remain in America. Several of these were of distinguished families, particularly George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland; and several were officers of reputation, of whom we may notice Bartholomew Gosnold the navigator, and Captain John Smith, one of the most remarkable persons of an age that was prolific of memorable men.

Thus at length, after a research fraught with perplexity and disappointment, but I hope not devoid of interest, into the sources of the great transatlantic commonwealth, we have reached the first inconsiderable spring, whose progress, feebly opposed to innumerable obstructions, and nearly diverted in its very outset, yet always continuous, expands under the eye of patient inquiry into the majestic stream of American population. After the lapse of a hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and twenty two years after its first occupation by Raleigh, were the number of the English colonists limited to a hundred and five; and this handful of men proceeded to execute the arduous task of peopling a remote and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by tribes of savages and beasts of prey. Under the sanction of a charter which bereaved Englishmen of their most valuable rights, and banished from the American constitution the first principles of liberty, were the foundations laid of the colonial greatness of England, and of the freedom and prosperity of America. From this period, or at least very shortly after, a regular and connected history arises out of the progress of Virginia and New England, the two eldest born colonies, by whose example all the others were engendered, and under whose shelter they were successively planted and reared.*

Newport and his squadron, pursuing for some unknown reason the ancient circuitous track to America, did not accomplish their voyage in a shorter period than four months; but its termination was rendered peculiarly fortunate by the effect of a storm which overruled their destination to Roanoak, and carried them into the bay of Chesapeak. [April, 1607.] As they advanced into the bay that seemed to invite their approach, they beheld all the advantages of this spacious haven, replenished by the waters of so many great rivers that fertilize the soil of that extensive district of America, and affording commodious inlets into the interior parts, facilitate their foreign commerce and mutual communication. Newport first landed on a promontary forming the southern boundary of the bay, which, in honor of the Prince of Wales, he named Cape Henry. Thence coasting the southern shore, he entered a river which the natives called Powhatan, and explored its banks for the space of forty miles from its mouth. Strongly impressed with the superior advantages of the coast and region to which they had been thus happily conducted, the adventurers unanimously determined to make this the place of their abode. They gave to their infant settlement, as well as to the neighboring river, the name of their king; and Jamestown retains the distinction of being the oldest existing habitation of the English in America.

But the dissensions that broke out among the colonists soon threatened to deprive them of all the advantages of their well-selected station. Their animosities were powerfully inflamed by an arrangement which, if it did not originate with the king, at least evinces a strong affinity to that ostentatious mystery and driftless artifice which he affected as the perfection of political dexterity. The names of the colonial council were not communicated to the adventurers when they departed from England; but the commission which contained them was inclosed in a sealed packet, which was directed to be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, when the counsellors were to be installed in their office, and to elect their own president. The dissensions incident to a long voyage and a body of adventurers rather conjoined than united, had free scope among men unaware of the relations they were to occupy towards each other, and of the subordination which their relative stations might imply; and when the names of the council were proclaimed, they were far from giving general satisfaction. Captain Smith, whose superior talents and courage had excited the envy and jealousy of his colleagues, was excluded from the seat in council which the commission conferred on him, and even accused of traitorous designs so unproved and improbable, that none less believed the charge than the parties who preferred it. The privation of his counsel and services in the difficulties of their outset was a serious loss to the colonists, and might have been attended with ruin to the settlement, if his merit and generosity had not been superior to their mean injustice. The jealous suspicions of the person who had been elected president restrained the use of arms, and discouraged the construction of fortifications; and a misunderstanding having arisen with the Indians, the colonists, unprepared for hostilities, suffered severely from one of the sudden attacks characteristic of the warfare of these savages.

Newport had been ordered to return with the ships to England; and as the time of his departure approached, the accusers of Smith, affecting a humanity they did not feel, proposed that he should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia. But, happily for the colony, he scorned so to compromise his integrity; and demanding a trial, was honorably acquitted, and took his seat in the council.

The fleet had been better victualled than the stores of the colony; and while it remained with them, the colonists were permitted to share the abundance enjoyed by the sailors. But when Newport set sail for England, [June,] they found themselves limited to scanty supplies of unwholesome provisions; and the sultry heat of the climate, and moisture of a country overgrown with wood, concurring with the defects of their diet, brought on diseases that raged with fatal violence. Before the month of September one half of their number had perished, and among them was Bartholomew Gosnold, who had planned the expedition, and eminently contributed to its accomplishment. This scene of distress was heightened by internal dissensions. The President was accused of embezzling the stores, and finally detected in an attempt to seize a pinnace and escape from the colony and its calamities. At length, in the extremity of their distress, when ruin seemed alike to impend from famine, and the fury of the savages, the colony was delivered from danger by a supply which the piety of Smith is not ashamed to ascribe to the influence of God in suspending the passions and controlling the sentiments of men. The savages, actuated by a sudden change of feeling, presented them with a supply of provisions so abundant as at once to dissipate their apprehensions of famine and hostility.

Resuming their spirit, the colonists now proved themselves not entirely uninstructed by their misfortunes. In seasons of exigency merit is illustrated, and the envy that pursues it absorbed by interest and alarm. Their sense of common and inevitable danger suggested and enforced submission to the man whose talents were most likely to extricate them from the difficulties with which they were surrounded. Every eye was now turned on Smith, and all willingly devolved on him the authority which they had formerly evinced

* It is only, or at least generally, their accomplishment, which possesses the historical pretensions of poetry. The subsequent progress of America has engaged one of her scholars to direct our attention to this stage of her history in the following lines:—

"Ingenium, pietas, artes ac bellica virtus,
Huc profugae venient, et regna haec sibi condent;
Et dominus his Virtus erit, et Fortuna ministra."

so much jealousy of his acquiring. This eminent person, whose name will be for ever associated with the foundation of civilized society in America was descended of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune. At a very early age his ardent mind had been strongly smitten with the spirit of adventure that prevailed so powerfully in England during the reign of Elizabeth; and, yielding to his inclinations, he had passed through a vast variety of military service, with little gain, but great reputation and with the acquisition of an experience the more valuable that it was obtained without exhausting his ardor or tainting his morals. The vigor of his constitution had preserved his health unimpaired amidst the general sickness, his undaunted temper retained his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded, amidst the general misery and dejection; and the ardor of his disposition, which once subjected him to the reproach of overweening ambition, was now felt to diffuse an animating glow of hope and courage among all around him. A strong sense of religion predominated in the mind of this superior man, combined and duly subordinated all his faculties, refreshed his confidence, extended and yet regulated his views, and gave dignity to his character, and consistency to his conduct. Assuming the direction of the affairs of the colonists, he instantly adopted the only plan that could save them from destruction. Under his directions Jamestown was fortified by such defences as were sufficient to repel the attacks of the savages; and, by dint of great labor, which he was always the foremost to share, the colonists were provided with dwellings that afforded shelter from the weather, and contributed to restore and preserve their health. Finding the supplies of the savages discontinued, he put himself at the head of a detachment of his people, and penetrated into the country; and by courtesy and liberality to the tribes whom he found well disposed, and vigorously repelling the hostilities of such as were otherwise minded, he obtained for the colony the most abundant supplies.

In the midst of his successes he was surprised on an expedition by a hostile body of savages, who, having succeeded in making him prisoner, after a gallant and nearly successful defence, prepared to inflict on him the usual fate of their captives. His eminent faculties did not desert him on this trying occasion. He desired to speak with the sachem or chief, and, presenting him with a mariner's compass, expatiated on the wonderful discoveries to which it had led, described the shape of the earth, the vastness of its lands and oceans, the course of the sun, the varieties of nations, and the singularity of their relative positions, which made some of them antipodes to the others. With equal prudence and magnanimity he refrained from all solicitations for his life, which would only have weakened the impression which he hoped to produce. The savages listened with amazement and admiration. They had handled the compass, and viewing with surprise the play of the needle, which they plainly saw, but found it impossible to touch, from the intervention of the glass, this marvellous object prepared their minds for the reception of those vast impressions by which their captive endeavored to gain ascendancy over them. For an hour after he had finished his harangue they seem to have remained undecided; till their habitual sentiments reviving, they resumed their suspended purpose, and, having bound him to a tree, prepared to despatch him with their arrows. But a stronger impression had been made on their chief; and his soul, enlarged for a season by the admission of knowledge, or subdued by the influence of wonder, revolted from the dominion of habitual ferocity. This chief was named Opechancanough, and destined at a future period to invest his barbarous name with horror and celebrity. Holding up the compass in his hand, he gave the signal of reprieve, and Smith, though still guarded as a prisoner, was conducted to a dwelling where he was kindly treated and plentifully entertained.* But the strongest impressions pass away, while the influence of habit remains. After vainly endeavoring to prevail on their captive to betray the English colony into their hands, they referred his fate to Powhatan, the king or principal sachem of the country, to whose presence they conducted him in triumphal procession. The king received him with much ceremony, ordered a plentiful repast to be set before him, and then adjudged him to suffer death by having his head laid on a stone and beat to pieces with clubs. At the place appointed for this barbarous execution, he was again rescued from impending fate by the interposition of Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of the king, who, finding her first entreaties disregarded, threw her arms around the prisoner, and declared her determination to save him or die with him. Her generous affection prevailed over the cruelty of her tribe, and the king not only gave Smith his life, but soon after sent him back to Jamestown, where the beneficence of Pocahontas continued to follow him with supplies of provisions that delivered the colony from famine.

After an absence of seven weeks Smith returned to Jamestown, barely in time to prevent the desertion of the colony. His associates, reduced to the number of thirty-eight, impatient of farther stay in a country where they had met with so many discouragements, and where they seemed fated to re-enact the disasters of Roanoak, were preparing to abandon the settlement; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and alternately employing persuasion, remonstrance, and even violent interference, that Smith prevailed with them to relinquish their design. The provisions that Pocahontas had sent to him relieved their present wants; his account of the plenty he had witnessed among the savages revived their hopes; and he endeavored, by a diligent improvement of the favorable impressions he had made upon the savages, and by a judicious regulation of the intercourse between them and the colonists, to effect a union of interests and mutual participations of advantages between the two races of people. His generous efforts were successful; he preserved plenty among the English, and extended his influence and repute among the Indians, who began to respect and consult their former captive as a superior being. If Smith had sought only to magnify his own repute and establish his dominion, he might easily have passed with the savages for a demi-god; for they were not more averse to yield the allegiance which he claimed for their Creator, than forward to render it to himself, and to embrace every pretension he might advance in his own behalf. But no alluring prospect of dominion over men could tempt him to forget that he was the servant of God, or aspire to be regarded in any other light by his fellow creatures. He employed his best endeavors to divert the savages from their idolatrous superstition, and made them all aware that the man whose superiority they acknowledged despised their false deities, adored the true God, and obtained from Him, by prayer, the wisdom they so highly commended. The effect of his pious endeavors was obstructed by imperfect acquaintance with their language, and very ill seconded by the conduct of his associates, which contributed to persuade the Indians that his religion was something peculiar to himself. The influence, too, of human superiority, however calculated to impress, is by no means formed to convert the mind. It is so apt to give a wrong direction to the impressions which it produces, and is so remote from the channel in which Christianity from the beginning has been appointed to flow, that the first and most successful efforts to convert mankind were made by men who possessed little of it, and who renounced the little they possessed. Smith, partly from the difficulties of his situation, partly from the defectiveness of his instruction, and, doubtless, in no small degree, from the stubborn blindness and wilful ignorance of the persons he attemped to instruct, succeeded no farther than Heriot had formerly done. The savages extended their respect for the man to a Being whom they termed "the God of Captain Smith," and some of them acknowledged that this Being excelled their own deities in the same proportion that artillery excelled bows and arrows, and sent to Jamestown to entreat that Smith would pray for rain when their idols seemed to refuse a supply.

[1608.] While the affairs of the colony were thus prospering under the direction of Captain Smith, a reinforcement of a hundred and twenty men, with an abundant stock of provisions, and a supply of seeds and instruments of husbandry, arrived in two vessels from England. Universal joy was excited among the colonists by this accession to their comforts and their force. But, unhappily, the jealousies which danger had restrained rather than extinguished, reappeared in this ray of prosperity; the influence of Captain Smith with the Indians excited the envy of the very persons whose lives it had preserved, and his authority now began visibly to decline. Nor was it long before the cessation of his influence, together with the defects in the composition of the new body of emigrants, gave rise to the most serious mischiefs in the colony. The restraints of discipline were relaxed, and a free traffic permitted with the natives, who soon began to complain of fraudulent and unequal dealing, and to resume their ancient animosity. In an infant settlement, where habits of life are unfixed, and habitual submission to authority has yet to be formed, the well-being, and indeed the existence of society are much more dependent on the manners and moral character of individuals, than on the influence of laws. But in recruiting the population of this colony, too little consideration was shown for those habits and pursuits which must every where form the basis of national prosperity. This arose, as well from the peculiar views of the proprietors, as from the circumstances of the English people, whose working classes where by no means overcrowded, and among whom, consequently, the persons whose industry and moderation best fitted them to form a new settlement were least disposed to abandon their native country. Of the recruits who had lately arrived in the colony, a large proportion were *gentlemen*, a few were *laborers*, and some were *jewellers* and *refiners of gold*. Unfortunately, some of this latter description of artists soon found an opportunity of exercising their peculiar departments of industry, and of demonstrating (but too late) their utter unskilfulness even in the worthless qualifications they professed.

A small stream of water which issued from a bank of sand near Jamestown was found to deposit in its channel a glittering sediment which resembled golden ore, and was fondly mistaken for that precious material by the colonists. Only this discovery was wanting to re-excite the passions which America had so fatally kindled in the bosoms of her first invaders. The deposition of the ore was supposed to indicate the neighborhood of a mine; every hand was eager to explore; and considerable quantities of the dust were amassed, and subjected to the scrutiny of ignorance prepossessed by the strongest and most deceptive of human passions, and misled by the blundering guidance of superficial pretenders to superior skill. Captain Smith exerted himself to disabuse his countrymen, and vainly strove to stem the torrent that threatened to devastate all their prospects, and direct to the pursuit of a phantom, the industry on which their subsistence must speedily depend. The worthless dust having undergone the unskilful assay of the refiners who had recently been united to the colony, was pronounced to be ore of a very rich quality, and from that moment the thirst of gold was inflamed into a rage that reproduced those extravagant excesses, but, happily, without conducting to the same profligate enormities for which the followers of Cortes and Pizarro had been distinguished. All productive industry was suspended, and the operations of mining occupied all the conversation, engrossed every thought, and absorbed every effort of the colonists. The two vessels that had brought their late supplies returning to England, the one laden with this valueless dross, and the other with cedar wood, carried the first remittance that an English colony ever made from America. They carried back with them also some persons who had been invested and sent out to the colony with the absurd appointments of admirals, recorders, chronologers, and justices of the peace—a supply as useless to America as the remittance of dust was to Europe.

Foreseeing the disastrous issue to which the delusion of the colonists inevitably tended, Captain Smith, in the hope of preventing some of its most fatal consequences, adopted the resolution of extending his researches far beyond the range they had hitherto attained, and of exploring the whole of the great bay of Chesapeak, for the purpose of ascertaining the qualities and resources of its territories, and promoting a beneficial intercourse with the remoter tribes of its inhabitants. This arduous design he executed with his usual resolution and success; and while his fellow colonists were actively engaged in dissipating the hopes of England, and rivalling the sordid excesses that had characterized the adventurers of Spain, he singly sustained the honor of his country, and, warmed with a nobler emulation, achieved an enterprise that equals the most

* Smith, B. iii. p. 47. Stith, p. 51.—This admirable triumph of knowledge and genius over barbarity and ferocity has been obscured by the inaccuracy of Dr. Robertson, who has ascribed Smith's deliverance on this occasion to his artifice in amusing the savages with wonderful accounts of the virtues of the compass. Marshall, the biographer of Washington, has transferred this mis-statement into the pages of his history also. Had Smith resorted to artifice, he would only have availed himself of a resource which Columbus had previously employed, when he found his advantage in imposing on a savage tribe the prediction for the production of an eclipse. But Smith's attempt was at once more original and more honorable. The device of Columbus had been successfully practised by a Roman general, and is related by Livy. Smith, unassisted by precedent, and guided only by that "inspiration of the Almighty which giveth understanding," appears not to have uttered a single word to the savages that was not strictly true. The triumph was very great; for it was obtained over ferocity inculcated by education and confirmed by habit, and revenge excited by the death of some of the savages whom he had killed in defending himself

celebrated exploits of the Spanish discoverers. When we compare the slenderness of the auxiliary means which he possessed, with the magnitude of the ends which he accomplished, the hardships he endured, and the difficulties he overcame, we recognize in this achievement a monument of human power no less eminent than honorable, and willingly transmit a model so well calculated to warm the genius, to animate the fortitude, and sustain the patience of mankind. With his friend, Dr. Russell, and a small company of followers, whose courage and perseverance he was frequently obliged to resuscitate, and over whom he possessed no other authority than the ascendant of a vigorous character and superior mind, he performed, in an open boat, two voyages of discovery that occupied more than four months, and embraced a navigation of above three thousand miles. With immense labor and danger he visited every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeak, from Cape Charles to the river Susquehannah; he sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls, and diligently examined the successive territories into which he penetrated, and the various tribes that possessed them. He brought back with him an account so ample, and a plan so accurate, of that great portion of the American continent now comprehended in the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, that all the subsequent researches which it has undergone have only expanded his original view; and his map has been made the groundwork of all posterior delineations, with little other diversity than what the varieties of appropriation and the progress of settlements have necessarily effected. But to come and to see were not his only objects; to overcome was also the purpose of his enterprise, and the attainment of his exertions. In his intercourse with the various tribes which he visited, he displayed the genius of a commander in a happy exercise of all those talents that overcome the antipathies of a rude people, and enforce the respect, and even good will, of mankind. By the wisdom and liberality with which he negotiated and traded with the friendly, and by the courage and vigor with which he repelled and overcame the hostile, he never failed to inspire the savages with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation, and laid the foundation of an intercourse that promised the most beneficial results to the Virginian colony. This was indeed the heroic age of North America: and such were the men, and such the labors, by which the first foundations of her greatness and prosperity were appointed to be laid.

While this expedition was in progress, the golden dreams of the colonists were at length dispelled; and they had awaked to all the miseries of sickness, scarcity, disappointment, and discontent, when Smith once more returned to them, to revive their spirits with his successes, and relieve their wants by the resources he had created. Immediately after his return he was [10th Sept.] chosen president by the council; and, accepting the office, he employed his influence so successfully with the savages, that present scarcity was banished, and exerted his authority so vigorously and judiciously in the colony, that a spirit of industry and good order began generally to prevail, and gave promise of lasting plenty and steady prosperity. If we compare the actions of Smith, during the period of his presidency, with the enterprise that immediately preceeded his election, it may appear, at first sight, that the sphere of his exertions was both narrowed and degraded by this event, and we might almost be tempted to regret the returning reasonableness of the colonists, which, by confining this active spirit to the petty details of their government, withdrew it from a range more congenial to its excursive vigor, and more advantageous to mankind. Yet, reflection might persuade us that a truly great mind, especially when united with an ardent temper, will never be contracted by the seeming restriction of its sphere; it will always be nobly, as well as usefully employed, and not the less nobly when it dignifies what is ordinary, and improves the models that invite the widest imitation, and are most level with the opportunities of mankind. Accordingly, when we examine the history of that year over which the official supremacy of Captain Smith was extended, and consider the results of the multifarious details which it embraces, we discern a dignity as real, though less glaring than that which invests his celebrated voyage of discovery, and are sensible of consequences even more interesting to human nature than any which that expedition produced. In a small society, where the circumstances of all the members were nearly equal, where power derived no aid from pomp and circumstance, and where he owed his office to the appointment of his associates, and held it by the tenure of their good will,* he preserved order and enforced morality among a crew of dissolute and discontented men; and so successfully opposed his authority to the temptations to indolence arising from their previous habits and dispositions, and fortified by the community of gains that then prevailed, as to introduce and maintain a respectable degree of laborious, and even contented industry. What one governor afterwards effected in this respect by the weight of an imposing rank, and others by the strong engine of martial law, Smith, without these advantages, and with greater success, accomplished by the continual application of his own vigor and activity. Some plots were formed against him; but these he detected and defeated without either straining or compromising his authority. The caprice and suspicion of the Indians assailed him with numberless trials of his temper and capacity Even Powhatan, notwithstanding the friendly ties that united him to his ancient guest, was induced, by the treacherous artifices of certain Dutchmen, who deserted to him from Jamestown, first to form a secret conspiracy, and then to excite and prepare open hostility against the colonists. [1609.] Some of the fraudful designs of the royal savage were revealed by the unabated kindness of *Pocahontas*, others were detected by Captain Smith, and from them all he contrived to extricate the colony with honor and success, and yet with little, and only defensive, bloodshed; displaying to the Indians a vigor and dexterity they could neither overcome nor overreach—a courage that commanded their respect, and a generosity that carried his victory into their minds, and reconciled submission with their pride. In thus demonstrating (to use his own words) "what small cause there is that men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry," he bequeathed a valuable lesson to his successors in the American colonies, and to all succeeding settlers in the vicinity of savage tribes; and in exemplifying the power of a superior people to anticipate the cruel and vulgar issue of battle, and to prevail over an inferior race without either extirpating or enslaving them, he obtained a victory which Cæsar, with all his boasted superiority to the rest of mankind was too ungenerous to appreciate, or was incompetent to achieve.

But Smith was not permitted to complete the work he had so honorably begun. His administration was unacceptable to the company in England, for the same reasons that rendered it beneficial to the settlers in America. The patentees, very little concerned about the establishment of a happy and respectable society, had eagerly counted on the accumulation of sudden wealth by the discovery of a shorter passage to the South Sea, or the acquisition of territory replete with mines of the precious metals. In these hopes they had been hitherto disappointed; and the state of affairs in the colony was far from betokening even the retribution of their heavy expenditure. The prospect of a settled and improving state of society at Jamestown, so far from meeting their wishes, threatened to promote the growth of habits and interests perfectly incompatible with them. Still hoping, therefore, to realize their avaricious dreams, they conceived it necessary for this purpose to remove all authority into their own hands, and to abolish all jurisdiction originating in America. In order to enforce their pretensions, as well as to increase their funds, they now courted the acquisition of additional members; and having strengthened their interests by the accession of some persons of the highest rank and influeuce in the nation, they applied for and obtained a new charter.

[23d May.] If the new charter thus arbitrarily introduced showed an utter disregard of the rights of the colonists who had emigrated on the faith of the original one its provisions equally demonstrated the intention of restricting their privileges and increasiug their dependence on the English patentees. The new charter was granted to twenty-one peers, ninety-eight knights, and a great multitude of doctors, esquires, gentlemen, merchants, and citizens, and sundry of the corporations of London, in addition to the former adventurers; and the whole body was incorporrted by the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first colony in Virginia." The boundaries of the colony and the power of the corporation were enlarged; the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished; a new council was established in England, and the company empowered to fill all future vacancies in it by election; and to this council was committed the power of new-modelling the magistracy of the colony, of enacting all the laws that were to have place in it, and nominating all the officers by whom these laws were to be carried into execution. Nevertheless, was it still provided that the colonists and their posterity should retain all the rights of Englishmen. To prevent the doctrines of the church of Rome from gaining admission into the plantations, it was declared that no persons should pass into Virginia but such as should first have taken the oath of supremacy.

The new council appointed Lord Delaware governor and captain-general of the colony; and the hopes inspired by the distinguished rank, and not less eminent character of this nobleman, contributed to strengthen the company by a considerable accession of funds and associates. Availing themselves of the favourable disposition of the public, they quickly equipped a squadron of nine ships, and sent them out with five hundred emigrants, under the command of Captain Newport, who was authorized to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware with the remainder of the recruits and supplies. But by an unlucky combination of caution and indiscretion, the same powers were severally intrusted to Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, without any adjustment of precedence between these gentlemen; and they finding themselves unable to settle this point among themselves, agreed to embark on board the same vessel, and to be companions during the voyage—thus deliberately hazarding and eventually effecting the disappointment of the main objeet which their association in authority was intended to secure. The vessel that contained the triumverate was separated from the fleet by a storm, and stranded on the coast of Bermudas.* The residue of the squadron arrived safely at Jametown, but so little were they expected, that when they were first described at sea they were mistaken for enemies; and this rumor gave occasion to a very satisfactory proof of the friendly disposition of the Indians, who came forward with the utmost alacrity, and offered to fight in defence of the colony.

These apprehensions, which were dissipated by the nearer approach of the fleet, gave place to more substantial and more formidable evils arising from the composition of the reinforcement which it brought to the colonial body. A great proportion of these new emigrants consisted of profligate and licentious youths, sent out by their friends with the hope of changing their destinies, or for the purpose of screening them from the justice or contempt of their country; of indigent gentlemen too proud too beg, and too lazy to work; tradesmen of broken fortunes and broken spirit; idle retainers whom the great were eager to get rid of; and dependents too infamous to be decently protected at home; with others, like these, more fitted to waste and corrupt a commonwealth than to found or maintain one. The leaders of this pernicious crew, though totally unprovided with legal documents entitling them either to assume or supersede authority proclaimed the changes which the constitution of the colony had undergone, and proceeded to execute that part of the innovation which consisted in the overthrow of the colonial presidency and council. Their conduct soon demonstrated that their title to assume authority was not more defective than their capacity to exercise it. Investing themselves with the powers, they were unable to devise any frame of government, or establish even among themselves any fixed subordination; sometimes the old commission was resorted to, sometimes a new model attempted, and the chief direction passed from hand to hand in one uninterrupted succession of presumption and incapacity. The whole colony was involved in distress and disorder by this revolutionary state of its new government, and the Indian tribes were alienated and exasperated by the turbulence, injustice, and insolence of the new settlers

* It was the testimony of his soldiers and fellow adventures, says Stith, "that he was ever fruitful in expedients to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing he either had or could procure; that he rather choose to lead than send his soldiers into danger;" that in all their expeditions he partook the common fare, and never gave a command that he was not ready to execute; "that he would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay; that he had nothing in him counterfeit or sly, but was open, honest, and sincere." Stith adds, respecting this founder of civilized society in North America, what the son of Columbus has, with a noble elation, recorded of his father, that though habituated to naval manners, and to the command of factious and licentious men, he was never heard to utter an oath.

* It was this disaster, no doubt, which produced the only allusion which Shakespeare ever makes to the regions of America. In The Tempest, which was composed about three years after this period, Ariel celebrates the stormy coast of "the still vex'd Bermudas."

This emergency strongly called on the man who had so often rescued the settlement from ruin, again to attempt its deliverance; the call was seconded by the wishes of the best and wisest of the colonists; and, aided as much by the vigor of his own character, as by the cooperation of these individuals, Smith once more assumed his natural ascendant and official supremacy, and declared his intention of retaining the authority created by the old commission till a regal revocation of it and legitimate successors to himself should arrive. He boldly imprisoned the chief promoters of tumult; and having restored regularity and obedience, he endeavored to prevent a recurrence of the former mischiefs by detaching from Jamestown a portion of the new colonists to form a subordinate settlement at some distance. This was an unfortunate step; and it is remarkable that the only signal failure in the policy of this eminent man seems to have arisen from the only instance in which he showed a distrust of his own vigor and capacity. The detachments which he removed from Jamestown conducted themselves so imprudently as to convert all the neighboring Indians into enemies, and to involve themselves in continual difficulty and danger. The Indians assailed him with complaints, the detached settlers with requisitions of counsel and assistance; and Smith, who never spent in lamenting misfortunes the time that might be employed in repairing them, was exerting himself with his usual vigor and good sense in redressing these disorders, when he received a dangerous wound from the accidental explosion of a quantity of gunpowder. Completely disabled by this misfortune, and destitute of surgical aid in the colony, he was compelled to resign his command, and take his departure for England. He never returned to Virginia again. It was natural that he should abandon with regret the society he had so often preserved, the settlement he had conducted through difficulties as formidable as the infancy of Carthage or Rome had to encounter, and the scenes he had dignified by so much wisdom and virtue. But our sympathy with his regret is abated by the reflection that a longer residence in the colony would speedily have consigned him to very subordinate office, and might have deprived the world of that stock of valuable knowledge, and his own character of that accession of fame,* which the publication of his travels has been the means of perpetuating. Such reflections are not foreign to the purpose, nor inconsistent with the dignity of history, which may well be allowed to linger with interest on the fortunes of this excellent person, and is well employed in teaching by example how powerfully an enlargement of our view contributes to purify the moral aspect of events.

CHAPTER II.

The Colony a Prey to Anarchy—and Famine—Gates and Somers arrive from Bermudas—Abandonment of the Colony determined—prevented by the Arrival of Lord Delaware—His wise Administration—his Return to England—Sir Thomas Dale's Administration—Martial Law established—Indian Chief's Daughter seized by Captain Argal—married to Mr. Rolfe—Right of private Property in Land introduced into the Colony—Expeditions of Argal against Port Royal and New York—Tobacco cultivated by the Colonists—First Assembly of Representatives convened in Virginia—New Constitution of the Colony—Introduction of Negro Slavery—Migration of young Women from England to Virginia—Dispute between the King and the Colony—Conspiracy of the Indians—Massacre of the Colonists—Dissentions of the London Company—The Company dissolved—the King assumes the Government of the Colony—his Death—Charles I. pursues his father's arbitrary Views—Tyrannical Government of Sir John Harvey—Sir William Berkeley appointed Governor—The popular Assembly restored—Virginia espouses the Royal Cause—subdued by the Long Parliament—Restraints imposed on the Trade of the Colony—Revolt of the Colony—Sir William Berkeley resumes the Government—Restoration of Charles II.

[1609.] Smith left the colony inhabited by five hundred persons, and amply provided with all necessary stores of arms, provisions, cattle, and implements of agriculture: but the sense to improve its opportunities was wanting, and its fortune departed with him. For a short time the command was intrusted to Mr. Percy, a man of worth but devoid of the vigor that gives efficacy to virtue; and the direction of affairs soon fell into the hands of persons whom their native country had cast from it as a useless burden or intolerable nuisance. The colony was delivered up to the wildest excesses of a seditious and distracted rabble, and presented a scene of riot, folly, and profligacy, strongly invoking vindictive retribution, and speedily overtaken by it. [1610.] The provisions were quickly exhausted; and the Indians, incensed by repeated injuries, and aware that the man whom they so much respected had ceased to govern the colonists, not only refused them all assistance, but harassed them with continual attacks. Famine ensued, and completed their misery and degradation by transforming them into cannibals, and forcing them to subsist on the bodies of the Indians they had killed, and of their own companions who perished of hunger or disease. Six months after the departure of Smith there remained no more than sixty persons alive at Jamestown, still prolonging their wretchedness by a vile and precarious diet, but daily expecting its final and fatal close.

In this calamitous state was the colony found by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, who at length arrived from Bermudas, where the shipwreck they had encountered had detained them and their crew for ten months. The bounty of Nature in that delightful region maintained them in comfort while they built the vessels that were to transport them to Jamestown, and might have supplied them with ample stores for the use of the colony; but they had neglected these resources, and arrived almost empty-handed, in the expectation of receiving from the magazines of a thriving settlement the relief that was now vainly implored from themselves by the famishing remnant of their countrymen. Their disappointment was equalled only by the difficulty of comprehending the causes of the desolation they beheld, amidst the mutual and contradictory accusations of the surviving colonists. But there was no time for deliberate inquiry, or adjustment of complaints. It was immediately determined to abandon the settlement, and with this view they all embarked in the vessels that had just arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. Their stores were insufficient for so long a voyage; but they hoped to obtain an additional supply at the English fishing station on the coast of Newfoundland. Such a horror had many of them conceived for the scene of their misery, that they were importunate with the commanders for leave to burn the fort and houses in Jamestown. But Sir Thomas Gates could not find in their or his distresses any reason for demolishing the buildings, that might afford shelter to future settlers; and happily, by his interposition, they were preserved from destruction, and the colonists prevented from wreaking additional vengeance on themselves.

For it was not the will of Providence that this settlement should perish; the calamities with which it had been visited were commissioned to punish merely, but not utterly to destroy; and the more worthless members being now cut off, and a memorable lesson afforded both to the governors who collect,* and the members who compose such communities, a deliverance no less signal was vouchsafed by the Disposer of all events, just when hope was over, and the colony advanced to the very brink of annihilation. Before the fugitives had reached the mouth of James river they were met by Lord Delaware, who arrived with three ships, containing a large supply of provisions, a considerable number of new settlers, and an ample stock of every thing requisite for defence or cultivation.

This nobleman, who now presented himself as captain-general of the colony, was eminently well fitted for the exigency of the situation in which he was thus unexpectedly involved. To exalted rank, in an age when such distinctions were regarded with much veneration, he joined a noble demeanor, a disinterested character, and a manly understanding. The hope of rendering an important service to his country, and the generous pleasure of cooperating in a great design, had induced him to exchange his ease and splendor at home for a situation of the difficulties of which he was perfectly aware: and the same firmness and elevation of purpose preserved him undaunted and unperplexed by the scene of calamity he encountered on his arrival in Virginia. Stemming the torrent of evil fortune, he carried back the fugitives to Jamestown, and began his administration by attendance on Divine worship; and having held a short consultation on the affairs of the settlement, he summoned all the colonists together, and addressed them in a short but forcible and dignified harangue. He justly rebuked the pride, and sloth, and immorality that had produced such disasters, and earnestly recommended a return to the virtues most likely to repair them: he declared his determination not to hold the sword of justice in vain, but to punish the first recurrence of disorder by shedding the blood of the delinquents, though he would infinitely rather shed his own to protect the colony from injury. He nominated proper officers for every department, and allotted to every man his particular place and business. This address was received with general applause and satisfaction; and the idle factious humours of a divided multitude soon appeared to be substantially healed by the splendor, unity, and authority of Lord Delaware's administration. [1611.] By an assiduous attention to his duty, and a happy union of qualities fitted equally to inspire esteem and enforce submission, he succeeded in maintaining peace and good order in the settlement, in diffusing a spirit of industry and alacrity among the colonists, and in again impressing the dread and reverence of the English name on the minds of the Indians. This promising beginning was all he was permitted to effect. Oppressed by diseases occasioned by the climate, he was compelled to quit the country; having first committed the administration to Mr. Percy [3].

The restoration of this gentleman to the supreme command seems to have been attended with the same relaxation of discipline, and would probably have led to a repetition of the same disorders, that had so fatally distinguished his former government. But happily for the colony, a squadron that had been despatched from England before Lord Delaware's return with a supply of men and provisions, brought also with it Sir Thomas Dale, whose commission authorised him, in the absence of that nobleman, to assume the administration. This new governor found the colonists fast relapsing into idleness and penury; and though he exerted himself strenuously, and not unsuccessfully, to restore better habits, yet the loss of Lord Delaware's imposing rank and authoritative character was sensibly felt. What he could not accomplish by milder means, he was soon enabled, and compelled to effect by a system of notable rigor and severity. A code of rules and articles had been compiled by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company of patentees, from the martial law of the Low Countries, the most severe and arbitrary frame of discipline that then existed in the world; and having been printed by the compiler for the use of the colony, but without the sanction or authority of the council, was transmitted to him by the governor.* [4] This code did not long remain inoperative. Sir Thomas Dale caused it to be proclaimed as the settled law of the colony; and some conspiracies having broken out, he enforced its provisions with great rigor, but not greater than was judged by all who witnessed it to have effected the preservation of the settlement. The wisdom and honor of the governor, who thus became the first depositary of these formidable powers, and the salutary consequences that resulted from the first exercise of them, seem to have prevented the alarm which the introduction of a system so destructive to liberty was calculated to provoke. Dale was succeeded in the supreme command by Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived with six vessels, containing a powerful reinforcement to the numbers and resources of the colonists. The late and the present governors were united by mutual friendship and similarity of character. Gates approved and pursued the system of strict discipline and steady but moderate enforcement of the martial code, that had been introduced by Dale; and under the directions of Dale, who continued in the country and willingly occupied a subordinate station, various bodies of the colonists began to form additional settlements on the banks of James river and at some distance from Jamestown.

[1612.] An application was now made by the company of patentees to the king, for an enlargement of their charter. The accounts they had received from the persons who were shipwrecked on Bermudas, of the fertility and agreeableness of that territory impressed them with the desire of obtaining possession of its resources for the supply of Virginia.† Their increasing influence enforced their request; and a new charter was issued, investing them with all the islands situated within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia. Some innovations were made in the structure and forms of the corporation; the term of ex-

* He became so famous in England before his death, that his adventures were dramatised and represented on the stage, to his own great annoyance. Stith, p. 112.

* The fate of this settlement probably suggested to Lord Bacon the following passage in his essay on Plantations. "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom we plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals."

* Stith, p. 122. Nothing can be more fanciful or erroneous than Dr. Robertson's account of the introduction of this system, which without the slightest reason he ascribes to the advice of Lord Bacon, and, in opposition to all evidence, represents as the act of the company.

† Stith, p. 126. About this time the patentees promoted a subscription among devout persons in London for building churches in the colony; but the money was diverted to other purposes, and it was not till some years after that churches were built in Virginia. Oldmixton's Brit. Emp. in Amer. i 231. 300.

empt on from payment of duties on commodities exported by them was prolonged; the company was empowered to apprehend and remand persons returning by stealth from the settlement, in violation of their engagements; and, for the more effectual advancement of the colony and indemnification of the large sums that had been expended on it, license was given to open lotteries in any part of England. The lottery which was set on foot in virtue of this license, was the first establishment of the kind that had ever received public countenance in England: it brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company, but loaded it with the reproach of defrauding the people, by alluring them to play a game in which they must certainly be the losers. The House of Commons, which then represented the sense and guarded the morality of England, remonstrated against this odious concession of their ignoble sovereign, as a measure equally unconstitutional and impolitic; and the license was soon after recalled. Happy if their example had been copied by later times, and the rulers of mankind restrained from polluting their financial administration by a system of chicane, and promoting in their subjects that gambling habit of mind which dissolves industry and virtue, and is generally the parent even of the most attrocious crimes! Notwithstanding the eagerness of the company to acquire the Bermuda islands, they did not retain them long, but sold them to certain of their own members, who were erected into a separate corporation by the name of the Somer Islands Company.*

The colony of Virginia had once been saved, in the person of its own deliverer Captain Smith, by Pocahontas the daughter of the Indian king Powhatan. She had ever since maintained a friendly intercourse with the English, and she was destined now to render them a service of the highest importance. A scarcity prevailing at Jamestown, and supplies being obtained but scantily and irregularly from the neighboring Indians, with whom the colonists were often embroiled, Captain Argal was despatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement at no great distance from him; and hoping, by possession of her person, to attain such an ascendant over Powhatan as would enforce an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her by some artifice, to come on board his vessel, and then set sail with her to Jamestown, where she was detained in a state of honorable captivity. But Powhatan, more indignant at such treachery than overcome by his misfortune, rejected with scorn the demand of a ransom; he even refused to hold any communication with the robbers who still kept his daughter a prisoner, but declared that if she were restored to him he would forget the injury, and, feeling himself at liberty to regard them as friends, would gratify all their wishes. But the colonists were too conscious of not deserving the performance of such promises, to be able to give credit to them; and the most injurious consequences seemed likely to arise from the unjust detention, which they could no longer continue with advantage nor relinquish with safety, when all at once the aspect of affairs underwent a surprising and beneficial change. During her residence in the colony, Pocahontas, who is represented as a woman distinguished by her personal attractions, made such impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank and estimation among the settlers, that he offered her his hand, and, with her approbation and the warm encouragement of the governor, solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage: this the old prince readily granted, and sent some of his relations to attend the ceremonial, which was performed with extraordinary pomp, and laid the foundation of a firm and sincere friendship between his tribe and the English. This happy event also enabled the colonial government to conclude a treaty with the Chiccahominies, a brave and martial tribe, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the British monarch, and style themselves henceforward Englishmen, to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.

[1613.] But a material change which now took place in the interior arrangements of the colony contributed to establish its prosperity on foundations more solid and respectable than the alliance or dependence of the Indian tribes. The industry which had been barely kept alive by the severe discipline of martial law, languished under the discouragement of that community of property and labor which had been introduced, as we have seen, by the provisions of the original charter. As a temporary expedient, this system could not have been easily avoided; and the censure which historians have so liberally bestowed on its introduction seems to be quite misplaced. The impolicy consisted in prolonging its duration beyond the time when the colony acquired stability, when modes of life came to be fixed, and when the resources of the place and the productive powers of labor being fully understood, the government might safely and advantageously remit every individual to the stimulous of his own interest and dependence on his own industry. But at first it was unavoidable that the government should charge itself with the support of its subjects and the regulation of their industry, and that their first experimental exertions should be referred to the principle and adapted to the rules of a system of partnership. How long such a system may endure, when originated and maintained by a strong and general impulse of that Christian spirit which teaches every man to regard his office on earth as that of a steward, his life as a stewardship, and the superiority of his powers as designating, not the extent of his interest, but the increase of his responsibility, is a problem to be solved by the future history of mankind. But as a permanent arrangement, supported only by municipal law, it attempts an impossibility, and commits the enforcement of its observances to an influence destructive of its own principles. As soon as the sense of individual interest and security begins to dissolve the bond of common hazard, danger, and difficulty, the law is felt to be an intolerable restriction; but as in theory it retains a generous aspect, and its inconvenience is at first evinced by the idleness and immorality which its secret suggestions give scope to, it is not to be wondered at that rulers should seek to remove the effect while they preserve the cause, and even by additional securities of regulation extinguish every remains of the virtue they vainly attempt to revive.

Sir Thomas Dale, by his descent from the supreme direction of affairs to a more active participation in the conduct of them, was enabled to observe with an accurate and unprejudiced eye the operation of the colonial laws on the dispositions of the colonists, and in particular the utter incompatibility of this regulation with all the ordinary motives by which human industry is maintained. He saw that every one was eager to evade or abridge his own share of labor; that the universal reliance on the common stock impaired, in every individual, the efforts on which its replenishment depended; that the slothful reposed in dependence on the industrious, while the industrious were deprived of their alacrity by impatience of supporting and confirming the slothful in their idleness; and that the most honorable would hardly take as much pains for the community in a week as he would do for himself in a day. Under his direction, the evil was redressed by a radical and effectual remedy: a sufficient portion of land was divided into lots, and one of them was assigned in full property to every settler. From that moment, industry, freed from the obstruction that had relaxed its incitements and intercepted its recompense, took vigorous root in Virginia, and the prosperity of the colony evinced a steady and rapid advancement. [1614.] Gates returning to England, the supreme direction again devolved on Sir Thomas Dale, whose virtue seems never to have enlarged with the enlargement of his authority. He continued for two years longer in the colony; and in his domestic administration continued to promote its real welfare; but he launched into foreign operations little productive of advantage, and still less of honor. In Captain Argal, the author of the fortunate seizure of Pocahontas, he found a fit instrument, and perhaps a counsellor, of designs of a similar character and tendency. The French settlers in Acadie had, in the year 1605, built Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy, and had ever since retained quiet possession of the country, and successfully cultivated a friendly intercourse with the neighboring Indians. Under the pretext that the French, by settling in Acadie, had invaded the rights derived by the English from the first discovery of the continent, was Argal despatched in a time of profound peace, to make a hostile attack on this settlement. Nothing could be more unjust or unwarranted than this enterprise. The Virginian charters, with the enforcement of which alone Sir Thomas Dale was intrusted, did not embrace the territory which he now presumed to invade, and which the French had peaceably possessed for nearly ten years, in virtue of charters from their sovereign Henry the IVth. Argal easily succeeded in surprising and plundering a community that were totally unsuspicious of hostility, and unprepared for defence; but leaving no garrison in the place, the French soon resumed their station, and the expedition produced no other permanent effect than the recollections it left in the minds of the French, and the impression it produced on the sentiments of the Indians. But a few years elapsed before an attack on themselves, by their own Indian neighbors, equally iniquitous and far more fatal avenged the outrage on Port Royal, and taught the government of Virginia to detest the policy which it had thus sanctioned by its example. Returning from this expedition, Argal executed a similar enterprise against New York, which was then in possession of the Dutch, whose claim was derived from Captain Hudson's discovery or visit to the territory in 1609, when he commanded one of their vessels, and was employed in their service. But Argal maintained, that Hudson being an Englishman, there accrued from his acquisition an indefeasible right to his country; and the Dutch governor being unprepared for resistance, was compelled to submit and declare the colony to be a dependency of England, and tributary to Virginia. But another governor arriving soon after, with better means of asserting the title of his countrymen, the concession was retracted, and the English claim successfully defied.

[1615.] One of the first objects to which the increasing industry of the colonists was directed, was the cultivation of tobacco, which was now for the first time introduced into Virginia. King James had conceived a strong antipathy to the use of this weed, and in his celebrated *Counterblast against Tobacco*, had endeavored to prevail over one of the strongest tastes of human nature by the force of fustian and pedantry. The issue of the contest corresponded better with his interests than his wishes; his testimony, though pressed with all the vehemence of exalted folly, could not prevail with his subjects over the evidence of their own senses; and though he summoned his prerogative to the aid of his logic, and prohibited the pollution of English ground by the cultivation of tobacco,* he found it impossible to withstand its importation from abroad: the demand for it rapidly extended, and its value and consumption daily increased in England. Incited by the hopes of sharing a trade so profitable, the colonists of Virginia devoted their fields and labor almost exclusively to the culture of tobacco. Sir Thomas Dale observing their inconsiderate ardor, and sensible of the danger of neglecting the cultivation of the humbler but more necessary productions, on which the subsistence of the colony depended, interposed his authority to check the excesses of the planters; and adjusted by law the proportion between the corn crop and the tobacco crop of every proprietor of land. But after his departure, [1616,] his wise policy was neglected and his laws forgotten; and the culture of tobacco so exclusively occupied the attention of the settlers that even the streets of Jamestown were planted with it, and a scarcity of provisions very soon resulted. In this extremity they were compelled to renew their exactions upon the Indians, and involved themselves in disputes and hostilities, which gradually alienated the regard of these savages, and paved the way to one of those schemes of vengeance which they are noted for forming with the most impenetrable secrecy, maturing with consummate artifice and executing with unrelenting rancor.† This fatal consequence was not fully experienced till after the lapse of one of those intervals which to careless eyes appear to disconnect the misconduct from the sufferings of nations, but impress reflective minds with an awful sense of that strong unbroken chain which subsists undisturbed by time or

* The following preamble to one of his proclamations on this subject is highly characteristic:—"Whereas we, out of the dislike we had of the use of tobacco, tending to a general and new corruption both of men's bodies and manners, and nevertheless holding it of the two more honorable that the same should be imported among other vanities and superfluities which come from beyond the seas than be permitted to be planted here within the realm, whereby to abuse and misemploy the soil of this fruitful kingdom, did prohibit the planting of it in England," &c. Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 233. Hazard, p. 93.

† Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 140, 147, 164, 168. Purchas, iv. 1787. In the year 1615 was published at London, "A true Discourse of the present State of Virginia," by Ralph Hamar secretary to the colony; a tract which has no other merit but its scarcity

distance, and both preserves and extends the moral consequences of human actions.

But a nobler plant than tobacco was preparing to rise in Virginia; and we are now to contemplate the first indication of that active principle of liberty which was destined to become the most considerable staple and appropriate moral produce of America. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, he had committed the government to Mr. George Yeardley, whose lax administration, if it removed a useful restraint on the improvident cupidity of the planters, enabled them to taste, and prepared them to value, the dignity of independence and the blessings of liberty. He was succeeded [1617]* by Captain Argal, a man of considerable talents and resolution, but selfish, haughty, and tyrannical. Argal provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and introduced some useful regulations of the traffic and intercourse with the Indians; but he encumbered personal liberty with needless and minute restrictions, and enforced their observance by a harsh and constant exercise of martial law. While he pretended to promote piety in others by punishing absence from church with a temporary slavery, he postponed in his own practice every other consideration to the acquisition of wealth, which he effected by a profligate abuse of the opportunities of his office, and defended by the terrors of despotic authority. Universal discontent was excited by his administration, and the complaints of the colonists at length reached the ears of the company in England. In Lord Delaware their interests had always found a zealous friend and powerful advocate; and he now consented, for their deliverance, to resume his former office, and again to undertake the direction of their affairs. He embarked for Virginia with a splendid train, but died on the voyage. [1618.]† His loss was deeply lamented by the colonists; but it was in the main, perhaps, an advantageous circumstance for them that an administration of such pomp and dignity was thus timeously intercepted, and the improvement of their affairs committed to men and manners nearer the level of their own condition; and it was no less advantageous to the memory of Lord Delaware, that he died in the demonstration of a generous willingness to attempt what it was very unlikely he could have succeeded in effecting. The tidings of his death were followed to England by increasing complaints of the odious and tyrannical proceedings of Argal; and the company having conferred the office of captain-general on Mr. Yeardley, the new governor received the honor of knighthood, and proceeded to the scene of his administration. [1619.]

Sir George Yeardley, on his arrival in Virginia, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, declared his intention of reinstating them in full possession of the privileges of Englishmen, by convoking a colonial assembly. This first legislative body that America ever produced, consisted of the governor, the council, and burgesses elected by the seven existing boroughs, who, assembling at Jamestown, in one apartment, conducted their deliberations with good sense and harmony, and debated all affairs that involved the general welfare. The laws which they enacted were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and are no longer extant; but they are declared by competent judges to have been in the main wisely and judiciously framed, though (as might reasonably be expected) somewhat intricate and unsystematical.* The company sometime after passed an ordinance by which they substantially approved and established this constitution of the Virginian legislature. They reserved, however, to themselves the creation of a council of state, which should assist the governor with advice in the executive administration, and should also form a part of the colonial assembly; and they provided, on the one hand, that the enactments of the assembly should not have the force of law till ratified by the court of proprietors in England; and conceded, on the other hand, that the orders of this court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the colonial assembly. Thus early was planted in America that representative system that forms the soundest political frame in which liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ by which its energies are exercised and developed. So strongly embued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with the vigorous spirit of that liberty which was rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their country, that wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them.

It had been happy for the morals and the prosperity of Virginia, if her inhabitants, like their brethren in Massachusetts, had oftener elevated their eye from subordinate agency to the great First Cause, and had referred, in particular, the signal blessing that was now bestowed on them to the will and gift of God. Liberty so derived acquires at once its firmest and noblest basis—it becomes respected as well as beloved; the dignity of the origin to which it is referred, influences the ends to which it is made subservient; and all are taught to feel that it can neither be violated nor abused without provoking the Divine displeasure. It is this preservative principle alone that prevents the choicest blessings and most estimable qualities from cherishing in human hearts an ungrateful and counteracting spirit of insolence and pride—a spirit which led the Virginians too soon to plant the rankest weeds of tyranny in that field where the seeds of liberty had been so happily sown.

The company had received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle dissolute persons who were in custody for various misdemeanours in London.† These men were dispersed through the colony as servants to the planters; and the degradation of the colonial character and manners, produced by such an intermixture, was overlooked, in consideration of the assistance that was derived from them in executing the plans of industry that were daily extending themselves. [1620.] Having once associated felons with their labors, and committed the cultivation of their fields to servile hands, the colonists were prepared to yield to the temptation which speedily presented itself, and to blend in barbarous combination the character of oppressors with the claims and condition of freemen. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, having sailed up James river, sold a part of her cargo of Negroes to the planters: and as that hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue in a sultry climate than Europeans, the number was increased by continual importation, till a large proportion of the inhabitants of Virginia were reduced to a state of slavery by the selfish ingratitude of men who turned into a prison for others the territory that had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves.

But, about this time, another addition, more productive of virtue and felicity, was made to the number of the colonists. Few women had as yet ventured to cross the Atlantic; and the English being restrained by the pride and rigidity of their character from that incorporation with the native Americans which the French and Portuguese have found so conducive to their interests, and so accordant with the pliancy of their manners and disposition, were generally destitute of the comforts and connexions of married life. Men so situated could not regard Virginia as a permanent residence, but proposed to themselves, after amassing a competency of wealth as expeditiously as possible, to return to their native country. Such views are inconsistent with patient industry, and with those extended interests that produce or support patriotism; and under the more liberal system which the company had now begun to pursue towards the colony, it was proposed to send out a hundred young women of agreeable persons and respectable characters, as wives for the settlers. Ninety were accordingly sent, and the speculation proved so profitable to the company, that a repetition of it was suggested to the emptiness of their exchequer in the following year, [1621,] and sixty more were collected and sent over. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters, and produced such an accession of happiness to the colony, that the second consignment fetched a better price than the first. The price of a wife was estimated first at a hundred and twenty, and afterwards at a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, of which the selling price was then three shillings per pound; and the subject of the transaction was held to impart its own dignity to the debt, which accordingly was allowed to take precedence of all other engagements.* The young women were not only bought with avidity, but received with such fondness, and so comfortably established, that others were invited to follow their example, and virtuous sentiments and provident habits spreading daily among the planters, enlarged the happiness and prosperity of the colony. To the blessings of marriage naturally succeeded some provision for the benefits of education. A sum of money had been collected by the English bishops by direction of the king, for the maintenance of an institution in Virginia for the christian education of Indian children; and in emulation of this good example, various steps were taken by the company towards the foundation of a colonial college, which was afterwards completed by William and Mary.

It is remarkable that the rise of liberty in America was nearly coeval with her first dispute with the government of the mother country, and that the earliest of those dissensions, which in a succeeding generation were destined to wrest America from England, occurred with a province long distinguished for the ardor of its loyalty to the English crown. With the increasing industry of the colony, the produce of its tobacco-fields became more than sufficient for the consumption of England, where its disposal, too, was severely hampered by the weak and unsteady counsels of the king, in granting monopolies for the sale of it, in limiting the quantities to be imported, in appointing commissioners "for garbling the drug called tobacco," with arbitrary powers to seize whatever portions of it they might consider of inferior quality, in loading the importation with a heavy duty, and, at the same time, encouraging the import of Spanish tobacco. The company, harassed by these vexatious regulations, had opened a trade with Holland, and established warehouses there, to which they sent their tobacco directly from Virginia; but the king interposed to prohibit such evasion of his revenue, and directed that all the Virginia tobacco should be brought in the first instance to England. A lengthened and acrimonious dispute arose between this feeble prince and the colonists and colonial company. Against the monopoly established in England, they petitioned the House of Commons; and in support of their right to trade directly with Holland, they both contended for the general privilege of Englishmen to carry their commodities to the best market, and pleaded the particular concessions of their charter, which expressly conferred on them unlimited liberty of commerce. At length, the dispute was adjusted by a compromise, by which the company obtained, on the one hand, the exclusive right of im-

* This year died Pocahontas. She had accompanied her husband on a visit to England, where her history excited universal interest, and the grace and dignity of her manner no less respect and admiration. Captain Smith introduced her to the queen, and her society was courted by the most eminent of the nobility. But the mean soul of the king regarded her with jealousy, and expressed alternate murmurs at Rolfe's presumption in marrying a princess, and alarm at the title that his posterity might acquire to the sovereignty of Virginia. Pocahontas died in the faith, and with the sentiments and demeanor of a Christian. She left a son by Mr. Rolfe, whose descendants in Virginia unite the blood of the old and new races of the inhabitants of America, Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 142–6.

† This year was productive of an event more interesting to the feelings than to the fortunes of the people of America—the death of Sir Walter Raleigh. After a career of dazzling brilliancy, but not of unstained virtue, or unclouded popularity, he found in the severe affliction of his closing scene a remedy for the errors of his own character, and the envy and odium in which they had involved him: and the sunset of his life, gilded by the pure and gentle light of religion, added the tender respect and compassion of mankind to the various sentiments which his history had excited. On the night before his execution he composed some beautiful lines on his approaching fate. Perhaps calmer contemplation of death was never evinced than in the passage where he prays that Heaven would

> 'Just at the stroke—when my veins start and spread—
> Set on my soul an everlasting head,"

It is pleasing to observe how the earlier historians of America claim kindred between him and their country, and blend with their narrative occasional reference to his fortunes and fate. When we consider the jealousy with which the king pursued him, it seems fortunate for America that his interests had so long been separated from hers.

* Rolfe, apud Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 160—The Assembly, when they transmitted their own enactments to England, requested the general court to prepare a digest for Virginia of the laws of England and to procure for it the sanction of the king's approbation, adding, "that it was not fit that his subjects should be governed by any other rules than such as received their influence from him."—Chalmers, p. 44.

† Stith, p 167—Captain Smith observes, that since his departure from the colony, the number of felons and vagabonds transported to Virginia brought such evil report on the place "that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were." Not long after the massacre in 1622, however, he remarks, that "there are more honest men now suitors to go, than ever have been constrained knaves." Many persons have been transported as felons to America whom no community would be ashamed to recognize as fellow citizens. The crews of the first squadron conducted by Columbus to America were partly composed of convicts, pardoned on condition of undertaking the voyage. In the reign of Charles II. before the voluntary emigration of the Quakers, a considerable number of these sectaries were transported as felons to America.

* Stith, p. 166, 197—A very different account has been transmitted to us of the first female emigration to Canada. About the middle of the seventeenth century the French Government sent out several ship loads of prostitutes to this province, as wives to the settlers. Though the demand was so pressing that they were all disposed of in less than fifteen days, the colonists showed more regard to virtue in selecting their mates than their government had done in assorting the cargo. The fattest, we are told, were in most request, being judged least active and volatile (consequently, it was hoped, most faithful,) and best able to endure the cold.—Nouveaux Voyages de La Hontan, Vol. i. Lettre ii.

porting tobacco into the kingdom, and engaged, on the other, to pay [illegible] per pound, and to send all the produce of Virginia to England.

But a cloud had been for some time gathering over the colony, and even the circumstances that most forcibly indicated the growing prosperity of the planters were but inviting and enabling the storm to burst with more destructive violence on their heads. Externally at peace with the Indians, unapprehensive of danger, and wholly engrossed with the profitable cultivation of their fertile territory, their increasing numbers had spread so extensively over the province, that no less than eighty settlements had already been formed; and every planter being guided only by his own convenience or caprice in the choice of his dwelling, and more disposed to shun than to court the neighborhood of his countrymen, the settlements were universally straggling and uncompact. The Scriptures, which the colonists received as their rule of faith, bore ample testimony to the cruelty and treachery of mankind in their natural state; and their past experience might have convinced them that the savages by whom they were surrounded could claim no exemption from this testimony of Divine wisdom and truth. Yet the pious labors by which the evil dispositions of the Indians might have been overcome, and the military exercises and precautions by which their hostility might have been overawed or repelled, were equally neglected by the colonists, while, at the same time, they contributed to fortify the martial habits of the Indians by employing them as hunters, and enlarged their resources of destruction by furnishing them with fire-arms, which they quickly learned to use with dexterity. The marriage of Mr. Rolfe and Pocahontas had not produced as lasting a good understanding between the English and the Indians as it had at first seemed to betoken. The Indians eagerly courted a repetition of such intermarriages, and were deeply offended with the pride with which the English receded from their advances, and declined to become the husbands of Indian women. The colonists forgot that they had inflicted this mortification; but it was remembered by the Indians, who never forgot or forgave an affront. Numberless earnest recommendations had been transmitted from England to attempt the conversion of the savages; but these recommendations had not been enforced by a sufficient attention to the means requisite for their execution. Yet they were not wholly neglected by the colonists. Some attempts at conversion were made by a few pious individuals, and the success of one of them undoubtedly mitigated the dreadful calamity that was impending; but these efforts were feeble and partial, and the majority of the colonists had contented themselves with cultivating a friendly intercourse and intimate acquaintance with the Indians, who were admitted at all times into their habitations, and encouraged to consider themselves as familiar guests.* It was in the midst of this free and unguarded intercourse that the Indians formed, with cold and unrelenting deliberation, the plan for a general massacre of the English, which should involve every man, woman, and child in the colony in indiscriminate slaughter. The death of Powhatan, in 1618, devolved the power of executing a scheme so detestable into the hands of a man fully capable of contriving and maturing it. Opechancanough, who succeeded, not only to the supremacy over Powhatan's tribe, but to his influence over all the neighboring tribes of Indians, was distinguished by his fearless courage, his profound dissimulation, and a rancorous hatred and jealousy of the new inhabitants of America. He renewed the pacific treaty† which Powhatan had made, and faithfully kept, with the English after the marriage of Pocahontas to Mr. Rolfe: and he availed himself of the tranquillity it produced to prepare, during the four ensuing years, his friends and followers for the several parts they were to act in the tragedy he projected. The tribes in the neighborhood of the English, except those on the eastern shore, whom, on account of their peculiar friendship for the colonists, he did not venture to intrust with the plan, were successively gained over; and all co-operated with that single-mindedness and intensity of purpose characteristic of a project of Indian revenge. In a tribe of savage idolaters, the passions of men are left unpurified by the influence of religion, and unrestrained by a sound or elevated morality; and human character is not subjected to that variety of impulse and impression which it undergoes in civilized society. The sentiments inculcated, and the dispositions contracted, in the family and in the tribe, in domestic education and in public life, in all the scenes through which the savage passes from his cradle to his grave, are the same; there is no contest of opposite principles or conflicting habits to dissipate his mind or weaken its determinations; and the system of morals (if it may be so called) which he embraces, being the offspring of wisdom and dispositions congenial to his own, a seeming dignity arises from the vigor and consistency of that conduct which his moral sentiments never disturb or reproach. The understanding, unoccupied by objects suitable to its dignity, and unemployed by variety of knowledge, instead of moderating the passions, becomes the instrument of their designs, and the abettor of their violence. Men in malice, but children in understanding; it is in the direction of cunning and dissimulation that the intellectual faculties of savages are chiefly exercised: and such is the perfect harmony between their passions and their reflective powers, that the same delay which would cool the cruelty of more cultivated men, serves but to confirm their ferocity, and mature the devices for its gratification. Notwithstanding the long interval that elapsed between the formation and the execution of their present enterprise, and the perpetual intercourse that subsisted between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was preserved; and so consummate and fearless was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and communicate the progress of their design.

An incident which, though minute, is too curious to be omitted, contributed to sharpen the ferocity of the Indians by the sense of recent provocation. There was a man, belonging to one of the neighboring tribes, named Nemattanow, who, by his courage, craft, and good fortune, had attained the highest repute among his countrymen. In the skirmishes and engagements which their former wars with the English produced, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded their esteem, and an impunity that excited their astonishment. They judged him invulnerable, whom so many wounds seemed to have approached in vain; and the object of their admiration partook, or at least encouraged, the delusion which seemed to invest him with a character of sanctity. Opechancanough, the king, whether jealous of this man's reputation, or desirous of embroiling the English with the Indians, sent a message to the governor of the colony, to acquaint him that he was welcome to cut Nemattanow's throat. Such a representation of Indian character as this message conveyed, one would think, ought to have excited the strongest suspicion and distrust in the minds of the English. Though the offer of the king was disregarded, his wishes were not disappointed. Nemattanow, having murdered a planter, was shot by one of his servants in an attempt to apprehend him. Finding the pangs of death coming strong upon him, the pride, but not the vanity, of the savage was subdued, and he entreated his captors to grant his two last requests, one of which was that they would never reveal that he had been slain by a bullet, and the other, that they would bury him among the English, that the secret of his mortality might never be known to his countrymen. The request seems to infer the possibility of its being complied with, and the disclosure of the fatal event was no less imprudent than disadvantageous. The Indians were filled with grief and indignation; and Opechancanough inflamed their anger by pretending to share it. Having counterfeited displeasure for the satisfaction of his subjects, he proceeded with equal success to counterfeit placability for the delusion of his enemies, and assured the English that the sky should sooner fall than the peace be broken by him. But the plot now advanced rapidly to its maturity, and, at length, the day was fixed on which all the English settlements were at the same instant to be attacked. The respective stations of the various troops of assassins were assigned to them; and that they might be enabled to occupy them without exciting suspicion, some carried presents of fish and game into the interior of the colony, and others presented themselves as guests soliciting the hospitality of their English friends, on the evening before the massacre. As the fatal hour drew nigh, the rest, under various pretences, and with every demonstration of kindness, assembled around the detached and unguarded settlements of the colonists; and not a sentiment of compunction, not a rash expression of hate, nor an unguarded look of exultation, had occurred to disconcert or disclose the designs of their well disciplined ferocity.

The universal destruction of the colonists seemed unavoidable, and was prevented only by the consequences of an event which perhaps appeared but of little consequence in the colony at the time when it took place—the conversion of an Indian to the Christian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, who communicated to him the command of his king and his countrymen to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with spoil, revenge, and glory. The exhortation was powerfully calculated to impress a savage mind; but a new mind had been given to this convert, and as soon as his brother left him he revealed the alarming intelligence to an English gentleman in whose house he was residing. This planter immediately carried the tidings to Jamestown, from whence the alarm was communicated to the nearest settlers, barely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives.

But the intelligence came too late to be more generally available. At midday, the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been still greater if the English over in some of those districts where the warning that saved others did not reach, had not flown to their arms with the energy of despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse the assailants, who almost universally displayed a cowardice proportioned to their cruelty, and fled at the sight of arms in the hands even of the women and boys, whom, unarmed, they were willing to attack and destroy. If in this foul and revolting exhibition of humanity, some circumstances appear to be referable to the peculiarities of savage life and education, we shall greatly err if we overlook, in its more general and important features, the testimony it has given to the deep depravity of fallen nature. The previous massacre of the French protestants on the day of St. Bartholomew, and the subsequent massacre of the Irish protestants in 1641, present, not only a barbarous people, but a civilized nation and accomplished court, as the rivals of these American savages in perfidy, fury, and cruelty.

The colony had received a wound no less deep and dangerous, than painful and alarming. Six of the members of council, and many of the most eminent and respectable inhabitants, were among the slain; at some of the settlements the whole of their population had been exterminated; at others a remnant had escaped the general destruction by the efforts of despair; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of enemies, whose existence they had never dreamt of, and whose brutality and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men.* To the massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war between the English and the Indians; and the colonists were at last provoked to retaliate, in some degree, on their savage adversaries, the evils of which they had set so bloody an example, and which seemed to be the only weapons capable of waging effectual war upon them. Yet though a direful necessity might seem to justify or palliate the measures which it taught the colonists to apprehend and provide for, their warfare was never wholly divested of honor and magnanimity. During this disastrous period, the design for erecting a colonial college, and many other public institutions, was abandoned; the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six, and the affliction of scarcity was added to the horrors of war.†

* Stith, p. 210.—[illegible]

* It was long before any of the British colonies were properly on their guard against the characters of men capable of such consummate treachery, and who "in anger were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful." Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 44.

† Stith, p. 219, 235, 238. As far as I am able to discover, the retaliatory deeds practised by the colonists in their hostilities with the Indians has been greatly overrated. Through

When intelligence of this calamity arrived in England, it excited, with much disapprobation of the defective policy and inefficient precautions of the company, a powerful sympathy with the danger and distress of the colonists. By order of the king, a supply of arms from the Tower was delivered to the treasurer and company; and vessels were despatched with cargoes of such articles as the exigency of the time seemed to render most pressingly requisite. Captain Smith submitted to the company a project, which he offered to conduct, for effecting the restoration of peace by the expulsion or subjugation of the savages; but, though generally approved, it was not adopted. By dint of the exertions they made in their own behalf, with the assistance of the supplies that were actually sent to them from England, the colonists were barely saved from perishing with hunger; and it was not till after a long struggle with their calamities, that they were at length enabled again to resume their prospects and extend their settlements.*

More ample supplies, and more active assistance, would have been rendered to the colonists from England, but for the dissensions among the patentees, which had been spreading for a considerable period, and had at this juncture attained a height that manifestly tended to the dissolution of the corporation. The company was now a numerous body, and being composed of able and enterprising men drawn from every class in society, it represented very faithfully the state of party feeling in the nation; while its frequent courts afforded a convenient arena in which the parties tried their strength, and a powerful organ by which the prevailing sentiments were publicly expressed. At every meeting, the proceedings were impeded by the intrigues of rival factions, and the debates inflamed and lengthened by their vehement altercations. At every election, the offices of the company were courted and contested by the most eminent persons in the state. The distinction between the court party and the country party that was spreading through the nation, was the more readily insinuated into the counsels of the company [1623] from the infrequency and irregularity of its more legitimate theatre, the parliament; and various circumstances in the history of the company tended to fortify and maintain this distinction. Many of the proprietors, dissatisfied with the slender returns that the colony had yielded, were disposed to blame the existing officers and administration for the disappointment of their hopes: not a few resented the procurement of the third charter, the exclusion of Captain Smith from the direction which he had shown himself so well qualified to exercise, and the insignificance to which they were themselves condemned by the arbitrary enlargement of the association; and a small but active and intriguing party, who had labored with earnest but unsuccessful rapacity, to engross the offices of the company, to usurp the direction of its affairs, and to convert the trade of the colony into their own private patrimony by monopolies which they bought from needy courtiers, naturally ranged themselves on the side of the court, and by their complaints and misrepresentations to the king and privy council, sought to interest them in the quarrels, and infect them with suspicions of the corporation. At the head of this least numerous but most dangerous faction, was the notorious Captain Argal, who continued to display a rancorous enmity to the liberty of the colony, and hoped to compass by intrigue and servility at home the same objects which he had pursued by tyranny and violence abroad. Sir Thomas Smith too, the treasurer, whose predilection for arbitrary government we have already had occasion to notice, encouraged every complaint and proposition that tended to abridge the privileges of the colony, and give to its administration a less popular form. The arbitrary alterations of the charter taught all the malcontents to look up to the crown for such further changes as might remove the existing obstructions to their wishes; and the complete ascendency which the country party acquired in the company, strongly disposed the king to suppress or modify an institution that served to cherish public spirit and disseminate liberal opinions. The spirit which the company had displayed in their late dispute with him concerning the restrictions of their tobacco trade, the freedom with which his policy had been canvassed in their deliberations, the firmness with which his measures had been resisted, and the contempt they had shown for the supremacy alike of his wisdom and his prerogative in complaining to the House of Commons, eradicated from the mind of James all that partiality to an institution of his own creation, that might have sheltered it from the dislike and suspicion with which he regarded the influence of a popular assembly. But the same influence that rendered them odious, caused them also to appear somewhat formidable, and enforced some attention to equitable appearances, and deference to public opinion in wreaking his displeasure upon them. The murmurs and discontents that were excited by the intelligence of the massacre, furnished him with an opportunity which he did not fail to improve. Having signalized his own concern for the misfortunes of the colony by sending thither a supply of arms for defence against the Indians, and by issuing his orders to the company to despatch an ample supply of provisions, he proceeded to institute an inquiry into the cause of the disaster, and the conduct of the company. A commission was directed to certain of the English judges and other persons of distinction, requiring them to examine the transactions of the company since its first establishment, and to report to the privy council the causes that might seem to them to have occasioned the misfortunes of the colony, and the measures most likely to prevent their recurrence. To obstruct the efforts which the company might have made in their own vindication, and to discover, if possible, additional matter of accusation against them, measures still more violent and arbitrary were resorted to. All their charters, books, and papers, were seized, two of their principal officers were arrested, and all letters from the colony intercepted and carried to the privy council. Among the witnesses whom the commissioners examined was Captain Smith, who might reasonably be supposed to entertain little favor for the existing constitution of the company, by which his career of honor and usefulness had been abridged, and who had recently sustained the mortification of seeing his offer to undertake the defence of the colony and subjugation of the Indians disregarded by the company, notwithstanding the approbation of a numerous party of the proprietors. Smith ascribed the misfortunes of the colony, and the slenderness of the income that had been derived from it, to the neglect of military precautions; the rapid succession of governors, which inflamed the rapacity of their dependents; the multiplicity of offices, by which industry was loaded and emolument absorbed; and, in general, to the inability of a numerous company to conduct an enterprise so complex and arduous. He recommended the annexation of the colony to the crown, the introduction of greater simplicity and economy into the frame of its government, and an abandonment of the practice of transporting criminals to its shores*.

The commissioners did not communicate any of their proceedings to the company, who were first apprised of the terms of the report by an order of the king and privy council, signifying to them that the misfortunes of Virginia had arisen from their misgovernment, and that, for the purpose of repairing them, his majesty had resolved to revoke the old charter and issue a new one, which should commit the powers of government to fewer hands. In order to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that private property should be respected, and all past grants of land remain inviolate. An instant surrender of their privileges was required from the company; and, in default of their voluntary submission, they were assured that the king had resolved to enforce his purpose by process of law.†

This arbitrary proceeding excited such surprise and consternation in the assembled court of proprietors, that a long and deep silence followed the reading of the order of council. But resuming their spirit, they proposed to defend their rights with a resolution which, if it could not avert their fate, at least redeemed their character. They indignantly refused to sanction the stigma affixed to their conduct by the order of council, to surrender the franchises which they had legally obtained, and on the faith of which they had expended large sums of money, or to consent to the abolition of a popular government, and deliver up their countrymen in Virginia to the dominion of a narrow junto dependent on the pleasure of the king. In these sentiments they persisted in spite of all the threats and promises by which their firmness was assailed; and by a vote, which only the dissent of Captain Argal and seven of his adherents rendered not quite unanimous, they finally rejected the king's proposal, and declared their determination to defend themselves against any process he might institute. [1624.] Incensed at their presumption in disputing his will, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, in order to try the validity of their charter in the King's Bench. In the hope of collecting additional proofs of their maladministration, he despatched commissioners to Virginia to inspect the state of the colony, and to endeavor to form a party there opposed to the pretensions of the company. The commissioners finding the colonial assembly embodied, endeavored with great artifice and magnificent promises of military aid, and other marks of royal favor, to detach them from their connexion with the company, and to procure an address to the king, expressive of "their willingness to submit themselves to his princely pleasure in revoking the ancient patents." But their endeavors were unsuccessful. The assembly transmitted a petition to the king, acknowledging their satisfaction to find themselves the objects of his especial care, beseeching him to continue the existing form of government, and soliciting, that if the promised military force should be granted to them, it might be subjected to the control of their own governor and house of representatives. This was the last assembly that Virginia was to enjoy for a considerable period. Its domestic legislation was marked by the same good sense and patriotism that appeared in the reception which it gave to the propositions of the royal commissioners. The governor was deprived of an arbitrary authority which he had hitherto exercised. It was enacted that he should no longer have power to withdraw the inhabitants from their private labors to his own service, and should levy no taxes on the colony but such as the general assembly should impose and appropriate. Various other wise and judicious laws were enacted, for the reformation of manners, the support of divine worship, the security of civil and political freedom, the regulation of traffic with the Indians, and the observance of precautions conducive to the general safety.

Whether the suit between the king and the company was prosecuted to an issue or not, is a point involved in some uncertainty, and truly of very little importance, for the issue of a suit between the king and the subject in that age, could never be doubtful for a moment. Well aware of this, the company looked to protection more efficient than the law could afford them, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, enumerating their grievances, and soliciting redress. Their application was entertained by the House so cordially, that had it been presented at an earlier period it might have saved the corporation; but they had deferred this last resource till so late a period of the session, that there was not time to enter on so wide an inquiry; and fearing to exasperate the king by preferring odious charges which they could not hope to substantiate, they confined their pleading before the House to the discouragement of their tobacco trade, which the Commons accordingly voted to be a grievance. They gained no other advantage from their complaint, nor from their limitation of it. The king enraged at their presumption, and encouraged by their timidity, issued a proclamation, suppressing the courts of the company, and committing the temporaray administration of the colonial affairs to certain of his privy counsel-

the cloud of passion and astonishment that the massacre excited, the truth was not easily discerned. Stith seems to have mistaken expressions of indignation for deliberate designs; and Dr. Robertson has magnified the error by mistaking the purposes for the execution they never attained. Stith has, with surprising inaccuracy, charged Captain Smith with declaring, that the massacre was a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as it entitled the colonists to treat the Indians as slaves, or utterly to extirpate them. Stith, p. 233. Whereas Smith recites this barbarous undervalue of the massacre, only to condemn it. Smith, B. iv. See note II. The contemplation, and especially the endurance of cruelty, tends to make men cruel; yet, to the honor of the colonists be it remembered, that even during the prevalence of these hostilities, a deliberate attempt to cozen and subjugate a body of Indians was prosecuted as an offence against the law of God, and the laws of nature and nations. Stith, p. 240.

* Even in December, 1623, the scarcity was so great, that 10*l.* sterling was paid for a hogshead of meal, and 3*l.* sterling for a hen and eight chickens, in Virginia. Purchas's Pilgrim's, vol. iv. p. 1806

* Smith, B. iv. Smith's answers to the commissioners demonstrate his usual good sense, moderation and humanity. He warmly commends the active and disinterested efforts of many of the leading members of the company for the advantage of the colony. Great errors, he observes, had been committed in the administration of its affairs; but he declines to particularise the faults of any one individual—adding, "I have so much ado to amend my own, I have no leisure to look into any other man's particular failings."

† Stith, p. 303, 304. It was in the midst of those distractions, says Stith, that the Muses for the first time opened their lips in North America. One of the earliest literary productions of the English colonists was a translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, composed in 1623 by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia company. It was afterwards published in England, and dedicated to Charles the First. Stith terms it "a laudable performance for the times;" and Dryden mentions the author with respect in the preface to his own translations from Ovid.

lors in connection with Sir Thomas Smith and some other gentlemen. The company was thus dissolved, and its rights and privileges re-absorbed by the crown.*

James did not suffer the powers he had resumed to remain long unexercised. He issued, very shortly afterwards, a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom the entire direction of the affairs of the colony was intrusted. No mention was made of a house of representatives; nor had the king the slightest intention to permit the continuance of any such body. The commission ascribes the disasters of the settlement to the popular shape of the late system, which had intercepted and weakened the beneficial influence of the king's superior understanding, and, in strains of the most vulgar and luscious self-complacency, anticipates the prosperity which the colony must rapidly attain when blessed with the directer rays of royal wisdom. With this subversion of liberty, there was mingled, however, some attention to the interests of the colonists; for, in consequence of the remonstrance of the English parliament, he issued a proclamation renewing his former prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England, and restricting the importation of it to Virginia and the Somer Isles, and to vessels belonging to British subjects. This was his last public act in relation to the colony; [1625] for his intentions of composing a code of laws for its domestic administration were frustrated by his death. He died the first British sovereign of an established empire in America, and closed a reign of which the only illustrious feature was the colonization which he impelled or promoted. To this favorite object, both the virtues and the vices of his character proved subservient. If the merit he might claim from his original patronage of the Virginian colonists, be cancelled by his subsequent efforts to bereave them of their liberties, and if his prosecution of the puritans in their native country be but feebly counterbalanced by his willingness to grant them an asylum in New England;—his attempts to civilize Ireland by colonization, connect him more honorably with the great events of his reign. Harassed by the turbulent and distracted state of Ireland, and averse to resort to military operations, he endeavored to infuse a new character into its population by planting colonies of the English in the six northern counties of that kingdom. He prosecuted this plan with so much wisdom and steadiness, that in the space of nine years he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom than had been made in the four hundred and forty years that had elapsed since the conquest of it was first attempted, and laid the foundation of whatever affluence and security it has since been enabled to attain. It is difficult to recognise the dogmatical oppressor of the puritans and the weak and arrogant tyrant of Virginia, in the wise and humane legislator of Ireland. The experience of such inconsistencies of character, suggests the likelihood of their existing more frequently and extensively than they are displayed; enforces candor and indulgence; and abates the fervor both of inordinate dislike and extreme admiration.

The fall of the Virginia company had excited the less sympathy, and the arbitrary proceedings of the king the less odium in England, from the disappointments and calamities of which the settlement had been productive. More than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been expended on the colony, and upwards of nine thousand inhabitants had been sent to it from the mother country. Yet at the dissolution of the company, the value of the annual imports from Virginia did not exceed twenty thousand pounds, and its population was reduced to about eighteen hundred persons. The effect of this unprosperous issue in facilitating the overthrow of this corporation, may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance for America; for however unjust and tyrannical were the designs and proceedings of the king, they were overruled to the production of a most important benefit to the colony, in the removal of an institution that would have dangerously loaded and restrained its growing freedom and prosperity. It is an observation of the most eminent teacher of political science, that of all the expedients that could possibly be contrived to stunt the natural growth of a new colony, the institution of an exclusive company is the most effectual; and the observation is amply confirmed by the experience of history. In surveying the constitutions and tracing the progress of the various colonial establishments which the nations of Europe have successively formed, we find a close and invariable connexion between the decline and the revival of their prosperity, and the ascendancy and overthrow of sovereign mercantile corporations. The administration of the Dutch and the English East India companies has demonstrated on a larger and distincter scale how inconsistent the genius of an exclusive company will always prove with the liberty and happiness of its subjects, and what powerful temptations, and not less powerful means, it possesses of sacrificing their lasting advantage to its own immediate profit. A sovereign company of merchants must ever consider their power but as an apendage to their trade, and as deriving its chief value from the means it gives them to repress competition, to buy cheaply the commodities they obtain from their subject customers, and to sell as dearly as possible the articles with which they supply them—that is, to diminish the incitement and the reward of industry to their subjects, by restricting their facility of acquiring what they need, and disposing of what they have. Their mercantile habits prevail over their interest as sovereigns, and lead them not only to prefer transitory profit to permanent revenue, but to adapt their administration to this preference, and to render government subservient to the interest of monopoly. They are almost necessarily led to devole a large discretionary power on their colonial officers, over whom they retain at the same time but a very feeble control. Whether we regard the introduction of martial law into Virginia as the act of the company, or (as it really seems to have been) the act of the treasurer and the colonial governors, the prevalence it obtained displays, in either case, the unjust and arbitrary policy of an exclusive company, or the inability of such a sovereign body to protect its subjects against the oppression of its officers. How incapable a body of this description must be to conduct a plan of civil policy on permanent principles, and how strongly its system of government must tend to perpetual fluctuation, is evinced by the fact, that, in the course of eighteen years, no fewer than ten successive governors had been appointed to preside over the province. Even after the vigorous spirit of liberty, which was so rapidly gaining ground in that age, had enabled the colonists to extort from the company the right of enacting laws for the regulation of their own community, still, as the company's sanction was requisite to give legal establishment to the enactments of the provincial legislature, the paramount authority resided with men who had but a temporary interest in the fate of their subjects and the resources of their territories. While, therefore, we sympathize with the generous indignation which the historians of America have expressed at the tyrannical proceedings by which the company was dissolved, we must congratulate their country on an event which, by the means that led to it, inculcated an abhorrence of arbitrary power, and by its operation overthrew a system under which no colony has ever grown up to a vigorous maturity.

Charles the First inherited, with his father's throne, [March] all the maxims that had latterly regulated his colonial policy. Of this he hastened to give assurance to his subjects, by a series of proclamations which he issued soon after his accession to the crown, and which distinctly unfolded the arbitrary principles he entertained, and the tyrannical administration he had determined to pursue. He declared, that, after mature deliberation, he had adopted his father's opinion, that the misfortunes of the colony had arisen entirely from the popular shape of its late administration, and the incapacity of a mercantile company to conduct even the most insignificant affairs of state; that he held himself in honor engaged to accomplish the work that James had begun; that he considered the American colonies to be a part of the royal empire devolved to him with the other dominions of the crown; that he was fully resolved to establish a uniform course of government through the whole British monarchy; and that henceforward the government of the colony of Virginia should immediately depend upon himself. But, unless we should suppose that he meditated even then a violent innovation of the whole British constitution, we must conclude, from the provisions which follow this preamble, that he considered the colonies to stand in a very different relation to him from that which the territory of Great Britain enjoyed, and to have descended to him as a personal estate independent of his crown or political capacity. For he proceeded to declare, that the whole administration of the Virginian government should be vested in a council, nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him alone. While he expressed the utmost scorn at the capacity of a mercantile corporation, he did not disdain to assume its illiberal spirit, and copy its interested policy. As a specimen of the extent of legislative authority which he intended to exert, and of the purposes to which he meant to render it subservient, he prohibited the Virginians, under the most absurd and frivolous pretences, from selling their tobacco to any persons but certain commissioners appointed by himself to purchase it on his own account. Thus the colonists found themselves subjected to an administration that combined the vices of both its predecessors—the unlimited prerogative of an arbitrary prince, with the narrowest maxims of a mercantile corporation; and saw their legislature superseded, their laws abolished, all the profits of their industry engrossed, and their only valuable commodity monopolized, by the sovereign who pretended to have resumed the government of the colony only in order to blend it more perfectly with the rest of the British empire.

Charles conferred the office of governor of Virginia on Sir George Yeardley, and empowered him, in conjunction with a council of twelve, to exercise supreme authority there; to make and execute laws; to impose and levy taxes; to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to public uses; and to transport the colonists to England, to be tried there for offences committed in Virginia. The governor and council were specially directed to exact the oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every inhabitant of the colony, and to conform in every point to the instructions which from time to time the king might transmit to them. [1627.] Yeardley's early death prevented the full weight of his authority from being experienced by the colonists during his short administration. He died in the beginning of the year 1627, and, two years after, was succeeded by Sir John Harvey. During this period, and for many years after, the king, who seems to have inherited his father's prejudices respecting tobacco, continued to harass the importation and sale of it by a series of regulations so vexatious, oppressive, and unsteady, that it is difficult to say whether they excite greater contempt for the fluctuations and caprice of his counsels, or indignant pity for the wasted prosperity and insulted patience of his people.

[1629.] Sir John Harvey, the new governor, proved a fit instrument in Virginia to carry the king's system of arbitrary rule into complete execution. Haughty, rapacious, and cruel, he exercised an odious authority with the most offensive insolence, and aggravated every legislative severity by the rigor of his executive energy. So congenial was his disposition with the system he conducted, and so thoroughly did he personify, as well as administer, tyranny, as not only to attract, but to engross, in his own person, the odium of which a large share was undoubtedly due to the prince who employed him. Of the length to which he carried his arbitrary exactions and forfeitures, some notion may be formed from a letter of instructions by which the royal committee of council for the colonies in England at length thought it prudent to check his excesses. [July, 1634.] It signified, that the king, of his royal favor, and for the encouragement of the planters, desired that the interests which had been acquired under the corporation should be exempted from forfeiture, and that the colonists, "*for the present*, might enjoy their estates with the same freedom and privilege as they did before the recalling of the patent." We might suppose this to be the mandate of an eastern sultan to one of his bashaws; and indeed the rapacious tyranny of the governor seems hardly more odious than the cruel mercy of the prince, who interposed to mitigate oppression only when it had reached an extreme which is proverbially liable to inflame the wise with madness, and drive the patient to despair. The most significant comment on the letter is, that Harvey was neither censured nor displaced for the excesses which it commanded him to restrain. The effect, too, which it was calculated to produce, in ascertaining the rights and quieting the apprehensions of the colonists, was counterbalanced by large and vague grants of territory within the province, which Charles inconsider

* It is stated by Chalmers, and repeated by Gordon, Robert- [illegible] in having dissolved the company. B. iv. p. 168. Stith [illegible] purpose of superseding, or perverting, the forms of law.

ately bestowed on his courtiers, and which gave rise to numerous encroachments on established possession, and excited universal distrust of the validity of titles, and the stability of property. The effect of one of these grants was the formation of the state of Maryland, by dismembering a large portion of territory that had been previously annexed to Virginia. For many years this event proved a source of much discontent and serious inconvenience to the Virginian colonists, who had endeavored to improve their trade by restricting themselves to the exportation only of tobacco of superior quality, and now found themselves deprived of all the advantage of this sacrifice by the transference of a portion of their own territory to neighbors who refused to unite in their regulations.

The restrictions prescribed by the letter of the royal committee, left Harvey still in possession of ample scope to his tyranny; and the colonists respecting, or overawed by, the authority with which he was invested, for a long time endured it without resistance. Roused, at length, by reiterated provocation, [1636,] and impatient of farther suffering, the Virginians, in a transport of general rage, seized the person of Harvey, and sent him a prisoner to England, along with two deputies from their own body, who were charged with the duty of representing the grievances of the colony and the misconduct of the governor. But their reliance on the justice of the king proved to be very ill founded. Charles was fated to teach his subjects, that if they meant to retain their liberties, they must prepare to defend them; that neither enduring patience nor respectful remonstrance could avail to relax or divert his arbitrary purpose; and that if they would obtain justice to themselves, they must deprive him of the power to withhold it. The inhabitants of Virginia had never irritated the king by disputing, like their fellow-subjects in England, the validity of his civil or ecclesiastical edicts; they had entered into no contest with him, and neither possessed forces nor pretended to privileges which could alarm his jealousy. They had borne extreme oppression (of which he had already evinced his consciousness) with long patience, and even when driven to despair, had shown that they neither imputed their wrongs to him nor doubted his justice. Defenceless and oppressed, they appealed to him as their protector; and their appeal was enforced by every circumstance that could impress a just, or move a generous mind. Yet so far from commiserating their sufferings, or redressing their wrongs, Charles regarded their conduct as an act of presumptuous audacity little short of rebellion; and all the applications of their deputies were rejected with calm injustice and inflexible disdain. He refused even to admit them to his presence, or to hear a single article of their charges against Harvey; and, having reinstated that obnoxious governor in his office, [1637,] he sent him back to Virginia, with an ample renewal of the powers, which he had so grossly abused. There, elated with his triumph, and inflamed with rage, Harvey resumed and aggravated a tyrannical sway that has entailed infamy on himself and disgrace on his sovereign, and provoked complaints so loud and vehement that they began to penetrate into England, and produce an impression on the minds of the people which could not be safely disregarded. It is in those scenes and circumstances in which men feel themselves entirely delivered from restraint, that their natural character most distinctly betrays itself. Enjoying absolute power over Virginia, Charles has inscribed his character more legibly on the history of that province, than of any other portion of his dominions.

[1638.] Had the government of Sir John Harvey been continued much louger, it must have ended in the revolt or the ruin of the colony. So great was the distress it occasioned, as to excite the attention of the Indians, and awaken their slumbering enmity by suggesting the hope of revenge. Opechancanough, the ancient enemy of the colonists, was now far advanced in years; but age had not dimmed his discernment, nor extinguished his animosity. Seizing the favorable occasion presented by the distracted state of the province, he again led his warriors to a sudden and furious attack, which the colonists did not repel without the loss of five hundred men. A general war ensued between them and all the Indian tribes under the influence of Opechancanough.

[1639.] But a great change was now at hand, which was to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress of their grievances. The public discontents which had for many years been multiplying in England, were now advancing with rapid strides to a full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great convulsion. After a long intermission, Charles was forced to contemplate the re-assembling of a parliament, and, well aware of the ill humor which his government at home had excited, he had the strongest reason to dread that the displeasure of the commons would be inflamed, and their worst suspicions confirmed, by complaints and descriptions of the despotism that had been exercised in Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even secure the adherence of a people who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince whose sovereignty was felt still to unite them with the parent state: and, from the propagation of the complaints of colonial grievances in England, there was every reason to apprehend that the redress of them, if longer withheld by the king, would be granted, to the great detriment of his credit and influence, by the parliament. To that body the Virginians had applied on a former occasion, and the encouragement they had met with increased the probability both of a repetition of their application and of a successful issue to it. These considerations alone seem to account for the sudden and total change which the colonial policy of the king now evinced. Harvey was recalled, and the government of Virginia committed to Sir William Berkeley, a person not only of superior rank and abilities to his predecessor, but distinguished by every popular virtue of which Harvey was deficient—of upright and honorable character, mild and prudent temper, and manners at once dignified and engaging. A change, not less gratifying, was introduced into the system of government. The new governor was instructed to restore the Colonial Assembly, and to invite it to enact a body of laws for the province, and to improve the administration of justice by introduction of the forms of English judicial procedure. Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists the system of freedom which they had originally derived from the Virginia company; which had been involved in the same ruin with that corporation, and the recollection of which had been additionally endeared to them by the oppression that had succeeded its overthrow.—Universal joy and gratitude was excited throughout the colony by this signal and happy change; and the king, who, amidst the hostility that was gathering around him in every other quarter, was addressed in the language of affection and attachment by this people, seems to have been somewhat struck and softened by the generous sentiments which he had so little deserved; and which forcibly proved to him how cheap and easy were the means by which princes may render their subjects grateful and happy. And yet so strong were the illusions of his self-love, or so deliberate his artifice, that in his answer to an address of the colonists, he eagerly appropriated the praise for which he was indebted to their generosity alone, and endeavored to extend the application of their grateful expressions even to the administration which he had abandoned in order to procure them.

[1640.] While Charles thus again introduced the principles of the British constitution into the internal government of Virginia, he did not neglect to take precautions for preserving its connexion with the mother country, and securing to England an exclusive possession of the colonial trade. For this purpose Sir William Berkeley was instructed to prohibit all commerce with other nations, and to take a bond from the master of every vessel that sailed from Virginia, obliging him to land his cargo in some part of the king's dominions in Europe. Yet the pressure of this restraint was more than counterbalanced by the liberality of the other instructions; and with a free and mild government, which offered a peaceful asylum, and distributed ample tracts of land to all who sought its protection, the colony advanced so rapidly in prosperity and population, that at the beginning of the Civil Wars it contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants. [1641.] By the vigor and conduct of Sir William Berkeley, the Indian war, after a few expeditions, was brought to a successful close: Opechancanough was taken prisoner;* and a peace concluded with the savages, which endured for many years.

It was happy for Virginia that the restoration of its domestic constitution was accomplished in this manner, and not deferred till a later period, when it would probably have been accompanied by a restoration of the exclusive company. To this consummation some of the members of that body had been eagerly looking forward; and notwithstanding the disappointment that their hopes had sustained by the redress of those grievances which would have forced their pretensions, they endeavored to avail themselves of the avidity with which every complaint against the king was received by the Long Parliament, by presenting a petition in the name of the assembly of Virginia, praying for a restoration of the ancient patents and government. This petition, though supported by some of the colonists, who were justly dissatisfied with the discouragement which the puritan doctrines and the preachers of them, whom they had invited from Massachusetts,* had experienced from the government of Virginia, was, undoubtedly, not the act of the assembly, nor the expression of the prevailing sentiment in the colony. The assembly had tasted the sweets of unrestricted freedom, and were not disposed to hazard or encumber their system of liberty, by re-attaching it to the mercantile corporation from which it had been originally derived. No sooner were they apprised of the petition to the House of Commons than they transmitted an explicit disavowal of it; and at the same time presented an address to the king, acknowledging his bounty and favor to them, and desiring to continue under his immediate protection. In the fervor of their loyalty, they enacted a declaration [1642] "that they were born under monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births by being subject to any other government." The only misfortune attending the manner in which the Virginians had regained their liberties, was that it thus allied their partial regards to an authority which was destined to be overthrown in the approaching civil war, and which could no more reward than it deserved their adherence. During the whole of the struggle between the king and parliament in England, they remained unalterably attached to the royal cause; and after Charles the First had been beheaded, and his son driven out of the kingdom, acknowledged the fugitive prince as their sovereign, and conducted their government under a commission which he transmitted to Sir William Berkeley from Breda.† The royal family, though they had little opportunity, during their exile, [June, 1650,] of cultivating their interest in Virginia, were not wholly regardless of it. Henrietta Maria, the queen mother, obtained the assistance of the French government to the execution of a scheme projected by Sir William Davenant, the poet, of emigrating in company with a large body of artificers, whom he collected in France, and founding with them a new plantation in Virginia. The expedition was intercepted by the English fleet; and Davenant, who was taken prisoner, owed his safety to the friendship of Milton.‡

But the parliament having prevailed over all opposition in England, was not disposed to suffer its authority to be questioned in Virginia. Incensed at this open defiance of its power, it issued an ordinance, [October,] declaring that the settlement of Virginia having been founded by Englishmen and English money, and by the authority of the nation, ought to be subordinate to and dependent upon the English commonwealth, and subject to the legislation of parliament; that the colonists, instead of rendering this dutiful submission, had audaciously disclaimed the supremacy of the state, and rebelled against it; and that they were now therefore denounced as notorious robbers and traitors. Not only was all connexion prohibited with these refractory colonists, and the council of state empowered to send out a fleet and army to enforce their obedience to the authority of parliament, but all foreign states were expressly interdicted from trading with any of the English settlements in America It might reasonably be supposed that this latter restriction would have created a common feeling throughout all the British colonies of opposition to the English government. But the colonists of Massachusetts were much more cordially united by similarity of political sentiments and religious opinions with the leaders of

* Beverley, p. 52, 53. It was the intention of Sir William Berkeley, to have sent this remarkable personage to England; but he was shot after being taken prisoner by a soldier, in resentment of the calamities he had inflicted on the province. He lingered under the wound for several days, and died with the pride and firmness of an old Roman. Indignant at the crowds who came to gaze at him on his death-bed, he exclaimed, "If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to the people." Perhaps he remembered that he had saved the life of Captain Smith, and forgot the numberless instances in which he had exposed other prisoners to public derision and lingering torture.

* This transaction will form a part of the History of New England.

† Hume's England, vol. vii. p. 205. Chalmers, p. 122. This year a tract was published at London by one Edward Williams, recommending the culture of silk in Virginia.

‡ Johnson's Life of Milton. Encyclopædia Britannica, v. 688. Davenant repaid Milton's kindness after the Restoration. Cowley, in a poem addressed to Davenant, says,

Sure 'twas the noble boldness of the muse
Did thy desire to seek new worlds infuse."

the commonwealth, than by identity of commercial interest with the inhabitants of Virginia. The religious views that had founded their colonial establishment, long regulated all its policy, and prevailed over every other consideration. And no sooner were the people of Massachusetts apprised of the parliamentary ordinance, than they hastened to enforce its prohibition of intercourse with Virginia, by a corresponding enactment of their own legislature.

The efforts of the parliamentary rulers of England were as prompt and vigorous as their declarations. They quickly despatched a powerful armament under the command of Sir George Ayscue to reduce all their enemies to submission. The commissioners whom they appointed to accompany the expedition were furnished with instructions which, if they reflect credit on the vigor of the parliament, convey a very unfavorable impression of their moderation and humanity. These functionaries were empowered to try, in the first instance, the efficacy of pardons and other peaceful propositions in bringing the colonists to obedience; but if these should prove ineffectual, they were then to employ every act of hostility to set free the servants and slaves of all the planters who continued refractory, and furnish them with arms to assist in the subjugation of their masters. Such a plan of hostility resembles less a war than a massacre, and suggests the painful reflection that an assembly, possessed of absolute power, and professing the glory of God and the liberty of mankind to be the chief ends for which they held it, never once projected the liberation of the negro slaves in their own dominions, except for the purpose of converting them into an instrument of bloodshed and conquest.

The English squadron, after reducing the colonies in Barbadoes and the other islands to submit to the commonwealth, entered the bay of Chesapeak. [1651.] Berkeley, apprised of the invasion, made haste to hire the assistance of a few Dutch ships which were then trading to Virginia, contrary both to the royal and the parliamentary injunctions, and with more courage than prudence prepared to oppose this formidable armament; but though he was cordially supported by the loyalists, who formed the great majority of the inhabitants, he could not long maintain so unequal a contest. Yet his gallant resistance, though unavailing to repel the invaders, enabled him to procure favorable terms of submission to the colony. By the articles of surrender, a complete indemnity was stipulated for all past offences; and the colonists, while they recognised the authority, were admitted into the bosom of the commonwealth, and expressly assured of an equal participation in all the privileges of the free people of England. In particular it was provided that the general assembly should transact as formerly the affairs of the settlement, and enjoy the exclusive right of taxation; and that "the people of Virginia shall have a free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations." Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself with those whom his principles of loyalty taught him to consider as usurpers. Without leaving Virginia, he withdrew to a retired situation, where he continued to reside as a private individual, universally beloved and respected, till a new revolution was again to call him to preside once more over the colony.

But it was the dependence and not the alliance of the colonies, that the rulers of the English commonwealth were concerned to obtain; and in their shameless disregard of the treaty concluded by their commissioners, they signally proved with how little equity absolute power is exercised even by those who have shown themselves most prompt to resent and most vigorous to resist the endurance of its excesses. Having succeeded in obtaining from the colonies a recognition of the authority which they administered, they proceeded to the adoption of measures calculated to enforce their dependence on England, and to secure the exclusive possession of their increasing commerce. With this view, as well as for the purpose of provoking hostilities with the Dutch, by aiming a blow at their carrying trade, the parliament not only forbore to repeal the ordinance of the preceding year, which prohibited commercial intercourse between the colonies and foreign states, but framed another law which was to introduce a new æra of commercial jurisprudence, and to found the celebrated navigation system of England. This remarkable law enacted that no production of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, but in vessels belonging to English owners or the inhabitants of the English colonies, and navigated by crews of which the captain and the majority of the sailors should be Englishmen.* Willing at the same time to encourage the cultivation of the staple commodity of Virginia, the parliament soon after [1652,] passed an act confirming all the royal proclamations against planting tobacco in England.

This unjust and injurious treatment kept alive in Virginia the attachment to the royal cause, which was farther maintained by the emigrations of the distressed cavaliers, who resorted in such numbers to Virginia, that the population of the colony amounted to thirty thousand persons at the epoch of the restoration. But Cromwell had now prevailed [1653,] over the parliament, and held the reins of the commonwealth in his vigorous hands; and though the discontents of the Virginians were secretly inflamed by the severity of his policy and the invidious distinctions which it evinced, their expression was repressed by the terror of his name, and the energy which he infused into every department of his administration; and under the superintendence of governors appointed by him, the exterior, at least, of tranquillity was maintained in Virginia till the period of his death. Warmly attached by similarity of religious and political sentiments to the colonists of Massachusetts, Cromwell indulged them with a dispensation from the commercial laws of the Long Parliament, while he rigorously exacted their observance in Virginia. The enforcement of these restrictions on the obnoxious colonists, at a time when England could neither afford a sufficient market to their produce nor an adequate supply to their wants, and while Massachusetts enjoyed a monopoly of the advantages of which they were deprived, strongly impeached the magnanimity of the protector and the fearless justice by which he professed to dignify his usurped dominion, and proved no less burthensome than irritating to the Virginians. Such partial and illiberal policy subverts in the minds of subjects those sentiments which facilitate the administration of human affairs and assure the stability of government, and habituates them to ascribe every burden and restriction which views of public expediency may impose, to causes that provoke enmity and redouble impatience. In the minds of the Virginians it produced not only this evil habit, but other no less unfortunate consequences; for retorting the dislike with which they found themselves treated, and encountering the partiality of their adversaries with prejudices equally unjust, they conceived a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that seemed peculiar to the puritans, and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in Massachusetts, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew, and of the principles to whose support it seemed to administer.† At length the disgust and impatience of the inhabitants of Virginia could no longer be restrained. [1658.] Matthews, the last governor appointed by Cromwell, died nearly at the same period with the protector; and the Virginians, though not yet apprized of the full extent of their deliverance, took advantage of the suspension of authority caused by the governor's demise; and having forced Sir William Berkeley from his retirement, unanimously elected him to preside over the colony.‡—Berkeley refusing to act under usurped authority, the colonists boldly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign; thus venturously adopting a measure which, according to all appearances, involved a contest with the arms of Cromwell and the whole resources of England. Happily for the colony, the distractions that ensued in England deferred the vengeance which the ruling powers had equal ability and inclination to inflict upon it, till the sudden and unexpected restoration of Charles to the throne of his ancestors, [1660,] converted their imprudent temerity into meritorious service, and enabled them safely to exult in the singularity which they long mentioned with triumph, that they had been the last of the British subjects who had renounced and the first who had resumed their allegiance to the crown.

* Scobel's Acts, 1651, cap. 22. The germ of this famous system of policy occurs in English Legislation so early as the year 1381, when it was enacted by the statute of 5 Rich. II. cap. 3, "that to increase the navy of England, no goods or merchandizes shall be either exported or imported but only in ships belonging to the king's subjects." This enactment was premature, and soon fell into disuse. An act to revive it to a limited extent in 1460, was rejected by Henry the Sixth.

† The prejudices of an old cavalier who had acquired the habit, so general and inveterate in seasons of violent party contentions, of lumping his opinions and taking them in the gross, whether by assent to his friends or opposition to his adversaries, are displayed by Sir William Berkeley in a letter descriptive of the state of Virginia, some years after the restoration. "I thank God," he says, "there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government; God keep us from both!" Chalmers, p. 328.

‡ That Cromwell had meditated some important changes in Virginia, which death prevented him from attempting to realize, may be inferred from the publication of a small treatise at London, in the year 1657, entitled "Public good without private interest," written by Dr. Gatford and dedicated to the Protector. In this little work the Protector is advised to reform the numerous abuses extant in Virginia—the disregard of religion—the neglect of Education—and the fraudulent dealings of the planters with the Indians; on all which topics the author descants very forcibly. Of this treatise, as well as of the tracts by Hamer, and Williams, and some others, which I have had occasion to notice elsewhere, I found copies in the library of the late George Chalmers.

CHAPTER III.

The Navigation Act—its Impolicy—Discontent and Distress of the Colonists—Naturalization of Aliens—Progress of the colonial Discontent—Indian hostilities—Bacon's Rebellion—Death of Bacon—and Restoration of Tranquillity—Bill of Attainder passed by the Colonial Assembly—Sir William Berkeley superseded by Colonel Jeffreys—Partiality of the new Governor—Dispute with the Assembly—Renewal of Discontents—Lord Culpeper appointed Governor—Severity and Rapacity of his Administration—An Insurrection—Punishment of the insurgents—Arbitrary Measures of the Crown—James the Second—augments the Burdens of the Colonists—Corrupt and oppressive Government of Lord Effingham—Revolution in Britain—Complaints of the Colonies against the former Governors discouraged by King William—Effect of the English Revolution on the American Colonies—State of Virginia at this Period—Population—Laws—Manners.

The intelligence of the restoration soon reached America, and excited in the different colonies very different emotions. In Virginia, whose history we must still separately pursue, it was received like the surprising fulfilment of an agreeable dream, and hailed with acclamations of unfeigned and unbounded joy. These sentiments, confirmed by the gracious expressions of esteem and good-will* which the king very readily vouchsafed, excited hopes of substantial favor and recompense which it was not easy to gratify, and which were fated to undergo a speedy and severe disappointment. For a short time, however, the Virginians were permitted to indulge their satisfaction, and some of the proceedings of the first colonial assembly that was held after the restoration demonstrate that this event was by no means unproductive of important benefits to them. Trial by jury, which had been discontinued during the usurpation, was now again restored, and judicial proceedings were disencumbered of various abuses and considerably improved. It was enacted that no county should send more than two burgesses to the assembly; and that every district which should "people an hundred acres of land with as many titheable persons," should acquire the privilege of being represented in that body. The church of England was established by law: provision was made for its ministers; and none but those who had received their ordination from some bishop in England, and who should subscribe an engagement of conformity to the orders and constitutions of the established church, were permitted to preach either publicly or privately within the colony. A law was shortly after passed against the importation of quakers under the penalty of five thousand pounds of tobacco on the importers of them; but with a special exception of such quakers as might be transported from England for breach of the laws.

The same principles of government which prevailed in England during this reign constantly extended their influence, whether salutary or baneful, across the Atlantic; and the colonies, no longer deemed by the court the mere property of the prince, were recognized as extensions of the British territory, and considered as subject to parliamentary legislation. The strong declarations of the Long Parliament introduced principles which received the sanction of the courts of Westminster Hall, and were thus interwoven with the fabric of English law. In a variety of cases which involved this great constitutional point, the judges declared that by virtue of those principles of the common law which bind the territories to the state, the plantations were in all respects like the other subordinate dominions of the crown, and like them equally bound by acts of parliament when specially named, or when necessarily supposed within the contemplation of the legislature. The declarations of the courts of justice were con

* Sir William Berkeley, who made a journey to England to congratulate the king on his restoration, was received at court with distinguished regard; and Charles, in honor of his loyal Virginians, wore at his coronation a robe manufactured of Virginian silk. Oldmixon.

This was not the first royal robe that America supplied. Queen Elizabeth wore a gown made of the silk grass, of which Raleigh's colonists sent a quantity to England. Coxe's Description of Carolana, p. 98.

firmed and enforced by the uniform tenor of the parliamentary proceedings; and the colonists soon perceived that although the Long Parliament was no more, it had faithfully bequeathed to its successors the spirit which influenced its commercial deliberations. The House of Commons determined not only to retain the commercial system which the Long Parliament had introduced, but to mature and extend it, to render the trade of the colonies completely subject to parliamentary legislature, and exclusively subservient to English commerce and navigation. No sooner was Charles seated on the throne, than they voted a duty of five per cent. on all merchandize exported from, or imported into, any of the dominions belonging to the crown: and the same session produced the celebrated *Navigation Act*, the most memorable statute in the English commercial code. By this statute (in addition to many other important provisions which are foreign to our present consideration), it was enacted that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from them, but in vessels built in England or the plantations, and navigated by crews of which the masters and three-fourths of the mariners should be English subjects, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo; that none but natural-born subjects, or such as had been naturalised should exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English settlement under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dying, produced or manufactured in the colonies, should be shipped from them to any other country than England; and to secure the observance of this regulation, the owners were required before sailing to give bonds with surety for sums proportioned to the rate of their vessels. The restricted articles have been termed *enumerated commodities*; and when new articles of colonial produce, as the rice of Carolina, or the copper ore of the northern colonies, were raised into importance and brought into commerce by the increasing industry of the colonists, they were successively added to the list, and subjected to the same regulations. As some compensation to the colonies for these commercial restraints, the parliament at the same time conferred on them the exclusive supply of tobacco, by prohibiting its cultivation in England, Ireland, Guernsey, or Jersey. The navigation act was soon after enlarged, and additional restraints imposed by a new law, [1663,] which prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in vessels laden in England, and navigated and manned according to the provisions of the original statute. More effectual provision was made by this law for inflicting the penalties attached to the transgression of the navigation act; and the principles of commercial policy on which the whole system is founded were openly avowed in a declaration that, as it was the usage of other nations to keep the trade of their plantations to themselves, so the colonies that were founded and peopled by English subjects ought to be retained in firm dependence upon England, and made to contribute to her advantage in the employment of English shipping, the vent of English commodities and manufactures, and the rendering of England a staple, not only of the productions of her colonies, but also of such commodities of other countries as the colonies themselves might require to be supplied with. Advancing a step further in the prosecution of its encroaching policy, the parliament proceeded to tax the trade of the several colonies with each other; and as the act of navigation had left all the colonists at liberty to export the enumerated commodities from one settlement to another without paying any duty, this exemption was subsequently withdrawn, and they were subjected to a tax equivalent to what was levied on the consumption of these commodities in England.

The system pursued and established by these regulations, of securing to England a monopoly of the trade of her colonies by shutting up every other channel which competition might have formed for it, and into which interest might have caused it preferably to flow, excited the utmost disgust and indignation in the minds of the inhabitants of the colonies, and was justly denounced by them as a manifest violation of the most sacred and undoubted rights of mankind. In England it was long applauded as a master-piece of political sagacity, enforced and cherished as a main source of opulence and power, and defended on the plea of that expediency which its supposed advantages were held so abundantly to demonstrate. But the philosophy of political science has amply refuted this illiberal doctrine, and would long ago have corrected the views and amended the institutions which it was thought to sanction, but that, from the prevalence of various jealousies, and of those obstinate and passionate prepossessions that constitute wilful ignorance, the effects of philosophy have much more frequently terminated in the production of knowledge merely speculative, than exercised any visible operation in the improvement of human conduct, or the increase of human happiness. Nations, biassed by enmities to their neighbors, as well as partialities to themselves, have suffered an illiberal jealousy of other states to contract the views they have formed of their own interests, and to induce a line of policy of which the operation is to procure a smaller portion of exclusive gains, in preference to a larger contingent in the participation of a general advantage. Too gross sighted to use, or too passionate to feel, the bonds that connect the interests of all the members of the great family of mankind, they have accounted the exclusion of their rivals equivalent to an extension of the advantages reserved to themselves; committing herein the same error that pervades the policy of slave owners, and leads them to suppose that, to inflict depression and privation on others, is, by necessary consequence, to enhance their own elevation and enrichment. In such mistaken policy nations are apt to be confirmed by the interested representations of the few who contrive to extract a temporary and partial advantage from every abuse, however generally pernicious; and if, in spite of the defects of its policy, the prosperity of the country should be increased by the force of its natural advantages, this effect will be eagerly ascribed to the very causes that abridge, though they may be insufficient to prevent it. The discoveries, however, which the cultivation of political science has yielded, have in this respect confirmed the dictates of religion, and demonstrated that, in every transaction between nations and individuuls, the intercourse most solidly and lastingly beneficial to both and each of the parties, is that which is founded on the principles of a fair reciprocity and mutual subservience; that an indisposition to regard the interests of others, implies a narrow and perverted view of our own; and that to do as we would be done by, is not less the maxim of prudence than the precept of piety. So coherent must true philosophy ever be with the dictates of Divine wisdom. But unfortunately this coherence has not always been recognised even by those philosophers whose speculations have tended to its display; and confining themselves to reasonings, sufficiently clear and convincing, no doubt, to persons contemplating human affairs in the simplicity and disinterested abstraction of theoretical survey, they have neglected to enforce the acceptance of important truths by reference to those principles that derive them from Divine wisdom, and connect them with the strongest sanctions of human duty.

They have demonstrated* that a parent state by restraining the commerce of her colonies with other nations, depresses the industry and productiveness both of the colonies and of foreign nations; and hence, by enfeebling the demand of foreign purchasers, which must be proportioned to their ability, and lessening the quantity of colonial commodities actually produced, enhances the price of the colonial produce to herself as well as to the rest of the world, and so far diminishes its power to increase the enjoyments and augment the industry of her own citizens as well as of other states. Besides, the monopoly of the colony trade produces so high a rate of profit to the merchants who carry it on, as to attract into this channel a great deal of the capital that would, in the natural course of things, be directed to other branches of trade: and in these branches, the profits must consequently be augmented in proportion to the diminished competition of the capitals employed in them. But whatever raises in any country the ordinary rate of profit higher than it otherwise would be, necessarily subjects that country to great disadvantage in every branch of trade of which she has not the monopoly. Her merchants cannot obtain this higher profit without selling dearer than they otherwise would do, both the commodities of foreign countries which they import into their own, and the goods of their own country which they carry abroad. The country thus finds herself frequently undersold in foreign markets; and the more so, because in foreign states much capital has been forced into these branches by her exclusion of foreigners from her colonial trade, which would have absorbed a part of them. Thus, by the operation of a monopoly of the colonial trade, the parent state obtains an overgrowth of one branch of distant traffic, at the expense of diminishing the advantages which her own citizens might derive from the produce of the colonies, and of impairing all those other branches of nearer trade which, by the greater frequency of their returns, afford the largest and most beneficial excitement to the industry of the country. Her commerce, instead of flowing in a great number of small channels, is taught to run principally in one great conduit; and hence the whole system of her trade and industry is rendered less secure.

But the injurious consequences of this exclusive system are not confined to its immediate operation upon trade. The progress of our history will abundantly show that the connexion which a parent state seeks to maintain with its colonies by the aid of such a system, carries within itself the principles of its own dissolution. During the infancy of the colonies, a perpetual and vexatious exertion is required from the parent state to enforce and extend her restraining laws, and endeavors no less unremitting are made by the colonies to obstruct or elude their operation. Every rising branch of trade which is left for a time, or for ever, free to the colonists, serves by the effect of contrast, to render more visible the disadvantages of their situation in the regulated branches; and every extension of the restrictions affords an occasion of renewed discontent. As the colonies increase their internal strength, and make advances in the possession and appreciation of national consequence, the disposition of their inhabitants to emancipate themselves from such restraints, is combined with ability to effect their deliverance, by the very circumstances, and at the very period, which will involve the trade of the parent state in the greatest loss and disorder. And the advantages which the commerce of other nations must expect from the destruction of the monopoly, unites the wishes of the whole world with the revolt of the colonies, and gives assurance of the most powerful assistance to effect it.

A better apology for the system which England adopted towards her colonies, than the boasted expediency of her measures would thus appear to supply, may be derived from the admitted fact, that her policy on the whole was much less illiberal and oppressive than that which any other nation of Europe has ever been known to pursue. While the foreign trade of the colonies was restrained, for the supposed advantage of the parent state, whose prosperity they partook, and by whose power they were defended, their internal liberty was suffered to grow up under the shelter of wise and liberal institutions; and even the commercial restrictions imposed on them were much less rigorous and injurious than the colonies of France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, were compelled to undergo from their respective parent countries. The trade of the British settlements was not committed, according to the practice of some of these states, to exclusive companies, nor restricted, according to the practice of others, to a particular port; but, being left free to all the subjects, and admitted to all the harbors of England, employed a body of British traders too numerous and dispersed to admit of their superseding mutual competition, and uniting in a general confederacy to oppress the colonies and extort exhorbitant profits to themselves. This apology is obviously very unsatisfactory, as every attempt to palliate injustice must necessarily be. It was urged with a very bad grace by the people of England, and utterly disregarded by the inhabitants of America.

In none of the American colonies did this oppressive system excite greater indignation than in Virginia where the larger commerce and pre-eminent loyalty of the people rendered the pressure of the burden more severe, and the infliction of it more exasperating*. No sooner was the navigation act

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, B. iv. cap. 7. The eminent philosopher of whose reasoning I have endeavored to present a condensed view in this paragraph of the text, is particularly obnoxious to the charge of not merely neglecting, but wilfully suppressing, the recognition of that confirmation which divine testimony derives from an enlarged view of human interests, sentiments, and actions. In the first edition of his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," he could not refrain from avowing the coherence which he plainly observed between the doctrines of divine revelation, and the sentiments of men in all ages and nations on the subject of sacrifice and foreign intercession. Part II. § 2. ad finem. But, misled by science falsely so called, he expunged this passage from the subsequent editions of the work.

* It was to Virginia alone that Montesquieu's justificatory principle of the system of restricted trade could be considered as in any degree applicable. "It has been established," says this writer, "that the mother country alone shall trade in the colonies, and that from very good reason, because the design of the settlement was the extension of commerce, and not foundation of a city, or of a new empire." Spirit of Law

known in Virginia, and its effects experienced, than the colony warmly remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned earnestly for relief. But, although the English monarchs were accustomed at this period to exercise a dispensing power over the laws; —in so much that when the court at a later period ventured to adopt a plan of arbitrary government, even the act of navigation itself, so great a favorite with the nation, was suspended for a while by an exertion of this stretch of prerogative; yet, during the early period of his reign, Charles, unassured of the stability of his throne, and surrounded by ministers of constitutional principles, was compelled to observe the limits of a legal administration, and to interpose his authority for the enforcement even of those laws that were most repugnant to his principles and wishes*. So far from lending a favorable ear to the petition over Virginia, Charles and his ministers adopted measures for carrying the act into strict execution. Intelligence having been received that its provisions were almost as generally disregarded as detested, and that the colonial authorities were not prompt to enforce what they saw was so disagreeable to the persons of whom they presided, instructions were issued to the governors of the settlements, reprimanding them for the "neglects, or rather contempts," which the law had sustained, and enjoining their future attention to its rigid enforcement; and in Virginia, in particular, demonstration was made of the determined purpose of the English government to overcome all resistance to the act, by the erection of forts on the banks of the principal rivers, and the appointment of vessels to cruise on the coast. But, notwithstanding the threatening measures employed to overawe them, and the vigilance with which they were watched, the Virginians contrived to evade the law, and to obtain some vent to the accumulating stores of their depreciated produce by a clandestine trade with the settlement of the Dutch on Hudson's river. The relief, however, was inconsiderable, and the discontents, inflamed by the hostilities which the frontier Indians now resumed, began to spread so widely as to inspire some veteran soldiers of Cromwell, who had been banished to Virginia, with the hope of rendering themselves masters of the colony, and delivering it from the yoke of England. A conspiracy, which has received the name of *Birkinhead's Plot*, was formed for this purpose; but, having been detected before the design was ripe, it was easily suppressed by the prudence of Sir William Berkeley, and with no farther bloodshed than the execution of four of the conspirators.

The distress of the colony continuing to increase with the increasing depreciation of tobacco, now confined almost entirely to one market, and the augmentation of the price of all foreign commodities, now derivable only from the supplies which one country could furnish, various efforts were made from time to time by the colonial assembly for the relief of their constituents. Retaliating to some extent the injustice with which they were treated, it was enacted by a colonial law, that in the payment of debts, country creditors should have the priority, and that all courts of justice should give precedence in judgment to contracts made within the colony. Acts were passed for restraining the growth of tobacco; and attempts were made to introduce a new staple, by encouraging the plantation of mulberry trees and the manufacture of silk; but neither of these designs was successful. [1666.] Numerous French protestant refugees being attracted to Maryland by the naturalization act which that settlement passed in their favor in the year 1666, the Virginian assembly endeavored to recruit the wealth and population of its territories from this source, by framing, in like manner, a series of laws which empowered the governor to confer on aliens taking the oath of allegiance all the privileges of naturalization;† but it was provisionally subjoined, that this concession should not be construed to vest aliens with the power of exercising any function which they were disabled from performing by the acts of the English parliament relative to the colonies. This prudent reference to a restriction which the colonial letters of naturalization must inevitably have received from the common law, was intended to guard against the losses and disputes which might ensue from the attempts of the naturalized aliens to infringe the navigation act. But the precaution was unavailing; and at an after period many forfeitures of property were incurred, and much vehement dispute created, by the traffic which aliens in the colonies carried on under the authority of general letters of denization granted to them by the ignorance or inattention of the royal governors. Their pretensions, though flatly opposed to the acts of navigation, were supported by the American courts of justice, but uniformly disallowed by the English government, which, after repeatedly enforcing the principle that the acts of a provincial legislature cannot operate against the general jurisprudence of the empire, at length prohibited the granting of farther denizations.

The discontents in Virginia, so far from being abated by the lapse of time, were maintained by the constant pressure of the commercial restrictions, and the repeated attempts to provide more effectually for their enforcement. Various additional causes concurred to inflame the angry feelings of the colonists; and a considerable native population having now grown up in Virginia, the discontents of these persons were no way abated by the habitual regard and fond remembrance which emigrants retain for the parent state which is also the land of their individual nativity. The defectiveness of their instruction,* prevented the influence of education from acting in this respect as a substitute to experience; and they knew little of England beyond the wrongs which they heard daily imputed to her injustice. The Indian hostilities, after infesting the frontiers, began to penetrate into the interior of the province; and while the colonists were thus reduced to defend their property at the hazard of their lives, the most alarming apprehensions of the security of that property were created by the large and imprudent grants which the king, after the example of his father, very lavishly accorded to the solicitations of his favorites. [1673.] The fate of that parent had warned him to avoid, in general, rather the arrogance that provoked, than the injustice that deserved it; and, in granting these applications, without embarrassing himself by any inquiry into their merits, he at once indulged the indolence of his disposition, and exerted a liberality that cost him nothing that he cared for. These grants were not only of such exorbitant extent as to be unfavorable to the progress of cultivation, but, from ignorance or inaccuracy in the definition of their boundaries, were frequently made to include tracts of land that had already been planted and appropriated. Such a complication of exasperating circumstances brought the discontents of the colony to a crisis. In the beginning of the year 1675, two slight insurrections, which were rather explosions of popular impatience than the consequence of matured designs, were easily suppressed by the prudence and vigor of the governor, but gave significant intimation of the state and the tendency of public feeling in Virginia. In the hope of averting the crisis, and obtaining redress of the more recent grievances which were provoking and maturing it, the assembly despatched deputies to England, who, after a tedious negotiation with the king and his ministers, had brought matters to the point of a happy adjustment, when their expectations were frustrated and the proceedings suspended by intelligence of a formidable rebellion in the colony. [1676.] A tax which had been imposed by the assembly to defray the expense of the deputation, had irritated the discontents which the deputation was intended to compose; and when the dilatory proceedings of the English government, who disdained to allow the intelligence of past insurrections, or the apprehensions of future rebellion, to quicken, their diligence, seemed to confirm the assurances of the factious leaders of the colonists, that even their last sacrifice had been thrown away, the tide of rage and disaffection began again to swell to the point of rebellion. It did not long wait for additional provocation to excite, or an able leader to impel, its fury. For, to crown the colonial distress, the war with the Susquehannah Indians, which had continued to prevail notwithstanding all the governor's attempts to suppress it, now burst forth with redoubled rage, and threatened a formidable addition of danger, hardship, and expense. Even the popularity of their long-tried and magnanimous friend, Sir William Berkeley, was overcast by the blackness of this cloud of calamities. The spirit and fidelity with which he had adhered to the colony through every variety of fortune, the earnestness with which he had remonstrated with the English government against the commercial restraints, and the disinterestedness he had shown in declining, during the unprosperous state of the colonial finances, to accept the addition which the assembly had made to his emoluments, were disregarded, denied, or forgotten. To his age and incapacity were attributed the burdens of the people, and the distractions of the times; and he was loudly accused of wanting alike honesty to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and courage to repel the hostility of the savages. Such ungrateful injustice is rarely, if ever, evinced by the people, but when the insidious acts of factious leaders have imposed on their credulity and inflamed their passions. The populace of Holland, when, a few years before this period, they tore in pieces their benefactor John De Witt, were not only terrified by the progress of their national calamities, but deluded by the profligate retainers of the Orange party. To similar influence (and in similar circumstances) were the Virginians now exposed from the artifice and ambition of Nathaniel Bacon.

This man had been trained to the profession of the law in England, and, only three years before this period, had emigrated to Virginia. This short interval had sufficed to advance him to a conspicuous situation in the colony, and to indicate the disposition and talents of a popular leader. The consideration he derived from his legal attainments, and the esteem he acquired by an insinuating address, had quickly procured him a seat in the council, and the rank of colonel in the militia. But his temper was not accommodated to subordinate office, and, unfortunately, the discontents of the colony soon presented him with a sphere of action more congenial to his character and capacity. Young, sanguine, eloquent, and daring, he mixed with the malcontents, and, by his vehement harangues on the grievances under which they labored, he inflamed their passions and attracted their favor. He was implicated in the insurrection of the preceding year, and had been taken prisoner, but pardoned by the governor, but less affected by the clemency, than encouraged by the impunity which he had experienced, and sensible that the avenue to legitimate promotion was for ever closed against him, he determined to cast in his lot with the malcontent party, and, taking advantage of their present excitation, he now again came forward, and addressed them with artifice which their uninstructed understandings were unable to detect, and eloquence which their untamed passions rendered utterly irresistible. Finding that the sentiments most prevalent with his auditory were the alarm and indignation excited by the Indian ravages, he boldly charged the governor with neglect or incapacity to exert the vigor that was requisite for the general safety; and, having expatiated on the facility with which the whole Indian race might be exterminated, he exhorted them to take arms in their own defence, and accomplish the deliverance they must no longer expect from any other quarter. So acceptable was this address and its author to the disposition of the popular mind, that his exhortation was instantly complied with, and his main object no less successfully effected. A great multitude proceeded to embody themselves for an expedition against the Indians, and, electing Bacon to be their general,

xii cap 17. This was in some measure true as to Virginia, though its first charter professes more enlarged designs; but it was not true as to New England, Maryland, or the other [illegible] settlements of the [illegible].

* When the parliament, in 1666, introduced the unjust and [illegible] act against the importation of Irish cattle into England, the king was so much struck with the remonstrances of the Irish people against this measure, that he not only used all his interest to oppose the bill, but openly declared that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were resolute, and the king was compelled to submit. "The [illegible] of [illegible]," says Hume, "of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their authority over their dependent state." vii. 448.

† It was not till after the Revolution of 1688 that the population of Virginia received any accession from the influx of these or other foreigners. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley thus describes the state of its population.—"There are in Virginia above 40,000 persons, men, women, and children; of which there are 2,000 black slaves, 6,000 christian servants for a short time, and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to settle, or serve, in hope of bettering their condition in a growing country. Yearly, we suppose, there come in of servants about 1,500, of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish; and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years." Answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, apud Chalmers, 1. 327. The numerous importations of servants mentioned by Sir William Berkeley were probably checked by the troubles that preceded and attended Bacon's Rebellion. The later importations were more available than the earlier ones; the diseases of the country having diminished in frequency and violence as the woods were progressively cut down. The mortality among the new comers, we learn from Sir William Berkeley, was at first enormous, but had become very trifling prior to 1671.

* We have seen Sir William Berkeley, with the prejudice of a cavalier, boast of the absence of the seditious influence of learning, but a few years prior to those violent disturbances by which Virginia was peculiarly distinguished. The commonwealth party, and especially those who were termed Puritans, though reproached as the enemies of literature, were in reality its most successful cultivators, and most zealous patrons. The reproach has been clearly refuted, and their claims ably and successfully vindicated by the Rev. Mr. Orme, in his Life of Dr. John Owen.

committed themselves to his direction. He assured them, in return, that he would never lay down his arms till he had avenged their sufferings and redressed their grievances. To give some color of legitimacy to the authority he had acquired, and, perhaps, expecting to precipitate matters to the extremity which his interest required that they should speedily reach, he applied to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, and offered instantly to march against the common enemy. Berkeley, suspecting his real designs, thought it prudent to temporise, and try the effect of negotiation; but he had to deal with a man whose own artifice kept him on his guard against the snares of others, and who was well aware that promptitude and resolute perseverance alone could extricate him with safety or credit from the dangers of his situation. Pressed for an answer, and finding that the applicants were not to be soothed by his conciliating demeanor, Berkeley issued a proclamation, commanding the multitude, in the king's name, to disperse immediately under the pains of rebellion.

Bacon, no more disconcerted by the vigor of this address than he had been duped by the negotiation that preceded it, instantly marched to Jamestown, at the head of six hundred of his followers, and surrounding the house where the governor and assembly were engaged in their deliberations, he demanded the commission which his proceedings and retinue showed how little he either needed or regarded. Berkeley, undismayed by the dangers that environed him, clearly perceived his inability to resist the force of the insurgents, and yet disdained to yield to their pretensions. Confronting with invincible courage the men who had charged him with defect of that virtue, he peremptorily commanded them to depart, and, when they refused, he presented his breast to their weapons, and calmly awaited the last extremity of their rage. But the council, more considerate of their own safety, and fearful of driving the multitude to despair, hastily prepared a commission, by which Bacon was appointed captain-general of all the forces of Virginia, and, by dint of the most earnest entreaty, at length prevailed with the governor to subscribe it. The insurgents having rewarded their acquiescence with insulting acclamations, retired in triumph; and the assembly no sooner felt themselves delivered from the immediate presence of danger, then, passing from the extreme of timidity to the height of presumption, they voted a resolution annulling the commission they had granted, as extorted by force, denouncing Bacon as a rebel, commanding his followers to deliver him up, and summoning the militia to arms in defence of the constitution. They found too little difficulty in prevailing with the governor to confirm, by his sanction, this indiscreet assumption of a vigor which they were totally incapable of maintaining. The consequences might have been easily foreseen. Bacon and his army, flushed with their recent triumph, and incensed at this impotent menace, which they denounced as the height of baseness and treachery, returned immediately to Jamestown, and the governor, unsupported by any effective force that could cope with the insurgents, retired across the bay to Acomack, on the eastern shore. Some of the councillers accompanied him thither; the rest retired to their own plantations; the frame of the colonial administration seemed to be dissolved, and Bacon took unresisted possession of the vacant government.

The authority which he had thus acquired by the vigor of his proceedings, Bacon employed with great address to add strength and reputation to his party. To give to this usurped jurisdiction the appearance of a legal establishment, he called a convention of the gentlemen of the country, and prevailed with a numerous body of them to pledge themselves by oath to support his authority and resist his enemies. A declaration was published, in the name of this body, setting forth that Sir William Berkeley had wickedly fomented a civil war among the people, and that, after thus violating his trust, he had abdicated the government, to the great astonishment of the country; that the general had raised an army for the public service, and with the public approbation; that the late governor having, as was reported, falsely informed the king that the general and his followers were rebels, and advised his majesty to send forces to subdue them, the welfare of the colony and their true allegiance to his most sacred majesty equally required that they oppose and suppress all forces whatsoever, till the king be fully inform d of the true state of the case by such persons as should be sent to him by Nathaniel Bacon, to whom in the interim all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance. It was remarked by the wise, that this declaration, which might have been expected to display the genuine cause of the revolt, mentioned none of the original subjects of discontent; and, hence, they justly suspected that the leader of the insurgents had designs of his own, to which the discontents of his followers were merely subservient, which extended beyond the temporary precaution of hostilities with the Indians, and had already suggested to him a specious plea, on which he proposed to involve the colony in a war with the forces of the mother country. Yet, such was the spirit of the times, and the sympathy with resistance to every branch of an administration which Charles was daily rendering more and more odious and suspected, that, when this declaration was made known in England, it met with many advocates among the people, and even within the walls of that parliament whose injustice formed the only grievance that Virginia had yet to complain of.

Sir William Berkeley, in the mean time, having collected a force from levies among the planters who remained well affected to him, and from the crews of the English shipping on the coasts, commenced a series of attacks on the forces of the usurper, and several sharp encounters ensued between the parties with various success. All the horrors of civil war began to descend on the colony. Jamestown was reduced to ashes by the insurgents; the estates of the loyalists were pillaged, their friends and relatives seized as hostages, and the richest plantations in the province were laid waste. The governor was compelled, by the rage of his own partizans, to retaliate these extremities, and even to execute some of the insurgents by martial law; and the animosity of both parties was rapidly mounting to a pitch that threatened a war of mutual extermination. The superiority of the insurgent force had hitherto confined the efforts of the loyalists in the field to mere skirmishing engagements; but the tidings of an approaching armament, which the king had despatched from England under Sir John Berry, to the assistance of the governor, gave promise of a wider range of carnage and desolation. Charles had issued a proclamation, declaring Bacon, a traitor and the sole promoter of the insurrection; granting pardon to all his followers who should forsake him, and offering freedom to all slaves who would assist in suppressing the revolt. However elated the loyalists might be with the intelligence of the approaching succor, the leader of the insurgents was no way dismayed by it; and his influence over his followers was unbounded. Conscious now that his power and his life were indissolubly connected, he determined to encounter whatever force might be sent against him. He was aware, at the same time, of the importance of striking a decisive blow while the advantage of numbers remained with him; and with this view having enlarged his resources by proclaiming a general forfeiture of the property of all who either opposed his pretensions or even affected neutrality, he was preparing to take the field, when his career was arrested by that Power which *restrains the remainder of human wrath*, and can wither in an instant the uplifted arm of the destroyer. Happily for his country, and to the manifest advantage not less of his followers than his adversaries, Bacon unexpectedly sickened and died. [1677.]

How entirely this extraordinary man had been the soul of his party, was strikingly evinced by the effect of his death on their sentiments and proceedings. The bands of their confederacy seemed to be cut asunder by the loss of their general, and no successor even attempted to re-unite them. To their sanguine hopes and resolute adherence to Bacon, succeeded mutual distrust and universal despondency; eagerness for battle, and dreams of conquest, gave place to an earnest concern to secure their own safety, and effect an accommodation with the ancient government; and, after a short treaty they laid down their arms, and submitted to Sir William Berkeley, on condition of receiving a general pardon. Thus suddenly and providentially was dissipated a tempest that seemed to portend the inevitable ruin of Virginia. From the man whose evil genius excited and impelled its fury, this insurrection has been distinguished by the name of *Bacon's Rebellion*. It placed the colony for seven months in the power of that daring usurper, involved the inhabitants during all that period in bloodshed and confusion, and was productive of a devastation of property to the extent of at least a hundred thousand pounds.* To the mother country it conveyed a lesson which she appears never to have understood till the loss of her colonies illustrated its meaning, and the consequence of disregarding it. For, after every allowance for the ability and artifice of Bacon, it was manifest that his influence had been originally derived from the general discontent and irritation occasioned by the commercial restrictions; and it required little sagacity to foresee that these sentiments would be rendered more inveterate and more formidable by the growth of the province, and by the increased connexion and sympathy with the other colonial settlements, which the lapse of time and the habitual consciousness of common interests and grievances would infallibly promote. Had Bacon been a more honest and disinterested leader, this lesson would perhaps have been more clearly expressed, and the rebellion, it is probable, would not have ended with himself. But, instead of sincerely embracing the cause of his associates, he contrived to render their passions subservient to his own ambitious purposes. The assertors of the interests of Virginia were thus converted into the partizans of an individual; and when his presence and influence were withdrawn, they perceived at once that they were embarked in a contest which to themselves had neither interest nor object.

No sooner were the insurgents disbanded, and the legitimate government restored than Sir William Berkeley convened the colonial assembly, to assist, by its deliberations, in the re-establishment of public order. The acts of this assembly have received from some writers the praise of moderation, which, no doubt, they must be admitted to evince in a degree no less honorable than surprising, if we confine our attention to the circumstance of its having met but a few weeks after Bacon's death, when the memory of insults and injuries was recent, when the passions of the parties were yet warm, and the agitations of the contest had barely subsided. By others, they have been loaded with a reproach which they plainly appear to deserve, when we recollect that they were infractions of the treaty with the insurgents. Still, with all their imperfections, they will be admitted by every one who is acquainted with the history of civil commotions, to form a fairer model than the records of any other people have ever transmitted of the moderation of a successful party in a civil war. Bacon, and a few of his principal officers, who had perished in the contest, were attainted; none of the survivors of the party were punished capitally, but a few of the more noted of them were subjected to fines and disabilities; and with these exceptions, the promise of general indemnity was confirmed by law. An attainder of the dead seems an arrogant attempt of human power to extend its arm beyond the bounds of life, to invade with its vengeance the inviolable dominion of the grave, and to reclaim to the jurisdiction of delegated authority and fallible judgment the offender, who has already been removed by the act of Sovereign Power to abide the decree of its infallible justice. It was probably resorted to on this occasion in order to assert the vindictive power of the law, without infringing the indemnity that had been stipulated to the insurgents. But, in England, it was regarded as an act of sovereignty beyond the competence of a subordinate legislature, and held to be void from defect of power; and all the other acts of the assembly in relation to the insurgents were disallowed by the king as derogatory to the terms of his proclamation. The attainder, however, was afterwards re-enacted, by passing a bill to that effect, which was framed in England, and transmitted under the great seal to the colonial assembly.

The tardy aid which had been detached from England to the defence of the colonial government, did not reach Virginia till after the complete re-establishment of tranquillity. With the fleet arrived Colonel Jefferys, appointed by the king to signify the recal and succeed to the office of Sir William Berkeley, who now closed in peace an administration of nearly forty years; and shortly after, closing his life, may be said to have died in the service of Virginia. This gallant and honorable man was thus spared the mortification of beholding the injustice with which the royal authority was soon after employed to blacken his fame, and to weaken all those sentiments of loyalty in the colony which it

* Beverley, 70—76. Oldmixon, i. 250—257. Modern Universal History, xli. 358. Sir William Keith's History of Virginia, p. 156—161. Chalmers, 332—335. 336. An account of the causes and circumstances of this rebellion, differing materially from that which I have adopted, very discreditable to Sir William Berkeley, and proportionably favorable to Bacon, occurs in the Appendix to the first volume of Williamson's History of North Carolina. But it is opposed by all existing evidence, supported by none, and strongly impeached by its own manifest improbability. Williamson's dislike of Sir William Berkeley was probably occasioned by the very unfavorable opinion which Berkeley had expressed of the planters of North Carolina at this period.

had been the great object of his wishes, and in no small degree the effect of his administration, to cultivate and maintain. Holding all the principles of an old cavalier; endowed with a character well formed to recommend his principles, and presiding in a colony where the prevailing sentiments of the people were congenial with his own, he had hoped to make Virginia an asylum where the loyalty that was languishing in Europe might be renovated by transmigration into a young and growing body politic, and expand to a new and more vigorous maturity. But this was not the destination of the provinces of America. Strongly infected with the prejudices of his age and party, Berkeley was always more willing to make the most generous exertions for a people who committed their interests to his protection, than to enlighten them with the knowledge that would have enabled them more justly to appreciate and more extensively to administer those interests themselves. The naked republican principle that substitutes the respect and approbation of citizens to their magistrate, in place of the reverence and attachment of subjects to their sovereign, was held by all the cavaliers in utter abhorrence; and a more favorable specimen of the opposite principle which they maintained, and of that mixed system of opinion and sentiment which it tended to produce, will not easily be found than in the administration of Sir William Berkeley. The courageous regard he demonstrated for the people, not only excited their grateful admiration, but recommended to their esteem the generous loyalty to his king with which it was in his language and demeanor inseparably blended; and while he claimed their sympathy with his loyalty to their common sovereign, he naturally asserted his own share in the sentiment as the delegate of the crown. The exalted distinction which he thought due to rank and office, he employed to give efficacy to prudence, moderation, and benevolence; and tempering the dignity of aristocratical elevation with the kindness of a patriarch and the mild courtesy of a gentleman, his administration realized that elegant resemblance which many have preferred to more real and substantial equality: as there are many who confess that they find politeness more gratifying than solid benefaction. He was a wise legislator, as well as a benevolent and upright magistrate; and we are informed by the editor of the laws of Virginia, that the most judicious and most popular of them were framed by Sir William Berkeley. When his death was made known, and he was no longer an object of flattery or of fear, the assembly recorded the sentiments which the colony entertained of his conduct in the grateful declaration "that he had been an excellent and well deserving governor;" and earnestly recommended his widow to the justice and generosity of the king.* Happily perhaps for themselves, the bosom of the king was quite a stranger to any such sentiments; and his administration was calculated to dispel instead of confirming the impressions of cavalier loyalty, and to teach the Virginian colonists that the object of their late governor's homage was a very worthless idol, and the animating principle of his political creed a mere illusion of his own generous imagination.

The most remarkable event that distinguished the government of Colonel Jefferys was the conclusion of the Indian war, which had raged so long, and contributed, with other causes, to the production of the late rebellion, by a treaty which gave universal satisfaction. This too was the only act of his administration that was attended with consequences so agreeable. Jefferys, together with Sir John Berry and Colonel Moryson, had been appointed commissioners to inquire into, and report on, the causes of Bacon's rebellion. They commenced their inquiries with an avowed prepossession in favor of the insurgents, and conducted them with the most indecent partiality. The temptations which their office presented to magnify the importance of their labors, by new and striking discoveries, and to prove, by censure of the late administration, that they had not been appointed its arbiters in vain, cooperated, no doubt, to produce the malignity and injustice which they displayed in a degree that would otherwise seem quite unaccountable. Instead of indemnifying, or even applauding, they discountenanced the loyalists who had rallied in the time of danger round the person of the governor; and, having invited all the persons who had been engaged in the insurrection to come forward and state their grievances without fear, and unequivocally demonstrated the favorable acceptance which such representations might expect, they revived in the colony all the angry passions that had been so happily composed, and collected a mass of senseless and inconsistent complaints which had never been uttered before, and which they compiled into a body of charges against Sir William Berkeley and his council.* While their folly or malignity thus tended to rekindle the dissensions of the colonists, their intemperance involved them in a dispute that united all parties against themselves. Having violently taken the records of the assembly out of the hands of its clerk, the house, incensed at this insult, demanded satisfaction from Jefferys; and when he appealed to the authority of the great seal of England, under which the commissioners acted, they declared to him, in language worthy of the descendants of Englishmen, and the parents of Americans, "that such a breach of privilege could not be commanded under the great seal, because they could not find that any king of England had ever done so in former times." The spirit of the assembly will appear the more commendable if we consider that a body of regular troops, the first that had ever been sent to Virginia, were now stationed in the colony under the command of Sir John Berry. Informed of this proceeding, the king, in strains that rival the arrogance of his father and grandfather, commanded the governor "to signify the royal indignation at this seditious declaration, and to give the leaders marks of the royal displeasure." Berry and Moryson soon after returned to England, leaving the colony in a state of ferment, and all parties disgusted and disappointed.

To the other causes of discontent, was added the burden of supporting the soldiery, who receiving no remittances of pay from England, lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants. Their impatience, however, was mitigated by the friendly and prudent demeanor of an aged officer, and venerable man, Sir Henry Chicheley, to whom, as lieutenant governor, the administration devolved on the death of Jefferys: [1678,] and as, during his presidency, the large and improvident grants of the crown that had been so much complained of were recalled, and some other grievances corrected, a short gleam of prosperity was shed on the colony, and an interval of comparative repose gave the people time to breathe before the resumption of tyranny with a violence which wa to endure till the era of the revolution.

It was not to the intentions of the king that the colonists were indebted for the mild administration of Sir Henry Chicheley. Charles had sometime before conferred the government on Lord Culpepper, who though very willing to accept the important office, showed so little readiness to perform the duties of it, that it was not till he had been reprimanded by the king for his neglect, that he at length made his voyage to Virginia. [1680.] His administration was conducted with the same arbitrary spirit that the royal government had now begun to exercise without control in the mother country. Having wrested from the assembly the nomination of its own most confidential officer, the secretary who kept its journals; having abolished the power it had hitherto exercised of arbitrating appeals from the decisions of the provincial judicatories; and having endeavored to silence all complaint of his tyranny by establishing a law that prohibited, under the severest penalties, all disrespectful speeches against the governor or his administration, he returned, after a very short stay in Virginia, to enjoy in England the money he had contrived to divert from the revenues of the colonial government. Yet on this ignoble lord did the king confer the commission of governor for life, and a salary twice as large as the emoluments of Sir William Berkeley. The irritation which his proceedings had created, sharpened the sense of the hardships which the colonists were now enduring from the depressed price of tobacco; and at length the public impatience exploded in a tumultuary attempt to destroy all the new tobacco plantations that threatened to increase the depression of price by multiplying still farther the quantities of produce. [1682.] The insurrection might have proceeded to very serious extremities, if the prudence and vigor of Sir Henry Chicheley had not again been exerted to compose the public discontent, and preserve the peace of the colony. To a mind influenced by liberal justice, or susceptible of humane impressions, this short and feeble insurrection was powerfully recommended to an indulgent consideration. It was but a momentary expression of popular impatience created by undoubted suffering: and the earnest, though ineffectual addresses by which the assembly had recently solicited from the king a prohibition of the increase of tobacco plantations, had both suggested and seemed to sanction the object to which the violence of the rioters was directed. But to the king it appeared in the light of an outrage which his dignity could not suffer to pass without a severe vindictive retribution; and Lord Culpepper, again obeying the royal mandate to proceed to Virginia, caused a number of the insurgents to be tried for high treason: and by a series of bloody executions diffused that terror which tyrants denominate tranquillity. Having thus enforced a submission, no less unpropitious to the colony than the ferment which had attended his former departure, Lord Culpepper again set sail for England, where he was immediately ordered into confinement for returning without leave; and on a charge of misappropriating the colonial revenues was shortly after arraigned before a jury, and in consequence of their verdict, deprived of his commission.

In displacing this nobleman, it was the injury done to himself, and not the wrongs of the colony, that Charles intended to redress. The last act of his royal authority, of which Virginia was sensible, was the appointment of a successor to Culpepper, in Lord Effingham, [1683,] whose character was very little, if at all, superior, and whom, among other instructions, he expressly commanded to suffer no person within the colony to make use of a printing press on any occasion or pretence whatsoever. Along with the new governor was sent a frigate, which was appointed to be stationed on the coast for the purpose of enforcing a stricter execution of the navigation act than that obnoxious measure had yet been able to obtain.

[1685.] On the death of Charles the Second, his successor, James, was proclaimed in Virginia with demonstrations of joy, expressive less of the acquaintance of the colonists with the character of their new sovereign, than of that impatient hope with which men, under the pressure of extreme discontent, are ready to hail any change as desirable. Acclamations much more expressive of hope and joy had attended the commencement of the preceding reign: and if the hopes that were entertained on the present occasion were more moderate, they were not on that account the less fallacious. The colonists soon learned with regret, that in his first parliament James had procured the imposition of a tax on the consumption of tobacco in England; and in imploring the suspension of this tax, which threatened still farther to depreciate their only commodity, they descended to an abjectness of entreaty which produced no other effect than to embitter their disgust with the consciousness of unavailing degradation. Though the assembly was compelled to present an address of felicitation to the king on the defeat of Monmouth's invasion of England, the colonists found an opportunity of indulging very different sentiments on that occasion in the kindness with which they treated those of the insurgents whom James, from a satiety of bloodshed, which he termed the plenitude of royal mercy, appointed to be transported to the plantations; and even the assembly paid no regard to the signification of the royal desire that they should frame a law to prevent these unfortunate persons from redeeming themselves from the servitude to which they had been consigned. This conduct, however, of the colonists and their assembly, in so far as it was not prompted by simple humanity, indicated merely their dissatisfaction with the king's treatment of themselves, and proceeded from no participation of their wishes or opinions in the designs of Monmouth. The general discontent was increased by the personal character of the governor, through whom the rays of royal influence were transmitted. Lord Effingham, like his predecessor, engrafted the vices of a sordid disposition on the arbitrary administration which he was appointed to conduct. He instituted a court of chancery, in which he himself presided as judge; and, besides multiplying and enhancing the fees attached to his own peculiar functions, he condescended to share with the clerks the meaner perquisites of ministerial offices. For some time he contrived to stifle the remonstrances which his extortions produced, by arbitrary imprisonment and other severities; but at length, the public displeasure became so general and uncontrollable, that he found it impossible

* Chalmers, p. 336, 7. Preface to Moryson's Edition of the Laws of Virginia. Life of Sir William Berkeley. [illegible] Chalmers, p. 328.

* The memory of Sir William Berkeley was defended against the misrepresentations of the commissioners, by his brother Lord Berkeley (Chalmers, p. 350), and his fame suffered no diminution from their report.

to prevent the complaints of the colony from being carried to England, for which country he in consequence resolved himself to embark, in order to be present at his own arraignment. [1688.] He was accompanied by Colonel Ludwell, whom the assembly had appointed their agent to advocate the complaints of his conduct and urge his removal.

But before the governor and his accuser arrived in England, the revolution which the tyranny of James at length provoked in that country, had transferred the allegiance of all parties to new sovereigns. The Virginians, though they readily acquiesced in the change, appear to have surveyed with very little emotion, an event which coincided with none of their anticipations, and to the production of which their concurrence had never been demanded. Whatever might be its remoter consequences, its immediate effect was forcibly to remind them of their own insignificance, as the appendages of a distant empire, whose political changes they were fated to follow, but unable to control. The most deep-seated and lasting grievances under which they labored having proceeded from the nation and the parliament, were such as the present event gave no promise of mitigating. Their immediate complaints were to be submitted to sovereigns of whom they knew absolutely nothing; and their late experience had abated their trust in princes, and their hope from changes of royalty. The coolness, then, with which the Virginians are said to have regarded the great event of the English revolution, so far from implying that their minds were not touched with a sense of freedom, may, with much greater probability, be referred to the ardor with which they cherished a regard for liberty, and the deliberate reflection with which they combined it. In some respects, too, the acts of the new government were very little calculated to convey to them more satisfactory impressions of the change that had taken place, or to excite their sympathy with the feelings of that portion of their fellow-subjects by whose exertions it had been effected. Notwithstanding the representations of Colonel Ludwell (who himself was gratified with the appointment of governor of Carolina,) King William, unwilling, and perhaps unable, to dispossess such of the officers of the old government as were willing to transfer their personal and official service to the new, continued Lord Effingham in the government of Virginia; but he never returned thither again, and as long as his commission was suffered to endure, the administration was conducted by a deputy governor. He was removed in the year 1692, and replaced by a successor still more obnoxious to the colonists, Sir Edmund Andros, whose tyrannical proceedings under the late reigns, in the government of other American provinces, more justly merited a capital punishment than continuance in office. If such appointments remind us that the English ministry was still composed of many of the persons who had dispensed patronage in the preceding reigns, they may also in part be accounted for by other considerations. Of the officers who were thus undeservedly retained, some pretended to great local experience and official ability. This was particularly the case with Sir Edmund Andros, whose administration proved highly beneficial to Virginia. And they excused the arbitrary proceedings they had conducted in the former reigns, by pleading the authority of the sovereign whose command they had obeyed—a plea which always finds favor with a king, when not opposed to wrongs which he deems personal to himself. Besides, the complaints of the colonists were not always accurate; for anger is a more copious than discriminating accuser. Justice suffered, as usual, from the passion and partiality with which it was contended for; and the guilty artfully availed themselves of the undiscerning rage they had provoked in their accusers, to defeat or enfeeble the charges they preferred. The insolence and severity, for example, that had pervaded the whole of Lord Effingham's government, had produced many representations of grievances in which the accusers had either neglected or been unable to discriminate between the legality of official acts, and the tyrannical demeanor or malignant motives of the party by whom they had been performed. Accordingly, while some of the remonstrances which the Virginians transmitted to England by Colonel Ludwell were complied with, there were others that produced only explanations, by which the Assembly was given to understand that it had mistaken certain points of English constitutional law.*

In the infancy of a free state, collisions and disputes not unfrequently arise from the discordant claims of the different branches of its constitution, before time has given consistence to the whole, and those limits which reason finds it difficult to assign to the respective parts, have been determined by the convenience of practice and the authority of precedent.

The revolution of the British government, both in its immediate and its remote operation, was attended with consequences highly beneficial to Virginia, in common with all the existing states of America. Under the patronage, and by the pecuniary aid, of William and Mary, the college which had been projected in the reign of James the First was established. The political institutions under which the manly character of Englishmen is formed, had already been planted in the soil to which so large a portion of their race had migrated: the literary and religious institutions, by which that character is refined and improved, were now, in like manner, transported to Virginia; and a fountain opened within her own territory which promised to dispense to her children the streams of science and the water of life.

But the most certain and decisive influence which the British revolution exercised on the condition of the colonies, consisted in the abridgment and almost total overthrow of their dependence on the personal character of the sovereign. A conservative principle was infused by this great event into the British constitution at home, and into all the shoots from the parent stem that had been planted in the settlements abroad. The permanence and the supremacy which the parliament acquired in Britain, extended the constitutional superintendence of this body to every subordinate organ of popular privileges; and if in the oppression of their trade, the provinces of America still continued to feel the harsh dominion, in the security of their legislative constitutions they now began to experience the powerful protection of the strong. The king still continued to appoint the governors of Virginia and of some of the other settlements; and men of sordid dispositions and of weak or profligate character were frequently the objects of this branch of the royal patronage. But the powers of these officers were abridged and defined; and the influence of the colonial assemblies was able to restrain, and even overawe, the most vigorous administration of the executive functionaries. Whatever evil influence a wicked or artful governor might exert on the harmony of the people among themselves, or their good will towards the authority which he represented, he could commit no serious inroad on the constitution of the province over which he presided. From this period an equal and impartial policy distinguished the British dominion over the American provinces: the diminution of the personal influence of the sovereign put an end to the inequalities of treatment that were produced by the different degrees of favor with which he regarded the religious or political sentiments of the people of the respective states, and consequently extinguished, or at least greatly abated, the jealousies they had hitherto entertained of each other. A farther abatement of the mutual jealousies of the states was produced by the religious toleration which the provincial governments were henceforward compelled to observe. Even when intolerant statutes were permitted to subsist, their enforcement was disallowed; and the principles cherished in one state could no longer be persecuted in another.

We have now to transfer our inquiries to the rise of the other colonies in North America which were founded antecedently to the British Revolution, and to trace their separate progress till that era. But before withdrawing our undivided attention from this, the earliest of the settlements, I shall subjoin a few particulars of its civil and domestic condition at the period at which we have now arrived.

Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances to which the colony had been exposed in a greater or less degree ever since the Restoration, the number of its inhabitants had continued to increase. The deputies that were sent to Charles the Second in 1675, represented the population to amount, at that time, to 50,000 persons. If their statement were not exaggerated (as I think it probably was) we must suppose that Bacon's rebellion, and the subsequent tyranny, gave a very severe check to this rapid increase; for I think there is no reason to suppose that the colony contained a much greater number than 50,000 at the Revolution of 1688.* From a table appended to the first edition of Beverley's History, it appears, that, in 1703, the population of Virginia (exclusive of 800 French refugees sent over by King William) amounted to 60,606 souls. Of this number, 20,023 were *titheables* (a denomination embracing all white men above the age of sixteen, and all negro slaves, male and female, above that age), and 35,583 children of both races, and white women. Many circumstances contributed to give free scope to the increase of the colonial population, and to counterbalance the influence of commercial restraint and despotic administration. The healthfulness of the settlement had greatly increased; and the diminution of disease not only shut up the drain that had been originallly created by a frequent mortality, but rendered the general strength more available to the general support. The use of tobacco now prevailed extensively in Europe; and the diminution of its price was in some degree compensated by the increased demand for it. In 1671 it was computed, that, on an average, 80 vessels came annually from England and Ireland to Virginia for tobacco In 1675 there were exported from Virginia above 23,000 hogsheads of tobacco, and in the following year upwards of 2000 more. In this latter year the customs on tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, collected in England, amounted to 135,000*l.* Sir William Berkeley rates the number of the militia, in the year 1681, at nearly 8000, and adds, that the people were too poor to afford an equipment of cavalry. In the year 1680 the militia amounted to 8568, of whom 1300 served as cavalry. Our estimate, however, of the increased wealth which the cavalry establishment seems to indicate, must be abated by the consideration of the increased exertions which the Indian war and Bacon's rebellion had rendered necessary. In the year 1703, we learn from Beverley, that the militia amounted to 9522, of whom 2363 were light horse, and the remainder foot and dragoons; and that, as few of the planters were then destitute of horses, it was considered that the greater part of them might, if necessary, be converted into dragoons. In 1722 he calculates the numbers of the militia at 18,000 men. Every freeman (a denomination embracing all the inhabitants except the slaves and the indented servants) from sixteen to sixty years of age, was enrolled in the militia; and as the people were accustomed all their lives to shoot in the woods, they were universally expert in the use of firearms. The militia was commanded by the governor, whose salary was 1000*l.* a year, till the appointment of Lord Culpepper, who, on the plea of peerage, procured it to be doubled.

The twelve councillors, as well as the governor, were appointed by the king; and a salary of 350*l.* was assigned to the whole body, which they divided in proportion to the public services which each performed. In all matters of importance the concurrence of the council with the governor was indispensably requisite. The Colonial Assembly was composed of the councillors, who termed themselves the Upper House, and exercised the privilege of the English House of Lords, and the burgesses, who were elected by the freemen of the respective counties, and performed the functions of the House of Commons, receiving wages proportioned to their services, and derived, like all the other colonial salaries, from the colonial taxes. Until the year 1680. the several branches of the assembly had formed one deliberative body; but in that year the councillors separated themselves from the burgesses, and formed a distinct house. In conjunction with the governor, the councillors formed the supreme tribunal of the province, from whose judgments, however, in all cases involving more than 300*l.*, an appeal lay to to the king and privy council of England. In 1681 the province contained twenty counties; in 1703 it contained twenty-five. A quit rent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land was paid by the planters to the crown.

In the year 1688, the province contained forty-eight parishes, embracing upwards of 200,000 acres of appropriated land. A church was built in every parish, and a house and glebe assigned to the clergyman, along

* Beverley, p. 90, 91. 94. 96. Chalmers, 347, 8. 359. One of the grievances complained of by the assembly of Virginia was, that Lord Effingham having, by a proclamation, declared the royal dissent to an act of assembly which repealed a former law, gave notice that the abrogated law was now in force. This was erroneously deemed by the assembly an act of legislation.

* Dr. Robertson, indeed, states the population of Virginia at the Revolution to have exceeded 60,000 persons, and professes to derive his statement from Chalmers. But the reference is erroneous; and that the statement itself is no less so, seems to follow, by very strong inference, from Beverley's table, mentioned in the text. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of that table; and consistently with it, we cannot admit the accuracy of Robertson's estimate, without believing that the colony had added 20,000 to its numbers in the course of seventeen years, notwithstanding the ravages of civil war and the distress occasioned by tyrannical government, and only about 600 to its numbers during fifteen subsequent years of increased freedom and prosperity:

The Abbe Raynal has so carelessly considered Beverley's table, as to have added 6000 to its returns, and to have supposed this the amount of the white population alone. This error has led him to waste his ingenuity in conjecturing the causes why the population of Virginia never afterwards increased so rapidly.

with a stipend, which was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco. This mode of remuneration obviously tends to give a secular cast to the life and character of the ministers, and to entangle them with concerns remote from their spiritual warfare. The equalization which it proposes to effect is quite fallacious; the different degrees of fertility of different parishes rendering the burden unequal to the people, and the very different quality of the tobacco produced in different soils, making the remuneration unequal to the clergy. The presentation to the livings, prior to the English Revolution, belonged to the governor, but was generally usurped or controlled by the parishioners. After the Revolution it devolved into the hands of parochial vestries, which, though originally elected by the people, came, in process of time, to exercise the power of supplying vacancies in their numbers by their own appointment. The bishop of London was accounted the diocesan of the province; and a resident commissary (generally a member of the council) appointed by that prelate, presided over the clergy, with the power of convoking, censuring, and even suspending them in cases of neglect or immorality. The doctrines and rites of the church of England were established by law; attendance on divine worship at the parochial churches, and the observance of the sacraments of the church, enjoined under heavy penalties; the preaching of dissenters, and the participation in the ordinances of dissenting congregations, were prohibited, and subjected to various degrees of punishment. There was one bloody law, which subjected quakers returning from banishment to the punishment of death; but no execution ever took place in consequence of this enactment, and it was repealed soon after the revolution of 1688. The other laws were not then repealed, but they were no longer enforced; and though the statute-book continued to prohibit the preaching and practices of dissenters, the prohibition was utterly disregarded, and liberty of conscience practically realized. In 1688, almost the whole body of the people belonged to the established church. Other opinions and practices, however, began to arise, and were aided probably by the influence of the free schools, of which a considerable number were founded and endowed soon after that period; and the government being restrained from enforcing the intolerant laws, endeavored to cherish its own church establishment by heaping temporal advantages upon its ministers. This policy produced its usual fruits, and introduced so much indolence and worthlessness into the order of the state clergy, that at the era of the American revolution two-thirds of the inhabitants of Virginia had become dissenters, and were subject, on that account, to the ban of their own municipal law.

Of every just and humane system of laws, one main object should be to protect the weak against the strong, and to correct instead of confirming and perpetuating the inequalities of condition that from time to time arise from inequalities of strength, skill, success or virtue. This wise and benevolent principle must be sacrificed, to a considerable extent, in the code of every country where slavery is admitted. By the laws of Virginia, all persons brought into the colony by sea or land, not having been christians in their native country, were subjected to slavery, even though they might be converted to christianity after their arrival. A slave committing a capital crime was appointed to be tried by commissioners named by the governor, without the intervention of a jury; and if the punishment of death were inflicted, indemnification to the extent of the value of the slave was awarded from the public revenue to the master. In the year 1669, it was enacted that the death of a slave occasioned by the correction of a master, should not be accounted felony; "since it cannot be presumed," says the act, "that prepensed malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate." But experience has amply refuted this pernicious sophistry, which ascribes to absolute power a tendency to repress human irascibility, and accounts avarice and selfishness sufficient motives and sureties of justice, humanity, and liberality. Neither infidels nor negroes, mulattoes nor Indians, were allowed to purchase christian white servants; and if any person having christian white servants should marry an infidel, or a negro, mulatto, or Indian,* all such servants were made free. Any free white person intermarrying with a negro or mulatto, and any minister celebrating such marriage was punished with fine and imprisonment. It will excite the merriment of a satirist, the surprise of a philosopher, and the indignant concern of a christian, to find, combined with such inhuman and insolent laws, the strictest injunctions of the worship of that great pattern of love and humility who commanded his worshippers to do good to and honor all men; together with many solemn denunciations and penal enactments against *travelling on Sunday*, *profane cursing* or *profanely getting drunk*. But thus mankind attempt to unite what religion has sundered, the service of God and the service of mammon: and to sunder what religion has united, the rendering of glory to God and the demonstration of good will to men. Justices of the peace were commanded to hear and determine the complaints of all sorts of servants *except slaves*, against their masters; various regulations were made for securing mild and equitable treatment to indented servants; at the close of their period of service they received from their masters each a musket, a small sum of money, and a quantity of corn; but if during the currency of their term of service they should presume to marry without the consent of their master or mistress, they were punished with an additional year of servitude. All persons riotously assembling to the number of eight or more, for the purpose of destroying tobacco, were subjected to the pains of treason. Every person, not being a servant or slave, committing adultery or fornication, was, for the greater offence, fined 1000, for the lesser 500 pounds of tobacco. Women convicted of slander were ordered to be ducked, in default of their husbands' consenting to redeem them from immersion by payment of a fine. There being no inns in the country, strangers were entertained at the houses of the inhabitants, and were frequently involved in law-suits by the exorbitant claims of their hosts for indemnification of the expenses of their entertainment; for remedy whereof it was enacted, that an inhabitant neglecting in such circumstances to forewarn his guest, and to make an express paction with him, should be reputed to have entertained him from mere courtesy. All these laws continued in force long after the British Revolution.

It would appear, from the first of the statutes, that even their Indian neighbors coming into the territories of the state were liable to be made slaves by the colonists; and we are informed by Mr. Jefferson, that the practice of enslaving these people did at one time actually prevail. But with the Indian tribes situated in their immediate vicinity, and comprehended in the pacification effected by Colonel Jefferys, the colonists maintained relations more approaching to friendship and equality. The Indians paid, indeed, in conformity with the treaty of peace, an annual tribute of beaver skins to the colonial government. But their territories were ascertained by the treaty, and guaranteed to them so securely by law, that all bargains and sales by which the colonists might acquire or pretend right to any portion of them, were disallowed and declared null and void; and every wrong they might sustain at the hands of any of the colonists was punished in the same manner as if it had been done to an Englishman. By the aid of a donation from that illustrious philosopher and christian philanthropist, the honorable Robert Boyle, an attempt was made to render the institution, which, from its founders, has been called William and Mary College, subservient to the instruction of the Indians. Some young persons belonging to the friendly tribes received in this manner the elements of civil and religious education; and the colonists, sensible of the advantages they derived from the possession of those who might be considered hostages for the pacific demeanor of their parents, prevailed with some of the more remote nations of the Indians to send a few of their children to drink of the same fountain of knowledge. But as the pupils were restored to their respective tribes when they attained the age that fitted them for hunting and other warlike exercises, it is not likely that this institution produced any general or permanent impression on the character of the Indians, or made any adequate compensation for the destructive vices and diseases which the Europeans were unhappily much more successful in imparting. Attempts to convert barbarians very frequently disappoint their promoters; and not those only who have assisted the undertaking from secular ends, but those also who truly regarding the Divine glory in the end, disregard, at least in some measure, the Divine agency in the means. As an instrument of civilization, the preaching of the gospel will ever be found to disappoint all those who have no higher or ulterior views. In a civilized and christian land, the great bulk of the people are christians merely in name; reputation, convenience, and habit, are the sources of their profession; vices are so disguised, that the testimonies of christian preachers against them often miss their aim: and a seeming service of God is easily reconciled with, and esteemed a decent livery of, the real service of mammon. But among heathens and savages, a convert must change his way of life, overcome his habits, and forfeit his reputation; and none, or at least very few, become professors unless from the influence of real conviction, more or less lasting and profound. Those who remain unconverted, if they be honestly addressed by their missionaries, are incensed at the testimony against their evil deeds and evil nature; and the conduct of many professing christians among their civilized neighbors too often concurs to mislead and confirm them in error. But this topic will derive an ampler illustration from occurrences that relate to others of the North American States, than the early history of Virginia is fitted to supply.

Literature was not much cultivated in Virginia. There was not at this period, nor for many years after, a single bookseller's shop in the colony.* Yet a history of Virginia was written some years after by Beverley, a native of the province, who had taken an active part in public affairs prior to the Revolution of 1688. The first edition of this work in 1705, and a later edition in 1722, were published in England. Beverley is a brief and rather agreeable analist, and has appended to his narrative of events an ample account of the institutions of the province, and of the manners of the colonial and aboriginal inhabitants. He is chargeable with great ignorance and incorrectness in those parts of his narrative that embrace events occurring in England or elsewhere beyond the immediate precincts of Virginia. Only the initial letters of his name appear on the title-page of his book, whence Oldmixon was led into the mistake of supposing his name to have been *Bullock*; and in some of the critical catalogues of Germany he has received the erroneous appellation of *Bird*.† A much more enlarged and elaborate history of Virginia (but unfortunately carried no further down than the year 1624) was written at a later period by Stith, also a native of the province, and one of the governors of William and Mary College. Stith is a candid, accurate and accomplished writer; tediously minute in relating the debates in the Court of Proprietors of the Virginia Company, and their disputes with the king, but generally impressive and interesting. A manly and generous spirit pervades every page of his work, which was first published at Williamsburg in 1747.

Beverley warmly extols the hospitality of his countrymen; a commendation which the peculiar circumstances of their condition renders very generally credible, though the preamble of one of their laws, which we have already noticed, demonstrates that its application was by no means universal. He reproaches them with indolence, which he ascribes to their residence in scattered dwellings, and their destitution of that collected life which invigorates industry, excites active thought, and generates adventurous speculation. It may be ascribed also to the influence of slavery in augmenting pride and degrading labor. A life like that of the first Virginian colonists, remote from public haunt, unoccupied by a crowd of busy purposes, and sequestered from the intelligence of passing events, is the life of those to whom the company of strangers is peculiarly acceptable. All the other circumstances of such a lot contribute to the promotion of hospitable habits. As for many of their hours they can find no such interesting occupation, so for much of their superfluous produce they can find no more profitable use than the entertainment of visitors.‡ The interest which

* It would [illegible] to [illegible] the framers of this law [illegible] when the legislature of Virginia [illegible] a purpose of promoting, by a bounty, the intermarriages of the white inhabitants and the Indians. Yet a bill for this purpose was actually introduced into the assembly during the revolutionary war, and after having been twice read, was lost at the third reading in consequence of the absence of the member who had introduced it. Wirt's Life of Governor Henry, p. 241.

* The literature of North America was at this time monopolized almost entirely by New England. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Boston contained five printing offices and many booksellers' shops, there was but one bookseller's shop in New York, and not one in Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. Neal's History of New England, ii. 587. From the Memoirs of Dr. Franklin it appears that even at so late a period as the year 1670, there was not one good bookseller's shop in Pennsylvania.

† Warden, a late American writer, has repeated this error, and described as the production of Bird, what in reality was the first edition of Beverley's work.

‡ "Mr Jefferson told me that in his father's time it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road for the purpose of amicably waylaying and bringing to their houses any travellers who might chance to pass." Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States, 412.

all men feel in the concerns of their fellows, is refined and extended by crowded and polished society; in remote districts, especially if they be inhabited by men whose origin or recollections connect them with a distant country, it assumes the shape of an intense and somewhat indiscriminate curiosity—a quality for which the Americans have been always distinguished.

It was the remarkable and advantageous peculiarity of their local situation, that prevented a people so early devoted to commerce as the Virginians have been, from congregating in large towns, and forming crowded marts of trade. The same peculiarity belongs to that portion of their original territory that now forms the province of Maryland, and has there been attended with the same effect. The whole of that vast country is pervaded by numerous streams, that impart fertility to the land, and carry the produce they have nourished to the great highway of nations. From the bay of Chesapeak, where all these streams unite, the greater number of them afford an extensive navigation into the interior of the country; and the colonists, perceiving that in order to embark their produce they needed not to quit their plantations, but might load the merchant ships at the doors of their country warehouses, dispersed themselves along the banks of the rivers, and united the sweets of rural life with the advantages of commerce. Except the small town of Williamsburgh, which succeeded Jamestown as the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, no cities grew up for a very long period in either of these settlements. This state of life has proved highly favorable to those two great sources of national happiness, good morals, and the facility of gaining by industry a moderate competence and a respectable stake in society. The convicts who were transported to the colony, finding none of the opportunities of confederacy, vice, and shelter, that large towns afford, either quitted the settlement at the expiration of their periods of service; or, impressed with the advantages which the country so liberally held forth to industry and morality they melted into the mass of humble and respectable free laborers. To this important class of society the virtues of industry and economy were recommended by prizes both greater and nearer than any other country has ever presented. Labor was so valuable, and land so cheap, that a very few years of industry could promote the laborer to the rank of a proprietor;* none needed to despair of a competence; and none found it practicable to amass enormous wealth. Toil, no longer the badge of hopeless poverty, was respected as the certain passport to independence; nor was there among the free population any distinction of rank which industry and virtue were unable to surmount. A constant and general progression, effected without scramble or peril; gave a quiet alacrity to life; and fellow-feeling was not obstructed, nor insolence and servility engendered, by numerous instances of a wide inequality of condition; they were and are undoubtedly a happy people. But how happy had they been, had they rightly known their happiness; had they imbibed with the sweetness of their lot, the spirit of its author, and in the abundance of his goodness recognised the extent of his claims!

Two causes have contributed in this and others of the American provinces, to impede the operation and abridge the influence of circumstances so favorable to happiness and virtue. Of these, by far the most important is the institution of domestic slavery; an institution fraught with incalculable evil to the morals, manners, and felicity of every country into which it has gained admission. The slaves are reduced to a state of misery and degradation; to a state which has always been found so destructive to virtue, that in many languages a slave and a thief are expressed by the same word. The masters are justly loaded with the guilt of all the wretchedness and worthlessness which that state inevitably infers; every mind is tainted with the evil which it engenders and displays, and sustains an abatement either of happiness or virtue. Every master of a slave, whether he term himself citizen or subject, is a monarch endowed with more uncontrolled authority than any sovereign in Europe enjoys; and every country where slavery is admitted, whether it calls itself kingdom or republic, is a country subject to the dominion of tyrants. Nay, the more liberal its political constitution, the more severe in general is its system of domestic tyranny; for from the days of Sparta it has ever held true, that none are so completely enslaved as the slaves of the free. Human character is as much corrupted and depraved by the spirit of dominion as by the yoke of servitude; and slavery is a state wherein *one man ruleth over another to his own hurt*. The same wisdom which assigned to man his duties, adapted them to the developement of his understanding and the refinement of his sensibility. This adaptation is particularly visible in the duties that regulate the mutual intercourse of men. To violate therein the law of kindness and the principles of equity, is to warp the understanding* as well as to corrupt the heart; to lower the dignity of rational, and the happiness of sensible being. There is a continual reciprocation of evil between a master and his slaves. His injustice consigns them to their present state; and the evil qualities that this state engenders tend continually to provoke his irascibility. His power effects their degradation; and their degradation at once tempts and facilitates the excesses of his power. Hence the commerce between master and slave exercises and exhibits all that is hateful in human passion and contemptible in human conduct. The delicate susceptibility of women is exposed to the impression of this spectacle, and the imitative character of children formed amidst its continual display. The female slaves lose alike the virtues and the rights of women, and introduce into rural life the worst vices and most dangerous temptations of profligate cities. Every description of work that is committed to the slaves is performed with as much neglect and indolence as they dare to indulge, and is so degraded in common estimation, that the poorest freeman disdains to perform it except when he is working for himself. As the numbers of the slaves are multiplied, the industry of the free is thus depressed by the extension of slave labor, and the safety of the state is endangered by the strength of a body of internal enemies ready to conspire against its tranquillity or join its first invader.† The number of the slaves and gladiators contributed to the downfall of Rome: and indeed, every body politic, compounded of parts so heterogeneous as freemen and slaves, plainly contains within itself a principle of destruction. Such a mixture tends also to pervert and confound the moral sentiments of all mankind, and to degrade the value of those free institutions which are seen to form a canopy for the shelter of domestic tyranny, to mock one portion of the people with such liberty and dignity as jailors enjoy, and to load all the rest with such fetters as only felons should wear.

Such long consequences have guilt and injustice! The first introduction of slavery into a country plants an evil of which the full mischief is not felt till in an after age, when it has attained such an extent that its extirpation becomes almost impossible. This consideration, while it increases our abhorrence of a system so fraught with evil and danger, abates the severity of our censure on those to whom the system already matured by long endurance has unfortunately descended. And even with regard to the race who first introduced it, we shall not fulfil the duty of fellow-men, if we omit to consider the apologies which probably misled their understandings, and veiled from their view the wickedness they committed and the misery they introduced. The negroes that were first brought to Virginia were enslaved before they came there, and by the purchase of the colonists were delivered from the hold of a slave ship and the cruelty of the Dutch. When slaves were neither numerous nor formidable, they appear to have been kindly treated;* and their masters perhaps intended to emancipate them at that convenient season for adjusting the accounts of interest and conscience, which every added year and every addition to their numbers tended still farther to postpone. So great is the deceivableness of unrighteousness.

Negro slavery lingered long in the settlements of the puritans in New England, and of the quakers in Pennsylvania; Las Casas, so distinguished by his compassion for the unfortunate, first suggested its introduction into Mexico and Peru; George Fox, the most intrepid and enthusiastic of reformers, demanded no more of his followers than a mitigation of its severity in Barbadoes; and John Locke, the glory of modern philosophy, and the champion of religious and political freedom, introduced it into the fundamental constitutions of Carolina. Considerations such as these are calculated to increase at once our charity for mankind, and our abhorrence of that insidious and formidable evil which has so signally baffled the penetration of the wise, and triumphed over the beneficence of the humane.

It is in those colonial plantations where the residence of the free inhabitants is merely temporary, that slavery exhibits its worst features, and produces its most debasing effects. Wherever a respectable stationary population of freemen exists, a restraining principle arises to control and qualify those evil consequences. The harsher slave laws have been long since repealed in Virginia, and the treatment of the slaves in this province has long been noted for comparative mildness. An Englishman who should suppose that humanity and delicacy could not exist in a province where slavery prevailed, would commit as great a practical error as an American who should maintain the incompatibility of the same qualities with those spectacles of vice and misery exhibited in the great towns and public places of England. In both countries, doubtless, human character is evil affected by the contemplation of evil; but in both, the taint is obstructed by delusions that disguise, by humanity that deplores, or by virtue that labors to mitigate and finally efface the evil.

The other cause to which I have alluded, as having exercised an unfavorable influence on the prosperity of Virginia, is the inordinate cultivation of tobacco. As long as Virginia and Maryland were the only provinces of North America where this commodity was produced, their inhabitants devoted themselves almost exclusively to a culture which is attended with much inconvenience to those engaged in it, and no small disadvantage to their country even when moderately pursued. It requires unusually fatiguing labor from the cultivators, and exhausts the fertility of the soil: and as little food of any kind is raised on the tobacco plantations, the men and cattle employed on them are badly fed, and the soil gradually impoverished. This evil continued long to be felt in Virginia; but has been diminished by the introduction into the markets of Europe of the tobacco produce of territories more recently cultivated.

BOOK II.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES

CHAPTER I.

Attempts of the Plymouth Company to colonize the Northern Coasts of America—Popham establishes a colony at Fort Saint George—Sufferings and Return of the Colonists—Captain Smith's Voyage and Survey of the Country—which is named New England—His ineffectual Attempt to conduct a Colony thither—The Company relinquish the Design of colonizing New England—History and Character of the Puritans—Rise of the Brownists or Independents—A Congregation of Independents retire to Holland—they resolve to settle in America—their negotiation with King James—they arrive in Massachusetts—and found New Plymouth—Hardships—and Virtue of the Colonists—Their civil Institutions—Community of Property—Increase of civil and ecclesiastical Tyranny in England—Project of a new Colony in Massachusetts—Salem built—Charter of Massachusetts Bay obtained from Charles the First by an Association of Puritans—Embarkation of the Emigrants—Arrival at Salem—Their Constitution in Church and State—Two Persons banished from the Colony for Schism—Intolerance of some of the Puritans.

[1606.] When James the First gave his sanction to the project of colonizing the vast district of North America which was comprehended at that time under the name of Virginia, he made a partition of the

* "I remember the time when five pound was left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish he lived in; and it lay nine years before the executors could find one poor enough to be entitled to any part of this legacy; and at last it was all given to one old woman. So that this may in truth be termed the best poor man's country in the world." Beverley, B. iv. p. 39.

* An illustration of this remark may, perhaps, be derived from the apologetic theory which philosophical slave owners have introduced into the world, that the negroes are a separate and inferior race of men—a notion by which the degradation that men inflict on their fellows by reducing them to the level of the brute creation, is charged on Him who made man in the image of the Godhead, and whose word assures us that he fashioned all souls alike. Interest and pride harden the heart; the deceitfulness of the heart perverts the understanding; and men find it agreeable to consider those as brutes whom they think it convenient to treat as such. The best refutation of this theory that I have ever seen is the production of an American writer. It occurs in Dr. S. Smith's interesting "Essay on the causes of the variety of figure and complexion in the human species."

† "I tremble for my country," says Mr. Jefferson, in his observations on the slave population of this province, "when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." Notes on Virginia, p. 173. Seneca relates that it was once proposod at Rome to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar habit; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers. This information is conveyed to the negroes by their color; and this color being always a mark of contempt, even those negroes who become free in countries where their race is generally enslaved, continue allied both by the most irritating feelings and by the sympathy they must entertain for men of the same complexion, with all those who remain in a state of bondage.

* The treatment of slaves at Rome, latterly distinguished by the most enormous cruelty, was originally kind and humane. Plutarch. Life of Coriolanus.

territory between two trading companies, and established the residence of the one at London, and of the other at Plymouth. If the object of this partition was to diminish the inconvenience of monopoly, and diffuse the benefit of colonial relations more extensively in England, the means were very ill adapted to the end, consequently, the effect was far from corresponding with the design. The resources of the adventurers who had already prepared to undertake colonial projects were divided so unequally, and yet so much to the disadvantage of all parties, that the more powerful company found its vigor and success considerably abridged, while the weaker, without ability to effect the purpose of its association, retained only the privilege of debarring others from attempting it. We have seen that the southern colony, though promoted by a company which reckoned among its members some of the richest and most powerful men in the state, and enjoyed the advantage of being situated in the place which then absorbed almost all the commercial wealth and activity of England, was yet enabled, with all these advantages, to make but slow and laborious advances to a secure establishment. The Plymouth company possessing much narrower resources, and a very inferior situation, its efforts were proportionally feeble and unavailing.

The most eminent members of the Plymouth company were Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Governor of Plymouth fort, and Sir John Gilbert, the nephew of the first patentee, and leader of emigrants to America. Animated by the zeal of these men, and especially of Popham, who assumed the principal direction of their proceedings, the Plymouth company very early despatched a small vessel to inspect their territories; but had soon the mortification of learning that it had been attacked and captured by the Spaniards, who still pretended a right to exclude every other people from the navigation of the American seas. The chief justice and his friends, however, were too much bent on the prosecution of their purpose to be discouraged by this disaster. At his own expense, Popham quickly despatched another vessel to resume the survey; and having received a favorable report of the appearances of the country, he availed himself of the intelligence to raise a sufficient supply of men and money for the formation of a colony. [1607.] Under the command of his brother, Henry Popham, and of Raleigh Gilbert, brother of Sir John, two vessels freighted with a hundred emigrants proceeded to the territory of what was still called Northern Virginia, and landing in autumn, they took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagahadoc, where they built Fort Saint George. The district where they established themselves was rocky and barren, and their provisions so scanty, that they were obliged, soon after their arrival, to send back all but forty-five of their own number. The winter proved extremely severe, and confined this small remnant to their miserable dwelling, and a helpless contemplation of the dreary waste that surrounded them. Disease, the offspring of famine and hardship, augmented the general gloom; and, before the return of Spring, several of their number, and among others their president, Henry Popham, had sunk into the grave. With the spring arrived a vessel with supplies from England, but the intelligence that accompanied these supplies more than counterbalanced the satisfaction they afforded; for the colonists were now informed of the deaths of Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, the most powerful of their patrons, and most active of their benefactors. Their resolution was completely vanquished by so many misfortunes; and all exclaiming against longer continuance in scenes so dismal, they forsook the settlement and returned to England, [1608,] which they filled with the most disheartening accounts of the soil and climate of Northern Virginia. The American historians are careful to note that this disastrous expedition originated with the judge who three years before had presided, with the most scandalous injustice, at the trial of Raleigh, and condemned to an infamous death, the man to whom England and America had been so highly indebted.*

The frustration of this enterprise, and the evil report that was raised against the land, deterred the company for some time from any further attempt to erect a settlement in Northern Virginia, and produced an impression on the minds of the people very unfavorable to emigration to that territory. For several years, the adventures of the company were confined to a few fishing voyages to Cape Cod, and a traffic in peltry and oil with the natives. At length their prospects were cheered by a gleam of better fortune; and the introduction of Captain Smith into their service seemed to betoken more vigorous and successful enterprise. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and some other leading members of the Plymouth Company, justly appreciating the merit of this extraordinary man, made haste to appropriate his valuable services, which the Virginia Company had so unworthily neglected. [1614.] Six years after the return of the settlers at Sagahadoc, two vessels were despatched, under the command of Captain Smith and Captain Hunt, on a voyage of trade and discovery to the company's territories. Smith, having concluded his traffic with the natives, left his crew engaged in fishing on the coast, and, accompanied by only eight men, travelled into the interior of the country, surveyed its condition, explored with great care and diligence the whole coast, from Cape Cod to Penobscot, and composed a map, in which its appearance was accurately delineated. On his return to England, he presented his map, with an account of his travels and observations, to Prince Charles, who was so much pleased with the country, that he bestowed on it the name of New England, which it has ever since retained.

The success of Captain Smith's voyage, and the favorable accounts that he gave of the country, though they contributed not a little to stimulate the vigor of commercial adventure, could not overcome the general aversion to a permanent settlement in the territory, which the misfortunes of the first colonists had created in England, and which was appointed to preserve that corner of the Almighty's creation for the inhabitation of the most faithful and oppressed of his people. The impediments to a colonial establishment in New England were greatly increased by the conduct of Hunt, who had been associated with Smith in the late voyage. This sordid and profligate man, unwilling that the benefit of the existing narrow traffic with the company's territories, which was exclusively shared by himself and a few others who were aware of its advantages, should be more generally diffused by the formation of a colony, resolved to defeat the design by embroiling his countrymen with the natives; and for this purpose, having enticed a number of these people on board his ship, he set sail with them for Malaga, where he had been ordered to touch on his homeward voyage, and sold them for slaves to the Spaniards. The company, indignant at his wickedness, instantly dismissed him from their service; but the mischief was done, and the next vessel that returned from New England brought intelligence of the vindictive hostilities of the savages. Undismayed by all these difficulties and dangers, Smith determined to make an effort for the colonization of the northern territory; and having infused his own resolute hope and courage into some of the leading patentees, he was enabled, by their assistance, to equip a small squadron, [1615,] and set sail at the head of a body of emigrants for New England. Thus far could energy prevail; but in a struggle with fate, farther advancement was impracticable; and Captain Smith, having now accomplished all that man could do, was destined to experience that all was unavailing. The voyage was one uninterrupted scene of disaster. After encountering a violent tempest, by which the vessels had nearly perished, Smith found his authority invaded by the mutinous disposition of his crew; and in this situation he fell an easy prey to a squadron of French pirates, who confiscated his ships, and detained him long in captivity. It was happy for himself and for mankind that he lived to return to his country, and write the history of his travels, instead of reaching New England; where his blood would probably have stained the land which his talent and virtue had contributed to illustrate. [1619.] Several years afterwards, the company having discovered that an Indian named *Squanto*, one of the persons whom Hunt had kidnapped, had escaped from the Spaniards, and found his way to Britain, acquitted themselves to his satisfaction of the injury he had suffered, loaded him with kindness, and sent him back to New England, along with a small expedition commanded by one Dormer, who was instructed to avail himself of Squanto's assistance in regaining the friendship of the Indians. But although Squanto earnestly endeavored to conciliate the minds of his countrymen, and assured them that Hunt's treachery had been reprobated and punished in England, they refused to be pacified, and watching a favorable opportunity, attacked and dangerously wounded Dormer and many of his party, who, escaping with difficulty from the hostile region, left Squanto behind to enforce at more leisure and with better success his topics of apology and conciliation. Disgusted by so many disappointments, the company laid aside all farther thoughts of establishing colonies in New England. An insignificant traffic bounded their own adventures; and they made no other exercise of their dominion over the territory than by disposing of small portions of the northern quarter of it to private adventurers, who occupied them in summer as mercantile factories or victualling stations for the uses of vessels resorting there for trade.

We have sufficient assurance that the course of this world is not governed by chance; and that the series of events is regulated by divine ordinance, and adapted to wise though often inscrutable purposes. As it could not then be without design, so it seems to have been for no common object that discomfiture was thus entailed on the counsels of princes, the schemes of the wise, and the efforts of the brave. It was for no ordinary people that the land was reserved, and of no common qualities or vulgar superiority that it was ordained to be the prize. New England was the destined asylum of oppressed piety and liberty of conscience; and its colonization, denied to the pretensions of greatness and the efforts of might, was reserved for men whom the great and mighty despised for their littleness, overcome from their weakness, and persecuted for their integrity. The recent growth of the Virginian colony, and the repeated attempts to form a settlement in New England, naturally turned to this quarter the eyes of men who felt little reluctance to forsake a country where, for conscience's sake, they had already incurred the loss of all things; whom persecution had fortified to the endurance of hardship, and piety had taught to despise it. It was at this juncture accordingly, that the project of colonizing New England was undertaken by the puritans; a body of men of whose rise, sentiments, and previous history, it is proper that we here subjoin some account.

Of all the national churches of Europe, which at the era of the Reformation renounced the doctrine and revolted from the dominion of the see of Rome, there was none in which the origin of the reform had been so discreditable, or the immediate proceedings to which it gave rise so unreasonable and inequitable as the church of England. This arose partly from the circumstance of the reform in this church having originated exclusively with the temporal magistrate,* and partly from the character of the individual by whom this interposition of magisterial authority was employed. In the Palatinate, in Brandenburgh, Holland, Geneva, and Scotland, where the reform proceeded from the general conviction, the doctrine and constitution of the national church corresponded with the religious sentiments of the people. The biblical christianity taught by Calvin and Luther (with varieties occasioned by variety of human weakness and inequality of attainment) superseded the traditional dogmas of the church of Rome; and the primitive simplicity of the presbyterian administration (with similar varieties of similar origin) superseded the pompous pageantry of her ecclesiastical constitution. In England, the reformation originating from a very different source, its institutions received a strong tincture from qualities proportionally different. The same haughty and imperious disposition that had prompted Henry the Eighth to abolish the authority of the church of Rome in his dominions, regulated all his proceedings in constructing a substitute for the system he had taken away. Abetted by a crew of servile dependants and sordid nobles, whom he enriched with the spoils of the plundered monasteries, and by a compliant House of Commons, whose pro-

* It has been asserted by a host of English writers that, owing to this interposition of the magistrate, the invasion of supposed rights and established possessions that ensued on the Reformation was conducted with much greater sobriety and equity in England than in Scotland. The very reverse, appears to me a juster proposition. Henry's robberies of the ecclesiastical orders were the more inequitable in proportion to their deliberation. The Scotch populace rose in tumultuous indignation against their oppressors. Henry trampled on the defenceless, and arrayed his rapine in the solemn apparel of the acts of state. The explosions of popular justice are attended with a marked violence, and have but a short-lived duration. As palpable deviations from the ordinary line of human action, their influence does not affect general morality. The actings of despotism cover their violence with a grave disguise; and associating them with principles and precedents, render their evil fatality permanent.

fession of faith veered about with every variation of the royal creed, he paid no respect whatever, in the institutions which he successively established, to the sentiments of the body of the people—a portion of his subjects to whose petitions he once answered, by a public proclamation, that they were "but brutes and inexpert folk," and as unfit to advise him as blind men were to judge of colors. His object was to substitute himself and his successors as heads of the church in place of the pope; and for the maintenance of this usurped dominion, he retained, both in the ceremonies of worship and the constitution of the ministry, a great deal of the machinery which his predecessor in the supremacy had found useful. The vehemence of his character detracted somewhat from the policy of his devices, and very much abated their politic appearance by that show of good faith and sincerity which accompanied all his actions, and which was but the natural result of sincere and vehement selfishness, and an undoubting conviction of the superiority of his understanding and the infallibility of his judgment.* While he rigidly denied the right of private judgment to his subjects, his own inordinate exercise of this right continually tempted them to partake the satisfaction it seemed to afford him; and the frequent variations of the creeds he imposed, at once excited a spirit of speculation akin to his own, and practically refuted the only pretence that could entitle his judgment to the implicit assent of fallible men. The pope, expressly maintaining that he could never be in the wrong, was disabled from correcting both his own errors and those bequeathed to him by his predecessors. Henry, merely pretending to the privilege of being always in the right, defeated this pretension by the variety and inconsistency of the creeds to which he applied it. While he insisted on retaining much of the peculiar doctrine of the church of Rome, he attacked, in its infallibility, a doctrine not only highly important in itself, but the sole sanction and foundation of a great many others. Notwithstanding all his exertions, and aided indeed by some part of his own conduct, a spirit of religious inquiry began to arise among the multitude of professors who blindly or interestedly had followed the fortunes and the variations of the royal creed: and the knowledge of divine truth, combined with an ardent regard for simplicity of divine worship arising first in the higher classes, spread downwards through the successive grades of society in this and the following reigns. The administration of inquisitorial oaths, and the infliction in various instances of decapitation, torture, and burning, for the crime of heresy during Henry's reign, demonstrate how fully he had embraced the character as well as the pretensions of the Romish see,† and how ineffectually he had labored to impose his own heterogeneous creed on the understandings of his subjects. Even in his lifetime, the protestant doctrines had spread far beyond the limits of his own creed; and in their illegitimate extent had made numerous proselytes in his court and kingdom. The propagation of them was aided by the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, which he vainly endeavored to prevent, and which enabled his people to draw truth for themselves unstinted and unadulterated from its everlasting wells. The open profession of these illicit opinions was in many instances repressed by the terror of his inflexible cruelty, and by the influence over his measures which his lay and clerical courtiers found it easy to obtain by feigning implicit submission to his capricious and imperious temper. The temptations which these men were exposed to proved fatal in some instances to their virtue; and several of them (even the virtuous Cranmer) thought themselves obliged though reluctantly to concur in punishing by fire and faggot the open profession of the sentiments which they secretly cherished in their own breasts. They were afterwards compelled themselves to drink of the same cup; and enabled to make some atonement to the cause of truth by the heroism with which, in Mary's bloody reign, they suffered for the doctrines which they had persecuted before.

By the death of Henry the Eighth, his protestant subjects were exempted from the necessity of farther dissimulation. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the catholic doctrines were expunged from the national creed, and the fundamental articles of the protestant faith recognised and established by law. As among the other practices of the preceding reign, the weak and wicked policy of enforcing uniformity of faith and worship by persecution was still retained, the influence of temporal fear and favor contributed, no doubt, to encumber the protestant church with many reluctant and hypocritical professors. In the hope of reconciling the minds of men as extensively as possible to the system which they had established, the ministers of Edward preserved not only the ecclesiastical constitution which Henry had retained, but as much of the ancient ceremonial of worship as they thought would gratify the taste and predilections of minds that still hankered after catholic pageantry. They rather yielded to the necessity of the times, than indulged their own sentiments or followed out their principles; and pretty plainly insinuated their opinion, that whenever the times could bear it, a further reformation should be introduced into the establishment, by inserting a prayer to that purpose in the Liturgy. But in this attempt, the rulers of the English reformed church encountered a spirit of resistance, originating in the protestant body, of which they considered themselves the heads. During the late reign the disaffection that had been cherished in secret towards the national church had not confined itself to the doctrines of the establishment, which many protestants connected in their opinion and esteem with the ceremonial rites and clerical habits that had for ages been their inveterate associate and distinctive livery. With their enmity to popish doctrine, they combined an aversion to those ceremonies which had proved so subservient to popish imposture; which seemed to owe their survivance in the national system to the same error that had retained so much catholic heresy; and which diverted the mind from that spiritual worship claimed by Him who is a spirit, and has commanded all men to worship him in spirit and in truth. These sentiments, which were subsequently matured into the doctrines of the puritans, had already taken possession of the minds of some of the English protestants: but their operation was as yet neither very powerful nor extensive. One of the most powerful indications of their influence that has been transmitted to us was evinced by Bishop Hooper, who, in the reign of Edward, refused to be consecrated to his office in what he deemed the superstitious habits appropriated by the church to the episcopal order. His protestant opinions had rendered him an exile from England during the latter part of the preceding reign, and his puritan sentiments had been confirmed by the conversation of the presbyterian teachers, with whom he associated during his residence abroad. Cranmer and Ridley, who were afterwards his fellow martyrs under the persecution of Mary, resorted to arguments, threats, entreaties, and imprisonment, to overcome Hooper's objections; and it was not without very great difficulty that his inflexible spirit condescended to terminate the dispute by a compromise. The sentiments which had thus received the sanction of a man so distinguished by the excellence of his character as well as the eminence of his station in the church, continued to manifest themselves throughout the short reign of Edward; and there was scarcely a rite of the established worship, or habit of the clergy, that escaped objection and contention. The defenders of the practices that were thus assailed did not contend that they were of divine appointment, or in themselves of essential importance. They maintained that they were in themselves inoffensive, and that by long establishment and inveterate association they had taken possession of the reverence of the people, and attached their affections to the national worship. They admitted that, as useless appendages, it was desirable that time and reason should obliterate these practices: but insisted that it would be both unwise and illiberal to abolish them forcibly, and at the risk of unhinging the important sentiments with which they had accidentally connected themselves. This reasoning was very unsatisfactory to the puritans, who rejected such temporizing policy as the counsel of lukewarm piety and worldly wisdom, and regarded with abhorrence the mixture of superstitious attractions with the motives to that which should be entirely a reasonable service, and whatever weight the arguments of the prevailing party may be considered to possess, they certainly cannot be allowed to justify their violent imposition of observances, which at best they regarded as inoffensive, on persons who considered them as sinful and pernicious. But the doctrines of the puritans, whether supported or not by superior weight of reason, were overborne by the weight of superior numbers; and their sentiments might perhaps have gradually died away if the reign of Edward had been much farther prolonged, or his sceptre been transmitted to a protestant successor. But the reign of Mary was appointed not only to purify the protestant body, by separating the true from the false or formal professors, but to radicate every protestant sentiment by exposing it to the fiery test of papal rage and persecution.

The administration of Queen Mary was productive of events that tended to revive and disseminate the puritan sentiments, and at the same time to confirm the opposition of some of their adversaries. During the heat of her bloody persecution, many of the protestants forsook their country and took refuge in the protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. There, in regulating for themselves the forms and ordinances of divine worship, their ancient disputes naturally revived, and were animated by the approach of the two parties to an equality of numbers that had never before subsisted between them, and protracted by the utter want of a spirit of mutual forbearance, and the absence of any tribunal from which an authoritative decision could be obtained. The puritans beheld with pleasure in the continental churches the establishment of a constitution and ritual which had been the object of their warm approbation and earnest desire; and they either composed for themselves a formula of religious association on a similar model, or entered into communion with the churches established in the places where they resided. Their opponents, on the other hand, clung more firmly than ever to their ancient practices: they refused to surrender any one of the institutions of the faith, for the sake of which they had forsaken their country; and they plumed themselves on reviving, amidst the misfortunes of their church at home, an entire and accurate model of her ordinances in the scene of their banishment. Both parties were willing to have united in church fellowship with each other, if either could have yielded in the dispute concerning forms of office, habits, and ceremonies. But though each considered itself strongest in faith, neither felt disposed on that account to bear the infirmities of the other; and though united in the great fundamental points of christain belief, and associated by the common calamity that rendered them fellow-exiles in a foreign land, their fruitless controversies separated them more widely than they had ever been before, and inflamed them with mutual dislike and animosity. On the death of Mary both parties returned to England: the one joyfully expecting to see their ancient worship restored: the other more firmly wedded to their puritan sentiments by the opportunity they had obtained of freely indulging them, and entertaining (in common with many who had remained at home) an increased antipathy to the habits and ceremonies which the recent ascendancy and proceedings of the catholics had strongly associated with the odious features of popish fraud, delusion, and cruelty.

The hopes which the puritans derived from the accession of Elizabeth were seconded by the disposition of many, even of their opponents among the leading protestant churchmen, who had weathered the storm at home. Several of the most distinguished persons of this class expressed the strongest reluctance, in restoring the protestant constitution, to interweave with its fundamental canons, any subordinate regulations that might be injurious to men endeared to them by their common calamity, and so recently associated with them as confessors for the substance, not the mere forms of religion. Some of the puritans, no doubt, were bent on reducing the model of the church to a conformity with their own sentiments; and some of their opponents were as eager to prohibit and suppress every trace of puritan practice. The majority, however, as well as the leading members of both parties were earnestly desirous to effect an accommodation on the principles of mutual forbearance, and willingly agreed that the disputed habits and ceremonies should be retained in the church, as observances of a discretionary and indifferent nature, not to be controverted by the one nor enforced by the other, but left to be confirmed or abolished by the silent progress of sentiment and opinion. But the hopes of the zealous and the concessions of the candid were frustrated by the character of the queen; whose strong hand and imperious temper soon defaced the fair prospect of concord and happiness, and involved the people committed to her care in a long and widening scene of strife, malignity, and misery. Elizabeth inherited the haughty character of her father and his taste for splendid pageantry. And though she had been educated with her brother Edward, and her understanding had received a strong tincture of protestant opinions, her sentiments powerfully biassed

* The public disputation which he held with one of his subjects, the noble-minded though unfortunate Lambert, who denied the doctrine of the real presence, was, perhaps, regarded at the time as an act of admirable zeal and most generous condescension. It might have merited this praise if the horrid death by which he revenged the impotence of his logic, did not prove it to have been an overflowing of arrogance and vain glory.

† One of his laws (31 Henry VIII. capi. 14.) bears the pre sumptuous title of "An act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Christian religion"

ber in favor of the rites, discipline, and even doctrine of the catholics—of every thing, in short, that could lend an imposing aspect to the establishment of which she was the supreme head, and increase the strictness of the dominion which she was resolved to maintain over the clergy. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains for preaching in defence of the real presence, and rebuked another for mentioning with little reverence the popish notion of an inherent virtue in the symbol of the cross. She desired to make the clergy priests, and not preachers; discouraged their sermons; and would have interdicted them from marriage had she not been restrained by the remonstrances of her minister Lord Burleigh. Disregarding the wishes and entreaties both of churchmen and puritans, she restored King Edward's constitutions with no other alteration than the omission of a few passages in the liturgy which were offensive to the catholics; and caused a law to be framed for the enforcement, by fine, imprisonment, and deprivation, of a strict uniformity of religious worship. This was the first step in a line of policy which the church of England has had deep and lasting cause to deplore, and which, by compelling thousands of her best and ablest ministers reluctantly to forsake her communion, afflicted her with a decay of internal piety, from which, after the lapse of many generations, she has even now but imperfectly revived.

But this law was for some time very feebly and imperfectly enforced. The queen could not at once find a sufficient number of men fitted to sustain the dignity of episcopal elevation, and yet willing to become the instruments of her arbitrary designs; nor could all her efforts for some time excite general strife and ill-will among men of whom so many, though differing from each other on subordinate points, had but lately been united by community of sentiment and suffering in the noblest cause that can interest human hearts. Her first bench of bishops were not only eager to clear themselves of the reproach of having composed or approved the existing laws,* but by a general forbearance to enforce them, enabled the puritan ministers and practices to obtain a considerable footing in the church. And though she reprimanded the primate Parker for his negligence, and at length stimulated him to the exertion of some severities in the enforcement of the act of uniformity, it was far from receiving general execution; and by various acts of connivance on the one side, and prudent reserve on the other, the puritans were enabled to enjoy some semblance of peace. Their tranquillity was lengthened and increased by the succession of Grindall to the primacy. The liberal principles and humane disposition of this man revolted against the tyrannical injustice which he was required to enforce; and at the expense of his own imprisonment and the disfavor of his temporal sovereign, he prolonged the duration of lenient policy, and the peace of the church.

At length, on the death of Grindall, the primacy was bestowed on Whitgift, a man of severe temper, a rigid votary of the discipline and policy of the church, and an implacable adversary of the puritans, against whom he had repeatedly directed the hostility of his pen, and was eager to be intrusted with the exercise of a more formidable weapon. From this period all the force of the law was spent in uninterrupted efforts to vex the persons, or violate the consciences of the puritans. A numerous body of puritan ministers were deprived of their livings; and many of their parishioners were punished by fine and imprisonment for following their ministry into the fields and woods, where they continued to exercise it. Great endeavors were used by the wise and good to move the queen, ere yet it was too late, to stay the waters of strife she was letting out upon the land. Burleigh and Walsingham earnestly interceded for the suspended ministers, and pressed every consideration of the indulgence due to their conscientious scruples, the humane concern to which their families were entitled, and the respect which policy demanded for the sentiments of so great a body of the people by whom they were esteemed and beloved. The House of Commons too showed a desire to procure some relief for the oppressed puritans. But Whitgift flung himself on his knees before the queen and implored her to uphold the sinking church, and to suffer no alteration that would give men leave to say *that she had maintained an error.* His humiliation, most probably, was prompted rather by flattery than fear; for Elizabeth had shown no inclination whatever to mitigate an imperious policy so congenial to her own character. The enforcing of implicit deference to her judgment, and of rigid conformity to the model she had enacted, was the result of her early and stubborn choice, and maintained with her usual vigor and vehemence of determination. She overbore all opposition; and the primate and his associates being encouraged to proceed in the course they had begun, their zeal enlarging as it flowed, soon transported them beyond all bounds of decency and humanity. They were allowed to establish a court of commissioners for the detection of non-conformity, which even the privy council remonstrated against as a copy of the Spanish inquisition. By the assistance of this tyrannical engine, they made freer course for the severities of the law; and having rendered integrity hazardous, they made prudence unavailing to the puritans. In vain were they reminded of the maxim of the first christian council, which recommended the imposition of no greater burthen on the people than the observation of necessary things. For the purpose of imposing a load of ceremonies, which without the actual profession of popery they could never represent as observances essential to salvation, they committed such oppression as rendered the ceremonies themselves tenfold more obnoxious to those to whom even indulgent treatment would have failed to recommend them, and roused the opposition of others who would willingly have complied with the ceremonial ordinances if they had been proposed to them merely as matters of convenient observance, but revolted from them, as fraught with danger and mischief, when it was attempted to bind them on the conscience, and place them on a level with the most sacred obligations. The most signal fruit of this increased severity was the enkindling of great additional zeal and fervor in the minds of the puritans; a rapid multiplication of their numbers by strong sympathy with their courage, and compassion for their sufferings; and a growing abhorrence in their body to the order of bishops and the whole frame of a church which to them was an organ of injustice and tyranny. It is certain that the puritans of those times were exceedingly averse to separate from the church of England; and their ministers were still more reluctant to abet a schism and renounce their preferments. They willingly allowed her to be a true church, and merely claimed indulgence in the matter of a few ceremonies which did not affect her constitution. But the injurious treatment they received, held out a premium to very different considerations, and not only influenced their passions, but stimulated their inquiries and extended their objections. Cast out of the national church, they were forced to inquire if they could not do without that which they found they could not have; and were easily led to question if the features of a true church could be discerned in that body, which not only rejected but persecuted them for a conscientious adherence, in a matter of ceremonial observance, to what they believed to be the will of Christ. As the puritan principles spread through the mass of society, and encountered in their progress a greater variety of character in their votaries, and of treatment from their adversaries, considerable differences and inequalities of sentiment and conduct appeared in different portions of the puritan body. Some of them caught the spirit of their oppressors, and, in words at least, retaliated the unchristian usage they underwent. They combined the doctrines of the New with the practices of the Old Testament, in a manner which will not excite the wonder of those who recollect that the very first little flock of Christians who were collected in the world committed the same error; and so far forgot the spirit they had received, as even in the presence of their Divine Head to propose the invocation of fire from heaven on the men who had insulted them. But the instances of this spirit were exceedingly rare; and it was not till the following reigns that it prevailed either strongly or widely. In general the oppressed puritans conducted themselves with the fortitude of heroes and the patience of saints; and, what is surprising, they made more zealous and successful efforts to maintain their loyalty, than the queen and the bishops did to extinguish it.* Many, in defiance of every danger, followed the preaching of their ministers into the highways and fields, or assembled privately in conventicles, which the general sympathy, or the connivance of their secret partisans within the church, sometimes preserved from detection. Many reluctantly abided in the national church, unweariedly pursuing their ineffectual attempts to promote parliamentary interference in behalf of the puritans, and casting a wistful eye on the presumptive succession of a prince who had been educated in a presbyterian society. Some at length openly disclaimed the national establishment, and were led, by the cruel excesses of human authority, to the conviction, that human authority had no proper place in the administration of the kingdom of Christ.

The proceedings of the queen were, doubtless, cordially abetted by the angry zeal of those churchmen who had partaken of the controversy that had raged between the two parties during their exile on the continent in the preceeding reign. But the whole civil and ecclesiastical policy of this reign was mainly and essentially the offspring of Elizabeth's own character. The Puritan writers, bestowing an undue proportion of their resentment on the persons whose functions rendered them the instruments as well as the apologists of the queen's ecclesiastical system, have been disposed to impute the tyrannical features of this system exclusively to the bishops, and particularly to Whitgift, whose influence with Elizabeth they ascribe to his constant habit of addressing her on his knees. But Whitgift, in abetting her enmity to the Puritans, merely paid his court to a disposition which she had already evinced in the strongest manner, and swam with the tide of that resolute determination which he saw must prevail. The abject homage which he paid her was nothing more than she was universally accustomed to receive; and the observation which it has seemed to deserve from the Puritans, denotes rather a peculiarity in their own manners, than any thing remarkable in the conduct of their adversary. Not one of her subjects ever addressed the queen without kneeling; wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees; and even in her absence, the nobility, who were alone thought worthy to cover her table, made three genuflexions every time they approached or retired from it in the performance of their menial duty.* This was an exact counterpart of the homage rendered by the catholics to the Real Presence, which they believed to reside in the Host; and the sentiments which it tended to form both in the party receiving, and the parties who rendered it, were confirmed by the language of Parliament, in which the queen was continually flattered with praises and attributes appropriated to the Supreme Being. Nor was this servile system of manners peculiar to the reign of Elizabeth. On the contrary, it had been carried even to a greater extent under the government of her predecessors; and her ministers frequently noted and deplored the decay of that fearfulness and reverence of their superiors which had formerly characterised the inferior estates of the realm. Sense and reason participated in the ignominy and degradation of manners; arrogance disordered the understanding of the prince, while servility deformed the sentiments of the people; and if Henry the Eighth, by a royal proclamation, assured the populace that they were *brutes*, the same populace, in their petitions against his measures, represented the promotion of *low-born persons* to public trust and honor, as one of the most serious and intolerable grievances that they had to complain of.

The sentiments which such practices and manners tended to form in the mind of the queen, enhanced the displeasure with which she regarded the Puritans, who were fated to offend her by their political conduct, as well as their religious opinions. Many of the more eminent persons among them obtained seats in Parliament, where they endeavored to revive a spirit of liberty and direct its energy to the protection of their oppressed brethren. Impelled by the severity of the restraints

* In their letters to their friends at home and abroad, they not [illegible] the obnoxious institutions, but promise to withstand them [illegible] they be sent back to hell, from whence they came. [illegible] confusion, and vain fooleries in the church. Burnet, part [illegible] p. 314. Neal, i. 19. There seems to be [illegible] difference between these expressions of [illegible] and the [illegible] of a Scotch presbyter [illegible] the same time, who pronounced, in a sermon, that the Queen of England was no better than an atheist, and "all kings were the devil's children." Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland. The difference was, [illegible] of the one were more consistent than those of the other.

* Numberless instances might be adduced of the patience with which they endured the severities of ecclesiastical vengeance. Nor was their patience and magnanimity less conspicuous in the endurance of civil tyranny. A puritan having written a book against the danger which might attend the marriage of the queen with a popish prince, was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. The instant the blow was struck, he took off his hat with his other hand, and, waving it in the air, cried "God save the queen." The puritans were much more afraid of the revival of popery in England, than of the severity of those ecclesiastical laws under which papists and puritans were equally liable to oppression. To this extent they concurred with the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth.

* Hentzner's Journey into England in 1598 (Strawberry Hill edition), p. 50, 51. This abject ceremonial was abolished by King James, who, though highly pleased with adulation, found himself embarrassed by a mode of displaying it so ill suited to his awkward manners and ungainly appearance.

they experienced, to investigate the boundaries of that authority from which they originated, and regulating their sentiments rather by the consequences they foresaw than by the precedents that confronted them, they questioned the most inveterate abuses, and obtained the confidence of the people by showing themselves the indefatigable and fearless defenders of the oppressed. In the annals of these times, we find them continually supporting petitions in parliament against monopolies, and advocating motions for reformation of ecclesiastical abuses. Attracting popular favor, and willing to undergo the burden of parliamentary attendance, they gradually multiplied their numbers in the House of Commons, and acquired an ascendant over its deliberations. The queen, observing that the Puritans were the sole abettors of measures calculated to restrict her prerogative, was easily led to ascribe the peculiarity of their religious and political opinions to the same source —a malignant aversion to dignities, and impatience of subordination. Their reluctance to render to the Deity that ceremonious homage which the most illustrious persons in the land rendered to herself, and their eagerness to control her prerogative, which nowhere else experienced resistance, appeared to her the indications of an insolent disregard, no less of the Supreme Being than of herself.—His acknowledged vicegerent and representative; a presumptuous insurrection of spirit against the reverence due to God, and the loyalty due the prince.* Nothing could be more unjust and fallacious than this royal reasoning. The religion, as well as the loyalty, of the Puritans, was the less ceremonious, only because it was the more reflective, profound, and substantial. To preserve a good conscience, they encountered the extremities of ecclesiastical rigor. In spite of every wrong, they evinced a resolute constancy of regard to their sovereign. And neither intimidated by danger nor dispirited by defeat, they maintained a continual effort to check the excesses of despotic authority, and to rear and cherish the public liberties of their country. They have been charged with a sour and caustic spirit, by those who forced them to eat their bread in bitterness and carry their lives in their hands; of an enmity to literature, and an exclusive reference to the Bible, by those who destroyed their writings, committed the press to episcopal licensers, and deprived them of every source of comfort and direction but what the Bible could supply; of an exaggerated estimate of little things, by those who made such things the cause of cruel suffering and enormous wrong; of a stern jealousy of civil power, by those who made it continually their interest to question and abridge the authority by which they were oppressed. It is acknowledged by an eminent philosophic historian, who will not be suspected of any undue partiality for these people, that the puritans were the preservers of civil and religious liberty in England.† It was a scion of the same stock that was destined to propagate these blessings in America.

The minds of a considerable party among the Puritans had been gradually prepared to disclaim the authority of the national church, and to deny the lawfulness of holding communion with it; insomuch, that when these opinions were first publicly preached by Robert Brown in 1586, they rapidly obtained the assent and open profession of multitudes. Brown, who gained the distinction of bestowing his name on a sect which derived very little credit from the appellation, was a young clergyman, of good family, endowed with a restless, daring character, a fiery temper, and a heart of controversy. Encountering the wrath of the ecclesiastics with fiercer wrath, and trampling on their arrogance with more than clerical pride,* he roamed about the country inveighing against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, ceremonies, and ordination of ministers, and exulting, above all, in the boast that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. His impetuous and illiberal spirit accelerated the declaration of opinions which were not yet matured in the puritan body, and which, but for his unseasonable interposition and perverting influence, might sooner have been ripened into the system of the independents. The queen and the bishops applied the usual remedy of persecution to this innovation, with even more than the usual evidence of the unfitness of their policy to effect its object. Supported by powerful arguments, maintained with zeal and courage, and opposed by cruelties that disgraced the name of religion, the principles of the Brownists spread widely through the land. Brown himself, and a congregation more immediately attached to him, expatriated to Middleburgh, in Zealand, where they were permitted to establish themselves unmolested. But Brown had collected around him spirits too congenial to his own, to preserve their union when the strong band of oppression was withdrawn. The congregation crumbled into parties, and was soon dissolved; and Brown, returning to England, joined the national church, and, contracting dissolute habits, ended his days in indolence and contempt. But the doctrines which he had been the means of introducing to public notice had firmly rooted themselves in the puritan body, and received daily accessions to the numbers and respectability of the votaries.

The Brownists did not differ from the church of England in any of her articles of faith, but they looked upon her discipline as popish and anti-christian, and all her sacraments and ordinances as invalid; and they renounced communion, not only with her, but with every other protestant church that was not constructed on the same model as their own. Their model was derived from the closest imitation of the primitive institutions, as delineated in scripture. When a church was to be gathered, all who desired to be members of it, made a confession of their faith before one another, and signed a covenant by which they obliged themselves to walk together in the order of the gospel. Each congregation formed an independent church, and the admission or exclusion of members resided with the brethren composing it. Their church officers were elected from among themselves, and separated to their several offices of preaching the word, administering their ordinances, and taking care of the poor, by fasting and prayer and the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the priesthood to be a distinct order, or to invest a man with an indelible character; but, as the appointment of the church conferred his function (which in its exercise, too, was limited to the special body to which he was attached), so the same authority was sufficient to deprive him of it. It was lawful for any one of the brethren to exercise the liberty of prophesying, as it was called, which meant the giving a word of exhortation to the people; and it was usual for some of them, after sermon, to ask questions, and reason upon the doctrines that had been preached. The condition to which the puritans were reduced by their oppressors, favored the acceptanee of all that was separating and unsocial in the principles of the Brownist teachers; for, while every congregation had to assemble by stealth, it was impossible to maintain any intercourse between their churches, or to ascertain how far they mutually agreed in doctrine and discipline.

Against these men, in whose characters were united more piety, virtue, courage, and loyalty than any other portion of her people displayed, did Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical counsellors direct the whole fury of the law. John Udall, one of their ministers, was tried in the year 1591, for having published a defence of their tenets, which he entitled *A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of the Church in all Times and Places until the World's End.* This, consistently with Elizabeth's declaration, that whoever attacked the church, slandered the queen, was regarded as a libel, and Udall was arraigned for a capital felony. When he was told by one of the judges that a book replete with sentiments so inconsistent with the established institutions, tended to the overthrowing of the state and the rousing of rebellion, he replied, "My lords, that be far from me; for we teach that, reforming things amiss, if the prince will not consent, the weapons that subjects are to fight with all, are repentance and prayers, patience and tears." The judge offered him his life if he would recant; and added, that he was now ready to pronounce sentence of death. "And I am ready to receive it," cried this magnanimous man; "for I protest before God (not knowing that I am to live an hour) that the cause is good, and I am contented to receive sentence, so that I may leave it to posterity how I have suffered for the cause." He was condemned to die; and being still urged to submit to the queen, he willingly expressed his sorrow that any of his writings should have given her offence, and disclaimed any such wish or intention, but resolutely refused to disown what he believed to be the cause of truth and of liberty of conscience. By the interest of some powerful friends, a conditional pardon was obtained for him; but before the terms of it could be adjusted, or the queen prevailed on to sign it, he died in prison. Penry, Greenwood, Barrow,* and Dennis, of whom the first two were clergymen, and the others laymen, were soon after tried on similar charges, and perished by the hands of the executioner. These men were offered a pardon if they would retract their profession; but, inspired by a courage which no earthly motive could overcome, they clung to their principles, and committed their life to its author. Some others were hanged for dispersing the writings, and several for attending the discourses, of the Brownists. Many more endured the torture of severe imprisonment, and numerous families were reduced to indigence by heavy fines. As the most virtuous and honorable are ever, on such occasions, most exposed to danger, every stroke of the oppressor's arm is aimed at those very qualities in his adversaries that constitute his own defence and security; and, hence, severities so odious to mankind, and so calculated to unite by the strongest sympathy the minds of the spectators and sufferers together, are more likely to diminish the virtue than the numbers of a party. By dint of long continuance, and of the exertion of their influence on a greater variety of character, they finally divested a great many of the puritans of the spirit of meekness and non-resistance for which the fathers of the party had been so conspicuous. But this fruit was not gathered till a subsequent reign; and their first effort was not only to multiply the numbers, but to confirm the virtue of the puritans. When persecution had as yet but invigorated their fortitude without inspiring ferocity, a portion of this people was happily conducted to the retreat of America, there to plant and extend the principles of their noble cause, while their brethren in England remained behind to avenge its accumulated wrongs.

When the queen was informed, by Dr. Reynolds, of the calm piety which these martyrs had displayed, how they had blessed their persecuting sovereign, and turned the scaffold to which she had consigned them into an altar, whence they had prayed for her long and happy reign, her heart was touched with a sentiment of remorse, and she expressed regret that she had taken their lives away. But repentance with all mankind is too often but a barren anguish; and princes have been known to bewail, even with tears, the mortality of multitudes whom they were conducting to slaughter, and the shortness of that life which they were contributing still farther to abridge. Elizabeth, so far from abating, increased the legislative severities whose effects she had deplored; and was fated never to see her errors till it was too late to repair them. In the year 1593, a few months after the executions which we have alluded to, a new and severer law was enacted against the puritans. This body was not only extending itself every day, but so rapidly adopting the independent opinions, that, in the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the introduction of this law, Sir Walter Raleigh stated, that the numbers of professed Brownists alone then amounted to twenty thousand. The humane arguments, however, which he

* In a speech from the throne, she informed the commons (after a candid confession that she knew nobody who had read or reflected as much as herself) that whoever attacked the constitutions of the church, slandered her as its supreme head, divinely appointed; and that, if the papists were inveterate enemies to her person, the modern sectaries were no less formidable to all kingly government. She added, that she was determined to suppress their overboldness in presumptuously scanning the will of God Almighty,—thus presuming, by the word of her mouth, to arrest the stayless course of thought, and practically appropriating the power of that Being whose honor she pretended to vindicate. D'Ewes' Account of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 328. The cruel law that was passed in the thirty-fifth year of the queen's reign, against all recusants to attend the national church, is entitled "An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience," and was intended, as the preamble declared, to repress the evil practices of "seditious sectaries and disloyal persons,"—synonymous descriptions of guilt in the estimation of Elizabeth.

† "So absolute indeed was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the puritans alone; and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." Hume's England, vol. v. p. 183. Again, "It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and, spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people." Ibid. p. 469. The only fault that this historian can find with the puritans is, that they were embued with the only principles which can inspire men with a courage insurmountable by any human motive.

* His grandfather had a charter from Henry the Eighth, confirmed by act of Parliament, "giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of the king, or his heirs, or any lord spiritual or temporal in the land, and not to put it off but for his own ease or pleasure." The cap seems to have transmitted its properties with its privileges to the grandson of him whose arrogance could solicit such a distinction.

* This man, while lingering in the dungeon, where he awaited his fate, presented a supplication to parliament, which contains a frightful picture of the horrors of imprisonment in that age. "We crave for all of us," he says, "but the liberty either to die openly or to live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, it beseemeth the majesty of justice not to see us closely murdered, yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons," &c. Neal, i. 64. But the parliament was compelled to leave Barrow and his fellow sufferers to the mercy of the queen and the bishops.

derived from this consideration were unavailing to prevent the passing of a law, which enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that, if he persisted three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that, if he either refused this condition, or returned after banishment, he should suffer death as a felon. If this act was not more fortunate than its predecessors in accomplishing the main object of checking the growth of puritan principles, it effected at least the subordinate purpose of driving a great many of the professors of independency out of England. One body of these fugitives was collected about the close of the sixteenth century, at Amsterdam, where they flourished in peace and piety for upwards of a hundred years. Others retired to different protestant states on the continent, whence with fond delusive hope, they expected to be recalled to their native land by the accession of Elizabeth's successor. The remainder continued in England to fluctuate between the evasion and the violation of the law, cherishing with their principles a stern impatience arising from the galling restraints that impeded their expression; and yet retained in submission by the hope which in common with the exiles they indulged of a mitigation of their sufferings on the demise of the queen. Some historians have expressed no small wonder at the ungrateful impatience for a new reign that was manifested in the close of Elizabeth's life, and at the very sudden disgust which the government of her successor experienced. But these seeming inconsistencies arose from the same cause. Elizabeth had exhausted the patience and loyalty of a great body of her subjects; and the adherence to her policy which her successor so unexpectedly manifested, disappointed all the hopes by which these virtues had been sustained.

The hopes of the puritans were derived from the education of the Scottish king, and supported by many of his declarations, which were eagerly repeated in England. James had been bred a presbyterian; he had publicly declared that the kirk of Scotland was the purest church in the world, and that the English Liturgy sounded in his ears like *an ill-mumbled mass*. On his accession to the English crown, he was eagerly assailed by petitions from the puritans; and at first he showed himself so far disposed to attend to their wishes as to appoint a solemn conference between them and the heads of the church party at Hampton Court. But the hopes inspired by this conference were completely disappointed by its result [Jan. 1604]. If James had ever been sincere in preferring a presbyterian to an episcopal establishment, his opinion was entirely reversed by the opportunity he now enjoyed of comparing them with each other, and by the very different treatment he experienced from the ministers of both. In Scotland he had been involved in perpetual contentions with the clergy, who did not recognise in his regal office any supremacy over their church, and who differed from him exceedingly in their estimate of his piety, capacity, and attainments. Precluded by his poverty from a display of royal pomp that might have dazzled their eyes and hid the man behind the king, he stood plainly revealed to their keen glance, an awkward personification of conceit and pedantry, obstinate but unsteady, fraught with learning, void of knowledge. They have been accused of disturbing his government by exercising a censorial power over it; but it was himself that first taught them thus to overstep their functions. Extending his administration into their peculiar province, where it had no right to penetrate, he seemed to legitimize as well as provoke their censorial strictures on his intrusion. Mingling religion with his politics, he attempted to remodel the church; and the clergy, mingling politics with their divinity, complained of his interference and censured his government. Defending institutions not less respected than beloved by the people, they easily obtained the victory; and James met with the same success in attempting to control the sentiments of the Scotch, that in his tobacco controversy he afterwards experienced in attempting to prevail over the senses of the English. One of the ministers had gone the length of declaring that "all kings were the devil's children;" and the king retorted the discourtesy when he found himself safe in England, by vehemently protesting that "a Scottish presbytery agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil." The sentiments that naturally resulted from offended arrogance and mortified presumption, were expanded to their amplest plenitude by the blaze of flattery and adulation with which the dignitaries of the English church received him. By them he was readily hailed the supreme head of their establishment, the protector of its privileges, the source of its splendor, the patron of its dignities; and Whitgift went so far as to declare, in the conference at Hampton Court, that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit. This was the last impulse that Whitgift was able to lend to royal pride and folly. Confounded at the universal explosion of puritan sentiments, which he had flattered himself with the hope of having almost completely extinguished, his grief and concern so violently affected his aged body as to cause his death very shortly after. But he had already contributed to revive the ecclesiastical spirit of Elizabeth in the mind of her successor; and James, inflamed with admiration of a church which, like a faithful mirror, so fairly reflected and illustrated his royal perfections, became henceforward the determined patron of the establishment, and the persecutor of all who opposed its institutions. His natural arrogance, fortified by such unexceptionable testimony, soared to a height which nothing but royalty or a disordered understanding has ever attained; and he who in Scotland had found himself curbed in every attempt to interfere with the religious institutions of his own narrow realm, now thought himself entitled to dictate the ecclesiastical policy of foreign nations. Having entered into a dispute with Vorstius, professor of theology in a Dutch university, and finding his adversary insensible to the weight of his arguments, he resolved to make him feel at least the weight and length of his arm; and roused to a degree of energy and haughtiness to which no other foreign concernment was ever able to excite him, he remonstrated so vigorously with the states of Holland, that to put an end to his clamor, they submitted to the mean injustice of deposing and banishing the professor. With this sacrifice to his insulted logic, James was forced to be contented, though he had endeavored to rouse his republican allies to more royal revenge, by informing them "that as to the *burning* of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own christian wisdom: but surely never heretic better deserved the flames." He did not fail to reinforce this charitable counsel by his own example; and in the course of his reign burned at the stake two persons who were so unhappy as to entertain the Arian heresy, and an unfortunate lunatic who mistook himself for the Deity,* and whose frenzy was thus cruelly treated by a much more dangerous and deliberate invader of the divine attributes. If James had not been restrained by the growing political ascendancy of the puritans, there would probably have been more of such executions in England. He did, however, as much as he dared; and finding in Bancroft a fit successor to Whitgift, he made with his assistance so vigorous a commencement, that in the second year of his reign three hundred puritan ministers were deprived, imprisoned or banished. To prevent the communication of light from abroad, the importation of any books hostile to the restraints imposed by the laws of the realm or the king's proclamations, was forbidden under the severest penalties; to prevent its rise and repress its spread at home, no books were suffered to be printed in England without the consent of a committee of bishops or their deputies; and arbitrary jurisdictions for the trial of ecclesiastical offences were multiplied and extended. Persons suspected of entertaining puritan sentiments, even though they adhered to the church, were subjected to fine and imprisonment for barely repeating to their families, in the evening, the substance of the discourses they had heard at church during the day, under the pretence that this constituted the crime of irregular preaching. Some of the puritans having conceived the design of withdrawing to Virginia, where they hoped that distance would at least mitigate the violence of oppression, a small number of them proceeded to carry their purpose into effect; and a larger body were preparing to follow, when Bancroft, apprised of their intention, obtained a proclamation from the king, commanding that none of his subjects should settle in Virginia without an express licence under the great seal. Thus harassed and oppressed in England, and deprived of a refuge in Virginia, the puritans began to retire in considerable numbers to the protestant states of the continent; and the hopes of the still greater and increasing numbers who remained at home were fixed on the House of Commons. In this assembly the puritan ascendancy at length became so manifest, that in spite of the king's proclamations for encouraging mirthful games on Sunday, a bill was introduced for compelling a more strict and solemn observance of the day, to which it gave the denomination of the sabbath; and when one member objected to this as a puritan appellation, and ventured to justify dancing by a gay misapplication of some passages in scripture, he was, on the suggestion of Mr. Pym, expelled the house for his profanity. But we have now reached the period at which we must forsake the main stream of the history of the puritans, to follow the fortunes of that illustrious branch which was destined to visit and ennoble the deserts of America. In reviewing the strange succession of events which we have beheld, and the various impressions they have produced on our minds, it may perhaps occur to some as a humiliating consideration, that the crimes and follies, the cruelties and weaknesses which would excite no other sentiments but those of horror, grief, or pity, in an angelic beholder, are capable of presenting themselves in such an aspect to less purified eyes, as to excite the splenetic mirth even of those whose nature is degraded by the odious or absurd display.

In the year 1610, a congregation of Brownists, driven by royal and ecclesiastical tyranny from their native land, had removed to Leyden, where they were permitted to establish themselves in peace under the ministry of their pastor, John Robinson.* This excellent person was the father of the Independents, having been the first who realized a middle course between the path of Brownism and the Presbyterian system; to one or other of which the views and desires of the Puritans were now generally tending. The sentiments which he entertained when he first quitted his country, bore the impress of the persecution under which they had been formed; and when he began his ministry at Leyden he was a rigid Brownist: but after he had seen more of the world, and been enabled to converse in a friendly manner with learned and good men of different ecclesiastical denominations, he began to entertain a more charitable opinion of those minor differences, which he plainly perceived might subsist, without injury to the essentials of religion, and without violating charity, or inciting persecution. Though he always maintained the lawfulness and expediency of separating from those established protestant churches among which he lived, he willingly allowed them the character of true churches; esteemed it lawful to communicate with them in preaching and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline; and freely admitted their members to partake the sacrament with his congregation. He maintained that each particular church, or society of Christians, was vested with the power of choosing its own officers, administering the gospel ordinances, and exercising over its own members every necessary act of discipline and authority; and consequently, that it was completely independent of all classes, synods, convocations and councils. He admitted the expediency of synods and councils for the reconciling of differences among churches, and the tendering of friendly advice to them; but denied their competence to exercise any act of jurisdiction, or authoritatively to impose any articles or canons of doctrine. These sentiments Mr. Robinson recommended to esteem by exemplifying, in his life and demeanor the fruits of that spirit by whose teaching they were communicated; by a character, in which the most eminent faculties, and the highest attainments, were absorbed by the predominating power of a solemn, affectionate piety.

Enjoying the counsel and direction of such a pastor, and blessed with an adequate sense of his value, the English congregation remained for ten years at Leyden, in harmony with each other, and at peace with their neighbors. But, at the end of that period, the same pious views that had prompted their original departure from England incited them to undertake a more distant migration. They beheld with deep concern the loose profane manners that prevailed very generally around them, and, in particular, the utter neglect among the Dutch of a reverential observance of Sunday; and they reflected with apprehension on the danger to which their children were exposed from the natural contagion manners so unfavorable to serious piety; their country too, still retained a hold on their affections; and they were loth to see their posterity melted into the Dutch population. The fewness of their numbers, and the difference of language, forbade the hope of propagating, in Holland, the principles

* One of these victims is termed by Fuller, in his Church History (B. x. § 4), "One Englishman." The king, in relating to Henry the Fourth's generosity to Lambert, held a protracted dispute with him, and concluded it by delivering him to the hands of the executioner.

* Cardinal Bentivoglio, in his Account of the United Provinces, describes them as a body of English puritans, who had resorted to Holland for purposes of commerce.

which, with so much suffering and hazard, they had hitherto maintained; and the state of the English government extinguished every hope of toleration in their native land. In these circumstances, it occurred to them that they might combine the indulgence of their patriotic attachment with the propagation of their religious principles, by establishing themselves in some distant quarter of the English dominions; and, after many days of earnest supplication for the counsel and direction of Heaven, they unanimously determined to transport themselves and their families to the territory of America. It was resolved that a part of the congregation should go out before the rest, to prepare a settlement for the whole; and that the main body should till then, remain behind at Leyden with their pastor. In choosing the particular scene of their establishment, they hesitated, for some time, between the territory of Guiana, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had published a most dazzling and fanciful description, and the province of Virginia, to which they latterly gave the preference; but the hand of Providence was exerted no less in the general direction of their counsels, than in the control of their political proceedings, and their residence was ordained to be established in New England.

Through the medium of agents, whom they deputed to solicit the interposition of the proper authorities, they represented to the English government, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole; that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontent cause to wish themselves at home again." The king, wavering between his desire to promote the colonization of America, and his reluctance to suffer the consciences of any portion of his subjects to be emancipated from his control, refused to grant them a charter assuring the free exercise of their religion, but promised to connive at their practices, and on no account to molest them. They were forced to accept this precarious security; but relied with more reason on their distance from the Spiritual Courts of England, and from the eye and arm of their persecuting sovereign. Having procured from the Virginia Company a grant of a tract of land, lying, as was supposed, within the limits of its patent, several of the congregation sold their estates, and with the money equipped two vessels, in which a hundred and twenty of their number were appointed to embark from an English port for America.

All things being ready for the departure of this detachment of the congregation from Delft haven, where they took leave of their friends, for the English port of embarkation, Mr. Robinson held a day of solemn worship with his people, to implore a blessing upon the hazardous enterprise. He preached a sermon to them from Ezra, viii. 21:—*I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict our souls before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* He concluded his discourse with the following noble exhortation, to which, with all its intrinsic merits, our sentiments will fail to do justice, if we neglect to remember, that such a spirit of Christian liberty as it breathes was then hardly known in the world. "Brethren, said he, "we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. [1620.] I beseech you remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, *that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.* Remember *that*, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it; for 'tis not possible the christian world should come so lately out of antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownist; 'tis a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world." Having said thus much, he exchanged with them embraces and affectionate farewells; and kneeling down with them all on the sea shore, commended them,in a fervent prayer, to the blessing and protection of Heaven. Such were the men, nobler than all his tribe, whom the English monarch cast out of his dominions; and such were the scenes of wisdom and piety, which the control of Providence elicited from the folly, insolence, and bigotry, of a tyrant.

The emigrants, after having been once driven back by a storm, and lost one of their vessels, finally embarked from Plymouth, in the other, on the sixth of September, and, after a long and dangerous voyage, reached the coast of America. Hudson's river had been the place of their destination, and its banks the scene of their intended settlement; but the Dutch,who conceived that a preferable right to this territory accrued to them from its discovery by Captain Hudson, had maintained there, for some years, a small commercial establishment, and were actually projecting a scheme of more extensive occupation, which they were neither disposed to forego, nor yet prepared to defend. In order to defeat the design of the English emigrants, they bribed the captain of their vessel, who was a Dutchman, to carry them so far towards the north, that the first land which they made was Cape Cod, a region, not only beyond the precincts of their grant, but beyond the territories of the company from which the grant was derived. But the lateness of the season, and the sickliness occasioned by the hardships of a long voyage, compelled the adventurers to settle on the soil to which their destiny had conducted them, and which seemed to have been expressly prepared and evacuated for their reception by a pestilential disease, which, in the former year, had swept away nine-tenths of its savage and idolatrous population. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a place now belonging to the province of Massachusetts bay, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, either as a testimony of respect to the company within whose jurisdiction they found themselves situated, or in commemoration of the city with which their last recollections of England were associated. To remedy in some measure, their defect of formal title, they composed and subscribed an instrument declaratory of the purpose with which they had come to America, recognising the authority of the English crown, and expressing their own combination into a civil body politic, and their determination to enact all just and necessary laws, and honour them by a due obedience.* Here, then, remote from the scenes and paths of human grandeur, these men embarked on a career of life, which, if the true dignity of actions be derived from the motives that prompt them, the principles they express, and the ends they contemplate, I cannot term otherwise than elevated and admirable.

The speedy approach and intense severity of their first winter in America painfully convinced the settlers that a more unfavourable season of the year could not have been selected for the formation of their colony; and that the slender stores with which they were provided were far short of what was requisite to comfortable subsistence, and constituted a very inadequate preparation to meet the rigour of the climate. Their exertions to provide themselves with suitable dwellings were obstructed, for some time, by the hostile attacks of some of the neighbouring Indians, who had not forgotten the provocation they had received from Captain Hunt; and the colonists had scarcely succeeded in repulsing them, when disease occasioned by scarcity of provisions, and the increasing horrors of the season afflicted them with a calamity, perhaps less dangerous to their virtue, but more destructive to their strength and numbers than the perils of war.—More than one half of their number, including John Carver, their first governor, perished of hunger or disease before the return of spring; and, during the whole of the winter, but few were capable of providing for themselves, or rendering assistance to the rest; but hope and virtue survived, and rising into greater vigour beneath the pressure of accumulated suffering, surmounted and ennobled every calamity. [1621.] Those who retained their strength became the servants of the weak, the sick, and the dying; and none distinguished himself more in this honourable duty than Mr. Carver, the governor. He was a gentleman of large estate, but larger heart; he had spent his whole fortune on this project; and now, willingly contributing his life to its accomplishment, he exhausted a feeble body in laboriously discharging the meanest offices of kindness and service to the sick.—When the distress of the colony was at its height, the approach of a powerful Indian chief seemed to portend the utter destruction of the settlers; but, happily, in the train of this personage, was the ancient guest and friend of the English, Squanto, who eagerly and successfully laboured to mediate a good understanding between them and his countrymen. He afterwards cancelled the merit of this useful service, and endeavoured to magnify his own importance by fabricating charges of plots and conspiracies against some of the neighboring tribes, while at the same time he kept these tribes in terror, by secret information that the English were in possession of a cask filled with the plague, which only his influence prevented them from setting abroach for the destruction of the Indians. But, before he resorted to this mischievous policy, the colonists had become independent of his services. Some of the neighbouring tribes, from time, to time, made alarming demonstrations of hostility; but they were at length completely overawed by the courage and resolution of Captain Miles Standish, a gallant and skilful officer, who, with a handful of men, was always ready to encounter their greatest force, and anticipate their most rapid movements.*

With the arrival of summer the health of the colonists were restored, and their numbers continued to be reinforced from time to time, by successive emigrations of their friends from Europe. But these additions fell far short of their expectations; and of the main reinforcement which they had looked for from the accession of the remainder of the congregation at Leyden, they were utterly disappointed. The unexpected death of Mr. Robinson deprived his people at Leyden of the only leader whose animating counsels could have overcome the timidity inspired by the accounts of the distresses sustained by their friends in New England; and, accordingly, upon that event the greater part of those who had remained behind at Leyden now retired to join the other English exiles at Amsterdam, and very few had the courage to proceed to New Plymouth. This small colony, however, had evinced a hardy virtue that showed it was formed for endurance; and having surmounted its first misfortunes, continued to thrive in the cultivation of piety, and the enjoyment of liberty of conscience and political freedom. A noble attachment was formed to the soil which had been earned with so much virtue, and to the society whose continuance attested so manly a contest and so signal a victory over every variety of ill. While they demonstrated a proper respect for the claims of the original inhabitants of the country, by purchasing from them the territory over which the settlement extended, they neglected no preparation to defend by force what they had acquired with justice; and, alarmed by the tidings of the massacre of their countrymen in Virginia,they erected a timber fort, and adopted other prudent precautions for their defence. This purchase from savages, who rather occasionally traversed than continually occupied the territory, is perhaps the first instance on record of the full prevalence of the principles of justice in a treaty between a civilized and a barbarous people. [1621—4]. The constitution of their church was the same with that

* Mather, b. i. Cap. ii. § 5—6. Neal, i. 80—82. 87. Oldmixon, i. 29. Hutchinson, ii. Append. 452. The fraud, by which the Dutch had contrived to divert these emigrants from Hudson's river, was discovered and stated in a memorial, which was published in England before the close of this year (1620). Prince's New England Chronology, p. 88.

* Mather, Neal. Peter Martyr declares that the hardships endured by the Spaniards in South America were such as none but Spaniards could have supported. But the hardships sustained by the first colonists of Plymouth appear to have exceeded them both in duration and intensity. See Hutchinson, ii. Append. 477.

which had been established at Leyden, and their system of civil government was founded on those ideas of the natural equality among men to which their ecclesiastical policy, so long the main object of their concern, had habituated their minds. The supreme legislative body was composed of all the freemen who were members of the church, and it was not until the year 1639 that they established a house of representatives. The executive power was committed to a governor and council annually elected by the members of the legislative assembly. Their jurisprudence was founded on the laws of England, with some diversity, however, in the scale of punishments, which was more nearly approximated to the Mosaic institutions. Considering the protection of morals more important than the preservation of wealth, they punished fornication with flogging, and adultery with death, while on forgery they inflicted only a moderate fine. The clearing and cultivation of the ground, fishing, and the curing of fish for exportation, formed the occupation of the colonists. The peculiarity of their situation naturally led them, like the Virginians, for some time, to throw all their property into a common stock, and, like members of one family, to carry on every work of industry by their joint labor for the public behoof. But the religious zeal which enforced this self-denying policy was unable to overcome the difficulties which must always attend it, and which are continually revived and augmented in a society deriving its increase not so much from its own internal growth as from the confluence of strangers. About three years after the foundation of New Plymouth, it was judged proper to introduce separation of possessions, though the full right of separate property was not admitted till a much later period; and even that change is represented as having produced a great and manifest increase of the industry of the people. The slow increase which, for a considerable period of time, the numbers of the colonists evinced, has been ascribed to the prolonged operation of this system of equality; but it seems more likely that the slowness of the increase (occasioned by the poverty of the soil and the tidings of the hardships attending a settlement in New England) was the cause of the retardation of the complete establishment of the right of private property. In the first society of men collected by the bond of christianity, and additionally united by persecution, we find an attempt made to abolish individual property; and, from the apostolic direction that *he who would not work should not eat*, we may conclude that the disadvantage which the operation of this principle is exposed to in a society deriving its increase from the continual confluence of strangers of dissimilar characters, was pretty early experienced. In Paraguay, the Jesuits formed a settlement where this peculiar disadvantage was not experienced, and which affords the only instance of the introduction and prolonged subsistence of a state of equality in a numerous society. But there the great fundamental difficulty was rather evaded than encountered by a system of tuition adapted, with exquisite skill, to confound all diversities of talent and disposition among the natives, in an unbounded and degrading dependence on their Jesuitical instructors.

[1624.] After having continued for some years without a patent for their occupation, the colonists, whose numbers now amounted to a hundred and eighty, employed one Pierce as their agent in England to solicit a grant of this nature from the English government and the grand council of Plymouth—a new corporation by which James, in the year 1620, had superseded the original Plymouth company, and to which he had granted all the territory lying within the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of northern latitude. This corporate body continued to subsist for a considerable time, notwithstanding a vote of the House of Commons, in the year after its creation, declaring its privileges a grievance, and its patent void. Pierce procured a charter from the council, and caused it to be framed in his own name, with the appropriation of large territories and privileges to himself and his family: but, having embarked with a numerous body of associates, whom he had collected in England, to accompany him, and assist in the enforcement of his designs, his vessel was shipwrecked, and Pierce himself so dismayed with the disastrous issue of his injustice, that he confessed what he had done, and resigned his patent. The colonists, informed of his treachery, sent over Mr. Winslow, one of their own number, to resume the solicitation for a charter. He appears not to have been able to procure a patent from the crown, but he obtained, after long delay, a grant of land and charter of privileges from the council. It was directed to William Bradford, the existing governor, and the immunities it conferred were appropriated to him, his heirs, associates, and assignees; but Mr. Bradford willingly surrendered all that was personal in the grant, and associated the general court of the freemen to all the privileges it conferred. By this grant of the grand council of Plymouth, the colonists were authorised to choose a governor, council, and general court, for the enacting and executing all laws which should be judged necessary for the public good. The colonial historians have mistaken this grant for a patent from the crown. But no such patent was ever issued; and the settlement of New Plymouth was never incorporated into a body politic, but remained a subordinate and voluntary association until it was united to its more powerful neighbor the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Both before and after the reception of this charter, the colonists were aware of the doubts that might be entertained of the validity of the acts of government which they exercised. Perhaps this defect was not altogether unfavorable to the interests and happiness of the settlers, and may have contributed to the moderate principles and conciliatory strain by which their administration was honorably distinguished from that which afterwards unfortunately prevailed among their neighbors in New England. But the soil around New Plymouth was so meagre, and the supplies they received from Europe so scanty and infrequent, that in the tenth year of their colonial existence their numbers did not exceed three hundred. But their exertions were not destitute of great and important consequences. They held up to the view of the oppressed puritans in the parent state, a scene where persecuted virtue might retire to, and where only the hardy virtue that could withstand persecution seemed fated to obtain a permanent establishment. At the expense of the noblest sacrifices and most undaunted efforts, this handful of men laid the foundations of New England. A few years after their first establishment at Plymouth, a messenger arrived at this settlement from the governor of the Dutch plantation on Hudson's river, with letters congratulating the English on their prosperous and commendable enterprise, tendering the good will and friendly services of the Dutch, and proposing a commercial intercourse between the two settlements. The governor and council of Plymouth returned a corteous answer to this communication, expressing a thankful sense of the kindness which they had received in the native country of the Dutch, and a grateful acceptance of the proffered friendship. Nothing farther seems to have ensued from this overture than a series of small commercial dealings, and an occasional interchange of similar civilities, which, but a few years after, gave place to the most inveterate jealousy, and a continual reciprocation of complaints between the Dutch and the English colonists.

Various attempts had been made during this interval to emulate the successful establishment of New Plymouth; but they had all failed from inability to emulate the virtues from which the success of this colony was derived. In the year 1622, a rival colony was planted in New England by one Weston and a troop of disorderly adventurers, who, in spite of the friendly assistance of the settlers at New Plymouth, quickly sunk into such helplessness that some of them condescended to become servants to the Indians, some perished of hunger, others turned robbers, and by their depredations involved both themselves and the colonists of New Plymouth in hostilities with the natives, and the rest were glad to find their way back to England. In the following year an attempt of greater importance was made under the patronage of the grand council of Plymouth, which bestowed on Captain Gorges, the leader of the expedition, the title of governor-general of the whole country, with an ample endowment of arbitrary power, and on a clergyman whom he had brought with him, the office of bishop and superintendent of all the churches. But New England was not in such a condition that an establishment of this description could take root in it; and the governor and his bishop, deserting their charge, made haste to return to a climate more congenial to the growth of temporal dominion and ecclesiastical dignity. Of their followers, some retired to Virginia, and others returned to England.* At a later period a similar undertaking, conducted by Captain Wollaston, was attended with a repetition of the same disastrous issue. Yet, all these unsuccessful plantations were attempted on land more fertile, and at a situation more commodious, than the settlers at New Plymouth enjoyed. The situation which they pitched upon was that of Massachusetts Bay, where, a few years after, a colony, which was formed on the same principles that had founded New Plymouth, and whose origin I now proceed to relate, afforded the second example of a successful establishment in New England.

The reign of Charles the First was destined to produce the consummation and the retribution of royal and ecclesiastical tyranny. Charles committed the government of the church to men who openly professed the most arbitrary principles, and whose inclinations carried them much more strongly to enforce an approximation to the church of Rome, than to promote agreement among the professors of the protestant faith. Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, being restrained by the moderation of his principles and the mildness of his temper from lending his instrumentality to the designs of the court, was treated with harshness, and, at length, suspended from his office,† [1627] of which the functions were committed to a board of prelates, of whom the most eminent was Laud, who afterwards succeeded to the primacy. From this period, both in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of the realm, a system of deliberate and insolent invasion of whatever was most valued by freemen, or most revered by protestants, wa pursued with stubborn pride and folly, and enforced by cruelties that at length exhausted the patience of mankind. To the historian of England, the political abuses that distinguished this period will probably appear the most interesting features in its history; and, doubtless, they contributed at least as powerfullly as any other cause to the production of the great convulsions that ensued. But, as it was the ecclesiastical administration that mainly contributed to the peopling of America, it is this branch of the English history that chiefly merits our attention, in investigating the sources of the colonization of New England.

Not only were the ancient ceremonies, which long oppression had rendered so obnoxious, enforced with additional rigor on the increasing numbers of the puritans, but new and more offensive rites were introduced into the church. A design seems to have been formed of enabling the church of England to vie with the Romish see in the splendor of its pageantry, the superstitious ceremonial of its worship, and the power of its hierarchy. Laud, indeed, boasted that he had refused the offer of a cardinal's hat from Rome; but the offer was justly considered a much more significant circumstance than the refusal; and, having already assumed to himself the papal title of *His Holiness*, which he substituted in place of His Grace, his style would have been lowered instead of elevated by the Romish promotion which he rejected. The communion table was converted into an altar, and all per-

* The most important act of Captain Gorges' administration that has been transmitted to us, is one which affords an explanation of a passage in Hudibras, where the New Englanders are accused of hanging an innocent, but bedrid, weaver, in stead of a guilty, but useful, cobbler—

"That sumners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need—
As lately happened. In a town
There lived a cobbler," &c. Hudibras, Canto ii.

Some of Gorges' people had committed depredations on the Indians, who insisted that the ringleader should be put to death. Gorges satisfied and deceived them by hanging up either a dying man or a dead body. Hutchinson, i. p. 6. Butler's witty malice, studious to defame the puritans, has rescued from oblivion an act of which the whole merit or demerit is exclusively due to his own party.

† The pretext commonly assigned for Abbot's disgrace is, that, in shooting at a deer with a cross-bow, he had accidentally killed a man. But he had been solemnly acquitted of this charge, and declared exempt from all its consequences, long before he was sequestered from ecclesiastical functions; and the real causes of his temporal disgrace seem to have been, that he opposed the persecution of the puritans, that he refused to license a sermon that had been preached in support of the king's right to tax the people without the intervention of parliament, and that he could not be prevailed with to countenance the infamous proceedings for the divorce of the countess of Essex. Weldon's Court and Character of King James. Fuller's Worthies.

sons commanded to bow to it on entering the church. All the week-day lectures, and all afternoon sermons on Sunday, were abolished, and, instead of them, games and sports were permitted to all the people, "*excepting known recusants*," who were thus with matchless absurdity debarred as a punishment, from practices which they regarded with the utmost detestation Every minister was commanded to read the royal proclamation of games and sports from his pulpit, under the pain of deprivation. This ordinance, like all the other novelties, was productive of the greater discontent and disturbance, from the extent to which puritan sentiments had made their way into the church, and the number of puritan ministers within the establishment whom habit had taught to fluctuate between the performance and the evasion of the ancient obnoxious canons, and trained to submit, without at all reconciling to the burden. Nothing could be more ill-timed than an aggravation of the load under which these men were laboring ; it reduced many to despair, provoked others to the most vehement indignation, and deprived the church of a numerous body of her most attached and most popular ministers. Nor were these the only measures that were calculated to excite discontents within as well as without the establishment Three-fourths of the English clergy were Calvinists; but Laud and the ruling prelates being Arminians, they caused a royal proclamation to be issued against the preaching of the Calvinistic tenets : and while the Arminian pulpits resounded with the sharpest invectives against them, a single sentence that could be construed into their defence exposed the preacher to the pains of contempt of the king's authority.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the churchmen had been eager to shift from themselves upon the courts of common law as much as possible of the odium of enforcing the ecclesiastical statutes. But Laud* and his associates, inaccessible to fear, remorse, or shame, courted the office of persecution, and in the court of commission exercised such arbitrary power, and committed such enormous cruelty, as procured to that odious tribunal the name of *the protestant inquisition*. Fines, imprisonment, banishment, the pillory, were among the most lenient of the punishments inflicted by this tribunal. Its victims were frequently condemned to have their flesh torn from their bodies by the lash of the executioner, their nostrils slit, and their ears cut off, and in this condition exhibited to the people as monuments of what was termed the justice of their sovereign and the zeal of the prelates. Of the extent as well as the severity to which this arbitrary system was pushed, some notion may be formed from the accounts that have been transmitted to us of the proceedings within the diocese of Norwich alone. In the articles of impeachment afterwards exhibited against Bishop Wren, it is stated, that during his possession of that diocese, which lasted only for two years and a half, fifty ministers were deprived for not complying with the innovations, and three thousand of the laity compelled to abandon the kingdom.† In perfect harmony with the ecclesiactical, was the civil policy of Charles's administration Arbitrary impositions superseded the functions of parliament : the patents of judicial office had their tenure altered from the good behavior of the judges to the good pleasure of the king ; every organ of liberty was suspended or perverted ; and the kingdom at length subjected to the exclusive dominion of a stern and uncontrolled prerogative. Insult was employed, as if purposely to stimulate the sensibility which injuries might not have sufficiently excited. A clergyman having maintained in a sermon before the king that his majesty's simple requisition of money from his subjects, obliged them to comply with it "under pain of eternal damnation ;" Charles at first observed that he owed the man no thanks for giving him his due ; but a censure of the House of Commons having followed the discourse, the preacher was forthwith accounted a proper object of royal favor, and promoted, first to a valuable living, and afterwards to a bishoprick. A system of such diffusive and exasperating hostility waged by the government against the people, wanted only a sufficient duration to provoke from universal rage a vindictive retribution the more to be dreaded from the patience with which the heavy arrear of injury had been endured and accumulated. But before the system of oppression had time to mature the growing discontents, and to produce extremities so perilous to the virtue of all who are called to abide them, it was destined to give occasion to efforts of nobler energy and purer virtue ; and much good was yet to be deduced out of all this scene of evil, and great and happy consequences were yet to be effected, by the dominion of Providence over the passions of men.

The severities exercised on the puritans in England, and the gradual extinction of the hopes they had so long entertained of a mitigation of ecclesiastical rigor, had for some time directed their thoughts to that distant territory in which their brethren at New Plymouth had achieved a secure establishment and obtained the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. In the last year of James's reign, a few non-conformist families had removed to New England and taken possession of a corner of Massachusetts Bay ; but being disappointed in the hope they had entertained of the accession of numbers sufficient to found a permanent society, they were on the point of returning to England, when they received the agreeable intelligence of the approach of a numerous and powerful reinforcement. Mr. White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, had projected a new settlement at Massachusettts Bay, and by his zeal and activity he succeeded in forming an association of a number of the gentry in his neighborhood who had imbibed the puritan sentiments, for the purpose of conducting a colony to that region. The views and feelings that actuated the leaders of this enterprise were committed to writing, and circulated among their friends under the title of *General Considerations for the Plantation of New England*. The framers of this remarkable and characteristic document, began by adverting to the progress of the Jesuit establishments in South America, and to the duty and advantage of counteracting their influence by the propagation of the gospel in that quarter of the world. They observed that all the other churches of Europe had been brought under desolations ; that the same fate seemed to impend over the church of England ; and that it might reasonably be supposed that God had provided this unoccupied territory as a land of refuge for many whom he purposed to save from the general destruction. England, they alleged, grew weary of her inhabitants ; insomuch that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, was there more vile and base than the earth he trod upon ; and children and friends (if unwealthy) were accounted a burdensome incumbrance, instead of being hailed as the choicest earthly blessings. A taste for expensive living, they added, prevailed so strongly, and the means of indulging it had become so exclusively the object of men's desires, that all arts and trades were tainted by sordid maxims and deceitful practices ; and the seminaries of learning abounded with so many spectacles and temptations of dissolute irregularity, that vice was there more effectually communicated by example, than knowledge or virtue were imparted by precept. "The whole earth," they proclaimed, "is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them : Why, then, should any stand starving here for places of habitation, and, in the mean time, suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste, without any improvement?" They concluded by adverting to the situation of the colony of New Plymouth, and strongly enforced the duty of supporting the infant church which had there been so happily planted. Actuated by such views, these magnanimous projectors purchased from the council of Plymouth all the territory extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack to three miles south of Charles river, and, in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Their acts were as vigorous as their designs were elevated. As the precursors of the main body of emigrants whom it was intended to transport, a small body of planters and servants were despatched under Mr. Endicot, one of the leading projectors ; who, arriving safely in Massachusetts, [1628,] were cordially greeted and kindly assisted by the colonists of New Plymouth, and laid the foundations of a town, which they denominated Salem, from a Hebrew word that signifies Peace.

But zealous as these projectors were to accomplish their favorite purpose, they very soon perceived their total inability to maintain effectual possession of such an extensive territory, without the aid of more opulent coadjutors. Of these, by the influence and activity of Mr. White, they obtained a sufficient number in London, among the commercial men who openly professed, or secretly favored the tenets of the puritans. These auxiliaries brought an accession of prudent precaution, as well as of pecuniary resources, to the conduct of the design ; and, justly doubting the expediency of founding a colony on the basis of a grant from a private company of patentees, who might convey a right of property in the soil, but could not confer jurisdiction, or the privilege of governing the society which it was proposed to establish, they persuaded their associates to unite with them in an application to the crown for a royal charter. The readiness with which this application was granted, and the terms in which the charter was framed, are absolutely unaccountable, except on the supposition that Charles and his ecclesiastical counsellors were willing, at this time, to disencumber the church, in which they meditated such extensive innovations, of a body of men, from whom the most unbending opposition to their measures might be expected ; a line of policy which appears perfectly credible ; although, at a subsequent period, they endeavored to counteract it, when they were sensible of the reflective influence exercised on the puritan body in England by the spread and predominance of their tenets in America. It seems impossible, on any other supposition, to account for the remarkable facts that, at the very time when this monarch was introducing despotic authority into the government of Virginia, he extended to a colony of puritans a constitution containing all the immunities of which the Virginians beheld themselves so unjustly deprived ; and that, well aware of the purpose of the applicants to escape from the constitutions of the church of England, he granted them a charter containing ample commendation of the religious ends they had in view, without the imposition of a single ordinance respecting the constitution of their church government, or the forms and ceremonies of their worship ; nay, so completely in this instance, did he surrender the maxims of his colonial policy to the wishes of the projectors of a puritan colony, that, although he had recently declared, in a public proclamation, that a mercantile company was utterly unfit to administer the affairs of a remote colony ; yet, on the present occasion, he scrupled not, in compliance with the wishes of the mercantile part of the adventurers, to commit the supreme direction of the colony to be planted in the province of Massachusetts Bay, to a corporation consisting chiefly of merchants resident in London. The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic ; and their right to the territory which they had purchased from the council of Plymouth being confirmed by the king, they were empowered to dispose of the lands, and to govern the people who should settle upon them. The first governor of the company and his council were named by the crown ; the right of electing their successors was vested in the members of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants ; the legislative, to the body of proprietors, who might make and enforce statutes and orders for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England. They obtained the same temporary exemption that had been granted to the Virginian company from internal taxes, and from duties on goods exported or imported ; and notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural-born subjects.

The meaning of this charter, with respect to the religious rights of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, has given rise to a great deal of discussion. By the puritans, and the puritan writers of that age, it was universally regarded as bestowing on them the amplest liberty to regulate their worship by the dictates of their own conscience. And this, I think, is manifestly, its import. The grantors were fully aware, and the grantees had neither the wish nor the power to conceal, that their object was to make a peaceable secession from a church which they could no longer conscientiously adhere to, and to establish for themselves, at Massachusetts Bay, an ecclesiastical constitution similar to that

* It is impossible to read the speeches of this prelate on the trials of the puritans without astonishment at the strange medley of which his mind was composed. Learning and elegance are commixed with vulgar railing and obscene ribaldry ; and the most beautiful delineations of Christian mildness and mercy, with the proposition or approbation of vindictive cruelties that would have disgraced an American savage. The light within him was darkness ; and his acquaintance with the theory of religion seemed only to give him assurance of his safety and rectitude in practically disregarding it. The sentences proposed by the bishops in the Star Chamber were always severer than the suggestions of the lay judges. The bishops, no doubt, were frequently exasperated by the sarcasms of their victims. Bastwick, before his trial, wrote a letter to Laud humbly petitioning for a pittance from the archiepiscopal treasure, to support him in prison, and concluding thus :—"How thou fairest in thy palace, demandeth, in limbo patrum, John Bastwick." One of the lay judges in the Star Chamber, on one occasion, addressed a puritan on his trial with a text of which the bishops probably did not admire the application—"Be not righteous over much; neither make thyself over wise : why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" See Howell's State Trials, Vol. iii. Nos. 134, 135, 142, 145, &c.

† Neal, i. 117—121. These bishops, said a member of the Long Parliament, "placed the excellency of priesthood in worldly pomp and greatness, and gave the glory of the invisible God to pictures, images, and altars ; therefore God gave them up to vile affections, to be implacable, unmerciful, and without natural affection." Howell's State Trials, iv. 27.

which was already established and maintained without molestation at New Plymouth. A silent acquiescence in such designs was all that could reasonably be expected from the king and his ministers; and when this emphatic silence on a point which is quite ludicrous to suppose could have escaped the attention of either party, is coupled with such a ready departure from all the arbitrary principles which the king was preparing to enforce in every other branch of his domestic and colonial administration, it seems impossible to doubt that Charles was at this time not unwilling to make a temporary sacrifice of authority, in order to rid himself of these puritan petitioners, and that the interpretation which they gave to their charter was perfectly correct. And yet writers have not been wanting, whom enmity to the puritans has induced to explain this charter in a manner totally repugnant to every rule of legal or equitable construction. It is a maxim of law, and the dictate of common sense and universal equity, that, in all cases of doubtful construction, the presumption lies against that party whose office it was to speak, and who had the power to clear every ambiguity away. In defiance of this rule, these writers have insisted that the silence of the charter respecting the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, implies the imposition on the colonists of every particular of the constitution of the church of England.* The most eminent writer of this party has taken occasion from hence to reproach the colonists of Massachusetts Bay with having laid the foundations of their church establishment in fraud. "Without regard," says this distinguished author, "to the sentiments of that monarch, under the sanction of whose authority they settled in America, and from whom they derived right to act as a body politic, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that none of their acts or ordinances should be inconsistent, they adopted in their infant church that form of policy which has since been distinguished by the name of independent." He accounts for the silence of the charter on a point which was unquestionably uppermost in the minds of both parties, by remarking, that "the king seems not to have foreseen, nor to have suspected, the secret intentions of those who projected the measure;" and he explains the conduct of the colonists, by pronouncing that they were "animated with a spirit of innovation in civil policy as well as in religion." But, truly, it seems not a little unreasonable to make it matter of reproach to the puritans, who were driven by oppression from their native land, that they did not cross the Atlantic and settle in a savage desert for the purpose of cultivating a more perfect conformity to the sentiments of their oppressor. The provision in their charter, that the laws to be enacted by them should not be repugnant to the jurisprudence of England, could never be understood to imply any thing farther than a general conformity to the common law of England, suitable to the acknowledged dependence of the colony on the main body of the British dominions. The unsuspecting ignorance, too, that is imputed to the king and his counsellors, appears perfectly incredible, when we consider that the example of New Plymouth, where a bare exemption from express restrictions had been followed by the establishment of the independent model, was fresh in their recollection; that it was avowed and notorious puritans who now applied for permission to proceed to the land where that constitution was established; and, above all, that, in their application to the king, they expressly desired leave to withdraw in peace from the bosom of a church to whose ordinances they could not conscientiously conform. Whether the king and Laud were, or were not, aware of the intentions of the puritans, they must surely be allowed to be the best judges of what they themselves had intended to convey; and their acquiescence in the constitution which the colonists of Massachusetts Bay proceeded forthwith to establish, demonstrates, in the strongest manner, that they were aware they had no violation of the charter to complain of. When they afterwards became sensible that the progress of puritan establishments in New England increased the ferment which their measures were creating in the parent state, they interposed to check the intercourse between the two countries, but tacitly acknowledged that the system which they followed so rigidly in England was excluded by positive agreement from the colonial territory.

Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony had been rendered complete by the royal charter, they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous puritans, accompanied by some eminent non-conformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconvenience of a long voyage to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and the formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the barbarous land where so many preceding adventurers had found an untimely grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, sustained by the worth and dignity of the purpose which they had combined to pursue. Their hearts were knit to each other by community of generous design; and they experienced none of those jealousies which inevitably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among men unequally qualified to obtain the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers; but it had long ceased to wear an aspect of parental kindness towards them, and, in forsaking it, they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which its saints and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom by kindling and preserving there the sacred fires of religion and liberty, which so many efforts were made to extinguish in the shrines of England, whence they carried their embers. They confidently hoped that the religious and political sentiments which had languished under such protracted persecution in Europe would now, at length, shine forth in their full lustre in America. Establishing an asylum where the professors of their sentiments might at all times find shelter, they justly expected to derive continual accessions to the vigor of their own virtue from the resolute character of men who might hereafter be prompted to forsake their native habitations, and be willing, like them, to recognize their country wherever they could find the lineaments of truth and liberty. They did not postpone the practice of piety till the conclusion of their voyage; but, occupied continually with the exercises of devotion, they caused the ocean which they traversed to resound with unwonted acclaim of praise and thanksgiving to its great Creator. The seamen, partaking their spirit, readily joined in all their religious exercises and ordinances, and expressed their belief that they had practised the first *sea-fasts* that had ever been kept in the world. After a prosperous voyage, the emigrants had the happiness of re-uniting themselves to their friends already established at Salem, under Mr. Endicot, who had been appointed deputy-governor of the colony.

To the body of men thus collected together, the institution of a church appeared the most interesting of all their concerns, and it occupied, accordingly, their earliest and most solemn deliberation. They had been advised before they quitted England to agree among themselves on the form of church government which was to be established in the colony; but, neglecting this advice, they had gone no farther than to express their general concurrence in the principle that *the reformation of the church was to be endeavored according to the written word of God.* They now applied to their brethren at Plymouth, and desired to be acquainted with the grounds of the constitution which had there been established; and, having heard these fully explained, and devoted some time to a diligent comparison of the model with the warrants of scripture which were cited in its vindication, and earnestly besought the enlightening aid of Him who alone can teach his creatures how to worship him with acceptance, they declared their entire approbation of the sister church, and proceeded to copy her structure in the establishment of their own. They united together in religious society by a covenant, in which, after a solemn dedication of themselves to live in the fear of God, and to walk in his ways, so far as he should be pleased to reveal himself to them, they engaged to each other to cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse; to avoid jealousies, suspicions, and secret risings of spirit; and in all cases of offence to bear and forbear, give and forgive, after the example of their Divine pattern. They promised, in the congregation, to repress their forwardness to display their gifts; and, in their intercourse, whether with sister churches or with the mass of mankind, to study a conversation remote from the very appearance of evil. They engaged, to a dutiful obedience to all who should be set over them in church or commonwealth, to encourage them to a faithful performance of their duty; and they expressed their resolution to approve themselves in their particular callings, the stewards and servants of God, shunning idleness as the bane of every community, and dealing hardly or oppressively with none of the human race. The form of policy which they adopted was that which distinguished the churches of the independents, and which I have already had occasion to describe. The form of public worship which they instituted, rejected a liturgy and every superfluous ceremony, and was adapted to the strictest standard of Calvinistic simplicity. They elected a pastor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they set apart for their respective offices by imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were that day admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of faith drawn up by their teachers, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as christians; and it was declared that no person should thereafter be permitted to subscribe the covenant, or be received into communion with the church, until he had given satisfaction to the elders with respect to the purity of his faith and the consistency of his conduct.

The constitution of which we have now beheld an abstract, and especially the covenant or social engagement so fraught with sentiments of genuine piety and enlarged benevolence, has excited the derision of some writers, who refuse to consider the speculative liberality which it indicates in any other point of view than as contrasted with the practical intolerance which the colonists soon after displayed. But however agreeable this aspect may be to eyes that watch for the frailties of the good and the weaknesses of the strong, this is not the only light in which it will present itself to humane and liberal minds. Philosophy admits that the soul is enlarged by the mere purpose of excellence; and religion has pronounced that even those designs which men are not deemed worthy to perform, it may be well for them to have entertained in their minds. The error of the inhabitants of Salem was the universal error of their age; the virtues they demonstrated were peculiar to themselves and their puritan brethren. In the ecclesiastical constitution which they established for themselves, and the sentiments which they interwove with it, they rendered a sincere and laudable homage to the rights of conscience and the requirements of piety; and these principles, no doubt, exercised a highly beneficial influence on the practice which unhappily they did not entirely control. The influence of principles that tend to the restraint of human ferocity and intolerance is frequently invisible to mortal eyes, because it is productive chiefly of negative consequences: and when great provocation or alarm has led the professors of these principles to violate the restraints they impose, they will be judged with little justice, if charity neglect to supply the imperfection of that knowledge to which we are limited while we see but in part, and to suggest the secret and honorable forbearance which may have preceded the visible action which we condemn or deplore. In the very first instance of intolerant proceeding with which the adversaries of the puritans have reproached this American colony, it appears to me that the influence of genuine piety in mitigating human impatience is very strikingly apparent. It is a notable fact that, although these emigrants were collected from a body embracing such diversity of opinion respecting church government and the rights of worship as then prevailed among the puritans of England, and though they had landed in America without having previously ascertained how far they were likely to agree on this very point, for the sake of which they had incurred banishment from England, the constitution which was copied from the church of New Plymouth gave satisfaction to almost every individual among them. Two brothers, however, of the name of Browne, one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of note and among the number of the original patentees, dissented from this constitution, and arguing with vehement absurdity that all who adhered to it would infallibly become anabaptists, endeavored to obtain converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation on a model more approximated to the forms of the church of England. The defectiveness of their argument they endeavored to supply by the vehemence of their clamor; and they obtained a favorable audience from a few who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the colonial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the

* Chalmers attempts to support this interpretation by citing from the charter the following clause,—"That the oath of supremacy shall be administered to every one who shall pass to the colony to inhabit there." Annals, p 141. Dr Robertson cites the same words for the same purpose. But there is no such clause in the charter. There is a clause, not requiring, but empowering, the governor, if he think proper, to administer the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Chalmers [illegible] with the enthusiasm of the puritans, who "considered the charter as sacred, [illegible] from the providence of heaven," p 150. Dr Robertson is less charitable. He supposes the puritans to have wilfully misinterpreted the charter which he himself misrepresents.

laws of morality. Mr. Endicott, the governor, called these men, together with the ministers, before the people; who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system they had consented to; and, as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavored to excite a mutiny against the government, they were judged unfit to remain in the colony, and sent back by the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England.* Their absence restored unity of sentiment to the colonists, who were proceeding to complete their settlement and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter, and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one half of their number, but produced no other change on their minds than to cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence.

Notwithstanding the sarcastic comments which the banishment of the two individuals whose case I have just related has received from some eminent writers, the justice of the proceeding cannot fail, I think, to commend itself to the sentiments of all impartial men: and I should hardly have thought it necessary to notice the charge of intolerance to which the colonists have been subjected, if their conduct had never given greater occasion to it. But unfortunately a great proportion of the puritans at this period were strongly infected with the prevalent error of their age,† and regarded the peaceable co-existence of different sects in the same community as nearly impossible—a notion which, it must be confessed, the treatment they received from their adversaries tended very strongly to enforce. If it was right that they who had suffered from persecution, should themselves abstain from what their own experience had feelingly shown to be so hateful and odious, it was natural that flying to deserts for the sake of particular opinions, they should expect to see these opinions flourish unmolested and undisputed. The sufferings they had endured from their adversaries, they regarded as one of the legitimate consequences of the pernicious errors that these adversaries had imbibed; and they customarily regarded their opponents as the enemies of their persons as well as persecutors of their opinions. The activity of government in support of the national opinion, they were far from condemning in the abstract. They admitted the legitimacy of such interposition, and condemned it only when it seemed to them erroneously directed. Even when oppressed themselves, they exclaimed against indiscriminate toleration. They contradicted so far their own principles; and maintained that human beings might and ought to punish what God alone could correct and alter.‡ Some of them, no doubt, had already anticipated the sentiments which at a later period came to be generally characteristic of the independents, and which induced them to reject all connexion between church and state, and disallow the competence of the interposition of human authority to sustain one church or to suppress another. Unfortunately some of the early votaries of these liberal sentiments combined with them a set of political opinions which it would not be easy to realize without subverting civil society. Of this, a remarkable instance will very shortly occur in the progress of our narrative. But very opposite sentiments prevailed among the bulk of the colonists of Massachusetts, who came to America fresh from the influence of persecution, and had not, like their brethren at New Plymouth, the advantage of an intermediate residence in a land where a peaceful co-existence of different sects was demonstrated to be not only practicable, but eminently conducive to the promotion of those excellent graces of christian character, patience, charity, and a spirit of forbearance. Much might be urged and will doubtless suggest itself, in extenuation of this error, which long remained a root of bitterness to disturb their peace and felicity. But the considerations which may be allowed to mitigate our censure of the intolerant spirit which these people displayed, can never be permitted to transform it into a virtue. It was sharpened by the copious infusions which the colony received of the feelings excited in England by the increased severity of persecution, from which the victims began to fly in increasing numbers to America.

The British dominion in America underwent, about this period, some vicissitudes which in after years affected materially the prosperity both of New England and of the other colonial establishments in the same quarter of the world. The war which the king so wantonly declared against France in 1627, and which produced only disgrace and disaster to the British arms in Europe, was attended with events of a very different complexion in America. Sir David Kirk having obtained a commission to attack the American dominions of France, invaded Canada in the summer of 1628; and so successful was the expedition, that in July, 1629, Quebec was reduced to surrender to the arms of England. Thus was the capital of New France subdued by the English, about one hundred and thirty years before they achieved its final conquest by the sword of Wolfe. This signal event was unknown in Europe when peace was re-established between France and England; and Charles, by the subsequent treaty of St. Germain, not only restored this valuable acquisition to France, but expressed the cession he made in terms of such extensive application, as undeniably inferred a recognition of the French, and a surrender of the British claims to the province of Nova Scotia. This arrangement manifestly threatened no small prejudice to the settlements of the English; and we shall speedily find that what it threatened, it did not fail to produce.

CHAPTER II.

The Charter Government transferred from England to Massachussetts—Numerous Emigration—Foundation of Boston—Hardships of the New Settlers—Disfranchisement of Dissenters in the Colony—Influence of the colonial clergy—John Cotton and his Colleagues and Successors—Williams' Schism—he founds Providence—Representative Assembly established in Massachussetts—Arrival of Hugh Peters—and Henry Vane, who is elected Governor—Foundation of Connecticut—and New Haven—War with the Pequod Indians—Severities exercised by the victorious Colonists—Disturbances created by Mrs. Hutchinson—Colonization of Rhode Island—and of New Hampshire and Maine—Jealousy, and fluctuating Conduct of the King—Measures adopted against the Liberties of Massachussetts—interrupted by the Civil Wars—State of New England—Population—Laws—Manners.

The directors of the Massachusetts Bay company in England meanwhile exerted their utmost endeavors to reinforce the colony with a numerous body of additional settlers. Their designs were promoted by the rigor and intolerance of Laud's administration, which, daily multiplying the hardships imposed on all who scrupled entire conformity to the ecclesiastical ordinances, proportionably diminished, in their estimation, the danger and hardships attending a retreat to America. Many persons began to treat with the company for a settlement in New England, and several of these were people of distinguished family and fortune. But foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative power in Britain, they demanded, as a previous condition of their emigration, that the charter and all the powers of government should be transferred to New England, and exercised within the territory of the colony. The company, who had incurred a considerable expense with little prospect of speedy remuneration, were very well disposed to obtain such important aid by embracing the measure that was proposed to them: but doubting its legality, they thought proper to consult lawyers of eminence on the subject. Unaccountable as it must appear to every person in the slightest degree conversant with legal considerations, they received an opinion favorable to the wishes of the emigrants;* and accordingly it was determined, by general consent, "that the charter should be transferred and the government be settled in New England." To the members of the corporation who choose to remain at home, was reserved a share in the trading, stock, and profits of the company, for the term of seven years. By this transaction, one of the most singular that is recorded in the history of a civilized people, the liberties of the New England communities were placed on a sure and respectable basis. When we consider the means by which this was effected, we find ourselves encompassed with doubts and difficulties, of which the only solution that I am able to discover is the opinion I have already expressed, that the king was at this time exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them, that if they would bestow their presence on another part of his dominions, and employ their energies in peopling the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the church of England, they were free to arrange their internal constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, according to their own discretion. An English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts: and this was openly transacted by men whose principles rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to their rules, and under the eyes of a prince no less vigilant to observe, than vigorous to repress every encroachment on the limits of his prerogative. So far was Charles from entertaining the slightest dissatisfaction at this proceeding, or from desiring, at this period of his reign, to obstruct the removal of the puritans to New England, that about two years after this change had been carried into effect, when a complaint of arbitrary and illegal proceedings was preferred against the colony by a papist who had been banished from it, and who was supported by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the king, after a full hearing of the case in the privy council, issued a proclamation not only justifying but commending the whole conduct of the colonial government, reprobating the prevalent reports that he "had no good opinion of that plantation," and engaging not only to maintain the privileges of its inhabitants, but to supply whatever else might contribute to their further comfort and prosperity.† From the terms of this document (of which no notice is taken by the writers inimical to the puritans,) and from the whole complexion of the king's conduct towards the founders of this settlement, it would appear that, whatever designs he might secretly cherish of adding the subjugation of New England, at a future period, to that of his British and Virginian dominions, his policy at this time was to persuade the leaders of the puritans, that if they would peaceably abandon the contest for their rights in England, they were at liberty to embody and enjoy them in whatever institutions they might think fit to establish in America. And yet some writers, whom it is impossible to tax with ignorance, as they had access to all the existing materials of information, whom it would justly be held presumptuous to charge with defect of discernment, and whom it may perhaps appear uncharitable to reproach with malignity towards the puritans, have not scrupled ro accuse the founders of this colony of effecting their ends by a policy not less impudent than fraudful, and by acts of disobedience little short of rebellion. The colonists themselves, notwithstanding all the facilities which the king presented to them, and

* Mather, B. i. cap. 4. sect 8. Neal, i. 129. On their return to England they preferred a heavy complaint against the colonists of oppressive demeanor to themselves and enmity to the church of England. The total disregard which their complaint experienced (Chalmers, p. 146) strongly confirms the opinion I have expressed of the understanding of all parties with regard to the real import of the charter.

† The richest endowment of reason could not exempt the greatest of philosophers from intolerance; nor could the experience of persecution fully evince its injustice even to its own victims. Lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religious sentiment and worship was essential to the support of government, and that no toleration could with safety be granted to sectaries. Bacon, De unitate ecclesiæ. During the administration of Cromwell, an eminent presbyterian minister, who had himself felt the hand of persecution, published a treatise against what he was pleased to term "this cursed intolerable toleration." Orme's Life of Owen.

To the objection that persecution serves to make men hypocrites, an eminent minister in New England answered "Better tolerate hypocrites and tares, than briars and thorns." Another, in a work published in 1645, thus expresses himself. "It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance." Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. i. cap. 3.

‡ None have condemned them more strongly than the popish theologians, who have insultingly urged that persecution, however congenial to the Romau catholic principle, of submitting all private judgment to the regulation of an infallible church, was totally repugnant to the fundamental principle of protestanism, which asserts the supremacy of private judgment and individual opinion. But there is a fallacy here: for although the particular dogmas of catholic faith may be derived, not immediately from private judgment, but from the canons of the church, it must be to the private judgment of every catholic that this church is indebted for the recognition of its authority to enact such canons.

* There is not the slightest reason for supposing that the opinion was dishonest, or that it proceeded on erroneous information. Even at a subsequent period, the attorney-general, Sawyer, gave it as his official opinion, "that the patent having created the grantees and their assigns, a body corporate, they might transfer their charter, and act in New England." Chalmers, p. 173. He had not perused the charter with sufficient attention. It conveyed the soil to the corporation and its assigns; but conferred the powers of government on the corporation and its successors. His mistake, however, may well seem to acquit the patentees of intentional deviation from the terms of their grant.

† Neal i, 137, 8. This proclamation is very artfully worded, and contains indications of deeper designs, which were kept in reserve till the present policy had produced the effect that was expected from it. The ample inquiry that preceded the proclamation, must have induced the puritans to believe, that the whole proceedings of the colonists had received the royal approbation; and yet the pledge of protection and security is dexterously qualified with the condition of its appearing to the satisfaction of the king that the charter had been in all things effectuated according to its true meaning—an indication that a day might come when it would be more convenient for him to seek for a cause of quarrel with the colony. Had he succeeded in extinguishing liberty in England, the freedom of Massachusetts would not long have survived it.

the unwonted liberality and consideration with which he showed himself willing to grace their departure, were so fully aware of his rooted enmity to their principles, and so little able to reconcile his present conduct with his favorite policy, that they openly declared they had been led by Providence to a land of rest, through ways that were unintelligible to themselves, and that they could ascribe the blessings they obtained to nothing else but the special interposition of that Being who orders all the steps of his people, and holds the hearts of princes and of all men in his hands. It is indeed a strange coincidence, that this arbitrary prince, at the very time when he was exercising the sternest despotism over the royalists in Virginia, should have been cherishing the principles of liberty among the puritans in New England.

Having effected this important revolution in their system of government, the adventurers proceeded to make the most vigorous exertions to realize the designs they had undertaken. In a general cour , John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants were chosen; in whom, together with the body of freemen who should settle in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company. With such zeal and activity did they prepare for emigration, that, in the course of the ensuing year, above fifteen hundred settlers, among whom were several wealthy and high-born persons, both men and women, who chose to follow truth into a desert, rather than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world under the dominion of error, set sail aboard a fleet of seventeen ships for New England. On their arrival at Salem [1630] many of them were so ill satisfied with its situation, that they explored the country in quest of better stations; and settling in different places around the bay, according to their various predilections, laid the foundation of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and other societies which have since expanded into considerable towns. In each of these a church was established on the same model with that of Salem. This, together with the care of making provision for their subsistence during winter, occupied them entirely for several months. The approach of winter was attended with a repetition of those trials and distresses through the ordeal of which every body of settlers in New England was long fated to pass. Afflicted with severe scarcity, which all the generous contributions of the other settlements in the province were able but feebly to mitigate, attacked with various distempers, the consequence of hunger, cold, and the peculiarities of a soil and climate uncongenial to constitutions formed in Europe, and lodged for the most part in booths and tents that afforded but imperfect protection from the weather, great numbers of them were carried to the grave. But the noble determination of spirit which had impelled them to emigrate, preserved all its force; the survivors endured their calamities with unshaken fortitude; and the dying expressed a grateful exultation at having at least beheld with their eyes the gathering of a church of Christ in these desolate ends of the earth. The continuance of the pestilence enforced their devout supplications; and its cessation, which they recognised as the answer to their prayers, excited their devotional gratitude. This calamity was hardly removed when they were alarmed by the tidings of a universal conspiracy of the neighboring Indians for their destruction. The colonists, instead of relying on their patent, had, on their first arrival, fairly purchased from the Indians all the tracts of land which they afterwards possessed; and in the hour of their peril, both they and the faithless vendors who menaced them, reaped the fruit of their concurrence or collision with the designs of Eternal Justice. The hostility of these savages was interrupted by a pestilential disorder that broke out among themselves, and with rapid desolation swept whole tribes of them away. This disorder was the small-pox, which has always proved a much more formidable malady to Indian than to European constitutions. In spite of the most charitable exertions on the part of the colonists to arrest the progress of the distemper by their superior medical skill, nine-tenths of the neighboring savages were cut off, and many of the survivors flying from the infection, removed their habitations to more distant regions.

1631.] When the restoration of plenty, by the arrival of supplies from England, and the abatement of the severity of winter, permitted the colonists to resume their assemblies for the transaction of public business, their very first proceedings demonstrated that a great majority of them were considerably leavened with a spirit of intolerance, and were determined in their practical administration to exemplify a thorough intermixture, and mutual dependence of church and state. A law was passed, enacting that none should hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as had been or should hereafter be received into the church as members. This law at once divested every person who did not hold the prevailing opinions, not only on the great points of doctrine, but with respect to the discipline of the church and the ceremonies of worship, of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church, being vested in the ministers and leading men of each congregation, the most valuable civil rights were made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. Even at a later period, when the colonists were compelled, by the remonstrances of Charles the Second, to make some alteration of this law, they altered it only in appearance, and enacted that every candidate for the privilege of a freeman, should produce a certificate from some minister of the established church, that they were persons of orthodox principles, and of honest life and conversation—a certificate which they who did not belong to the established church necessarily solicited with great disadvantage. The consequence of such laws was to elevate the clergy to a very high degree of influence and authority;* and, happily for the colony, she was long blessed with a succession of ministers whose admirable virtues were calculated to counteract the mischief of this inordinate influence, and even to convert it into an instrument of good. Though dissenters from the colonial church were thus deprived of political privileges, it does not appear that they were subjected to any other inconvenience, except where their tenets were considered as blasphemous, or when they endeavored by the propagation of them to detach others from the established church, or by the practical realization of them to disturb the public peace. The exclusion from political privileges to which they were subjected, seems not at first to have given them any annoyance; but to have been felt to be the necessary consequence of that intertexture of church and commonwealth in which the main end of political institutions was the preservation of the church estate, and the chief value of political privileges considered to arise from their subservience to this end. Various persons resided in peace within the colony, though excluded from political franchises: and one episcopal minister is particularly noted for having said, when he signified his refusal to join any of the colonial congregations, that as he had left England because he did not like the lord bishops, so they might rest assured he had not come to America to live under the lord brethren.

1632.] The diminution of their original numbers, which the colonists had suffered from hardship and disease, was soon much more than compensated by the ample reinforcements which they continually received from their persecuted brethren in England. [1633] Among the new settlers who arrived not long after the transference of the seat of government to Massachusetts, were some eminent puritan ministers, of whom the most remarkable were Elliot and Mayhew, the first protestant missionaries to the Indians, and John Cotton, a man whose singular worth procured, and long preserved, to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony. After ministering for twenty years in England to a congregation by whom he was highly respected and beloved, Mr. Cotton had been summoned before the Court of High Commission on a charge of neglecting to kneel at the sacrament. Lord Dorset and other persons of distinction by whom he was known and valued, employed the strongest intercession in his behalf with Laud: but their exertions proving unavailing, Dorset sent to inform him, "that if it had been only drunkenness or adultery he had committed, he might have found favor, but the sin of puritanism was unpardonable." Mr. Cotton, in consequence, retired to New England, and found there a scene peculiarly calculated to develope and give efficacy to his piety and virtue. To an earnest concern for religion he united a deep and ever prevailing sense of it; and continually marching in front of his doctrine, he enforced its acceptance by the weight of his character and the animating influence of his example. The kindness of his disposition, and the courteous benevolence of his manners, enabled him, in all his intercourse with others, to diffuse the influence of his piety no less sensibly than agreeably through the veins of his conversation. The loftiness of the standard which he had continually in his view, and the assimilating influence of that strong admiration which he entertained for it, communicated to his character an elevation that commanded respect; while the continual sense of his dependence on divine aid, and of his shortcoming to his great pattern, graced his manners with a humility that attracted love, and disarmed the contentious opposition of petulence and envy. It is recorded of him, that having been once followed from the church where he had been preaching to his house, by an ignorant disputatious mechanic, who told him with a frown that his ministry had become dark and flat, he replied, "*Both, brother, it may be both; let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise.*" On another occasion, being accosted in the street by a pragmatical coxcomb, who insolently told him that he was an old fool, Mr. Cotton, with a mildness that showed he forgave his rudeness, and a solemnity that evinced he was very far from disregarding the opinion of his brethren, answered, "*I confess I am so; the Lord make thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation.*" The character of this excellent clergyman, and of many of his cotemporaries in the colonial ministry, seems to have been formed by Providence for the express purpose of counteracting, by strong individual influence, the violent, divisive, and contentious spirit that long continued to ferment among a community of men whom persecution had rendered rigid and inflexible in following out their opinions, whose sentiments had not been harmonized by previous habits of union, who were daily receiving into their body a fresh infusion of dissimilar characters and exasperated feeling, and among whom each naturally considered the opinions for which he had individually suffered, as the most important features in the common cause. When we recollect the presence of such elements of discord, and the severe and lengthened operation that had been given to that influence which tends to drive even the wise to frenzy, we shall be less disposed to marvel at the vehement heats and acrimonious contentions that in some instances broke forth to disturb the peace of the colony, than that in the midst of such threatening symptoms so much coherence and stability was preserved, and so much virtue, happiness, and prosperity attained. Among the instruments which the Divine Being adapted and employed to compose the frenzy and moderate the fervor of his people, were this eminent individual John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, a man very little inferior to him in worth, and, at a later period, Dr. Increase Mather, who succeeded to the estimation which Mr. Cotton had enjoyed, and whose family supplied no less than ten of the most popular ministers of their age to the church of Massachusetts, and produced the celebrated author of the ecclesiastical history of New England. Had the colonial ministry been composed entirely of such or such-like men, the agitated minds of the inhabitants might have much sooner attained a settled composure; but, unfortunately, the wild and impetuous spirit that was working in many of them did not long wait for leaders to excite and develope its powers.

The first religious dissension that arose in the colony was promoted by Roger Williams, [1634,] who had come over to New England in 1630, and preached for some years to the inhabitants of New Plymouth; but, not finding there an audience suitable to his purposes, he had solicited his dismission, and had recently been appointed minister of Salem. This man was a rigid Brownist, precise, illiberal, unforbearing, and passionate: he began to vent from the pulpit which he had gained by his substantial piety and fervid zeal, a singular medly of notions; some wildly speculative, some boldly opposed to the constitutions of civil society, and some which, if unexceptionable in theory, were highly unsuitable to the place from which they were delivered, and the exercises and sentiments with which he endeavored to associate them. He maintained that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate; that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate, not even the oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to refuse; that King Charles had no right to usurp the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the

* Many instances of their influence in matters of importance will occur in the further progress of our narrative. An instance of their control over public opinion on a point which, being quite beyond the province of reason, was the more likely to interest the most obstinate and unassailable prejudices, is mentioned by Hutchinson, p. 152. Tobacco was at first prohibited under a penalty, and in some writings that were popular at the time, the smoke of it is, with most audacious [illegible], compared to the smoke of the bottomless pit. But some of the clergy having taken up the practice of smoking, tobacco was instantly, by an act of government, "set at liberty."

colonial patent was utterly invalid; that the magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that any thing short of unlimited toleration for all religions was detestable persecution. These liberal principles of toleration he combined with a spirit so rigid and separating, that he not only refused all communion with any who did not profess every one of the foregoing opinions, but forbade the members of the church at Salem to communicate with any of the other churches in the colony; and, when they refused to obey this prohibition, he withdrew from them, and set up a separate meeting in his own house. Here he was attended by a select assembly of zealous admirers, composed of men, in whose minds an impetuous temper, inflamed by persecution, had greatly impaired the sense of moral perspective; who entertained disproportioned ideas of those branches of the trunk of godliness, for the sake of which they had endured such mighty sufferings, and had seen worth and piety so foully wronged; and who abhorred every symbol, badge, and practice, that was associated with the remembrance, and spotted, as they conceived, with the iniquity of their idolatrous oppressors. One of his followers, Mr. Endicot, a magistrate of the place, and formerly deputy-governor of the colony, in a transport of zeal against superstition, cut the red cross out of the king's colors; and many of the trained bands, who had hitherto followed these colors without objection, caught the contagion of Endicot's zeal, and protested that they would follow them no longer, if the cross were permitted to remain. The riotous and violent conduct of Endicot was universally disapproved, and the colonial authorities punished his misdemeanor by reprimand and disability of holding office for one year; but they were obliged to compromise the dispute with the protesters among the trained bands, and comply, to a certain extent, with their remonstrances. They were preparing to call Williams to a judicial reckoning, when Mr. Cotton and other ministers interposed and desired to be allowed to reason with him, alleging that his violence was prompted rather by a misguided conscience, than seditious principles; and that there was hope they might gain, instead of losing, their brother. *You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you*, was the prediction of the governor, and the result of the conference proving the justice of it,* sentence of banishment from the colony was forthwith pronounced upon Williams. This sentence excited a great uproar in Salem, and was so successfully denounced as persecution by the adherents of Williams, that the bulk of the inhabitants of the place were preparing to follow him into exile; when an earnest and pious admonition, transmitted to them by Mr. Cotton and the other ministers of Boston, induced them to relinquish their purpose, to acknowledge the justice of the proceeding, and abandon Williams to his fortunes. He was not, however, abandoned by his more select adherents, whose esteem and affection he had gained to such a degree, that they resolved to incur every hazard, in order to live and die with him. Accompanying him in his exile, they directed their march towards the south, and settling at a place beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they bought a considerable tract of land from the Indians, and bestowed on their settlement the name of Providence. Had this man encountered the treatment to which the publication of his peculiar opinions would have exposed him in England, he would probably have been driven to madness: the wiser and kinder treatment he experienced from the Massachusetts authorities was productive of happier effects; and Mr. Cotton and his associates were not deceived, in supposing that they would gain their brother. They gained him in a manner, indeed, less flattering to themselves than a triumphant issue of the conference would have been, but much more beneficial to the interests of America. He concurred, as we shall see, at a later period, in founding the state of Rhode Island, and was one of its most eminent benefactors. He lived to an advanced age; and soon throwing off the wild and separating spirit with which his sentiments had been leavened, he regained the friendship and esteem of his ancient fellow colonists, and preserved a friendly correspondence with Mr. Cotton and others of them till his death. The principles of toleration, which he had formerly discredited, by the rigidness with which he disallowed the slightest difference of opinions between the members of his own communion, he now enforced by exercising that forbearance by which the differences that distinguish christians are prevented from dividing them, and by cultivating that charity, by which even the sense of these differences is often melted down. The great fundamental principles of christianity daily acquiring a more exclusive and absorbing influence over his mind, he began to labor for the conversion of the Indians; and, in addition to the benefits of which his ministry among them was productive to themselves, he acquired over them an influence which he rendered highly advantageous to his old associates in Massachusetts, whom he was enabled frequently to warn of conspiracies formed against them by the savages in their vicinity, and communicated to him by the tribes with whom he maintained relations of friendship. The vehemence that Endicot had displayed, was not less mellowed by time and the ascendancy of sound wisdom and piety. He remained in Massachusetts, and, at a later period, held for many years the chief office in its government with great advantage and general respect.

The colony of Massachusetts had continued meanwhile to attain stability and prosperity, and to extend its settlements; and this year an important and beneficial change took place in its internal constitution. The mortality that had prevailed among the Indians, had vacated a great many of the stations which their tribes had occupied, and as many of these were well chosen, the colonists took possession of them with an eagerness that dispersed their settlements widely over the province. This necessarily led to the introduction of representative government, and, accordingly, at the period of assembling the general court, the freemen, instead of attending it in person, according to the prescription of the charter, elected representatives in their several districts, whom they authorised to appear in their name and act in their behalf. The representatives were admitted, and henceforward considered themselves, in conjunction with the governor and assistants, as the supreme legislative assembly of the colony. The abstract wisdom of this innovation could not admit of doubt, and, in defence of their right to effect it, it was forcibly urged that the colonists were only making a new way to the enjoyment of a right already extended to them, and preventing their assemblies from becoming either too numerous to transact business, or too thin and partial to represent the interests which they were intended to administer, and supposed to embrace. The number of freemen had greatly increased since the charter was granted; many resided at a distance from the places where the supreme courts were held; personal attendance had become inconvenient; and, in such circumstances, it will not be easy to blame them for making with their own hands the improvement that was necessary to preserve their existing rights, instead of applying to the government of England, which was steadily pursuing the plan of subverting the organs of liberty in the mother country, and had already begun to exhibit an altered countenance towards the colony.* In consequence of this important measure the colony advanced beyond the state of a corporation, and acquired by its own act the condition of a society which was endowed with political liberty, and which had framed for itself a government derived from the model of the English constitution. The representatives having established themselves in their office, proceeded to assert the rights which necessarily attached to it, by enacting that no law should be passed, no tax imposed, and no public officer appointed but by the general assembly.

The increasing violence and injustice of the royal government in England meanwhile co-operated so powerfully with the tidings that were circulated of the prosperity of Massachusetts; and the simple frame of ecclesiastical policy that had been established in the colony presented a prospect so desirable, and rendered the gorgeous hierarchy and recent superstitious innovations in the ceremonies of the English church so additionally odious, that the flow of emigration seemed rather to enlarge than subside, and crowds of new settlers continued to flock to New England. [1635] Among the passengers, in a fleet of twenty vessels that arrived in the following year, were two persons who afterwards made a distinguished figure on a more conspicuous theatre. One of these was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and the other was Vane, whose father, Sir Henry Vane the elder, was a privy councillor, and high in office and credit with the king. Peters became minister of Salem, and, possessing a mind unusually active and enterprising, he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example. His labors were blessed with a produce not less honorable than enduring. The spirit which he excited has continued to prevail with unabated vigor; and nearly two centuries after his death, the piety, good morals, and industry by which Salem has ever been distinguished, have been traced to the effects of Peters's ministry. He remained in New England till the year 1641, when, at the request of the colonists, he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return.* Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England by the probibition of his father, who was at length induced to wave his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of noble family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty, that, relinquishing all his hopes in England, he chose to settle in an infant colony which as yet afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. The awful composure of his aspect and demeanor stamped a serious grace and grandeur on the bloom of manhood; his countenance appeared the surface of a character not less resolute than profound, and whose energy was not extinguished, but concentrated into a sublime and solemn calm. He has been charged with enthusiasm by some who have remarked the intensity with which he pursued purposes which to them have appeared worthless and ignoble; and with hypocrisy by others who have contrasted the strength and stretch of his resolution with the calmness of his manners. But a juster consideration, perhaps, may suggest that it was the habitual energy of his determination that repressed every symptom of vehement impetuosity, and induced an equality of manner that scarcely appeared to exceed the pitch of a grave composure and constancy. It is the disproportion so frequently evinced between the genius and the character of eminent men, that occasions their irregular conduct and impetuous demeanor. But Vane, fully embracing the loftiest projects of his genius with all the faculties of his being, was deeply impressed with the vast and arduous nature of the work he undertook, and devoted himself to it with such a diligence and concentration of his forces as to the idle, the careless, and the speculative part of mankind, appears like insanity. So much did his mind predominate over his senses, and the nobler control the more ignoble part of his being, that, though constitutionally timid and susceptible, in no common degree, of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one contiuued course of great and daring enterprise; and when amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to himself in the appalling form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with an animated and even cheerful intrepidity, and encountered it with dignified composure. The man who could so subdue himself, was formed to exercise a strong influence on the minds of others. He was instantly complimented with the freedom of the colony; and enforcing his claims to respect, by the address and ability which he showed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by the

* Though he would not retract his dogmas, it seems that some of the arguments that were employed with him sank into his mind, and at least reduced him to silence. Mr. Hooker, one of the ministers who was sent to deal with him, urged, among other remonstrings,—"If it be unlawful for an unregenerate person to pray, it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to ask a blessing on his meat; and if so, it is unlawful for him to eat, since food is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsanctified (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5); and it must be equally unlawful for you to invite him to eat, since you ought not to tempt him to sin." To this he declined making any answer. Cotton Mather.

* In the preceding year the privy council, alarmed by the strong sensation which was excited in England by the intelligence of the happiness enjoyed by the puritans under their ecclesiastical establishments in Massachusetts, issued an order to stay certain vessels which were about to proceed thither with emigrants,—Chalmers, p. 155—probably with the view of suppressing the agitations and discussions which the projects of emigration engendered. The order was not carried into effect.

* Bishop Burnet has termed this man "an enthusiastical buffoon," and reproached him with cowardice at his execution. But his life (stained, no doubt, with moral imperfection) evinced a piety that Burnet never knew, and his death was dignified by a courage that distinguished him even among the regicides. After his fellow-sufferer Cook had been quartered before his face, the executioner approached him, and, rubbing his bloody hands, said, "Come, Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?" Peters answered, "I thank God I am not terrified at it; you may do your worst." Trials and Deaths of the Regicides.

universal consent of the colonists, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration. [1636.] These hopes, however, were disappointed. Vane, not finding the political affairs of the colonists a wide enough field for the excursion of his active spirit, embarked his energy in their theological discussions; and, unfortunately, connecting himself with a party who had conceived singularly just and profound views of doctrine, but associated them with some dangerous errors, and discredited them by the wildest vehemence and disorder, he very soon witnessed the abridgement of his usefulness and the decline of his popularity.

The increasing numbers of the colonists, causing the inhabitants of some of the towns to feel themselves straitened for room, suggested the formation of additional establishments. A project of founding a new settlement on the banks of the river Connecticut was now embraced by Mr. Hooker, one of the ministers of Boston, and a hundred of the members of his congregation. After enduring extreme hardship, and encountering the usual difficulties that attended the foundation of a society in this quarter of America, with the usual display of puritan fortitude and resolution, they at length succeeded in establishing a plantation, which gradually enlarged into the flourishing state of Connecticut. Some Dutch settlers from New York, who had previously occupied a post in the country, were compelled to surrender it to them; and they soon after obtained from Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele, an assignation to a district which these noblemen had acquired in this region, with the intention of flying from the royal tyranny to America.* They had at first carried with them a commission from the government of Massachusetts Bay, for the administration of justice in their new settlement; but, afterwards reflecting that their territory was beyond the jurisdiction of the authorities from whom this commission was derived, they combined themselves by a voluntary association into a body politic, constructed on the same model with the state from which they had separated. They continued in this condition till the Restoration, when they obtained a charter for themselves from King Charles the Second. That this secession from the colony of Massachusetts Bay was occasioned by lack of room in a province as yet so imperfectly peopled, has appeared so improbable to some writers, that they have thought it necessary to assign another cause, and have found none so satisfactory as the jealousy which they conclude Mr. Hooker must inevitably have entertained towards Mr. Cotton, whose influence had become so great in Massachusetts that even a formidable political dissension was quelled by one of his pacific discourses. But envy was not a passion that could dwell in the humble and holy breast of Hooker, or be generated by such influence as the character of Cotton was formed to exert. The sense of a redundant population was the more readily experienced at first from the unwillingness of the settlers to remove far into the interior of the country and deprive themselves of an easy communication with the coast. Another reason, indeed, appears to have enforced the formation of this new settlement: but it was a reason that argued not dissension, but community of feeling and design between the settlers who remained in Massachusetts and those who removed to Connecticut. By the establishment of this advanced station, a barrier, it was hoped, would be erected against the troublesome incursions of the Pequod Indians.† Nor is it utterly improbable that some of the seceders to this new settlement were actuated by a restless spirit which had hoped too much from external change, and which vainly urged a farther pursuit of that spring of contentment which must rise up in the mind of him who would enjoy it.

In the immediate neighborhood of this new settlement, another plantation was formed about two years after, by a numerous body of emigrants who arrived from England under the guidance of Theophilus Eaton, a gentleman of fortune, and John Davenport, an eminent puritan minister. Massachusetts Bay appearing to them overstocked, and being informed of a large and commodious bay to the south-west of Connecticut river, they purchased from the natives all the land that lies between that stream and Hudson's river, which divides the southern parts of New England from New York. Seating themselves in this bay, they spread along the coast, where they built first the town of Newhaven, which has given its name to the settlement, and then the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Brainford. After some time they crossed the bay, and planted several settlements in Long Island; in all places where they came, erecting churches on the model of the independents. When we perceive the injustice and cruelty exercised by the government of Britain, thus contributing to cover the earth with cities and to plant religion and liberty in the savage deserts of America, we recognise the overruling providence of that great Being who can render even the fierceness of men conducive to his praise. Having no patent, nor any other title to their lands than the vendition of the natives, and not being included within the boundaries of any colonial jurisdiction, these settlers entered into a voluntary association of the same nature and for the same ends with that which the settlers in Connecticut had formed for themselves: and in this condition they remained till the Restoration, when Newhaven and Connecticut were united together by a charter of King Charles the Second.*

When the settlement of Connecticut was projected, it was hoped that it might conduce to overawe the hostility of the Indians; but it produced a perfectly opposite effect. The tribes of Indians in the immediate vicinity of Massachusetts Bay were comparatively feeble and unwarlike; but the colonies of Providence and Connecticut were planted in the midst of powerful and martial hordes. Among these, the most considerable were the Naragansets, who inhabited the shores of the bay which bear their name, and the Pequods, who occupied the territory which stretches from the river Pequod to the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a formidable people, who could bring into the field a thousand warriors not inferior in courage to any in the new world. They had early entertained a jealous hatred of the European colonists, and for some time past had harassed them with unprovoked attacks, and excited their abhorrence and indignation by the monstrous outrages to which they had subjected their captives. Unoffending men, women, and children, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, were scalped and sent back to their friends, or put to death with every circumstance of torture and indignity, while the assassins with diabolical joy called aloud to them to invoke the God of the christians, and put to the proof his power to save them. The extension of the English settlements excited their fury anew, and produced a repetition of attacks, which Mr. Vane the governor of Massachusetts, determined at length to encounter and punish by offensive operations. Receiving intelligence of a serious attack that had been made by the Pequods on the Connecticut settlers, [1637,] he summoned all the New England communities to embody the strongest force they could spare, and march to defend their brethren and vindicate the common cause. The Pequods, aware of the impending danger, were not wanting in endeavors to encounter and repel it. For this purpose, they sought a reconciliation with the Naragansets, their hereditary enemies and rivals in power, and requested these people to forget their ancient animosities, and for once to co-operate cordially with them against a common foe, whose progressive encroachments threatened to confound them both in one common destruction. But the Naragansets had long cherished a vehement hatred against the Pequods; and less moved by a distant prospect of danger to themselves, than by the hope of an instant gratification of their implacable revenge, they rejected the proposals of accommodation, and determined to assist the English in the prosecution of the was.

The Pequods incensed, but not dismayed, by this disappointment, proceeded by the vigor of their operations to anticipate the junction of the allied colonial forces; and the Connecticut troops, while as yet they had received but a small part of the reinforcements that their friends were preparing to send them, found it necessary to advance towards the enemy. The Pequods, commanded by Sassacus, their principal sachem, occupied two fortified stations, against one of which Captain Mason and the Connecticut militia, attended by a body of Indian allies, directed their attack. Their approach was quickened by the information they obtained, that the enemy, deceived by a seeming retrograde movement of the colonial forces, had abandoned themselves to the conviction that the English dared not encounter them, and were celebrating in perfect security the supposed evacuation of their country. About daybreak, while in deep slumber and supine security, they were approached by the English; and the surprise would have been complete, if they had not been alarmed by the barking of a dog. The war-whoop was immediately sounded, and they flew to their arms. The English rushed on to the attack; and while some of them fired on the Indians through the palisades, others forced their way by the entrances into the fort, and setting fire to the huts which were covered with reeds, involved their enemies in the confusion and terror of a general conflagration. After a manly and desperate resistance, the Pequods were totally defeated with the slaughter of at least five hundred of their tribe. Many of the women and children perished in the flames; and the warriors, in endeavoring to escape, were either slain by the English, or, falling into the hands of the Indian allies, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. Soon after this action, Captain Stoughton having arrived with the auxiliary troops from Massachusetts, it was resolved to pursue the victory. Several engagements took place which terminated unfavorably for the Pequods; and in a short time they sustained another general defeat which put an end to the war. A few only of this once powerful nation survived, who, abandoning their country to the English, dispersed themselves among the neighboring tribes, and lost their existence as a distinct people. Sassocus had been an object of superstitious terror to the Naragansets, who had endeavored to dissuade the English from risking a personal encounter with him, by the assurance that his person was divine and invulnerable. After the destruction of his people, when he fled for refuge to a distant tribe, the Naragansets, exchanging their terror for cruelty, solicited and prevailed with his hosts to cut off his head. Thus terminated a struggle more important in its consequences, than from the numbers of the combatants, or the celebrity of their names. On its issue there had been staked no less than the question, whether christianity and civilization, or paganism and barbarity should prevail in New England.

This first military enterprise of the colonists was conducted with vigor and ability, and impressed on the aborigines a high opinion of their invincible courage and superior skill. Their victory, however, it must be confessed, was sullied by cruelties which it is easy to account for and extenuate, but painful to recollect. The Massachusetts' militia had been exceedingly diligent before their march in purging their ranks of all whose religious sentiments were thought to argue want or weakness of faith.* It had been well if they could have purged their own bosoms of the vindictive feelings which the outrages of the savages were but too powerfully calculated to inspire. Some of the prisoners were tortured by the Indian allies, whose cruelties we can hardly doubt that the English might have prevented: a considerable number were sold as slaves in Bermudas,† and the rest were reduced to servitude in the colonial settlements. In aggravation of the vin-

* Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele had proceeded so far in their design as to send over an agent to take possession of the territory, and built a fort. Happily for America, the sentiments and habits that rendered them unfit members of a society where complete civil freedom and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America; and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardor for emigration abated, and nearer and more interesting prospects opened to their activity in England. Chalmers [illegible]

† Mather, B. i. cap. 6. sect. 2, 3. Hutchinson, i. 43—45. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. cap. 4. It appears from Mather's Lives of Cotton and Hooker, that these men were knit together in the firmest bonds of christian friendship and [illegible] (as Paul and Barnabas [illegible] for wise purposes) were separated from each other. So were Cotton and Hooker [illegible]. These men who forsook houses, lands, and country for the sake of the gospel, [illegible] Dr. Robertson as "rival competitors for [illegible] and power." This is the only [illegible] writers are ca[illegible] regarding the [illegible] of the patriot, the saint, and the sage.

* Neal, i. 152. The colonists of Massachusetts were very desirous that Mr. Davenport and his associates should settle among them. But "it had been an observation of Mr. Davenport's, that whenever a reformation had been effected in any part of the world, it had rested where it had been left by the reformers. It could not be advanced another step. He was now embarked in a design of forming a civil and religious constitution as near as possible to scripture precept and example. The principal gentlemen who had followed him to America had the same views. In laying the foundations of a new colony, there was a fair prospect that they might accommodate all matters of church and commonwealth to their own feelings and sentiments. But in Massachusetts the principal men were fixed in the chief seats of government, which they were likely to keep, and their civil and religious polity was already formed." Trumbull, i. 97

* Regimental chaplains accompanied the New England forces in their campaigns; and in circumstances of doubt or danger, the chaplain was invited to pray for divine direction and assistance. Trumbull, i. 81. 89. When a commander-in chief was appointed, his military staff was delivered to him by one of the clergy. Ib. 95.

† A similar punishment was inflicted many years after in England on some of the royalists who had been implicated in Penruddock's insurrection. Hume, vii. 244

dictive spirit displayed in these proceedings, it has been urged, but with very little reason, that the Pequods were entitled to the treatment of an independent people making a gallant effort to defend their property, their rights and their freedom. But in truth, the Pequods were the aggressors in a causeless quarrel, and were fighting all along in support of barbarous outrage and purposes of extermination. The colonists had conducted themselves with undeviating justice, civility and piety towards the Indians. They had treated fairly with them for their territories; assisted them by counsel and help in their diseases and their agriculture, and labored to communicate to them the blessings of religion. They disallowed all acquisitions of territory from the Indians but such as should undergo the scrutiny of the general court; and they offered a participation of all their privileges and property to every Indian who would adopt the religion of a christian and the manners of a civilized human being. In return for these demonstrations of good-will, they were treated with outrage and barbarity, directed against all that they reverenced or loved; and were forcibly impressed with the conviction that they must extirpate these sanguinary idolaters, or leave their fellow-christians, their wives, children, and brethren, exposed to a more horrid destruction from their barbarous hands.* Even in the course of the war, they made propositions of lenity to the savages on the condition of their delivering up the murderers of the English; but their offers were uniformly rejected; and the people who adopted the murders as national acts, invited the avengers of blood to visit them with national punishments. The mutual hostilities of civilized nations, conducted by dispassionate mercenaries, and directed by leaders more eager for fame than prompted by anger or personal apprehension, may be administered on the principles of a splendid game. But such hostilities as those which the New England colonists were compelled to urge with the hordes of savage assassins who attacked them, will always display human passions in their naked horror and ferocity. The permission (for I suppose they could have prevented it) of the barbarity of their savage allies, appears the least excusable feature in their conduct. And yet, in considering it, we must add to our allowance for passion inflamed by enormous provocation, the recollection of the danger and inexpediency of checking that mutual hostility of the savages which prevented a combination that might have proved fatal to the European name. The reduction of their captives to servitude was unquestionably a great evil; but one for which it would not have been easy to suggest a substitute to men too justly alarmed to permit the enemies whom, overcoming by force, they had but half subdued, to go free, and too poor to support them in idle captivity. The captive Pequods were treated with the utmost possible kindness, and regarded rather as indented servants than slaves. It must be acknowledged at least that the colonists observed a magnanimous consistency in their international policy, and gave the Indians the protection of the same stern principles of justice of which they had taught them to feel the vindictive energy. They not only offered a participation of their own privileges and territory to all civilized and converted Indians; but having ascertained the stations which the savages most highly valued, and the range of territory that seemed necessary to their comfort and happiness, they prohibited and annulled every transaction by which these domains might be added to the European acquisitions. A short time after the termination of the Pequod war, an Indian having been wantonly killed by some vagabond Englishman, the murderers were solemnly tried and executed for the crime; and the Indians beheld with astonishment the blood of three men deliberately shed for the slaughter of one. The sense of justice co-operating with the repute of valor, secured a long tranquillity to the English settlements.

While the military force of Massachusetts was thus employed in the field, the commonwealth was shaken and torn by intestine disputes, which had been excited by theological discussions, and inflamed by the gall of unruly tongues and the bitterness of railing accusation. It was the custom at that time in Boston, that the members of every congregation should assemble in weekly meetings to repeat the sermons of the preceding Sunday; to debate the doctrines they had heard; to revive the impressions that had been produced by their Sabbatical exercises; and extend the sacred influence of the Sabbath throughout the week. Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the colony, a lady of masculine spirit and great subtlety and vivacity of apprehension, submitted with impatience to the regulation by which women at these meetings were debarred from the privilege of joining in the debates: and at length, apprehending that she was authorised to exercise her qualifications by the precepts of Scripture which enjons *the elder women to teach the younger*, she established separate meetings of the christians of her own sex, where her zeal and talent soon procured her a numerous and admiring audience. These women, who had partaken the struggles and perils of the male colonists, had also caught no small portion of the various hues of their spirit; and as many of them had been accustomed to a life more replete with external elegance and variety of interest and employment than the state of the colony could supply, they found a listless craving for something to animate and engage their faculties, and judged nothing fitter for this purpose than an imitation of those exercises for the promotion of the great common cause which seemed to minister such comfort and supportment to the spirits of the men. The issue of their design illustrated very signally some of the least estimable peculiarities of female character, and amply demonstrated that its defects are not cured but fortified by such irregular congregation. Mrs. Hutchinson, their leader, had by her earnest zeal gained the cordial esteem of Mr. Cotton, whose charity never failed to recognise in every human being the slightest trace of those graces which he continually looked for; and towards him she entertained and professed for some time a very high veneration. The friendship of Mr. Vane and some others had a less favorable influence on her mind; and the admiration they expressed of the depth and vigor of her ratiocination, seems to have elevated in her apprehension the gifts of intellect above the graces of charracter. She acquired the title of *The Nonsuch*, which the admiration of her followers had eagerly derived from an anagrammatical transposition of the letters of her name; and gave to her female assemblies the title of *gossipings*; a term at that time of respectable import, but which the scandalous repute of female conventions and debates has since consigned to contempt and ridicule. Doing amiss what the Scriptures plainly forbade her to do at all, she constituted herself a teacher of orthodoxy, and a censor of the faith of all the ministers and inhabitants of the colony. Her canons of doctrine were received by her associates as the unerring standard of truth, and a defamatory persecution was industriously waged against all who rejected or professed themselves unable to understand them. A scrutiny was instituted into the characters of all the clergy and laity of the province; and of those who refused to receive the doctrinal testimony of the conclave, few found it easy to stand the test of a censorious gaze, quickened by female petulance and controversial rancor. Women, neither fitted by the constitution of their nature, nor prepared by their education and habits, for the rough contests and collisions of the world, demonstrate, in general, great pertinacity, severity, and impatience, when they assume the direction of affairs, or arrogate a jurisdiction over those who conduct them. Losing the gentle graces of their own sex when they step beyond the sphere of its duties, without acquiring the hardy virtues of the other sex, whose province they invade, they show themselves keenly susceptible and utterly unforbearing, swift to speak and slow to hear, headlong in conduct, prompt to accuse, intolerant of contradiction, acrimonious in reproach. In these female assemblies, there was trained and exercised a keen pugnacious spirit and unbridled license of tongue, of which the actings were quickly felt in the serious disturbance, first of domestic happiness, and then of the public peace. The matrons of Boston were transformed into a synod of *tatlers and busy bodies*, whose bold decrees and slanderous deliberations sent their influence into the innermost recesses of society: and the spirits of men being in that combustible state which the application of a very feeble flash will kindle into a formidable conflagration, the whole colony was set on fire by the incontinence of female spleen and verbosity. A line of demarcation was drawn between those whom Mrs. Hutchinson esteemed the sound, and those whom she denominated the unsound; and all who were included in this latter description heard themselves continually stigmatized as a generation of unchristian vipers, or helpless bondslaves to a covenant of works.

The tenets which this faction, and a few ministers who united with it, adopted and inculcated, were denounced by their adversaries as constituting the heresy of antinomianism—a charge which, when preferred by the world at large, indicates no more than the reproach which the gospel, from its first promulgation has been fated to sustain, and when advanced by christians against members of their own body, generally implies nothing else than the deductions which they draw from certain views of doctrine, but which the holders of these views utterly reject and disallow. Nothing can be more perfectly antinomian than the system of the gospel; nor any thing more powerfully operative than the influence which it is fitted to exert. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents contended more earnestly for the freedom, than for the constraining influence of divine grace; and with the eagerness and impetuosity of female feeling, were not slow to brand with terms of heretical and contemptuous designation, every inhabitant of the colony, and particularly every minister, whose views did not coincide with their own. The doctrines which they gave forth, and the censures which they propagated, were received with equal eagerness by a considerable party; and equally provoking the displeasure of others, excited the most violent dissensions throughout the whole colony. Mr. Cotton endeavored to reconcile or moderate the heats that arose, by representing to the parties that their strife was prejudical to that which he firmly believed to be the great object of both, the exalting and honoring of divine grace; *the one* (said he) *seeking to advance the grace of God within us in the work of sanctification, the other seeking to advance the grace of God without us, in the work of justification.* But the strife was not to be stopped; and his endeavors to arrest it attracted upon himself the fulmination of a censure of timorous and purblind incapacity from the assembly of the women; and, as even this could not induce him to take a strong part against them, he incurred a temporary abatement of his popularity with the bulk of the inhabitants. He could not consent to condemn the form of sound words by which some of the tenets of the sectaries were peculiarly distinguished; but he viewed with grief and amazement the fierce and contemptuous spirit with which they were maintained, and the wild and dangerous errors with which they very soon came to be associated. The controversy raged with a violence very unfavorable to the discernment and reception of truth. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents, both male and female, persuaded (and justly so, I think, on some points) of the superior clearness, truth, and simplicity of their system of doctrines, forgot to consider how far the opposition which it encountered might be traced to the obscurity and imperfection with which they themselves received and enforced it—a consideration which no human being is entitled to disregard, and which is eminently fitted to render superior attainments more amiable and efficacious, by rendering them more productive of candor and humility. The principles they discarded from their creed laid hold upon their spirit; and while they contended for the sovereignty of divine grace in communicating truth, they attacked the sentiments of their adversaries with an acrimony and invective that might have been thought to imply that truth was easily and exclusively attainable by the mere will and endeavor of men. The most enlightened and consistent christian will ever be the most ready to acknowledge that *he knows nothing yet as he ought to know*, and may have more cause than he can yet discover, to blush for the defectiveness of a testimony, which, exhibited with more clearness and simplicity, might have found greater acceptance with mankind. But no such considerations suggested themselves to mitigate the vehemence, or soften the asperity, of these busy, bold, and presumptuous spirits; nor did it ever occur to them that the truths they held forth would be liable to be evil spoken of, from association with the deadly poison of that world of iniquity, an untamed, licentious tongue. It is asserted that the heat of their tempers gradually communicated itself to the understandings of Mrs. Hutchinson and her party, and that in addition to their original tenets, that believers are personally united with the spirit of God, that commands to work out salvation with fear and trembling belong only to those who are under a covenant of works, and that sanctification is not the proper evidence of christian condition, they received that unhappy error of the Quakers, that the spirit of God communicates with the minds of believers independently of the written word; and, in consistency with this, received many

* The colonists considered themselves in some degree accessary to the crimes which they might fail to prevent by neglect of any of the means warranted by strict justice. Belknap cites the following entry in a MS. Journal of events in New-England, some years posterior to this period, "The house of John Keniston was burned and he killed at Greenland. The Indians are Simon, Andrew, and Peter. Those three we had in prison and should have killed. The good Lord pardon us." History of New Hampshire, i. 155

revelations of future events announced to them by Mrs. Hutchinson as equally infallible with the prophecies of Scripture. But the accounts that are transmitted to us of such theological dissensions are always obscured by the cloud of contemporary passion, prejudice, and error: hasty effusions of passionate zeal are mistaken for deliberate sentiments; and the excesses of the zealots of a party held up as the standard by which the whole body may fairly be tried.*

Some ministers adopting Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, began to enforce them from the pulpit with such vehement invectives against all by whom they were rejected, as at length brought the dissensions to a crisis; and Mr. Vane being considered the confederate and protector of Mrs. Hutchinson, his continuance in office, or dismissal from it at the approaching annual election, was the first test by which the parties were to try with which of them resided the power of imposing silence on the other. So much had been done to gall and irritate the feelings of the people, and to stimulate them to mutual dislike and suspicion, that the utmost efforts of the sober and humane could barely prevent the day of election from being disgraced by a general riot. All the exertions of Vane's partizans failed to obtain his re-appointment; and, by a great majority of votes, the government was conferred on Mr. Winthrop. Vane still remained in the colony, professing his willingness to serve the cause of God in the meanest capacity; and the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, regarding his deprivation of office as a dangerous blow to themselves, ceased not to labor for his reinstatement with as much warmth as they had exerted in the propagation of their tenets. The government was loudly declaimed against, and Mr. Winthrop openly slighted and affronted. At length it was determined by the prevailing party, to cut up this source of contention by the roots; and a general synod of the churches of the colony having been assembled, the new opinions were condemned as erroneous and heretical. As this proceeding seemed only to provoke their professors to assert them with greater vehemence than ever, the leaders of the party were summoned before the general court. Mrs. Hutchinson rebuked her judges for their wicked persecution of truth, compared herself to the prophet Daniel when cast into the den of lions, and proceeded to complete the comparison by venturing to exercise what she believed to be the gift of prophecy, and predicting that her exile would be attended with the ruin of her adversaries and all their posterity.† To this punishment, nevertheless, she was condemned, together with her brother Wheelwright, who was a preacher, and had been the great pulpit champion of her doctrines; and some of the inferior members of the faction, partly on account of the violence with which they still maintained their theological tenets, and partly for the seditious insolence with which they had treated the new governor, were fined and disfranchised. In consequence of these proceedings, Vane quitted the colony and returned to England, "leaving a caveat," says Mather, "that all good men are not fit for government."

From the unpleasing contemplations of these religious dissensions, we now turn to the more agreeable survey of some of the consequences of which their issue was productive. A considerable number of persons, highly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the synod and the general court of Massachusetts, voluntarily forsook the colony; some of these proceeded to join Roger Williams and his friends at Providence; and, being soon after abandoned by Mrs. Hutchinson, they fell under the guidance of that meliorated spirit which Williams had now begun to display. By a transaction with the Indians, these associated exiles obtained a right to a fertile island in Naraganset Bay, which acquired the name of Rhode Island.* Williams remained among them upwards of forty years, respected as the father and director of the colony which he had planted, and of which he was several times elected governor. In the year 1643, he made a journey to England, and, by the interest of Sir Henry Vane, obtained and brought back to them a parliamentary charter, by which Providence and Rhode Island remained united till the Restoration. Others of the exiles, under the guidance of Wheelwright, betook themselves to the north-east parts of New England; and, being joined by associates who were allured by the prospects of rich fisheries and an advantageous beaver trade, they gradually formed and peopled the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine. These provinces had been respectively purchased by Mason and Gorges from the council of Plymouth, and many ineffectual attempts were made by these two adventurers to colonise their acquisitions with advantage to themselves. Mason and Gorges were actuated by very different views from those which prevailed in general among the colonists of New England; they wished to become the proprietaries or hereditary chiefs of vast manors and seigniories, and to establish in America the institutions which the emigrants to America were generally seeking to escape from. They found it totally impracticable to obtain a revenue from the settlers in New Hampshire and Maine, or to establish among them a form of government suited to their own views. These settlers, composed partly of adventurers from England, and partly of exiles and voluntary emigrants from Massachusetts, framed for themselves separate governments, under which they continued to subsist, till, wearied with internal disputes and divisions, they petitioned the general court of Massachusetts to be taken under its protection, and were again associated with the colony from which they had departed.

A schism, similar to that which Mrs. Hutchinson had created, was fomented at Plymouth by one Samuel Gorton; but his career in this place was cut short by a conviction for swindling. Thence he went to Rhode Island, where he created such disturbance, that even in this community, where unlimited toleration was professed, he was sentenced to be flogged and banished. Proceeding to Providence, he had nearly involved the people of this settlement in a war with the Indians; till, at length, on the entreaty of Roger Williams, the government of Massachusetts sent a party to apprehend him, and, after imprisoning him and some of his adherents in the workhouse, obliged them to depart the country.† [1638]

The losses, which the population of Massachussetts sustained by the various emigrations which we have witnessed, were supplied, in the following year, by the arrival of a fleet of twenty ships, with three thousand settlers from England. The same year witnessed the establishment of an institution calculated to improve the moral condition of the people. This was Harvard College, at Cambridge, in Massachussetts, the first seminary of learning erected in North America. So highly prized were the advantages of knowledge and the influence of education by these generous colonists, that, as early as the close of the year 1630, and while yet struggling with the first difficulties and distresses of their arrival, the general court at Boston had appropriated four hundred pounds to the erection of a seminary of learning. The bequest of a colonial minister, who desired his whole fortune to be applied to the same design, enabled them now to enrich their country with an establishment whose operation has proved as beneficial to their posterity, as its institution, at so early a period of their history, is honorable to themselves.‡

The population of New England was now to be left to depend on its own resources; and the impulse which had been communicated to it by the stream of emigration from the parent state was to cease. For some time past, the policy of the English government towards the colony had been singularly irresolute and unsteady: many demonstrations had been made of jealous dislike and tyrannical design; but, never being carried into execution, they had served merely to keep the colonists united by a sense of common danger, and to endear the institutions of liberty by the destruction with which they were ineffectually menaced. The king appears to have doubted pretty early the congeniality of his first proceedings towards the emigrants with the general policy of his administration: the experience of every year had confirmed his doubts, and he had wavered in irresolute perplexity between his original wish to evacuate England of the puritans, and his apprehension of the dangerous and increasing influence which their triumphant establishment in America was visibly exerting. The success of his politic devices had appeared at first to answer all his expectations, and he seemed likely to prevail over the puritans by the demonstration of a hollow good-will or lenity suspended on the condition of their abandoning the realm. A considerable portion of the embers of puritan and patriotic feeling had been removed from England, and seemingly cast away in deserts, where as yet no colony had been able to survive. But they had neither languished nor perished; and, on the contrary, had kindled in America a conflagration so powerful and extensive that all England was warmed and enlightened by the blaze. The jealous attention of Laud was soon awakened to the disastrous issue of this branch of the royal policy, and while he meditated the means by which its effects might be counteracted, he maintained spies in New England, whose intelligence confirmed his misgivings, and who courted his favor by traducing the objects of his dislike. The detection of this correspondence served to animate the resentment and enforce the caution and the union of the colonists. So early as the year 1633, the English government, yielding to its first alarm, made a hasty and ill-considered attempt to repair its error by issuing a proclamation reprobating the designs that prompted emigration to New England, and ordering all ships that were about to proceed thither with passengers to be detained. It was quickly felt that this measure was premature, and that it could serve no other end than to irritate the impatience of the puritans to obtain either at home or abroad the institutions which they had made preparation to realize and enjoy. Not only was the proclamation suffered to remain unenforced, but even, at a later period, Charles reverted so far to his original policy as to promote, by his own interposition, the expatriation of young Vane, of whose political and religious sentiments he was perfectly aware. After an interval of hesitation, measures more deliberate were adopted for subverting the colonial liberties. In the year 1635, a commission was granted to the great officers of state and some of the nobility for the regulation and government of the plantations. By this commission the archbishop of Canterbury (Laud,) and a few others, were authorized to make laws and constitution for the colony; to establish an order of clergy, and assign them a maintenance; and to punish capitally, or otherwise, all who should violate their ordinances. The general body of the commissioners were directed to examine all existing colonial patents and charters, *and if they found that any had been unduly obtained, or that the liberties they conferred were hurtful to the prerogative royal, to cause them to be revoked and quashed.** The English grand council of Plymouth were easily persuaded to give the first example of submission to this arbitrary authority; and, accordingly, the same year they surrendered their useless patent to the king, under reservation of their claims as individuals to the property of the soil. These reserved claims gave occasion at an after period to much dispute, perplexity, and inconvenience. The only proceeding, however, which immediately ensued against the New England colonists, was the institution of a process of *quo warranto* against their charter in the Court of King's Bench, of which no intimation

* That to a certain extent, however, this error had crept in among them, seems undeniably manifest; and it is remarkable that the notion which united them with the fundamental tenet of the Quakers should have issued from a society which, with farther resemblance to the Quakers, admitted the anti-scriptural irregularity of female teaching. Captain Underhill, one of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, carried this error to a monstrous length, and combined with it the grossest immorality of conduct. He gave great offence by publicly maintaining that he had received a special communication of his everlasting safety while he was smoking a pipe. He was banished along with his patroness; and, a few years after, returned to Boston, where he made a public confession of hypocrisy, adultery, and delusion. Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, vol. i. cap. ii. Another of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers was a woman named Mary Dyer, who retired to Rhode Island, where she subsequently became a Quaker. Winthrop's History (Savage's edition), i. 261.

† Her presumption was very signally punished. The ruin she predicted as the consequence of her exile fell on herself and her family. She went to Rhode Island, but not liking that situation, removed to one of the Dutch settlements, where she and all her family were murdered by the Indians. We may hope that the errors, by which she darkened and discredited the truth, were occasioned by a head over-heated with controversy, and rendered giddy by an undue elevation. Before she quitted Massachusetts, she signed a recantation of some of the erroneous tenets she had propounded; but maintained in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary, that she had never entertained them. This was considered a proof of dissimulation. Perhaps it might rather have warranted the inference that the visionary and violent spirit which had laid hold of her had departed or subsided, and that she no longer knew or understood the spirit by which, through its medium had formerly presented themselves to her imagination

* The price paid to the Indians was fifty fathoms of white beads, ten coats, and twenty shoes. Chalmers, 271.

† Gorges America painted to the Life, Part ii. Cap. 24. Neal i. 179, 180. Gorton went to England, and, during the civil wars, involved the colony in no small trouble by his complaints of the persecution he had undergone.

‡ Mather, B. iv. cap. 1. Neal, i. 181, &c. Hutchinson i. 36. For some time the college labored under the defect of a library. The efforts of the managers to accumulate one, were aided by considerable donations of books made to them by that great and pious ecclesiastic Archbishop Usher, the celebrated nonconformist minister Richard Baxter, and that distinguished warrior and philosopher Sir Kenelm Digby. It is an interesting fact, and which seems to strengthen and dignify the relationship between the two countries, that many of the most illustrious men that England has ever produced, contributed to lay the foundation of civilized society in America. The enumeration of the patentees in the Virginian charters, includes almost every distinguished individual in England at the time.

* This strongly corroborates the opinion I have expressed of the real meaning, understanding, and intention of the king and the puritan emigrants at the time when the New England charter was framed and granted

was made to the parties interested, and which was never prosecuted to a judicial issue.* It is vain to speculate on all the varying motives and purposes that from time to time directed and varied the policy of the king. He was formed to hate and oppress political freedom and the rights of conscience; but fated to do them signal service by his unavailing and ill-directed hostility. In the year 1637 he granted a commission to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, appointing him governor-general of New England, and issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons from transporting themselves, or others, to that country without a special warrant from the king, which, it was added, would be granted to none who could not produce credible certificates of their having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and fully conformed to the discipline of the church of England. But the critical state of affairs at home prevented the adoption of measures requisite to give effect to Gorges' commission; and the irresistible impatience of the oppressed puritans and friends of liberty to escape from impending ruin, or approaching civil war, rendered the restrictions imposed on their emigration utterly unavailing. We have seen that, in the year 1638, a numerous transportation of additional emigrants was effected. But, in the course of that year, the king at length was roused to a vigor which now alone was wanting to mature and accelerate his ruin; and, after this long course of blundering, wavering, and failure, he adopted a measure which, unfortunately for himself, was effectual. Hearing that another fleet was about to sail for New England with a body of emigrants, among whom were some of the most eminent leaders of the patriots and puritans, he caused an order of council to be issued for their detention; and the order being promptly enforced, the voyage was prevented. On board this fleet there appear to have been, among other eminent individuals, Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell†—men to whom, but a few years after, he was fain to tender the highest offices in his realm, and whom his injustice now detained to avenge the tyranny by which so many of their brethren had been driven away. Various proclamations were issued the same year in restraint of emigration to New England, which, from this time, accordingly, appears to have been discontinued.‡ This proceeding naturally inflamed the public mind to the highest pitch of discontent. Even the hospitality of rude deserts, it was exclaimed, was denied to the oppressed inhabitants of England; and men were constrained to inquire if the evils which could not be evaded might not be repelled, and since retreat was impracticable, if resistance might not be unavailing. By promoting emigration at first, the king had opened a vein which it was eminently hazardous to close; and the increased severity of his administration augmented the flow of evil humours at the very time when he thus imprudently deprived them of their accustomed vent. The previous emigration had already drained the puritan body of a great number of those of its members whose milder tempers and more submissive piety rendered them more willing than their brethren to decline a contest with him: the present restrictions forcibly retained in the realm men of more daring spirit and trained in long habits of enmity to his person and opposition to his measures.* He had now at length succeeded in stripping his subjects of every protection that the law could extend to their rights; and was destined soon to experience how completely he had divested them of every restraint that the law could impose on the vindictive retribution of their wrongs. From this period till the assembling of the long parliament, he pursued a short and headlong career of disgrace and disaster, while the cloud of calamaties in which he had involved himself seemed to veil his eyes from the destruction to which he was infallibly advancing.

In pursuance of the policy which the king at length seemed determined openly and vigorously to pursue, a requisition was transmitted by the privy council to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, commanding them to deliver up their patent and send it back by the first ship that should sail for England, that it might abide the issue of the process of *quo warranto* that was depending against the colony. To this requisition the general court returned for answer, a humble and earnest petition that the colonists might be heard before they were condemned. They declared that they had transported their families to America, and embarked their fortunes in the colony, in reliance on his majesty's licence and encouragement; that they had never willingly or knowingly offended him, and now humbly deprecated his wrath, and solicited to be heard with their patent in their hands. If it were wrested from them, they must either return to England or seek the hospitality of more distant regions. But they prayed that they might "be suffered to live in the wilderness," where they had as yet found a resting-place, and might experience in their exile some of that favor from the ruler of their native land which they had largely experienced from the Lord and Judge of all the earth. They retained possession of their patent while they waited an answer to this petition, which, in the shape wherein they looked for it, they were happily destined never to receive. The insurrections which soon after broke out in Scotland, directed the whole attention of the king to matters which more nearly concerned him; and the long gathering storm which was now visibly preparing to burst upon him from every corner of his dominions, forcibly induced him to contract as far as possible the sphere of hostility in which he found himself involved.† The benefit of his altered views was experienced by the Virginians, [1639,] in the abolition of the despotism to which he had hitherto subjected them, and by the inhabitants of New England, in the cessation of his attempts to supersede by a similar despotism the liberal institutions which they had hitherto enjoyed. He would doubtless now have cordially consented to disencumber himself of his adversaries by promoting the emigration which he had so imprudently obstructed: but such a revolution of sentiment had now taken place in England, and such interesting prospects began to open to the patriots and puritans at home, that the motives which had formerly induced them to migrate to the new world ceased any longer to prevail.

1640.] When the intercourse which had for twenty years subsisted between the colony and the parent state underwent this modification, the number of the inhabitants of New England appears to have amounted to about twenty-one thousand persons,‡ or four thousand families, including about a hundred ministers. The money that had been expended during that period in equipping vessels and transporting emigrants, amounted to nearly two hundred thousand pounds—a prodigious sum in that age, and which nothing but the noble and unconquerable principle that animated the puritans could have persuaded men to expend on the prospect of forming an establishment in a remote uncultivated desert, which offered to its inhabitants only a naked freedom and difficult subsistence. When the civil wars commenced, the colonists had already planted fifty towns and villages; they had erected upwards of thirty churches and ministers' houses; and combining with their preponderating regard to the concerns of religion, a diligent and judicious conduct of their temporal affairs, they had improved their plantations to a high degree of cultivation. For the first seven years after the foundation of the settlement that was made in 1630, even subsistence was procured with difficulty, and trade was not generally attempted;* but soon after that period, they began to extend their fishery and to open a trade in lumber, which subsequently proved the staple article of the colonial commerce. In the year 1637 there were but thirty ploughs in the whole colony of Massachusetts; and less than the third of that number in Connecticut. The culture of the earth was generally performed with hoes, and was consequently very slow and laborious. Every commodity bore a high price. Valuable as money was at that period the price of a good cow was thirty pounds; Indian corn cost five shillings a bushel; labor and every other article of use was proportionably dear. Necessity at first introduced what the jurisprudence of the colonists afterwards confirmed; and desiring to perpetuate the habits that had proved so conducive to piety and virtue, they endeavored by legislative enactments to exclude luxury and promote industry. When the assembling of the long parliament opened a prospect of safety, and even of triumph and supremacy to the puritans in England, a number of those who had taken refuge in America returned to their native country: but the great majority of the settlers had experienced so much of the life and happiness of religion in the societies that had sprung up and the mode of living that had been formed in the colony, that they felt themselves united to New England by stronger ties than any that patriotic recollections could supply, and resolved to remain in the region which their virtue had converted from a wilderness into a garden. In an infant colony, where all hearts were strongly united by community of feeling on subjects the most interesting and important, where the inhabitants were in general very nearly on a level in point of temporal condition, and where the connexions of neighborhood were but extended family ties, the minds of men were warmed and invigorated by a freedom and simplicity of mutual communication unrepressed by the restraints of ceremony, or the withering influence of that spirit of sarcasm, and that dread of ridicule, which operate so powerfully in crowded and highly polished societies. And yet some indications of an aristocratical disposition, arising, not unnaturally, out of some of the peculiar circumstances in the formation of the colony, did occasionally manifest themselves. Several of the first planters, particularly Dudley, Winslow, Winthrop, Bradford, Bellingham, and Bradstreet, were gentlemen of considerable fortune, and besides the transportation of their own families, they had incurred the expense of transporting many poor families who must otherwise have remained in England. Others were members of the original body of patentees, and had incurred expenses in the procurement of the charter, the formation of the company, and the equipment of the first body of adventurers, of which they had now no prospect of obtaining indemnification. It was probably owing to the prevalence of the peculiar sentiments which these persons may very well be supposed to have entertained, that in the first general court that was held in the colony, the election of the governor, the appointment of all the other officers, and even the power of legislation, were

* Chalmers asserts that judgment was given against the colony: but the reverse appears from the authorities to which he refers, and still more clearly from the record of the proceedings preserved in Hazard, p. 425.

† That Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet, or that they even intended to proceed to America, has been doubted, but I think without any reason. Hume has rather confirmed than removed the doubt by the manner in which he has referred to a passage in Hutchinson, the meaning of which he has evidently misunderstood. But Dr. Mather, who preceded Hutchinson, expressly names all the individuals mentioned in the text as having prepared for their voyage, and been arrested by the order of council. Oldmixon recites the grant of land in America in favor of Hampden and others, which the emigrants were proceeding to occupy. Mather's statement is confirmed by Neal, Clarendon, Bates, and Dugdale. The strong mind of Cromwell appears long to have retained the bias it had once received towards emigration, and the favorable opinion of the settlers of New England from which that bias had been partly derived. After the Remonstrance was voted in the Long Parliament, he told Lord Falkland that if the question had been lost he was prepared next day to have converted his effects into ready money and left the kingdom. When he was invested with the Protectorate he treated Massachusetts with distinguished partiality. Hume considered himself as levelling a most sarcastic reflection against Hampden and Cromwell, when he described them as willing to cross the Atlantic ocean for the sake of saying their prayers. Some writers, who partake the political, but not the religious, sentiments of these eminent persons, have been very willing to defend them from so scandalous an imputation.

‡ Mather, B. i. cap. 5. Neal, i. 148, 149. 151. Hutchinson, i. 32. 42. 86. and Append. No. iv. Oldmixon, i. 42, and in Pref. p. 12. Chalmers, 158, 159, 160, 161. Hazard, 421, 422, 423, &c. 433, 434. The American historians of this period are exceedingly careless, and most perplexingly discordant in their notation of dates, as I have frequently experienced, though never with so much inconvenience as in the arrangement of the events related in this paragraph.

* The commencement of resistance in Scotland originated with some individuals of that country who had purchased an allotment of territory in New England, and made preparation to transport themselves thither, but were prevented (it does not appear how) from carrying their design into execution. They had obtained from the colonial assembly an assurance of the free exercise of their presbyterian form of church government. Mather, B. i. cap. 5. sec. 7.

† Hutchinson, i. 87. and Appendix, No. v. Chalmers, p. 162. This year (1638) was distinguished by an earthquake in New England, which extended through all the settlements, and shook the ships in Boston harbor and the neighboring islands. The sound of it reminded some of the colonists of the rattling of coaches in the streets of London. Winthrop's Journal, 155. Trumbull, i. 93.

This work had been for some time in the press, when an opportunity was afforded me (by the kindness of my friend Mr. Hershel) of examining a recent American publication entitled "The History of New England from 1630 to 1649," by Governor Winthrop, of which a copy had been sent as a present to the Royal Society of London. It is a republication of Winthrop's Journal (which I had already consulted at Gottingen), with the lately discovered continuation of it till 1649. Mr Savage, the editor, has bestowed much labor and learning on the illustration of a work which I think hardly deserved such care.

‡ Josselyn's Voyage to New England, p. 259. Hutchinson, i. 93. Neal's error, in computing the number of the settlers at only 4000, seems to have been occasioned by the mistake or inaccuracy of Dr Mather in mentioning that number of planters or heads of families in such terms as seem to comprehend the whole body of the inhabitants. It is amply refuted by his own and the other accounts of the particulars of the several emigrations. In the "History of New England from 1628 till 1652," (published in London in 1654) it is stated that prior to the year 1643 there had sailed for New England 298 ships and 21,200 emigrants p. 31.

Josselyn, who visited New England more than once, was intrusted by Quarles the poet with some of his metrical versions of Scripture to be submitted to the perusal and consideration of Mr. Cotton. Josselyn, p. 20.

* Yet in the year 1636 a ship of 120 tons was built at Marblehead by the people of Salem. Collections of the Massachusetts' Hist. Soc. vi. 232.

withdrawn from the freemen, and vested in the council of assistants; and although the freemen reclaimed and renewed their rights in the following year, yet the exercise of legislation was confined almost entirely to the council of assistants, till the introduction of the representative system in the year 1634. From this time the council and the freemen, assembled together, formed one general court, till the year 1644, when it was ordained that the governor and assistants should sit apart; and thence commenced the separate existence of the democratic branch of the legislature, or house of representatives. Elections were conducted by *ballot*, in which the balls or tickets tendered by the electors were appointed to consist of Indian beans.

Some notice of the peculiarities of legislation that already prevailed in the various communities of New England, seems proper to illustrate the state of society and manners among this singular people. By a fundamental law of Massachusetts it was enacted, "that all strangers professing the christian religion, who shall flee to this country from the tyranny of their persecutors, shall be succored at the public charge till some provision can be made for them." Jesuits and popish priests, however, were subjected to banishment, and in case of their return, to death. This persecuting law was afterwards extended to the quakers; and all persons were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to import any of "that cursed sect," or of their writings, into the colony. By what provocations the quakers of that period excited these severities, we shall have an opportunity of considering hereafter. These persecuting edicts had no place in Rhode Island, where none were subjected to active molestation for religious opinions, and all were admitted to the full rights of citizenship except Roman Catholics. The usual punishments of great crimes were disfranchisement, banishment and servitude: but slavery was not permitted to be inflicted upon any except captives lawfully taken in the wars; and these were to be treated with the gentleness of christian manners, and to be entitled to all the mitigations of their lot enjoined by the law of Moses. Disclaiming all but defensive war, the colonists considered themselves entitled and constrained in self-defence to deprive their assailants of a liberty which they had abused and rendered inconsistent with the safety of their neighbors. The practice, however, was highly impolitic, and served to pave the way, at a later period, for the introduction of negro slavery into New England.

Adultery was punished by death; and fornication by compelling the offending parties to marry (an absurd device, which served to degrade the institution of marriage), or by fine and imprisonment. Burglary or robbery was punished, for the first offence by branding, for the second with superaddition of a severe flogging, and for the third with death: but if either of these crimes, while yet not inferring a capital punishment, were committed on Sunday, an ear was to be cut off in addition to the other inflictions. We must beware of supposing that these penal enactments indicate the existence, much less the frequency, of the crimes to which they refer. In those communities where civilization has been a gradual attainment, penal laws denote the prevalence of the crimes they condemn. But in the colonial establishments of a civilized people, many of the laws must be regarded merely as the expression of the opinion of the legislators, and by no means as indicating the actual condition of society. Blasphemy and idolatry were punishable with death; and though it was acknowledged in the preamble to one of the laws, "that no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men," yet heresy, by this very law, was punished with banishment from the province. Witchcraft, and perjury directed against human life, were capitally punished. No capital charge was deemed capable of being proved by evidence less weighty than the oaths of two witnesses—a regulation that deserves to be universally established, as well on account of its own intrinsic soundness, as of its original derivation from the wisdom of the Creator and searcher of human hearts.

All gaming was prohibited; cards and dice were forbidden to be imported, and dancing in ordinaries was proscribed. By a law enacted in 1646, kissing a woman in the street, even in the way of civil salute, was punished by flogging. This law was executed about a century afterwards, on the captain of an English man of war, for saluting his wife, whom he met, after a long separation, in the streets of Boston. Flogging was not considered an infamous punishment by the people of Massachusetts, and even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, there were instances of persons who after undergoing this punishment, have associated with the most respectable circles of society in Boston. The economy of inns was regulated with a strictness that deserves to be noted as explanatory of a circumstance that has frequently excited the surprise of European travellers in America. The intemperance and immorality which these places are apt to promote, was punished with the utmost rigor; and all innkeepers were required, under the severest penalties, to restrain the excesses of their guests, or to acquaint the magistrates with their perpetration. For the more effectual enforcement of this law, it was judged expedient that innkeepers should be divested of the temptation that poverty presents to its infraction, and enjoy such personal consideration as would facilitate the exercise of their difficult duty; and, accordingly, none were permitted to follow this calling but persons of approved character and competent estate. One of the consequences of this policy has been, that an employment very little respected in other countries, has ever been creditable in the highest degree in New England, and not unfrequently pursued by men who have retired from the most honorable stations in the civil or military service of the state.

Persons wearing apparel which the grand jury should account unsuitable to their estate, were to be admonished in the first instance, and if contumacious, fined.* Idleness, lying, swearing, and drunkenness, were subjected to various penalties and marks of disgrace.† Usury was forbidden; and the prohibition was not confined to the interest of money, but extended to the hire of laboring cattle and implements of husbandry. Persons deserting the English settlements, and living in heathen freedom and profanity, were punished by fine and imprisonment. A male child above sixteen years of age, accused by his parents of rebellion against them and other notorious offences; was (in conformity with the Mosaic code) subjected to capital punishment; and any person courting a maid without the sanction of her parents, was fined and imprisoned. Yet the parental authority was not left unregulated. All parents were commanded to instruct and catechise their children and servants, whom the select men or overseers were directed to remove from their authority and commit to fitter hands, if they were found deficient in this duty;‡ and children were allowed to seek redress from the magistrate if they were denied convenient marriage. The celebration of the ceremony of marriage was confined to the magistrate or such other persons as the general court should authorize. Their law of tenures was exceedingly simple and concise. The charter had conveyed the general territory to the company and its assigns; and it was very early enacted, "that five years' quiet possession shall be deemed a sufficient title." Instead of enacting or intending that the deficiencies of their legislative code should be supplied by the common or statute law of England, it was declared, that when the customs of the commonwealth were found defective, recourse should be had to the word of God.*

Like the tribes of Israel, the colonists of New England had forsaken their native land after a long and severe bondage, and journeyed into the wilderness for the sake of religion. They endeavored to cherish a resemblance of condition, so honorable and so fraught with incitements to piety, by cultivating a conformity between their laws and customs and those which had distinguished the people of God. Hence arose some of the peculiarities which we have observed in their legislative code; and hence arose also the practice of commencing their sabbatical observances on Saturday evening, and of accounting every evening the commencement of the ensuing day. The same predilection for Jewish customs begot, or at least promoted, among them the habit of bestowing significant names on children, of whom the first three that were baptised in Boston church received the names of Joy, Recompense, and Pity. This custom seems to have prevailed with the greatest force in the town of Dorchester, which long continued to be remarkable for such names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preserved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfast, and others of a similar character.

CHAPTER III.

New England embraces the cause of the Parliament—Federal Union between the New England States—Provincial coinage of money—Disputes occasioned by the Disfranchisement of Dissenters in Massachusetts—Impeachment and trial of Governor Winthrop—Arbitrary proceedings against the Dissenters—Attempts to convert and civilize the Indians—Character and labors of Elliot and Mayhew—Indian Bible printed in Massachusetts—Effects of the Missionary labor—A synod of the New England churches—Dispute between Massachusetts and the Long Parliament—the Colony foils the Parliament and is favored by Cromwell—The Protector's administration beneficial to New England—He conquers Acadia—His propositions to the inhabitants of Massachusetts—declined by them—Persecution of the Anabaptists in Massachusetts—Conduct and sufferings of the Quakers—The Restoration—Address of Massachusetts to Charles the Second—Alarm of the colonists, and their declaration of Rights—The king's Message to Massachusetts—how far complied with—Royal charter of incorporation to Rhode Island and Providence, and to Connecticut and Newhaven

THE coincidence between the principles of the colonists and the prevailing party in the Long Parliament, was cemented by the consciousness, that with the success of this body was identified the defence of the colonial liberties from the dangers that had so recently menaced them. [1641.] As soon as the colonists were informed of the convocation of that famous assembly, they despatched Hugh Peters and two other persons to promote the colonial interests in England. The mission terminated more fortunately for the colony than for its ambassadors. By a vote of the House of Commons† in the following year, [1642.] the inhabitants of all the various plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods exported thither, or upon those which they imported into the mother country, "until the House shall take further order therein to the contrary." The colonists, in return, cordially embraced the cause of their benefactors; and when the civil wars broke out in England, they passed an ordinance expressive of their approbation of the measures of parliament, and denouncing capital punishment against any who should disturb the peace of the commonwealth by endeavoring to raise a party for the King of England, or by discriminating between the king and the parliament, who

* The regulation of apparel was considered a fit subject of public police in England as late as the reign of Elizabeth, who by a proclamation, appointed watches of grave citizens to be stationed at the gates of London in order to circumscribe with their scissors all the ruffs of passengers that exceeded certain legal dimensions. Stow. Chron. 869. By an act passed in the thirteenth year of the same sovereign's reign, hats were considered as a luxury; and all persons under a certain age commanded to wear woollen caps. In the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Fulham is this item: "1678, paid for discharge of the parish for wearing hats, contrary to the statute, 5s. 2d."

† That these laws were not allowed to be a dead letter, appears from the following extracts from the earliest records of the colonial court. "John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be set in the stocks. Catharine, the wife of Richard Cornish, was found suspicious of incontinency, and seriously admonished to take heed. Thomas Petit, for suspicion of slander, idleness, and stubbornness, is censured to be severely whipped. Captain Lovel admonished to take need of light carriage. Josias Plaistowe, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, is ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr., as formerly he used to be." Hutchinson, p. 436. Few obtained the title of Mr. in the colony; still fewer that of Esquire, Goodman and goodwife were the common appellations. It was to merit and services rather than wealth, that the distinctive appellations were given. Ibid. The strictness and scrupulosity of manners affected by many of the inhabitants exceeded the standard of the laws: and associations appear to have been formed for suppressing the drinking of healths, and wearing of long hair and of periwigs. Ibid. 151. In some instances, the purposes of these associations were afterwards adopted and enforced by the laws. It is related of some of the earlier settlers, that with a most absurd exaggeration of rigidity, they refrained from brewing on Saturday, because the beer would work upon Sunday. Douglas, Summary of the British settlements in America, i. 371.

‡ Such regulations were not unknown in Scotland. So late as the year 1678, a law was enacted by the corporation of the town of Rutherglen, commanding all parents to send their children to school, and adjudging that the schoolmaster should be entitled to his fees for every child in the parish, whether sent to his school or not. Ure's History of Rutherglen, p. 79.

* Abridgment of the Ordinances of New England, apud Neal, ii. Append. iv. p. 665, &c. Trumbull, i. 124. Josselyn, 178. Burnaby's Travels in America, 146. Chalmers, 167, 8. 276. Winthrop's Hist. (Savage's edition), i. 73. The primitive rigidity discernible in some of these laws was tempered by a patriarchal benevolence of administration. Many instances of this occur in Mather's Lives of the Governors. One I may be permitted to notice as a specimen. Governor Winthrop being urged to prosecute and punish a man who pilaged his magazine of firewood in winter, declared he would soon cure him of that mal-practice; and, accordingly, sending for the delinquent, he told him, "You have a large family, and I have a large magazine of wood; come as often to it as you please, and take as much of it as you need to make your dwelling comfortable.—And now," he added, turning to his friends, "I defy him to steal my fire-wood again."

† The reasons assigned by the House for this resolution, are, that the plantations of New England are likely to conduce to the propagation of the gospel, and already "have by the blessing of the Almighty had good and prosperous success without any public charge to the state." Yet, a few years after, the parliament expressed a different opinion of the obligations of Virginia to the endowment of the mother country though, in this respect, the situation of the two colonies was precisely the same.

truly maintained the cause of the king as well as their own. Happily for themselves, they were unable to signalize their predilection by more active interference in the contest; and, with a wise regard to their commercial interests, they gave free ingress into their harbors to trading vessels from the ports in possesions of the king. They had likewise the good sense to decline an invitation that was sent to them, to depute Mr. Cotton, and others of their ministers, to attend, on their behalf, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Encouraged by the privileges that had been conferred on them, their industry made vigorous progress, and population rapidly increased. From the continent, they began to extend their occupation to the adjacent islands; and Mr. Mayhew, having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, laid the foundation there of settlements that afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the conversion and civilization of the Indians. But an attempt which they made at the same time to extend, if not their settlements, at least their principles, in another quarter of the continent, proved quite unsuccessful. The colonists of Virginia were in general stanch royalists, and, with comparatively little of the substance of religion, united a strong attachment to the forms and constitutions of the church of England. Yet, as we have seen, they had received, even as early as the reign of James, an accession to their numbers, composed of persons who had imbibed puritan sentiments, and had fled from ecclesiastical persecution in England. A deputation from this portion of the Virginian settlers had been lately sent to Boston to represent their destitution of a gospel ministry, and solicit a supply of ministers from the New England churches. In compliance with this request, three clergymen were selected to proceed to Virginia, and furnished with recommendatory letters from the governor of Massachusetts to Sir William Berkeley. On their arrival in Virginia, they began to preach in several parts of the country, and the people flocked to hear them with an eagerness that might have been productive of important consequences. But the puritan principles, no less than the political sentiments of the colonists of New England, were too much the objects of aversion to Sir William Berkeley to admit of his encouragement being extended to proceedings so calculated to propagate their influence among his own people. So far from complying with the desire of his brother governor, he issued an order by which all persons who would not conform to the ceremonies of the church of England were commanded to depart from Virginia by a certain day. The preachers returned to their own settlement; and thus was laid the foundation of a jealousy which long subsisted between the two oldest colonies of North America.

The failure of this endeavor to establish a friendly intercourse with the sister colony of Virginia, was amply compensated to the New England settlements by an important event in their history, which occurred during the following year; [1643,] the formation of a league by which they were knit together in the frame of a confederacy that greatly increased their security and power. The Naraganset Indians had by this time had ample leisure to reflect on the policy of their conduct towards the Pequods; and the hatred which they had formerly cherished against that tribe being extinguished in the destruction of its objects, had been succeeded by an angry jealousy of those strangers who had obviously derived the chief and only advantage of which that event was productive. They saw the territories of their ancient rivals occupied by a much more powerful neighbor; and, mistaking their own inability to improve their advantages for the effect of fraud and injustice on the part of the colonists, who were so rapidly surpassing them in number, wealth, and power, they began to complain that the plunder of the Pequods had not been fairly divided, and proceeded to concert measures with the neighboring tribes for an universal insurrection of the Indians against the English. Their designs had advanced but a little way towards maturity, when they were detected in consequence of a sudden gust of that inordinate passion of private revenge which seemed fated to pervert and defeat their political views. The colonists, from the groundless murmurs they found themselves exposed to, and which proved only the rooted dislike of the savages, were sensible of their own danger without yet being aware of its extent, or feeling themselves entitled to anticipate some more certain indication of it; when, happily, they were called upon to act as umpires between two contending tribes. The Naragansets having conceived some disgust against a neighboring chief, employed an assassin to kill him; and failing in this attempt, plunged into a war with the declared intention of exterminating the whole of his tribe. This tribe, who were at peace with the English, sent their chief to implore the protection of the Massachusetts colonists, who promised their interposition in his behalf. The Naragansets, apprised of this proceeding, recollecting the fate of the Pequods, and aware how well they deserved to share it, were struck with terror, and throwing down their arms, concluded a peace dictated to them by the English. When they found the danger blown over, they paid so little attention to the performance of their paction, that it was not till the colonists had made a demonstration of their readiness to employ force that they sullenly fulfilled it. Alarmed by such indications of fickleness, dislike, and furious passion, the government of Massachusetts deemed it prudent to provide by a mutual concert of the colonies, for the common danger which they might expect to encounter at no distant day, when the savages, instructed by experience, would sacrifice their private feuds to combined hostility against a people whose progressive advancement seemed to minister occasion of incurable jealousy. Having conceived, for this purpose, a plan which was framed in imitation of the bond of union among the Dutch provinces, and which readily suggested itself to some of their leading characters who had resided with the Brownist congregation in Holland, they proposed it to the neighboring settlements of Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, by which it was cordially embraced. These four colonies accordingiy entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. It was stipulated that the confederates should thenceforth be distinguished by the title of the United Colonies of New England; that each colony should remain separate and distinct, and have exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates should furnish its quota of men, money, and provisions, at a rate to be fixed from time to time in proportion to the number of people in each settlement; that an assembly composed of two commissioners from each colony should be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; and every determination sanctioned by the concurrence of six of their number, should be binding on the whole. The state of Rhode Island, which was not included in this confederacy, having petitioned a few years after to be admitted into it, her request was refused, except on the condition, which she declined, of merging her separate existence in an incorporation with the state of Plymouth. Thus excluded from the protection of the league or union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavored to provide for their security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians; and in the prosecution of their humane and courteous policy they were eminently successful.

The colonists have been reproached with arrogating the rights of sovereignty in this transaction, which truly may be regarded as a considerable step to independence. Yet it was a measure that could hardly be avoided by a people surrounded with enemies, and abandoned to their own resources in a territory many thousand miles removed from the seat of the government that claimed sovereign dominion over them. Every step that a people so situated made in enlarging their numbers, combining their resources, or otherwise promoting their security, was a step towards independence. Nothing but some politic system, or a series of events that might have kept the various settlements continually disunited in mutual jealousy and weakness, could have secured their perpetual existence as a dependent progeny of England. But whatever effects the transaction which we have considered may have secretly produced on the course of American sentiment and opinion, and however likely it may now appear to have planted the seminal idea of independence in the minds of the colonists, it was regarded neither by themselves nor by their English rulers as indicating pretensions unsuitable to their condition. Even after the Restoration, the commissioners of the union were repeatedly noticed and recognised in the letters and official instruments of Charles the Second; and the union itself with some alterations subsisted till the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James. A few years after its establishment, the principal concern to which its efforts and deliberations were devoted was the conversion of the Indians, in co-operation with the society instituted by parliament in Britain for propagating the gospel in New England.

While the colonists were thus employed in measures calculated to secure and protect their institutions, the parliament passed an ordinance carrying a most formidable aspect, and fraught with consequences the most injurious to their rights. It appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief, and lord high admiral of the colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners to assist him; it empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to examine the state of affairs in the colonies; to send for papers and persons; to remove governors and officers, and to appoint others in their place, and delegate to them as much of the power granted to himself by the ordinance as he should think proper. This appointment, which created an authority that might have new-modelled all the colonial governments, and abrogated all their charters, was not suffered to remain entirely inoperative. To some of the settlements the parliamentary council extended protection, and even granted new patents. Happily for Massachusetts, either the favor which it was thought to deserve, or the absorbing interest of the great contest that was carrying on in England, prevented the council from interfering with its institutions till a period when the colonial assembly were able, as we shall see, to employ defensive measures that defeated its undesirable interposition without disputing its formidable authority.

Various disputes had subsisted between the inhabitants of New England and the French settlers in Acadia. [1644] These were at length adjusted by a treaty between a commissioner for the king of France on the one part, and John Endicot, Esq. governor of New England, and the rest of the magistrates there, on the other.* The colonists had already debarred themselves from recognising the king as distinct from the parliament; and they probably found it difficult to explain to the other contracting parties to what denomination of authority they considered themselves to owe allegiance. This state of things, as it led to practices, so it may have secretly fostered sentiments, that savoured of independence. A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted a few years after, when the increasing trade of the colony with the West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the colonial authorities, for the purpose of preventing frauds in the employment of the circulating medium in this inconvenient shape, to erect a mint for the coining of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on the one side, of Massachusetts, as the principal settlement, on the other, and with a tree as an apt symbol of the progressive vigor which the colony had evinced. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin any metal into money; and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered" says one of the colonial historians, "that at this time there was no king in Israel" In the distracted state of England it might well be judged unsafe to send their bullion there to be coined: and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which might finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its favor and currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament, of Cromwell, and even of Charles the Second during twenty years of his reign.

The separation of the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts naturally gave rise to some disputes respecting the boundaries of jurisdiction in a constitution not yet matured by practice. But what precedent could not supply, the influence and estimation of the clergy of the province was able to effect. [1645] By common consent, all the ministers were summoned to attend the session of the assembly, and the points at issue being submitted to them, their judgment was willingly embraced and assented to.† But in the following year [1646] a

* Journals of the House of Lords, vol. vi. p. 291. Chalmers, 175, 6. The people of Maine appear to have solicited the protection of the council in 1651. Hazard, 559.

† Hutchinson, 143, 4. One of the controversies that had occurred at this time between the two houses originated in a matter not more illustrious, than a difference of sentiment respecting the identity of a sow, which was claimed from the herd of a richer neighbor by a poor woman, who pretended that it had strayed from her some years before. Behold how great a matter a little fire will kindle! Not the court only, but the whole country was divided by this question, which, poverty concurring with resentment of imposition on the one part, and indignation at a charge that effected his character on the other, induced the parties to contest with the utmost rage and pertinacity. The identity of Martin Guerre was not more keenly controverted in France. Compassion for the poor woman prevailed with the poorer class of people over

dissension much more violent in its nature, and much less creditable and satisfactory in its issue, was occasioned in this state by the intolerance which we have already noted in its original institutions. With the increasing prosperity and importance of the colony, the value of its political franchises had been proportionably augmented; and the increasing opulence and respectability of the dissenters seemed to aggravate the hardship of the disfranchisement to which they were subjected. Some of these having violently assumed the privileges from which they were excluded by law, and disturbed an election by their interference, were punished by Mr. Winthrop, the deputy-governor, who vigorously resisted and defeated their pretensions. They complained of this treatment to the general court by a petition couched in very strong language, demanding leave to impeach the deputy-governor before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, and to submit to the same tribunal the consideration of their general grievances, as well as of the particular severities they had experienced from Winthrop. The grievances under which they labored were enumerated in the petition, which contained a forcible remonstrance against the injustice of depriving them of their rights as freemen, and of their privileges as christians, because they could not join as members with the congregational churches, or when they solicited admission into them were arbitrarily rejected by the ministers. They petitioned that, either the full rights of citizenship might be communicated to them, or that they might no longer be required to obey laws to which they had not given assent,—to contribute to the maintenance of ministers who denied them the benefit of their ministry, and to pay taxes imposed by an assembly in which they were not represented. The court were so far moved by the petition, or by the respectability of its promoters, that Mr. Winthrop was commanded to defend himself publicly from the charges which it advanced against him.

On the day appointed for his trial he descended from the tribunal, and placing himself at the bar in presence of a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants, he proceeded to vindicate his conduct to his judges and fellow citizens. Having clearly proved that his proceedings had been warranted by law, and had no other end than to maintain the existing institutions, by the exercise of the authority which had been committed to him for that purpose, he concluded an excellent harangue in the following manner*. "Though I be justified before men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my administration as calls me to be humbled: and indeed for me to have been thus charged by men is a matter of humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed." Then proceeding to enforce some considerations calculated, he said, to rectify the opinions of the people on the nature of government: "The questions," he observed, "that have troubled the country have been about the authority of the magistracy and the liberty of the people. It is you who have called us unto this office; but being thus called we have our authority from God. Magistracy is the ordinance of God, and it hath the image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. I entreat you to consider that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject unto like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe censurers of ours. The covenant between us and you is the oath you have exacted of us, which is to this purpose, '*That we shall govern you and judge your causes according to God's laws and the particular statutes of the land, according to our best skill.*' As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error only therein, and not in the will, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list. This liberty is inconsistent with authority; impatient of all restraint (by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores*:) 'tis the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority: it is a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives; and whatsoever crosses it is not authority but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their true liberty by their murmuring at the honor and power of authority."

The circumstances in which this address was delivered, remind us of scenes in Greek and Roman history; while the wisdom, worth, and dignity that it breathes, resemble the magnanimous vindication of a Judge of Israel. Mr. Winthrop was not only honorably acquitted by the sentence of the court and the voice of the public, but recommended so powerfully to the esteem of his fellow citizens by this and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen governor of the province every year after as long as he lived* His accusers incurred a proportional degree of public displeasure: their petition was dismissed, and several of the chief promoters of it severely reprimanded, and adjudged to make confession of their fault in seeking to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony. Refusing to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and still persisting in their demands of an alteration of the law, with very indiscreet threats of complaining to the parliament, they were punished with fine or imprisonment. As several of these persons were known to be inclined to the form of presbytery, and as that constitution was also affected by the prevailing party in the English House of Commons, the menace of a complaint to parliament excited general alarm and indignation; and several of the petitioners having made preparations to sail for England, with very significant hints of the changes they hoped to effect by their machinations there, some of them were placed under arrest, and their papers were violently taken from them. Among these papers were found petitions to Lord Warwick, urging a forfeiture of the colonial charter, the introduction of a presbyterian establishment, and of the whole code of English jurisprudence, into the colonial institutions, with various other innovations, which were represented as no less accordant with legislative wisdom and justice, than adapted to the important end of securing and effectuating the supreme dominion of the parliament over the colony. The discovery of the intolerance meditated by these persons served to exasperate the intolerance which themselves were experiencing from the society of which they formed but an insignificant fraction. The contents of their papers excited so much resentment that not a voice was raised against the arbitrary measure by which they had been intercepted; and the alarm was increased by the conviction of the utter impossibility of preventing designs so dangerous from being still attempted. The warmth of the public sentiment, as well as the peculiar nature of the subject that had excited it, introduced this all-prevalent topic into the pulpit; and even Mr. Cotton was so far overtaken with infirmity, as to declare, in a sermon, "That if any one should carry writings or complaints against the people of God in this country to England, he would find himself in the case of Jonas in the vessel." This was a prediction which a long voyage was very likely to realize. In effect, a short time after, certain deputies from the petitioners having embarked for England, were overtaken by a violent storm, and the sailors recollecting the prediction that had gone abroad, and, happily, considering the papers, and not the bearers of them, as the guilty parties, insisted so vehemently on casting all obnoxious writings overboard, that the deputies were compelled to commit their credentials to the waves. When they arrived in England, however, they did not fail to prosecute their application; but the attention of the parliamentary leaders at that time being deeply engaged with more important matters, and Winslow and Hugh Peters, on behalf of the colony, actively labouring to counteract their purposes, they obtained little attention and no redress.

From the painful contemplation of the intolerance of the colonists, and their inordinate contentions about the forms of religion, it is pleasing to turn to the substantial fruits of christian character evinced by those noble exertions for the conversion of the Indians that originated in the same year that had witnessed so much dissension and violence. The circumstances that had promoted the emigrations to New England, had operated with particular force on the ministers of the puritans; and so many of them had accompanied the other settlers, that among a people who derived less enjoyment from the exercises of piety, the numbers of the clergy would have been thought exceedingly burdensome and very much disproportioned to the wants of the laity. This circumstance was highly favorable to the promotion of religious habits among the colonists, as well as to the extension of their settlements, in the plantation of which the co-operation of a minister was considered indispensable. It contributed also to suggest and facilitate missionary labor among the heathens, to whom the colonists had associated themselves by superadding the ties of a common country to those of a common nature. While the people at large were daily extending their industry, and overcoming by cultivation the rudeness of desert nature, the clergy eagerly looked around for some addition to their peculiar sphere of usefulness, and at a very early period entertained designs of redeeming to the dominion of piety and civility, the neglected wastes of human character that lay stretched in savage ignorance and idolatry around them. John Elliot, one of the ministers of Roxbury, a man whose large soul glowed with the intensest flame of zeal and charity, was strongly penetrated with a sense of this duty, and for some time had been diligently laboring to overcome the preliminary difficulty by which its performance was obstructed. He had now at length attained such acquaintance with the Indian language as enabled him not only himself to speak it with fluency, but to facilitate the acquisition of it to others, by the construction and publication of a system of *Indian grammar*. Having completed his preparatory inquiries, he began, in the close of this year, a scene of labor which has been traced with great interest and accuracy by the ecclesiastical historians of New England, and still more minutely, I doubt not, in that eternal record where alone the actions of men attain their just, their final, and everlasting proportions. It is a remarkable feature in his long and arduous career, that the energy by which he was actuated never sustained the slighest abatement, but, on the contrary evinced a steady and vigorous increase. He appears never to have doubted its continuance; but, constantly referring it to God, he felt assured of its derivation from a source incapable of being wasted by the most liberal communication. He delighted to maintain this communication by incessant prayer, and before his missionary labors commenced, he had been known in the colony by the name of "praying Elliot"—a noble designation, if the noblest employment of a rational creature be the cultivation of access to the Author of his being. Rarely, very rarely, I believe, has human nature been so completely embued, refined, and elevated by religion. Every thing he saw or knew occurred to him in a religious aspect: every faculty, and every acquisition that he derived from the employment of his faculties, was received by him as a ray let into his soul from that Eternity for which he continually panted. As he was one of the holiest, so was he also one of the happiest of men; and his life for many years was a continual outpouring of his whole being in devotion to God and charity to mankind.*

The kindness of Mr. Elliot's manner soon gained him a favorable hearing from many of the Indians; [7] and both parties being sensible of the expediency of altering the civil and domestic habits that counteracted the impressions which he attempted to produce, he obtained from the general court an allotment of land in the neighborhood of the settlement of Concord, in Massachusetts, upon which a number of Indian families proceeded, by his directions, to build fixed habitations, and where they eagerly received his instructions both spiritual and secular. It was not long before a violent opposition to these innovations was excited by the powaws, or Indian priests, who threatened death and other inflictions of the vengeance of their idols on all who should embrace christianity. The menaces and

all sense of equity; and, at length, even those magistrates who considered the defendant in the right, concurred in persuading him to surrender the object of dispute, and to forbear to seek his own at the expense of the tranquillity of the colony.

* Various editions of this speech have been published. It appears now, from the continuation of Winthrop's own journal (edited by Mr Savage), that all these were abridgments. Mather's which I have followed, is the best.

* This excellent magistrate (says Cotton Mather) continually exemplified the maxim of Theodosius, that "if any man speak evil of the ruler, if it be through lightness, 'tis to be condemned; if it be through madness, 'tis to be pitied; if through malice, 'tis to be forgiven." One of the colonists who had long manifested much ill will towards his person, at length wrote to him, "Sir, your overcoming of yourself hath overcome me." His death, in 1649, was deeply and universally bewailed; and all declared that he had been the father of the colony, and the first no less in virtue than in place. Mather, B. iv.

* He died in the year 1690. As his bodily strength decayed, the energy of his being seemed to retreat into his soul, and at length all his faculties (he said) seemed absorbed in holy love. Being asked, shortly before his departure, how he did, he replied, "I have lost every thing: my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still, I find that rather grows than fails." Richard Baxter declared that these words had given him inexpressible comfort, and that the account of Elliot's life, which he read when he himself was laboring under a dangerous illness, had recalled him from the brink of the grave Mather B. iii. Neal ii. 470.

artifices of these persons caused several of the seeming converts to draw back, but induced others to separate themselves more entirely from the society and converse of their countrymen, and seek the benefit and protection of a closer association with that superior race of men who showed themselves so generously willing to diffuse and communicate all the means and benefits of their superiority. A considerable body of Indians resorted to the land allotted them by the colonial government, and exchanged their wild and barbarous habits for the modes of civilized living and industry. Mr. Elliot was continually among them, instructing, animating, and directing them. They felt his superior wisdom, and saw him continually happy; and there was nothing in his circumstances or appearance that indicated sources of enjoyment from which they were debarred; on the contrary, it was obvious that of every article of selfish comfort he was willing to divest himself in order to communicate to them what he esteemed the only true riches of an immortal being. He who gave him this spirit, gave him favor in the eyes of the people among whom he ministered: and their affection for him reminds us of those primitive ages when the converts were willing, as it were, to pluck out their eyes if they could have given them to their pastor. The women in the new settlement learned to spin, the men to dig and till the ground, and the children were instructed in the English language, and taught to read and write. As the numbers of domesticated Indians increased they built a town by the side of Charles river, which they called *Natick;* and they desired Mr. Elliot to frame a system of internal government for them. He directed their attention to the counsel that Jethro gave to Moses; and, in conformity with it, they elected for themselves rulers of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. The colonial government also appointed a court which, without assuming jurisdiction over them, offered the assistance of its judicial wisdom to all who should be willing to refer to it the determination of their more difficult or important subjects of controversy. In endeavoring to extend their missionary influence among the surrounding tribes, Mr. Elliot and his associates encountered a variety of success corresponding to the visible varieties of human character and the invisible predeterminations of the Divine will. Many expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt of christianity: some made a hollow profession of willingness to hear, and even of conviction, with the view, as it afterwards appeared, of obtaining the tools and other articles of value that were furnished to those who proposed to embrace the modes of civilized living. In spite of every discouragement the missionaries persisted; and the difficulties that at first mocked their efforts seeming at length to vanish under an invisible touch, their labors were blessed with astonishing success. The character and habits of the lay colonists tended to promote the efficacy of these pious labors, in a manner which will be forcibly appreciated by all who have examined the history and progress of missions. Simple in their manners, devout, moral, and industrious in their lives, they enforced the lessons of the missionaries by demonstrating their practicability and beneficial effects, and presented a model which, in point of refinement, was not too elevated for Indian imitation.

While Mr. Elliot and an increasing body of associates were thus employed in the Province of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew, a man who combined in a wonderful degree an affectionate mildness that nothing could disturb with an ardor and activity that nothing could overcome, together with a few coadjutors, not less diligently and successfully prosecuted the same design in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth Isles, and within the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent. Abasing themselves that they might elevate their species and promote the Divine glory, they wrought with their own hands among those Indians whom they persuaded to forsake savage habits; and zealously employing all the influence they acquired to the communication of moral and spiritual improvement, their labors were eminently blessed by the same Power which had given them the grace so fully to devote themselves to his service. [1647.] The character and manners of Mayhew appear to have been singularly calculated to excite the tenderness no less than the veneration of the objects of his benevolence, and to make them feel at once how amiable and how awful true goodness is. His address derived a captivating interest from that earnest concern, and high and holy value, which he manifestly entertained for every member of the family of mankind. Many years after his death the Indians could not hear his name mentioned without shedding tears and expressing transports of grateful emotion. Both Elliot and Mayhew found great advantage in the practice of selecting the most docile and ingenious of their Indian pupils, and by especial attention to their instruction, qualifying them to act as schoolmasters among their brethren. To a zeal that seemed to increase by exercise, they added insurmountable patience and admirable prudence; and, steadily fixing their view on the glory of the Most High, and declaring that, whether outwardly successful or not in promoting it, they felt themselves blessed and happy in pursuing it, they found its influence sufficient to light them through every perplexity and peril, and finally conduct them to a degree of success and victory unparalleled, perhaps, since that era when the miraculous endowments of the apostolic ministry caused a nation to be born in a day. They were slow to push the Indians upon improved institutions; they desired rather to lead them insensibly forward, more especially in the adoption of religious ordinances. Those practices, indeed, which they considered likely to commend themselves by their beneficial effects to the natural understanding of men, they were not restrained from recommending to their early adoption; and trial by jury very soon superseded the savage modes of determining right or ascertaining guilt, and contributed to improve and refine the sense of equity. In the dress and mode of cohabitation of the savages, they also introduced at an early period, alterations calculated to form and develope a sense of modesty, in which the Indians were found to be grossly and universally defective. But all these practices which are, or ought to be, exclusively the fruits of renewed nature and Divine light, they desired to teach entirely by example, and by diligently radicating and cultivating in the minds of their flocks the principles out of which alone such practices can lastingly and beneficially grow. It was not till the year 1660 that the first Indian church was founded by Mr. Elliot and his fellow-laborers in Massachusetts. There were at that time no fewer than ten settlements within the province, occupied by Indians comparatively civilized.

Mr. Elliot had from time to time translated and printed various approved religious works for the use of the Indians, and, at length, in the year 1664, the Bible was printed, for the first time in the language of the new world, at Cambridge in Massachusetts.* This great achievement was not effected without the assistance of pecuniary contributions from the mother country. The colonists had zealously and gladly co-operated with their ministers, and assisted to defray the cost of their charitable undertakings; but the increasing expenses threatened at last to exceed what their means were able to supply. Happily, the tidings of this great work excited a kindred spirit in the parent State, and in the year 1649 was formed there, by act of parliament, a *Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England*, whose co-operation proved of essential service to the missionary cause. This society, having been dissolved at the Restoration, was afterwards re-erected by a charter from Charles the Second, obtained by the exertions of the pious Richard Baxter and the influence of the great Robert Boyle, who was thus the benefactor of New England as well as of Virginia. Supported by its ample endowments, and the no less liberal contributions of their own fellow-colonists, the American missionaries exerted themselves with such energy and success in the work of converting and civilizing the savages, that, before the close of the seventeenth century, there were in the province of Massachusetts more than thirty congregations of Indians, comprising upwards of three thousand persons reclaimed from a gross degrading barbarism, and advanced to the comfort and respectability of civilized life, and the dignity and happiness of worshippers of the true God, through the mediation of the only name by which men can know or approach him. There were nearly as many converts to religion and civility in the islands of Massachusetts Bay; there were several Indian congregations in the Plymouth territories and among some of the tribes that still adhered to their roving barbarous mode of life, there was introduced a considerable improvement in their civil and moral habits. When we reflect on the toils that these missionaries encountered, on the vast and varied difficulties they were enabled to overcome, and survey the magnificent expanse of happiness and virtue that arose from their exertions; and, when looking backwards, we trace the stream of events to its first spring in the pride and cruelty that was let loose to fortify the zeal of the puritans, and finally, to drive them from their native land to the scene appointed for this great and happy achievement;—we acknowledge the unseen but eternal control of that Being who projects the end from the beginning, who alone does the good that is done in the earth, and beneath whose irresistible will, the depravity that opposes, no less than the virtue that coincides with it, are but the instruments that blindly or knowingly effect its fulfilment.

Among the various difficulties that obstructed the changes which the missionaries attempted to introduce into the habits of the Indians, it was found that the human constitution had been deeply deteriorated by ages of savage life. Habits of alternate energy and sloth, indulged from generation to generation, seemed at length to have given a character or bias to the animal faculties almost as deeply ingrained as the depraved hue of the negro body, and to have seriously impaired the capacity of continuous exertion. In every employment that demanded steady labor, the Indians were found decidedly inferior to the Europeans. The first missionaries, and their immediate successors, sustained this discouragement without shrinking, and animated their converts to resist or endure it. But, at a later period, when it was found that the taint which the Indian constitution had received continued to be propagated among descendants educated in habits widely different from those of their forefathers, many persons began too hastily to apprehend that the imperfection was incurable; and missionary ardor was abated by the very circumstance that most strongly demanded its revival and enlargement. In concurrence with this cause of decline in the progress of the great work which we have contemplated, the energetic gratitude of the first converts from darkness to light had subsided; and the consequence unhappily was, that a considerable abatement ensued of the piety, morality, and industry, of the Indian communities that had been reclaimed from savage life. But the work has not been lost; its visible traces were never suffered to perish: amidst occasional decline and revival, it has always been manifest, and the people gathered to God from this barbarous and deeply-revolted kindred have never been permitted to disappear.

I have been induced to overstep very considerably the march of time, in order to exhibit a brief but unbroken view of this great scene of missionary labor. We now return to follow more leisurely the general stream of the affairs of the colony.

Shortly after the dissensions that had prevailed in the year 1646, the general court recommended the assembling of a general synod of the churches in order to frame an uniform scheme of church discipline for all the colonial congregations. The proposal was resisted by several of the churches, which expressed great apprehension of the arbitrary purposes and superstitious devices which might be promoted by the dangerous practice of convocating synods. [1648.] But, at length, the persuasion generally prevailing that an assembly of this description possessed no inherent authority, and that its functions were confined to the tendering of counsel, the second synod of New England was called together at Cambridge. The confession of faith that had recently been published by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was thoroughly examined and unanimously approved. Three of the most eminent ministers of the colony, Cotton, Partridge, and Mather, were then appointed to prepare a model of discipline for the instruction of the colonial churches. The *Platform of Church Discipline*, which they composed accordingly, and presented to the synod, after many long debates, received the general approbation and universal acquiescence.

1649.] A dispute had for some time subsisted between Massachusetts and Connecticut respecting a tax which the latter state had imposed, and which Massachusetts considered with good reason to operate unfairly on a portion of her people. Having complained to the confederacy, and not obtaining redress as speedily as they considered themselves entitled to expect, the legislative authorities of Massachusetts passed an act imposing a retaliatory duty not only on goods from Connecticut, but on importations from all the other states of the confederation. This unjust proceeding could be supported only by an appeal to the privilege of the strongest; a privilege which Massachusetts was so well able to enforce, that the other confederates had nothing to oppose but the usual, though often ineffectual, expedient of the weak. Happily for them and for herself, their ally, though liable to be betrayed into error by resentment and partiality, was not intoxicated

* I have seen a copy of this edition of the Bible in the library of the late George Chalmers. It is a beautiful piece of typography.

Many earlier publications had already issued from the fertile press of New England. One of the first was a new metrical translation of the Psalms—very literal, and very unpoetical. To this last imputation the New Englanders answered, "that God's altars needs not our polishings." Oldmixon f. 109, 110.

with conscious power. They presented a remonstrance to the general court of Massachusetts, desiring it "seriously to consider whether such proceedings agree with the law of love, and the tenor of the articles of confederation." On receiving this remonstrance, the government of Massachusetts, superior to the mean shame of acknowledging a wrong, consented to suspend the obnoxious ordinance.* [1650.]

But Massachusetts, in the following year, [1651,] was engaged in a dispute with a power still more formidable to her than she was to her confederates, and much less susceptible of sentiments of moderation and forbearance. The Long Parliament having now established its authority at home, was determined to exact an implicit recognition of it from all the dependencies of the state, and even to introduce such recognition into all the charters and official proceedings of subordinate communities. A requisition was accordingly transmitted to the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, to send their charter to London, to take out a new patent from the keepers of the liberties of England, and to hold all courts, and issue all writs, in the name of this description of authority. This command excited the utmost alarm in the colony; nor could all the attachment of the people to the cause of the parliament† reconcile them to a surrender of the title under which their settlements and institutions had been formed, and which had never obstructed their subordination to the authorities that now proposed to revoke it. The parliament had no more right to supersede the original patent of the colony, than to require the city of London, or any of the other corporations of England, to submit their charters to similar dissolution and renovation. But the colonists were well aware that the authorities which had issued this arbitrary mandate had the power to enforce it; and, accordingly, declining a direct collision, they reverted to the policy, which they had once successfully employed to counteract the tyrannical intentions of the king, and succeeded in completely foiling this assembly, so renowned for its success, resolution, and capacity. The general court, instead of surrendering the patent, transmitted a petition to the parliament against the enforcement of this mandate, setting forth, that "these things not being done in the late king's time or since, it was not able to discern the need of such an injunction." It represented the condition and authority on which the settlers had originally come to New England, their stedfast adherence to the cause of the parliament throughout the civil wars, and their present explicit recognition of its supremacy; and prayed that the people might not now be worse dealt with than in the time of the king, and instead of a governor and magistrates annually chosen by themselves, be required to submit to others imposed on them against their wills. The general court at the same time addressed a letter to "the Lord General Cromwell," for the purpose of interesting his powerful mediation in their behalf, as well as of dissuading him from the prosecution of certain measures which he himself had projected for their advantage. The peculiar character which the New England colonists had displayed, the institutions they had established, and their predilection for the independent model of church government which he himself so highly admired, had recommended them in the most powerful manner to the esteem of this extraordinary man: and his favorable regards were enhanced by the recollection of the plan he had formed, and so nearly realized, of uniting his destiny with theirs in America. Nor were they at all abated by the compassion and benevolence with which the colonists received a considerable body of unfortunate Scots whom Cromwell had caused to be transported to Massachusetts after the battle of Dunbar, and of which he was informed by a letter from Mr. Cotton.* He seemed to consider that he had been detained in England for their interests as well as his own, and never ceased to desire that they should be more nearly associated with his fortunes, and cheered with the rays of his grandeur. He had conceived an ardent desire to be the author of an enterprise so illustrious as the revocation of these men to the country from which they had been so unworthily expelled; and as an act of honorable justice to themselves, as well as for the advantage of Ireland, he had recently broached the proposal of transporting them from America, and establishing them in a district of this island, which was to be evacuated for their reception. In their letter to him, the general court, which had been apprised of this scheme, acknowledged, with grateful expressions, the kind consideration which it indicated; but declined to avail themselves of it, or abandon a land where they had experienced so much of the favor of God, and were blessed with such prospects of converting the heathen. They at the same time recommended their petition against the parliamentary measures to his friendly countenance, and beseeched "his Excellence to be pleased to show whatsoever God shall direct him unto, on the behalf of the colony, to the most honorable parliament." It may be presumed, that Cromwell's mediation was successfully employed, as the requisition that had been transmitted to the general court was not further prosecuted.†

The successes of the Long Parliament had begotten in its leading members a growing spirit of dominion, of which the colonies did not fail to experience the operation. In the history of Virginia we have beheld the laws by which the traffic of all the colonies with foreign nations was prohibited, and the ordinances and proceedings by which the subjugation of that refractory settlement was enacted and enforced. The state of Massachusetts, which was desirous, as far as possible, to act in concurrence with the parliament, and was perfectly sincere in recognizing its supremacy, co-operated with its ordinance against Virginia, by prohibiting all intercourse with that colony till it had been reduced by the parliamentary forces. But it was not over those settlements alone, which opposed its supremacy, that the parliament was disposed to indulge the spirit of dominion; and though Massachusetts was protected from its designs by the interference of Cromwell, Maryland, which had received its establishment from Charles the First, was compelled to receive the alterations of its official style which Massachusetts had evaded; [1652]* and Rhode Island beheld the very form of government which it had received from the parliament itself in 1643, suspended by an order of the council of state. What might have ensued upon this order, and what similar or further proceedings might have been adopted by the parliament relative to the other colonies, were intercepted by its own dissolution, and the convergence of the whole power of the English commonwealth in the strong hands of Oliver Cromwell.

1653.] The ascendancy of the protector proved highly beneficial to all the American colonies, except Virginia, which, on account of the political tenets of its inhabitants, he regarded even with greater displeasure than the catholic establishment of Maryland. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended; and, by the decisive vigor of his interference, the people of Connecticut and Newhaven were relieved from the apprehensions they had long entertained of the hostile designs of the Dutch colonists of New York. All the New England states were thenceforward exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade with foreign nations; and both their commerce and security derived a great increase from the conquest which the protector's arms achieved, of the province of Acadia from the French. But it was Massachusetts that occupied the highest place in his esteem; and to the inhabitants of this settlement he earnestly longed to impart a dignity of external condition proportioned to the elevation which he believed them to enjoy in the favor of the great Sovereign of all mankind. The reasons for which they had declined his offer of a settlement in Ireland, however likely to commend themselves to his approbation, were still more calculated to draw forth his regard for a people who felt the force of such generous considerations. When his arms had effected the conquest of Jamaica, he conceived the project of transplanting the colonists of Massachusetts to that beautiful island; [1655,] and, with this view, he strongly represented to them, that, by establishing themselves and their principles in the West Indies, they would carry the sword of the gospel into the very heart of the territories of popery, and that consequently they ought to deem themselves as strongly called to this ulterior removal, as they had been to their original migration. He endeavored to incite them to embrace this project by promises of his amplest countenance and support, and of having the whole powers of government vested entirely in their own hands, and by expatiating on the rich productions of the torrid zone, with which their industry would be rewarded in this new settlement: and with these considerations he blended an appeal to their conscience, in pressing them to fulfil, in their own favor, the promise which, he said, the Almighty had given *to make his people the head, and not the tail.* He not only urged these views upon the agents and correspondents of the colonists in England, but despatched one of his own officers to solicit on the spot their compliance with his proposal. But the colonists were exceedingly averse to abandon a country where they found themselves happy and in possession of a sphere of increasing usefulness; and the proposal was the more unacceptable to them from the accounts they had received of the sickliness of Jamaica. [1656] The general court accordingly returned an address, declining, in the name of their fellow-citizens, to embrace the protector's offer, and withal beseeching his Highness not to impute their refusal to indifference to his service, or to an ungrateful disregard of his concern for their welfare.† Thus, by the overruling influence of that Power by which their steps had been so signally directed, were the colonists prevented, on two occasions, from availing themselves of the injudicious promotion which Cromwell was so eager to bestow. Had they removed to Ireland, they would themselves shortly after have been subjected to slavery: had they pro-

* Hutchinson i. 156. Chalmers, 192, 3. Another dispute, which occurred about three years after between Massachusetts and the other confederated states, is related with great minuteness, and I think with no small injustice and partiality, by the respectable historian of Connecticut. In 1653, a discovery was supposed to have been made of a conspiracy between Stuyvesant, the governor of the Dutch colony, and the Indians, for the extermination of the English. The evidence of this sanguinary project (which Stuyvesant indignantly disclaimed) was held sufficient, and the resolution of a general war embraced, by all the commissioners of the union except those of Massachusetts. The general court of this province judged the proof inconclusive, and were fortified in this opinion by the judgment of their clergy, which they consented to abide by. To all the remonstrances of their allies, they answered, that no articles of confederation should induce them to undertake an offensive war which they considered unjust, and on which they could not ask or expect the blessing of God. The historian of Connecticut, not content with reprobating this breach of the articles of union, vehemently maintains that the scruples of Massachusetts were insincere. Trumbull, vol. i. cap. x. But, in truth the evidence of the Dutch plot labored under very serious defects, which were much more coolly weighed by the people of Massachusetts, than by the inhabitants of Connecticut and Newhaven, exasperated by frequent disputes with the Dutch, and, by their proximity, exposed to the greatest danger from Dutch hostilities. In the beginning of the following century, the situation of the provinces was so far reversed, that Massachusetts was compelled to solicit Connecticut for aid in a general war with the Indians; and, on this occasion, Connecticut remote from the scene of action, at first refused her aid upon scruples, which she afterwards ascertained to be groundless, respecting the lawfulness of the war. Trumbull, vol. ii. cap. 5.

† Though attached to the cause of the parliament, the people of New England had so far forgotten their own wrongs, and escaped the contagion of the passions engendered in the civil war, that the tragical fate of the king appears to have excited general grief and concern. The public expression of such sentiments would have been equally inexpedient and unavailing: but that they were entertained is very manifest. See Hutchinson, i. 157. In this the puritans of America were not singular. No man in England made greater efforts to save Charles's life than William Prynne the puritan, than whom no man had suffered more severely from his tyranny.

* Cromwell was far from being incapable of appreciating the merit or tolerating the praise of a foe; and the finest tribute that was ever paid to the dignified courage with which Charles the First encountered his fate, is contained in an ode by the patriot and poet, Andrew Marvell, addressed to the protector.

† Hutchinson i. 176. and Append. 516. 520. Hutchinson's Collection of papers, 235. Chalmers, 184, 5. The commissioners for New England, who were sent thither by Charles the Second, asserted, in their narrative, that the colony solicited Cromwell to be declared a free state. Hutchinson's Collection of papers, p. 420. This is highly unlikely, and was suggested perhaps by misrepresentation or misapprehension of the circumstances related in the text. The publication of Governor Winthrop's Journal has now clearly proved that the leading men in Massachusetts entertained from the beginning a considerable jealousy of parliamentary jurisdiction. "In 1641," says Winthrop, "some of our friends in England wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hopes that we might obtain much; but, consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration: that if we should put ourselves under the protection of parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us." Winthrop's Journal, p. 218. Hence it is obvious that the people of New England, in acknowledging the supremacy of parliament, had respect to it not as a legislative body, but as administering the functions of royalty. They never willingly admitted that the mother country possessed a legislative control over them, or that, in forsaking her shores, they had left behind them an authority capable of sending after them the evils from which they had fled.

* This year Massachusetts lost its eminent preacher, patriarch, and peace-maker, John Cotton. Finding himself dying, he sent for the magistrates and ministers of the colony, and, with solemnity and tenderness, bade them farewell for a while. Few men have ever occupied so large room as this man possessed in the hearts of his countrymen.

† Hutchinson, i. 180. 190—192. Chalmers, 292. 192. 188. Hazard, 632. A similar answer was returned by Newhaven to a similar application from the protector. Trumbull, i. 228. There were not wanting some wild spirits among the colonists, who relished the protector's proposals. The notorious Venner, who headed the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men in England after the Restoration, was for some time an inhabitant of Salem, and prevailed with a party of zealots there to unite in a scheme of emigration to the West Indies. But the design was discouraged by the clergy, and intercepted by the magistrates. Oldmixon, i. 47

ceeded to Jamaica, they would have been exposed to a strong and dangerous temptation of inflicting that injustice upon others. In the mind of Cromwell, a vehement ardor was singularly combined with the most profound and deliberate sagacity; and enthusiastic sentiments were not unfrequently blended with politic considerations, in proportions which it is little likely that he himself was aware of, or that any spectator of his actions can hope to adjust. It is obvious, on the one hand, that his propositions to the colonists, on both occasions, were connected with the securer establishment of his own dominion in Ireland, and the preservation of his conquest in the West Indies. But it is equally certain, on the other, that the colonists incurred neither displeasure, nor even abatement of his cordial friendship, by refusing to promote the schemes on which he was so strongly bent: nay, so powerfully had they captivated his rugged heart, that they were able to maintain his favor, even while their intolerance discredited the independent principles which he and they concurred in professing; and none of the complaints with which he was long harassed on their account by the anabaptists and quakers, whose proceedings and treatment in the colony we are now to consider, were ever able to deprive the people of the place they had gained in the protector's esteem.

The colonists had been of late years involved occasionally in hostilities with some of the Indian tribes, and in disputes with the Dutch, by whose machinations it was suspected that these savages were more than once instigated to conspire against them. But these events had been productive of greater alarm than injury: and by far the most serious troubles with which the colonists were infested were those which arose from religious dissensions. Of all the instances of persecution that occur in the history of New England, the most censurable in its principle, though happily also the least vehement in the severities which it produced, was the treatment inflicted on the anabaptists by the government of Massachusetts. The first appearance of these sectaries in this province was in the year 1651, when, to the great astonishment and concern of the community, seven or eight persons, of whom the leader was one Obadiah Holmes, all at once professed the baptist tenets, and separated from the congregation to which they had belonged, declaring that they could no longer take counsel, or partake divine ordinances, with unbaptized men, as they pronounced all the other inhabitants of the province to be. The erroneous doctrine which thus unexpectedly sprung up was at this time regarded with peculiar dread and jealousy, on account of the horrible enormities of sentiment and practice with which the first professors of it in Germany had associated its repute; and no sooner did Holmes and his friends set up a baptist conventicle for themselves, than complaints of their proceedings, as an intolerable nuisance, came pouring into the general court from all quarters of the colony. From the tenor of these complaints, it appears, that the influence of that infamous association, by which the wretched Boccold and his frantic followers at Munster had stained and degraded the baptist tenets, still preserved its force in the minds of men, and that the profession of these tenets was calculated to awaken suspicions of the grossest immorality of conduct. Holmes was accused of having dishonored the Almighty, not only by scattering his people and denying his ordinance, but by the commission of profligate impurities, and the shameful indecency with which it was alleged that his distinctive rite was administered. It is admitted by the colonial historians, that the evidence that was adduced in support of these latter charges was insufficient to establish them. The court at first proceeded no farther than to adjudge Holmes and his friends to desist from their unchristian separation: and they were permitted to retire, having first, however, publicly declared that they would follow out the leadings of their consciences, and obey God rather than man. Some time after, they were apprehended on a Sunday, while attending the preaching of one Clark, a baptist, from Rhode Island, who had come to propagate his tenets in Massachusetts. The constables who took them into custody carried them to church, as a more proper place of christian worship; where Clark put on his hat the moment that the minister began to pray. Clark, Holmes, and another, were sentenced to pay small fines, or be flogged: and thirty lashes were actually inflicted on Holmes, who resolutely persisted in choosing a punishment that would enable him to show with what constancy he could suffer for what he believed to be the truth. A law was at the same time passed, subjecting to banishment from the colony every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, who should attempt to seduce others from the use or approbation thereof, or purposely depart from the congregation when that rite was administered, "or deny the ordinance of the magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war." From these last words it would appear, that the baptists either held, or were reported to hold, along with the proper tenets from whence they have derived their denomination, principles that might well be deemed adverse to the stability of government and the safety of society. In addition to this, we are assured by Cotton Mather, that it was the practice of the anabaptists, in order to strengthen their party and manifest their contempt for the clerical congregations, to receive at once into their body every person whom the established church had suspended from ecclesiastical privileges for licentiousness of conduct, and even to appoint these persons administrators of the sacrament among them. Yet, even with these and other extenuating considerations, it is impossible to acquit the government of Massachusetts of having violated in this instance the rights of conscience, and made men offenders for the fidelity with which they adhered to what they firmly, though erroniously, believed to be the will of God, in relation of a matter purely ecclesiastical.* The eagerness with which every collateral charge against the baptists was credited in the colony, and the vehement impatience with which their claim of toleration was rejected, forcibly indicate the illiberality and delusion by which their persecutors were governed; and may suggest to the christian philosopher a train of reflections no less instructive than interesting on the self-deceit by which men so commonly infer the honesty of their convictions, and the rectitude of their proceedings, from that resentful perturbation which far more truly indicates a secret consciousness of injustice and inconsistency. There is not a more common nor more pernicious error in the world than that one virtue may be practised at the expense of another. Where sincerity without charity is professed, there is always reason to suspect the professor of a dishonest disregard of the secret surmises of his own spirit.

It is mortifying to behold such tares growing up in the field that was already so richly productive of missionary exertion and other fruits of genuine and exalted piety. The severities that were employed proved in the end totally ineffectual to restrain the growth of the baptists' tenets; though for the present the professors of these doctrines appear to have either desisted from holding separate assemblies, or to have retired from Massachusetts. Some of them proceeded to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the colonial authorities.

The treatment which the quakers experienced in Massachusetts was much more severe, but, at the same time, undoubtedly much more justly provoked. It is difficult for us, in the calm and rational demeanor of the quakers of the present age, to recognise the successors of those wild enthusiasts who first appeared in the north of England, about the year 1644, and began a few years after to be distinguished by the name of quakers. In the mind of George Fox, the collector of this sectarian body and the founder of their system of doctrine, there existed a singular mixture of christian sentiment and gospel truth, with a deep shade of error and delusion. Profoundly pious and contemplative, but constitutionally visionary and hypochondriacal,† he appears at first to have suspected that the peculiarities of his mental impressions might have arisen from some malady which advice could remove; and an old clergyman, to whom he applied for counsel, advised him to seek a cure of what was spiritual in his disorder by singing psalms, and of what was bodily by smoking tobacco. Fox rejected both parts of the prescription as unsuitable to his condition, because disagreeable to his taste; and being now convinced that others were incapable of understanding his case, he took it entirely into his own hands, and resolved to cherish, study, and, if possible, cultivate into distinctness the unintelligible motions of his spirit; in short, to follow the leadings of his fancy as far as they would carry him. Unsuspicious of morbid influence, or of the deceitfulness of his own imagination, he yielded implicit credence to every suggestion of his mind, and was given up in an amazing degree to the delusions which, by prayer to the Almighty, he might have been enabled to overcome and dispel. Yet the powerful hold which the Scriptures had already taken of his mind, and the strong determination towards solid and genuine piety which his spirit had thence derived, prevented him from wandering into the same monstrous extravagance which the conduct of many of his associates and followers very speedily evinced. In his journal, which is one of the most remarkable and interesting productions of the human mind, he has faithfully related the influence which his tenets produced on the sentiments and conduct both of himself and his followers. It displays in many parts a wonderful insight into spiritual things, together with numberless instances of that delusion by which he mistook a strong perception of wrong and disorder in human nature and civil society, for a supernatural power to rectify what he saw amiss. He relates with perfect approbation many instances of contempt of decency and order in his own conduct, and of most insane and disgusting outrage in that of his followers; and though he reprobates the extravagancies of some whom he denominates *Ranters*, it is not easy to discriminate between the extravagance which he sanctions and that which he condemns. Amidst much darkness, there glimmers a bright and beautiful ray of truth: many passages of Scripture are powerfully illustrated; and labors of zeal and piety, of courage and integrity, are recorded, that would do honor to the ministry of an inspired apostle. That his personal character was elevated and excellent in an unusual degree, appears from the impression it produced on the minds of all who approached him. Penn and Barclay in particular, who to the most eminent virtue added talents of the first order, regarded Fox with the utmost fondness and veneration.

It was this man who first embraced and promulgated those tenets which have ever since remained the distinctive principles of quaker doctrine—that the Holy Spirit, instead of operating (as the generality of christians believe it in all ordinary cases to do) by insensible control of the ordinary motions of the mind, acts by direct and sensible impulse on the spirit of man; that its influence, instead of being obtained by prayer to Him who has promised to bestow it on those who ask it, is procured by an introversion of the intellectual eye upon the mind where it already resides, and in the stillness and watchful attention of which, the hidden spark will blaze into a clear inward light and sensible flame; and that the Spirit, instead of simply opening the minds of men to understand the Scriptures and receive their testimony, can and does convey instruction independently of the written word, and communicate knowledge which is not to be found in the Scriptures. These dangerous errors have never been renounced by the quakers, though their practical influence has long since abated, and indeed had considerably declined before the end of that century, about the middle of which they arose. In proportion as they have been cultivated and realized, has been the progress of the sect into heresy of opinion or wild delusion of fancy and irregularity of conduct: in proportion as they have subsided, has been the ascendency which real piety or rational and philosophical principle has obtained over the minds of the quakers. Even in the present day, we behold the evil influence of these erroneous doctrines, in the frequently silent meetings of the quakers, in the licence which they give to women to assume the office of teachers in the church, and in the abolition of the sacraments so distinctly instituted and enjoined in Scripture. But when these doctrines were first published, the effects which they produced on many of their votaries, far exceeded the influence to which modern history restricts them, or which the experience of this cool and rational age finds it easy to conceive. In England, at that time, the minds of men were in an agitated unsettled state, inflamed with the rage of speculation, strongly endued with religious sentiment, and yet strongly averse to restraint. The bands that had so long restrained liberty of speech being suddenly broken, many crude thoughts were eagerly broached,

* The baptists who were exiled from Massachussetts were allowed to settle in the colony of Plymouth (Hutchinson, ii. 478), whence it may be strongly inferred, that they did not in reality profess (as they were supposed by the people of Massachusetts to do) principles adverse to the safety of society. The charge probably originated in the extravagance of a few of their own number, and the impatience and injustice of their adversaries.

† Several eminent christian teachers have been afflicted with hypochondriacal affections, and in a greater or less degree deluded by the strange impressions of which they render the mind susceptible. That great and good man, David Brainerd, in particular, labored under this disease all his life; and though it did not affect his views of doctrine, it exercised a most unhappy influence on his sentiments, and produced much of what is gloomy and visionary in the account which he composed of his own experience. This is expressly avowed by his biographer, President Edwards, who was intimately acquainted with him. So delusive is this insidious malady, that perhaps none of its victims has ever been aware how far he was subject to its influence. Brainerd's partial consciousness of it, prevented it from extending its influence from his feelings to his understanding.

and many peculiar notions that had long been fermenting in the unwholesome silence of locked up bosoms, were brought forth: and all these were presented to minds roused and whetted by civil war, kindled by great alarms or by vast and indeterminate designs, and so accustomed for a length of time to effect or contemplate the most surprising changes, that the distinction between speculation and certainty was greatly effaced. The presbyterians alone, or nearly alone, appear to have been generally willing to submit to, as well as to impose, restraint on the lawless licence of speculation; and to them the quakers, from the beginning, were objects of unmixed disapprobation and even abhorrence. But to many other persons, this new scheme, opening a wide field of enthusiastic speculation, and presenting itself without the restrictive accompaniment of a creed, exhibited irresistible attractions, and rapidly absorbed a great variety of human character and feeling. Before many years had elapsed, the ranks of the quakers were recruited, and their doctrines, without being substantially altered, were moulded into a more systematic shape, by such an accession of philosophical votaries, as, in the early ages of the church, christianity itself derived from the pretended adoption and real adulteration of its doctrines, by the disciples of the Platonic philosophy. But it was the wildest and most enthusiastic dreamers in the country, that the quaker tenets counted among their earliest votaries, and to whom they afforded a sanction and stimulus to the boldest excursions of lawless and uncertain thought, and a principle that was thought to consecrate the most irregular and disorderly conduct. And accordingly these sectarians, who have always professed and inculcated the maxims of inviolable peace, who not many years after were accounted a class of philosophical deists seeking to pave the way to a scheme of natural religion, by allegorizing the distinguishing articles of the christian faith, and who are now in general remarkable for a calm benevolence and a peculiar remoteness from every active effort to make proselytes to their distinctive tenets, were, in the infancy of their body, the most impetuous zealots and inveterate disputers; and in their eagerness to proselytize the world, and to bear witness from the fountain of oracular testimony, which they supposed to reside within them, against a regular ministry which they called a priesthood of Baal, and against the sacraments which they termed carnal and idolatrous observances, many of them committed the most revolting blasphemy, indecency, and disorderly outrage.* The unfavorable impression that these actions created, long survived the extinction of the frenzy and folly that produced them.

While in pursuance of their intentions to make proselytes of the whole world, some of the quakers proceeded to Rome, in order to convert the pope, and others to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Grand Turk; a party of them proceeded to America and established themselves in Rhode Island, where persons of every religious denomination were permitted to settle in peace, and none gave heed to the sentiments or practices of his neighbors. From hence they soon made their way into the Plymouth territory, where they succeeded in persuading some of the people to embrace the mystical dispensation of an inward light as comprising the whole of religion, and to oppose all order, both civil and ecclesiastical, as a vain and judaizing substitution of the kingdom of the flesh for the kingdom of the spirit. On their first appearance in Massachusetts, where two male and six female quakers arrived from Rhode Island and Barbadoes, they found that the reproach which their sect had incurred by the insane extravagance of some of its members in England, had preceded their arrival, and that they were objects of the utmost terror and dislike to the great body of the people. They were instantly apprehended by the government, and diligently examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. None such having been found, they were sent back to the place whence they came, by the same vessels that had brought them, and prohibited with threats of the severest penal inflictions from ever again returning to the colony. A law was passed at the same time subjecting every ship-master importing quakers or quaker writings to a heavy fine; adjudging all quakers who should intrude into the colony to stripes and labor in the house of correction, and all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment or exile. The four associated states concurred in this law, and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of quaker opinions; but the assembly of that island returned for answer, that they could not punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion; that they were much disturbed by the quakers, and by the tendency of their doctrines to dissolve all the relations of society; but that they found that the quakers delighted to encounter persecution, quickly sickened of a patient audience, and had already begun to loathe Rhode Island as a place where their talent of patient suffering was completely buried.* It is much to be lamented that the advice contained in this good-humored letter was not adopted. The penal enactments resorted to by the other settlements, served only to inflame the impatience of the quaker zealots to carry their teaching into places that seemed to them so much in need of it; and the persons† who had been disappointed in their first attempt returned almost immediately, and, dispersing themselves through the colony, began to announce their mysterious impressions, and succeeded in communicating them to some of the inhabitants of Salem. They were soon joined by Mary Clarke, the wife of a tailor in London, who announced that she had left her husband and six children, in order to carry a message from heaven, which she was commissioned to deliver to New England. Instead of joining with the colonial missionaries in attempts to reclaim the savages from their barbarous superstition and profligate immoralities, or themselves prosecuting separate missions of the same description, these people raised their voices against every thing that was most highly approved and revered in the doctrine and practice of the colonial churches. Having been seized and flogged, they were again dismissed with severer threats from the colony, and again they returned by the first vessels they could procure. The government and the great body of the colonists were incensed at their pertinacity, and shocked at the impression they had already produced on some minds, and which threatened to corrupt and subvert a system of piety whose establishment and perpetuation supplied their fondest recollections, their noblest enjoyment, and most energetic desires. [1657.] New punishments were introduced into the legislative enactments against the intrusion of quakers and the profession of quakerism; and in particular the abscission of an ear was added to the former ineffectual severities. [1658.] Three male quaker preachers endured the rigor of this cruel law.

But all the exertions of the colonial authorities proved utterly unavailing, and seemed rather to stimulate the zeal of the obnoxious sectaries to encounter the danger and court the glory of persecution. Clouds of quakers descended upon the colony; and, violent and impetuous in provoking persecution, calm, resolute, and inflexible in sustaining it, they opposed their powers of endurance to their adversaries' power of infliction, and not only multiplied their converts, but excited a considerable degree of favor and pity in the minds of men whose own experience had taught them to respect and sympathise with the virtue of suffering well ‡ When the quakers were committed to the house of correction, they refused to work; when they were subjected to fines, they refused to pay them. In the hope of enforcing compliance, the court adjudged two of these contumacious persons to be sold as slaves in the West Indies; but as even this appalling prospect could not move their stubborn resolution, the court, instead of executing its inhuman threat, resorted to the unavailing device of banishing them beyond its jurisdiction. It was by no slight provocations, that the quakers attracted these and additional severities upon themselves. Men trembled for the faith and morals of their families and their friends, when they heard the blasphemous denunciations that were uttered against "a carnal Christ;" and when they beheld the frantic and indecent outrages that were prompted by the mystical impressions which the quakers inculcated and profesed to be guided by. In public assemblies, and in crowded streets, it was the practice of some of the quakers to denounce the most tremendous manifestations of divine wrath on the people, unless they forsook their carnal system. Others interrupted divine service of the churches, by calling aloud that these were not the sacrifices that God would accept; and one of them enforced this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the Scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were *blind beasts and liars* who denied it. The female preachers far exceeded their male associates in folly, frenzy, and indecency. One of them presented herself to a congregation with her face begrimed with coal dust, announcing it as an emblem of *the black pox*, which heaven had commissioned her to threaten as an approaching judgment on all carnal worshippers. Some of them in rueful attire perambulated the streets, declaring the immediate coming of an angel with a drawn sword to plead with the people One woman entered stark naked into a church in the middle of divine service, and desired the people to take heed to her as a sign of the times; and her associates highly extolled her submission to the inward light, that had revealed to her the duty of exposing the nakedness of others by the indecent exhibition of her own person. Another was arrested as she was making a similar display in the streets of Salem. The horror that these insane enormities were fitted to inspire, was inflamed into the most vehement indignation, by the deliberate manner in which they were defended, and the disgusting profanity with which Scripture was linked in impure association with every thing that was odious, ridiculous, and contemptible. Among their other singularities, the quakers exemplified and inculcated the forbearance of every mark of respect to courts and magistrates: they declared that governors, judges, lawyers, and constables were trees that must be cut down that the true light might have leave to shine and space to rule alone; and, forgetting to what diabolical ends quotation of Scripture has been made subservient they freely indulged every contumacious whimsey, which they could connect, however absurdly, with the language of the Bible. One woman who was summoned before the court to answer for some extravagance, being desired to tell where she lived, refused to give any other answer than that she lived in God, "for in him we live, and move, and have our being." Letters replete with coarse and virulent railing were addressed by others to the magistrates of Boston and Plymouth. Such was the inauspicious outset of the quakers in America; a country where, a few years after, under the guidance of better judgment and feeling, they were destined to extend the empire of piety and benevolence, and to found establishments that have been largely productive of happiness and virtue.

It has been asserted by some of the modern apologists of the quakers, that these frantic irregularities, which excited so much indignation, and produced such tragical consequences, were committed, not by genuine quakers, but by the *ranters* or wild separatists from the

* The frenzy that possessed many of the quakers had reached its height in the year 1656, the very year in which the quakers first presented themselves in Massachusetts. See the proceedings in the House of Commons against James Naylor, a quaker, for blasphemy. Howel's State Trials, vol. v. p. 801. This unhappy person represented himself as the redeemer of the human race. Some particulars of his frenzy are related in Note IX. He lived to recant his errors, and even write sensibly in defence of the quaker body, who were by this time increased in respectability, and were yet so unanimous as to acknowledge and brand the man who had done such disservice to their cause. It is a remarkable and scarcely yet fact, that at the very time when the separate teaching of the spirit was most strongly insisted on by the quakers, and the office and work of the Saviour of any kind of consequence least alluded to, several of their own members (more or less insane, no doubt) believed this office to be vested in themselves.

* Gordon and other writers have represented the letter from Rhode Island to Massachusetts as conveying a dignified rebuke of intolerance, and have quoted a passage to this effect, which they have found somewhere else than in the letter itself.

Roger Williams, who contributed to found the state of Rhode Island, endeavored, some years after this period, to extirpate the quaker heresy, by challenging some of the leaders of the sect, who had come out on a mission to their brethren from England, to hold a public disputation with him on their tenets. They accepted his challenge, and their historians assure us that the disputation, which lasted for several days, ended "in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man." Gough and Sewel, ii. 134. It is more probable that, like other public disputations, it ended as it began.

† Except one of the women, Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople, and had an interview with the Grand Vizier, by whom she was received with courteous respect. Bishop, the quaker, in his "New England Judged," observes that she fared better among heathens than her associates did among professing Christians. He was perhaps not aware that the Turks regard insane persons as inspired. But whether insane or not, she was not altogether divested of a prudential concern for her own safety; for "when they asked her what she thought of their prophet Mahomet, she made a cautious reply, that she knew him not."

‡ A story is told by Whitelocke, p. 599, strongly illustrative of the singularity with which the quakers of these times combined all that was frantic in action with all that was dignified and affecting in suffering. Some quakers at Hasington in Northumberland, having interrupted a minister employed in divine service, were severely beaten by the people. Instead of resisting, they went out of the church, and falling on their knees, besought God to pardon their persecutors, who knew not what they did; and afterwards addressing the people, so convinced them of the cruelty of their violence, that their auditors fell a quarrelling among themselves, and beat one another more than they had formerly beaten the quakers. These sectarians would seem, indeed, to have imitated the prophets of the Old Testament in provoking their fate, and the christian apostles and martyrs in enduring it.

quaker body. Of these ranters, indeed, a very large proportion appear to have betaken themselves to America; attracted chiefly by the glory of persecution, but in some instances, perhaps by the hope of attaining among their brethren in that country a distinction from which they were excluded in England by the established pre-eminence of George Fox.* It is certain, however, that these persons assumed the name of quakers, and traced all their frenzy to the peculiar quaker principle of seeking within themselves for sensible admonitions of the spirit, independent of the written word. And many scandalous outrages were committed by persons whose profession of quaker principles was recognized by the quaker body, and whose sufferings are related, and their frenzy applauded, by the pens of quaker writers.

Exasperated by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of the principle whence they seemed to arise was propagating itself in the colony, the magistrates of Massachussetts at length, in the close of this year, introduced a law, denouncing the punishment of death upon all quakers returning from banishment. This law met with much opposition; and many persons, who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the opinions of the quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the deputies, and finally carried by the narrow majority of a single voice. In the course of the two following years, [1650, 1660,] this law was carried into execution on three separate occasions, when four quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of many of their brethren had associated with the profession of quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning for ever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields, and in their dwellings distinctly, syllabling their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise.† When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general the most sublime and affecting piety. These executions excited a great clamor against the government, many persons were offended by the representation of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony; and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the quakers, that effaced all recollection of the indignant disgust that their principles had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate quakers with demonstration of kindness and pity. The magistrates published a very strong vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice attained such general and forcible prevalence as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another quaker named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished upon pain of death, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates for shedding innocent blood He was taken into custody, and soon after put upon his trial. Being called to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law they tried him. When the last enactment against the quakers was cited to him, he asked, Who empowered them to make that law, and whether it were not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England? The goveruor very inappositively answered, that there was a law in England that appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied, that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a quaker, and that there was no law in England that made quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." The talent and energy displayed by this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in mind to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison, and all the other quakers who were in custody, were forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning, only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed as the quakers became gradually a more orderly people; and in the first year after the restoration of Charles the Second, even this degree of persecution was suspended by a letter from the king to Mr. Endicot,* and the other governors of the New England settlements, requiring that no quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America, but if charged with offences that might seem to deserve such infliction, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the colonial governments was more permament than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the quakers in the course of the following year.

The persecution which was thus put an end to was not equally severe in all the New England states: the quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and Newhaven. It was only in Massachusetts that the law inflicting capital punishment upon them was enacted. At a late period, the laws relating to *vagabond quakers* were so far revived, that quakers disturbing public assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of enforcing these severities; the wild excursions of the quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia and the support of the ministry; in their scruples as to which, the legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them.†

During the long period that had elapsed since the commencement of the English civil wars, the states of New England had continued steadily and rapidly to advance in the increase of their numbers, and the enlargement of their territories. They were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the possession of their religious privileges, and of civil and political freedom. The people were exempted from the payment of all taxes except for the support of their internal government, which was administered with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of importing commodities into England free from that custom which all others were constrained to pay. By the favor of Cromwell, too, the commercial ordinances of the Long Parliament, of which the other plantations had reason to complain, were not enforced against them, and they continued to trade wherever they pleased. These particular causes, which had combined to promote the prosperity which New England had attained at the Restoration, contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects which that event awakened. There was the strongest reason to expect an abridgement of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political privileges. Various other circumstances contributed to retard the recognition of the royal authority. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists had been urged to recognise, first his son Richard as protector, afterwards the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its authority, and subsequently the Committee of Safety, as the sovereign authority of England. But, doubtful of the stability of any of these forms of administration, they had prudently declined to commit themselves by any declaration. In the month of July, the arrival of a vessel, on board of which were Generals Whaley and Goffe, two of the late king's judges, announced the restoration of Charles the Second: but no authoritative or official communication of this event was received, and England was represented as being in a very unsettled and distracted condition. The colony had no inducement to imitate Virginia in a premature declaration for the king: and while farther intelligence was anxiously expected, Whaley and Goffe were freely permitted to travel through the states, and to accept the friendly attentions which many persons tendered to them, and with which Charles afterwards bitterly reproached the colony.

At length decisive intelligence was received that the royal authority was firmly established in England, and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented by various royalists, quakers, and other adversaries of its institutions or administration, to the privy council and the houses of parliament. A general court was immediately convened, and an address voted to the king, in which, with considerable ability, and with that conformity which they studied to the language of Scripture, they justified their whole conduct, professed a dutiful attachment to their sovereign, and entreated his protection and favor, which they declared themselves the more willing to hope from one who, having been himself a wanderer, was no stranger to the lot and the feelings of exiles. Having defended their proceedings against the quakers, by a summary of the heretical doctrines and seditious and indecent excesses which these sectaries had introduced into the colony, they desired permission to be heard in their own vindication against every other charge that might be preferred against them. "Let not the king hear men's words," they said; "your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel. We are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismatics as to matters of religion. We distinguish between churches and their impurities; between a living man, though not without sickness and infirmity, and no man. Irregularities either in ourselves or others we desire may be amended. We could not live without the worship of God: we were not permitted the use of public worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence either to God or man, or our consciences, we, with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos." They assimilated their secession from England to that of "the good old nonconformist Jacob," from Syria; but declared that "the providential exception of us thereby from the late wars and temptation of either party, we account as a favor from God." They solicited the king to protect their ecclesiastical and civil institutions, declaring that they considered the chief value of the latter to consist in their subservience to the enjoyment of religious liberty. A similar address was made to parliament; and letters were written to Lord Manchester, Lord Say and Sele, and other persons of distinction, who were known to be friends of the colony, soliciting their interposition in its behalf. Leveret, the agent for the colony, was instructed, at the same time, to use every effort to procure a continuance of the exemption from customs which it had hitherto enjoyed. But before he had time to make any such vain attempt, the parliament had already established the duties of tonnage and poundage

* One of the most noted of these separatists was John Perrot, who, in order to convert the Pope, had made a journey to Italy, where he was confined for some time as a lunatic. This persecution greatly endeared him to the quakers, and exalted him so much in his own esteem that he began to consider himself more enlightend than George Fox. He prevailed with a considerable party in the sect to wear long beards, and to reject the practice of uncovering their heads in time of prayer as a vain formality. Fox having succeeded, by dint of great exertions, in stemmtng these innovations, Perrot betook himself to America, where he appears to have multiplied his ausurdities, and yet propagated them among the quakers to an amazing extent. Various missions were undertaken by George Fox and other English quakers to reclaim their brethren in America from the errors of Perrot, who finally abandoned every pretence to quakerism, and became a strenuous assertor of the observances against which he had formerly borne testimony. Gough and Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, (edit. 1799,) i. 163—165; ii. 121, 122, &c.

† The first quakers, instead of following the apostolic injunction to Christians, that when persecuted in one city they should flee to another, seem to have found strong attractions in the prospect of persecution. One of those who were put to death declared, that as he was holding the plough in York shire, he was directed by a heavenly voice to leave his wife and children, and proceed to Barbadoes: but hearing of the banishment of the quakers from New England, and of the severe punishments inflicted on persons returning there after banishment, he began to ponder on the probability of his receiving a spiritual direction to proceed thither, and very soon after received it accordingly. Tomkins' and Kendal's Lives, Services, and dying Sayings of the Quakers, vol. i.

The woman who was executed was Mary Dyer, who twenty years before, had been a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson, and a disturber of New England.

* Endicot was in an especial degree the object of dislike to Charles the Second. Hutchinson relates that he had seen a letter from the Secretary of State sometime after this period, containing an intimation, that "the king would take it well if the people would leave out Mr. Endicot from the place of governor," Hutchinson. vol. i. p. 17.

† Mather, B. vii, Cap. iv. Neal, i. 291—297. 302—339. Hutchinson, i. 169—005, and Append. p. 526. Chalmers, 192. Hazard, ii. 552. 558. 560. An explosion of the ancient frenzy occurred among some professing quakers in Connecticut in the beginning of the eighteenth century: but it was partial and short lived.

over every dominion of the crown. To make amends for this disappointment, a gracious answer to the colonial address was returned by the king. [1661.] accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Whaley and Goffe. This prompt display of favor excited general satisfaction, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favor of Heaven in moving the heart of the king to receive and incline to the desires of the people. With regard to Whaley and Goffe, the colonial authorities were greatly perplexed between the performance of a duty which it was impossible to decline, and reluctance to betray to a horrible fate two men who had lately been members of a government recognised in all the British dominions, who had fled to New England as an inviolable sanctuary from royal vengeance, and had been recommended to their kindness by letters from the most eminent of the English independent ministers. It is generally supposed, and is highly probable, that intimation was conveyed to these individuals of the orders that had been received; and, although warrants for their apprehension were issued, and by the industry of the royalists a diligent search for their persons was instituted, they were enabled, by the assistance of their friends, by dexterous evasion from state to state, and by strict seclusion, to end their days in New England.*

But the apprehensions which the colonists had originally entertained of danger to their institutions in church and state were speedily revived by intelligence that reached them from England of the representations that were daily made to their prejudice, of the countenance that these representations visibly received from the king, and of the formidable designs that were believed to be entertained against them. It was strongly rumored that their commercial intercourse with Virginia and the West India Islands was to be cut off; that three frigates were preparing to sail from England, in order to enforce arbitrary authority; and that the armament was to be accompanied by a governor-general, whose jurisdiction was to extend over all the North American plantations. Apprehensions of these and other changes at length prevailed so strongly in Massachusetts, as to produce a public measure of a very remarkable character. The general court, having declared the necessity of promoting unity among the inhabitants in the assertion of their just privileges, and the observance of due fidelity to the authority of England, appointed a committee of eight of the most eminent persons in the state to prepare a report, ascertaining the extent of their rights and the nature of their obedience; and, shortly after, the court, in conformity with the report of their committee, framed and published a series of resolutions expressive of their solemn and deliberate opinion on these important subjects. It was resolved that the patent (under God) is the first and main foundation of the civil policy of the colony; that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic invested with power to make freemen, and that these freemen have authority to elect annually their governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers; that the government thus constituted hath full power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeal, save only in the case of laws repugnant to those of England; that the government is privileged by all means, even by force of arms, to defend itself both by land and sea against all who should attempt injury to the plantation or its inhabitants; and that any imposition, prejudicial to the country, and contrary to its just laws, would be an infringement of the fundamental rights of the people of New England. These strong and characteristic resolutions were accompanied with a recognition of the duties to which the people were engaged by their allegiance, and which were declared to consist in upholding the colony as belonging of right to his majesty, and preventing its subjection to any foreign prince; in preserving, to the utmost of their power, the king's person and dominions; and in maintaining the peace and prosperity of the king and nation, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel.

These proceedings indicate very plainly the alarming apprehensions that the colonists entertained of the designs of their new sovereign, and the resolution with which they clung to the dear-bought rights of which they suspected his intention to bereave them. How far they are to be considered as indicating a settled design to resist tyrannical oppression by force, is a matter of uncertain speculation. It is not improbable, that the framers of them hoped, by strongly expressing their rights, and indicating the extremities which an attempt to violate them would legally warrant, and might eventually provoke, to caution the king from awakening, in the commencement of his reign, the recollection of a contest which had proved fatal to his father; and which, if once rekindled, even to an extent so little formidable as a controversy with an infant colony must appear, might soon become less unequal, by presenting an occasion of revival and exercise to passions hardly yet extinguished in England. If such were the views of the colonial leaders, the soundness of them would seem to have been approved by the event. But, in the mean time, the colonial authorities, in order to manifest their willingness to render a just obedience, issued the strictest injunctions to cause search to be made for Goffe and Whaley, and intimated, by public resolutions, that no persons obnoxious to the laws of England, and flying from her tribunals, would receive shelter in a colony that recognised her sovereign authority. Having now declared the terms on which they recognised the dominion of the English crown, the general court caused the king to be solemnly proclaimed as their undoubted prince and sovereign lord. They issued, at the same time, an order of court, prohibiting all disorderly behavior on the occasion, and in particular commanding that none should presume to drink his majesty's health, "which," it was added, "he hath, in an especial manner, forbidden"—an injunction very remote from the thoughts and habits of the king, and imputed to him on no better grounds, than that drinking of healths was prohibited by the ordinances of Massachusetts. This meaningless practice, on account of its heathen original, had been offensive to the more scrupulous of the puritan settlers, who were desirous in all things to study conformity to the will of God, and accounting nothing unimportant that afforded occasion to exercise such conformity, had at length prevailed to have the practice of drinking healths interdicted by law; and all were now desirous that the revival of royal authority should not be signalised by a triumph over any, even what some might esteem the least important, of the colonial institutions. Intelligence having arrived soon after of the progress of the complaints that were continually exhibited to the privy council against the colony, and an order at the same time being received from the king, that deputies should be sent forthwith to England to make answer to these complaints, the court committed this important duty to Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, and John Norton, one of the ministers, of Boston. These agents were instructed to maintain the loyalty and defend the conduct of the colony; to discover, if possible, what were the designs which the king meditated, or the apprehensions that he entertained; and neither to do nor agree to any thing prejudicial to the charter. They undertook their thankless office with great reluctance, and obtained before their departure a public assurance, that whatever danger they might sustain by detention of their persons or otherwise, in England, should be made good by the general court.

Whether from the vigor and resolution that the recent proceedings of the colony had displayed, or from the moderation of the wise counsellors by whom the king was then surrounded, enforced by the influence which Lord Say and some other eminent persons employed in behalf of the colony, the agents were received with unexpected favor, and were soon enabled to return to Boston with a letter from the king, [1662] confirming the colonial charter, and promising to renew it under the great seal whenever this formality should be desired. The royal letter likewise announced an amnesty for whatever treasons might have been committed during the late troubles, to all persons but those who were attainted by act of parliament, and might have fled to New England. But it contained other matters by no means acceptable to the colony; it required that the general court should hold all the ordinances it had enacted during the abeyance of royalty as invalid, and forthwith proceed to renew them, and to repeal every one that might seem repugnant to the royal authority that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered to every person; that justice should be distributed in the king's name; that all who desired it should be permitted to use the book of common prayer, and to perform their devotions according to the ceremonial of the church of England; that, in the choice of the governor and assistants of the colony, the only qualifications to be regarded should be wisdom, virtue and integrity, without any reference to the peculiarities of religious faith and profession; and that all freeholders of competent estates, and not vicious in their lives, should be admitted to vote in the election of officers, civil and military, whatever might be their opinion with respect to church-government. "We cannot be understood," it was added, "hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to quakers, whose principles, being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary with the advice of our parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you do the like there." However reasonable some of these requisitions may now appear, the greater number of them were highly disagreeable to the colonists. They considered themselves entitled to maintain the form of policy in church and state, which they had fled to a desert in order to cultivate, without the intrusion and mixture of different principles; and they regarded with the utmost jealousy the precedent of an interference with their fundamental constitutions by a prince who, they were firmly persuaded, desired nothing so much as to enfeeble the system which he only waited a more convenient season to destroy. To comply with the royal injunctions would be to introduce among their children the spectacles and corruptions which they had incurred such sacrifices in order to withdraw from their eyes, and to throw open every office in the state to papists, Socinians, and every unbeliever who might think power worth the purchase of a general declaration, that he was (according to his own unexamined interpretation of the term) a believer in Christianity. The king, never observing, was never able to obtain credit with his subjects for good faith or moderation; he was from the beginning suspected of a predilection for popery; and the various efforts which he made to procure a relaxation of the penal laws against the dissenters in England, were viewed with jealousy and disapprobation by all these dissenters themselves, except the quakers, who regarded the other protestants and the papists as very much on a level with each other, and were made completely the dupes of the artifices by which Charles and his successor endeavored to introduce all the intolerance of popery under the specious disguise of universal toleration.

Of all the requisitions in the royal message, the only one that was complied with was that which directed the judicial proceedings to be carried on in the king's name. The letter had commanded that its contents should be published in the colony, which was accordingly done, with an intimation, however, that the requisitions relative to church and state were reserved for the deliberation which would be necessary to adjust them to the existing constitutions. The treatment which the colonial agents experienced from their countrymen, it is painful but necessary to relate. The ill humor which some of the requisitions engendered was unjustly extended to these men; and their merits, though at first eagerly acknowledged, were quickly forgotten. Strongly impressed with the danger from which the colony had obtained a present deliverance, but which still impended over it from the designs of a prince who visibly abetted every complaint of its enemies, the agents increased their unpopularity by strongly urging, that all the requisitions should be instantly complied with. Mr. Norton, who, on the first inofficial intelligence that had been received of the king's restoration, had ineffectually urged his fellow-citizens to proclaim the royal authority, in now again pressing upon them a proceeding to which they were still more averse, went the length of declaring to the general court, that if they complied not with the king's letter, they must blame themselves for the bloodshed that would ensue. Such declarations were ill calculated to soothe the popular disquiet, or recommend an ungracious cause; and the deputies, who had been actuated by the most disinterested zeal to serve rather than flatter their fellow-citizens, now found themselves opprobriously identified with the grievances of the colony, and the evils, which it was not in their power to prevent, ascribed to their neglect or unnecessary concessions. Bradstreet, who was endowed with a disposition somewhat stoical, was the less sensibly touched with this ingratitude: but

* Mather, B. iii. Cap. ii. § 20. Neal, ii. 332. Hutchinson, i 211, 212. Chalmers, 251. 264, &c. Small as was the number of royalists in Massachusetts, it was too great to enable the [illegible] to shelter Goffe and Whaley, as they could have wished to do. But in [illegible] there were no royalists at all, and even those who disapproved of the great action of the regicides [illegible] with more of admiration than hatred) as the [illegible]. Leet, the governor of [illegible], when summoned by the pursuers of Goffe and Whaley to assist in the apprehension of them, first [illegible] of time in deliberating on the extent of [illegible] power, and then answered, that, in a matter of such importance, they could not act without the orders of an assembly. [illegible] "We [illegible] majesty, [illegible] and [illegible] first to know whether he will own us." Trumbull, i 212–215.

Norton, who to great meekness and piety united keen sensibility, could not behold the eyes of his countrymen turned upon him with disapprobation, without the most painful emotion. When he heard many say of him, that "he had laid the foundation for the ruin of our liberties," he expressed no resentment, but sunk into a profound melancholy; and while struggling with his grief, and endeavoring to do his duty to the last, he died soon after of a broken heart. Deep and vehement were then the regrets of the people; and the universal mourning that overspread the province expressed a late but lasting remembrance of his virtue, and bewailed an ungrateful error which only repentance was now permitted to repair.

The colony of Rhode Island had received the tidings of the restoration with much real or apparent satisfaction. It was hoped that the suspension of its charter by the Long Parliament would more than compensate the demerit of having accepted a charter from such authority; and that its exclusion from the confederacy, of which Massachusetts was the head, would operate as a recommendation to royal favor. The king was early proclaimed; and one Clarke was soon after sent as deputy from the colony to England, in order to carry the dutiful respects of the inhabitants to the foot of the throne, and to solicit a new charter in their favor. Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought. He not only vaunted the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, while the only proof he could give of it was, that they had bestowed the name of *King's Province* on a territory which they had acquired from the Indians; but meeting this year the deputies of Massachusetts at the court, he publicly challenged them to mention any one act of duty or loyalty shown by their constituents to the present king or his father, from their first establishment in New England. Yet the inhabitants of Rhode Island had taken a patent from the Long Parliament in the commencement of its struggle with Charles the First; while Massachusetts had declined to do so when the parliament was at the height of its power and success.* Clarke succeeded in obtaining this year† a charter which assured the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence of the amplest enjoyment of religious liberty, and most extensive privileges with regard to jurisdiction. The patentees and such as should be admitted free of the society were incorporated by the title of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The supreme or legislative power was invested in an assembly consisting of the governor, assistants, and representatives, elected from among the freemen. This assembly was empowered to make ordinances and forms of government and magistracy, with as much conformity to the laws of England as the nature of the place and condition of the people would allow; to erect courts of justice; to regulate the manner of election to all places of trust; to inflict all lawful punishments; and to exercise the prerogative of pardon. A governor, deputy governor, and ten assistants were appointed to be annually chosen by the assembly; and the first board of these officers, nominated by the charter, on the suggestion of their agent, were authorised to carry its provisions into execution. The governor and company were empowered to transport such merchandise and persons as were not prohibited by any statute of the kingdom, paying such customs as are, or ought to be, paid for the same; to exercise martial law when necessary; and upon just causes to invade and destroy the native Indians or other enemies. The territory granted to the governor and company, and their successors, was described as that part of the dominions of the crown in New England, containing the islands in Narraganset Bay, and the countries and parts adjacent, which were declared to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich in common soccage. The inhabitants and their children were declared to be entitled to the same immunities as if they had resided or been born within the realm. This, I believe, is the first instance of the creation, by a British patent, of an authority of that peculiar description which was then established in Rhode Island. Coporations had been formerly created within the realm, for the government of colonial plantations. But now a body politic was created with specific powers for administering all the affairs of the colony within the colonial territory. The charter was received with great satisfaction by the colonists, who entered immediately into possession of the democratical constitution which it appointed for them, and continued to pursue the same system of civil and ecclesiastical policy that they had heretofore observed.

Though the inhabitants of Connecticut neither felt nor affected the same rejoicing that Rhode Island had expressed at the restoration of the king, they did not fail to send a deputy to England to express their recognition of the royal authority, and to solicit a new charter.* They were happy in the choice of the man to whom they committed this important duty, John Winthrop, the son of the eminent person of the same name who had presided with so much honor and virtue over the province of Massachusetts. This gentleman deriving a hereditary claim on the kindness of the king, from a friendship that had subsisted between his grandfather and Charles the First,† employed it so successfully as to obtain for his constituents a charter in almost every respect the same with that which had been granted to Rhode Island. The most considerable differences were, that by the Connecticut charter the governor was required to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the inhabitants; a formality which was not required by the charter of Rhode Island, where many of the people scrupled to take an oath; and that, by the last-mentioned charter, liberty of conscience was expressly conceded in its fullest extent, while the other made no express mention of the concerns of religion, and no other allusion to them, than what might seem to be implied in the requisition of the oath of supremacy. By this charter, Newhaven was united with Connecticut; an arrangement which for some time did not obtain the unanimous approbation of the people of Newhaven, although they afterwards heartily concurred in it; and the description of the provincial territory was indefinite and incorrect. But on the whole it gave so much satisfaction, that Winthrop, on his return, was received with the grateful approbation of his fellow citizens, and annually chosen governor of the united colony as long as he lived.

There was thus established by royal charters, both in Connecticut and Rhode Island, a perfect model of democratic government; and the singular spectacle of subordinate political corporations almost wholly disconnected by any efficient tie with the organ of sovereign authority. Every power, as well deliberative as active, was invested in the freemen of the corporation or their delegates; and the supreme executive magistrate of the empire was excluded from every constitutional means of interposition or control. A conformity to the laws of England, no doubt, was enjoined on the colonial legislatures; and this conformity was conditioned as the tenure by which their privileges were enjoyed; but no method of ascertaining or enforcing its observance was established. At a later period, the crown lawyers of England were sensible of the oversight which their predecessors had committed, and proposed that an act of parliament should be obtained for obliging these colonies to transmit their laws for the inspection and approbation of the king. But this suggestion was never carried into effect.

CHAPTER IV.

Emigration of ejected Ministers to New England—Royal Commissioners sent to the Province—Address of the Assembly of Massachussetts to the King—rejected—Policy pursued by the Commissioners—Their Disputes with the Government of Massachussetts—and Return to England—Policy of the Colonists to conciliate the King—Effects of it—Cession of Acadia to the French—Prosperous State of New England—Conspiracy of the Indians—Philip's War—The King resumes his designs against Massachusetts—Controversy respecting the Right to Maine and New Hampshire—Progress of the Dispute between the King and the Colony—State of Parties in Massachusetts—State of Religion and Morals—Surrender of the Charter of Massachusetts demanded by the King—refused by the Colonists—Writ of Quo Warranto issued against the Colony—Firmness of the People—Their Charter adjudged to be forfeited.

SETTLED originally by people of the same nation and whom the same motives had conducted to America, [1663,] and assimilated by their religious tenets, their government, laws, and manners, a similar policy naturally pervaded all the colonies of New England. The commercial system which the English parliament thought fit to pursue tended still further to confirm this identity of interest and purpose in the colonies. The navigation acts which it framed, and which we have considered at much length in the history of Virginia, created for a time more discontent than inconvenience, and served rather to announce than to enforce the restrictions with which it was intended to fetter the colonial trade. These restrictions were a copious source of displeasure and controversy between the two countries. The colonies had been accustomed in their infancy to a free trade, and its surrender was exacted with the more injustice and yielded with the greater reluctance, because England was not then a mart in which all the produce of the colonies could be vended, or from which all the wants of their inhabitants could be supplied. Even in the southern colonies, where similar restraints had been enforced by Cromwell, the act of navigation was executed very imperfectly; and in New England, where the governors were elected by the people, it appears, for a considerable time, to have been entirely disregarded.

If the commercial policy of the English parliament thus strongly tended to unite the colonies by community of interest and opposition to the parent state, the ecclesiatsical policy which now prevailed in England was calculated in no slight degree to promote the remembrance of the original causes of secession from her territory, and at once to revive their influence, and enforce the virtue of toleration by sympathy with the victims of an opposite policy. In consequence of the rigid enforcement of the act of uniformity in the close of the preceding year, about two thousand of the English clergy, the most eminent of the order for piety, virtue, and knowledge, were ejected from the church; and, to the astonishment of the prevailing party, sacrificed their interests to their conscience. They were afterwards banished to the distance of five miles from every corporation in England, and many of them died in prison for privately exercising their ministry contrary to law. While the majority of them remained in England to preserve by their teaching and their sufferings the decaying piety of their native land, a considerable number were conducted to New England, there to invigorate the national virtue by a fresh example of conscientious sacrifice, and to form a living and touching memorial of the cruelty and injustice of intolerance.* The merits and the sufferings of these men made a strong impression on the people of New England; and this year an invitation was despatched to the celebrated Dr. John Owen, one of the greatest scholars and divines that the world has ever produced, to accept an ecclesiastical appointment in Massachusetts, and the designs which he had reason to believe would be soon undertaken for the subjugation of its civil and religious liberties. Other countries besides America contended for the honor of sheltering this illustrious man from the persecutions of the church of England, and the happiness and advantage that might be expected from his sojourn. But he preferred suffering in a country where his language was understood, to enjoyment and honor among a people with whom his communication must necessarily have been more restricted. At a later period, when the presidency of Harvard college was offered to him, he consented to embrace this sphere of useful and important duty; and having shipped his effects for New England, was preparing to accompany them, when his steps were arrested by an order from Charles, expressly commanding him not to depart from the kingdom.

The apprehension which the inhabitants of Massachusetts had entertained all along of the hostile designs of the English government, and which had been confirmed by the reasons assigned by Dr. Owen for refusing the first invitation which they had tendered to him, were strengthened by all the intelligence they received from England. A great number of the ejected nonconformist ministers who had taken measures for proceeding to Massachusetts, now declined to embark for a country on which the extremity of royal vengeance was daily expected to descend: and at length the most

* The Rhode Islanders had also presented an address to the Rulers of England in 1659, beseeching favor to themselves, as "a poor colony, an outcast people, formerly from our mother nation in the bishops' days, and since from the New English over-zealous colonies." Douglas' Summary, ii. 110.

† Although the charter was framed in 1662, yet, in consequence of a dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island, it was not finally passed till July, 1663.

* At Newhaven the republican spirit was so strong, that several of the principal inhabitants declined to act as magistrates under the king. Trumbull, i. 241. It was here that Goffe and Whaley found the securest asylum, and ended their days. When a party of royal officers were coming in pursuit of them to Newhaven, Davenport, the minister of the peace, preached publicly in favor of the regicides, from the text (Isaiah xvi. 3, 4.) "Take counsel, execute judgment; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday; hide the outcasts; bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab: be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler." Holmes' American Annals, i. 342.

† Cotton Mather relates, that when Winthrop presented the king with a ring which Charles the First had given to his grandfather, "the king not only accepted his present, but also declared that he accounted it one of his richest jewels, which indeed was the opinion that New England had of the hand that carried it." B. ii. Cap. xi. § 5. See Note XI.

* When the proceedings against the congregationalists in England were complained of, these dissenters were told by an eminent English prelate (Stillingfleet) that the severities which they so much resented were justified by the proceedings of their own brethren in New England against dissenters from the established worship there. Stillingfleet's Mischiefs of Separation

positive information was received that the king had declared that, although he was willing to preserve the colonial charter, he was determined to send out commissioners to inquire and report how far the provisions of the charter were legally complied with. Tidings no less indubitable arrived soon after of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, of the determination of the king to despatch an expedition for the reduction of the Dutch settlement of New York, and to send along with it a body of commissioners who were empowered to hear and determine (according to their own discretion) all complaints in causes civil or military that might exist within New England, and to take every step that they might judge necessary for settling the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation This information was correct; and a commission for these purposes, as well as for the reduction of New York, had been issued by the king to Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. These tidings, in concurrence with the reports that had long prevailed of the designs entertained by the court of England against the liberties of the colonists, were calculated to strike them with dismay. They knew that plausible pretexts were not wanting to justify an inquiry into their proceedings; but they were also aware that the dislike and suspicion with which they were regarded by the king could never be satisfied by any measure short of the utter subversion of their institutions. Various controversies had arisen between the different settlements concerning the boundaries of their respective territories; and loud complaints were preferred by the representatives of Mason, and by Gorges, and other members of the old council of Plymouth, of the occupations of districts and sovereignties to which they claimed a preferable right. The claim of Mason to New Hampshire, derived from the assignment of the Plymouth council, had never been expressly surrendered; and Gorges' title to Maine had been confirmed and enlarged by a grant from the late king in the year 1639. As Gorges had adhered to the royal cause in the civil wars, the death of the king proved the temporary death of his patent: and he as well as Mason's heirs had long abandoned their projects in despair of ever prosecuting them to a successful issue. But now the revival of royalty in England presented them with an opportunity of vindicating their claims; and the establishment of inhabitants in the territories promised advantage from such vindication. They had as yet got no return for the money they had expended on their acquisitions: but they now embraced the prospect and claimed the right of entering upon the labors of others, who in ignorance of their pretensions had occupied and colonized a vacant soil, and held it by the title of fair purchase from its native proprietors. In addition to this formidable controversy, many complaints had been preferred by the royalists, quakers, and episcopalians, of abuses in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Massachusetts. The adjustment of these controversies and investigation of these complaints were the principal reasons assigned for the commission.* But, doubtless, the main object of concern to the English court was the suppression or essential modification of institutions founded and administered on principles that had so long waged war with monarchy, and so lately prevailed over it. The colonists very readily believed the accounts they received from their friends in England of this hostile disposition of their sovereign; and the public orders by which they had cautioned the enemies of his government not to expect shelter in Massachusetts, had been intended to remove or appease it. When intelligence was received of the visitation that must soon be expected from England, the general court of Massachusetts appointed a day of fasting and prayer to be observed throughout its jurisdiction, in order to implore the mercy of God under their many distractions and troubles: and apprehending it to be of the greatest concernment that the patent or charter should be kept "safe and secret," they ordered their secretary to bring it into court, and to deliver it to four of the members of court, who were directed to dispose of it in such manner as they should judge most consistent with the safety of the country. Aware of the usual licentiousness of sailors and soldiers, and recollecting the peculiar strictness of the colonial laws, the court adopted at the same time the most prudent precautions for preventing the necessity of either a hazardous enforcement, or a dishonest and pusillanimous relaxation of its municipal ordinances.

The royal expedition having arrived at Boston in the following year, the commissioners presented their credentials to the governor and council, and demanded in the first instance, that a body of troops should be raised to accompany the English forces in the invasion of New York. [1664] The governor not being empowered by the forms of the constitution to raise forces without the consent of the general court, proceeded to convoke that body; but the commissioners not having leisure to wait its deliberations, proceeded with the fleet against New York, desiring the colonial auxiliaries to follow as quickly as possible, and signifying to the governor and council that they had many important communications to make to them on their return from New York, and that in the mean time the general court would do well to give a fuller consideration than they seemed yet to have done to the letter which the king had addressed to them two years before. The vague mysterious terms of this communication were powerfully calculated, and would seem to have been deliberately intended, to increase the disquiet and apprehensions of the colonists. That they produced this impression in a very strong degree is manifest from the proceedings that were adopted by the general court. On the assembling of that body it was declared by an immediate and unanimous vote that they were "resolved to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." They proceeded to render a prompt obedience to the requisition of the commissioners, and had raised a regiment of two hundred men, who were preparing to proceed for New York, when intelligence was received from the commissioners that the place had already surrendered, and that the junction of the English and colonial forces was no longer necessary. The assembly next resumed the consideration of the king's letter, which had been so emphatically commended to their deliberation, and passed a law extending the elective franchise to all the inhabitants of English or colonial birth, paying public rates to a certain amount, and certified by a minister as orthodox in their principles and not immoral in their lives, whether within or without the pale of the established church. They next proceeded to frame and transmit to the king an address strongly expressive of their present apprehensions and their habitual sentiments. They set forth at considerable length the dangers and difficulties they had encountered in founding and rearing their settlement; the explicit confirmation which their privileges had received both from the present king and his predecessor; and their own subjection to the royal authority, and willingness to testify their duty in any righteous way. They expressed their concern at the appointment of four commissioners, one of whom, Maverick, was their known and professed enemy, who were invested with an indefinite authority, in the exercise of which they were to proceed, not in conformity with any established law, but according to their own discretion; and they declared, that although as yet they had but tasted the words and actions of these persons, they had enough to satisfy them that the powers derived from the commission would be improved to the complete subversion of the provincial government. If any profit was expected to be gained by the imposition of new rules and the bereavement of their liberties, the design, they protested, would produce only disappointment; for the country was so poor that it produced little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, and the people were so much attached to their institutions that, if deprived of them in America, they would seek them in new and more distant habitations; and, if they were driven out of the country, it would not be easy to find another race of inhabitants who would be willing to sojourn in it.* They appealed to God, that they came not into this wilderness to seek great things for themselves, but for the sake of a quiet life, and concluded in the following strains of earnest anxiety: "Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live: so shall we all yet have further cause to say from our hearts, Let the king live for ever." Letters suing for favor and friendly mediation were transmitted at the same time to several of the English nobility, and particularly to the chancellor, Lord Clarendon. But these applications were no longer attended with success. Lord Clarendon was no friend to puritan establishments; he had instigated the persecution that was then carrying on against the sectaries of every denomination in England; and he was at present too painfully sensible of his declining credit with the king, to risk the farther provocation of his displeasure by opposing a favorite scheme of royal policy. In a letter to the governor, he defended the commission as a constitutional* exercise of royal power and wisdom, and strongly indicative of his majesty's grace and goodness; and recommended to the colonists, by a prompt submission, to deprecate the indignation which their ungrateful clamor must already have excited in the breast of the king. The answer of Charles, which was transmitted by Secretary Morrice, to the address of the general court, excited less surprise. It reproached that assembly with making unreasonable and groundless complaints; justified the commission as the only proper method of rectifying the colonial disorders; and affected to consider the address as "the contrivance of a few persons who infuse jealousies into their fellow subjects as if their charter were in danger."

Having effected the conquest of New York, the commissioners proceeded to the exercise of their civil functions in New England. [1665] One of the first official acts that they were called on to perform, was the adjustment of a dispute respecting boundaries, that arose out of the occupation of the New York territory. A patent had been granted to the Duke of York of all the territory occupied by the Dutch, including large districts that had been already comprehended in the charter of Connecticut. A controversy concerning limits had thus been created by the deliberate act of the crown, between the state of Connecticut and the new province erected by the patent to the Duke of York. Their boundaries were now adjusted by the commissioners in a manner which appears to have been highly satisfactory to the people of Connecticut, but which entailed a great deal of subsequent dispute. Another controversy, in which Connecticut was involved, arose out of a claim to part of its territory preferred by the Duke of Hamilton and others, in virtue of the rights that had accrued to themselves or their ancestors as members of the grand council of Plymouth. The commissioners desirous of giving satisfaction to both parties, adjudged the property of the disputed soil to these individual claimants, but declared the right of government to pertain to Connecticut. It appears manifestly to have been their policy to detach the other New England states from the obnoxious province of Massachusetts, and to procure their co-operation by the example of implicit submission on their own part, and the accumulation of complaints against that province, in the design of abridging her liberties and altering her institutions. In the prosecution of this policy they were but partially successful. The people of Connecticut received the commissioners with the utmost coldness, and plainly showed that they regarded their proceedings with aversion, and considered the cause of Massachusetts as their own. So strongly impressed were the inhabitants of this state with the danger to their liberties from the interposition of such arbitrary authority, that some disagreements, which had subsisted between Connecticut and Newhaven, and which had hitherto prevented their union under the late charter by which they had been associated, were entirely composed by the very tidings of the visitation of the commissioners. At Plymouth the commissioners met with little opposition, the inhabitants being deterred from the expression of their sentiments by a consciousness of their weakness, and being exempted from the apprehensions that prevailed in the more powerful states by a sense of their insignificance. In Rhode Island alone was their insidious policy attended with success. There, the people received them with every mark of deference and attention; their inquiries were answered, and their mandates

* In addition to these reasons, the commission sets forth that complaints have been made to his majesty of acts of violence and pressure by the colonial authorities against the natives of America, "whereby not only our government is traduced, but the reputation and creed of christian religion is brought into reproach and prejudice with the gentiles and inhabitants of those countries who know not God: the reduction of whom to the true knowledge of God is enjoined these plantations," &c.—a statement of matchless falsehood and effrontery

* It is curious to observe the expression of a similar sentiment by the inhabitants of the province of Arragon in the days of their freedom. It is declared in the preamble to one of the laws of Arragon, that such was the barrenness of the country and the poverty of the inhabitants, that if it were not for the sake of the liberties by which they were distinguished from other nations, the people would abandon it and go in quest of a settlement to some more fruitful region. Robertson's View of the State of Europe, sect. 3. History of Charles the Fifth

* Even Chalmers, though the panegyrist of Charles and his policy, and animated with the strongest dislike and contempt of the colonists, expresses his surprise that Clarendon should defend the commission as a constitutional act; observing, that "an act of parliament was assuredly necessary in order to cut up effectually those principles of independence that had rooted with the settlement of New England," p. 388. One of the articles of impeachment against Lord Clarendon was, "That he introduced an arbitrary government in his majesty's plantations." But this charge seems to have related to some proceedings in Barbadoes. Howell's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 331, &c.

obeyed or assented to without any demur to the authority from which they proceeded; and during their stay in this settlement they were enabled to amplify their reports with numberless complaints against the injustice and misgovernment alleged to have been committed in Massachusetts. This people, as we have seen, had gained their late charter by a display of subservience and devotion to the crown; and the liberal institutions which it introduced had not yet had time to form a spirit that disdained to hold the enjoyment of liberty by so ignoble a tenure. The freedom thus spuriously begotten was tainted in its birth by principles that long rendered its existence precarious; and we shall find the inhabitants of Rhode Island, a few years after, abjectly offering to strip themselves of the privileges which they had gained so ill, and of which they now showed themselves unworthy by their willingness to strengthen the hands that were preparing to oppress the liberties of Massachusetts. We must not, however discard from our recollection that Rhode Island was yet but a feeble community, and that the unfavorable sentiments with which many of its inhabitants regarded Massachusetts, arose from the persecution which their religious tenets had experienced in that province. Their conduct to the commissioners received the warmest approbation from Charles, who assured them that he would never be unmindful of the claims they had acquired on his goodness by a demeanor so replete with duty and humility. In justice to the king, whose word was proverbially the object of very little reliance, we may observe that he does not appear ever after to have withdrawn his favor from Rhode Island; and in justice to a moral lesson that would be otherwise incomplete, we may here so far anticipate the order of time as to remark, that when Charles's successor proceeded to extend to Rhode Island the destruction in which the liberties of the other New England provinces had been involved, and when the people endeavored to avert the blow by a repetition of the abjectness that had formerly availed them, their prostration was disregarded, and their complete subjection pursued and effected with an insolence that feelingly taught them to detest oppression and despise servility.

It was in Massachusetts that the main object of the commission was to be pursued; and from the difference between the purposes as well as the opinions entertained by the English government and the colonial authorities, it was undoubtedly foreseen that the proceedings of the commissioners would beget the most resolute opposition. Among other communications which the commissioners were charged by the king to impress on the colonists, was, that he considered them to stand in precisely the same relation to him as the inhabitants of Kent or Yorkshire in England. Very different was the opinion that prevailed among the colonists. They considered that, having been forced by persecution to depart from the realm of England, and having established themselves by their own unassisted efforts in territories which they had purchased from the original proprietors, they retained no other political connexion with their sovereign than what was created by their charter, which they regarded as the sole existing compact between the parent state and themselves, and as specifying all the particulars and limits of their obedience. They acknowledged difference of sentiment in religion and politics between themselves and their ancient rulers in which their settlement had originated, and the habits of self-government that they had long been enabled to indulge, confirmed their prepossessions, and had tended generally and deeply to impress the conviction that their original allegiance as natives of England and subjects of the crown was entirely dissolved, and superseded by the stipulations which they had voluntarily contracted by accepting their charter. These opinions, however strongly cherished, it was not prudent distinctly to profess; but their prevalence is alleged by a respectable colonial historian, on the authority of certain manuscript compositions of the leading persons in Massachusetts at this period, which he had an opportunity of examining. The colonists were not the less attached to these opinions, from the apprehension that they would find as little favor in the eyes of the English government as those which had led to the persecution and emigration of their ancestors: they were indeed totally repugnant to the principles of the English law, which holds the allegiance of subjects to their sovereign, not as a local or provisional, but as a perpetual and indissoluble tie, which distance of place does not sunder, nor lapse of time relax. Forcibly aware of these differences of opinion, of the dangerous collisions which they might beget, and of the disadvantages with which they must conduct a discussion with persons who sought nothing so much as to find or make them offenders, the colonists awaited, with much anxiety, the proceedings of the commissioners.

The temper and disposition of these commissioners increased the probability of an unfriendly issue to their discussions with the colonial authorities. If conciliation was, as the king professed, the object which he had in view in issuing the commission, he was singularly unfortunate in the selection of the instruments to whom the discharge of its important duties was confided. Nicholas was a man of sense and moderation; but it was for the reduction and subsequent settlement of the affairs of New York, that he had been mainly appointed; he remained at that place after its capitulation; and when he afterwards rejoined his colleagues, he found himself unable to control their proceedings, or repair the breach they had already created. The other commissioners appear to have been remarkable for no other qualities than insolence, presumption, and incapacity,* to which Maverick farther added an inveterate hostility to the colony which had induced him for years to solicit the commission which he now eagerly hastened to execute. On their return to Boston, the very first requisition which they made to the governor demonstrated how little they were disposed to recognise the colonial authorities; for they required that all the inhabitants of the province should be assembled to receive and reply to their communication; and when the governor desired to know the reason for such a proceeding, they answered, "that the motion was so reasonable, that he who would not attend to it was a traitor." They afterwards thought proper to make trial of a more conciliating tone, and informed the general court that they had properly represented to the king the promptness with which his commands had been obeyed in the raising of a colonial regiment; but it afterwards appeared that they had actually made a representation of a perfectly opposite import to the secretary of state. The suspicions which the commissioners and the general court reciprocally entertained of each other, effectually prevented any cordial co-operation between them. The communications of the commissioners display the most lofty ideas of their own authority as representatives of the crown, with a preconceived opinion that there was an indisposition on the part of the general court to pay due respect to that authority, as well as to the source from which it was derived. The answers of the general court manifest an anxious desire to avoid a contest with the crown, and to gratify his Majesty by professions of loyalty and submission, and by every change that seemed likely to meet his wishes, without compromising the fundamental principles of their institutions. They expressed, at the same time, a deliberate conviction of having done nothing that merited displeasure or required apology, and a steady determination to abide by the charter. Under such circumstances, the correspondence soon degenerated into an altercation. The commissioners at length demanded from the court an explicit answer to the question, if they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's commission? but the court desired to be excused from giving any other answer, than that they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's charter, with which they were a great deal better acquainted. Finding that their object was not to be attained by threats or expostulations, the commissioners attempted a practical assertion of their powers: they granted letters of protection to parties under prosecution before the colonial court; and in a civil suit, which had been already determined by the colonial judges, they promoted an appeal to themselves from the unsuccessful party, and summoned him and his adversary to plead their cause before them. The general court perceived that they must now or never make a stand in defence of their authority; and, with a decision which showed the high value they entertained for their privileges, and the vigor with which they were prepared to protect them, they proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, their disapprobation of this measure, and declared that, in discharge of their duty to God and the king, and of the trust reposed in them by the king's good subjects in the colony, they could not consent to such proceedings, nor countenance those who would conduct or abet them. They accompanied this vigorous step with an offer to compromise the matter by hearing the cause themselves in presence of the commissioners; but this proposition was scornfully rejected, and every effort to reunite these conflicting authorities proved utterly unavailing.

Suspending for a time their proceedings at Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire and Maine, and instantly giving judgment in favor of the claims of Mason and Gorges against the government of Massachusetts, they suppressed the existing authorities, and erected a royal government in each of these provinces. On their return to Boston, the general court declared that these proceedings tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and demanded a conference with the commissioners, which was refused with a bitterness of expression that put an end to all further communication. Sir Robert Carr even went the length of assuring the general court that the king's pardon for their manifold treasons during the late rebellion had been entirely conditional, and was forfeited by their evil behavior; and that the contrivers of their late measures would speedily experience the punishment which their associates in rebellion had lately met with in England.

The king having been apprised of these proceedings, and assured by the commissioners that it was fruitless for them to continue a treaty with persons who were determined to misconstrue all their words and actions, issued letters, recalling the commissioners to England, [1666,] expressing his satisfaction with all the colonies except Massachusetts, and commanding the general court of this province to send deputies to plead their cause before himself. But the inhabitants of Massachusetts were well aware that in such a controversy they could not have the most remote chance of success, and that it was not by the cogency of argument they could hope to pacify the displeasure of their sovereign. Instead of complying with this injunction, the general court addressed a letter to the secretary of state, in which they hinted real or pretended doubts of the authority of the royal letter, and declared that the case had already been so fully pleaded that the ablest among them would be utterly unable to render it any clearer. At the same time they endeavored to appease his majesty by humble addresses expressive of their loyalty; and in order to demonstrate the sense they attached to their professions, they purchased a ship-load of masts, which they presented to the king; and hearing that his fleet in the West Indies was in want of provisions, they promoted a contribution among themselves, and victualled it at their own expense. The king accepted their presents very graciously; and a letter under the sign manual having been transmitted to the general court, declaring that their zeal for the royal service was "taken well by his majesty," the cloud that had gathered over the colony in this quarter seemed for the present to be dispersed. Nevertheless, the design that had been prosecuted to such a length, of remodelling the institutions of New England, was by no means abandoned. The report of the commissioners had furnished Charles with the very pretexts that were wanting to the accomplishment of his plans: and the proceedings which at a later period he adopted, evinced that it was not the dutiful professions or liberalities of the colonists that would deter him from availing himself of pretexts which he had made such efforts to obtain. But the great plague which broke out with such violence as in one year to destroy ninety thousand of the inhabitants of London, and to banish for a time the seat of government to Oxford—the great fire of London,* the wars and intrigues on the continent, and the rising discontents of the people of England, occupied so entirely the attention of the king, as to suspend the execution of his designs against the government of Massachusetts.

After the departure of the royal commissioners, the provinces of New England enjoyed for some years a quiet and prosperous condition. The only disturbance which their internal tranquillity sustained, arose from the persecutions which in all the states, except Rhode Island, continued to be waged against the anabaptists, as these sectaries from time to time attempted to propagate their tenets and establish their ordinances. Lot-

* The senselessness of their proceedings appears very manifestly from a case related at considerable length by the colonial historians. They had been drinking one Saturday night in a tavern after the hours when, by the colonial laws, all taverns were ordered to be shut. A constable, who warned them not to infringe the law, was beaten by them. Hearing that Mason, another constable, had declared that he would not have been deterred by their violence from doing his duty, they sent for him, and extorted from him an admission that he would have arrested the king himself if he had found him drinking in a public-house after lawful hours. They insisted that he should be tried for high treason, and actually prevailed to have this injustice committed. The jury returned a special verdict; and the court, considering the words offensive and insolent, but not treasonable, inflicted only a slight punishment. Hutchinson, i. 254, 255.

* A liberal contribution was made by the people of Massachusetts, and transmitted to London for relief of the sufferers by the fire. Hutchinson, i. 257. The people of New England have always been honorably distinguished by their charitable participation of the misfortunes of other communities. In the year 1703, they contributed 2000*l* for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christophers, which had been ravaged by the French. Holmes, ii. 69.

ters were written in their behalf to the colonial magistrates by the most eminent dissenting ministers in England: but though it was strongly urged by the writers of these letters, that the severe persecution which the anabaptists were then enduring in England should recommend them to the sympathy of the colonists,* and that their conversion was more likely to be effected by holding forth to them the peaceable fruits of righteousness than by pursuing their errors and infirmities with penal inflictions, which could have no other effect than to ensnare or oppress their consciences, the interposition of these persons, though respectfully received, was utterly disregarded. The colonial authorities persisted in believing that they were doing God service by employing the civil power with which they were invested, to guard their territories from the intrusion of heresy, and to maintain the purity of those religious principles for the preservation of which their settlements had been originally formed. A considerable number of anabaptists were fined, imprisoned, and banished: and persecution produced its usual effect of confirming and propagating the tenets which it attempted to extirpate, by causing the professors of them to connect them in their own minds, and to exhibit them to others in connexion with suffering for conscience sake. These proceedings, however, contributed more to stain the character of the colonies than to disturb their tranquillity. Much greater disquiet was created by the intelligence of the cession of Acadia, or as it had come to be termed *Nova Scotia*, to the French at the treaty of Breda. [1667.] Nothing had contributed more to promote the commerce and security of New England than the conquest of that province by Cromwell; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts, apprised of the extreme solicitude of the French to regain it, and justly regarding such an issue as pregnant with danger to themselves, sent agents to England to remonstrate against it. But the influence of the French proved too powerful for the interest of the people; and the conduct of Charles on this occasion evinced as little concern for the external security of the colonies, as his previous proceedings had shown respect for their internal liberties. The French regained possession of their ancient establishment: and both New England and the mother country had afterwards abundant cause to regret the admission of a restless and litigious neighbor, who for years exerted her peculiar arts of intrigue to interrupt the pursuits and disturb the repose of the English colonists

The government of Massachusetts was highly acceptable to the great body of the people; and even those acts of its administration that imposed restraints on civil liberty were respected on account of their manifest design, and their supposed efficiency to promote an object which the people held dearer than liberty itself. A printing press had been established at Cambridge for upwards of twenty years; and the general court had recently appointed two persons to be licensers of the press, and prohibited the publication of any books or papers that had not undergone their supervision. The licensers having given their sanction to the publication of Thomas a Kempis' admirable treatise [1668] *De Imitatione Christi*, the court interposed, and, declaring that "the book was written by a popish minister, and contained some things less safe to be infused among the people," they recommended a more diligent revisal to the licensers, and in the meantime suspended the publication. In a constitution less popular, such an act would have been esteemed an iniquitous abridgment of the liberty of the subject. But the government of Massachusetts expressed, and was supported by, the sentiments and opinions of the people; and so acceptable was its administration, that the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine rejecting the constitution they had received from the royal commissioners, again solicited and were received into the rank of dependencies on its jurisdiction. All traces of the visitation of these commissioners having been thus effaced, and the apprehensions that their measures had excited forgotten, the affairs of the colonies continued for several years to glide on in a course of silent but cheerful prosperity.† The navigation act not being enforced by the establishment of a custom-house, and depending for its execution upon officers annually elected by their fellow citizens, was entirely disregarded. [1668—1672.] The people enjoyed a commerce as extensive as they could desire; a consequent increase of wealth was visible among the merchants and planters; and a spirit of industry and economy prevailing no less generally, the plantations were diligently improved, and the settlements considerably extended. From a document preserved in the archives of the colonial office of England, and published by Chalmers, it appears, that in the year 1673 New England was estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms; and of the merchants and planters there were no fewer than five thousand persons, each of whom was worth 3000*l*.* Three-fourths of the wealth and population of the country centred in the territory of Massachusetts and its dependencies. The town of Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families. Theft was rare, and beggary unknown in New England. Josselyn, who returned about two years before this period from his second visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeableness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the substantial structure and comfort of all the private dwellings.† During this interval of tranquil prosperity, many of the most aged inhabitants of New England closed the career of a long and interesting life, and the original race of settlers was now almost entirely extinguished. The annals of this period are filled with accounts of their deaths, of the virtues by which they had contributed to the foundation of the new commonwealth, and of the fondness with which their closing eyes lingered upon its prosperity. To our view, enlarged by the acquaintance which history supplies of the approaching calamities from which these persons were thus happily removed, not the least enviable circumstance of their lot appears to have been that they died in scenes so fraught with serene enjoyment and agreeable promise, and bequeathed to their descendants not only the example of their virtue, but the fruits of it, in a prosperity as eminent as any people was ever blessed with. Yet, so short-sighted and imperfect are the views of men, so strongly are they led by an instinctive and unquenchable propensity to figure and desire something better than they behold, and so apt to restrict to the present fleeting and disordered scene the suggestions of this secret longing after original and immortal perfection, that many of the fathers of the colony could not refrain from lamenting that they had been born too soon to see more than the first faint dawn of New England's glory. Others, with greater enlargement of wisdom and piety, considered that *the eye is not satisfied with seeing*, nor the conceptions of an immortal spirit capable of being adequately filled by any thing short of the vision of its Divine Author, for whose contemplation it was created; and were contented to drop like leaves into the bosom of their adopted country, in the confidence of being gathered into nobler and more lasting habitations.

1674.] The state of prosperous repose which New England had enjoyed for several years was interrupted by a formidable combination of the Indian tribes, that produced a war so general and bloody as to threaten for some time the utter destruction of the plantations. This hostile combination was promoted by a young chief whose character and history reminds us of the enterprises of Opechancanough in Virginia. He was the second son of Massasoiet, a prince who had ruled a powerful tribe inhabiting territories adjacent to the settlement of Plymouth at the time when the English first settled in the country. The father had entered into an alliance with the colonists, and, after his death, his two sons demonstrated an earnest desire to retain and cultivate their friendship. They even repaired to the court of Plymouth, and requested, as a mark of identification with their allies, that English names might be given them; and, in compliance with their desire, the elder had received the name of Alexander, and the younger of Philip. But it very soon appeared that these demonstrations of good will were but the artifice that entered into their schemes of hostility; and they were both shortly after detected in an ineffectual attempt to involve the Naragansets in hostilities with the colonists. The disappointment of that attempt overwhelmed the proud spirit of the elder brother with such intolerable rage and mortification, that, in spite of, and perhaps still more deeply wounded by, the conciliating demeanour of the colonists, he was unable long to survive the detection of his villany and discomfiture of his designs. Philip, after the death of his brother, renewed the alliance between his tribe and the English, but intended nothing less than the observance of his engagements. Daring, cruel, and perfidious, he meditated a universal conspiracy of the Indians for the extirpation of the colonists, and for several years carried on his designs as secretly and effectually as the numerous difficulties that surrounded him would permit. Next to the growing power of the colonial settlements, nothing seemed to excite his indignation more strongly than the progress of their missionary labors; and, in reality, it was to these labors, and some of the consequences they had produced, that the colonists were indebted for their preservation from the ruin that would have attended the success of Philip's machinations. Some of the tribes to whom he applied revealed his propositions to the missionaries; and some who had entered into his designs were persuaded by their converted brethren to renounce them. From time to time the court of Plymouth had remonstrated with him on the designs of which they obtained intelligence; and by renewed and more solemn engagements than before, he had endeavored to disarm their vigilance and remove their suspicions. For two or three years before this period he had pursued his treacherous hostility with so much success that his proceedings appear to have been wholly unsuspected; and he had succeeded in uniting some of the fiercest and most warlike tribes in a confederacy to make war on the colonists to the point of extermination.

A converted Indian, who was laboring as a missionary among the tribes of his countrymen, having at length discovered the plot, revealed it to the governor of Plymouth, and was soon after found dead in a field, with appearances that strongly indicated assassination. Suspicions having fallen on some neighboring Indians, they were apprehended, and solemnly tried before a jury consisting half of English and half of Indians, who returned a verdict of guilty. At their execution one of them confessed the murder, and declared that they had been instigated by Philip to commit it. This crafty chief, incensed at the execution of his friends, and apprehending the vengeance of the colonists, now threw off the mask, and summoned his confederates to his aid. The states of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut proceeded to arm for their common defence, having first employed every means to induce Philip to accommodate the quarrel by a friendly treaty. But a friendly issue was not what Philip desired; [1675] and being now fully assured that the season of secret conspiracy was over, he rejected all negotiation, and commenced a general war, which was carried on with great vigor and various success. Though Philip's own tribe supplied no more than five hundred warriors, he had so increased his force by alliances that he was able to bring three thousand men into the field. This formidable body, conducted by a chief who believed that the war must terminate in the total ruin of one or other of the conflicting parties, made exertions of which the Indians had been hitherto supposed incapable. Several battles were fought, and all the fury, havoc, and cruelty which distinguish Indian warfare were experienced in their fullest extent. Wherever the enemy marched their route was marked with murder, fire, and desolation. Massachusetts and Plymouth were the states that suffered principally from the contest. There, especially, the Indians were so interspersed among the European colonists that there was scarcely a part of the country in perfect security, or a family which had not to bewail the loss of a relative or friend. It is a truth that has not been sufficiently adverted to, that in all the Indian wars of this period the savages, from the condition of the country, their own superior acquaintance with it, and their peculiar habits of life, enjoyed advantages which might seem well nigh to counterbalance the superiority of European skill. Changing their own settlements with facility, and advancing upon those of the colonists with the dexterous secrecy of beasts of prey;

* The colonists might have pondered, with advantage, an [illegible] Peter, while he was awaiting his [illegible] Trials and Deaths of the Reign [illegible]

† In the year 1672, the laws of Connecticut, till then preserved in manuscript, [illegible] proclamation in the respective towns, were collected into a code, printed, and published. The preface, written with a solemnity that might serve to introduce a body of divinity, commences in this manner.—"To our beloved brethren and neighbours, the inhabitants of Connecticut, the general court of that colony wish grace and peace in our Lord Jesus." It was ordered that every householder should have a copy of the code, and that the capital laws should be read weekly in every family. Trumbull, i. 290. 322.

In Connecticut, by a law of 1667 (still existing,) three years voluntary separation of married persons is held to dissolve their matrimonial engagement.

* John Dunton, who visited New England about twelve years after this period, mentions a merchant in Salem worth 30,000*l*. Dunton's Life and Errors, p. 171.

† Josselyn's Second Voyage. Even at this early period Josselyn has remarked the prevalence of that inveterate but unexplained peculiarity of the premature decay of the teeth of white persons, and especially women, in North America, p. 185.

with them there was almost always the spirit and audacity of attack, and with their adversaries the disadvantages of defence and the consternation produced by surprise; nor could the colonists obtain the means of attacking in their turn without following the savages into forests and swamps, where the benefit of their superior discipline was nearly lost, and the peculiarities of European warfare almost impracticable. The savages had long been acquainted with fire-arms, and were remarkably expert in the use of them.

For some time the incursions of the enemy could not be restrained, and every successful enterprise or skirmish that they maintained increased the number of their allies. The savage artifice, however, which Philip adopted in one instance for the purpose of recruiting his forces, recoiled with injury on himself. Having repaired with some of his adherents to the territory of the Mohawks, he caused some of their people to be surprised and assassinated; and then proceeding to the head quarters of the tribe, he declared that he had seen the murder committed by a party of the Plymouth soldiers. The tribe in a flame of passion declared war on the colonists: but their rage soon took another direction: for one of the wounded men having recovered his senses, made a shift to crawl to the habitations of his countrymen, and, though mortally injured, was able to disclose the real author of the murder before he died. The Mohawks instantly declared war on Philip, and themselves the allies of his enemies. Hostilities were protracted till near the close of the following year, when, at length, the steady efforts and invincible bravery of the colonists prevailed; and after a series of defeats, and the loss of all his family and chief counsellors, Philip himself was killed by one of his own tribe whom he had offended. Deprived of its chief abettor, the war was soon terminated by the submission of the enemy. From some of the tribes, however, the colonists refused to accept any submissions, and warned them before their surrender that their treachery had been so gross and unprovoked, and their outrages so atrocious and unpardonable, that they must abide the issue of criminal justice. In pursuance of these declarations, some of the chiefs were tried and executed for murder; and a number of their followers were transported to the West Indies, and sold for slaves. Never had the people of New England been engaged in so fierce, so bloody, or so desolating a conflict as this. Many houses and flourishing villages were reduced to ashes; and in the course of the war six hundrsd persons, composing the flower and strength of several of the districts, were either killed in battle or murdered by the savages. The military efforts of the colonists in these campaigns were thought, and justly perhaps, to evince less of tactical skill than had been displayed in the Pequod war. They were indeed no longer commanded by the experienced officers who had accompanied their ancestors from Europe; and they were opposed to an enemy much more formidable than the Pequods. But the heroic courage and calm contempt of danger that they displayed, was worthy of men whose characters were formed under institutions no less favorable to freedom than virtue, and who fought in defence of every thing that was dear and valuable to mankind. In the commencement of the war, the surprising treachery that the Indians displayed, excited strong apprehensions of the defection of the Indian congregations which the missionaries had collected and partly civilized. But not one of these people proved unfaithful to their benefactors.

The Indian warfare in which New England had been thus involved, was not bounded by the hostilities with Philip and his confederates. An attack was made at the same time on New Hampshire and Maine, by the tribes that were situated in the vicinity of these settlements. The Indians complained that they had been defrauded and insulted by some of the English traders in that quarter:* but suspicions were strongly entertained that their hostilities were promoted by the French government, now re-established in Acadia. The invasion of these territories was distinguished by the usual ferocity and cruelty of the savages. Many of the inhabitants were massacred, and others carried into captivity. Prompt assistance was rendered by Massachusetts; and after a variety of severe engagements the Indians sustained a considerable defeat. They were still however both able and willing to continue the war; and both their numbers and their animosity were increased by a measure which the colonial government adopted against them. It was proposed to the general court of Massachusetts to invite the Mohawk tribe, who, from time immemorial, had been the enemies of the eastern Indians, to make a descent on their territories at this juncture. The lawfulness of using such auxiliaries was questioned by some; but it was thought a satisfactory answer, that Abraham had confederated with the Amorites for the recovery of his kinsman Lot from the hands of a common enemy; and messengers were accordingly despatched to the Mohawks. Little persuasion was necessary to induce them to comply with the proposal, and a body of Mohawk warriors quickly marched against their hereditory foes. The expedition, however, so far from producing the slighest benefit, was attended with serious disadvantage to the cause of the colonists. The Indians who were their proper enemies, suffered very little from the Mohawk invasion; and some powerful tribes who had been hitherto at peace with them, exasperated by injuries or affronts which they received from these invaders, now declared war both against them and their English allies. At length, the intelligence of the defeat of Philip, and the probability of stronger forces being thus enabled to march against them, inclined the eastern Indians to hearken to proposals of peace. The war in this quarter was terminated by a treaty highly favorable to the Indians, to whom the settlers became bound to pay a certain quantity of corn yearly as a kind of quit-rent for their lands.*

Although the province of New York was now a British settlement, no assistance was obtained from it by the New England states in this long and obstinate contest with the Indians. On the contrary, a hostile demonstration from this quarter had been added to the dangers of the Indian war. Andros, who was then governor of this newly acquired British province, having claimed for the Duke of York a considerble part of the Connecticut territory, proceeded to enforce this pretension by advancing with an armament against the town and fort of Saybrook, which he summoned to surrender. The inhabitants, though at first alarmed to behold the English flag unfurled against them, quickly recovered from their surprise; and hoisting the same flag on their walls, prepared to defend themselves against the assailants. Andros, unprepared for such resolute opposition, hesitated to fire upon the English flag; and learning that Captain Bull, an officer of distinguished bravery and determination, had marched with a party of the Connecticut militia for the defence of the place, judged it expedient to abandon the enterprise and return to New York.

The cessation of the Indian hostilities was not attended with a restoration of the happiness and tranquillity which had preceded them. The king had now matured the scheme of arbitrary government which he steadily pursued during the remainder of his inglorious reign; and the colonists, while yet smarting with the sense of their recent calamities, were summoned to abide a repetition of their ancient contest with the crown, which they had vainly hoped was forgotten or abandoned by the English government. Instead of approbation for the bravery and vigorous reliance on their own resources with which they had conducted their military operations, without involving the mother country in expenses, and repelled hostilities which were partly owing to the disregard which the mother country had shown for their interests in restoring Acadia to the French, they found themselves overwhelmed with reproaches for a seditious obstinacy in refusing to solicit assistance from the king, and a sordid parsimony in the equipment of their levies, which (they were told) had caused the war to be so greatly protracted, and rendered them utterly unfit to be longer intrusted with the government of a country in which their sovereign possessed so deep a stake. Indications of this revival of royal dislike and of the resumption of the king's former designs had appeared before the conclusion of the war with Philip. While hostilities were still raging in the province, the government of Massachusetts found it necessary to direct a part of its attention to the claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine. In the summer of 1676 Randolph a messenger despatched by the king, announced to the general court that a judgment would be pronounced by his majesty in council against the pretensions of the province, unless deputies were sent to plead its cause within six months; and as letters were received at the same time from the friends of the colony in England, giving assurance that this resolution would be adhered to, and that any instance of contumacy on the part of the general court would but accelerate the execution of the more formidable designs that were undoubtedly in agitation at the English court, the royal message received immediate attention, and Stoughton and Bulkeley were despatched as deputies to represent and support the colonial interests.

The respective titles and claims of the parties having been submitted to the consideration of the two chief justices of England, [1677] the legal merits of the question were at length extracted by their experienced eyes from the confused mass of inconsistent grants in which they were involved. It was adjudged that the jurisdiction of New Hampshire was incapable of being validly conveyed by the council of Plymouth, and had therefore reverted to the crown on the dissolution of the council, with reservation, however, of Mason's claims upon the property of the soil—a reservation which for more than a century rendered all the property in New Hampshire insecure, and involved the inhabitants in continual uneasiness, dispute, and litigation. As Gorges, in addition to his original grant from the Plymouth council, had procured a royal patent for the province of Maine, the full right both of seignorial and territorial of this province was adjudged to be vested in him. In consequence of this decision, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased; but it was preserved in the province of Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had been for some time in treaty for the purchase of Maine, which he designed to unite with New Hampshire, and to bestow on his favorite son the Duke of Monmouth; but straitened for money, and expecting no competitor in the purchase, he had deferred the completion of the contract. This was not unknown to Massachusetts; and that colony being strongly urged by the inhabitants of Maine to prevent their territories from being dismembered from its jurisdiction, directed its agent to purchase the title of Gorges, which he very willingly sold to them for twelve hundred pounds. This transaction gave great offence to the king, who peremptorily insisted that the authorities of Massachusetts should wave their right and relinquish their contract to him; but they, blending as a sufficient apology for what they had done, that it had been in compliance with the wishes of the people, retained the purchase and governed the country as a subordinate province. The people of New Hampshire were no less reluctant to be separated from Massachusetts; but they were compelled to submit, and to receive a royal governor.* One of the first acts of their legislature was to vote an affectionate address to Massachusetts, acknowledging the former kindness of that colony, and declaring it to have been their general wish to retain their former connexion, had such been the pleasure of their common sovereign. The government that had been forced upon them proved utterly incapable of preserving tranquillity or commanding respect. The attempts that were made to enforce Mason's title to the property of the soil, and to render the inhabitants tributary to him for the possessions which they had purchased from others and improved into value by their own labor, excited the most violent ferments, and resulted in a train of vexatious but indecisive legal warfare.† Cranfield, the governor, after involving himself in contentions and altercations with the settlers and their legislative body, in which he

* One of these complaints was occasioned by the brutal act of some English sailors in overturning an Indian canoe in which they observed an infant child, in order to ascertain the truth of a story they had heard that swimming was as natural to a young Indian as to a young duck. The child died in consequence of the immersion it sustained; and its father, who was highly respected as a necromancer by the Indians, became the invoterate enemy of the English. Belknap, i. 132. An action that excited still greater resentment was committed by Major Waldron of New Hampshire during the war. He had made a treaty of friendship with a body of 400 Indians; but on discovering that some of them had served in Philip's army, he laid hold of these, by a stratagem and sent them as prisoners to Boston. Their associates never forgave this treacherous act; and thirteen years after, a party of them having surprised the major in his house by a stratagem still more artful than his own, put him to death by the most horrible inflictions of cruelty. Ibid. 142. 145—148.

* Neal, ii. 400—406. Hutchinson, i. 307, 308. Belknap, i. cap. 5. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and Belknap's History of New Hampshire, are the best of the modern historical productions of North America. Trumbull's History of Connecticut would have been esteemed superior to them both, if the author (a clergyman) had not bestowed a most disproportioned attention on the biography of the clergy and the proceedings of ecclesiastical synods.

* In the first commission that was issued for the government of this province, the king engaged to continue to the people their ancient privilege of an assembly "unless by inconvenience arising therefrom, he or his heirs should see cause to alter the same." Belknap, i. 172.

† The people were sometimes provoked to oppose club law to parchment law. An irregular judgment having been pronounced in favor of Mason against some persons who refused to submit to it, Cranfield sent a party of sheriff's officers to serve a writ on them while they were in church. The congregation was incensed at such a proceeding: a young woman knocked down a sheriff's officer with her bible; and the attack becoming general, the whole legal army was routed. It was found necessary to abandon the judgment. Belknap.

found it totally impossible to prevail, transmitted an assurance to the British government, "that while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found in those parts." He wreaked his vengeance upon some nonconformist ministers, to whose preaching he imputed the resolute spirit of the people, and whose general denunciations against vice he construed into personal reflections on himself and his favorites, by arbitrarily commanding them to administer the sacrament to him according to the liturgy of the church of England, and committing them to prison on receiving the refusal which he expected. His misgovernment at length provoked a few rash individuals hastily, and without concert, to revolt from his authority. They were instantly suppressed; and having been arraigned of high treason, were convicted and condemned. But Cranfield, aware of the unpopularity of his government, had employed artifices in the composition of the jury, which excited universal indignation; and afraid to carry his sentence into effect within the colony, he adopted the strange and unwarrantable proceeding of sending the prisoners to be executed in England. The English government actually sanctioned this irregularity, and were preparing to execute the sentence of a colonial governor, and to exhibit to the English people the tragical issue of a case, with the merits of which they were totally unacquainted, when a pardon was obtained for the unfortunate persons, by the solicitation of Cranfield himself, who, finding it impossible to maintain order in the province, or to withstand the numerous complaints of his injustice and oppression, had solicited his own recal. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire was again united to the government of Massachusetts, and shared her fortunes till the period of the British revolution.*

1678.] Although the troubles of the Popish Plot began now to engage the attention and anxiety of the king, he was no longer to be diverted from the resolution he had adopted of effecting the subjugation of Massachusetts; and though the concern of the Duke of Monmouth with that celebrated imposture and the connexions he had formed with the profligate Shaftesbury and its other promoters, might diminish the king's regret for the privation of the appanage he had meant to invest him with, the presumptuous interference of Massachusetts to defeat this transaction had inflamed his displeasure and fortified his resolution. That additional pretexts might not be wanting to justify his measures, every complaint that could be collected against the colony was promoted and encouraged. The quakers who had refused, during the Indian war, either to perform military service or to pay the fines imposed by law on defaulters, complained bitterly of the persecution they had undergone by the enforcement of these fines, as well as of the law which obliged them to contribute to the maintenance of the colonial ministers. When the dangers of the Indian war were at their height, some of the colonists apprehending that these calamities were a judgment of Heaven upon the land for tolerating such heretics as the quakers within its bosom, procured the re-enactment of an old law, prohibiting assemblies for quaker worship; and though it does not appear that this law was enforced, its enactment was justly regarded as persecution, and alienated the regards of many who had hitherto been friends of the colony. The agents who had been deputed to manage the interests of Massachusetts in the disputes respecting New Hampshire and Maine, were detained to answer these complaints which were gravely preferred by the quakers to a government which was itself enforcing with far greater rigor upon them the very policy which it now encouraged them to impute to one of its own provincial dependencies as the most scandalous persecution. Other and more serious complaints contributed to detain the agents and increase their perplexity. Randolph, whom the people of New England described as "going up and down seeking whom he might devour," had faithfully complied with his instructions to collect as much matter of complaint as he could obtain within the colony, and loaded with the hatred of the people, which he cordially reciprocated, he now returned to England and opened his budget of arraignment and vituperation. The most just and most formidable of his charges was that the navigation act was utterly disregarded, and a free trade maintained by the colonists with all parts of the world. This was a charge which the agents could neither deny nor extenuate, and they anxiously pressed their constituents to put end to the occasion of it. Any proceedings which the king might adopt, either for the enforcement of the navigation acts, or the punishment of the neglect they had hitherto experienced, were the more likely to coincide with the sentiments of the English people, from the interest of a considerable portion of the mercantile class of society in the monopoly which it was the object of these laws to secure. A petition had been presented to the king and privy council by a number of merchants and manufacturers, complaining of the disregard of the navigation acts in New England, and praying that they might hereafter be vigorously enforced, for the sake of promoting the trade of England, as well as of preserving her dominion over the colonies. That a stronger impression might be made on the public mind, the petitioners were solemnly heard in presence of the council, and suffered to plead at great length in support of their commercial complaints and political reasonings. The general court of Massachusetts, alarmed by these movements, at length intimated, by a letter to their agents, that "they apprehended the navigation acts to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament; and, according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England being bounded within the four seas, and not reaching to America." They added, however, that, "as his majesty had signified his pleasure that those acts should be observed in Massachusetts, they had made provision, by a law of the colony, that they should be strictly attended to from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his majesty's plantation." These expressions, and the recent colonial law to which they refer, demonstrate the peculiar notions which were entertained by the people of Massachusetts of the connexion that subsisted between themselves and the parent state. [1679.] Their pretensions were the same with those which a few years after were advanced by the people of Ireland;—that, although dependent on the crown, and obliged by their patent to conform their jurisprudence, as far as possible, to the law of England, the statutes of the British parliament did not operate in the colony, till re-enacted, or otherwise recognized, by its own native legislature. So strongly did this notion possess the minds of the people of New England, and so obstinately did their interests resist the enforcement of the commercial regulations, that even the submissive province of Rhode Island, although, about this time, in imitation of Massachusetts, it took some steps towards a conformity with these regulations, never expressly recognized them till the year 1700, when its legislature empowered the governor "to put the acts of navigation in execution."*

The colonial agents, aware of the strong interests that prevailed among their countrymen still to overstep the boundaries of their regulated trade, furnished them with correct information of the threatening aspect of their affairs in England, and assured them that only a thorough compliance with the navigation acts could shelter them from the designs that were entertained by the crown. These honest representations produced the too frequent effect of unwelcome truths: they diminished the popularity of the agents, and excited suspicions in Boston that they had not advocated the interests of the colony with sufficient zeal. The people were always too apt to suspect that their deputies in England were overawed by the state, and infected with the subservience that prevailed at the royal court; and they neglected to make due allowance for the different aspect which a dispute with England presented to men who beheld face to face her vast establishments and superior power, and to those who speculated on the probability of such dispute at the opposite extremity of the Atlantic ocean. The agents at length obtained leave to return; and though some impatience and ill humor had been excited by their fidelity in the discharge of an unwelcome office, the deliberate sentiments of their countrymen were so little perverted, that when the king again intimated his desire of the re-appointment of agents in England, they twice again elected the same persons to resume their former duty, which unfortunately, however, these persons could never again be persuaded to undertake. They carried with them a letter containing the requisitions of the king, of which the most considerable were, that the oath of allegiance should be rendered more explicit, and should be administered to every person holding an office of trust; that all civil and military commissions should be issued in the king's name; and all laws repugnant to the English commercial statutes abolished. The general court, eagerly indulging the hope that, by a compliance with these moderate demands, they could appease their sovereign and avert his displeasure, proceeded instantly to enact laws in conformity with his requisitions. They trusted that he had now abandoned the designs which they had been taught to apprehend; and which, in reality, were merely suspended by the influence of the proceedings connected with the popish plot, and the famous bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York. Although the requisitions which the king had transmitted by the hands of Stroughton and Bulkeley were obeyed, he continued to intimate, from time to time, his desire that new agents might be appointed to represent the colony in London; but partly from the apprehensive jealousy with which the colonists regarded such a measure, and partly from the reluctance that prevailed among their leading men to undertake so arduous and perplexing an employment, the king's desires on this point were not complied with. The short interval of independence which the colonists were yet permitted to enjoy was very remote from a state of tranquillity. Randolph, who had commended himself to the king and his ministers by the diligence and activity with which he had co-operated with their views, was appointed collector of the customs at Boston, and a custom-house establishment, which some years before had been erected without opposition in Virginia, and Maryland, was now extended to New England.* But it was in Massachusetts that this measure was intended to produce the effects which it was easily foreseen would result from its own nature, as well as from the temper and the unpopularity of the person who was appointed to conduct it. The navigation acts were evaded in Rhode Island, and openly contemned and disregarded in Connecticut; yet these states were permitted to practice such irregularity without molestation. It seems to have been less the enforcement of the acts themselves that the king desired, than the advantage which would accrue from the attempt to enforce them after such long neglect in the obnoxious province of Massachusetts. To this province he confined his attention; and justly considered that the issue of his contest with it, would necessarily involve the fate of all the other settlements of New England. Randolph proceeded to exercise his office with the most offensive rigor, and very soon complained that the stubbornness of the people defeated all his activity, and presented insuperable obstacles to the execution of the laws. Almost every suit that he instituted for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures was decided against him. He proceeded to England in order to lay his complaints before his employers, and returned invested with more extensive powers, in the exercise of which he was not more successful. [1680.] He reproached the colonial authorities with injustice and partiality; and they denied the charge, and accused him of unnecessary and vexatious litigation. The requisitions and remonstrances which the king continued to make, from time to time, were answered by professions of loyalty, and by partial compliances with what was thus suggested; but the main subject of contest still continued to subsist, and the colony, though repeatedly desired, still delayed, to send deputies to England. The general court was at this time divided between two parties, who cordially agreed in their estimate of the value of their chartered privileges, but differed in opinion as to the extent to which it was advisable to contend for them. Bradstreet, the governor, at the head of the moderate party, promoted every compliance with the will of the parent state short of a total surrender of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. Danforth, the deputy-governor, at the head of another party, impeded the appointment of deputies, and opposed all submission to the acts of trade; maintaining that the colony should adhere to the strict construction of its charter, resist every abridgment of it as a dangerous precedent, no less than an injurious aggression, and standing on their right, com-

* Hutchinson, i. 315, 318. Chalmers, 466, 7, 492, 493—498. Belknap's History [illegible]. These events, and the particular history of New Hampshire at this period, are related in considerable detail, with every appearance of accuracy, and with much spirit, good sense, and liberality, by Dr Belknap.

* Neal, ii. 365, 6. Hutchinson, i. 319, 320. 322, 3. Chalmers, 277. 400. From Warden's population tables, it appears that Connecticut at this period (1679) contained twelve thousand five hundred inhabitants, having sustained a diminution of two thousand five hundred since the year 1670 (Warden, i. 9)—a fact unexplained by the history of this state, which had suffered comparatively little by the late Indian war.

* As a measure, partly of terror, and partly of punishment, it was determined by the English court, about this time, that no Mediterranean passes should be granted to New England to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies. Chalmers, [illegible].

mit the event to Providence. These parties conducted their debates with warmth, but without acrimony; and as the sentiments of one or other respectively prevailed, a greater or lesser degree of compliance with the demands of the king was infused into the undecided policy of the general court.*

The various misfortunes in which the colony had for a series of years been involved, did not fail to produce a deep and solemn impression on the minds of men habituated to regard all the events of life in a religious aspect; and contributed to revive the piety for which New England had been at first so highly distinguished, among the posterity of the original settlers. A short time before the commencement of their troubles, a natural phenomenon that excited much awe and attention at the time, and was long recollected with solemn remembrance, was visible for several nights successively in the heavens. It was a bright meteor in the form of a spear, of which the point was directed towards the setting sun, and which, with slow majestic motion, descended through the upper regions of the air, and gradually disappeared beneath the horizon. The inhabitants were deeply struck with this splendid personification of agency that seemed to unite the visible and invisible world in its range; and the colonial magistrates, without expressly alluding to it, yielded to its influence on their own minds, and endeavored to improve its effects on the minds of others, by promoting a general reformation of manners. Circular letters were transmitted to all the clergy, urging them to greater diligence in exemplifying and inculcating the precepts of religion, especially on the young, and instructing their parishioners from house to house. The dupes of science falsely so called may deride these impressions, and trace to ignorant wonder the piety which they produced; but enlightened philosophy will confess the worth and dignity of that principle which recognizes in every display of the great phenomena of nature, additional calls to serve and glorify its Almighty Creator, and which elevates and refines human faculties by placing every object that forcibly strikes them in a noble and graceful light derived from connexion with the interests of morality and the honor of God. The events of the Indian war, the losses sustained from a train of unfavorable weather that ensued, and, latterly, the disquiet occasioned by the contentions with the English government, served, in like manner, to humble the people beneath the Almighty Power which controls the passions of men as well as the elements of nature, and were equally productive of increased diligence in the observances of piety and the reformation of manners. Deeply lamenting the imperfections and deficiencies of themselves and others, many of the ministers, magistrates, and leading men of the province earnestly besought their countrymen to consider, if the interruption of Divine favor did not betoken neglect of the Divine will, and by precept and example labored to eradicate every evil habit or licentious practice that a state of war and an influx of commercial wealth were supposed to have produced. Men were strongly exhorted to carry a continual respect to the Divine will into the minutest ramifications of their affairs, and to ennoble whatever they did by doing it to the Lord. The general court published a catalogue of the epidemical vices of the times, in which we find enumerated, neglect of the education of children, pride displayed in the manner of cutting and curling hair, excess of finery and immodesty of apparel, negligent carriage at church, failure in due respect to parents, a sordid eagerness of shopkeepers to obtain high prices, profane swearing, idleness, and frequenting of taverns. Grand juries were directed to make presentment of offenders in these respects: but either the happier influence of example and remonstrance was sufficient to control the obnoxious practices, or they never attained such height and prevalence as to justify the infliction of legal severities. In many instances the scrupulous piety of the colonial authorities has reprobated existing vices, and the extent to which they prevailed, in language which, when compared with the common tone of the world, is apt to beget misapprehension; and, hence, a writer no less eminent than Chalmers has fallen into the gross mistake of deriving a charge of unusual immorality against the inhabitants of Massachusetts from the very circumstances that prove the strength of their piety, the purity of their moral habits, and the still superior purity of their moral aspirations. The strong sense that religion inspires of the vicious propensities inherent in human nature, causes the expression of the moral sentiments of religious men to appear to the world as the ravings of hypocritical cant or fanatical delusion.*

The king had never abandoned his design of effecting a complete alteration of the constitution of Massachusetts; but his moderation had been enforced by the more personal and pressing concern of resisting the attempts of Shaftesbury to re-enact the deep and daring policy of the Duke of Guise, and control his sovereign by the formation and supremacy of a protestant league in England. While Shaftesbury and his party were able to retain their influence on the public mind by the artifice of the popish plot, and to attack the monarchy by the device of the exclusion bill, it might well be deemed unsafe to signalize the royal administration by any public act of extraordinary tyranny in a province so eminent for zeal in the protestant cause as Massachusetts. [1681.] But Charles had now obtained a complete victory over his domestic adversaries; and, among other excesses of retaliatory violence and arbitrary power by which he proceeded to improve his success, he instituted writs of *quo warranto* against the principal corporations in England, and easily obtained judgments from the courts of law that declared all their liberties and franchises forfeited to the crown. About two years before this period, he had deliberated on the possibility of superseding entirely the government of Massachusetts without the observance of any legal solemnity, but, on consulting Jones and Winnington, the attorney and solicitor general, he had learned that his object could not be securely or effectually attained except by the instrumentality of a writ of *quo warranto*, which at that time it was not deemed expedient to employ. But now every impediment was removed; and the colonists received the most positive intelligence from their friends in England that the abrogation of their charter was finally resolved on, and was to be instantly accomplished. Randolph, who spent much of his time in making voyages between England and America, and had lately affixed a protest on the exchange of Boston against the acts of its government, now brought from London a letter from the king, dated the 26th of October, 1681, recapitulating all the complaints against the colony, and commanding that deputies should instantly be sent to him, not only to answer these complaints, but "with powers to submit to such regulations of government as his majesty should think fit;" which if they should fail to do, it was intimated that a writ of *quo warranto* would be directed against them. A new matter of charge, suggested by the inquisitive hostility of Randolph, was at the same time preferred against them,—that they coined money within the province in contempt of the king's prerogative. The general court, in answer to this sudden arraignment of a practice which had been permitted so long to prevail without question, explained how and when it had originated, and appealed to these circumstances as decisively proving that no contempt had been designed; but, withal, declared that if it were regarded as a trespass on his majesty's authority, they humbly entreated pardon for the ignorance under which it had been committed. Among the other complaints that were urged by the king, were the presumptuous purchase of the province of Maine, which the colonists were again commanded to surrender, and the disallowance of any other worship than that of the established churches within the colony. To the first of these they answered by repeating their former apology, and still declining what was required of them; and to the second, that liberty of worship was now granted to all denominations of Christians in Massachusetts. The royal letter contained many other charges; but they were all answered by solemn protestations that either the commands they imported had been already fulfilled, or the disobedience they alleged had not been committed.

An assembly of the general court having been held [1682] for the purpose of electing deputies to proceed to England, and Stoughton again declining to accept this office, it was conferred on Dudley and Richards, two of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens of the province. But as the powers which the royal letter required that they should be invested with, of submitting to whatever regulations of government the king should think fit, were nothing else than powers to surrender all the rights of the colony, the court was careful to grant no such authority, and, on the contrary, plainly expressed in their instructions that the deputies were not to do or consent to any thing that should infringe the liberties granted by the charter, or alter the existing form of government. The deputies set sail for England, whither they were soon followed by Randolph, to confront, oppose, and counteract them. A public fast was appointed to be observed throughout the colony, to pray for the preservation of their charter and the success of the deputation. Means less pure, though I think by no means unjustifiable, were adopted, or at least sanctioned, by the assent of the court of assistants, for the promotion of the colonial interests in England. Cranfield, who was still the royal governor of New Hampshire, being on a visit at Boston, suggested to these authorities that their agents should be directed to wait on Lord Hyde, and tender the sum of two thousand guineas for the private service of the king, which he assured them, from the notorious poverty and veniality of the court,* would infallibly procure a stay of all hostile proceedings. They fell headlong into the snare; and having written letters to this effect to the deputies, Cranfield despatched letters at the same time to the king, which he assured them contained the strongest recommendations of their interests to royal favor. But though these men were willing, in a cause where no interests but their own were involved, to sacrifice their money for their liberty, and to buy their country out of the hands of a sordid and dissolute tyrant, it was not the will of Providence that the liberties of Massachusetts should be bought with gold, or that the prayers which had been associated with such means should prevail. Letters soon arrived from the deputies, informing that Cranfield had written a ludicrous account of the whole proceeding to the king, and vaunted his dexterity in outwitting the people of Boston, whom he described as a crew of rascals and rebels, and that the publication of the story had exposed them to the derision of the whole court.†

The deputies found the king intoxicated with prosperous tyranny, and incensed to the highest degree against a province that had so long presumed to withstand his will. Their credentials, which they were desired to exhibit to Sir Lionel Jenkins, the secretary of state, were at once declared to be insufficient; and they were informed, that unless others satisfactory in every respect, were immediately obtained, it was his majesty's pleasure that a *quo warranto* against their charter should issue without delay. The deputies communicated this peremptory injunction to their constituents; assuring them, at the same time, that the case of the colony was desperate, and leaving them to determine whether it was most advisable to submit themselves unreservedly to his majesty's pleasure, or to abide the issue of a process which would certainly be fatal. This important question, the determination of which was to be the last exercise of their beloved liberty, was solemnly discussed both in the general court and, as was meet, by the inhabitants of the province at large; [1683.] and the general sentiment was declared to be, "that it was better to die by other hands than their own." An earnest address to the king was framed by the general court; a corresponding one was signed by the inhabitants; and the agents were directed to present them or not, as they should think proper.

They were authorized to deliver up the titles of the province of Maine, if by so doing they could preserve the

* Hutchinson, i. 319. 321. 326. 327. 330 331. 334. Chalmers, 297. 409. From a report presented this year (1680) to the lords of trade, it appears that Connecticut, then in the forty-fourth year of its settlement, contained twenty-one churches, each of which had its minister; a militia of 2500 men; a very few indented servants, and thirty slaves. Holmes, i. 377.

* After this manner the New England ministers were accustomed to address their hearers. "It concerneth New England always to remember that they are originally a plantation religious, not a plantation of trade. Let merchants, and such as are increasing cent per cent, remember this, that worldly gain was not the end and design of the people of New England, but religion. And if any man among us make religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, such an one hath not the spirit of a true New Englishman." Higginson's Election Sermon, 1663, apud Belknap, i. 69.

* Every thing was venal that Charles the Second could obtain a price for. He sold his alliance to the king of France, and the officers of government to his own ministers. From the Memoirs of Sir William Temple, it appears that this eminent person was obliged, in 1674, to decline the office of secretary of state from inability to advance 6000l, which was the price of it. Temple's Works (Dean Swift's edition, folio,) i. 379.

† Hutchinson, i. 333 335 337. Chalmers, 408. 439. 443. 450. Notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of affairs in New England at this period, her population received frequent additions from the emigration of English nonconformists. Among a considerable body of those who about the year 1682 sought an asylum in Massachusetts was Josias Franklin, the father of that distinguished philosopher and politician who in the following century contributed so signally to effect the independence of the American states. See Franklin's Memoirs of his own Life.

charter; but otherwise not; and they were finally informed of the irrevocable determination of their constituents to adhere to the charter, and never to show themselves unworthy of liberty by voluntarily disowning it.

The communication of this magnanimous answer put an end to the functions of the deputies; and a writ of *quo warranto* having been issued forthwith against the colony, they desired leave to retire from the spectacle of such proceedings, and were permitted to return to Boston. They were instantly followed by Randolph, who had presented to the committee of plantations articles of high crimes and misdemeanors against the colony, and was now selected to carry the fatal writ across the Atlantic. The message was perfectly suitable to the hand that conveyed it; and Randolph performed his office with a triumphant eagerness that added insult to injury, and increased the detestation with which he was universally regarded. The king at the same time made a last attempt to induce the colonists to spare him the tedious formalities of legal process. He transmitted a declaration, that if before judgment they would make a full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would consider their interest as well as his own service in composing the new charter, and make no farther departure from the original constitution than should be necessary for the support of his government. In order to enforce this suggestion, the colonists were apprised, that all the corporations in England except the city of London, had surrendered their privileges to the king; and copies of the proceedings against the charter of London were dispersed through the province, that all might know that a contest with his authority was utterly hopeless. But the people of Massachusetts were not to be moved from their purpose by the threats of despotic power or the example of general servility. They had acted well, and had now to suffer well; and disdainfully refused to diminish the infamy of their oppressor by sharing it with him. The majority of the court of assistants, overwhelmed by their calamities, voted an address of submission to the king; but the house of delegates, animated with the general feeling of the people, and supported by the approbation of the clergy, rejected the address, and adhered to their former resolutions. The process of *quo warranto* was in consequence urged forward with all the vigor that the formalities of law would admit. A requisition to the colony to make appearance was promptly complied with; but it was found that the legal period of appearance had elapsed before the requisition was tranamitted. At length, in Trinity term of the following year, [1684,] judgment was pronounced against the governor and company of Massachusetts, "That their letters patent and the enrolment thereof be cancelled;" and in the year after, [1685,] an official copy of this judgment was received by the secretary of the general court.

Thus the liberties of Massachusetts were overthrown by the descendant of the princes whose oppressions had contributed to lay their foundations; after being defended by the children of the original settlers with the same resolute unbending virtue that their fathers had exerted in establishing them. The venerable Bradstreet, who had accompanied the first emigrants to Massachusetts in 1630, was still alive, and was governor of the colony at the period of the subversion of those institutions which he had contributed originally to plant in the desert, and had so long continued to adorn and enjoy. Perhaps he now discerned the vanity of those sentiments that had prompted so many of the coevals whom he had survived, to lament their deaths as premature. But the aged eyes that beheld this eclipse of New England's prosperity, were not yet to close till they had seen the return of better days.

That the proceedings of the king were in the highest degree unjust and tyrannical, appears manifest beyond all decent denial; and that the legal adjudication by which he masked his tyranny was never annulled by the English parliament, is a circumstance very little creditable to English justice. The House of Commons, indeed, shortly after the Revolution, inflamed with indignation at the first recital of the proceedings we have seen, passed a resolution declaring "that those quo warrantos against the charters of New England were illegal and void;" but they were afterwards prevailed with to depart from this resolution by the arguments of Treby, Somers, and Holt, whose eminent faculties and constitutional principles could not exempt them from the influence of a superstitious prejudice, generated by their professional habits, in favor of the sacredness of legal formalities.

CHAPTER V.

Designs—and Death of Charles the Second—Government of Massachusetts under a temporary Commission from James the Second—Andros appointed Governor of New England—Submission of Rhode Island—Resolute Effort to preserve the Charter of Connecticut—Oppressive Government of Andros—Colonial Policy of the King—Sir William Phipps—Indian Hostilities renewed by the Intrigues of the French—Insurrection at Boston—Andros deposed—and the ancient Government restored—Connecticut and Rhode Island resume their Charters—William and Mary proclaimed—War with the French and Indians—Sir William Phipps conquers Acadia—Ineffectual Expedition against Quebec—Impeachment of Andros by the Colony, discouraged by the English Ministers—and dismissed—The King refuses to restore the ancient Constitution of Massachusetts—Tenor of the New Charter—Sir William Phipps Governor—The New England Witchcraft—Death of Phipps—War with the French and Indians—Loss of Acadia—Peace of Ryswick—Moral and political State of New England.

[1685.] So eager was Charles to complete the execution of his long cherished designs on Massachusetts, that in November, 1684, immediately after the judgment was pronounced, he began to make arrangements for the new government of the colony. Though not even a complaint had been urged against New Plymouth, he scrupled not to involve that settlement in the same fate: and as if he intended to consummate his tyranny by a measure that should teach the inhabitants of New England how dreadful the vengeance of a king could be, he selected for the execution of his designs an individual, than whom it would not be easy in the whole records of human cruelty and wickedness to point out a man who has excited to a greater degree the abhorrence and indignation of his fellow-creatures. The notorious *Colonel Kirke*, whose brutal and sanguinary excesses have secured him an immortality of infamy in the history of England, was appointed governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth: and it was determined that no assembly should be permitted to exist, but that the legislative and executive powers should be combined in a governor and council appointed during the royal pleasure. This arbitrary policy was approved by all the ministers of Charles, except the Marquis of Halifax, who espoused the cause of the colonists with a generous zeal, and warmly but vainly urged that they were entitled to enjoy the same laws and institutions that were established in England.* Though Kirke had not yet committed the enormities by which he was destined to illustrate his name in the west of England, he had already given such indications of his disposition in the government of Tangier, that the tidings of his appointment filled the inhabitants of the colony with horror and dismay. But before Kirke's commission and instructions could be finally settled, the career of Charles himself was interrupted by death: and Kirke was reserved to contribute by his atrocities in England to bring hatred and exile on Charles's successor. This successor, James the Second, from whose stern inflexible temper, and high toned opinions respecting government, the most gloomy presages of tyranny had been drawn, was proclaimed in Boston with melancholy pomp.

These presages were verified by the administration of the new monarch. Soon after his accession to the throne, a commission was issued for the temporary government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth, by a president and council selected from among the inhabitants of Massachusetts, whose powers were entirely executive and judicial, and were to endure till the arrival of a permanent governor. They were directed to allow liberty of conscience to all, but to bestow peculiar encouragement on the church of England; to determine all suits originating within the colony, but to admit appeals from their sentences to the king in council; and to defray the expenses of their government by levying the taxes formerly imposed. This commission was laid before the the general court at Boston, not as being any longer considered a body invested with political authority, but as being composed of individuals of the highest respectability and influence in the province. In answer to the communication they had thus received, [1686,] this assembly agreed unanimously to an address, in which they declared that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were deprived of the rights of freemen by the new system, and that it deeply concerned both those who introduced and those who were subjected to a system of this nature, to consider how far it was safe to pursue it. They added, that if the newly appointed officers meant to assume the government of the people, though they would never give assent to such proceedings, they would nevertheless demean themselves as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their prince for relief. The president named in the commission was Mr. Dudley, who had lately been one of the deputies of the province to England, and whose conduct had justified in some degree the jealousy with which the colonists ever regarded the men whom they were compelled to intrust with the performance of that arduous duty. His patriotic virtue, without being utterly dissolved, was relaxed by the beams of royal influence. Despairing of being able to serve his country, he applied himself with more success to cultivate his own interest at the English court. and in pursuing this crooked policy, he would seem to have been animated by the hope that the interest of his fellow-citizens might be more effectually promoted by his own advancement to office among them, than by the exclusion which he would incur, in common with them, by a stricter adherence to the line of integrity. Though he accepted the commission, and persuaded those who were associated with him to imitate his example, he continued to show himself friendly to the rights of the people, and to those institutions which they so highly regarded. Not only was any immediate alteration in the internal arrangements of the colony avoided, but the commissioners, in deference to the public feeling, transmitted a memorial to the English ministers stating that a well regulated assembly of the representatives of the people was extremely necessary, and ought in their opinion to be established without delay. This moderate conduct, however, gave little satisfaction to any of the parties whom they desired to please. The people were indignant to behold a system which was erected on the ruins of their liberty promoted by their own fellow-citizens, and above all by the man whom they had lately appointed to resist its introduction among them; and nothing but the apprehensions of seeing him replaced by Kirke, whose massacres in England excited the direst presage of the fate of America, prevented the strongest expressions of their displeasure. The conduct of the commissioners was no less unsatisfactory both to the abettors of arbitrary government in England, and to the creatures of Randolph within the province, who were anxious to pay court to the king by prostrating beneath his power every obstacle to the execution of his will. Complaints were soon transmitted by these persons to the English ministers, charging the commissioners with conniving at former practices in opposition to the laws of trade, and countenancing ancient principles in religion and government.

In addition to these causes of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the commissioners, the king was now compelled to resume the prosecution of his plans by the imperfection of the temporary arrangement he had made. It was found that the acts of taxation were about to expire, and the commissioners being totally devoid of legislative authority, had no power to renew them. They had employed this consideration to enforce their suggestion of a representative assembly; but it determined the king to enlarge the arbitrary authority of his colonial officers, and at the same time to establish a permanent administration for New England. He had consulted the crown lawyers respecting the extent of his powers; and they had given as their official opinion, "that notwithstanding the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts, its inhabitants continued English subjects, invested with English liberties;" a truth which, though it required little legal acuteness to discover, seems to imply more honesty than we might be prepared to expect from the persons selected by this monarch from a bar which, in that age, could supply such instruments as Jeffries and Scroggs. We must recollect, however, that lawyers, though professionally partial to the authority that actuates the system they administer, cherish also in their strong predilection for those forms and precedents that constitute their own influence and the peculiar glory of their science, a principle that frequently protects liberty and befriends substantial justice.* But James was too much enamored

* The French court and the Duke of York remonstrated with Charles on the impolicy of retaining in office a man who had professed such sentiments. Barillon's Correspondence, in the Appendix to Fox's History of James the Second. "Even at this early period," says Mr. Fox, "a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly or adverse to arbitrary power at home."

* Many remarkable instances illustrative of this remark will occur to all who are acquainted with the history of English jurisprudence; and it is this which gives to the English state trials, even in the worst of times, an interest which the state prosecutions of no other country possess. Not the least signal instance of this principle was displayed by Chief Justice

of arbitrary power, to be deterred from the indulgence of it by any obstacle inferior to invincible necessity; and accordingly, without paying the slightest regard to an opinion supported only by the pens of lawyers, he determined to establish a complete tyranny in New England, by combining the whole legislative and executive authority of government in the persons of a governor and council to be named by himself. Kirke had been found too useful as an instrument of terror in England, to be spared to America. But Sir Edmund Andros, who had signalized his devotion to arbitrary power in the government of New York, was now appointed captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, and certain dependent territories, during the pleasure of the king. He was empowered, with consent of a council to be appointed by the crown, to make ordinances for the colonies, not inconsistent with the laws of England, and which were to be submitted to the king for his approbation or dissent, and to impose taxes for the support of government. He was directed to govern the people, according to the tenor of his commission, of a separate letter of instructions with which he was at the same time furnished, and of the laws which were then in force or might be afterwards enacted. The governor and council were also constituted a court of record; and from their decisions an appeal lay to the king in council. The greater part of the instructions that were given to Andros are of a nature that would do honor to the patriotism of the king, if the praise of that virtue were due to a barren desire to promote the welfare of the people, accompanied with the most effectual exertions to strip them of every security by which their welfare might be guarded. Andros was instructed to promote no persons to offices of trust but those of the best estates and characters, and to displace none without sufficient cause; to continue the former laws of the country, so far as they were not inconsistent with his commission or instructions; to dispose of the crown lands at moderate quit-rents; "to take away or to harm no man's life, member, freehold, or goods, but by established laws of the country, not repugnant to those of the realm:" to discipline and arm the inhabitants for the defence of the country, but not to impede their necessary affairs; to encourage freedom of commerce by restraining ingrossers; to hinder the excessive severity of masters to their servants, and to punish with death the slayers of Indians or negroes; to allow no printing press to exist; and to give universal toleration in religion, but special encouragement to the church of England. Except the restraint of printing, there is none of these instructions that breathes a spirit of despotism; and yet the whole system was silently pervaded by that spirit; for as there were no securities provided for the enforcement of the king's benevolent directions, so there were no checks established to restrain the abuse of the powers with which the governor was intrusted. The king was willing that his subjects should be happy, but not that they should be free or happy independently of himself; and this association of a desire to promote human welfare, with an enmity to the means most likely to secure it, suggests the explanation, perhaps the apology, of an error to which king's are inveterately liable. Trained in habits of indulgence of their will, and in sentiments of respect for its force and efficacy, they come to consider it as what not only ought to be, but must be irresistible; and feel no less secure of ability to make men happy without their own concurrence, than of a right to balk the natural desire of mankind to commit their happiness to the keeping of their own courage and wisdom. The possession of absolute power renders self-denial the highest effort of virtue; and the absolute monarch who should demonstrate a just regard to the rights of his fellow creatures, would deserve to be honored as one of the most magnanimous of human beings. Furnished with the instructions which we have seen for the mitigation of his arbitrary power, and attended with a few companies of soldiers for its enforcement, Andros arrived at Boston; and presenting himself as the substitute for the dreaded and detested Kirke, and commencing his administration with many gracious expressions of good will, he was at first received more favorably than might have been expected. But his popularity was short lived. Instead of conforming to the instructions, he copied and even exceeded the arbitrary rule of his master in England, and committed the most tyrannical violence and oppressive exactions.*

It was the purpose of James to consolidate the strength of all the colonies in one united government; and Rhode Island and Connecticut were now to experience that their destiny was involved in the fate of Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Rhode Island, on learning the accession of the king, immediately transmitted an address congratulatory of that event, acknowledging themselves his loyal subjects, and begging his protection of their chartered rights. Yet the humility of their supplications could not protect them from the effects of the plans he had resolved to adopt in the government of New England. Articles of high misdemeanor were exhibited against them before the lords of the committee of colonies, charging them with breaches of their charter, and with opposition to the acts of navigation; and before the close of the year 1685, they received notice of the commencement of a process of *quo warranto* against their patent. Without hesitation they resolved that they would not stand suit with the king, and passed an act, in full assembly, formally surrendering the charter and all the powers it contained. By a fresh address they "humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." These servile expressions dishonored, but did not avail them; and the king, judging all forms of law superfluous, proceeded without ceremony, to impose the subjugation which the people sought to evade by deserving it. His eagerness, however, to accomplish his object with rapidity, though it probably inflicted a salutary disappointment on the people at the time, proved ultimately highly beneficial to their political interests, by preserving their charter from a legal dissolution: and we shall find that this benefit, which, with equal improvidence, was extended to the people of Connecticut, was sensibly experienced at the era of the British revolution. In consequence of the last address that had been transmitted by Rhode Island, Andros had been charged to extend his government to this province also: and in the same month that witnessed his arrival at Boston, he proceeded to Rhode Island, where he dissolved the government, broke its seal, and, admitting five of the inhabitants into his legislative council, assumed the administration of all the functions of government.

Connecticut had also transmitted an address to the king on his accession, and vainly solicited the preservation of her privileges. At the same time when the articles of misdemeanor were exhibited against Rhode Island, a similar proceeding was adopted against the governor and company of Connecticut, who were charged with making laws contrary to those of England; of extorting unreasonable fines; of enforcing an oath of fidelity to their own corporation, in opposition to the oath of allegiance; of intolerance in religion; and of denial of justice. These charges, which were supposed to infer a forfeiture of the charter, were remitted to Sawyer, the attorney-general, with directions to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony. The writ was issued, and Randolph, the general enemy and accuser of the free, offered his services to carry it across the Atlantic. The governor and the assembly of Connecticut had for some time beheld the storm approaching, and knowing that courage alone was vain, and resistance impracticable, they endeavored, with considerable address, to elude what they were unable to repel. After delaying as long as possible to make any signification of their intentions, the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston, and his proceedings in Rhode Island, seem to have convinced them that the measures of the king were to be vigorously pursued, and that they could not hope to be allowed to deliberate any longer. [1687.] They wrote, accordingly, to the secretary of state, expressing their strong desire to be permitted to retain their present constitution; but requesting, if it were the royal purpose to dispose otherwise of them, that they might be annexed to Massachusetts, and share the fortunes of a people who were their former correspondents and confederates, and whose principles and manners they understood and approved. This was construed by the British government into a surrender of the colonial privileges, and Andros was commanded to annex this province also to his jurisdiction. Randolph, who seems to have been qualified not less by genius than inclination to promote the execution of tyrannical designs, advised the English minister to prosecute the *quo warranto* to a judicial issue; assuring them that the government of Connecticut would never consent to do, nor acknowledge that they had done what was equivalent to an express surrender of the rights of the people. It was matter of regret to the ministers and crown lawyers of a later age, that this politic suggestion was not adopted. But the king was too eager to snatch the boon that seemed within his reach, to wait the tedious formalities of the law; and no further proceedings ensued on the *quo warranto*. In conformity with his orders, Andros marched at the head of a body of troops to Hartford, the seat of the provincial government, where he demanded that the charter should be delivered into his hands. The people had been extremely desirous to preserve at least the document of rights, which the return of better times might enable them to assert with effect. The charter was laid on the table of the assembly, and the leading persons of the colony addressed Andros at considerable length, relating the exertions that had been made, and the hardships that had been incurred, in order to found the institutions which he was come to destroy: entreating him yet to spare them, or at least to leave the people in possession of the patent, as a testimonial of the favor and happiness they had formerly enjoyed. The debate was earnest, but orderly, and protracted to a late hour in the evening. As the day declined, lights were introduced into the hall, and it was gradually surrounded by a considerable body of the bravest and most determined men in the province, prepared to defend their representatives against the violence of Andros and his armed followers. At length, finding that their arguments were ineffectual, a measure that seems to have been previously concerted by the inhabitants, was coolly, resolutely, and successfully adopted. The lights were extinguished as if by accident; and Captain Wadsworth laying hold of the charter, disappeared with it before they could be rekindled. He conveyed it securely through the crowd, who opened to let him pass, and closed their ranks as he proceeded, and deposited it in the hollow of a venerable elm tree, which retained the precious deposit till the era of the English revolution, and was long regarded with veneration by the people, as the contemporary and associate of a transaction so interesting to their liberties. Andros finding all his efforts ineffectual to recover the charter, or ascertain the person by whom it had been secreted, contented himself with declaring the ancient government dissolved; and assuming the administration into his own hands, he created two of the principal inhabitants members of his general legislative council.

Having thus united the whole of New England under one administration, Andros proceeded, with the assistance of his grand legislative council selected from the inhabitants of the several provinces, to enact laws and regulations calculated to fortify his government, and to effectuate the changes which he deemed necessary to its security. An act reviving the former taxation was obtained from the council; and yet, even this necessary proceeding was obstructed by the reluctance with which these persons, though selected by himself, consented to become the instruments of riveting the shackles of their country. The only farther opposition which he experienced, proceeded from the inhabitants of the county of Essex, who, insisting that they were freemen, refused to appropriate the assessments of a taxation which they considered unlawfully imposed. But their opposition was easily suppressed, and many of them severely punished. Andros very quickly found that the revenues of the ancient government would be insufficient to support the expenses of his more costly administration; and while he notified this defalcation to the king, he intimated, at the same time, with a degree of humanity that at least deserves to be noticed, that the country was so much impoverished by the effects of the Indian war and recent losses at sea and scanty harvests, that an increase of taxation could with difficulty be borne. But the king had exhausted his humanity in the letter of instructions, and returned peremptory orders to raise the taxes to a level with the charges of administration; and Andros from this moment, either stifling his humanity, or discarding his superfluous respect to the moderation of the king, proceeded to exercise his power with a rigor and injustice that rendered his government universally odious. The weight of taxation was oppressively augmented, and all the fees of office screwed up to an enormous height. The ceremonial of marriage was altered, and the celebration of that rite, which had been hitherto exercised by the magistrates, was confined to the ministers of

Jeffries himself, who, after he had trampled on the plainest principles of justice and equity in order to procure the conviction of a dissenting minister, suffered himself to be deterred from passing sentence in conformity with the verdict, by a technical objection which is almost unintelligible. Case of Rosewell. Howell's State Trials, vol. x. p. 147.

* Hutchinson, i. 353—355. Chalmers, 419—421. During the administration of Andros, a new great seal was appointed for New England, with the motto Nunquam libertas gratior extat. Chalmers, 463.

the church of England, of whom there was only one in the province of Massachusetts. The fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the congregational churches were arbitrarily suppressed by the governor, who gave notice that the regulation of such matters belonged entirely to the civil power. He declared repeatedly in council that the people would find themselves mistaken if they supposed that the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world, and that the only difference between their condition and that of slaves, was that they were neither bought nor sold. It was declared unlawful for the colonists to assemble in public meetings, or for any one to quit the province without a passport from the governor; and Randolph, now at the summit of his wishes, was not ashamed to boast in his letters that the rulers of New England "were as arbitrary as the great Turk." While Andros mocked the people with the semblance of trial by jury, he easily contrived, by the well-known practice of *packing* juries, to convict and wreak his vengeance on every person who offended him, as well as to screen the enormities of his own dependents from the punishment they deserved. And, as if to complete the discontent that such proceedings excited, he took occasion to question the validity of individual titles to land, declaring that the rights acquired under the sanction of the ancient government were tainted with its vices and must share its fate.* New grants or patents from the governor were declared to be requisite to mend the defective titles to land; and writs of intrusion were issued against those who refused to apply for such patents and to pay the enormous fees that were charged for them. The king, indeed, had now encouraged Andros to consider the people whom he governed as a society of felons or rebels; for he transmitted to him express directions to grant his majesty's most gracious pardon to as many of the people as should apply for it. But none had the meanness to ask for a grace that suited only the guilty. The only act of the king that was favorably regarded by the inhabitants of the colony, was his *declaration of indulgence*, which excited so much dissatisfaction in Britain, even among the protestant dissenters who shared its benefit. Notwithstanding the intolerance that has been imputed to New England, this declaration produced general satisfaction there, though there were not wanting some who had discernment enough to perceive that the sole object of the king was the gradual re-introduction of popery.

After many ineffectual remonstrances against his oppressive proceedings had been made by the colonists to Andros himself, two deputies, one of whom was Increase Mather, the most eminent divine and most popular minister in Massachusetts, were sent over to England, [1688.] to submit the grievances of the colony to the humane consideration of the king. Randolph, who was revelling in the profits of the office of post-master-general of New England, with which his servility had been rewarded, labored to defeat the success of the deputation by writing to the English ministy that Mather was a seditious and profligate incendiary, and that his object was to pave the way to the overthrow of regal government. Yet the requests of the colonists were extremely moderate. Whatever they might desire, all that they demanded was that their freeholds might be respected, and that a colonial assembly might be established for the purpose, at least, of adjusting their taxation. The first of these points was conceded by the king; but as to the other, he was inexorable. When Sir William Phipps, who had gained his esteem by his spirit and gallantry, pressed him to grant the colonists an assembly, he replied, "Any thing but that, Sir William;" and even the opinion of Powis, the attorney-general, to whom the application of the deputies had been submitted, and who reported in favor of it, produced no change in his determination. James had now matured and extended his system of colonial policy. He had determined to reduce all the American governments, as well those which were denominated *proprietary* as others, to an immediate dependence on the crown, for the double purpose of effacing the examples that might diminish the resignation of the people of New England, and of combining the force of all the colonies from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of Nova Scotia, into a compact body that might be capable of presenting a barrier to the formidable encroachments of France. A general aversion to liberal institutions, no doubt, concurred with these purposes; and the panegyrics that resounded from his oppressed subjects in Britian on the happiness that was reported to be enjoyed in America, contributed, at this period, in no slight degree to whet his dislike to American institutions.* With a view to the accomplishment of this design, he had in the preceding year commanded writs of *quo warranto* to be issued for the purpose of cancelling all the patents that still remained in force; and, shortly before the arrival of the deputation from Massachusetts, a new commission had been directed to Andros, annexing New York and New Jersey to his government, and appointing Francis Nicholson his lieutenant. Andros effectuated this annexation with his usual promptitude; and, having appointed Nicholson deputy-governor at New York, he administered the whole of his vast dominion with a vigor that rendered him formidable to the French, but, unhappily, still more formidable and odious to the people whom he governed.

Sir William Phipps, who had employed his influence with the king in behalf of the deputation from Massachusetts, was himself a native of the province, and, notwithstanding a mean education and the depression of the humblest circumstances, had raised himself by the mere vigor of his mind to a conspicuous rank, and gained a high reputation for spirit, skill, and success. He kept sheep in his native province till he was eighteen years of age, and was afterwards apprenticed to a ship carpenter. When he was freed from his indentures, he pursued a seafaring life, and attained the station of captain of a merchant vessel. Having met with an account of the wreck of a Spanish ship, loaded with great treasures, near the Bahama islands, about fifty years before, he conceived a plan of extricating the buried treasure from the bowels of the deep; and, transporting himself to England, he stated his scheme so plausibly that the king was struck with it, and in 1683 sent him out with a vessel to make the attempt. It proved unsuccessful; and all his urgency could not induce the king to engage in a repetition of it. But the Duke of Albermarle, resuming the design, equipped a vessel for the purpose, and gave the command of it to Phipps, who now realizing the expectations he had formed, succeeded in raising specie to the value of at least 300,000*l.* from the bottom of the ocean. Of this treasure, he obtained a portion sufficient to make his fortune, with a still larger meed of general consideration and applause. The king was exhorted by some of his courtiers to confiscate the whole of the specie thus recovered, on pretence that a fair representation of the project had not been made to him; but he declared that the representation had been perfectly fair, and that nothing but his own misgivings, and the evil advice and mean suspicions of these courtiers themselves, had deprived him of the treasure that this honest man had labored to procure him. He conceived a high regard for Phipps, and conferred the rank of knighthood upon him. Sir William employed his influence at court for the benefit of his country; and his patriotism seems not to have harmed him in the opinion of the king. Finding that he could not prevail to obtain the restoration of the charter privileges, he solicited and received the appointment of high sheriff of New England; in the hope that by remedying the abuses that were committed in the impannelling of juries, he might create a barrier against the tyranny of Andros. But the governor and his creatures, incensed at this interference, made an attempt to have him assassinated, and soon compelled him to quit the province and take shelter in England. James, shortly before his own abdication, among the other attempts he made to conciliate his subjects, offered Phipps the government of New England; but, happily for his pretensions to an office he so well deserved, he refused to accept it from a falling tyrant, and under a system which, instead of seeking any longer to mitigate, he hoped speedily to see dissolved.

The dissatisfactions of the people of New England continued meanwhile to increase to such a height, that every act of the government was viewed through the medium of a strong dislike. In order to discredit the ancient administration, Andros and Randolph had labored to propagate the opinion that the Indians had hitherto been treated with a cruelty and injustice, to which all the hostilities with these savages ought reasonably to be imputed; and had vaunted their own ability to rule them by gentleness and equity.* But this year their theory and their policy were alike disgraced by the furious hostilities of the Indians on the eastern frontiers of New England. The movements of these savages were excited on this, as on former occasions, by the insidious artifices of the French, whose unprincipled suppleness of character and demeanor has always been much more acceptable to the Indians in their native condition, than the grave unbending spirit of the English, and has found it easier to cultivate and employ than to check or eradicate the treachery and ferocity of their Indian neighbors. The English settlers offered to the Indians terms of accommodation, which at first they seemed willing to accept; but the encouragements of their French allies soon prevailed with them to reject all friendly overtures, and their native ferocity prompted them to signalize this declaration by a series of unprovoked and unexpected massacres. Andros published a proclamation requiring that the murderers should be delivered up to him; but the Indians treated him and his proclamation with contempt. In the depth of winter he found himself obliged to march against them; and though he succeeded in occupying and fortifying positions which enabled him to curb their insolence, he made little or no impression on their numerical strength, and lost a great many of his own men in vain attempts to follow them into thei fastnesses, in the most rigorous season of the year. So strong and so undiscriminating was the dislike he had excited among the people of New England, that this expedition was unjustly ascribed to a wish to destroy the troops, whom he conducted, by cold and famine.

At length the smothered rage of the people burst forth. In the following spring [1689.] some vague intelligence was received, by way of Virginia, of the proceedings of the prince of Orange in England. The old magistrates and leading men of the colony ardently wished and secretly prayed that success might attend him; but they determined in so great a cause to commit nothing unnecessarily to hazard, and quietly to await an event which they supposed that no movement of theirs could either accelerate or retard. But New England was destined to effect, by her own efforts, her own liberation; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were now to exercise the brave privilege which nearly a century after, and in a conflict still more arduous, their children again were ready to assert, of being the first to resist oppression, and showing their countrymen the way to independence. The cautious policy and prudential dissuasions from violence that were employed by the older inhabitants of the province, were utterly disregarded by the great body of the people. Stung with the recollection of past injuries, their impatience, on the first prospect of relief, could not be restrained. All at once, and apparently without any preconcerted plan, an insurrection broke forth in the town of Boston; the drums beat to arms, the people flocked together; and in a few hours the revolt became so universal, and the energy of the people so overpowering, that all thoughts of resisting their purpose were abandoned by the government. The scruples of the more wealthy and cautious inhabitants were completely overcome by the obvious necessity of interfering to calm and regulate the fervor of the populace. Andros and about fifty of the most obnoxious characters were seized and imprisoned. On the first intelligence of the tumult, Andros had sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Mr. Bradstreet; a measure that served only to suggest to the people who their leader ought to be, and to anticipate the unanimous choice by which this venerable man was reinstated in the office he had held when his country was deprived of her liberties. Though now bending under the weight of ninety years, his intellectual powers seemed to have undergone but little abatement: he retained (says Cotton Mather) a vigor and wisdom that would have recommended a younger man to the government of a greater colony. As the tidings of the revolt spread through the province, the people eagerly flew to arms, and hurried to Boston to co-operate with their countrymen in the cause which they found already crowned with complete success. To the assembled crowds a declaration was read from the balcony of the Court House, enumerating the

* The [illegible] of many of the proprietors of estates in New England depended upon [illegible] exercised by the [illegible], but Andros declared that [illegible] were no better than the scratch of a bear's paw." Belknap, i. 233.

* Dryden, whose servile muse faithfully re-echoed the sentiments of the court, thus expresses himself in a theatrical prologue written in the year 1686—

"Since faction ebbs, and rogues grow out of fashion,
Their pen-y scribes take care to inform the nation
How well men thrive in this or that plantation:

How Pennsylvania's air agrees with quakers,
And Carolina's with seceders;
Both e'en too good for madmen and for traitors.

Truth is, our land with saints is so run o'er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there's need of two New Englands more."

* It appears that Randolph cultivated the good opinion of William Penn, by writing to him in this strain, as well as by condemning the former persecution of the quakers in Massachusetts. Hutchinson, 304. Chalmers, 423, 424.

gnevances of the colony, and tracing the whole to the tyrannical abrogation of the charter. A committee of safety was appointed by general consent; and an assembly of representatives being convened soon after, this body, by an unanimous vote, and with the hearty concurrence of the whole province, declared their ancient charter and its constitutions to be resumed; reappointed Bradstreet and all the other magistrates who had been in office in the year 1686; and directed these persons in all things to conform to the provisions of the charter, "that this method of government may be found among us when order shall come from the higher powers in England." They declared that Andros and the counsellors who had been imprisoned along with him were detained in custody to abide the directions that might be received concerning them from his highness the Prince of Orange and the English parliament. What would be the extent of the revolution that was in progress in the parent state, and to what settlement of affairs it would finally conduct, was yet wholly unknown in the colonies.

The example of Massachusetts was immediately followed by the other provinces of New England. When the tidings of the revolution at Boston reached Connecticut, the inhabitants determined no longer to acknowledge a governor who from the command of one half of the colonies was now reduced to the situation of a delinquent in jail. Their charter reappeared from its concealment; and the chartered government, which had never been either expressly surrendered or legally dissolved, was instantly resumed with universal satisfaction. The people of Rhode Island had never been required to give up the charter whose privileges they had so solemnly and formally surrendered; and they now scrupled not to declare that it was still in force, and to remove as well as they could the only obstruction to this plea, by repealing the act of surrender. New Plymouth, in like manner, resumed instantaneously its ancient form of government In New Hampshire, a general convention of the inhabitants was called, and the resolution adopted, of re-annexing the province to Massachusetts. In conformity with this resolution, deputies were elected to represent them in the general court at Boston; but King William refused to comply with the wishes of the people, and some time after appointed a separate governor for New Hampshire.

Although the people of Massachusetts had at first intimated very plainly their purpose to revive by their own act their ancient charter, the cool consideration that succeeded the ferment during which this purpose had been entertained, convinced them that it was necessary to forego it, and that the restoration of a charter so formally vacated by the existing authorities of the parent state could proceed only from the crown or legislature of England. Hearing of the convention of estates that had been convoked by the Prince of Orange in England, the provincial government of Massachusetts called together a similar convention of the counties and towns of the province; and it was the opinion of the majority of this assembly that the charter could not be resumed. Intelligence having arrived of the settlement of England and the investiture of William and Mary with the crown, they were proclaimed in the colony with extraordinary solemnity and universal satisfaction. A letter was soon after addressed by the new sovereigns, To the Colony of Massachusetts, expressing the royal allowance and approbation of the late proceedings of the people, and authorising the present magistrates to continue the administration of the public affairs, till their majesties, with the advice of the privy council, should settle them on a basis that would be satisfactory to all their subjects in the colony. An order was transmitted, at the same time, to send Andros and the other prisoners to England, that they might answer the charges preferred against them. Additional deputies were chosen by the colony to join Mr. Mather, who still continued in England, and, in concurrence with him, to substantiate the charges against Andros, and, above all, to endeavor to procure the restoration of the charter.

But before the colonists were able to ascertain if this favorite object was to be promoted by the English revolution, they felt the evil effects of that great event, in the consequences of the war that had already broken out between England France. The war between the two parent states quickly extended itself, to their possessions in America and the colonies of New England and New York were now involved in bloody and desolating hostilities with the forces of the French in Canada, and their Indian auxiliaries and allies. The hostilities that were directed against New York belong to another portion of this history. In concert with them, various attacks were made by considerable bodies of the Indians in the conclusion of this year on the settlements and forts in New Hampshire and Maine; and in several instances being crowned with success, they were productive of the most horrid extremities of savage cruelty. Fully aware that these depredations originated in Canada and Acadia, the general court of Massachusetts prepared during the winter an expedition against both Port Royal and Quebec. The command of it was intrusted to Sir William Phipps, who, on the dissolution of the late arbitrary government, had come to New England in the hope of being able ro render some service to his countrymen. Eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men, sailed under his command in the following spring, and, almost without opposition, took possession of Port Royal and of the whole province of Acadia; and, within a month after its departure, the fleet returned loaded with plunder enough to defray the whole expense of the expedition. But the Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, retorted by severe and bloody attacks on the more remote of the colonial settlements; and, animating the hostilities of his Indian allies, kept the frontiers in a state of incessant alarm by their continued incursions. Letters had been written by the general court to King William, urging the importance of the conquest of Canada, and soliciting his aid towards that attempt; but he was too much occupied in Europe to extend his exertions to America, and the general court determined to prosecute the expedition without his assistance. New York and Connecticut engaged to furnish a body of men who should march by the way of Lake Champlain to the attack of Montreal, while the troops of Massachusetts should proceed by sea to Quebec. The fleet destined for this expedition consisted of nearly forty vessels, the largest of which carried forty-four guns, and the number of troops on board amounted to two thousand. The command of this considerable armament was confided to Sir William Phipps, who, in the conduct of it, demonstrated his usual courage, and every qualification except that military experience, without which, in warfare waged on so large a scale with a civilized enemy, all the others will prove unavailing. The troops of Connecticut and New York, retarded by defective arrangements, and disappointed of the assistance of the friendly Indians who had engaged to furnish them with canoes for crossing the rivers they had to pass, were compelled to retire without attacking Montreal, and the whole force of Canada was thus concentrated to resist the attack of Phipps. His armament arrived before Quebec so late in the season, that only a *coup de main* could have enabled him to carry the place; but by unskilful delay, the time for such an attempt was suffered to pass unimproved. The English were worsted in various severe encounters, and compelled at length to make a precipitate retreat; and the fleet, after sustaining considerable loss in the voyage homeward, returned to Boston. Such was the unfortunate conclusion of an expedition which had involved the colony in an enormous expense, and cost the lives of at least a thousand men. The French had so strongly apprehended that it would be successful, that they scrupled not to ascribe its failure to the immediate interposition of Heaven, in confounding the devices of the enemy, and depriving them of common sense: and, under this impression the people of Quebec established an annual procession in commemoration of their deliverance. It is, however, a strong proof of the good conduct of Phipps, that a result so disastrous exposed him to no blame, and deprived him in no degree of the favor of his countrymen. And yet the disappointment, and the effects that resulted from it, were remarkably severe. The general court of Massachusetts had not even anticipated the possibility of miscarriage, and had expected to derive, from the success of the expedition, the same reimbursement of its expenses, of which their former enterprise had been productive. The returning army, finding the government totally unprepared to satisfy their claims, were on the point of mutinying for their pay; and it was found necessary to issue bills of credit, which the soldiers consented to accept in place of money. The colony was now in a very depressed and suffering state. Endeavoring to improve the calamities which they were unable to avoid, the government earnestly endeavored to promote the increase of piety and the reformation of manners; and urged upon the ministers and the people the duty of strongly resisting that worldliness of mind, which the necessity of contending violently for the things of this world is apt to beget. The attacks of the Indians on the eastern frontiers were attended with a degree of success and barbarity that diffused general terror; and the colonists were expecting in this quarter to be driven from their settlements, when, all at once, these savages, of their own accord, proposed a peace of six months, which was accepted by the government with great willingness and devout gratitude. As it was perfectly ascertained that the hostile proceedings of these savages were continually fostered by the intrigues, and rendered the more formidable by the assistance and instructions of the French authorities in Canada, the conquest of this province began to be considered by the people of New England indispensable to their safety and tranquillity. In the hope of prevailing with the king to sanction and embrace this enterprise, as well as for the purpose of aiding the other deputies in the no less interesting application for the restoration of the colonial charter, Sir William Phipps, soon after his return from Quebec, by desire of his countrymen proceeded to England.*

[1691.] In the discharge of the duties of their mission, the deputies appear to have employed every effort that patriotic zeal could prompt, and honorable policy could admit, to obtain satisfaction to their constituents in the punishment of their oppressors, and the restitution of their charter. But in both these objects their endeavors were unsuccessful; and the failure (whether justly or not) was generally ascribed to the unbending integrity with which Mather and Phipps rejected every art and intrigue that seemed inconsistent with the honor of their country. It was soon discovered that the king and his minister were extremely averse to an inquiry into the conduct of Andros and Randolph, and not less so to the restitution of the ancient charter of the colony. The proceedings of the British court on this occasion present a confused and disgusting picture of intrigue and duplicity.† The deputies were beset by pretended counsellors and partizans, some perhaps indiscreet, and some no doubt insincere. They were persuaded, by certain of their advisers, to present to the privy council the charges against Andros *unsigned*, and assured by others, that in so doing they had *cut the throat of their country*. When they attended to present their charges, they were anticipated by Andros and Randolph, who came prepared with a charge against the colony for rebellion against lawful authority, and the imprisonment of their legitimate governor. Sir John Somers, the counsel for the deputies consented that they should abandon the situation of accusers and stand on the defensive, and he tended the unsigned charges as an answer to the accusations of Andros and Randolph. The council demurred to the reception of a plea presented in the name of a whole people, and required that some individuals should appear and make the plea their own. "Who was it," said the Lord President, "that imprisoned Sir Edmund and the rest? you say it was the country, and that they rose as one man. But that is nobody. Let us see the persons who will make it their own case." The deputies thereupon offered to sign the charges, and to undertake individually every responsibility for the acts of their countrymen. But they were deterred from this proceeding by the remonstrances of Sir John Somers, who insisted (for no intelligible purpose) on persisting in the course in which they had begun. Some of the councillors too, protested against the injustice and chicanery of encountering the complaint of a whole country with objections of such a technical description. "Is not it plain," they urged, "that the revolution in Massachusetts was carried on exactly in the same manner as the revolution in England! Who seized and imprisoned Chancellor Jeffries? who secured the garrison of Hull? These were the acts of the people, and not of private individuals." This difference of opinion on a point of form seems to have been the object which the ministry had

* Neal, ii. 449—470. Hutchinson, i. 365—401. Governor Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, i. 136. Colden erroneously supposes the expedition against Quebec to have taken place in the following year.

† Philosophic observers have been struck with surprise at the contrast between the language and the conduct of the English Whigs in the Revolution of 1688. Their conduct in effecting the great change was liberal and manly. Their language, contracted and prejudiced, seemed intended to veil the audacity of their proceedings from the grossness of public view. They asserted indefeasible hereditary right with their tongues, while they violated it with their hands; and re-enacted the settlement of the crown in the very words of that act of settlement which they had so deliberately set aside—endeavoring, like the entailer of an estate, to deprive their posterity of the liberty that they themselves had enjoyed and found it necessary to exercise. They seemed to have considered the Americans in some such light as they regarded their own posterity, and to have looked with very little favor on every exercise of liberty independent of themselves. While they studied to clothe their own conduct in the semblance of precedent, they exacted a substantial [illegible] from their successors and their dependents.

studied to promote. Without determining the point, the council interrupted the discussion by a resolution, that the whole matter should be submitted to the king; and his majesty soon after signified his pleasure that the complaints of both parties should be dismissed.* Thus terminated the impeachment of Andros, in a manner very ill calculated to impress the people of Massachusetts with respect for the justice of the British government. They had soon after the mortification of seeing him add reward to impunity, and honored with the appointment of governor of Virginia.*

The deputies finding that the House of Commons, though at first disposed to annul the proceedings on the *quo warranto* against Massachusetts, had been persuaded by the arguments of Somers and the other lawyers who had seats in the house to depart from this purpose, and that the king was determined not to restore the old charter, employed every effort to obtain at least a restitution of the privileges it had contained. But William and his ministers, though deterred from imitating the tyrannical proceedings of the former reign, were heartily desirous of availing themselves of whatever acquisitions these proceedings might have made to the royal prerogative; and finding that the crown had acquired a legal pretext to exercise a much stronger authority over the colony than had been reserved in its original constitution, it was determined to take advantage of this pretext without regard to the tyrannical nature of the proceeding by which it had been obtained. The restoration of their ancient privilege of electing their own municipal officers was ardently desired by the people, and contended for by the deputies with a vehemence which the king would probably have resented as disrespectful to himself, if he had not felt himself bound to excuse the irritation excited by his own injustice. He adhered inflexibly to his determination of retaining, as far as possible, every advantage that fortune had put into his hands: and at length a new charter was framed, with changes that materially affected the ancient constitution of the colony, and transferred to the crown many valuable privileges that had originally belonged to the people. By this charter the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, together with the conquered province of Acadia or Nova Scotia, were united together in one jurisdiction—an arrangement that was by no means satisfactory to the parties included in it; for Plymouth, which had earnestly solicited a separate establishment, was forcibly annexed to Massachusetts; and Hampshire, which had as earnestly petitioned to be included in this annexation, was erected into a separate jurisdiction.† The appointment of the governor, deputy governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, was reserved to the crown. Twenty-eight councillors were directed to be chosen by the House of Assembly, and presented to the governor for his approbation. The governor was empowered to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly at pleasure; to nominate, exclusively, all military officers, and (with the consent of his council) all the judges and other officers of the law. To the governor was reserved a negative on the laws and acts of the general assembly and council; and all laws enacted by these bodies and approved by the governor were appointed to be transmitted to England for the royal approbation; and if disallowed within the space of three years, they were to be utterly void.

The innovations that were thus introduced into their ancient constitution, excited much discontent in the minds of the people of Massachusetts; the more so because the extension of royal authority was not attended with a proportional communication of the royal protection: and the king, at the very time when he appropriated the most valuable privileges of the people found himself constrained, by the urgency of his affairs in Europe, to refuse the assistance which the people had besought from him to repel the hostilities of the Indians and of the French settlers in Canada. The situation of the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were permitted to reassume all their ancient privileges, rendered the injustice with which Massachusetts was treated more flagrant and irritating. Though legal technicalities might seem to warrant the advantage which those states enjoyed, it was utterly repugnant to the enlarged views of justice and equity which ought to regulate the policy of a legislator. Only mistake on the one hand, or their own artifice on the other, could be supposed to entitle them to a distinction that made the treatment of Massachusetts more invidious; and a very dangerous lesson was taught to the colonies when they were thus given to understand that it was their own vigilant dexterity and successful intrigue, or the blunders of the parent state, that they were to rely on as the safeguards of their rights. The injustice of the policy of which Massachusetts now complained was rendered still more glaringly apparent by the very different treatment obtained by the powerful corporation of the city of London. The charter of this city, though annulled with the same solemnity, and on grounds as plausible, as the ancient charter of Massachusetts, was restored by a legislative act immediately after the revolution. Nor was any political advantage derived by the English government from this violation of just and equitable principles. The patronage that was wrested from the people and appropriated by the crown, was quite inadequate to the formation of a powerful royal party in the country. The appointment of the governor and other officers was regarded as a badge of dependance, instead of forming a bond of union. The popular assemblies retained sufficient influence over the governors to curb them in the enforcement of obnoxious measures, and sufficient power to restrain them from making any serious inroad on the constitution. It is a remarkable fact that the dissensions between the two countries, which afterwards terminated in the dissolution of the British empire in America, were in a great degree promoted by the pernicious counsels and erroneous information that the colonial governors of those provinces, in which the appointment to that office was exercised by the king, transmitted to the English ministry.

Aware of the dissatisfaction with which the new charter was regarded, the ministers of William judged it prudent to wave in the outset the full exercise of the invidious prerogative, and desired the deputies to name the person whom they considered most acceptable to their countrymen as governor of Massachusetts: and the deputies having concurred in the nomination of Sir William Phipps, the appointment to this office was bestowed on him accordingly. This act of courtesy was attended with a degree of success in mollifying the ill humor of the people, that strongly attests the high estimation in which Phipps was held: for on his arrival in Boston, [1692,] though some discontent was expressed, and several of the members of the general court loudly insisted that the new charter should be absolutely rejected,* yet the great body of the people received him with acclamations; and a large majority of the general court resolved that the charter should be thankfully accepted, and appointed a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival of their worthy governor and Mr. Mather, whose services they acknowledged with grateful commemoration. The new governor hastened to approve himself worthy of the favorable regards of his countrymen. Having convoked a general assembly of the province, he addressed them in a short but characteristic speech, recommending to them the preparation of a body of good laws with all the expedition they could exert. "Gentlemen," said he, "you may make yourselves as easy as you will for ever. Consider what may have a tendency to your welfare, and you may be sure that whatever bills you offer to me, consistent with the honor and interest of the crown, I 'll pass them readily. I do but seek opportunities to serve you. Had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted of this province. And whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the government." His conduct amply corresponded with these professions.

The administration of Sir William Phipps, however, was neither long nor prosperous. Though he might give his sanction as governor to popular laws, it was not in his power to guard them from being rescinded by the crown; and this fate soon befel a law that was passed exempting the people from all taxes but such as should be imposed by their own assemblies, and declaring their right to share all the privileges of Magna Charta. He found the province involved in a distressing war with the French and Indians, and in the still more formidable calamity of that delusion which has been termed *the New England witchcraft*. When the Indians were informed of the appointment of Sir William Phipps to the office of governor of Massachusetts, they were struck with amazement at the fortunes of the man whose humble origin they perfectly well knew, and with whom they had familiarly associated but a few years before in the obscurity of his primitive condition. Impressed with a high opinion of his courage and resolution, and a superstitious dread of that fortune that seemed destined to surmount every obstacle and prevail over every disadvantage, they would willingly have made peace, but were induced to continue the war by the artifices and intrigues of the French. A few months after his arrival, the governor, at the head of a small army, marched to Pemmaquid, on the Merrimack river, and there caused to be constructed a fort of considerable strength, and calculated by its situation to form a powerful barrier to the province, and to overawe the neighboring tribes of Indians and interrupt their mutual communication. The beneficial effect of this operation was experienced in the following year, [1693,] when the Indians sent ambassadors to the fort at Pemmaquid, and there at length concluded with English commissioners a treaty of peace, by which they renounced for ever the interests of the French, and pledged themselves to perpetual amity with the inhabitants of New England. The colonists, who had suffered severely from the recent depredations of these savages,* and were still laboring under the burdens entailed on them by former wars, were not slow to embrace the first overtures of peace: and yet the utmost discontent was excited by the measure to which they were indebted for the deliverance they had so ardently desired. The expense of building the fort and of maintaining its garrison and stores occasioned an addition to the existing taxes, which was borne with much impatience. The party who had opposed submission to the new charter, eagerly promoted every complaint against the administration of a system which they regarded with rooted aversion; and labored so successfully on this occasion to render the person and government of Sir William Phipps odious to his countrymen, that his popularity sustained a shock from which it never afterwards entirely recovered. The people were easily led to connect in their apprehension the increase of taxation with the abridgment of their political privileges, and to believe that if they had retained their ancient control over the officers of government, the administration of their affairs might have been more economically conducted. But another cause, to which I have already alluded, and which we must now proceed more fully to consider, rendered the minds of the people at this time unusually susceptible of gloomy impressions, and suspicions not less irritating than unreasonable.

The belief of witchcraft was at this period almost universal in christian countries; and the existence and criminality of the practice were recognised in the penal code of every civilized state. Persons suspected of being witches and wizards were frequently tried, condemned, and put to death by the authority of the most enlightened tribunals in Europe; and in particular, but a few years before this period, Sir Matthew Hale, a man highly and justly renowned for the strength of his understanding, the variety of his knowledge, and the eminent christian graces that adorned his character, had, after a long and anxious investigation, adjudged a number of persons to die for this offence, at an assize in Suffolk.† The reality of witchcraft, as yet, had never

* Randolph was not sent back to America. He received, however, an appointment in the West Indies, where he died, retaining [illegible] the dislike of the people of New England to the end. Eliot's Biographical Dictionary of New England, 402. † Cranfield, the tyrant of New Hampshire, was appointed collector of Barbadoes. He repented of his conduct to New England, and endeavored to atone for it by showing all the service in his power to the traders from that country. Belknap, i. 222.

† The union, so earnestly desired by the people of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was overruled by the interest, and by the solicitations of Samuel Allen, a merchant in London, to whom Mason's heirs had sold their claim to the soil of New Hampshire. He was appointed the first governor of the province, [illegible] but [illegible] rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the people. Belknap, i. cap ix and xi. He was superseded by Lord Bellamont in 1698.

* Mr. Mather and the other deputies, when they found it impossible to obtain an alteration of the new charter, proposed at first to reject it altogether, and to institute a process for trying the validity of the judgment pronounced on the quo warranto. They were deterred from this proceeding by the solemn assurance of Treby, Somers, and the two chief justices of England, that if the judgment were reversed, a new quo warranto would be issued, and immediately followed by a judgment exempt from all ground of challenge. These learned persons assured the deputies that the colonists, by creating judicatories, constituting a house of representatives, and the [illegible] of judges, had forfeited their charter, which gave no sanction to such acts of authority. Hutchinson, i. 415.

* The situation of the people of New Hampshire, in particular, had become so irksome and dangerous that at one time they appear to have adopted the resolution of abandoning the province. Belknap, i 266.

† Howell's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 647. Even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the conviction of the witches of Warbois, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was still commemorated in annual sermon at Huntington. Johnson's Works, Observations on the tragedy of Macbeth. The seceders in Scotland published an act of their associate presbytery at Edinburgh in 1743 (reprinted at Glasgow in 178

been questioned, nor were there any to whom it appeared unimportant or incredible, except those who regarded the spiritual world altogether as a mere speculation, vague, visionary and delusive. Among the number of those who every where believed in it, were some of the unfortunate beings who were put to death as witches. Instigated by fraud and cruelty, or possessed by demonical frenzy, some of these unhappy persons professed more or less openly to hold communication with the powers of darkness; and, by the administration of subtle poisons, by disturbing the imagination of their victims, or by an actual appropriation of that mysterious agency which scripture assures us did once exist, and which no equal authority has ever proved to be extinguished, they committed crimes and inflicted injuries which were punished, perhaps, under an erroneous name. The colonists of New England, participating in the general belief of this practice, regarded it with a degree of abhorrence and indignation becoming the piety for which they were so remarkably distinguished. Their experience in America had tended to strengthen the sentiments on this subject which they had brought with them from England; for they found the belief of witchcraft firmly rooted among the Indian tribes, and the practice (or what was so termed and esteemed) prevailing extensively, and with perfect impunity, among those people whom as heathens they justly regarded as the worshippers of demons. [13.] Their conviction of the reality of witchcraft must necessarily have been confirmed by this evidence of the universal assent of mankind; and their resentment of its enormity proportionably increased by the honor and acceptance which they saw it enjoy under the shelter of superstitions that denied and dishonored the true God. The first trials for witchcraft in New England occurred in the year 1645, when four persons charged with this crime were put to death in Massachusetts. Goffe, the regicide, in his diary, records the conviction of three others at Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1662, and remarks, that, after one of them was hanged, the young woman who had been bewitched was restored to health. For more than twenty years after, we hear but little of any similar prosecutions. But in the year 1688, a woman was executed for witchcraft at Boston, after an investigation conducted with a degree of solemnity that made a deep impression on the minds of the people. An account of the whole transaction was published, and so generally were the wise and good persuaded of the justice of the proceeding, that Richard Baxter wrote a preface to the account, in which he scrupled not to declare every one who refused to believe it an obdurate Sadducee.* The attention of the people being thus strongly excited, and their suspicions thus powerfully awakened in this direction, the charges of witchcraft began gradually to multiply, till, at length, there commenced at Salem that dreadful tragedy which rendered New England for many months a scene of bloodshed, terror, and madness, and at one time seemed to threaten the subversion of civil society.

It was in the beginning of the year 1692 that this malady seemed to originate in an epidemical complaint resembling epilepsy, and which the physicians, finding themselves unable to explain or cure, ascribed very readily to supernatural machination. Some young women, and among others the daughters and niece of Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem, were first attacked by this distemper, and induced by the declarations of their medical attendants to ascribe it to witchcraft. The delusion was encouraged by a perverted application of the means best fitted to strengthen and enlighten the understanding. Solemn fasts and assemblies for extraordinary prayer were held by the neighboring clergy; and the supposition of witchcraft, which in reality had been previously assumed, was thus confirmed and consecrated in the apprehension of the public. The fancy of the patients, perverted by disordered sensation, and inflamed by the contagious terror which their supposed malady excited, soon dictated accusations against particular individuals as the authors of their sufferings. The flame was now kindled, and finding ample nourishment in all the strongest passions and most inveterate weaknesses of human nature, carried havoc and destruction through the community. The bodily symptoms of the prevailing natural epidemic, frequently revolved by persons of weak mind and susceptible frame, were propagated with amazing rapidity, and having been once regarded as symptoms of witchcraft, were ever after referred to the same diabolical origin. The usual and well known contagion of nervous disorders was powerfully aided by the dread of the mysterious agency from which they were now supposed to arise; and this appalling dread, enfeebling the reason of its victims, soon led them to confound the visions of their disturbed apprehension with the realities of their experience. Symptoms before unheard of, and unusually terrific,* attended the cases of the sufferers, and were supposed to prove beyond a doubt that the disorder was supernatural, and no bodily ailment; while, in truth, they denoted nothing else than the extraordinary terror of the unhappy patients, who enhanced the malignity of their disease by the frightful agency to which they ascribed it. Every case of nervous derangement was now referred to this source, and every morbid affection of the spirits and fancy diverted into this dangerous channel. Accusations of particular individuals easily suggested themselves to the disordered minds of the sufferers, and were eagerly preferred by themselves and their relatives, in the hope of obtaining deliverance from the calamity, by the punishment of the guilty. These charges, however unsupported by proof, and however remote from probability, alighted with fatal influence wherever they fell. The supernatural intimation by which they were supposed to be communicated, supplied and excluded all ordinary proof; and when a patient, under the dominion of nervous affections, or in the intervals of epileptic paroxysms, declared that he had seen the apparition of a particular individual inflicting his sufferings, no consideration of previous character could screen the accused from a trial, which, if the patient persisted in the charge, invariably terminated in a conviction. The charges were frequently admitted without any other proof, for the very reason for which they should have been utterly rejected by human tribunals—that they were judged incapable of common proof, or of being known to any but the accuser and the accused. So powerful and universal was the belief in the reality of the supposed witchcraft, that none dared, even if they had been disposed, openly to deny it; and even the innocent victims of the charges were constrained to argue on the assumption that the apparitions of themselves, described by their accusers, had really been seen, and reduced to plead that their semblance had been assumed by an evil spirit that sought to screen his proper instruments and divert the public indignation upon unoffending persons. It was answered, however, most gratuitously, but, unhappily to the conviction of the public, that an evil spirit could assume only the appearance of such persons as had given up their bodies to him, and devoted themselves to his service. The semblance of legal proof, besides, was very soon added to the force of these charges, and seeming to establish them in some cases was thought to confirm them in all. Some of the accused persons, terrified by their danger, sought safety in avowing the charge, recanting their supposed impiety, and denouncing others as their tempters and associates. In order to beget favor and verify their recantation, they now declared themselves the victims of the witchcraft they had formerly practised, counterfeited the nervous affections of their accusers, and imputed their sufferings to the vengeance of their ancient accomplices. These artifices and the general delusion were promoted by the conduct of the magistrates, who, with a monstrous inversion of equity and sound policy, offered impunity to all who would confess the charges and betray their associates, while they inflexibly doomed to death every accused person who maintained his innocence. Thus, one accusation produced a multitude of others, the accused becoming accusers and witnesses, and hastening to escape from the danger by involving other persons in it. From Salem, where its main fury was exerted, the evil spread extensively over the province of Massachusetts; and wherever it was able to penetrate, it effectually subverted the happiness and security of life. The sword of the law was wrested from the hands of justice, and committed to the grasp of the wildest fear and fury. Suspense and alarm pervaded all ranks of society. The first and the favorite objects of accusation had been ill-favored old women, whose dismal aspect, exciting terror and aversion, instead of pity and kindness, was reckoned a proof of their guilt, and seemed to designate the proper agents of mysterious and unearthly wickedness. But the sphere of accusation was progressively enlarged to such a degree, that at length neither age nor sex, neither ignorance nor innocence, neither learning nor piety, neither reputation nor office, could afford the slightest safeguard against a charge of witchcraft. Even irrational creatures were involved in this fatal charge; and a dog belonging to a gentleman accused of witchcraft, was hanged as an accomplice of its master. Under the dominion of terror, all mutual confidence seemed to be destroyed, and the best feelings of human nuture trampled under foot. The nearest relations became each other's accusers and one unhappy man, in particular, was condemned and executed on the testimony of his wife and daughter, who appear to have accused him merely for the sake of preserving themselves. Many respectable persons fled from the colony; others, maintaining their innocence, were capitally convicted, and died with a determined courage and piety that affected, but could not disabuse, the spectators. The accounts that have been preserved of the trials of these unfortunate persons, present a most revolting and humiliating picture of frenzy, folly, and injustice. There were received in evidence against the prisoners, accounts of losses and mishaps that had befallen the accusers or their cattle (in some cases, twenty years before the trial) recently after some meeting or some disagreement with the prisoners. Against others, it was deposed that they had performed greater feats of strength, and walked from one place to another in a shorter space of time than the accusers judged possible without diabolical assistance. But the main article of proof was the spectral apparitions of the persons of the supposed witches to the eyes of their accusers during the paroxysms of their malady. The accusers sometimes declared that they could not see the prisoners at the bar of the court; which was construed into a proof of the immediate exertion of Satanic influence in rendering their persons invisible to the eyes of those who were to testify against them. The bodies of the prisoners were commonly examined for the discovery of what were termed witch-marks; and as the examiners did not know what they were seeking for, and yet earnestly desired to find it, every little puncture or discoloration of the skin was easily believed to be the impress of diabolical touch. In general the accusers fell into fits, or complained of violent uneasiness at the sight of the prisoners. On the trial of Mr. Burroughs, a clergyman of the highest respectability, some of the witnesses being affected in this manner, the judges replied to his protestations of innocence, by asking if he would venture to deny that these persons were then under the influence of diabolical agency. He answered that he did not deny it, but that he denied having any concern with it. "If you were not a friend of the devil," replied the presiding judge, "he would not exert himself in this manner to prevent these persons from speaking against you." When a prisoner in his defence uttered any thing that seemed to move the audience in his favor, some of the accusers were ready to exclaim that they saw the devil standing by and putting the words in his mouth; and every feeling of humanity was chased away by such absurd and frantic exclamations.* Some fraud and malignity undoubtedly mixed with sincere misapprehension in stimulating these prosecutions. The

denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin. Arnot's Criminal Trials in Scotland, 367.

In the year 1672 (sixty years before the act against witchcraft in England) Louis the Fourteenth issued an edict forbidding the French tribunals to receive accusations of witchcraft. But this edict was ineffectual. Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. cap. 29.

The last executions for witchcraft in the British dominions were at Huntingdon in 1716, and in Sutherlandshire in 1722. Arnot.

* Cudworth declares that all who disbelieve witchcraft must be atheists. James the First caused a book that exposed the imposture of some pretended instances of witchcraft to be burned by the hands of the hangman—a favorite mode of reply with his majesty to the works of his adversaries. He had written a work on demonology, in which he thus described a part of the preparations for the invocation of evil spirits,—"Circles are made, triangular, quadrangular, round, double or single, according to the form of the apparition they crave." How the conjurors made triangular circles, he has omitted to explain. The famous Sacheverel, who told his hearers from the pulpit, that the divine right of kings, and the divine origin of christianity, "concur like parallel lines, meeting in one common centre," seems to have inherited the mathematics as well as the politics of this prince.

* Swelling of the throat, in particular, now well known as a hysterical symptom, was considered at this time a horrible prodigy. Medical science was still depraved by an admixture of gross superstition. The touch of a king was believed to be capable of curing some diseases; and astrology formed a part of the course of medical study, because the efficacy of drugs was believed to be promoted or impeded by planters influence

* It is impossible to read these trials as they are reported by Cotton Mather and Neal, without being struck with the resemblance they exhibit to the proceedings in England on the trials of the persons accused of participation in the Popish Plot. In both cases, the grand engine of injustice and destruction was the passion of fear; a passion which, when strongly excited, is capable of producing the most enormous excesses of fury and cruelty. In both countries a mixture of causes contributed to the production of the evil; but unquestionably there was a much greater degree of artifice employed to excite and maintain the popular panic in England and in America.

principle that was practically enforced in the courts of justice, that in cases of witchcraft, accusation was equivalent to conviction, presented the most subtle and powerful allurements to the expression of natural ferocity, and the indulgence of fantastic terror and suspicion; and there is but too much reason to believe that rapacity, malice and revenge were not vainly invited to seize this opportunity of satiating their appetites in confiscation and bloodshed. So strong meanwhile was the popular delusion, that even the detection of manifest perjury on one of the trials proved utterly insufficient to weaken the credit of the most unsupported accusation. Sir William Phipps the governor, and the most learned and eminent persons both among the clergy and laity of the province, partook and promoted the general infatuation. Nothing but an outrageous zeal against witchcraft seemed capable of assuring any individual of the safety of his life; and temptations that but too frequently overpowered human courage and virtue, arose from the conviction impressed on every person that he must make choice of the situation of the oppressed or the oppressor. The *afflicted* (as the accusers were termed) and their witnesses and partizans, began to form a numerous and united party in every community, which none dared to oppose, and which none who once joined or supported could forsake with impunity. A magistrate who had for some time taken an active part in examining and committing the supposed delinquents, beginning to suspect that these proceedings originated in some fatal mistake, showed an inclination to discourage them; and was instantly assailed with a charge of witchcraft against himself. A constable who had apprehended many of the accused, was struck with a similar suspicion, and hastily declared that he would meddle in this matter no farther. Instantly aware of the danger he had provoked, he attempted to fly the country, but was overtaken in his flight by the vengeance of the accusers, and, having been brought back to Salem, was tried for witchcraft, convicted and executed. Some persons whom self-preservation had induced to accuse their nearest relatives, being touched with remorse, proclaimed the wrong they had done, and retracted their testimony. They were convicted of relapse into witchcraft, and died the victims of their returning virtue.

The evil at length became too great to be borne. About fifteen months had elapsed since the malady had broke out, and so far from being extinguished or abated, it was growing every day more formidable. Of twenty-eight persons who had been capitally convicted, nineteen had been hanged;* and one, for refusing to plead, had been *pressed to death*:—the only instance in which this English legal barbarity was ever inflicted in North America. The number of the accusers and pardoned witnesses multiplied with alarming rapidity. The sons of Governor Bradstreet, and other individuals of eminent station and character, had fled from a charge belied by the whole tenor of their lives. An hundred and fifty persons were in prison on the same charge, and complaints against no less than two hundred others had been presented to the magistrates. Men began to ask themselves, Where this would end! The constancy and piety with which the unfortunate victims had died, produced an impression on the minds of the people which, though counterbalanced at the time by the testimony of the pardoned witnesses, began to revive with the reflection that these witnesses had purchased their lives by their testimony, while the persons against whom they had borne evidence had sealed their own testimony with their blood. It was happy, perhaps, for the country, that while the minds of the people were awakening to reflections so favorable to returning moderation and humanity, some of the accusers carried the audacity of their arraignment to such a pitch, as to prefer charges of witchcraft against Lady Phipps, the governor's wife, and against some of the nearest relatives of Dr. Increase Mather, the most pious minister and popular citizen of Massachusetts. These charges at once opened the eyes of Sir William Phipps and Dr. Mather; so far, at least, as to induce a strong suspicion that many of the late proceedings had been rash and indefensible. They felt that they had dealt with others in a manner very different from that in which they were now reduced to desire that others should deal with them. The same sentiment also beginning to prevail in the public mind, a resolute and successful attempt was made by a respectable citizen of Boston to stem the fury of these terrible proscriptions. Having been charged with witchcraft by some persons at Andover, he anticipated an arrest, by boldly arresting his accusers for defamation, and laid his damages at a thousand pounds. The effect of this vigorous proceeding surpassed his most sanguine expectations. It seemed as if a spell that had been cast over the people of Andover was dissolved by one bold touch; the frenzy vanished in a moment, and witchcraft was heard of in that town no more. The impression was rapidly propagated throughout the province; and the effect of it was seen at the very next court that was held for the trial of witchcraft, when, of fifty prisoners who were tried on such evidence as had been formerly deemed sufficient, the accusers could obtain the conviction of no more than three, who were immediately reprieved by the governor. These acquittals were doubtless in part produced by a change which the public opinion underwent as to the sufficiency of what was denominated *spectral evidence* of witchcraft. An assembly of the most eminent divines of the province, convoked for the purpose by the governor, had, after due consideration, given it forth as their deliberate judgment, "That the apparitions of persons afflicting others, was no proof of their being witches," and that it was by no means inconsistent with scripture or reason that the devil should assume the shape of a good man, or even cause the real aspect of that man to produce impressions of pain on the bodies of persons bewitched. The ministers, nevertheless, united in strongly recommending to the government the vigorous prosecution of all persons still accused of witchcraft. But the judgment they had pronounced respecting the validity of the customary evidence, rendered it almost impossible to procure a conviction, and produced, at the same time, so complete a revolution in the public mind respecting the late executions, that charges of witchcraft were found to excite no other sentiments than disgust and suspicion of the parties who preferred them. The cloud that had so deeply overcast the prosperity and happiness of the colony vanished entirely away, and universal shame and remorse succeeded to the frenzy that had lately prevailed. Even those who continued to believe in the reality of the diabolical influence of which the accusers had complained, were satisfied that most, if not all, of the unfortunate convicts had been unjustly condemned, and that their accusers, in charging them, had been deluded by the same agency by which their sufferings were occasioned. Many of the witnesses now came forward and published the most solemn recantations of the testimony they had formerly given, both against themselves and others; apologizing for their perjury by a protestation, of which all were constrained to admit the force, that no other means of saving their lives had been left to them. These testimonies were not able to shake the opinion which was still retained by a considerable party both among the late accusers and the public at large, that much witchcraft had mixed with the late malady, whether the real culprits had yet been detected or not. This opinion was supported in treatises written at the time by Dr. Mather and other eminent divines. But it was found impossible ever after to revive prosecutions that excited such painful remembrances, and had been so lamentably perverted. Sir William Phipps, soon after he had reprieved the three persons last convicted, ordered all who were in custody on charges of witchcraft to be released, and, in order to prevent the dissensions that might arise from the retributory proceedings against the accusers and their witnesses, he proclaimed a general pardon to all persons for any concernment they might have had with the prosecutions for witchcraft. The surviving victims of the delusion, however, and the relatives of those who had perished, were enabled to enjoy all the consolation they could derive from the sympathy of their countrymen and the earnest regret of their persecutors. The house of assembly appointed a general fast and prayer, "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments." One of the judges who had presided on the trials at Salem, stood up in his place in church on this occasion, and implored the prayers of the people that the errors he had been guilty of might not be visited by the judgments of an avenging God on the country, his family, or himself. Many of the jurymen subscribed and published a declaration lamenting and condemning the delusion to which they had yielded, and acknowledging that they had brought the reproach of innocent blood on their native land. Mr. Paris, the clergyman who had instituted the first prosecutions, and promoted all the rest, found himself exposed to a resentment not loud or violent, but deep and general, and was at length universally shunned by his fellow citizens, and abandoned by his congregation. He appears, throughout the whole proceedings, to have acted with perfect sincerity, but to have been transported, by a vehement temper and a strong conviction of the rightfulness of the ends he pursued, into the adoption of means for their attainment, inconsistent with truth, honor, or justice. While the delusion lasted, his violence was applauded as zeal in a righteous cause, and little heed was given to accusations of artifice and partiality in conducting what was believed to be a controversy with the devil. But when it appeared that all these efforts had in reality been directed to the shedding of innocent blood, his popularity gave place to universal odium and disgust. Sensible, at length, how dreadfully erroneous his conduct had been, [1694,] he hastened to make a public profession of repentance, and solemnly begged forgiveness of God and man. But the people declaring that they would never more attend the ministry of one who had been the instrument of misery and ruin to so many of their countrymen, he was obliged to resign his charge and depart from Salem.*

Thus terminated a scene of delusion and cruelty that justly excited the astonishment of the civilized world, and had exhibited a fearful picture of the weakness of human nature in the sudden transformation of a people renowned over all the earth for piety and virtue, into the slaves or associates, the terrified dupes or helpless prey, of a band of ferocious lunatics and assassins. Among the various evil consequences that resulted from these events, not the least important was the effect they produced on the minds of the Indian tribes, who began to conceive a very unfavorable opinion of the people that could inflict such barbarities on their own countrymen, and the religion that seemed to arm the hands of its professors for their mutual destruction. This impression was the more disadvantageous to the colonists, as there had existed for some time a competition between their missionaries and the priests of the French settlements, for the instruction and conversion of the Indians;† and it was always found that the tribes embraced the political interests of that people whose religious instructors were most popular among them. The French did not fail to improve to their own advantage, the odious spectacle that the late frenzy of the people of New England had exhibited; and to this end they labored with such diligence and success, that in the following year, when Sir William Phipps paid a visit to the tribes with whom he had concluded the treaty of Pemmaquid, and endeavored to unite them in a solid and lasting friendship with the colonists, he found them more firmly wedded than ever to the interests of the French, and under the dominion of prepossessions unfavorable in the highest degree to the formation of friendly relations with the English. To his proposition of renewing the treaty of peace, they agreed very readily; but all his instances to prevail with them to desist from their intercourse with the French, proved utterly unavailing. They refused to listen to the missionaries who accompanied him; having learned from

* This is nothing to the slaughter that was inflicted in the regular course of justice [illegible] England. Howell, in two letters, one dated February 3, 1646, the other February 20, 1647, says [illegible] Suffolk and Essex between 200 [illegible] 300 [illegible] more than half were executed. [illegible] very extraordinary [illegible] inferred from a [illegible] Barrington, in his Observations on Stat. 2. Henry the Sixth.

* Mather, B. ii. Life of Sir William Phipps. Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits. Neal, ii. 496—541. Hutchinson, ii. 17—62. Calef's Wonders of the Invisible World. "I find these entries in the MS. Diary of Judge Sewell: 'Went to Salem, where, in the meeting-house, the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; a very great assembly. 'Twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated.' But in the margin is written, in a tremulous hand, probably on a subsequent review, the lamenting Latin interjection, Vae, vae, vae!" Holmes, ii. 5, 6.

† It was a very depraved edition of Christianity that was preached to the Indians by the French priests—a system that harmonized perfectly well with the passions and sentiments which true Christianity most strongly condemns. It substituted the rites and superstitious inventions of the Romish church in the place of their ancient witchcraft and idolatry; and stigmatizing their enemies as heretics, afforded additional sanction and incitement to hatred, fury, and cruelty. Neal has preserved (Vol. I. p. 266) a specimen of the French Missionary Catechism, containing a tissue of the most absurd and childish fictions gravely propounded as the articles of christian doctrine. The following anecdote is related by Governor Colden in his History of the Five Nations, Vol. I. p. 207. "About the time of the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, Therouet, a noted Indian sachem, died at Montreal. The French gave him christian burial in a pompous manner: the priest that attended him at his death having declared that he died a true Christian. For (said the priest) while I explained to him the passion of our Saviour, whom the Jews crucified, he cried out, 'Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his death, and brought away their scalps.'" The French priests who ministered amongst the Indians were Jesuits: and their maxim, that it was unnecessary to keep faith with heretics, proved but too congenial to the savage ethics of their pupils.

the French priests to believe that the English were heretics, and enemies to the true religion of Christ. Some of them scrupled not to remark, that since they had received the instructions of the French, witchcraft had entirely disappeared from among them, and that they had no desire to revive it by communication with a people among whom it was reputed still to prevail more extensively than it had ever done with themselves.

Every thing, indeed, betokened the renewal of hostilities between the colonists and the Indians, which accordingly broke out very soon after, and was perhaps accelerated by the departure of Sir William Phipps from New England. The administration of this governor, though in the main highly and justly popular, had not escaped a considerable degree of reproach. The discontents excited by the taxation that had been imposed for the support of the fortification at Pemmaquid, concurring with the resentments and enmities that the prosecutions for witchcraft had left behind, produced a party in the province who labored on every occasion to thwart the measures and traduce the character of the governor. Finding their exertions in Massachusetts insufficient to deprive him of the esteem of the great body of the people, these adversaries transmitted articles of impeachment against him to England, and petitioned the king and council for his recal and punishment. The king having declared that he would hear the cause himself, an order was transmitted to the governor to meet his accusers in the royal presence at Whitehall; in compliance with which, Sir William set sail for England, carrying with him an address of the assembly expressive of the strongest attachment to his person, and beseeching the king that they might not be deprived of the services of so able and meritorious an officer. On his appearance at court his accusers vanished, and their charges were withdrawn; and having rendered a satisfactory account of his administration to the king, he was preparing to return to his government, when a malignant fever put an end to his life. [1695.] He left behind him the reputation of a pious, upright, and honorable man. As a soldier, if not pre-eminently skilful, he was active and brave; as a civil ruler, faithful, magnanimous, and disinterested: it was remarked of him, as of Aristides, that "he was never seen the prouder for any honor that was done him by his countrymen;" and though the generous simplicity of his manners added lustre to the high rank he had attained, he was never ashamed to revert to the humility of the condition from which he had sprung. In the midst of a fleet that was conveying an armament which he commanded on a military expedition, he called to him some young soldiers and sailors who were standing on the deck of his vessel, and pointing to a particular spot on the shore, said, "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago;—and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, do you learn to fear God and be honest, and you don't know what you may come to."

On the departure of Sir William Phipps, the supreme authority in Massachusetts devolved on Mr. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, who continued to exercise it during the three following years; the king being so much engrossed with his wars and negotiations on the continent of Europe, that it was not till after the peace of Ryswick that he found leisure even to nominate a successor to Sir William Phipps. During this period, the happiness of the people was much disturbed by internal dissension, and their prosperity invaded by the calamities of war. The passions bequeathed by the persecutions for witchcraft continued long to divide and agitate the people; and the factious opposition which they had promoted to the government of Sir William Phipps, continued to increase in vigor and virulence after his departure. The mutual animosities of the colonists had attained such a height, that they seemed to be ready to involve their country in a civil war; and the operations of the government were cramped and obstructed at the very time when the utmost vigor and unanimity were requisite to encounter the hostile enterprises of the French and the Indians. Incited by their French allies, the Indians recommenced the war with the usual suddenness and fury of their military operations. Wherever surprise or superior numbers enabled them to prevail over parties of the colonists, or detached plantations, their victory was signalised by the extremities of barbarous cruelty.† The colony of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, now once more reverted to the dominion of France. It had been annexed, as we have seen, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and governed hitherto by officers deputed from the seat of the supreme authority at Boston. But Port Royal (or Annapolis, as it was afterwards termed) having been now recaptured by a French armament, the whole settlement revolted, and re-annexed itself to the French dominions—a change that was ratified by the subsequent treaty of Ryswick. But a much more serious loss was sustained by Massachusetts in the following year; [1696,] when, in consequence of a combined attack of the French and Indians, the fort erected by Sir William Phipps at Pemmaquid was compelled to surrender to their arms, and was levelled with the ground. This severe and unexpected blow excited the utmost dismay: and the alarming consciousness of the danger that might be apprehended from the loss of a barrier of such importance, rebuked in the strongest manner the factious discontent that had murmured at the expense of maintaining it. These apprehensions were but too well justified by the increased ravages of Indian warfare, and the increased insolence and fury with which this triumph inspired the Indian tribes. Mr. Stoughton and his council adopted the most vigorous measures to repair or retaliate the disaster, and despatched forces to attack the enemy both by land and sea; but miscarriage attended both these expeditions, and, at the close of the year, the colonial forces had been unable, by the slightest advantage, to check the assaults of the enemy, or to revive the drooping spirits of their countrymen. In the following year,* [1697,] the province, after being severely harassed by the incursions of the Indians, was alarmed by the intelligence of a formidable invasion which the French were preparing, with a view to its complete subjugation. The commander of a French squadron which was cruising on the northern coasts of America had concerted with the Count Frontignac, the governer of Quebec, a joint attack by sea and land, with the whole united force of the French and Indians on the colony of Massachusetts, and little doubt was entertained of the conquest of the people, or the complete destruction of their settlements. On the first intelligence of this design, the ancient spirit of New England seemed again to awake, and, partial animosities being swallowed up in a more generous passion, the people co-operated with the utmost vigor in the energetic measures by which Stoughton prepared to repel the coming danger. He caused the forts around Boston to be repaired, the whole militia of the province to be embodied and trained with the strictest discipline, and every other measure conducive to an effectual defence to be promptly adopted. In order to ascertain, and, if possible, anticipate the purposed operations of the enemy by land, he despatched a considerable force to scour the eastern frontiers of the province; and this body encountering a detachment of the Indians, who had assembled to join the French invaders, after a short engagement, gave them a complete defeat. This unexpected blow, though in itself of little importance, so deranged the plans of the French as to induce them to defer the invasion of Massachusetts by land till the following year; and the French admiral finding his fleet weakened by a storm, and apprised of the vigorous preparations for his reception, judged it prudent, in like manner, to abandon the projected naval invasion.

In the commencement of the following year, [1698.] intelligence was received in America of the treaty of Ryswick, by which peace had been concluded between Britain and France. By this treaty it was agreed that the two contracting powers should mutually restore to each other all conquests that had been made during the war, and that commissioners should be appointed to examine and determine the rights and pretensions of either monarch to the territories situated in Hudson's Bay. The evil consequences of thus leaving the boundaries of growing settlements unascertained, were sensibly experienced at no distant date.

Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, on receiving intelligence of this treaty, summoned the chiefs of the Indian tribes together, and informing them that he could no longer support them in hostilities against the English, advised them to deliver up their captives, and make the best terms for themselves that they could obtain. The government of Massachusetts, on receiving their pacific overtures, sent two commissioners to Penobscot to meet with their principal sachems, who endeavored to apologise for their unprovoked hostilities by ascribing them to the artifice and instigation of the French jesuits. They expressed, at the same time, the highest esteem, and even a filial regard, for Count Frontignac, and an earnest desire that, in case of any future war between the French and English, the Indians might be permitted to observe a neutrality between the belligerent parties. After some conferences, a new treaty was concluded with them, in which they were made to acknowledge a more formal submission to the crown of England than they had ever before expressed.

On the settlement of his affairs in Europe, the king at length found leisure to direct some portion of his attention to America, and nominate a successor to the office that had been vacant since the death of Sir William Phipps. The Earl of Bellamont was appointed governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire: and, having selected the former of these places for his own personal residence, he continued the immediate administration of the others in the hands of Mr. Stoughton as deputy governor.

Having traced the separate history of New England up to this period, we shall now leave this interesting province in the enjoyment (unhappily, too short-lived) of a peace, of which a long train of previous hostility and calamity had taught the inhabitants fully to appreciate the value. They were now more united than ever among themselves, and enriched with an ample stock of experience of both good and evil. When Lord Bellamont visited Massachusetts in the following year, the recent heats and animosities had entirely subsided, and general harmony and tranquillity appeared to prevail. [1699.] The virtue that had so signally distinguished the original settlers of New England was now seen to shine forth among their descendants with a lustre less dazzling, but with an influence in some respects more amiable, refined, and humane, than had attended its original display.

One of the causes that undoubtedly contributed to the restoration of harmony, and the revival of piety among the people, was the publication, about this period, of various histories* of the New England commonwealth, written with a spirit and fidelity well calculated to commend to the minds of the colonists the just results of their national experience. The subject was deeply interesting; and, happily, the treatment of it was undertaken by writers whose principal object was to render this interest subservient to the promotion of piety and virtue. Though the colony might be considered as yet in its infancy, it had passed through a great variety of fortune. It had been the adopted country of many of the most excellent men of the age in which it arose, and the native land of others who had inherited the character of their ancestors, and transmitted it to their successors in unimpaired vigor, and with added renown. The history of man never exhibited an effort of more vigorous and enterprising virtue than the original migration of the puritans to this distant and desolate region; nor did the annals of colonization as yet supply more than one other instance of the foundation of a commonwealth, and its advancement through a period of weakness and danger, to

* Hutchinson (ii. 84, 5) says that he was sued at London in an action of damages, but that it was withdrawn.

† Numerous cases are related by the colonial historians of the torture and slavery inflicted by the Indians on their captives, and of the desperate efforts of many of the colonists to defend themselves and their families, or to escape from the hands of their savage enemies. Wherever the Indians could penetrate, war was carried into the bosom of every family. The case of a Mrs. Dustan of Haverhill in Massachusetts is remarkable. She was made prisoner by a party of twelve Indians, and, with the infant of which she had been delivered but a week before, and the nurse who attended her, forced to accompany them on foot into the woods. Her infant's head was dashed to pieces on a tree before her eyes; and she and the nurse, after fatiguing marches in the depth of winter, found themselves at an Indian hut a hundred and fifty miles from their home. Here they were informed that they were to be made slaves for life, but were first to be conducted to a distant settlement, where they would be stripped, scourged, and forced to run the gauntlet naked between two files of the whole tribe to which their captors belonged. This intelligence determined Mrs. Dustan to make a desperate effort for her liberation. Early in the morning, having awaked her nurse and a young man, a fellow-prisoner, she got possession of an axe, and, with the assistance of the young man and the nurse, despatched no fewer than ten Indians in their sleep; the other two awoke and escaped. Mrs. Dustan returned in safety with her companions to Haverhill, and was liberally rewarded for her intrepidity by the legislature of Massachusetts. Dwight's Travels.

Whatever other cruelties the Indians might exercise on the bodies of their captives, it is observable that they never attempted to violate the chastity of women, and that they respected modesty in so far as was consistent with the infliction of torture. Belknap, i. 1287. They had a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them whenever they fell into their hands. 288.

* In the midst of these troubles died this year the venerable Simon Bradstreet, the last survivor of the original planters, for many years governor, and termed by his countrymen the Nestor of New England. He died in his ninety-fifth year; earnestly desiring to be dissolved, and enter into the rest of God, insomuch (says Cotton Mather) that it seemed as if death were conferred upon him, instead of life being taken from him.

* Of these productions one of the earliest in point of composition was Governor Winthrop's Journal of Events in New England, from 1630 till 1644. But this Journal was not published till the year 1790. The continuation of it till the year 1649, was not published till 1826.

strength and security, in which the principal actors had left behind them a reputation at once so illustrious and unsullied, with fewer memorials calculated to pervert the moral sense, or awaken the regret of mankind. The relation of their achievements had a powerful tendency to excite hope, and animate perseverance; to impart courage to the virtuous, and to fortify the virtue of the brave. They could not indeed boast, like the founders of the settlement of Pennsylvania, that by a resolute profession of non-resistance of injuries, and a faithful adherence to that profession, they had so realized the Divine protection by an exclusive reliance on it, as to disarm the ferocity of barbarians, and conduct the establishment of their commonwealth without violence and bloodshed. But if they were involved in numerous wars, it was the singular and honorable characteristic of them all, that they were invariably the offspring of self-defence against the unprovoked malignity of their adversaries, and that not one of them was undertaken from motives of conquest or plunder. Though they considered these wars as necessary and justifiable, they deeply deplored them; and, more than once, the most distressing doubts were expressed, at the close of their hostilities, if it were lawful for christians to carry even the rights of self-defence to such fatal extremity. They behaved to the Indian tribes with as much good faith and justice as they could have shown to a powerful and civilized people.* and were incited by their inferiority to no other acts than a series of the most magnanimous and laudable endeavors to instruct their ignorance, and elevate their condition. If they fell short of the colonists of Pennsylvania in the exhibition of christian meekness, they unquestionably excelled them in the extent and activity of christian labor. The quakers succeeded in disarming the Indians; the puritans labored to convert them. The chief, if not the only fault, with which impartial history must ever reproach the conduct of these people, is the religious intolerance that they cherished, and the persecution which in more than one instance it prompted them to inflict. Happily for their own character, the provocation they received from the objects of their persecution, tended strongly to extenuate the blame: and happily, no less, for the legitimate influence of their character on the minds of their posterity, the fault itself, notwithstanding every extenuation, stood so manifestly contrasted and inconsistent with the very principles with which their own fame was for ever associated, that it was impossible for a writer of common integrity, not involved in the immediate heat of controversy, to render a just tribute to their excellence, without finding himself obliged to reprobate this signal departure from it. The histories that were now published were the composition of the friends, associates, and successors of the original colonists, and written with an energy of just encomium that elevated every man's ideas of his ancestors and his country, and of the duties which arose from these natural or patriotic relations, and excited universally a generous sympathy with the characters and sentiments of the fathers of New England. These writers, nevertheless, were too conscientious, and too enlightened, to confound the virtues with the defects of the character they described; and while they dwelt apologetically on the causes by which persecution had been provoked, they lamented the infirmity that (under any degree of provocation) had betrayed good men into so unchristian an extremity. Even Cotton Mather, the most encomiastic of the historians of New England, and who cherished very strong prejudices against the quakers and other persecuted sectaries, has expressed still stronger disapprobation of the severities they encountered from the objects of his encomium. These representations could not fail to produce a beneficial effect on the people of New England. They saw that the glory of their country was associated with principles that could never coalesce with or sanction intolerance: and that every instance of persecution with which their annals were stained, was a dereliction of these principles, and an impeachment of their country's cause. Inspired with the warmest attachment to the memory, and the highest respect for the virtue of their ancestors, they were powerfully reminded, by the errors into which they had fallen, to suspect and repress in themselves those infirmities from which even virtue of so high an order had been found to afford no exemption. From this time the religious zeal of the people of New England was no longer perverted by intolerance, or disgraced by persecution; and the influence of Christianity in mitigating enmity, and promoting kindness and indulgence, derived a freer scope from the growing conviction, that the principles of the gospel were utterly irreconcilable with violence and severity; that, revealing to every man his own corruption much more clearly than that of any other human being, they were equally adverse to confidence in himself and to suspicion of others; and that a deep sense of entire dependence on Divine aid, must ever be the surest indication of the acceptance of human purpose and the efficacy of human endeavor to subserve the divine cause. Cotton Mather, who has recorded the errors of the first colonists, lived to witness the success of his representations in the charity and liberality of their descendants.*

New England having been colonised by men, not less eminent for learning than piety, was distinguished at a very early period by the labors of her scholars, and the dedication of her literature to the interests of religion. The theological works of Cotton, Hooker, the Mathers, and other New England divines, have always enjoyed a very high degree of esteem and popularity, not only in New England, but in every protestant country of Europe. The annals of the colony, and the biography of its founders and their immediate successors, were written by cotemporary historians with a minuteness which was very agreeable and interesting to the first generation of their readers, and to which they were prompted, in some measure at least, by the conviction they entertained that their country had been honored with the signal favor and more especial guidance and direction of Providence. This conviction, while it naturally betrayed the writers into the fault of prolixity, enforced by the strongest sanctions the accuracy and fidelity of their narrations. Recording what they considered the peculiar dealings of God with a people peculiarly his own, they presumed not to disguise the infirmities of their countrymen; nor did they desire to magnify the Divine grace in the infusion of human virtue, above the Divine patience in enduring human frailty and imperfection. The errors and failings of the illustrious men whose lives they related, gave additional weight to the impression which above all they desired to convey, that the colonization of New England was an extraordinary work of Heaven, that the counsel and the virtue by which it had been carried on were not of human origin, and that the glory of God had been displayed no less in imparting the strength and wisdom than in overruling the weakness and perversity of the instruments which he deigned to employ. The most considerable of these historical works, and the most interesting performance that the literature of New England has ever produced, is the "Magnalia Christi Americana," or History of New England by Cotton Mather. The arrangement of this work is exceedingly faulty, and its vast bulk will ever continue to render its exterior increasingly repulsive to modern readers. The continuity of the narrative is frequently broken by the introduction of long discourses, epistles, and theological reflections and dissertations; biography is intermixed with history, and events of trifling or merely local interest related with intolerable prolixity. It is not so properly a single or continuous historical narration, as a collection of separate works illustrative of the various portions of New England history, under the heads of "Remarkable Providences, Remarkable Trials," and numberless other subdivisions. A plentiful intermixture of puns, anagrams, and other barbarous conceits, exemplifies a peculiarity (the offspring, partly of bad taste, and partly of superstition) that was very prevalent among the prose writers, and especially the theologians of that age. Notwithstanding these defects, the work will amply repay the labor of every reader. The biographical portions in particular possess the highest excellence, and are superior in dignity and interest to the compositions of Plutarch. Cotton Mather was the author of a great many other works,* many of which have been highly popular and eminently useful. One of them bears the title of "Essays to do Good" and contains a lively and forcible representation (conveyed with more than the author's usual brevity) of the opportunities which every rank and every relation of life will present to a devout mind, of promoting the glory of God and the good of mankind. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, in the latter years of his active and useful life, declared that all the good he had ever done to his country or his fellow-creatures, must be ascribed to the impression that had been produced on his mind by perusing that little work in his youth. It is curious to find an infidel philosopher thus ascribe all his practical wisdom to the lessons of a christian divine, and trace the stream of his beneficence to the fountain of the gospel.

A traveller who visited Boston in the year 1686, mentions a number of booksellers there who had already made fortunes by their trade. The learned and ingenious author of the History of Printing in America has given a catalogue of the works published by the first New England printers in the seventeenth century. Considering the circumstances and numbers of the people, the catalogue is amazingly copious. One of the printers of that age was an Indian, the son of one of the first Indian converts.

The education and habits of the people of New England prepared them to receive the full force of those impressions which their national literature was calculated to produce. In no country have the benefits of knowledge been ever more highly prized or more generally diffused. Institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the foundation of the first colonial community, and were propagated with every accession to the population and every extension of the settlements. Education was facilitated in this province by the peculiar manner in which its colonization was conducted. In many other parts of America, the planters dispersed themselves over the face of the country; each residing on his own farm, and placing his house in the situation most conducive to his own convenience as a planter. The advantages resulting from this mode of inhabitation were gained at the expense of such dispersion of dwellings as obstructed the erection of churches and schools, and the enjoyment of social intercourse. But the colonization of New England was conducted in a manner much more favorable to the improvement of human character and the refinement of human manners. All the original townships were settled in what is termed the village manner; the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small communities, from regard to the ordinances of religion and the convenience of education. Every town containing fifty householders was obliged by law to provide a schoolmaster qualified to teach reading and writing; and every town containing a hundred householders, to maintain a grammar school. But the generous ardor of the people continually outstripped the provisions of this law. We have seen Harvard College established in Massachusetts but a few years after the foundation of the colony was laid. The other states, for some time after, were destitute of the wealth and population necessary to support similar establishments within their own territories; but they frequently assessed themselves in the most liberal contributions for the maintenance and enlargement of Harvard College. The contributions, even at a very early period, of Connecticut, Newhaven, and New Hampshire, have been particularly and deservedly noted for their liberality. The close of the same century was illustrated by the establishment of Yale College in Connecticut. So high was the repute that the province long continued to enjoy for the excellency and efficiency of its seminaries of education, that many respectable persons, not only in the other American states, but even in Great Britain, sent their children to be educated in New England.

A general appetite for knowledge, and universal

* Notwithstanding the lands occupied by the colonists fairly purchased from their former owners, but, in some parts of the country, the lands were subject to quit rents to the Indians, "which," says Belknap, in 1784, "are annually paid to their posterity." p. 74.

* A discourse which he published some years after this period, contains the following passage—"In this capital city of Boston, there are ten assemblies of Christians of different persuasions, who live so lovingly and peaceably together, doing all the offices of neighbourhood for one another in such a manner, as may give a sensible rebuke to all the bigots of uniformity, and show them how consistent a variety of rites in religion may be with the tranquility of human society; and may demonstrate to the world that persecution for conscientious dissents in religion is an abomination of desolation, a thing whereof all wise and just men will say, 'Cursed be its anger, for it is fierce; and its wrath, for it is cruel.'" Neal's Present State of New England, p. 611. The first episcopal society was formed in Massachusetts in 1686 (before the arrival of Andros;) and the first episcopal chapel erected at Boston in 1688. Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 259. A quaker meeting-house was built at Boston in 1710. Ibid. 260.

† "If we look on the dark side, the human side, of this work, there is much of human weakness and imperfection hath appeared in all that hath been done by man, as was acknowledged by our fathers before us. Neither was New England ever without some fatherly chastisements from God; showing that he is not fond of the formalities of any people upon earth, but expects the realities of practical godliness, according to our profession and engagement unto him." Higginson's Attestation, prefixed to Cotton Mather's History.

* His biographers have given us a catalogue of his works, amounting to no fewer than three hundred and eighty-two—many no doubt of small dimensions, but others of considerable bulk, and some voluminous. He was a singular economist of time, and at once the most voluminous and popular writer, and the most zealous and active minister of his age. Above his study door was inscribed this impressive admonition to his visitors, "Be short." He was the son of Dr. Increase Mather, born in 1663, and died in 1727.

familiarity with letters, was thus maintained from the beginning among the people of this province. The general discouragement of frivolous amusements, and of every recreation that bordered upon vice, tended to devote their leisure hours to reading; and the sentiments and opinions derived through this avenue of knowledge, sunk deeply into vigorous and undissipated minds. The historical retrospections of this people were peculiarly calculated to exercise a favorable influence on their character and turn of thinking, by awakening a generous emulation and connecting them with a uniform and progressive course of manly, patient, and successful virtue.

Notwithstanding the general diffusion of knowledge among the people of New England, the lower classes were not entirely exempt from some of the prevalent delusions of the age. In particular, the notion, then generally received in the parent state, of the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of the disorder called the king's evil, appears to have been imported into New England, to the great inconvenience of those who were so unhappy as to receive it. Belknap has transcribed from the records of the town of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, the petition of an inhabitant to the court of this province, in the year 1687, for assistance to undertake a journey to England, that he might be cured of his disease by coming in contact with a king;* a circumstance which Heaven (it may be hoped) has decreed should never be possible within the confines of North America.

The amount of the population of New England at this period has been very differently estimated by different writers. According to Sir William Petty, the number of inhabitants amounted, in the year 1691, to one hundred and fifty thousand. A much lower computation is adopted by Neal, and a much higher by a later historian. The population, it is certain, had been considerably augmented, both by the emigrations of dissenters from various of the European states, and by native propagation in circumstances so favorable to increase. Yet no quarter of North America has seen its own population so extensively drained by emigration as New England, which, from a very early period of its history, has never ceased to send swarms of hardy, industrious, and educated men to recruit and improve every successive settlement that has offered its resources to energy and virtue. The total restraint of licentious intercourse; the facility of acquiring property and maintaining a family; the discouragement of idleness and luxury; and the prevalence of industrious and frugal habits among all classes of people, concurred with powerful efficacy to render marriages both frequent and prolific in New England. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and the largest city in North America, appears to have contained a population of about 10,000 persons at the close of this century. In the year 1720, its inhabitants amounted to 20,000. Every inhabitant of the province was required by law to keep a stock of arms and ammunition in his house; and all males above sixteen years of age were enrolled in the militia, which was assembled for exercise four times every year.

The whole territory of New England was comprehended at this period in four jurisdictions, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. To Massachusetts there had been annexed the settlements of New Plymouth and Maine, and to Connecticut the settlement of Newhaven. The territories of these governments were divided into constituted districts called townships, each of which was represented by one or two deputies (according to the number of the freeholders) in the assembly of the state. Besides this elective franchise, the freeholders of each township enjoyed the right of appointing the municipal officers denominated select-men, by whom the local administration of the township was exercised. The qualification of a freeholder in Massachusetts was declared by its charter to be an estate of the value of forty shillings per annum, or the possession of personal property to the amount of fifty pounds; communion with the congregational churches having ceased for many years to be requisite to the enjoyment of political privileges. In the other states of New England, the qualification was at this period nearly the same as in Massachusetts. The expenses of government had been defrayed originally by temporary assessments, to which every man was rated according to the value of his whole property; but since the year 1645, excises, imposts, and poll taxes had been in use. The judicial proceedings in all the provincial courts were conducted with great expedition, cheapness, and simplicity of procedure.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered jurisdiction, were the only two states of New England in which the superior officers of government were appointed by the crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in council. As New Hampshire was too inconsiderable to support the substance as well as the title of a separate establishment, it was the practice at this period, and for some time after, to appoint the same person to be governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the court of admiralty) were elected by the inhabitants; and so resolutely was this highly-valued privilege asserted, that when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut forces, the province refused to obey him. The laws of these states were not subject to the negative, nor the judgments of their tribunals to the review, of the king. But the validity of their laws was declared to depend on a very uncertain criterion—a conformity, as close as circumstances would admit, to the jurisprudence of England.* So perfectly democratic were the constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the assembly. The spirit of liberty was not suppressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the provincial assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the royal governor was never able to create a royalist party in this state. The functionaries whom he appointed, depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their offices; and it was not till after many unsuccessful efforts, that the British government were able to free the governor himself from the same dependence, and to prevail with the assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of royal prerogative.

In all the colonies, and especially in the New England states, there existed at this period, and for a long time afterwards, a mixture of very opposite sentiments towards Great Britain. As the posterity of Englishmen, the colonists cherished a strong attachment to a land which they habitually termed the *Mother Country*, or *Home*,† and to a people whom, though contemporaries with themselves, they regarded as occupying an ancestral relation to them. As Americans, their liberty and happiness, and even their national existence, were associated with escape from royal persecution in Britain; and the jealous and unfriendly sentiments engendered by this consideration were preserved more particularly in Massachusetts by the privation of the privileges which had originally belonged to it, and which Connecticut and Rhode Island were still permitted to enjoy, and maintained in every one of the states by the oppressive commercial policy which Great Britain pursued towards them, and of which their increasing resources rendered them increasingly sensible and proportionally impatient. The loyalty of Connecticut and Rhode Island was no way promoted by the preservation of their ancient charters—an advantage which they well knew had been conceded to them by the British government with the utmost reluctance, and of which numerous attempts to divest them by act of parliament were made by King William and his immediate successors. Even the new charter of Massachusetts was not exempted from such attacks; and the defensive spirit that was thus excited and kept alive by the aggressive policy of Britain contributed, no doubt, to influence, in a material degree, the future destinies of America.

In return for the articles which they required from Europe, and of which the English merchants monopolised the supply, the inhabitants of New England had no staple commodity which might not be obtained cheaper in Europe by their customers. They possessed, indeed, good mines of iron and copper, which might have been wrought with advantage; but they were restrained by the English legislature from manufacturing these metals either for home consumption or foreign exportation. The principal commodities exported from New England were the produce and refuse of their forests, or, as it was commonly termed, lumber, and the produce of their cod-fishery. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual imports into the provinces from England were estimated by Neal at 100,000*l.* The exports by the English merchants consisted of a hundred thousand quintals (the quintal weighing 112 pounds) of dried cod-fish, which were sold in Europe for 80,000*l.* and of three thousand tons of naval stores. To the other American plantations, New England sent lumber, fish and other provisions, to the amount of 50,000*l.* annually. An extensive manufacture of linen cloth was established about this time in the province: this was an advantage for which New England was indebted to the migration of many thousands of Irish presbyterians to her shores about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ship-building was from an early period carried on to a considerable extent at Boston and other sea-port towns. It was the practice of some merchants to freight their vessels as they built them, with cargoes of colonial produce, and to sell the vessels in the same ports in which the cargoes were disposed of. A great part of the trade of the other colonies was conducted by the shipping of New England. At this period, and for many years afterwards, specie was so scarce in the province, that paper money formed almost exclusively the circulating medium in use among the inhabitants. Bills, or notes, were circulated for sums as low as half a crown.

The soil of a great part of the district of Maine was erroneously supposed, by its first European colonists, to be unfavorable to agriculture, and incapable of yielding a sufficient supply of bread to its inhabitants. This notion produced the deficiency which it presupposed; and, injurious as it was to the increase and prosperity of the inhabitants, it prevailed even till the period of the American revolution. Prior to that event, the inhabitants traded almost exclusively in lumber, and the greater part of the bread they consumed was imported from the middle colonies. All the states of New England were long infested with wolves; and, at the close of the seventeenth century, laws were still enacted by the New England assembles offering bounties for the destruction of these animals.

Except in Rhode Island, the doctrine and form of the congregational church that was established by the first colonists prevailed generally in the New England states. Every township was required by law to choose a minister, and to fix his salary by mutual agreement of the parties; in default of which a salary proportioned to the ability of the township was decreed to him by the justices of the peace. In case of the neglect of any township to appoint a minister within the period prescribed by the law, the right of appointment for the occasion devolved to the court of quarter sessions. By a special custom of the town of Boston, the salaries of its ministers were derived from the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, collected every Sunday on their assembling for divine service: and it was remarked, that none of the ministers of New England were so liberally provided for as those whose emoluments, unaided by legal provision, thus represented the success of their labors and the attachment or conscientiousness of their people. In Rhode Island there was no legal provision for the observance of divine worship, or the maintenance of religious institutions. This colony was peopled by a mixed mul

* Belknap, i. Append. No. 46. The following advertisement occurs in the London Gazette of the 29th of May, 1682,—"These are to give notice that the weather growing warm, his majesty will not touch any more for the evil till towards Michaelmas. And his majesty's chirurgeons desire, to prevent his majesty being defrauded, that greater care be taken for the future in registering certificates given to such as come to be touched." After the Restoration, such multitudes flocked to the palace to be touched that a number of people were crushed to death. Evelyn's Journal, ii. 571. This superstition (which it is said that Cromwell vainly tried to attach to his own person) survived in England till the reign of Queen Anne, who touched (among others) the infant frame of Dr. Johnson.

* There were no regular means of ascertaining this conformity; these states not being obliged, like Massachusetts, to transmit their laws to England. On a complaint from an inhabitant of Connecticut, aggrieved by the operation of a particular law, it was declared, by the king in council, "that their law concerning dividing land-inheritance of an intestate was contrary to the law of England, and void;" but the colony paid no regard to this declaration. Hist. of the British Dominions in North America, B. ii. cap. iii. § 1.

† They have left one indestructible mark of their origin, and their kindly remembrance of it, in the British names which they transferred to American places. When New-London in Connecticut was founded in the year 1648, the assembly of the province assigned its name by an act commencing with the following preamble: "Whereas it hath been the commendable practice of the inhabitants of all the colonies of these parts, that as this country hath its denomination from our dear native country of England, and thence is called New England; so the planters, in their first settling of most new plantations, have given names to these plantations of some cities and towns in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note there," &c. "this court, considering that there hath yet no place in any of the colonies been named in memory of the city of London," &c. Trumbull, i. 170.

titude of sectarians, who, having separated themselves from christian societies in other places, had continued in a broken and disunited state in their present habitation. In their political capacity, they admitted unbounded liberty of conscience, and disavowed all connexion between church and state. In their christian relations, they made no account of the virtue of mutual forbearance, and absolutely disowned the duty of submitting to one another on any point, whether essential or circumstantial. Few of them held regular assemblies for public worship; still fewer appear to have had stated places for such assemblage; and an aversion to every thing that savored of *restraint* or *formality* prevailed among them all. Notwithstanding the unlimited toleration that was professedly established in this settlement, it appears that the government, in the year 1665, passed an ordinance to outlaw quakers and confiscate their estates, because they would not bear arms. But the people, in general, resisted this regulation, and would not suffer it to be carried into effect. Cotton Mather declares, that, in 1655, "Rhode Island colony was a colluvies of antinomians, fatalists, anabaptists, antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, quakers, ranters, and every thing but Roman catholics and true Christians; *bona terra, mala gens.*" In the town of Providence, which was included in this colony, and was inhabited by the descendants of those schismatics who had accompanied Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson in their exile from Massachusetts, the aversion to all establishments and every sort of subordination was carried to such an extreme that, at this period, the inhabitants had neither magistrates nor ministers among them. They entertained an invincible aversion to all rates and taxes, as the inventions of men to support *hirelings*, by which opprobrious term they designated all magistrates and ministers who refused to serve them for nothing. Yet they lived in great amity with their neighbors, and, though every man did whatever seemed right in his own eyes, it was rarely that any crime was committed among them; "which may be attributed," says the historian from whom this testimony is derived, "to their great veneration for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read from the least to the greatest."* Massachusetts and Connecticut, as they were the most considerable of the New England states, in respect of wealth and population, so were they the most distinguished for piety, morality, and the cultivation and diffusion of knowledge. At the close of the seventeenth century there were an hundred religious assemblies in Massachusetts, exclusive of the numerous congregations of christian Indians. The censorial discipline exercised by those societies over their members was eminently conducive to the preservation of good morals; and the efficacy of this and of every other incitement to virtue was enhanced by the thinly peopled state of the country, where none could screen his character or pursuits from the observation of the public eye.

Perhaps no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were remarkably strict, and not less strictly executed;† and, being cordially supported by public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess equally dangerous and infamous to the perpetrator. We are assured by a respectable writer, that at this period there was not a single beggar in the whole province. Labor was so valuable, land so cheap, and the elective franchise so extensive, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country. The general diffusion of education caused the national advantages which were thus vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated; and an ardent and enlightened patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other and to their country.

The state of society in New England, the circumstances and habits of the people, tended to form, among their leading men, a character more useful than brilliant;—not (as some have imagined) to discourage talent, but to repress its vain display, and train it to its legitimate and respectable end, of giving efficacy to wisdom and virtue. Yet this state of society was by no means inconsistent either with refinement of manners or with innocent hilarity. Lord Bellamont was agreeably surprised with the graceful and courteous demeanor of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut, and confessed that he found the aspect and address that were thought peculiar to nobility, in a land where this aristocratical distinction was unknown. From Dunton's account of his residence in Boston in 1686, it appears that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were at that time distinguished in a very high degree by the cheerfulness of their manners, their hospitality, and a courtesy the more estimable that it was indicative of real benevolence.*

In the historical and statistical accounts of the various states, we continually meet with instances of the beneficial influence exercised by superior minds on the virtue, industry, and happiness of particular districts and communities. In no country has the ascendency of talent been greater or more advantageously exerted. The dangers of Indian invasion were encountered and repelled; the dejection and timidity produced by them, overcome; the feuds and contentions arising among settlers of various countries, habits, and opinions, composed; the temptations to slothful and degenerate modes of living, resisted; the self-denial requisite to the endowment of institutions for preaching the gospel and the education of youth, resolutely practised. In founding and conducting to maturity the settlements that from time to time extended themselves over the surface of the province, men of talent and virtue enjoyed a noble and arduous sphere of employment. They taught by action and example. They distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind by excelling them in their ordinary pursuits, and thinking better than they on the ordinary subjects of reflection and consideration. The impression they produced, if circumscribed in its limits, was intense in its efficacy: the fame they achieved, if neither noisy nor glaring, was lasting and refined. They propagated their own moral likeness around them, and rendered their wisdom and spirit immortal by engrafting their own character on the minds of their fellow citizens. Mankind are more apt to copy characters than to practise precepts; and virtue is much more effectually recommended to their imitation and esteem by the life of zeal than by the weight of argument. Let the votaries of Fame remember that if a life thus spent circumscribe the diffusion of the patriot's name, it seems to enlarge his very being, and extend it to distant generations; and that if posthumous fame be any thing more than a splendid illusion, it is such distinction as this, from which the surest and most lasting satisfaction will be derived.

The esteem of the community was considered so valuable a part of the emoluments of office, that the salaries of all public officers, except those who were appointed by the crown, were, if not scanty, yet exceedingly moderate. In Connecticut, it was remarked, that the whole annual expenses of its public institutions (about 800*l.*) did not amount to the salary of a royal governor. The slender emoluments of public offices, and the tenure of popular pleasure by which they were held, tended very much to exempt the offices from the pretensions of unworthy candidates, and the officers from calumny and envy. Virtue and ability were fairly appreciated; and we frequently find the same men reelected for a long series of years to the same offices, and on some occasions succeeded by their sons, where inheritance of merit recommended inheritance of place.* In more than one of the settlements, the first codes of law were the compositions of single persons; the people desiring an eminent leader to compose for them a body of law, and then legislating unanimously in conformity with his suggestions.

The most lasting, if not the most serious, evil with which New England has been afflicted, is the institution of slavery, which continued till a late period to pollute all its provinces, and even now lingers, though to a very slight extent, in the province of New Hampshire.† The practice, as we have seen, originated in the supposed necessity created by the Indian hostilities; but, once introduced, it was fatally calculated to perpetuate itself, and to derive accessions from various other sources. For some time, indeed, this was successfully resisted; and instances have been recorded of judicial interposition to restrain the evil within its original limits. In the year 1645, a negro fraudulently brought from Africa, and enslaved within the New England territory, was liberated and sent home by the general court. There was never any law expressly authorising slavery; and such was the influence of religious and moral feeling in New England, that, even while there was no law prohibiting its continuance, it was never able to prevail to any considerable extent. In the year 1704, the assembly of Massachusetts imposed a duty of 4*l.* on every negro imported into the province; and eight years after, passed an act prohibiting the importation of any more Indian servants or slaves. In Massachusetts, the slaves never exceeded the fiftieth part of the whole population; in Connecticut and Rhode Island, when slaves were most numerous (in the middle of the eighteenth century,) the proportion was nearly the same; and in the territory that afterwards received the name of Vermont, when the number of inhabitants amounted to nearly nine thousand, there were only sixteen persons in a state of slavery. The cruelties and vices that slavery tends to engender were repressed at once by this great preponderance of the sound over the unhealthy part of the body politic, and by the circumstances to which this preponderance was owing. The majority of the inhabitants were decidedly hostile to slavery; and numerous remonstrances were addressed to the British government against the encouragement she afforded to it by maintaining the slave trade.‡ When America effected her independence, the New England states (with the single exception of New Hampshire) adopted measures which, in the course of a few years, abolished every trace of this vile institution. In New Hampshire, it seems to have been rather a preposterous regard for liberty, and the sacredness of existing possessions, than a predilection for slavery, that prevented this practice from being formally abolished by the principles by which it has been essentially modified and substantially condemned.§

* Neal, ii. 595, 596. We have an account of the religious condition of Rhode Island, about thirty years after this period, from the pen of the great and good Bishop Berkeley, who resided some years in this colony. A general indifference to religion, and a great relaxation of morality, had become the characteristics of the majority of the people. Several churches, however, some on the congregational, and others on the episcopal model, had been established; and through their instrumentality, the blessings of religion were yet preserved in the colony. Berkeley's Work, vol. ii. p. 455, 456.

So late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the legislature of Rhode Island discouraged the project of a turnpike road, alleging that turnpike duties and ecclesiastical establishments were English practices, and badges of slavery, from which their people were distinguished over all the other Americans by a happy exemption. It was not till the year 1805 that the advantages of turnpike roads prevailed over the imaginary dignity of this exemption. Dwight, vol. ii. Letter 52.

† Josselyn, who visited New England, for the first time in 1638, relates, that in the village of Boston there were then two licensed inns. "An officer visits them," he adds, "whenever a stranger goes into them; and if he calls for more drink than the officer thinks in his judgment he can soberly bear away, he countermands it, and appoints the proportion, beyond which he cannot get one drop." Josselyn's Voyage, 173. In 1694, the select men of Massachusetts were ordered to hang up in every alehouse lists of all reputed tipplers and drunkards within their districts; and alehouse keepers [illegible] name was [illegible]. The magistrates of some of the towns of Scotland appear to have exercised similar acts of authority. An instance occurred in the town of Rutherglen in 1668. Ure's Hist. of Rutherglen, p. 71.

* Dunton's Life and Errors, Stage iv. Dunton, who had sat at [illegible] feasts in London, was yet struck with the plenty and elegance of the entertainments he witnessed in Boston.

* I had intended here to have subjoined a list (extracted from the New England Journals) of persons in whose families the government of particular states and towns has been vested, with the consent of their fellow citizens, for considerable periods of time. But I find the list too long for insertion.

† The assembly of this province, as early as the reign of George the First, passed a law, enacting, that "if any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man or maid servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them, he shall let him or her go free from his service, and shall allow such farther recompense as the court of quarter sessions shall adjudge;" and that "if any person kill his Indian or negro servant, he shall be punished with death." The slaves in this province are said to have been treated in all respects like white servants. Warden's United States, i. 398.

‡ Very different in this respect were (at one period) the conduct and sentiments of the Portuguese government and the colonists of Brazil, where the royal authority was endangered by the endeavors of the crown to second the policy of the jesuits for extirpating or mitigating the evils of Indian and negro slavery. See Souther's History of Brazil, Part ii.

§ There is a strange, I hope not a disingenuous, indistinctness in the statements of some writers respecting the negro slavery of New England. Winterbotham, writing in 1795, asserts, that "there are no slaves in Massachusetts." If he meant that a law had been passed which denounced, and was gradually extinguishing slavery, he was right; but the literal sense of his words is contradicted by Warden's Tables, which demonstrate that fifteen years after (the law not yet having produced its full effect) there were several thousand slaves in Massachusetts. Dwight relates his travels, in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, through every part of New England, without giving us the slightest reason to suppose that such beings as slaves existed in any one of its states, except when he stops to defend the legislature of Connecticut from an imputation on the manner in which her share of the abolition had been conducted. Warden himself says, in one page, that "slavery no longer exists in New England," even while, in another, he indicates and seeks to palliate the recurrence of its extrema vestigia in New Hampshire.

BOOK III.

MARYLAND.

Charter of Maryland obtained from Charles the First by Lord Baltimore—Emigration of Roman Catholics to the Province—Friendly Treaty with the Indians—Generosity of Lord Baltimore—Opposition and Intrigues of Cleyborne—First Assembly of Maryland—Representative Government established—Early introduction of Negro Slavery—An Indian War—Cleyborne's Rebellion—Religious Toleration established in the Colony—Separate Establishment of the House of Burgesses—Cleyborne declares for Cromwell—and usurps the Administration—Toleration abolished—Distractions of the Colony—terminated by the Restoration—Establishment of a provincial Mint—Happy State of the Colony—Naturalization Acts—Death of the first Proprietary—Wise Government of his Son and Successor—Law against importing Felons—Establishment of the Church of England suggested—Dismemberment of the Delaware Territory from Maryland—Arbitrary Projects of James the Second—Alarm of the Colonists—Rumor of a Popish Plot—A Protestant Association is formed—and usurps the Administration—The Proprietary Government suspended by King William—Establishment of the Church of England, and Persecution of the Catholics—State of the Province—Manners—Laws.

From the history of Massachusetts and of the other New England states, which were the offspring of its colonization, we are now to proceed to consider the establishment of a colony which arose from the settlement of Virginia. In relating the history of this state, we have had occasion to notice, among the causes that disquieted its inhabitants during the government of Sir John Harvey, the diminution of their colonial territory by arbitrary grants from the crown, of large tracts of country situated within its limits. The most remarkable of these was the grant of Maryland to Lord Baltimore.

Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, was Secretary of State to King James the First, and one of the original associates of the Virginian Company. Impressed with the value of colonial property, and the improvement that it seemed likely to derive from the progress of colonization, he employed his political influence to secure an ample share of it to himself and his family. He was a strenuous asserter of the supremacy of that authority from the exercise of which he expected to derive his own enrichment; [1620] and when a bill was introduced into the House of Commons for making the Newfoundland fishery free to all British subjects, he opposed it, on the plea that the American territory, having been acquired by conquest, was subject to the exclusive regulation of the royal prerogative. The first grant that he succeeded in obtaining was of a district in Newfoundland named Avalon, where, at a considerable expense, he formed the settlement of Ferryland;* [1622] but finding his expectations disappointed by the soil and climate of this inhospitable region, he paid a visit to Virginia, for the purpose of ascertaining if some part of its richer territory might not be rendered more subservient to his advantage. Observing that the Virginians had not yet formed any settlements to the northward of the river Potowmack, he determined to obtain a grant of territory in that quarter; and easily prevailed with Charles the First to bestow on him the investiture he desired. With the intention of promoting the aggrandisement of his own family, he combined the more generous design of founding a new state, and colonizing it with the persecuted votaries of the church of Rome, to which he had become a convert; but the design which he had facilitated by an act of injustice, he was not permitted himself to realize. His project, which was interrupted by his death, just when all was prepared for carrying it into effect, was resumed by his son and successor, Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, in whose favor the king completed and executed the charter [1632] that had been destined for his father.

If the charter which this monarch had granted a short time before to the puritan colonists of Massachusetts may be regarded as the exercise of policy, the investiture which he now bestowed on Lord Baltimore was not less manifestly the expression of favor. This nobleman, like his father, was a Roman catholic; and his avowed purpose was to people the territory with colonists of the same persuasion, and erect an asylum in America for the catholic faith. By the charter, it was declared that the grantee was actuated by a laudable zeal for extending the christian religion, and the territories of the empire; and the district assigned to him and his heirs and successors was described as "that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkins' Point of Chesapeak Bay; thence to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north which lies under the fortieth degree, where New England is terminated: thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the meridian of the fountain of Potowmack; thence following its course by the farther bank to its confluence." In honor of the queen, the province thus bestowed on a nobleman of the same faith with her majesty was denominated Maryland: and in honor, perhaps, of her majesty's faith, the endowment was accompanied with immunities more ample than any of the other colonial establishments possessed. The new province was declared to be separated from Virginia, and no longer subordinate to any other colony, but immediately subject to the crown of England, and dependant on the same for ever. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary of it; saving the allegiance and sovereign dominion due to the crown. He was empowered, with the assent of the freemen or their delegates, whom he was required to assemble for that purpose, to make laws for the province, not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England; and the acts of the assembly he was authorised to execute. For the population of the new colony, licence was given to all his Majesty's subjects to transport themselves thither; and they and their posterity were declared to be liegemen of the king and his successors, and entitled to the liberties of Englishmen, as if they had been born within the kingdom. Power was given to the proprietary, with assent of the people, to impose all just and proper subsidies, which were granted to him for ever; and it was covenanted on the part of the king, that neither he nor his successors should at any time impose, or cause to be imposed, any tallages on the colonists, or their goods and tenements, or on their commodities to be laden within the province. Thus was conferred on Maryland, in perpetuity, that exemption which had been granted to other colonies for a term of years. The territory was erected into a palatinate; and the proprietary was invested with all the royal rights of the palace, as fully as any bishop of Durham had ever enjoyed; and he was authorised to appoint officers, to repel invasions, and to suppress rebellions. The advowsons of those churches, which should be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, were granted to him. The charter finally provided, that, in case any doubt should arise concerning its true meaning, the interpretation most favorable to the proprietary should be adopted; excluding, however, any construction derogatory to the christian religion, or to the allegiance due to the crown.

Though the sovereignty of the crown was thus reserved over the province, and a conformity enjoined between its legislation and the jurisprudence of England, no means were provided for the exercise of the royal dominion or the ascertainment of the stipulated conformity. The charter contained no special reservation of royal interference in the government of the province, and no obligation on the proprietary to transmit the acts of assembly for confirmation or disallowance by the king. In erecting the province into a palatinate, and vesting the hereditary government of it in the family of Lord Baltimore, the king exercised the highest attributes of the prerogative of a feudal sovereign. A similar trait of feudal prerogative appears in the perpetual exemption from royal taxation which was confirmed by the charter, and which, at a later period, gave rise to much intricate and elaborate controversy. It was maintained, when this provison became the subject of critical discussion, that it could never be construed to import an exemption from parliamentary taxation, since the king could not be supposed to intend to abridge the jurisdiction of the parliament, or to renounce a privilege that was not his own;* and that even if such construction had been intended, the immunity was illegal, and incapable of restraining the functions of the legislature. In addition to the general reasoning that has been employed to demonstrate this illegality, reference has been made to the authority of a parliamentary proceeding mentioned by Sir Edward Coke, who, in a debate on the royal prerogative in the year 1620, assured the Commons that a dispensation from subsidies granted to certain individuals within the realm in the reign of Henry the Seventh, had been subsequently repealed by act of parliament. But to render this authority conclusive, it would be necessary to suppose, that every act of parliament that introduced a particular ordinance was also declaratory of the general law; and even then the application of this authority to the charter of Maryland may very fairly be questioned. Colonies, in that age, were regarded entirely as dependencies of the monarchical part of the government; the rule of their governance was the royal prerogative, except where it was specially limited or excluded by the terms of a royal charter; and the same power that gave a political being to the colony was considered adequate to determine the political privileges of its inhabitants. The colonists of Maryland undoubtedly conceived that their charter bestowed on them an exemption from all taxes but such as should be imposed by their own provincial assembly; for it discharged them for ever from the taxation of the only power that was considered competent to exercise this authority over them. Not the least remarkable peculiarity of this charter is, that it affords the first example of the dismemberment of a colony, and the creation of a new one within its limits, by the mere act of the crown.

Lord Baltimore having thus obtained the charter of Maryland, hastened to execute the design of colonizing the new province, of which he appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, to be governor. The first body of emigrants, consisting of about two hundred gentlemen of considerable rank and fortune, chiefly of the Roman catholic persuasion, with a number of inferior adherents, sailed from England under the command of Calvert in November, 1632; and after a prosperous voyage, landed in Maryland, near the mouth of the river Potowmack, in the beginning of the following year. [1633.] The governor, as soon as he landed, erected a cross on the shore, and took possession of the country, *for our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord the king of England.* Aware that the first settlers of Virginia had given umbrage to the Indians by occupying their territory without demanding their permission, he determined to imitate the wiser and juster policy that had been pursued by the colonists of New England, and to unite the new with the ancient race of inhabitants by the reciprocal ties of equity and good-will. The Indian chief to whom he submitted his proposition of occupying a portion of the country answered at first with a sullen indifference, the result most probably of aversion to the measure and of conscious inability to resist it, that he would not bid the English go, neither would he bid them stay, but that he left them to their own discretion. The liberality and courtesy, however, of the governor's demeanor succeeded at length in conciliating his regard so powerfully, that he not only formed a friendly league between the colonists and his own people, but persuaded the other neighboring tribes to accede to the treaty, and warmly declared, *I love the English so well, that if they should go about to kill me, if I had so much breath as to speak, I would command the people not to revenge my death; for I know they would not do such a thing, except it were through my own fault.* Having purchased the rights of the aborigines at a price which gave them perfect satisfaction, the colonists obtained possession of a considerable district, including an Indian town which they immediately proceeded to occupy, and to which they gave the name of St. Mary's. It was not till their numbers had undergone a considerable increase, that they judged it necessary to enact legislative regulations, and establish their political constitution. They lived some time under the domestic regimen of a patriarchal family, and confined their attention to the providing of food and habitations for themselves and the associates by whom they expected to be reinforced. The lands which had been ceded to them were planted with facility, because they had already undergone the discipline of Indian tillage; and this circumstance, as well as the proximity of Virginia, which now afforded an abundant supply of the necessaries of life, enabled the colonists of Maryland to escape the ravages of that calamity, which had afflicted the infancy, and nearly proved fatal to the existence of every one of the other settlements of the English in America. The tidings of their safe and comfortable establishment in the province, concurring with the uneasiness experienced by the Roman catholics in England, induced considerable numbers of the professors of this faith to follow the original emigrants to Maryland; and no efforts of wisdom or generosity were spared by Lord Baltimore to facilitate the population and promote the happiness of the colony. The transportation of people, and of necessary stores and

* His colonial policy is thus contrasted by an old writer, with that of Chief Justice Popham, the promoter of the first attempts to Colonize New England: "Judge Popham and Sir George Calvert agreed not more unanimously in the public design of planting, than they differed in the private way of it: the first was for extirpating heathens, the second for converting them. He sent away the levdest, this the soberest people: the one was for present profit, the other for a reasonable expectation"—"the first set up a common stock, out of which the people should be provided by proportions; the second left every one to provide for himself." Lloyd's State Worthies, 751, 752.

* Yet at an after period, it was considered, that an exclusion of parliamentary taxation, whether effectually constituted, would be at least imported by such a clause; and in the Pennsylvanian charter when an exemption of this description was conceded, it was qualified by an express "saving of the authority of the English parliament."

provisions, during the first two years, cost him upwards of forty thousand pounds. To every emigrant he assigned fifty acres of land in absolute fee; and with a liberality unparalleled in that age, and altogether surprising in a catholic, he united a general establishment of Christianity as the common law of the land, with an absolute exclusion of the political predominance or superiority of any one particular sect or denomination of Christians. This wise administration soon converted a dreary wilderness into a prosperous colony. It is a proof at once of the success of his policy, and the prosperity and happiness of the colonists, that a very few years after the first occupation of the province, they granted to their proprietary a considerable subsidy of tobacco, as a grateful acknowledgment of his liberality and beneficence. Similar tributes continued, from time to time, to attest the merit of the proprietary and the attachment of the people.

The wisdom and virtue by which the plantation of the new province was signalised, could not atone for the arbitrary injustice by which its territory had been wrested from the jurisdiction of Virginia; and while it is impossible not to regret the troubles which originated from this circumstance, there is something not altogether dissatisfactory to the moral eye, in beholding the inevitable fruits of usurpation. Such lessons are most agreeable, when the retribution which they represent is confined to the immediate perpetrators of wrong: but they are not least salutary when the admonition they convey is extended to the remote accessaries, who are willing to avail themselves of the injustice of the principal delinquents. The king had commanded Sir John Harvey, the governor of Virginia, to render the utmost assistance and encouragement to Lord Baltimore, in establishing himself and his associates in Maryland. But though the governor and his council readily agreed, in humble submission to his majesty's pleasure, to observe a good correspondence with their unwelcome neighbors, they determined at the same time to maintain the rights of the prior settlement. The planters of Virginia presented a petition against the grant to Lord Baltimore: and both parties were admitted to discuss their respective pretensions before the Privy Council. After vainly endeavoring to promote an amicable adjustment, the council awarded that his lordship should retain his patent, and the petitioners their remedy at law—a remedy which probably had no existence, and to which the Virginians never thought proper to resort. For the preventing of farther differences, it was ordered by the council that free and mutual commerce should be permitted between the two colonies; that neither should receive fugitives from the other, or do any act that might provoke a war with the natives: and that both should on all occasions assist and befriend each other in a manner becoming fellow subjects of the same empire.

But although the Virginian planters were thus compelled to withdraw their opposition, and the Virginian government to recognise the independence of Maryland, the establishment of this colony encountered an obstinate resistance from interests much less entitled to respect; and the validity of Lord Baltimore's grant was vehemently opposed by the pretensions of a prior intruder. This competitor was William Cleyborne, a member of Sir John Harvey's council, and secretary of the province of Virginia; and the friendship between Harvey and this individual may perhaps account for a singularity in the conduct of that tyrannical governor, and explain why on one occasion at least he was disposed to maintain the interests of the Virginian planters in opposition to the arbitrary purposes of the king. About a year preceding the date of Lord Baltimore's charter, the king had granted to Cleyborne a licence under the sign manual to traffic in those parts of America not comprehended in any prior patent of exclusive trade: and for the enforcement of this licence Harvey had superadded to it a commission in similar terms under the seal of his own authority. The object of Cleyborne and his associates was to monopolise the trade of the Chesapeak; and with this view they had proceeded to establish a small trading settlement in the isle of Kent, which is situated in the very centre of Maryland, and which Cleyborne now persisted in claiming as his own, and refused to submit to the newly erected jurisdiction. The injustice of a plea which construed a licence to traffic into a grant of territory, did not prevent the government of Virginia from countenancing Cleyborne's opposition; and, encouraged by the approbation which they openly gave to his pretensions, he proceeded to enforce them by acts of profligate intrigue, and even sanguinary violence. He infused his own spirit into the inhabitants of the isle of Kent, and scattered jealousies among the Indian tribes, some of whom he was able to persuade that the new settlers were Spaniards and enemies to the Virginians. [1634.] Lord Baltimore at length was sensible of the necessity of a vigorous defence of his rights: and orders were transmitted to the governor to vindicate the provincial jurisdiction, and enforce an entire subordination within its limits. Till this emergency, the colony had subsisted without enacting or realising its civil institutions; but the same emergency that now called forth the powers of government, tended also to develope its organisation. Accordingly, in the commencement of the following year, [1635.] was convened the first assembly of Maryland, consisting of the whole body of the freemen; and various regulations were enacted for the maintenance of good order in the province. One of the enactments of this assembly was, that all perpetrators of murder and other felonies should incur the same punishments that were awarded by the laws of England; an enactment which, besides its general utility, was necessary to pave the way to the judicial proceedings that were contemplated against Cleyborne. This individual, accordingly, still persisting in his outrages, was indicted soon after of murder, piracy, and sedition. Finding that those who had encouraged his pretensions left him unaided to defend his crimes, he fled from justice, and his estate was confiscated. Against these proceedings he appealed to the king; and petitioned at the same time for the renewal of his licence and the grant of an independent territory adjoining to the isle of Kent. By the assistance of powerful friends, and the dexterity of his representations, he very nearly obtained a complete triumph over his antagonists, and eventually prevailed so far as to involve Lord Baltimore and the colonists of Maryland in a controversy that was not terminated for several years. At length the lords commissioners of the colonies, to whom the matter had been referred, pronounced a final sentence, dismissing Cleyborne's appeal, and adjudging that the whole territory belonged to Lord Baltimore, and that no plantation or trade with the Indians should be established without his permission within the limits of his patent. Thus divested of every semblance of legal title, Cleyborne exchanged his hopes of victory for schemes of revenge; and watching every opportunity of hostile intrigue that the situation of the colony might present to him, he was unfortunately enabled, at a future period, to wreak the vengeance of disappointed rapacity upon his successful competitors.

The colony meanwhile continued to thrive, and the numbers of its inhabitants to be augmented by copious emigration from England. With the increase of the people, and the extension of the settlements to a greater distance from St. Mary's, the necessity of a legislative code became apparent: and Lord Baltimore having composed a body of laws for the province, transmitted them to his brother, with directions to propose them to the assembly of the freemen. The second assembly of Maryland was in consequence convoked by the governor, [1637,] with the expectation no doubt of an immediate ratification of the suggestions of the proprietary. But the colonists, with a cordial attachment to Lord Baltimore, cherished a just estimation of their own political rights; and while they made a liberal provision for the support of his government, they hesitated not a moment to reject the code that he tendered to their acceptance. In the place of it, they prepared for themselves a collection of regulations, which are creditable to their own good sense, and from which some insight may be derived into the state of the settlement at this period. The province was divided into baronies and manors, the privileges of which were now carefully defined. Bills were framed for securing the liberties of the people and the titles to landed property, and for regulating the course of intestate succession. A bill was passed for the support of the proprietary, and an act of attainder against Cleyborne. In almost all the laws where prices were stated or payments prescribed, tobacco, and not money, was made the measure of value. The colonists of Maryland appear to have devoted themselves as vehemently as the Virginians did at first to the cultivation of this valuable article. In their indiscriminate eagerness to enlarge their contributions to the market, and to obtain a price for the whole produce of their fields, they refused to accede to the regulations by which the planters of Virginia improved the quality by diminishing the quantity of their supply; and this collision was productive of much dispute and ill-humor between the colonies, and tended to keep alive the original disgust with which the establishment of Maryland had been regarded by Virginia.

The third assembly of Maryland, which was convoked two years afterwards, [1639], was rendered memorable by the introduction of a representative body into the constitution. The population of the province had derived so large an increase from recent emigrations, that it was impossible for the freeholders to continue any longer to exercise the privilege of legislation by personal attendance. A law was therefore passed for the introduction of representatives, and the modification of the house of assembly. It was declared by this act, that those who should be elected in pursuance of writs issued should be called burgesses, and should supply the place of the freemen who chose them, in the same manner as the representatives in the parliament of England, and, in conjunction with those called by the special writ of the proprietary, together with the governor and secretary, should constitute the general assembly. But though the election of representatives was thus established for the convenience of the people, they were not restricted to this mode of exercising their legislatorial rights; for, by a very singular clause, it was provided, that all freemen refraining from voting at the election of burgesses, were at liberty to take their seats in person in the assembly. The several branches of the legislature were appointed to sit in the same chamber, and all acts assented to by the united body were to be deemed of the same force as if the proprietary and freemen had been personally present. It was not long before the people were sensible of the advantage that the democratic part of the constitution would derive from the separate establishment of its peculiar organ; but although this innovation was suggested by the burgesses very shortly afterwards, the constitution that was now adopted continued to be retained by the legislature of Maryland till the year 1650. Various acts were passed in this assembly for the security of liberty, and the administration of justice according to the laws and customs of England. All the inhabitants were required to take the oath of allegiance to the king; the prerogatives of the proprietary were distinctly recognised; and the great charter of England was declared to be the measure of the liberties of the colonists. To obviate the inconveniences that began to be threatened by the almost exclusive attention of the people to the cultivation of tobacco, it was found necessary to enforce the planting of corn by law. A tax was imposed for the supply of a revenue to the proprietary. But notwithstanding this indication of prosperity, and the introduction of representative government, that the colonists were not yet either numerous or wealthy, may be strongly inferred from the imposition of a general assessment to erect a water-mill for the use of the colony. Slavery seems to have been established in Maryland from its earliest colonization: for an act of this assembly describes *the people* to consist of all christian inhabitants, *slaves only excepted*. That slavery should gain a footing in any community of professing Christians, will excite the regret of every one who knows what slavery and Christianity mean. Some surprise may mingle with our regret when we behold this baneful institution adopted in a colony of catholics, and of men who not only were themselves fugitives from persecution, but so much in earnest in the profession of their distinctive faith, as for its sake to incur exile from their native country. The unlawfulness of slavery had been solemnly announced by the pontiff, whom the catholics regard as the infallible head of their church. When the controversy on this subject was submitted to Leo the Tenth, he declared, that not only the christian religion, but nature herself, cried out against a state of slavery. But the good which an earthly potentate can effect, is far from being commensurate with his power of doing evil. When a pope divided the undiscovered parts of the world between Castile and Portugal, his arrogant division was held sacred; when another levelled his humane sentence against the lawfulness of slavery, his authority was contemned or disregarded.

The discontent with which the establishment of the new colony had been regarded by the Virginians was heightened, no doubt, by the contrast between the liberty and happiness that the planters of Maryland were permitted to enjoy, and the tyranny that they themselves were exposed to from the government of Sir John Harvey. The arguments by which the Maryland charter had been successfully defended against them, tended to associate the loss of their liberties with the existence of this colony: for the complaint of dismemberment of their original territory had been encountered by the plea, that the designation of that territory had perished with the charter which contained it, and that by the dissolution of the company to which

the charter had belonged, all the dominion it could claim over unoccupied territory had reverted to the crown. From the company, or at least during its existence, the Virginians had obtained the liberties which had been wrested from them at the time of its dissolution; and hence their ardent wishes for the restoration of their liberties were naturally connected with the re-establishment of a corporation, whose patent, if revived, would annul the charter of Maryland. It was fortunate for both the colonies that the liberties of Virginia were restored by the king without the appendage of the ancient corporation; and that the Virginians, justly appreciating the advantages they possessed, now regarded with aversion the revival of the patent, and were sensible that their interests would be rather impaired than promoted by the event that would enable them to re-annex Maryland to their territory. Had the change of circumstances and interests been deferred but a short time, the most injurious consequences might have resulted to both the colonies; [1640] for the assembling of the Long Parliament, and the encouragement which every complaint of royal misgovernment received from that assembly, inspired the proprietors of the Virginia company with the hope of obtaining a restitution of their patent. Fortified by the opinion of eminent lawyers whom they consulted, and who scrupled not to assure them that the ancient patents of Virginia still remained in force,* and that the grant of Maryland, as derogatory to them, was utterly void, they presented an application to the parliament complaining of the unjust invasion that their privileges had undergone, and demanding that the government of Virginia should be restored to them. This application would undoubtedly have prevailed, if it had been seconded by the colony. Its failure was mainly occasioned by the vigorous opposition of the assembly of Virginia.

Under the constitution which was thus preserved to them by the efforts of its ancient antagonists, the colonists of Maryland continued to enjoy a great degree of happiness and prosperity, [1641,] and to evince, by their unabated gratitude to the proprietary, that the spirit of liberty rather enhances than impairs the attachment of a free people to its rulers, and that a just sense of the rights of men is no way incompatible with a lively impression of their duties. The wise and friendly policy which the governor continued to pursue towards the Indians, had hitherto preserved a peace which had proved highly beneficial to the infancy of the colony. But unfortunately the intrigues of Cleyborne had infected the minds of these savages with a jealous suspicion, which the increasing power of the colony had no tendency to mitigate, and which the immoderate avidity of some of the planters tended powerfully to inflame. The rapid multiplication of the strangers seemed to threaten their extinction as a people; and the augmented value which the territory they sold to the colonists had subsequently derived from the industry and skill of its new proprietors, easily suggested to their envy and ignorance the angry surmise, that they had been defrauded in the original vendition. This injurious suspicion was confirmed by the conduct of various individuals among the planters, who procured additional grants of land from the Indians without the authority of government, for considerations which were extremely inadequate, and which, upon reflection, filled them with anger and discontent.† These causes at length produced the calamity which the governor had labored so earnestly to avert. An Indian war broke out in the beginning of the year 1642, and continued for several years after to administer its accustomed evils, without the occurrence of any decisive issue, or the attainment of any considerable advantage by either party. Peace having been with some difficulty re-established, [1644,] the assembly proceeded to enact laws for the prevention of the more obvious causes of complaint and animosity. All acquisitions of land from the aborigines, without the consent of the proprietary, were declared derogatory no less to his dignity and rights, than to the safety of the community, and therefore void and illegal. It was made a capital felony to sell or kidnap any friendly Indians; and a high misdemeanor to supply them with spirituous liquors, or to put them in possession of arms or ammunition. Partly by these regulations, and more by the humane and prudent conduct of the proprietary government, the peace that was now concluded between the colony and the Indians subsisted, without interruption, for a considerable period of time.

But the colony was not long permitted to enjoy the restoration of its tranquillity. Scarcely had the Indian war been concluded, when the intrigues of Cleyborne exploded in mischiefs of far greater magnitude, and more lasting malignity. The activity of this enterprising and vindictive spirit had been curbed hitherto by the deference which he deemed it expedient to profess to the pleasure of the British court, at which he had continued to cultivate his interest so successfully, that, in the year 1642, he had received from the king the appointment of treasurer of Virginia for life. But the civil wars which had now broke out in England, leaving him no longer any thing to hope from royal patronage, he made no scruple to declare himself a partizan of the popular cause, and to espouse the fortunes of a party from whose predominance he might expect at once the gratification of his ambition, and the indulgence of his revenge. In conjunction with his ancient associates in the isle of Kent, and aided by the contagious fervent of the times, he raised a rebellion in Maryland in the beginning of the year 1645. Calvert, unprepared at first with a force suitable to this emergency, was constrained to fly into Virginia for protection; and the vacant government was instantly appropriated by the insurgents, and exercised with a violence characteristic of the ascendancy of an unpopular minority. Notwithstanding the most vigorous exertions of the governor, seconded by the well-affected part of the community, the revolt was not suppressed till the autumn of the following year [1646]. The afflictions of that calamitous period are indicated by a statute of the assembly, which recites "that the province had been wasted by a miserable dissension and unhappy war, which had been closed by the joyful restitution of a blessed peace." To promote the restoration of tranquillity and mutual confidence, an act of general pardon and oblivion was passed, from the benefits of which only a few leading characters were excepted; and all actions were discharged for wrongs that might have been perpetrated during the revolt. But the additional burdens which it was found necessary to impose upon the people, were consequences of the insurrection that did not so soon pass away: and, three years afterwards, [1649] a temporary duty of ten shillings on every hundred weight of tobacco exported in Dutch bottoms was granted to the proprietary; the one half of which was expressly appropriated to satisfy claims produced by the recovery and defence of the province; and the other was declared to be conferred on him for the purpose of enabling him the better to provide for its safety in time to come.

In the assembly by which the imposition of this duty was enacted, a magnanimous attempt was made to preserve the peace of the colony by suppressing one of the most fertile sources of human contention and animosity. It had been declared by the proprietary, at a very early period, that religious toleration should constitute one of the fundamental principles of the social union over which he presided; and the assembly of the province, composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, now proceeded, by a memorable *Act concerning Religion*, to interweave this noble principle into its legislative institutions. This statute commenced with a preamble, declaring that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practised; and thereafter enacted, that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against their consent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire against the civil government; That persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary: That those who should reproach their neighbors with opprobrious names of religious distinction, should forfeit ten shillings to the persons so insulted: That any one speaking reproachfully against the blessed Virgin or the apostles, should forfeit five pounds; but that blasphemy against God should be punished with death. By the enactment of this statute, the catholic planters of Maryland procured to their adopted country the distinguished praise of being the first of the American states in which toleration was established by law;* and graced their peculiar faith with the signal and unwonted merit of protecting that religious freedom which all other christian associations were conspiring to overthrow. It is a striking and instructive spectacle to behold at this period the puritans persecuting their protestant brethren in New England; the episcopalians retorting the same severity on the puritans in Virginia: and the catholics, against whom all the others were combined, forming in Maryland a sanctuary where all might worship and none might oppress, and where even protestants sought refuge from protestant intolerance. If the dangers to which the Maryland Catholics must have felt themselves exposed from the disfavor with which they were regarded by all the other communities of their countrymen, and from the ascendancy which their most zealous adversaries the presbyterians were acquiring in the councils of the parent state, may be supposed to account in some degree for their enforcement of a principle of which they manifestly needed the protection, the surmise will detract very little from the merit of the authors of this excellent law. The moderation of mankind has ever needed adventitious support: and it is no depreciation of christian sentiment, that it is capable of deriving an accession to its purity from the experience of persecution. It is by divine grace alone that the fire of persecution thus sometimes tends to refine virtue and consume the dross that may have adhered to it; and the progress of this history is destined to show, that without such overruling agency, the commission of injustice naturally tends to its own reproduction, and that the experience of it engenders a much stronger disposition to retaliate its severities than to sympathise with its victims. It had been happy for the credit of the protestants, whose hostility perhaps enforced the moderation of the catholics of Maryland, if they had imitated the virtue which their own apprehended violence may have tended to elicit. But, unfortunately, a great proportion even of those who were constrained to seek refuge among the catholics from the persecutions of their own protestant brethren, carried with them into exile the same intolerance of which themselves had been the victims; and the presbyterians and other dissenters who now began to flock in considerable numbers from Virginia to Maryland, gradually formed a protestant confederacy against the interests of the original settlers; and, with ingratitude still more odious than their injustice, projected the abrogation not only of the catholic worship, but of every part of that system of toleration, under whose shelter they were enabled to conspire its downfall. But though the catholics were thus ill requited by their protestant guests, it would be a mistake to suppose that the calamities that subsequently desolated the province were produced by the toleration which her assembly now established, or that the catholics were really losers by this act of justice and liberality. From the disposition of the prevailing party in England, and the state of the other colonial settlements, the catastrophe that overtook the liberties of the Maryland catholics could not possibly have been evaded: and if the virtue they now displayed was unable to avert their fate, it exempted them at least from the reproach of deserving it; it redoubled the guilt and scandal incurred by their adversaries, and achieved for themselves a reputation more lasting and honorable than political triumph or temporal elevation. What Christian, however sensible of the errors of catholic doctrine, would not rather be the descendant of the catholics who established toleration in Maryland, than of the protestants who overthrew it?

From the establishment of religious freedom, the assembly of Maryland proceeded to the improvement of political liberty; and in the following year [1650] the constitution of this province received that structure which, with some interruptions, it continued to retain for more than a century after. So early as the year 1642, the burgesses who had been elected to the existing assembly, whether actuated by the spirit natural to representatives, or animated by the example of the commons of England, had expressed a desire "that they might be separated, and sit by themselves, and have a negative." Their desire was disallowed at that time, but now, in conformity with it, a law was passed, enacting that members called to the assembly by special writ should form the upper house: that those who were chosen by the hundreds should form the lower

* This seems to corroborate the supposition that the quo warranto against the Virginia company was not prosecuted to a judicial issue.

† Similar causes of offence undoubtedly begot or promoted many of the wars between the Indians and the other colonies. "Such things," says the historian of New Hampshire, "were indeed disallowed by the government, and would always have been punished, if the Indians had made complaint; but they knew only the law of retaliation, and when an injury was inflicted, it was never forgotten till revenged." The fraud, or supposed fraud, of an individual, might, at the distance of many years from its perpetration, involve the whole colony to which he belonged in an Indian war. Belknap, i 128.

* Rhode Island was at this time the only one of the protestant settlements in which the principle of toleration was recognized: and even there, Roman catholics were excluded from participating in the political rights that were enjoyed by the rest of the community.

house; and that all bills which should be assented to by the two branches of the legislature, and ratified by the governor, should be deemed the laws of the province. An act of recognition of the undoubted right of Lord Baltimore to the proprietaryship of the province, was passed in the same session. The assembly declared itself bound by the laws both of God and man, to acknowledge his just title by virtue of the grant of the late king Charles of England; it submitted to his authority, and obliged its constituents and their posterity for ever to defend him and his heirs in his royal rights and pre-eminences, so far as they do not infringe the just liberties of the free-born subjects of England: and it besought him to accept this act as a testimony to his posterity, of its fidelity and thankfulness for the manifold benefits which the colony had derived from him. Blending a due regard to the rights of the people with a just gratitude to the proprietary, the assembly at the same time enacted a law prohibiting the imposition of taxes without the consent of the freemen, and declaring in its preamble, "that as the proprietary's strength doth consist in the affections of his people; on them he doth rely for his supplies, not doubting of their duty and assistance on all just occasions." Perhaps it is only under such patriarchal administration as Maryland yet retained an admixture of in her constitution, and under such patriarchs as Lord Baltimore, that we can ever hope to find the realization of the political philosopher's dream of a system that incorporates into politics the sentiments that embellish social intercourse, and the affections that sweeten domestic life. In prosecution of its patriotic labors, the assembly proceeded to enact laws for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of agriculture and commerce; and a short gleam of tranquil prosperity preceded the calamities which the province was fated again to experience from the evil genius of Cleyborne, and the interposition of the parent state.

The parliament having now established its supremacy in England, had leisure to extend its views beyond the Atlantic; and if the people of Virginia were exposed by their political sentiments to a collision with this formidable power, the inhabitants of Maryland were not less obnoxious to its bigotry from their religious tenets. This latter province was not denounced by the parliamentary ordinance of 1650 as in a state of rebellion, like Virginia; but it was comprehended in that part of the ordinance which declared that the plantations were, and of right ought to be, dependent on England, and subject to its laws. In prosecution of the views and purposes of this ordinance, certain commissioners, of whom Cleyborne was one, [1651,] were appointed to reduce and govern the colonies within the bay of Chesapeak. In Virginia, where resistance was attempted, the existing administration was instantly suppressed; but as the proprietary of Maryland expressed his willingness to acknowledge the parliamentary jurisdiction, the commissioners were instructed to respect his rights: [1652,] and he was suffered to rule the province as formerly, though in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England.* But Cleyborne was not to be so easily deterred from availing himself of an opportunity so favorable for satiating his malignity; and unfortunately his designs were favored by the distractions in England that preceded the elevation of Cromwell to the protectorate, and by the disunion which began to prevail in the province from the pretensions of the protestant exiles who had recently united themselves to its population. Ever the ally of the strongest party, Cleyborne hastened to espouse the fortunes of Cromwell, whose triumph he easily foresaw; [1653.] and inflamed the dissensions of the province, by encouraging the protestants to unite the pursuit of their own ascendancy with the establishment of the protectoral government. The contentions of the two parties were at length exasperated to the extremity of civil war; and after various skirmishes, which were fought with alternate success, the catholics and the other partizans of the proprietary government were defeated in a decisive engagement, [1654] the governor deposed, and the administration usurped by Cleyborne and his associates.

Although the victorious party did not consider themselves warranted expressly to disclaim the title of the proprietary, they made haste to signalise their triumph by abolishing his institutions. Fuller and Preston, whom Cleyborne had appointed commissioners for directing the affairs of Maryland under his highness the lord protector, proceeded to convoke an assembly of the province; and some of the persons who were elected burgesses having refused to serve in a capacity which they deemed inconsistent with their obligations to Lord Baltimore, the legislative power was the more unreservedly appropriated by the partizans of innovation. The assembly having, as a preliminary measure, passed an act of recognition of Cromwell's just title and authority, proceeded to frame a law concerning religion, which derogated not less signally from the credit of the protestant cause, than from the justice of the protector's administration.* By this law it was declared, that none who professed the doctrines of the Romish church could be protected in this province by the laws of England formerly established, and yet unrepealed, or by the government of the commonwealth: That such as professed faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine and discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from the exercise of their religion; "provided such liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy; or to such as, under the profession of Christianity, practise licentiousness." Thus the Roman catholics were deprived of the protection of law in the community which their own industry and virtue had collected, and by those protestants to whom their humanity had granted a country and a home. This unworthy triumph was hailed by the zealots against popery in London, where a book was published soon after under the title of "Babylon's Fall in Maryland." But the catholics were not the only parties who experienced the severity of the new government. The protestant episcopalians were equally excluded from the protection of law; and a number of quakers having resorted soon after to the province, and begun to preach against judicial oaths and military pursuits, were denounced by the government as heretical vagabonds, and subjected to the punishment of flogging and imprisonment.

As Lord Baltimore's right to the proprietaryship of the province was still outwardly recognised, the commissioners, either deeming it requisite to the formality of their proceedings, or more probably with the hope of embroiling him with the protector, demanded his assent to the changes which had been thus introduced. But he firmly refused to sanction either the deposition of his governor, or any one of the recent proceedings of the commissioners and their adherents; and declared in particular, that he never would assent to the repeal of a law which protected the most sacred rights of mankind. The commissioners did not fail to complain of his contumacy to Cromwell, to whom they continued from time to time to transmit the most elaborate representations of the tyranny, bigotry, and royalist predilections of Lord Baltimore, and the expediency of depriving him of the proprietaryship of the province.† [1655.] But all their representations were ineffectual. Lord Baltimore was allowed by Cromwell to retain the rights which he was practically debarred from exercising; and the commissioners remained in the province to enact the tyranny and bigotry of which they had falsely accused him. Their proceedings, as intemperate as their councils, could neither preserve internal tranquillity in the colony, nor insure their own repose. The people, lately so tranquil and happy, were now a prey to all those disorders which never fail to result from religious persecution embittered by the triumph of party in civil contention. In this situation an insurrection was easily raised by Josias Fendal, [1656.] a restless and profligate adventurer, destined by his intrigues to become the Cleyborne of the next generation, and who now sought occasion to gratify his natural turbulence under pretence of asserting the rights of the proprietary and the ancient liberties of the province. This insurrection proved eminently unfortunate to the colony. It induced Lord Baltimore to repose a very ill grounded confidence in Fendal; and its suppression was attended with increased severities from the commissioners and additional impositions on the people.

The affairs of the colony continued for two years longer in this distracted condition; when at length the commissioners, disgusted with the disorders which they had contributed to produce, but were unable to compose, and finding all their efforts unavailing to procure the abrogation of Lord Baltimore's title, to which they ascribed the unappeasable discontent of a great part o the population, surrendered the administration of th province into the hands of Fendal, who had been appointed* governor by the proprietary. [1658] But this measure, so far from restoring the public quiet, contributed to aggravate the mischiefs which had so long infested the province by giving scope to the machinations of that unprincipled agitator, whose habitual restlessness and impetuosity had been mistaken for attachment to the proprietary government. No sooner had he called together an assembly, [1650] than with unblushing treachery he surrendered into the hands of the burgesses the trust which Lord Baltimore had committed to him, and accepted from them a new commission as governor; and the burgesses, by his instigation, dissolved the upper house, and assumed to themselves the whole legislative power of the state. Fendal and his associates were probably encouraged to pursue this lawless career by the distractions of the English commonwealth that followed the death of the protector. Their administration, which was chiefly distinguished by the imposition of heavy taxes, and the persecution of the quakers, was happily soon terminated by the restoration of Charles the Second; [1669.] and Philip Calvert producing a commission to himself from the proprietary, and a letter from the king commanding all officers, and others his subjects in Maryland, to assist in the re-establishment of Lord Baltimore's jurisdiction, found his authority universally recognised and peaceably submitted to. Fendal was now tried for high treason, and found guilty; but the clemency of the proprietary prevailed over his resentments, and he granted him a pardon on condition of a moderate fine, and under declaration of perpetual incapacity of public trust. This lenity was very ill requited by its worthless object, who was reserved by farther intrigues and treachery to disturb at an after period the repose of the province [1661.] His accomplices, upon a timely submission, were fully pardoned without prosecution. The recent usurpations were passed over in wise silence, and buried in a generous oblivion; toleration was forthwith restored; and the inhabitants of Maryland once more experienced the blessings of a mild government and internal tranquillity.

Happily for mankind, amidst the contentions of parties and the revolutions of government, there is a strong under-current of peaceful and industrious life, which often pursues its course with very little disturbance from the tempests that agitate the surface of society. Notwithstanding the disorders to which Maryland had so long been a prey, the province had continued to increase in population, industry, and wealth; and at the epoch of the Restoration, it appears to have contained about twelve thousand inhabitants. The re-establishment of a humane government and general subordination, however, had manifestly the effect of quickening the march of prosperity; and, accordingly, about five years after this period, we find the population increased to sixteen thousand persons. At this latter period, the number of ships trading from England and other parts of the British dominions to Maryland, was computed at an hundred. So great was the demand for labor in the colony, and so liberal its reward, that even the introduction of negro slavery had not been able to degrade it in public esteem. Industry, amply recompensed, was animated and cheerful, and, closely connected with independence and improvement of condition, was the object of general respect. Every young person was trained to useful labor; and though a legal provision was made for the support of the poor, pauperism and beggary were unknown in the colony, and the public bounty, though sometimes delicately conveyed to the necessities of proud poverty or modest misfortune, was never known to be openly solicited.† An account of the condition of Maryland was published at London in the year 1666, by George Alsop, who had resided in the province both prior and subsequent to the Restoration. From his representation it appears that a great

* Cromwell is at least obnoxious to the charge of having suffered the triumph of his own and of the protestant cause to be stigmatized by the suppression of a toleration established by Roman catholics. That he incited, or even approved this proceeding, is by no means apparent. In the records of this province, there is a letter from him to his commissioners, desiring them not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government. Chalmers, 236. But the protector was much more distinguished by the vigor of his conduct than the perspicuity of his diction; and his correspondents were sometimes unable to discover the meaning of his letters. It appears that, during the distractions of this period, Virginia evinced a disposition to resume her lost authority over Maryland. This design was instantly checked by Cromwell; and in one of his letters to the commissioners on this subject, we find him reprimanding them for not having understood his former communications. Chalmers, 223, 224. Hazard, 594. He seems, on many occasions, to have studied an ambiguity of language that left him free to approve or disapprove the proceedings of his officers, according to the success that might attend them.

† Langford's Refutation of a scandalous pamphlet, named Babylon's Fall in Maryland. Chalmers, p. 221. Hazard, p. 620 621 623 628. The only copy of Langford's Tract that I have ever met with was in the library of Mr. Chalmers.

* Winterbotham erroneously ascribes this appointment to Cromwell.

† Alsop's Maryland, 15, 16. The English civil wars appear to have produced a considerable improvement in the condition of laborers in North America, by interrupting the emigration of artificial competitors for employment. Winthrop's New England, ii. 219.

deal of the labor of the colony was performed by indented servants; and that the treatment of those persons was so humane, and the allotment of land and stock which they received from their masters at the end of their quadriennial servitude so ample, that the author, who himself had served in this capacity, declares he was much happier as an indented servant in Maryland than as an apprentice in London. It was common for ruined tradesmen and indigent laborers in England to adopt this resource for retrieving or improving their condition; though many were deterred by the misrepresentations circulated by weak politicians who dreaded the depopulation of the realm, or by interested employers who apprehended an augmentation of the wages of labor. No emigrants, says Alsop, were more successful in bettering their condition than female servants; they invariably obtained an immediate and respectable establishment in marriage. Money appears to have been very scarce in the colony, and quite unknown in its domestic transactions; tobacco being the universal medium of exchange, the remuneration of all services, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and the measure of all penal amercements. This author, when he has occasion to mention the troubles that preceded the Restoration, alludes to them merely as affairs of state, and events of very inconsiderable importance. Of some of the personages who were culpably implicated in them, it was his opinion, "that their thoughts were not so bad at first, as their actions would have led them into in process of time."*

A great proportion of the inhabitants of Maryland, and, in particular, all the catholic part of the population, were sincerely attached to the royal government;† and the gratification they derived from the restoration of the king enhanced the satisfaction with which they returned to the patriarchal sway of their benevolent proprietary. During the general festivity that prevailed in the province, the house of assembly was convoked by the governor. One of the first measures adopted by this body was an attempt to provide a remedy for the scarcity of money, which, it was declared, formed a serious obstruction to the advancement of trade. For this purpose they besought the proprietary to establish a mint in the province; and enacted that the money to be coined should be of as good silver as English sterling, and that the proprietary should accept of it in payment of his rents and other debts. This act, and the New England ordinance in 1652, are the only instances of the assertion of a right to coin money that occur in the colonial jurisprudence. A coinage accordingly took place in Maryland; and the measure seems neither to have offended the British government, nor to have disappointed the colony, for the law was confirmed and declared perpetual by the assembly in the year 1676. Yet, in consequence perhaps of the blame that Massachusetts incurred for a similar proceeding, the practice of coining soon after fell into disuse, and the acts that had introduced it were repealed. In the same session there was passed an act for the imposition of port duties, which conferred on the proprietary half a pound of powder and three pounds of shot for every ton of the burden of vessels not belonging to the province. This act, as we shall afterwards find, gave rise to some political controversy at the period of the British Revolution.

The happiness and prosperity of the colony were promoted by the arrival, in the following year, [1662,] of Charles Calvert, the eldest son of the proprietary, whom his father appointed the resident governor of Maryland, for the purpose of enabling him to form acquaintance with the people over whom he was destined to maintain the hereditary jurisdiction. From the various *acts of gratitude* (as they were termed) that were passed by the assembly during his administration, Charles Calvert appears to have followed, with successful virtue, the wise and generous policy of his father; and his administration, both as governor, and afterwards as proprietary, proved no less honorable to himself than beneficial to the province. Legislation continued for a considerable period to be the only public proceeding in which the people were called to share; and various laws were enacted by the assembly for the ascertainment of public and private right, the promotion of commerce, and the encouragement of agricultural and manufacturing industry. Acts were passed for engrafting more perfectly the English statute law on the jurisprudence of the colony; for securing the stability of possessions, and the observance of contracts; and for the encouragement of the sowing of English grain, and the rearing and manufactory of hemp and flax. [1666.] As the agitations of the parent state had ever been found to diffuse their influence through the colonial territories, and the perturbing spirit of rumor to gain force and falsehood proportioned to the distance from which it was wafted, it was attempted to protect the quiet of the colony by an act against the divulgers of false news; but this desirable object was much more respectably as well as effectually promoted by the excellence and popularity of the governor's administration. The public tranquillity was threatened with some disturbance from the encroachments of the Dutch on the western banks of the Delaware, and from the hostile incursions of a distant tribe of Indians. But the vigorous remonstrances of Calvert obliged the Hollanders to desert the whole country around Cape Henlopen, of which he instantly took possession;* and his prudence, seconded by the friendly demonstrations of the Indians who were in alliance with the province, restored peace with the hostile tribe by a treaty, which was confirmed by act of assembly. The fidelity of the Indian allies was rewarded by settling on them and their descendants a considerable territory, which, being assured to them on various occasions by successive acts of the assembly, continued in their possession for near a century after. All the Indian tribes within the limits of the province now declared themselves subject to the proprietary government, and in testimony of this subjection, the inferior chiefs or princes, on the death of their principal sachem, refused to acknowledge the sway of his successor, till his pretension to this dignity had been recognised by governor Calvert. The removal of the Dutch from Cape Henlopen induced many of these settlers to unite themselves to the colony of Maryland, where they were received with the utmost kindness; and, in the year 1666, the assembly passed in their favor the first act that occurs of any colonial legislature for the naturalization of aliens. Many similar laws were enacted in every subsequent session, till the British Revolution; and, during that period, great numbers of foreigners transported themselves to this province, and became completely incorporated with the ancient inhabitants.

The principal, if not the only, inconvenience of which the people of Maryland were sensible at this period, was that which they shared with all the other colonies, and which was inflicted by the parliamentary acts of navigation. In Virginia, where the pressure of these restrictions was sooner and more severely felt, an attempt was made to enhance the price of the staple commodity, by prohibiting the growth of tobacco for a limited time; but, as Maryland refused to concur in this proceeding, its efficacy was defeated, and the ancient animosity of the Virginians against the inhabitants of the neighboring colony unhappily revived. To this animosity we must ascribe the various complaints against the colonists of Maryland which Virginia continued from time to time to address to the king; all of which, upon examination, proved to be utterly unfounded.† As the inconvenience arising from the navigation laws began to be more sensibly experienced in Maryland, the policy that had been ineffectually suggested by Virginia was more favorably regarded; and at length a prohibitory act, suspending the growth of tobacco, was passed this year by the assembly; but the dissent of the proprietary and governor, who apprehended that it might prove injurious to the poorer class of planters, as well as detrimental to the royal customs, prevented this regulation from being carried into effect. The popularity of Lord Baltimore and his son appears to have sustained no abatement from this opposition to the project of the assembly. Though averse to impose any direct restraint on the cultivation of tobacco, they willingly concurred in giving every encouragement that was desired to other branches of industry; and their efforts to alleviate the public inconvenience were justly appreciated, as well as actively seconded, by a people more attentive to improve the remaining advantages of their situation, than to resent the injustice by which these advantages had been circumscribed. While Virginia was a prey to discontent and insurrection, Maryland continued to enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity, and to acknowledge the patriotic superintendence of its generous proprietary. By an act passed in the year 1671,* the assembly imposed a duty of two shillings sterling on every hogshead of tobacco exported: the one-half of which was to be applied in maintaining a magazine of arms, and discharging the necessary expenses of government; and the other half was settled on the proprietary, in consideration of his receiving merchantable tobacco for his rents and alienation fines, at twopence a pound. This provision was soon after continued during the life of the heir of the proprietary, by "An act of gratitude," [1674,] as the assembly termed their ordinance, "to Charles Calvert, the governor."

Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, the father of the province, having lived to reap these happy and honorable fruits of the plantation which he had founded and reared with so much wisdom and virtue, died in the forty-fourth year of his supremacy, [1676,] crowned with venerable age and unsullied reputation. It was his constant maxim, which he often recommended to the legislative assembly, "that by concord a small colony may grow into a great and renowned nation; but that by dissension, mighty and glorious kingdoms have declined and fallen into nothing." Some observations on the state of the province at the period of his death occur in a letter written in the same year by a clergyman of the church of England, resident there, to the archbishop of Canterbury. Maryland, it appears, had been then divided into ten counties, and contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants. The catholics, says this writer, had provided for their priests; and the quakers maintained their speakers; but no care was taken to build up a protestant church. There were but three or four ministers of the church of England in Maryland; and from the want of a public establishment for them the colony, he declares, had fallen into a most deplorable condition, having become a *pest-house of iniquity*, in which the Lord's day was openly profaned. As a remedy for this evil, he suggests an endowment of the church of England at the public expense.† The remedy discredits the representation, which, besides, is totally unconfirmed by any other account: and it seems neither uncharitable nor unreasonable to suppose, that this writer contemplated the existing condition of society, through the inverted medium of the same opinion that represented to him the future advancement of the spiritual interests of the laity, originating from the promotion of the temporal interests of the clergy. The brightness of distant hope tends to darken the realities of present experience; and the associations that serve to dignify and illustrate the one, are able to degrade and obscure the other. The protestant part of the population of Maryland was less distinguished by that christian zeal which leads men to impose sacrifices on themselves, than by that ecclesiastical zeal which prompts them to exact sacrifices from others, they were probably less wealthy from having been more recently established in the province, than the catholics; and the erection of their churches had been farther retarded by the state of dispersion in which the inhabitants generally lived. The church of England ministers, like the clergy of every other order, depended on the professors of their own particular tenets for support; and it is not easy to see the force of the reasoning that assigns the liberality of other sectarians to their clergymen, as an argument for burthening them with the support of the church of England ministers also,—or the existing incompetency of these ministers to control the immoralities of their people, as an argument for endowing them with a provision that would render them independent of the discharge of their duty. This logic,

* Alsop's Maryland, 31. 35. 37, 38. 101, 102. The Advocates' Library of Edinburgh contains a copy of this little work.

† It was one of the charges preferred against the proprietary by Cromwell's commissioners, that Charles the Second had been proclaimed by the people of Maryland, without any signification of displeasure from Lord Baltimore. Hazard, 628, 629.

* A more particular account of the disputes and various proceedings between the English and the Dutch in this quarter will occur in B. V. cap. I. post.

† One of these complaints, which the proprietary was called upon to answer, was for making partial treaties with the Indians, and contenting himself with excluding their hostilities, from the Maryland territory, without extending the provision to the province of Virginia. The committee of plantations, to which the complaint was referred, on examining the treaties of both parties, reported to the king that Maryland had included Virginia in all her treaties, but that Virginia had demonstrated no such concern for the interests of Maryland. Chalmers, 366.

* Bacon's Laws, 1671, cap. 11. "Reflecting with gratitude," says the preamble of this enactment, "on the unwearied care of the proprietary, and the vast expense that he has been put to in preserving the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties, and the increase and improvement of their estates." History should delight to record the expressions of popular gratitude for conspicuous service—the public honors rendered to wisdom and virtue.

The same year there was passed an act "for encouraging the importation of negroes and slaves."

† Chalmers, p. 362, 363. Yeo, apud Chalmers, p. 375. This representation is as incredible as the statement that was published about twelve years after by the protestant association of Maryland of the daily murders and persecutions incited by the proprietary and committed by the papists. No reliance can be placed on the accounts that men give of the character and conduct of those whom they are preparing or longing to plunder.

however, proved quite satisfactory to the primate of England, who eagerly undertook to reform the morals of the people of Maryland, by obtaining a legal establishment and wealthy endowment to a protestant episcopal church in the province.

The deceased proprietary was succeeded by his son Charles, Lord Baltimore, who had governed the province for fourteen years with a high reputation for virtue and ability. With the religious tenets, he inherited the tolerant principles of his father; and one of the first acts of his administration was to confirm the remarkable law of 1649, which established an absolute political equality among all denominations of Christians. Having convoked an assembly, in which he presided in person, he performed, with their assistance, what has often been recommended to other legislatures, but rarely executed by any—a diligent revision of the whole code of provincial laws; repealing those that were judged superfluous or inexpedient, confirming the salutary, and explaining the obscure. In this assembly, an attempt was made to stem the progress of an existing evil, by a regulation more wisely, perhaps, than constitutionally opposed to the policy of the mother country. The morals of the colonists were much more seriously endangered by the transportation of felons to Maryland, than by the want of a legislative endowment in the province to the clergy of the English national church. To the common law of England, this punishment of transportation was quite unknown; though in some cases it permitted the felon who chose rather to lose his country than his life to abjure the realm. It was a statute of Elizabeth which first inflicted banishment on dangerous rogues; and it was James the First who, without any regard to this law, but in the plentitude of his royal prerogative, adopted the measure of ordering dissolute persons to be sent to Virginia. He was indebted for the suggestion to Chief-justice Popham, who being a proprietor of colonial territory, as well as a judge, conceived the project of rendering the administration of justice subservient to his colonial designs, and had destined New England in particular to anticipate the uses of Botany Bay. The practice of transporting felons to the colonies was resumed soon after the Restoration, and received so far the countenance of the legislature, that an act of parliament authorised the king to inflict this punishment on convicted quakers. The effects of it proved so disagreeable to the people of Maryland, that a law was now framed against the importation of convicts into the province, and afterwards re-enacted at various subsequent periods till towards the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne. Whether any notice was taken of this declaration of resistance to a measnre of the British government or what were the effects of it, I am unable to discover. It is certain that at a later period, the evil was continued and increased in spite of the remonstrances of all the respectable inhabitants; and shortly prior to the American revolution, no fewer than three hundred and fifty felons were annually imported into Maryland from the parent state.

At the conclusion of the session, the proprietary having announced his intention of visiting England, the assembly, in acknowledgment of the many signal favors he had rendered to the people, and as a token of their love and respect, unanimously desired his acceptance of all the public tobacco which remained unappropriated in the stores of the province. Lord Baltimore was undoubtedly worthy of these demonstrations of regard; and the experience of his own, together with the remembrance of his father's merits, might have been expected to recommend the system of proprietary government to the lasting approbation of the colonists. But this species of magistracy was destined to enjoy a very brief popularity in America. Allied to no similar institution, and surrounded by no kindred order in the provincial establishments, it stood wholly unsheltered from envy, a solitary specimen of hereditary grandeur; and its objectionable features were exhibited in the most offensive light, when, in the progress of succession, exclusive dignity became the instrument of worthlessness, or the portion of incapacity. These considerations, it must be acknowledged, afford no explanation of the sudden decline which Lord Baltimore's popularity was destined to experience; and we must seek elsewhere for the causes of that revolution of public opinion in which his merits were so ungratefully depreciated or forgotten. If he had lived in an age less subject to jealousy and alarm, or presided in a colony composed entirely of catholics, he would probably have enjoyed a larger harvest of popular gratitude. But the toleration which his father had established, and the naturalization of foreigners which he himself had introduced, had attracted into the province a multitude of protestants both of French and of English extraction. The tolerating principles of the proprietary were not able to disarm the French protestants of their enmity against a faith whose perfidy and persecution they had so severely experienced; and the English protestants, impressed with the opinion which their friends in the mother country had derived from the policy of the king, regarded toleration but as a cloak under which popish bigotry disguised the most dangerous designs. These unhappy impressions were deeply confirmed by the alarms and intrigues of which the ensuing period of English history was abundantly prolific, and which invariably extended their influence to the minds of the people of Maryland; where a mixture of opinions unknown in any other of the provinces gave a peculiar interest to the conflict of the same opinions that was carried on in the parent state.

On his arrival in England, [1677.]* Lord Baltimore was assailed with complaints preferred against him to the Committee of Plantations, by the colony of Virginia and the prelates of England. The accusations of Virginia, which related to boundaries and Indian treaties, were easily repelled; but the controversy with the prelates was not so satisfactorily adjusted. Compton, bishop of London, to whom the primate had imparted his ecclesiastical project for the colony, represented to the committee that religion was deplorably neglected in Maryland; that while the Roman catholic priests were enriched with valuable possessions, the protestant ministers of the church of England were utterly destitute of support; and that an universal immorality had consequently overspread the province. Lord Baltimore, in justification of himself and the colonial legislature, exhibited the act of 1649, together with the recent confirmation of it, which gave freedom and protection to every sect of Christians, but special privileges to none. He stated that four ministers of the church of England were in possession of plantations which afforded them a decent subsistence; but that from the variety of religious opinions that prevailed in the assembly, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to induce this body to consent to a law that should oblige any sect to maintain other ministers than its own. Satisfactory as this answer ought to have been, the impartial policy of the proprietary did not meet with perfect acquiescence. The committee declared that they thought fit there should be a public maintenance assigned to the church of England, and that the proprietary ought to propose some means for the support of a competent number of her clergy. The king's ministers at the same time signified to him the royal pleasure that immorality should be discouraged, and the laws against vice punctually executed in Maryland.

This last, and probably the least seriously meant of the injunctions communicated to Lord Baltimore in England, was the only one of them that received any attention from the colonial government. [1678.] A law was passed by the assembly for the more strict observance of Sunday; and after the return of the proprietary, [1681.] new regulations were enacted for the more speedy prosecution of offences, and the stricter definition of punishments. As the more rigid enforcement of the navigation act began now to occasion an increased depreciation of the staple produce of the colony, numerous attempts were made by the proprietary and assembly during the two following years to counteract or diminish this inconvenience, by giving additional encouragement to provincial productions and colonial commerce. Laws were enacted for promoting tillage and raising provisions for exportation; for restraining the export of leather and hides; for the support of tanners and shoemakers; and for encouraging the making of linen and woollen cloth. Thus early did the legislature endeavor to introduce manufactures into the province; but the attempt was premature; and though domestic industry was able to supply some articles for domestic uses, it was found impracticable even at a much later period to render Maryland a manufacturing country. For the encouragement of trade, various ports were erected, where merchants were enjoined to reside, and commercial dealings to be carried on, and where all trading vessels were required to unlade the commodities of Europe, and take on board the productions of the province. But from the situation of the country, abounding with navigable rivers, and from the great variety of ports that were erected in conformity with the wishes of the planters, every one of whom desired to have a port on his own plantation, this regulation was attended with very little effect. It was during this interval, that there occurred the last instance of the expression of that reciprocal regard which had done so much honor to the proprietary and the people. By a vote of the assembly in the year 1682, this body "to demonstrate its gratitude, duty, and affection to the proprietary," desired his acceptance of a liberal contribution; which he acknowledged with many thanks, but declined to accept on account of the straitened circumstances of the colony.

But, amidst all this seeming cordiality, and the mutual endeavors of the proprietary and the people to promote the general interest, there lurked in the province the seeds of present discontent and of future insurrection. The fiction of the popish plot extended its baneful influence to Maryland, and was by some profligate politicians within the colony made the corner stone of projects similar to those in which it originated in England. The insurrections that had been provoked by the oppression of the covenanters in Scotland; the discontents in England; the vehement disputes with regard to the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne; the continued disagreement between the king and parliament; all transmitted through the magnifying and uncertain medium of rumor to a country so remote from the opportunity of just information, seemed to forebode a renewal of the convulsions of the preceding reign. A general ferment was excited in men's minds; and in the strong expectation that prevailed of some great change, parties and individuals prepared with anxiety to defend their interests; or intrigued with eagerness for the enlargement of their advantages. The absence of the proprietary from the province during his visit to England probably served to promote the designs of the factious, which, however, received a seasonable check from his return. Fendal, who had raised insurrection against the administration of Cromwell, and afterwards betrayed and resisted the government of the proprietary, now availed himself of the lenity he had experienced, to excite a renewal of commotions in Maryland. He seems to have had no other view than to scramble for property and power amidst the confusion that he expected to ensue; and he encouraged his partizans with the assurance, that, during the approaching civil wars of England, they might easily possess themselves of whatever plantations they pleased to appropriate. But Lord Baltimore, partly by a steady application of the laws, and partly by the influence of the tidings of the king's triumph over his opponents at the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, was able as yet to preserve, even without a struggle, the tranquillity of the province. Fendal was tried for his seditious practices in the year 1681; and though the acts of the assembly had annexed the penalty of death to the offence of which he was convicted, he was now only fined, and banished from the province for ever. But unfortunately his influence was not banished with his person: and one of his associates, John Coode, who was tried along with him but acquitted, remained behind, to effect, at a fitter season, those designs which were dissipated for the present by the last ray of success that attended the proprietary's administration. A few others of the less guilty associates of Fendal and Coode were convicted of sedition, and punished by fine.

The last years of the proprietary government were embittered by the retribution of that injustice in which it began; and the wrong that had been done so long before to Virginia, was now avenged by the abscission of a considerable portion of the territory that had been allotted to Maryland. If the historian of this transaction were permitted to adapt the particulars of it to his own wishes and conceptions of moral consistency, he would ascribe the requital of the Maryland usurpation to other instrumentality than that of the venerable patriarch of Pennsylvania. Such, however, was the mode of this occurrence; and as the founder of American toleration committed the encroachment on Virginia, so another distinguished friend of the rights of conscience effected the retributory partition of Maryland. On the arrival of William Penn in America, a meeting took place between him and Lord Baltimore (two of the most prudent and virtuous persons that have ever ruled over mankind), in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territorial grants. Penn was received by Lord Baltimore with that distinguished respect due to illustrious character, and becoming christian courtesy; and

* Three or four of the inhabitants of Maryland were murdered this year by a tribe of Indians who were at war with the colonists of Virginia, and a great deal of alarm was created in the province. But the Indians soon perceived that they had too hastily supposed that the Marylanders were their enemies, and made satisfaction for the outrage. Oldmixon, i. 192.

we may suppose that he entertained corresponding regards for a legislator whose institutions had long afforded a peaceful asylum for persecuted quakers. But the pretensions of the parties were so completely inconsistent with each other, that it proved impossible at the time to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both. Penn had been authorised to appropriate, among other districts, the whole of the peninsula lying between the bays of Chesapeak and Delaware, which formed a considerable part of the territory included within the charter of Maryland, and part of which had been colonized by Dutch and Swedish settlers before the state of Maryland was formed. Lord Baltimore's was certainly the more equitable claim; but Penn appears to have been encouraged to persist in his counter pretension by the declaration of the Committee of Plantations, that it had never been intended to grant to Lord Baltimore any territory except such as was inhabited at the time by savages, and that the tract which he now claimed having been planted by Christians antecedent to his grant, was plainly excluded from its intendment, though it might be embraced by its literal construction. The controversy between these two distinguished men was conducted with a greater conformity to the general principles of human nature than I find it pleasant to record. While the conflicting claims were yet unsettled, Penn proceeded to appropriate the disputed territory; and as Lord Baltimore insisted that the inhabitants should either acknowledge the jurisdiction of Maryland or abandon their dwellings, mutual proclamations were exchanged by the two proprietary governments against each other's proceedings. A recent and deservedly esteemed biographer of Penn, whose partial acquaintance with the grounds of the dispute explains without excusing his partial judgment on the merits of the parties, has termed Lord Baltimore's assertion of his rights an outrage, and characterized the counter proclamation of Penn as a lenient remedy by which christian patience encountered lawless violence. But Penn did not content himself with this remedy. He complained to the English government, and by his interest at court procured it to be adjudged that the debateable territory should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself, and the other to Lord Baltimore. This adjudication was carried into effect; and the territory which now composes the state of Delaware was thus dismembered from the provincial limits of Maryland.* [1635.]

Meanwhile, the late proceedings against Fendal and his associates were made the foundation, in England, of fresh complaints against Lord Baltimore for partiality to papists. It was in vain for him to represent that the laws of his province gave equal encouragement to Christians of every sect, without dispensing peculiar favor to any; that in order to conform his administration to the principles of the constitution, he had always endeavored to divide the offices of government as equally as possible among protestants and catholics; and that to allay the jealousy that had taken possession of the protestants, he had latterly suffered them to engross nearly the whole command of the militia, and the custody of the arms and military stores of the province. From the record of Fendal's trial, he showed that the proceedings against this individual had been perfectly fair; nay, so indulgent, that he had been allowed to except against all Roman catholics as jurymen. Notwithstanding the satisfactoriness of this explanation, the ministers of the king, less desirous of doing justice to others than of shifting the imputation of popery from themselves, commanded that all the offices of government should in future be committed exclusively to the hands of protestants; and thus meanly sanctioned the unjust suspicions under which the proprietary government was already laboring. It was less easy for Lord Baltimore to defend himself against another charge which was now preferred against him, and which, having some foundation in truth, involved him in considerable difficulty. He was accused of obstructing the custom-house officers in the collection of the parliamentary duties: and it did certainly appear that, biassed perhaps by the desire of alleviating as far as possible the pressure of the commercial restrictions, he had construed them in some points in a manner too favorable to the freedom and wishes of the colonists. While he endeavored unsuccessfully to maintain the legitimacy of his interpretation, he strongly charged the collectors of the revenue with wilfully disturbing the trade and peace of the colony by wanton interference and groundless complaint. It would appear that this recrimination was well founded, and that the revenue officers, provoked to find that the unpopularity of their duties prevailed over the respect they conceived due to their office, had labored to convert their own private disagreements with individuals into the occasion of national dispute: for when a new surveyor-general of the customs in Maryland was appointed shortly after, he had the justice to report that the province had been greatly misrepresented with regard to its opposition to the acts of trade. The proprietary, however, incurred a severe rebuke from the king for his erroneous construction of the law. Charles bitterly complained that he should obstruct his service and discourage his officers, after the many favors that had been heaped upon him and his father, and even threatened him with the visitation of a writ of *quo warranto*. It seems never to have occurred to the English government, nor did Lord Baltimore presume to urge, that the king, in proceeding to exact imposts in Maryland, violated the most express provisions of the royal charter, and appropriated to himself what truly belonged to the proprietary.

On the accession of James the Second to the throne of his brother, he transmitted to the colonies a proclamation of this event, which was published in Maryland with lively and unaffected demonstrations of joy. The Committee of Plantations had taken so much pains during the preceding reign to obtain accurate information of the affairs of the colonies and the temper of their inhabitants, that it was perfectly well known how much they were affected by reports from England, and what disturbances the prospect of confusion in the mother country was apt to engender. On the invasions of Monmouth and Argyle, the king transmitted accounts of these occurrences to the proprietary; assigning as the reason for this communication, the prevention of any false rumors which might be spread among his people in that distant province of the empire, by the malicious insinuations of evil disposed men. He informed him at the same time with marks of peculiar exultation, that the parliament had cheerfully granted him an aid, to be levied on the importation of sugars and tobacco, which he hoped would not be burdensome to the inhabitants of Maryland, as the imposition was not laid on the planter, but on the retailers and consumers. But the imposition could not be disarmed of its injurious influence by such royal logic and barren good wishes; and both in Virginia and in Maryland it served to augment the burdens and cool the loyalty of the people. As the other impediments of commerce were found to be aggravated in Maryland by the continued prevalence of a scarcity of money, [1686,] an attempt was now made to remedy this evil by a law for the *advancement* of coins. French crowns, pieces of eight, and rix dollars were appointed to be received in all payments at six shillings each; all other coins at an advance of threepence in the shilling; and the sixpences and shillings of New England, according to their denominations, as sterling. As all accounts at that time were kept in tobacco, and in all contracts it was employed as the admeasurement of value, the coins thus advanced were adjudged to be taken at the rate of six shillings for every hundred weight of that commodity. This law first gave rise in Maryland to the peculiarity of colonial currency, in contradistinction to sterling money.

At the same time that the king resolved to subvert the constitution of England, he determined to overthrow the proprietary governments of the colonies. It was, he declared, a great and growing prejudice to his affairs, both domestic and colonial, that such independent administrations should be maintained; and it was due no less to his interest than his dignity, to reduce them to more immediate subjection to the crown. Alarmed by the communication of this arbitrary purpose, the proprietary of Maryland again proceeded to England, and vainly represented to the inflexible despot that the administration of his province had been at all times conducted in conformity with the terms of his charter; that he had never knowingly failed in his duty to his sovereign; and that neither he nor his father had committed a single act which could infer the forfeiture of a patent which they had dearly purchased, in adding, at their own great expense, a considerable province to the empire. [1687.] These remonstrances were disregarded by the king; and the attorney-general received orders to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against Lord Baltimore's charter. The writ was issued accordingly; but from the dilatory pace of the requisite legal procedure, and the important events that soon after diverted the monarch's attention to nearer concernments, no judgment upon it was ever pronounced. Thus, with impartial tyranny, which even the predilections of the bigot were unable to control, James, disregarding equally the feelings of the puritans of Massachusetts and the catholics of Maryland, involved both in the same undistinguishing project of oppression and degradation. Whether the singular friendship which, in this monarch and William Penn, seemed to unite the two extremes of human nature, might have suspended for a while the destruction of the constitutions of Pennsylvania, this consummation would have infallibly followed in due time; and the royal regards that Penn shared with Judge Jeffries and Colonel Kirke would have procured him no other advantage than that of being, perhaps, the last of the American proprietaries that was sacrificed. Fortunately for the interests of mankind, bigotry, infatuated by tyranny, at length obtained the ascendancy over the king's mind; and depriving the bigot of the adherents of the tyrant, involved even Jeffries in disgrace, and constrained even the prelates of England to seek protection in the principles of liberty.

[1688.] The birth of a son to James the Second, which was regarded with mingled scepticism and disappointment by his English subjects, and contributed to hasten the Revolution, was no sooner communicated by the proprietary (who was still in England,) to his officers in Maryland, than it excited general joy throughout the province. In the assembly which was convoked on this occasion, a law was passed for a perpetual commemoration and thanksgiving, every tenth day of June, for the birth of the prince. If this proceeding seem to indicate the prevalence of a feeling that may be supposed peculiar to the catholics, other parts of the conduct of this assembly strongly evinced the existence of those jealousies with which the protestants were infected, which the mean injustice of the late king's ministers had sanctioned, and which the unfortunate absence of Lord Baltimore now contributed to promote. The burgesses at first demurred to take the oath of fidelity to the proprietary; and afterwards exhibited to the deputy-governors a list of pretended grievances that indicated nothing so strongly as the ill-humor and alarm of the parties who declared themselves aggrieved; for the articles are all so vague and so frivolous, and, if true, related only to such petty and easily remediable violations of law and usage, that it is impossible to peruse them without perceiving that the complainers either sought a cause of quarrel, or had already found one which they were backward to avow. A courteous and obliging answer was returned to the list of grievances, by the deputy-governors; and, as the malcontents were not yet transported by passion beyond the limits of reason and common sense, they returned thanks for this issue, [14] and the flame of discontent and suspicion seemed to be extinguished. But the embers remained, and waited only the influence of the coming events to show what a conflagration they were capable of producing. The spirit of party in the province, excited and preserved by religious differences, in an age in which to differ was to dislike and suspect, had been hitherto moderated by the liberal spirit of the laws, and the prudent administration of the proprietary. But no sooner were the tidings of the Revolution in England conveyed to the province, than these latent dissensions, inflamed by fresh incentives, burst forth in a blaze of insurrectionary violence; and those who had long been sowing discontent in the minds of their fellow citizens, now prepared to reap an abundant harvest from the prevalence of public disorder. [1689.]

When the deputy-governors were first informed of the invasion of England by the Prince of Orange, they hastened to take measures for preserving the tranquility of the province, where as yet none could foresee, and none had been informed, of the extraordinary use that was to be made of that memorable achievement. They proceeded to collect the public arms that were dispersed in the various counties, and apprehended several persons who were accused of attempts to disturb the public peace. But these measures were completely frustrated by the rumour of a *popish plot*, which suddenly and rapidly disseminated the alarming intelligence that the deputy-governors and the catholics had formed a league with the Indians, for the massacre of all the protestants in the province. Confusion, dismay, and indignation, instantly laid hold of the minds of the people, and every exertion that was made to demonstrate the folly and absurdity of the report proved

* Chalmers, 647, 648. 650, 651. 661—666. Clarkson's Life of Penn, i. 336, 337. 408, 409. Mr. Clarkson's account of this dispute is very defective, and tends to create an impression of the conduct of Lord Baltimore not less unfavorable than erroneous. If he considered the merits of the respective pleas too uninteresting to deserve his inquiry, he should have refrained from pronouncing or insinuating any judgment on the comparative merits of the parties. The controversy between Lord Baltimore and Penn is resumed and farther illustrated in the history of Pennsylvania, post, B. vii cap. I.

ineffectual. Like the kindred fiction in England, the tale was corroborated by various unlucky circumstances, that tended wonderfully to support the general delusion. Though Lord Baltimore received orders to proclaim William and Mary, which he readily promised and prepared to obey, yet some fatal accident intercepted the commands which he transmitted to his deputies for that purpose: and they still awaited official orders respecting this delicate and important transaction, long after the corresponding proclamation had been published in Virginia. It happened unfortunately too, that, at the same conjuncture, they had to repeat the annual confirmation of the existing treaty of peace with the Indians. These occurrences, distorted by the arts of the factious, and the credulity of the timid, increased the prevailing panic, and accelerated the explosion it had long threatened to produce. A *protestant association* was formed by John Coode, the former accomplice of Fendal, and being soon strengthened by the accession of numerous adherents, took arms under this worthless leader for the defence of the protestant faith, and the assertion of the royal title of William and Mary. A declaration or manifesto was published by the associators, replete with charges against the proprietary, that reflect the utmost dishonor on their own cause. The reproaches of tyranny and wickedness, of murder, torture, and pillage, with which Lord Baltimore is loaded in this production, are refuted not only by the gross inconsistency between such heinous enormities and the recent limitation of the public grievances to the frivolous complaints exhibited to the deputy-governors, but by the utter inability of the associators to establish by evidence any one of their charges, even when the whole power and influence of the provincial government was in their hands. With matchless impudence and absurdity, the affronts that had been formerly complained of by the custom-house officers were now cited as an injury done to the province of Lord Baltimore, who, if he had ever participated in them at all, must have been induced to do so by resentment of the real grievances with which the province was afflicted. A charge of this description, however artfully calculated to recommend the cause of the associators to the favor of the British government, would never have suggested itself to a passionate multitude; and it is probable that the whole composition was the work of Coode, whose subsequent conduct showed how little he participated in the popular feelings which he was able to excite and direct with such energy and success. The deputies of Lord Baltimore endeavored at first to oppose by force the designs of the associators; but as the catholics were afraid to justify the prevalent rumours against themselves by taking arms, and as the well-affected protestants showed no eagerness to support a falling authority, they were compelled to deliver up the fort, and surrender the powers of government by capitulation. The king, apprised of these proceedings, hastened to express his approbation of them, and authorised the leaders of the insurgents to exercise in his name the power they had acquired, until he should have leisure to effect a permanent settlement of the administration. Armed with this commission, the associators continued for three years after to administer the government of Maryland, with a tyrannical insolence that exemplified the grievances they had falsely imputed to the proprietary, and produced loud and numerous complaints from both the protestant and catholic inhabitants of the province.

King William, meanwhile endeavored to derive the same advantage to the royal authority in Maryland, that the tyranny of his predecessor bequeathed to him in Massachusetts. But, to persist in the iniquitous process of *quo warranto*, was no longer practicable; and no other proceeding was left, but to summon Lord Baltimore to answer before the Privy Council the complaints expressed in the declaration of the associators. After a tedious investigation, which involved this nobleman in a heavy expense, it was found impossible to convict him of any other charge than that of holding a different faith from the men by whom he had been so ungratefully persecuted and so calumniously traduced. He was accordingly suffered to retain the patrimonial interest attached by his charter to the office of proprietary, but deprived by an act of council of the political administration of the province, of which Sir Edmund Andros was at the same time appointed governor by the king.* [1692.] The unmerited elevation of this worthless man was no less disgraceful than the unjust deposition of the proprietary. Lord Baltimore having exercised his power with a liberal regard to the freedom of other men's consciences, now parted with it from a pious regard to the sanctity of his own. Andros, who had formerly acquired promotion by active subserviency to a catholic despot, now purchased its continuance by becoming the no less active abettor of protestant intolerance.

Thus fell the proprietary government of Maryland, after an endurance of fifty-six years, during which it had been administered with unexampled mildness, and with a regard to the liberty and welfare of the people, that deserved a very different requital from that which I have had the pain of recording. The slight notice which the policy of this catholic legislator has received from the philosophic encomiasts of liberal institutions strongly attests the capricious distribution of fame, and may probably have proceeded from dislike of his religious tenets, which, it was feared, would share the commendation bestowed on their votary. It was apprehended perhaps, that the charge of intolerance so strongly preferred against catholic potentates and the Romish church, would be weakened by the praise of a toleration which catholics established and protestants overthrew. But in truth every deduction that is made from the liberality of catholics in general, and every imputation that is thrown on the usual influence of their tenets in contracting the mind, ought to magnify the merit of Lord Baltimore's institutions, and enhance the praise by demonstrating the rarity of his virtue. One of the most respectable features of the proprietary administration was the constant regard that was had to justice, and to the exercise and cultivation of benevolence, in all transactions and intercourse with the Indians. But though this colony was more successful than the New England states (who conducted themselves no less unexceptionably to the Indians) in avoiding war with its savage neighbors, yet we have seen that it was not always able to avert this extremity. In both these cases, no doubt, the pacific endeavors of the colonists were counteracted, not only by the natural ferocity of the Indians, but by the hostilities of other Europeans, by which that ferocity was additionally inflamed. Yet the quakers of Pennsylvania who were exposed to the same disadvantage, escaped its evil consequences, and were never attacked by the Indians. Relying implicitly and entirely on the protection of God, they renounced every act or indication of self-defence that could provoke the antagonism of human nature, or excite apprehensive jealousy, by showing the power to injure. But the puritan and the catholic colonists of New England and Maryland, while they professed and exercised good-will to the Indians, adopted the hostile precaution of showing their power to repel violence. They displayed arms and erected forts, and thus suggested the suspicion they expressed, and invited the injury they anticipated.

Before toleration was defended by Locke, it was realised by Lord Baltimore; and in the attempts which both of these eminent persons made to establish the model of a wise and liberal government in America, it must be acknowledged that the protestant philosopher was greatly excelled by the catholic nobleman.* The constitutions of William Penn have been the theme of panegyric no less just than general; but of those who have commended them, how few have been willing to notice the prior establishment of similar institutions by Lord Baltimore. Assimilated in their maxims of government, these two proprietaries were assimilated in their political fortunes; both having witnessed an eclipse of their popularity in America, and both being dispossessed of their governments by King William. Penn, indeed, was restored a few years after: but Lord Baltimore's deprivation continued during his life. On his death in 1716, his successor being a protestant, was restored to the enjoyment of proprietary powers. These powers, however, had in the interim sustained some abatement from an act of the English parliament,† which applied not only to this but to all the other feudatory principalities in North America, and rendered the royal sanction necessary to confirm the nomination of the proprietary governors.

Immediately after his appointment to the office of governor, Sir Edmund Andros proceeded to Maryland, where he convoked an assembly, in which the title of William and Mary was recognised by a legislative enactment. In this assembly an attempt was made to divest the proprietary of the port-duties that had been settled on his family in the year 1661. The assembly now made a tender of the produce of this tax to the king, alleging, that although the provision had been granted generally to the proprietary, the true intention of the legislature had been to confer it merely as a trust for the uses of the public. The king however declined to accept the offer, or sanction the assembly's construction of the grant; Sir John Somers, to whom the legitimacy of the proceeding was referred, having given it as his opinion that the duty truly belonged to Lord Baltimore, and was intended for his own use, and that it would be of dangerous consequence to receive parole proof of an intention in the legislature different from the plain meaning of the words of the law. The ingratitude which was thus evinced towards the proprietary met with a just retribution from the administration of Andros, who, though he is said to have approved himself a good governor in Virginia, appears to have exercised no little severity and rapacity in Maryland. Not the least offensive part of his conduct was, that he protected Coode against the complaints he had provoked, and enabled this profligate hypocrite a little longer to protract the period of his impunity. But Coode's fortunes soon became more suitable to his deserts. Finding himself neglected by Colonel Nicholson, the successor of Andros, he began to practise against the royal government the same treacherous intrigues that he had employed with so much success against the proprietary administration. Inferior in talent to Bacon, the disturber of Virginia, and far inferior in sincerity to Leisler, the contemporary agitator of New York, he was chiefly indebted for his success to the daring reliance which he placed on the influence of panic, and the extent of popular credulity. He had an unbounded confidence in the power of patient and persevering calumny, and endeavored to impress it as a maxim on his confederates, that "if plenty of mud be thrown, some of it will undoubtedly stick." In 1695, this president of the protestant association of Maryland was indicted for treason and blasphemy; and, justly apprehending that he would be treated with less lenity under the protestant, than he had formerly experienced under the catholic administration, he declined to stand a trial, and fled for ever from the province which he had contributed so signally to dishonor.†

The suspension of the proprietary government was accompanied with a total subversion of the principles on which its administration had been uniformly conducted. The political equality of religious sects was subverted, and the universal toleration of every form of christian worship abolished. The church of England was declared to be the established ecclesiastical constitution of the state; and an act passed in the year 1692 having divided the several counties into parishes, a legal maintenance was assigned to a minister of this communion in every one of these parishes, consisting of a glebe, and of an annual tribute of forty pounds of tobacco from every christian male, and every male or female negro above sixteen years of age. The appoint-

* Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 193. "I know not how it happened, but so it was that in King William's reign, Queen Anne's, &c. there were persons who the heads or tools of the abdicated king were more hearkened to than the instruments of the revolution." Ibid (2d edition, . p. 244. It is to the first edition of Oldmixon's work that I refer, when the second is not expressly designated.

* In a company where Sir Isaac Newton, John Locke and William Penn happened to meet together, the conversation turned on the comparative excellence of the governments of Carolina and Pennsylvania. Locke ingeniously yielded the palm to Penn; (Clarkson's Life of Penn, vol. ii. p. 409.) and would doubtless have yielded it to Lord Baltimore. But Penn's reputation (from the interest which the quakers have felt in promoting it, and the willingness of philosophers to acknowledge him as an ally) has been much better protected than that of Lord Baltimore: and to this perhaps may be ascribed the very different treatment which the settlements of these proprietaries experienced from their respective provinces at the American revolution. The proprietary of Maryland was then a minor; yet his estates were confiscated, and no indemnification could ever be obtained. (Winterbotham, vol. iii. p. 4.) The descendants of Penn, after a long series of quarrels with the people, embraced the cause of Britain; yet the legislature of Pennsylvania indemnified them in the most liberal manner for the loss of their property. (Brissot's Travels, p. 329.)

† 7 and 8 Will. III. cap. 22 § 16. This was the first instance in which the English parliament assumed the right of modifying the charter and altering the constitution of an American province. In the course of the following century this power was exercised on several occasions, and very reluctantly submitted to. The pretension to it formed one of the grounds of quarrel that produced the American Revolution.

By another clause in the same statute, it was enacted, "that on no pretence whatever any kind of goods from the English American plantations shall hereafter be put on shore either in the kingdoms of Ireland or Scotland, without being first landed in England, and having also paid the duties there, under the penalty of a forfeiture of the ship and cargo." The Union in 1706 rendered this restriction void, in so far as related to Scotland.

† Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 193. Chalmers, p. 248. 374. 383, 384. Among other expressions that Coode's indictment laid to his charge, under the count of blasphemy, he was accused of having said "that there was no religion but what was in Tully's Offices." To make these words the more intelligible, the indictment illustrated them by this innuendo, "that they were spoken of one Tully, a Roman orator, meaning."

ment of the ministers was vested in the governor, and the management of parochial affairs in vestries elected by the protestant inhabitants. For the better instruction of the people, free-schools and public libraries were established by law in all the parishes, and an ample collection of books was presented to the libraries as a commencement of their literary stock, by the bishop of London. But notwithstanding all these encouragements to the cultivation of knowledge, and the rapid increase of her wealth and population, it was not till after her separation from the parent state, that any considerable academy or college was formed in Maryland. All protestant dissenters were declared to be entitled to the full benefit of the act of toleration passed in the commencement of William and Mary's reign by the English parliament. But this grace was strictly withheld from the Roman catholics; and the protestants who thus enacted toleration to themselves, with the most impudent injustice and unchristian cruelty, denied it to the men by whose toleration they themselves had been permitted to gain an establishment in the province. Sanctioned by the authority, and instructed by the example of the British government, the legislature of Maryland proceeded, by the most tyrannical persecution of the catholics, to fortify and disgrace the protestant ascendancy. Not only were these unfortunate victims of a conscience, which the actions of their opponents contributed additionally to mislead, excluded from all participation in political privileges, but they were debarred from the exercise of their worship and the advantages of education. By an act passed in the year 1704, and renewed in the year 1715, it was provided that any catholic priest attempting to convert a protestant, should be punished with fine and imprisonment; and that the celebration of mass, or the education of youth by a papist, should be punished by transportation of the offending priest or teacher to England, that he might there undergo the penalties which the English statutes inflicted on such actions. Thus in their eagerness to deprive others of their liberty, the protestants of Maryland truly subverted their own pretensions to independent legislation. They maintained that the statutes of the English parliament did not necessarily extend to Maryland; and in conformity with this supposition, we find an act of assembly in the year 1706, giving to certain English acts of parliament the force of law within the province. But it was manifestly inconsistent with this pretended independence, to declare any of the colonists amenable to the peculiar jurisprudence of England, for actions committed in the province and not punishable there. Though laws thus unjust and oppressive were enacted, it was found impossible to carry them into complete execution. Shortly after the act of 1704 was passed, the assembly judged it expedient to suspend its enforcement so far as to admit of catholic priests performing their functions in private houses; and the act of 1714 was suspended in a similar manner, in consequence of an express mandate to the assembly from Queen Anne.

Thus were the catholics of Maryland, under the pretence of vices which none realized more completely than their persecutors, deprived of those privileges, which for more than half a century they had enjoyed with unparralleled moderation. In addition to the other odious features of the treatment they experienced, there was a shameful violation of national faith in suffering protestant persecution to follow them into the asylum from its severity which they had been encouraged to seek, and with laborious virtue had established. Sensible of this injustice, or rather perhaps willing to induce the catholics whom they were determined not to tolerate at home to expatriate to Maryland, the British government continued from time to time to set bounds to the exercise of that colonial bigotry which its own example had excited, and its own authority still maintained.

Before the overthrow of the catholic church in Maryland, its clergy had signalized themselves by some attempts to convert the Indians to the christian faith; but their endeavors are represented as having been neither judicious nor successful. Eager to prevail on the savages to receive the formalities, before they were impressed with the substance of christian doctrine, they are said to have administered the rite of baptism to persons who understood it so little, that they considered their acceptance of it as a favor they had done to the missionaries in return for the presents they received from them, and used to threaten to renounce their baptism unlsss these presents were repeated. But if the catholics of Maryland were chargeable with a superstitious forwardness to administer this rite, some of their protestant fellow-colonists evinced a sentiment tenfold more inexcusable, in their determination to withhold it. An act of assembly passed in the year 1715 declared that many people refused to permit their slaves to be baptized, in consequence of an apprehension that baptism would entitle them to their freedom; and accordingly, to overcome their reluctance, enacted that no negro receiving the holy sacrament of baptism, should derive therefrom any right or claim to be made free. It was the peculiar unhappiness of the lot of the Maryland protestants, that it surrounded them at once with catholics, whom they were incited to persecute, and with slaves whom they were enabled to oppress: and it was not till some time after the Revolution of 1688, that they began to show more genuine fruits of the tenets they professed, than the persecution of those who differed from them in religious opinion.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the population of Maryland amounted to thirty thousand persons; and whether from superiority of soil or industry, or from the absence of laws restrictive of cultivation, this province is said to have exported at least as much tobacco as the older and more populous province of Virginia. At a later period, a law was passed, prohibiting the cultivation on any estate of a greater quantity than six thousand plants of tobacco for every taxable individual upon the estate. Maryland was the first of the provinces in which the right of private property was from the beginning recognised in its fullest extent; and community of possessions had never even a temporary establishment. This peculiarity, it is probable, contributed to promote the peculiar industry by which this people have been distinguished. In the year 1699, Annapolis was substituted for St. Mary's as the capital of the province: but the same causes that prevented the growth of towns in Virginia, also repressed them in Maryland. There were few merchants or shop-keepers who were not also planters; and it was the custom for every man to maintain on his plantation a store for supplying the usual accommodations of shops to his family, servants, and slaves. Living dispersed over the province, and remote from each other, the effects of their comparative solitude are said to have been visible in the countenance, manners, and apparel of the great body of the planters; their aspect expressing less cheerfulness, their demeanor less vivacity, their dress less attention to neatness, and their whole exterior less *urbanity*, than were found in those colonies where cities engendered and diffused the elegant virtue to which they have given a name. But even those who have reproached them with this defect have not failed to recognize a more respectable characteristic of their situation, in that hospitality by which they were universally distinguished.* At a later period, the towns of Maryland seemed to acquire a sudden principle of increase; and Baltimore, in particular, has grown with a rapidity unexampled even in the United States. In none of the provinces, have the effects of a wise or illiberal system of government been more plainly apparent than in Maryland. For nearly a century after the British Revolution, difference in religious opinion was made the source of animosity and oppression; and during all that period not one considerable seminary of learning arose in the province. Within a few years after the return of equal laws and universal toleration, with the establishment of American independence, the varieties of doctrinal opinion among the people served but to illustrate religious charity; numerous colleges and academies were founded; and the same people among whom persecution had lingered longest, became distinguished for a remarkable degree of courteous kindness and generous compassion.

During the suspension of the proprietary government, the legislature of the province consisted of three branches; after its revival, of four: the proprietary, the governor, the council, and the burgesses. The proprietary, besides a large domain cultivated by himself, enjoyed a quit rent of two shillings sterling yearly for every hundred acres of appropriated land. This was increased at an after period to four shillings in some disiricts; and an unsuccessful attempt was made to raise it as high as ten shillings. The proprietaries had received but too little encouragement to rely on the stability of that gratitude which had been acquired by their original moderation. The salaries of the governor and deputy-governor consisted of official fees, and a tax on exported tobacco, enacted to them successively on their appointment to office, and proportioned to their popularity. The council consisted of twelve persons, appointed by the proprietary, and during the abeyance of his political rights, by the royal governor; each of whom received, during the session of the assembly, an allowance of one hundred and eighty pounds of tobacco daily from the province. The house of representatives or burgesses consisted of four members from each of the counties, and two from the capital; the daily allowance to each of them being one hundred and sixty pounds of tobacco. From the decisions of the provincial courts, in all cases involving property to the amount of three hundred pounds, an appeal was admitted to the king in council. The office of the select men in New England was performed in Maryland by the parochial vestries, which engrossed the management of all the public affairs of their districts, and soon underwent a remarkable abatement of the popular form of their original constitution; for though at first elected by the inhabitants, they held their office for life, and very early assumed the privilege of supplying vacancies in their own number by the election of the survivors. In the year 1704, it was provided by "An act for the advancement of the natives and residents of this province," that no office of trust, except those that were conferred by immediate commission from the crown, could be held by any person who had not previously resided three years in the colony."

The situation of slaves and of indented servants appears to have been very much the same in Maryland as in Virginia. Any white woman, whether a servant or free, becoming pregnant from the embrace of a negro, whether a slave or free, was punished with a servitude of seven years; and the children of "such unnatural and inordinate connexions," were doomed to servitude till they should attain the age of thirty-one. A white man begetting a child by a negress, was subjected to the same penalty as a white woman committing the corresponding offence. An indented servant, at the expiration of his servitude, was entitled to demand a liberal allowance of various useful commodities from his master, some of which he was prohibited, under a penalty, from selling for twelve months after his liberation. A tax was imposed on the importation of servants from Ireland, "to prevent the importing too great a number of Irish papists into this province."

To prevent the evasion of provincial debts or other obligations by flight to England, or to the other American states, all persons preparing to leave the colony were required to give public intimation of their departure, and obtain a formal passport from the municipal authorities. An act was passed in the year 1698, investing a large tract of land in Dorchester county, in two Indian kings, who, with their subjects, were to hold it as a fief from the proprietary, and to pay for it a yearly rent of one bear skin. In common with the other colonies, Maryland was much infested by wolves; and so late as the year 1715, a former act was renewed, offering "*the sum* of three hundred pounds of tobacco" as a reward for every wolf's head that should be brought by any colonist or Indian to a justice of the peace. An act proposing a similar recompense had been passed in Virginia; but it was repealed in the year 1666.

* Winterbotham's America, vol. iii. p. 42. "That pride which grows on slavery, and is habitual to those who from their infancy are taught to believe and feel their superiority, is a visible characteristic of the inhabitants of Maryland." Ibid.

BOOK IV.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER I.

Early Attempts of the Spaniards and the French to colonize this territory—First Charter of Carolina granted by Charles the Second to Lord Clarendon and others—Formation of Albemarle Settlement in North Carolina—Settlement of Ashley River in South Carolina—Second Charter of the whole United Province—Proceedings at Albemarle—The Proprietaries enact the fundamental Constitutions of Carolina—Expedition of Emigrants to South Carolina—John Locke created a Landgrave—Hostilities with the Spaniards in Florida, and with the Indians—Disputes between the Proprietaries and the Colonists—Culpepper's Insurrection in North Carolina—He is tried in England, and acquitted—Discord among the colonists—Sothel's tyrannical administration—He is deposed.

We have seen New England colonized by puritans exiled by royal and episcopal tyranny; Virginia replenished by cavalier and episcopal fugitives from republican triumph and puritan ascendancy; and Maryland founded by catholics retiring from protestant intolerance. By a singular coincidence, the settlement whose history we now proceed to examine, originally seemed to have been destined to complete this series of revolutionary persecution: and if the first colonists who were planted in it had been able to maintain their establishment, Carolina would have been peopled by Hugonots flying from catholic bigotry.*

* At a later period we have seen the descendants of [illegible]

This territory has been the subject of a variety of pretensions, and distinguished at successive periods by a variety of names. The claim of England to the first discovery of it was disputed by the Spaniards, who maintained that Cabot never proceeded so far to the south, and that it had been yet unvisited by any European, when Ponce de Leon, the Spanish governor of Porto Rico, arrived on its shores, [1512], as he was sailing in quest of a land which was reported to contain a fountain endowed with the miraculous power of restoring the bloom and vigor of youth to age and decrepitude. Believing that he had now attained the favored region, he hastened to take possession, in his sovereign's name, of so rare and valuable an acquisition. He bestowed on it the name of Florida, either on account of the vernal beauty that adorned its surface, or because he discovered it on the Sunday before Easter, which the Spaniards call Pasqua de Flores; but though he chilled his aged frame by bathing in every stream or fountain that he could find, he had the mortification of returning an older instead of a younger man to Porto Rico. A few years afterwards, another Spanish officer, who was sent to make a more minute inspection of the territory supposed to have been thus newly discovered, performed an exploit but too congenial with the cotemporary achievements of his countrymen, in kidnapping a considerable body of the natives, whom he carried away into bondage. Some researches for gold and silver, undertaken shortly after by succeeding adventurers of the same nation, having terminated unsuccessfully, the Spaniards appeared to have renounced the intention of any immediate settlement in this region, and left it to repose under the shadow of the name they had bestowed, and to remember its titular owners by their cupidity and injustice. The whole of this coast was subsequently explored [1523—1525] with considerable accuracy by Verazzan, an Italian navigator, in the service of the French, and whom Francis the First* had commissioned to attempt the discovery of new territories in America for the benefit of the crown. But the colonial designs of the French government were suspended during the remainder of this reign, by the favorite game of kings, which was played with such eager and obstinate rivalry between Francis and the Emperor Charles the Fifth.† During succeeding reigns, they were impeded by still more fatal obstructions; and all the advantages that France might have derived from the territory explored by Verazzan and neglected by the Spaniards, was postponed to the indulgence of royal and papal bigotry in a war of extermination against the Hugunots. The advantages, however, thus neglected by the French court, were not overlooked by the objects of its persecution; and at length the determination of appropriating a part of this territory as a retreat for the French protestants, was embraced by one of their leaders, the Admiral Coligni. Two vessels which he equipped for this purpose were accordingly despatched with a body of protestant emigrants to America, who landed at the mouth of Albemarle river, and in honor of their sovereign (Charles the Ninth), gave the country the name of Carolina; a name which, by a singular coincidence, the English, after obliterating, were destined to revive. Though these colonists had only to announce themselves as strangers to the faith and the name of the Spaniards, in order to secure the most friendly reception from the Indians, they suffered so many privations in their new settlement, from the inability of the admiral to furnish them with adequate supplies, that, after a short residence in America, they were compelled to return to France. A treacherous pacification having been effected, meanwhile, between the French court and the protestants, Coligni employed the interval of repose, and the unwonted favor that he seemingly enjoyed with the king, in providing a refuge for his party from that tempest, which, though unhappily for himself, he did not clearly foresee, his experience and sagacity yet induced him to anticipate. Three ships, equipped by the king, and carrying out another detachment of Hugunots, [1564] were again despatched to Carolina, and followed soon after by a more numerous fleet with additional settlers, and an ample supply of arms and provisions. The assistance which the king of France thus vouchsafed to the Hugunots, reminds us of the similar policy by which Charles the First promoted, in the following century, the departure of the puritans from England. The French monarch was a little more liberal than the English, in the aid which he granted; but he was infinitely more perfidious and cruel in the designs which he truly entertained. Befriended by the Indians, and vigorously applying themselves to the cultivation of their territory, the colonists had begun to enjoy the prospect of a permanent and happy establishment in Carolina, when they were suddenly attacked by a force despatched against them by the king of Spain. The commander of the Spanish troops having first induced them to surrender as Frenchmen, put them all to the sword as heretics; announcing by a placard, erected at the place of execution, that this butchery "was not inflicted on them as subjects of France but as followers of Luther." Nearly a thousand French protestants were involved in this massacre; and only one soldier escaped to carry tidings to France, which charity does not oblige us to believe communicated any surprise to the projectors of the league of Bayonne and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Though the colony had been planted with the approbation of the French court, and peace subsisted at the time between France and Spain, the assault and extirpation of the colonists produced no demonstration of resentment from the French government, and would have been totally unavenged in this world, if De Gorgues, a French nobleman, incensed by such wickedness, had not determined to vindicate the cause of justice and the honor of his country. [1567] Having fitted out three ships at his own expense, he set sail for Carolina, where the Spaniards, in careless security, possessed the fort and settlement which they had acquired by the murder of his countrymen. He easily obtained the zealous co-operation of the Indians, and with their assistance overpowered and slew all the Spaniards who resisted his enterprise, and hanged all whom he made prisoners on the nearest trees; erecting, in his turn, a placard which announced, that this execution "was not inflicted on them as Spaniards but as murderers and robbers." Having thus accomplished his purposed vengeance, he returned to France; first destroying every trace of the settlement which neither Frenchmen nor Spaniards were destined ever again to occupy.* Religious disputes excited a much greater degree of mutual hatred and of public confusion in France than in England, and were proportionally unfavorable to French colonization. Canada, which was the first permanent occupation of the French in America, was not colonized till six years after Henry the Fourth had issued the celebrated edict of Nantes.

About eighteen years after the expulsion of the French colony of Coligni, there was settled in the isle of Roanoak, in the same territory, the first plantation effected by Raleigh, of whose enterprises I have given an account in the history of Virginia. There was an analogy between the fortunes of their colonial settlements, as well as between the personal destinies of Coligni and Raleigh; and transient as it proved, it was still the most lasting trace of his exertions witnessed by Raleigh, that the name of the country was changed by the English from Carolina to Virginia—a name of which we have already traced the final application and peculiar history.† Even the subsequent colonial efforts of England did not extend to this territory, till the year 1622, when several English families, flying from the massacres of the Indians in Virginia and New England, sought refuge within its limits, and are said to have acted the noble part of christian missionaries, with such success, that one of the Indian princes was converted from idolatry to the gospel. They suffered extreme hardship from scarcity of provisions, and were preserved from perishing by the generous contribution they received from the government of Massachusetts, whose assistance they had implored. An attempt was made to assume a jurisdiction over them by Sir Robert Heath, attorney-general to Charles the First, who obtained from his master a patent of the whole of this region by the name of *Carolana*. But as he made no attempt to execute the powers conferred on him, the patent was afterwards declared to have become void, because the conditions on which it had been granted had not been fulfilled * Much collision and dispute between claimants and occupiers of colonial territory would have been prevented, if the principle of this adjudication had been more generally extended, and more steadily applied.

The country which so many unsuccessful attempts had been made to colonize, was indebted for its final settlement to a project formed by certain courtiers of Charles the Second for their own enrichment, but which they were pleased to ascribe to a generous desire of propagating the blessings of religion and civility in a barbarous land. An application, couched in these terms, having been presented to the king by eight of the most eminent persons, whose fidelity he had experienced in his exile, or whose treachery had contributed to his restoration,† easily procured for them a grant of that extensive region, situated on the Atlantic ocean, between the thirty-sixth degree of North latitude and the river Saint Matheo. [1663] This territory was accordingly erected into a province, by the name of Carolina, and conferred on the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, Monk Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury), Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia; "who (as the charter set forth), being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people who had no knowledge of God." The territory was bestowed on these personages, and their heirs and assigns, as absolute lord proprietaries for ever, saving the sovereign allegiance due to the crown; and they were invested with as ample rights and jurisdictions within their American palatinate, as any bishop of Durham enjoyed within his diocese. This charter, doubtless, composed by the parties themselves who received it, seems to have been copied from the prior charter of Maryland, the most liberal in the communication of privileges and powers that had ever yet been granted.

A meeting of such of the proprietaries as were in England having been held soon after, for the purpose of concerting measures for carrying the purposes of their charter into effect, a joint stock was formed by general contribution for transporting emigrants, and defraying other necessary expenses. At the desire of the New England settlers, who already inhabited the province, and had stationed themselves in the vicinity of Cape Fear, they published, at the same time, a docu-

the most illustrious people of antiquity seeking a refuge in America from Turkish oppression. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Sir William Duncan, an eminent English physician, conceived the project of founding a Grecian colony in North America, and actually transported, for this purpose, several families of Greeks to East Florida. Galt's Letters from the Levant, p. 318.

* The kings of Spain and Portugal remonstrated against the projects of Francis as a direct impugnation of ecclesiastical authority. To this remonstrance the monarch is said to have pleasantly replied, "I should be glad to see the clause in Adam's will, which makes that continent their exclusive inheritance." Raynal.

† A slight demonstration was made by Francis in the year 1540 of an intention to colonize a different quarter of America, by the letters patent which he then granted to Jacques Quartier for the establishment of a colony in Canada. But the French made no permanent settlement even there till the reign of Henry the Fourth. Escarbot's Hist. of New France, p. 307. Champlain's Voyage, part i. In the commission to Quartier, the Indians are described as "possessed by savages, living without the knowledge of God or the use of reason." Yet Pope Paul the Third had previously by a Bull declared the American Indians to be rational creatures, possessing the senses, and entitled to the rights of men

* L'Escarbot's Hist. of New France, 225. 401. Oldmixon, i. 327—329. Hewit's Account of South Carolina and Georgia, i. 18—20. Williamson's History of North Carolina, cap. i. The French, however, retained their pretensions to the country. D'Aubigny, the father of Madame Maintenon, having formed the purpose of establishing himself in Carolina, found he had incurred the serious displeasure of the French court for having solicited a grant from the English government. Voltaire's Age of Louis the Fourteenth, cap. 26. Voltaire is mistaken in supposing that the future queen of France received her early education in Carolina, where as yet there were none but savage inhabitants. It was to Martinique that her father actually removed himself and his family, and whence, at the age of twelve years, this extraordinary woman returned to become the queen of a country where she had been born a prisoner. Memoires et Lettres de Maintenon, vol. i. Vie de M. Maintenon, 13.

† The denomination which he had bestowed in honor of himself on a projected town (see ante, B. I. cap. I.) was revived and bestowed upon an actual city, more than two hundred years after; when, by an ordinance of the legislature of North Carolina, the name of Raleigh was given to the seat of government of this province.

* Coxe's Description of Carolana, Append. 109—112. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, i. 226. Oldmixon, i. 339. Chalmers, 515. Heath had previously sold his patent to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who is said to have made expensive preparations for founding a colony, but was diverted from his design by a domestic calamity. Daniel Coxe, a physician in London, who, at the close of the seventeenth century, became an extensive purchaser of proprietary rights in North America, contrived, among other acquisitions, to obtain an assignation to Sir Robert Heath's patent; and maintained, with the approbation of King William's ministers, that this patent was still a valid and subsisting title, in so far as it embraced territory occupied by the Spaniards, and not included in any posterior English patent. His son (the author of the Description) resumed his father's claims, and made various unsuccessful attempts to colonize the territory which he persisted in denominating Carolana. Coxe, Preface, p. 30, and Append. p. 113—121.

† The two persons to whom this least reputable claim of merit chiefly belonged were Shaftesbury and Monk. It proved more available to them than the more honorable services of the others. Much more than his due share of it has been ascribed to Monk, whose great service was not that he contributed signally to effect the Restoration (which, in truth, he withstood as long as he could,) but that, by his artifices, the Restoration was effected without the constitutional precaution of imposing conditions on the king.

ment under the title of "Proposals to all that will plant in Carolina." They proclaimed that all persons settling on Charles river to the southward of Cape Fear, and consenting to take the oath of allegiance to the king, and to recognise the proprietary government, should be entitled to continue the occupation they had assumed, and to fortify their settlement; that the settlers should present to the proprietaries a list of thirteen persons, in order that they might select from them a governor and council of six, to be appointed for three years; that an assembly, composed of the governor, council, and delegates of the freemen, should be called as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow, with power to make laws which should be neither contrary to the laws of England, nor of any validity after the publication of the dissent of the proprietaries; that every person should enjoy the most perfect freedom in religion; that during five years every freeman should be allowed an hundred acres of land for himself and fifty for a servant, paying only an half-penny for every acre; and that the same freedom from customs which had been conferred by the royal charter should be extended to all classes of the inhabitants. Such were the original conditions on which Carolina was planted; and surely it must strike every reflecting mind with surprise, to behold a regular system of civil and religious freedom thus enacted as the basis of the colonial institutions by the same statesmen, who, in the parent country, had framed the intolerant act of uniformity, and were enforcing it with the most relentless severity. While they silenced such teachers as John Owen, and filled the prisons of England with such victims as Baxter, Bunyan, and Alleine, they offered freedom and encouragement to every variety of opinion in Carolina; thus forcibly impeaching the wisdom and good faith of their domestic administration by the avowal which their colonial policy manifestly implies, that diversities of opinion and worship may peaceably co-exist in the same society, and that implicit toleration is the surest political means of making a commonwealth flourish, and a country appear desirable to its inhabitants. It is humiliating to observe a man like Lord Clarendon realize, in conformity with his private interest, the truth which his large experience and powerful understanding were insufficient to induce him, as an English statesman, to embrace.

Besides the settlers from New England who were seated at Cape Fear, there was another small body of inhabitants already established in a different quarter of the proprietary domains. In the history of Virginia, we have seen that, as early as the year 1609 Captain Smith judged it expedient, for political reasons, to remove a portion of the Virginian colonists to a distance from the main body at James Town. With this view he despatched a small party to form a plantation at Nansemond, the most southern settlement of Virginia, where, notwithstanding the formidable obstructions they encountered from the hostility of the natives, they succeeded in maintaining and extending their establishment. As the Indians receded from the vicinity of these intruders, the planters naturally followed their tracks, extending their plantations into the bosom of the wilderness and as their numbers increased, and the most eligible situations were occupied, they traversed the forests in quest of others, till they reached the streams, which, instead of discharging their waters into the Chesapeake, pursued a south-eastern course, and flowed into the ocean. Their numbers are said to have been augmented, and their progress impelled by the intolerant laws that were enacted in Virginia against sectarians of every denomination. At the epoch of the Carolina charter of 1663, a small plantation had been accordingly for some years established within its boundaries, on the north-eastern shores of the river Chowan, which now received the name of Albemarle, in compliment to the title by which General Monk's services had been rewarded. Notwithstanding the opinion of an intelligent historian of North Carolina, I can see no reason to believe that the planters of Albemarle were composed entirely or even generally of exiles for conscience sake: yet that a number of conscientious men had mingled with them may be inferred from the fact, that they purchased their lands at an equitable price from the aboriginal inhabitants. Remote from the seat of the Virginian government, they yielded little obedience to its authority, and for some time had lived without any perceivable rule; when at length the governor of Virginia assumed, in a new capacity, a stricter and more legitimate superintendence of their affairs. In September, 1663, Sir William Berkeley was empowered by the other proprietaries to nominate a governor and a council of six, who were authorised to rule this little community according to the powers granted by the royal charter; to confirm former possessions, and to grant lands to every one, allowing them three years to pay the quit rents; to make laws, with the consent of the delegates of the freemen, transmitting them for the approbation of the proprietaries. Berkeley was requested to visit the colony, and to employ skilful persons to explore its bays, rivers, and shores; a duty which he performed in the following year. [1664.] Having confirmed and granted lands to the settlers, in conformity with his instructions, he appointed Drummond, a man of sufficient prudence and abilities, their first governor, and then returned to Virginia, leaving them all to follow their various pursuits in peace. The colonists for some time continued perfectly satisfied with an arrangement that seemed rather to secure than impair the advantages of their former condition; but as the day approached when the payment of quit-rents was to commence, they began to manifest no small dissatisfaction with the tenures by which they held their lands. In the year 1666 they constituted an assembly, probably the first that was ever held in Carolina, and from this body a petition was transmitted to the proprietaries, desiring that the people of Albemarle might hold their possessions on the same terms that were enjoyed by the people of Virginia. The proprietaries, who were exceedingly solicitous to promote the population of the province, and to avoid every proceeding that might discourage the resort of settlers, readily acceded to this request, and commanded the governor in future to grant the lands on the terms that had been prescribed by the colonists themselves. Notwithstanding the apostolical views which the proprietaries had professed, not the slightest attempt was made to provide for the spiritual instruction of the colonists, or the conversion of the Indians; and the colony continued for a series of years to be conducted without even the semblance of religious worship.

The proprietaries having thus endeavored to rear and organise the feeble settlement of Albemarle, directed their chief regard to the finer region that extends along the more southerly coast. Having caused a survey to be made of these shores, by a vessel which they despatched from Virginia, for the purpose of ascertaining what rivers and countries were the most proper for habitation, they proposed, among other projected settlements, to establish a new colony to the southward of Cape Fear, along the banks of the river Charles, in the district which was now denominated the county of Clarendon. Several gentlemen of Barbadoes, dissatisfied with their present condition, and desiring to become the heads of a less considerable establishment, had for some time projected to remove themselves to this region, and now submitted a proposition to that effect to the proprietaries: and though their first demands of being invested with a district thirty-two miles square, and all the powers of a corporation within themselves, were refused by the proprietaries, their application, on the whole received so much encouragement as determined them to undertake the migration. [1665.] In furtherance of a project so agreeable to their wishes, the proprietaries bestowed on John Yeamans, a respectable planter of Barbadoes, and the son of a man who had lost his life in the king's service during the civil wars, the appointment of commander-in-chief of Clarendon county, stretching from Cape Fear to the river Saint Matheo, and obtained for him, at the same time, the rank of a baronet, and partly in recompense of the loyalty of his family, and partly in order to give weight to his station, and some appearance of splendor to the colonial establishment. The same powers were now conferred, and the same constitution established, as those which had given contentment to the inhabitants of Albemarle: and Yeamans was particularly directed to "make every thing easy to the people of New England," from which the proprietaries declared that they expected more copious emigrations to Carolina than from any of the other colonies. This expectation, more creditable to their discernment than to their integrity, was obviously derived from the intolerance which yet lingered in New England, and the effects of which were thus distinctly recognised, and deliberately anticipated, by the same persons who indulged in it so unreservedly in the parent state. An order was made at the same time by the proprietaries, that the commission of Yeamans should not prevent the appointment of another governor, for a new settlement which was projected in a district to the southward of Cape Romain, and which acquired soon after the name of Carteret. The policy which the proprietaries were thus pursuing, in the establishment of a variety of separate and independent colonies in Carolina, each of which had its own distinct assembly, customs, and laws, supplied them at a future period with ample cause of regret, and contributed to the prolonged feebleness and distractions by which this province was unhappily distinguished. Meanwhile, however, their proceedings were regarded with approbation by the king, who presented them with twelve pieces of ordnance, which were despatched to Charles River, along with a considerable quantity of military stores.

Having now obtained the most minute information of the whole coast of Carolina, and discovered, on both extremes of their territory, considerable tracts of land that would form very desirable accessions to it, the proprietaries easily obtained from their sovereign a gift of these additional possessions. A second charter, which was accordingly executed in their favor, recited and confirmed the former grant, and gave renewed assurance and commendation of "*the pious and noble purpose*" under which these insatiable courtiers judged it decent to cloak their ambition or rapacity. It granted, to the same patentees, that province situated within the king's dominions in America extending north-eastward to Carahtuke-inlet, and thence in a straight line to Wyonoke, which lies under the 36th degree and 30th minute of north latitude, south-westward to the 29th degree; and from the ocean to the South Seas. They were vested with all the rights, jurisdictions, and royalties, which the bishop of Durham ever possessed, and were to hold the territory as a feudal dependance of the manor of East Greenwich, paying a rent of twenty marks, and one-fourth of the gold and silver that should be found within it. All persons, except those who should be specially forbidden, were allowed to transport themselves to Carolina; and they and their children were declared to be denizens of England, who should always be considered as the same people, and possess the same privileges, as those dwelling within the realm. They were empowered to trade in all commodities which were not prohibited by the statutes of England. They were authorised to lade the productions of the province, and to bring them into England, Scotland, or Ireland; paying the same duties as other subjects: And they were exempted, for seven years, from the payment of customs, on the importation, into any of the dominions of the crown, of wines and other enumerated products of the colony. The proprietaries were enabled to make laws for the province, with the consent of the freemen or their delegates; under the general condition that they should be reasonable, and as nearly conformed as might be to the jurisprudence of England. They were empowered to erect ports for the convenience of commerce, and to appropriate such customs as should be imposed by the assembly. They were allowed to create an order of nobility, by conferring titles of honor, differing, however, in style, from the titles conferred on the people of England. Carolina was declared independent of any other province, but subject immediately to the crown; and the inhabitants were not compellable to answer to any cause or suit in any other part of his majesty's dominions, except within the realm. The proprietaries were authorised to grant indulgences to those who might be prevented by conscientious scruples from conforming to the Church of England; to the end that all persons might have liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturbed not the civil order and peace of the province.* Such is the tenor of the last of the Carolina charters, which conferred on the noble grantees a territory of vast extent, and rights which it is not easy to discriminate from royalty. By a strange anomaly, the king, in divesting himself, as it were, of a part of his dominions, in behalf of a junto of his ministers, was made to recommend to their observance a system of ecclesiastical policy diametrically opposite to the intolerance which, at the very time, the counsels of these persons were breathing into his own administration. As Clarendon still held the office of Lord Chancellor, this charter, as well as the former, in favor of himself and his colleagues, was sealed by his own hands: and when we consider how liberally it endowed the proprietaries with privileges, at the expense of the prerogative of the crown, it seems the less surprising that he should not have suggested a similar objection to the charters which Connecticut and Rhode

* Lawson's Hist. of Carolina, 239—254. Williamson, i. 230, &c. The second charter of Carolina is printed in both these works at full length. Of the first, the only complete transcript I have seen occurs in a small collection of Carolina papers printed at London, without any date, but apparently about the end of the seventeenth century. There are copies of it in the British Museum, in the library of Gottingen, and in the library of the late George Chalmers.

Island obtained while the great seal was in his keeping. The arbitrary commission for Massachusetts, which we have seen him defend, shows that he entertained no general design of abridging the royal prerogative in the colonial dominions.

Animated by this fresh acquisition, the proprietaries exerted themselves, for several years, to attract adventurers from Scotland, Ireland, the West Indies, and the northern colonies; but notwithstanding all their endeavors, their province, partly from the unhealthiness of the climate, but chiefly from the state of dispersion in which the settlers chose to live, advanced but slowly in population and power. In the autumn of this year, the emigrants from Barbadoes, conducted by Sir John Yeamans, arrived at length at their place of destination, on the southern bank of the river of Cape Fear, where they had previously fortified their legal title from the proprietaries by an equitable purchase of the territory from the neighboring Indians. While they were employed in the first rude toils that were requisite for their establishment in the wilderness which they had undertaken to subdue, their leader ruled them with the gentleness of a parent, and cultivated the good will of the aborigines so successfully, that for some years they were enabled to prosecute their labors without danger or distraction. While the planters opened the forest, to make room for the operations of tillage, they necessarily prepared timber for the uses of the cooper and builder, which they transmitted to the colony whence they had emigrated; a commencement of a commerce which, however feeble, served to kindle their hopes and sustain their industry.

The inhabitants of Albemarle continued, meanwhile, to pursue their original employments in peace, and from the cultivation of tobacco and Indian corn, obtained the materials of an inconsiderable traffic with the merchant vessels of New England. About two years after the acquisition of their second charter, [1667.] the proprietaries appointed Samuel Stevens, a man whose virtues and abilities were judged equal to the trust, to succeed Drummond as governor of Albemarle; and at the same time bestowed on this settlement a constitution which, had it been faithfully maintained, would have greatly promoted the contentment and prosperity of the people. Stevens was commanded to act altogether by the advice of a council of twelve, the one half of which he was himself to appoint, and the other six to be chosen by the assembly. This was an approach to a principle disallowed entirely in Virginia and Maryland, but realized still more perfectly in the New England governments, and by which the democracy were admitted to a share in composing and controlling that body, which in the colonial constitutions formed equally the senatorial or aristocratical branch of the legislature, the privy council of the supreme magistrate, and the court of appeals. The assembly was to be composed of the governor, the council, and a body of delegates, annually chosen by the free-holders. The legislature, in which democratic interests were admitted thus strongly to preponderate, was invested not only with the power of making laws, but with a considerable share of the executive authority; with the right of convoking and adjourning itself, of appointing officers, and of presenting to churches. Various regulations provided for the security of property; and in particular it was announced that no taxes should be imposed without the consent of the assembly; and the lands were confirmed and granted as now holden by the free tenure of soccage. Perfect freedom in religion was offered to a people who were very willing to accept the freedom without concerning themselves in any way about religion; and all men were declared to be entitled to equal privileges, upon taking the oath of allegiance to the king, and of fidelity to the proprietaries. As we have but too much reason to suppose that the proprietaries had no sincere intention of preserving the constitution which they thus offered to establish, it is due to the character of Lord Clarendon to remark, that he had no share whatever in this transaction; his impeachment and exile having previously sequestrated him from all farther concern with the government of Carolina. The system, however, which was now tendered to their acceptance, was received by the inhabitants of Albemarle with perfect satisfaction: gratitude, perhaps, it would have been unreasonable to expect towards proprietaries who had no way contributed to their establishment in the province, but had followed them into the desert with the obvious intent of reaping where they had not sown, and congregating a scattered flock in order to shear it the more effectually. It was not till two years after, [1669.] that an assembly constituted on this new model was convened to enact laws for men, who being yet few in number seem to have been governed chiefly by the customs they had brought with them from their ancient establishment. Their first efforts in legislation were strongly marked with the character of persons who had been long accustomed to live remote from the energy of government, and to shift their residence whenever it became disagreeable, instead of seeking to alter and improve its circumstances. From the numbers of persons of broken fortunes who resorted to the colonies, and from the conviction that was early and most justly entertained by the colonists, that their industry was fettered, and their profits impaired, by the legislature of England, for the benefit of her own resident subjects, a defensive, or perhaps retributory spirit, was too readily adopted by the colonial legislatures; and if not an universal, it was at least a general principle of their policy to obstruct the recovery of debts. Of this disposition we have already seen some traces, about this period of time, in the legislation of Virginia. By the assembly that was now convened at Albemarle, it was declared that sufficient encouragement had not yet been afforded to the resort of settlers and the peopling of the province; and to supply this defect it was now enacted that none should be sued during five years after his arrival in the country for any cause of action arising beyond its limits; and that none of the inhabitants should accept a power of attorney to recover debts contracted abroad.* These complaints of fewness of people continued long to be reiterated by the settlers of Carolina; though it was afterwards very justly recriminated upon them by the proprietaries, that the inconvenience they complained of was promoted by their own aversion to settle in towns, and by the lazy rapacity with which each desired to surround himself with a large expanse of property, over the greater part of which he could exercise no other act of ownership than that of excluding the occupants by whom it might be advantageously cultivated. The remedy, too, seems to be defective in policy, no less than in justice. If industry might be expected to derive some encouragement, from the assurance that its gains were not to be carried off by former creditors in a distant country, the nature of this encouragement, as well as its temporary endurance, tended to attract neither a respectable nor a staple population: and accordingly this colony was long considered as the refuge of the criminal and the asylum of the fugitive debtor. But a more proper and natural mode of promoting population was at the same time established, by an act concerning marriage; by which it was provided that as people might wish to marry, and as yet there were no ministers in the colony, in order that none might be hindered from a work so necessary to the preservation of mankind, any two persons carrying before the governor and council a few of their neighbors, and declaring their mutual purpose to unite in matrimony, should be deemed husband and wife. The circumstances indicated by this law forcibly suggest the wide distinction between the sentiments and habits of the northern and the southern colonists of America. While all the colonial establishments of New England were conducted by clergymen, who long directed with almost equal authority in temporal and in spiritual concerns; not a trace of the existence of such an order of men is to be found in the laws of Carolina, during the first twenty years of its history; and it was not till the dissenters had emigrated thither in considerable numbers, that we hear of religious controversy, or indeed of any thing connected with religion in the province. Other regulations besides those which we have already noticed were adopted by this assembly. New settlers were exempted from taxes for a year; and every one was restrained from transferring his lands for two years. The first of these laws was intended to invite settlers; the second appears to have been a politic device to detain them. A duty of thirty pounds of tobacco was imposed on every lawsuit,† in order to provide the funds requisite for the expenses of the governor and council during the sitting of assemblies; no course having yet been taken (says the act) for defraying their charges. These laws, which proclaim the weakness, and illustrate the early policy of this inconsiderable settlement, were ratified in the following year by the proprietaries. As the colonists received little augmentation from abroad, their numbers increased but slowly; and it was not till sometime after this period, that they extended their plantations to the southern bank of the river Albemarle.

But although the proprietaries were willing to tender every concession, and encourage every hope that seemed calculated to fix or augment the inhabitants of Carolina, it was not for the purpose of founding and superintending institutions so homely and popular, that they had solicited the extraordinary privileges which their charters conferred. Their ambition aimed at making Carolina a theatre for the exercise of all that grandeur, and the display of all those distinctions, that have ever been known to co-exist with the forms of liberty; and the plumage which they had stripped from the royal prerogative, it was their intention to employ for the illustration of their own dignity, and the decoration of their provincial organs and institutions. With this view, about a year before they ratified the enactments of the assembly of Albemarle, [March 1*] they had subscribed that memorable instrument which bears the name of "the fundamental constitutions of Carolina," and the preamble of which assigns as the reason for its adoption, "that the government of this province may be made most agreeable to the monarchy under which we live; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy." The task of composing this political frame was devolved upon Shaftesbury by the unanimous consent of his colleagues, all of whom were strongly impressed with the resources of his capacity and the depth of his penetration, and some of whom had experienced, in the intrigues that preceded the Restoration, with what consummate dexterity he could effect his own purpose, and appropriate the instrumentality even of those who were not less able than interested to resist it. The instrument, indeed, was at first believed to have been actually the production of Shaftesbury,† but is now recognised as the composition of the illustrious John Locke, whom he had had the sagacity to appreciate and the honor to patronize, and who was united to him by a friendship more creditable than beneficial to the statesman, and in no way advantageous either to the character or the fortunes of the philosopher. [15] The constitutions of Carolina contain a mixture as discordant as the characters of these men; though in what proportions they represent the peculiar sentiments of either, it is not easy to guess, or possible to determine. It has been said (whether conjecturally or authoritatively) that Shaftesbury, smitten alike with reverence for antiquity and admiration of Locke, desired to revive in his person the alliance that once subsisted between philosophy and legislation; to restore the practice of that age when communities accepted their constitutions more willingly from the disciples of Pythagoras than from the descendants of kings. It is certain, however, that Shaftesbury, along with a very high value for the genius and talents of Locke, entertained implicit confidence in his own ability to excite the full vigor of Locke's understanding, and yet inject into it regulating views that would enable himself securely to anticipate and define the results of its application. What instructions were communicated to Locke by his patron, cannot now be known: but it must be admitted that the philosopher was indulged with so much liberty that he afterwards represented the constitution as his own performance, and himself as a competitor with William Penn in the science of legis-

* The same policy was pursued to a much greater extent by the ancient Romans, of whom Plutarch informs us that "not long after the first foundation of the city, they opened a sanctuary of refuge for all fugitives, which they called the temple of the god Asylaeus, where they received and protected all, delivering back neither the servant to his master, the debtor to his creditors, nor the murderer into the hands of the magistrate." Life of Romulus.

† It is remarkable that the Carolinians, who thus obstructed by a tax the legal adjustment of disputes, have always been more addicted to duelling than the inhabitants of any of the other states. In Connecticut, according to the representation of Dr Morse, there is more litigation than in any other quarter of North America: but a duel was never known to occur in Connecticut. Warden, vol. ii. p. 11. In most of the provinces, legal controversy was promoted by the uncertainty of the law: for although a substantial conformity was prescribed between the colonial jurisprudence and the common and statute law of England, the ascertainment of the precise extent of this conformity in every case was committed to the discretion of the Judges. Smith's New York, p. 316 317.

* This is the date assigned to the instrument by Oldmixon, by Williamson, and by the anonymous author of the History of the British Dominions in North America. It is the date also attached to the 130th article of the constitutions in the copy of them inserted in Locke's works. Chalmers dates the instrument in July of the same year; but it appears from the illustrations appended to this portion of his work, that there were two editions of the instrument; and I suppose he has referred, in his notation of the date, to the second edition, in which the proprietaries are reproached with having introduced some changes derogatory to the liberties defined in the first.

† It is so represented by Oldmixon, whose history was published in 1708, i. 332. But it was afterwards inserted in the collection published in 1719 by Des Maiseaux, of the anonymous and unprinted pieces of Locke, from a copy corrected by his own hand, and which he had presented to a friend as one of his own works. Locke, folio edit. ii. 652

ation; and hence this instrument, whatever may be thought of its intrinsic merits, must ever be regarded with interest, as the link that connects the genius of Locke with the history of America.

By these constitutions it was declared that the eldest of the eight proprietaries should be palatine of the province during his life, and that his successor should always be the eldest of the survivors. Seven other of the chief offices of state, namely, the offices of admiral, chamberlain,* chancellor, constable,† chief-justice, high steward, and treasurer, were appropriated exclusively to the other seven proprietaries; and these, as well as the office of palatine, might be executed by deputies within the province. Corresponding to these offices there were to be (besides the ordinary courts of every county) eight supreme courts, to each of which was annexed a college of twelve assistants. The palatine was to preside in the palatine court, of which he and three others of the proprietaries made a quorum; and this court represented the king, ratified or negatived the enactments of the legislature, and, in general, was vested with the administration of all the powers conferred by the royal charter, except in so far as limited by these fundamental constitutions. By a complicated frame-work of counties, signiories, baronies, precincts, and colonies, the whole land of the province was divided into five equal portions, one of which was assigned to the proprietaries, another to the nobility, and the remaining three were left to the people. Two classes of hereditary nobility, with possessions proportioned to their respective dignities, and for ever unalienable and indivisible, were to be created by the proprietaries, under the titles of landgraves and caciques: and these, together with the deputies of the proprietaries, and representatives chosen by the freemen, constituted the parliament of the province, which was appointed to be biennially convoked, and when assembled, to form one deliberative body, and occupy the same chamber. No matter or measure could be proposed to the parliament that had not been previously prepared and approved by the grand council of the province, a body resembling the lords of the articles in the ancient constitution of Scotland and consisting almost entirely of the proprietaries' officers and the nobility. No man was eligible to any office unless he possessed a certain definite extent of land, larger or smaller according to the dignity or meanness of the office. Trial by jury was established in each of the courts throughout the whole of the lengthened ramification of jurisdiction; but the office of hired or professional pleaders was denounced as a base and sordid occupation; and no man was allowed to plead the cause of another without previously deposing on oath that he neither had received nor would accept the slightest remuneration for his services To avoid the confusion arising from a multiplicity of laws, all acts of the parliament were appointed to endure only one hundred years, after which they ceased and determined of themselves without the formality of an express repeal; and to avoid the perplexity created by a multiplicity of commentators, all comments whatever on the fundamental constitutions, or on any part of the common or statute law of Carolina were absolutely prohibited. Every freeholder was required to pay a yearly rent of a penny for each acre of his land to the proprietaries; and all the inhabitants above seventeen and under sixty years of age were obliged to bear arms, and serve as soldiers, whenever they should receive a summons to that effect from the grand council. Every freeman of Carolina was declared to possess absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.‡ The policy that most readily suggests itself for such a regulation, is excluded by the fact, that at this time, and long after, there were no negroes in the province, except a very small number whom Sir John Yeamans and his followers had brought with them from Barbadoes.

A series of regulations that not only import the most ample toleration in religion, but manifestly infer the political equality of all religious sects and systems whatever, was ushered by this remarkable article:—"Since the natives of the place who will be concerned in our plantation are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance or mistake, gives us no right to expel or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have alowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed; violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion which we profess; and also that Jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of christian religion, may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness suitable to the rules and design of the gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore any seven or more persons agreeing in *any religion*, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others." In the terms of communion of every such church or profession it was required that the three following articles should expressly appear; that there is a God; that God is publicly to be worshipped; and that it is the duty of every man when called upon by the magistrate, to give evidence to the truth, with some ceremonial or form of words, indicating a recognition of the presence of God. No person who was not joined as a member to some church or profession of this description was to be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within the province; and all persons were forbidden to revile, disturb, or in any way persecute the members of any of the religious associations thus recognised by law. What was *enjoined* upon freemen was *permitted* to slaves, by an article which declared that, "since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, *it shall be lawful* for slaves as well as others, to enter themselves, and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freemen." But the hope of political equality that sectarians might derive from these provisions was completely subverted, and even the security of a naked tolerance was menaced by an article, which, though introduced into these constitutions was neither composed nor approved by Locke,§ and by which it was provided, that when the country should have been sufficiently peopled and planted, it should belong to the colonial parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the canons of the church of England; "which being *the only true and orthodox*, and the national religion of all the king'sdominions, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of parliament." Finally, it was declared that these fundamental constitutions (consisting of an hundred and twenty articles, and forming a vast labyrinth of perplexing regulations) should be the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina for ever.

The defects of this system are so numerous, that to particularize them would be a tedious labor; and they are at the same time so gross and palpable, that they must readily manifest themselves to every reader without any auxiliary indication. It may be remarked, however, in general, that the author of it, in collecting materials for his composition, seems to have looked every where but to the actual situation and habits of the people for whom he legislated. Legislators, who derive their office from any other source than the appointment of the people, are so little accustomed in the exercise of it to consider themselves obliged to do to others as they would have others do to them, that the partiality and illiberality of these institutions would scarcely merit notice if Locke had not been their author. It was a reproach more exclusively due to the proprietaries, that good faith was violated, and existing rights disregarded. For a number of inhabitants had already settled in the province, on conditions which their rulers had no longer the power to qualify or abrogate; and forms of government having been actually established, the people had acquired an interest in them, which, without their own consent, could not be sacrificed to these innovating regulations. The proprietaries might perhaps have been led to doubt the soundness of their expectations, if not the equity of their purposes, had they fairly considered the motives which retained themselves in England and anticipated the probable operation of similar sentiments on the minds of the inhabitants of Carolina. It is reported of some ancient legislators, that they sacrificed their own lives in order to secure the reception or the perpetuity of their constitutions. But while these proprietaries could not prevail on themselves to resign the comforts and luxuries of England, and even deliberately anticipated their non-residence, by providing for the vicarious discharge of their functions, they expected that an infant colony of independent woodsmen and rough tobacco-growers should at once renounce their manners and their habits of life, enchain their liberties, abridge their gains and nearly metamorphose themselves into a new order of beings, for the sake of accumulating dignity on persons whom even the enjoyment of such dignity could not induce to live in the country. It is hard to say whether there was a greater injustice or absurdity in projecting a state of society where such overweening concern was admitted in the rulers, and such utter disregard supposed in the people, of their own respective interests; where the multitude were expected to sacrifice their liberty and prosperity, in order to enhance the advantages of certain conspicuous stations, which those for whom they were reserved judged unworthy of their occupation. It is remarkable that Shaftesbury was at the head of the anti-catholic party in England, and that Locke assisted with his pen to propagate the suspicions which his patron professed to entertain of the designs of the catholics against religious and political freedom. Yet if we compare the constitutions of Maryland and Carolina, we cannot hesitate to prefer the labors of the catholic legislator to those of the protestant philosopher and politician; and to acknowledge that the best interests of mankind were far more wisely and effectually promoted by the plain unvaunted capacity of Lord Baltimore, than by the united labors of Locke's elevated and comprehensive mind, and of Shaftesbury's vigorous, sagacious, and experienced understanding.

The proprietaries, however, were so highly satisfied with the fundamental constitutions, that they resolved, without delay, to attempt their realization; and, as a preliminary step, exerted themselves to the utmost of their ability to promote the transportation of additional inhabitants to the province. The Duke of Albemarle was installed into the office of palatine, and the sum of twelve thousand pounds expended on the equipment of a fleet, which set sail in the beginning of the following year[1670,] with a considerable body of emigrants. This expedition, which was destined to found a colony at Port Royal, was conducted by Colonel William Sayle, an experienced officer, who received the appointment of governor of that part of the coast lying south-westward of Cape Carteret. As these emigrants appear to have consisted chiefly of dissenters, it is probable that religious toleration was the object they had principally in view; and that they had not been made acquainted with that article of the constitutions by which the security of this important blessing was so seriously endangered. Indeed at a subsequent period the colonists bitterly complained that the fundamental constitutions had been interpolated. and some of their provisions disingenuously warped to the prejudice of public liberty. Sayle was accompanied by Joseph West, who for upwards of twenty years bore the chief sway in Carolina, and was now intrusted with the management of the commercial affairs of the proprietaries, on whom the colonists continued for several years to depend exclusively for their foreign supplies. On the arrival of the settlers at their place of destination, they prepared with more good faith than good sense to realise the political system to which

* The Chamberlain's court had the care of "all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, and pedigrees," &c. and also "power to regulate all fashions, habits, badges, games, and sports." Art. 45. If the functions of this body resemble the ceremonial academy of China, the title at least of another body of functionaries recalls the institutions of old Rome. The assistants of the admiral bore the title of proconsuls. Art 41.

† This was a military office, and the members of its relative college of assistants were termed lieutenant-generals. Art. 39.

‡ It is humiliating to reflect that this regulation was composed by the hand that wrote the Essay on the Human Understanding. At a later period of his life, when the English Revolution and the controversies it engendered had enlightened Locke's ideas of the rights of men, we find him thus pronouncing his own condemnation, while he exposes, and confutes the servile sophistry of Sir Robert Filmes "Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that 'tis hardly to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it." "The perfect condition of slavery," he afterwards defines to be, "the state of war continued between a lawful conqueror and a captive." Locke, ii. 106, 173.

§ Art. 96. "This article was not drawn up by Mr. Locke but inserted by some of the chief of the proprietors, against his judgment; as Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends to whom he presented a copy of these constitutions." Locke, vol. iii. p. 676. note. It was probably devised by Lord Cornbury (Clarendon's sons,) who inherited his father's bigotry for the church of England, and appears to have signed the fundamental constitutions. Oldmixen, vol. i. p. 332

they were required to conform; but, to their great surprise, the first glance at their actual situation convinced them that this design was perfectly impracticable; and that the offices which were appointed to be established were no less unsuitable to the numbers than to the occupations of the people. A wide scene of rough labor lay before them, and it was obvious that for many years a pressing demand for laborers must be experienced; a state of things totally incompatible with the avocations of official dignitaries, and the pompous idleness of an order of nobility. Neither landgraves nor caciques had yet been appointed by the proprietaries; and to have peopled even the subordinate institutions, would have been to employ all the inhabitants of the colony in performing a political drama, instead of providing the means of subsistence. Yet although the colonists found themselves constrained at once to declare that it was *impossible to execute the grand model*, they steadily persisted in their adherence to it and expressed their determination to *come as nigh to it as possible*. Writs were therefore immediately issued, requiring the freeholders to elect five persons, who with five others chosen by the proprietaries, were to form the grand council, without whose assent the governor could not perform the functions of his office. A parliament, composed of these functionaries, and of twenty delegates, chosen by the same electors, was invested with legislative power. So great were the difficulties attending the first occupation of the settlement, that, only a few months after their arrival, the colonists were relieved from the extremities of distress by a seasonable supply of provisions, transmitted to them by the proprietaries. Along with this supply, there were forwarded to the governor twenty-three articles of instruction, called *temporary agrarian laws*, relative to the distribution of land, and the plan of a magnificent town, which he was desired to build with all convenient despatch, and to denominate Charles-town, in honor of the king. To encourage the resort of settlers to Port-Royal, an hundred and fifty acres of land were allotted to every emigrant, at a small quit-rent, and clothes and provisions were distributed, from the store of the proprietaries, to those who were unable to provide for themselves. The good will of the neighboring Indians was purchased by considerable presents to the native caciques, who thus performed the only service which that description of dignitaries was destined ever to render to the colony. While the colonists were toiling to lay the foundation of civil society in the province, the proprietaries were proceeding very unreasonably to erect the superstructure of those aristocratical institutions which they designed to establish. The Duke of Albemarle having died in the course of this year, was succeeded in the dignity of palatine by Lord Craven; and shortly afterwards John Locke was created a landgrave, in recompense of his services; and the same elevation was bestowed on Sir John Yeamans, and on James Carteret, a relative of one of the proprietaries. Perhaps it may excite some elation in the mind of an American citizen, that while the order of nobility, thus imported into his country, continued to enjoy, even a nominal subsistence, John Locke was one of its members; and that when he was expelled from Oxford, and a fugitive from England, he continued to be acknowledged as a nobleman in Carolina. But it is disagreeable to behold this distinguished philosopher, and truly estimable man, accept a title of nobility to himself in the society where he had contributed to sanction and introduce the degrading institution of negro slavery. Happily for the country with which he was thus connected, and for his own credit with mankind, the race of Carolinian nobles was exceedingly short-lived; and the attempt to engraft feudal nobility on the institutions of North America proved utterly abortive.

Sayle had scarcely established the people in their new settlement when he fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate. On his death Sir John Yeamans claimed the administration of the vacant authority, as due to the rank of landgrave, which no other inhabitant of the province, except himself, enjoyed. But the council, who were empowered to elect a governor in such circumstances, preferred to appoint Joseph West, a popular man much esteemed among the colonists for his activity, courage, and prudence, until a special commission should arrive from England. West's administration was but short-lived; for, notwithstanding this indication of his acceptableness to the colonists, the proprietaries, desirous of promoting the respectability, of their nobles, and highly satisfied with the prudence and propriety that had characterised Yeamans' government of the plantation around Cape Fear, [1671,] judged it expedient to extend his command over the new settlement lying south-westward of Cape Carteret. The shores, the streams, and the interior of the country, being now perfectly well known, in consequence of the acurate surveys they had undergone, the planters from Clarendon on the north, and from Port Royal on the south, began about this period to resort to the convenient banks of Ashley-river: And here was laid, during the same year, the foundation of *Old Charlestown*, which became, for some time, the capital of the southern settlements. The proprietaries, meanwhile, with the spirit that had characterised their former proceedings, promulgated *temporary laws* which they appointed to be observed, till by a sufficient increase of inhabitants the government could be administered acccording to the fundamental constitutions. One of these laws, with equal policy and humanity, enjoined the colonists to observe the utmost equity and courtesy in their intercourse with the Indians: to afford them prompt and ample redress o any wrongs they might happen to sustain; and on no pretence whatever to enslave or send any of them out of the country. The object of this regulation was unfortunately defeated, very soon after, by the intrigues of the Spaniards: and the other temporary laws received very little attention or respect from the colonists, who were by no means disposed to acquiesce in such arbitrary and irregular government; and who very justly thought, that if the establishment of permanent laws was obstructed by the circumstances of their present condition, the temporary arrangements by which such laws were to be supplied ought to originate with themselves, to whom alone the exact nature of the circumstances which were to be consulted was experimentally known.

The proprietaries were more successful in their efforts to increase the numbers of the colonists of Ashley-river, than in their experiments in the science of legislation. To the puritans, persecuted in England by the existing laws, and ridiculed and insulted by the cavaliers, they offered a secure asylum and ample grants of land in Carolina, on condition of their transporting themselves and their families to this province. Even the most bigoted churchmen in the king's council are reported to have co-operated with great eagerness to promote this project; considering severe labor a powerful remedy for enthusiasm, and enthusiasm an excellent stimulus to novel and hazardous undertakings; and judging it expedien to diminish, by every means, the farther accumulation of puritan sentiments and habits in Massachusetts. And although it was to this favourite scene that the strictest and the most numerous portion of the puritan emigrants still resorted, yet a considerable number were tempted by the flattering offers of the proprietaries to try their fortunes in Carolina. Unfortunately for the peace of the province, the invitations and encouragements to emigrate thither were tendered indiscriminately to men of the most discordant characters and principles. Rakes and gamblers, who had wasted their substance in riot and vice, and cavaliers who had been ruined by the civil wars, were sent out in considerable numbers, to associate with disgusted puritans, and to a scene where only severe labor, and the strictest temperance and frugality, could save them from perishing with hunger. To the impoverished officers, and other unfortunate adherents of the royalist party, for whom no recompense was provided in England, the proprietaries and the other ministers of the king offered estates in Carolina, which many of them were fain to embrace as a refuge from beggary. The conjunction between these cavaliers, who ascribed their ruin to the puritans, and the puritan emigrants, who imputed their exile to the cavaliers, could not reasonably be expected to produce harmony or tranquility; and the feuds and distractions that afterwards sprung up from the seeds of division thus unseasonably imported into the infant province, inflicted a merited retribution on the proprietaries for the senselessness and absurdity of the policy they had pursued. The dangers and hardships, indeed, in which the emigrants found themselves involved on their arrival in the province, contributed for a time to repress the growth of civil and religious dissension: but, on the other hand, the same circumstances tended to develope the evil consequences of sending worthless men, whose habits were already completely fixed and corrupted, to a scene where only vigorous virtue was calculated to thrive. Accordingly, it was the effects of this part of their policy that afforded to the proprietaries the earliest matter of repentance. Of the extent to which disappointment and discontent prevailed among the settlers, we may judge from this circumstance, that one of their earliest laws was an ordinance that no person should be permitted to abandon the colony.*—[1762] The distress which unavoidably attended the first efforts of the colonists was severely aggravated by the hostile intrigues and assaults of the Spaniards, who had established a garrison at Augustine, in the territory to which the appellation of Florida was now restricted from its original comprehensiveness. These proceedings of the Spaniards, which even their original pretensions would by no means have warranted, were adopted in manifest violation of a treaty by which such pretensions had been expressly renounced. Prior to the year 1667, no mention had been made of America in any treaty between Spain and England; the former being contented to retain her ancient claims to the whole country, and the other careful to preserve and improve the footing she had already attained in it. At that epoch, however, which was but a few years posterior to the occupation of Carolina, Sir William Godolphin, concluded a treaty with Spain, in which, among other articles, it was agreed, "That the king of Great Britain should always possess in full right of sovereignty and property, all the countries, islands, and colonies, lying and situated in the West Indies, or any part of America, which he and his subjects then held and possessed, insomuch that they neither can nor ought to be contested on any account whatsoever. It was stipulated at the same time, that the British government should withdraw its protection from the buccaneers, who had for many years infested the Spanish dominions in America; and accordingly all the commissions that had been formerly granted to these pirates were recalled and annulled. By the same treaty, the right of both nations to navigate the American seas was formally recognised; and it was declared that all ships in distress, whether from storms, or the pursuit of enemies and pirates, and taking refuge in places belonging either to Britain or Spain, should receive protection and assistance and be permitted to depart without molestation.

But notwithstanding this treaty, a certain religious society in Spain continued to assert a claim to the whole territory to which the name of Florida had been originally applied, not only on the footing of prior discovery, but by virtue of a special grant from the pope; and the garrison that was maintained at Augustine regarding the British settlement as an encroachment on their possessions, endeavored by every act of insidious, and even violent molestation, to compel the colonists to relinquish the country. They sent emissaries among the settlers at Ashley river, in the hope of moving them to revolt; they encouraged indented servants to abandon their masters, and fly to the Spanish territory; and they labored so successfully to instil into the savage tribes the most unfavorable notions of British heretics, that these deluded Indians, at the instigation of a people, whose treachery and injustice they had so sensibly experienced, took arms to extirpate a race who had never injured them, and whose whole demeanor, as well as the express instructions of their rulers, indicated a desire to cultivate friendly relations with them. The colonists were now involved in a scene of labor, danger, and misery, which it is impossible to contemplate without admiring the energy and endurance which human beings are capable of exerting. Except a very few negroes, who had been imported by Yeamans and his followers from Barbadoes, there were no other laborers but Europeans in the colony; the brute creation could not partake or supply human labor till the ground had been disencumbered of wood; and the weak arm of man alone had to encounter the hardship of clearing a forest, whose thickness seemed to bid defiance to his utmost strength. The toil of felling the large and lofty trees, by which they were surrounded, was performed by the colonists under the dissolving heat of a climate to which their bodies were totally accustomed, and amidst the terrors of barbarous enemies, whose silent approaches and abrupt assaults they could not otherwise repel, than by keeping a part of their own number under arms, to protect the remainder who were working in the forest, or cultivating the spaces that had been cleared. The

* Hewit, i. 54–56. 60. Hewit's work was published without his name, which some writers have spelt Hewit, and others Howat. Others have concluded, from this variation, that there were two writers whose names were nearly the same, and both of whom wrote histories of South Carolina. Warden carries this mistake still farther, and in his catalogue of works relative to this state, enumerates three histories bearing the same title, one by Hewit, one by Howat, and a third by an anonymous author. Nor is this a solitary, or even a rare specimen of the inaccuracy of his literary catalogues. Indeed nothing can be more slovenly or perplexing than the manner in which authorities have been cited in almost all the works that treat of American history. Even the most correct of them never scruple to cite the same author, in one passage by his name, and in another by the title which his work shares with a host of other performances.

provisions obtained by dint of such hardships were frequently devoured or destroyed by their enemies; and the recompense of a whole year's toil defeated in one night by the vigor and celerity of Indian depredation. These distresses were aggravated by the feebleness, helplessness, and ill-humor, of some of the recently arrived emigrants, and by the mistakes and disappointments arising from ignorance of the peculiar culture and produce appropriate to the soil of Carolina, to which European grain and tillage proved utterly unsuitable. So much discontent and insubordination was produced by these calamities, that it was with the utmost difficulty that the governor could prevent the people from abandoning the settlement. An insurrection was even excited by Culpepper, one of the provincial officers, but it was easily suppressed by the governor; and the guilty were either mildly punished or humanely forgiven in consideration of the misery to which their violence was imputed. While Yeamans was exer ing himself to compose these disorders, the Spanish garrison at Augustine, receiving information from some fugitive servants of the colonists, of the state of their affairs, judged this a proper opportunity to strike a decisive blow; and accordingly despatched a party, who advanced as far as the island of St. Helena, with the purpose of dislodging or destroying the inhabitants of Ashley river. But either their courage was disproportioned to their animosity, or they had overrated the divisions among the English colonists: for being joined by only one traitor of the name of Fitzpatrick, and learning that Yeamans was not only prepared to receive them, but had sent Colonel Godfrey with a party of fifty volunteers to attack them in St. Helena, they did not wait the encounter, but evacuating the island retreated to their quarters at Augustine. The more formidable hostilities of the Indians were quelled for a time, partly by the address and conciliation of Yeamans, but chiefly by a war which broke out between two of their own principal tribes, the Westoes and the Serenas, and which was carried on with such destructive fury, that in the end it proved fatal to them both.

[1673.] During the administration of Sir John Yeamans, the colony received a great addition to its strength from the Dutch settlement of Nova Belgia, which had been conquered by Colonel Nichols, and made subject to England. Charles the Second bestowed it on his brother James, who changed its name to New York; and by the prudence and mildness of the first governor whom he appointed, succeeded for a while in reconciling the inhabitants to the change of empire. But various circumstances had subsequently occurred to render the Dutch discontented with their altered situation, and many of them had formed the intention of removing to some other province; when the proprietaries of Carolina, understanding, or anticipating their design, and ever on the watch to promote emigration to their own palatinate, prevailed with them by encouraging offers to direct their course thither, and sent two of their own vessels, which conveyed a number of Dutch families to Charlestown. Stephen Bull, the surveyor-general of the colony, had instructions to allocate lands on the south-west side of Ashley-river for their accommodation: and here the Dutch emigrants, having drawn lots for their possessions, formed a town, which was called Jamestown. This first resort of Dutch settlers to Carolina, opened a copious flow of emigration to the province; for, having surmounted incredible hardships by their patience and industry, the sussessful establishment which they obtained, induced many of their countrymen in ancient Belgia, at a subsequent period, to follow them to the western world. The inhabitants of Jamestown, at length finding its precincts too narrow for their growing numbers, began to spread themselves over the province, till the town by degrees was entirely deserted.

The proprietaries had hitherto supplied the wants of the colonists with an unsparing hand; insomuch that it was by their ample and seasonable consignments of provisions and other stores, that the settlement had more than once been snatched from the brink of destruction. But their patience was not proportioned to their liberality; in the expectations they formed, of speedy emolument and grateful regard, they omitted to consider the circumstances for which they had so liberally provided; and totally forgetting the injustice and imprudence with which they had hurried off great numbers of helpless shiftless men, to a scene where they could only encounter, disturb, and encourage the more useful members of the community, they were strongly and exclusively impressed with the largeness of their own pecuniary sacrifices, which seemed to give them full assurance that the colonists had no cause whatever of complaint against them. Before the end of the year 1673, a debt of many thousand pounds had been incurred in this manner, by the colonists to the proprietaries; and yet they solicited fresh supplies, without being able to show how the late or the future expenses were ever to be reimbursed; and in alluding to the severity of the hardships they had undergone, they complained of neglect, and insinuated reproach. The proprietaries were exceedingly provoked and disgusted with this result; and their disappointment, concurring with the Dutch war, rendered their correspondence with the colony much less frequent than before. Willing however to encourage the settlers who had lately emigrated from New York, [1674.] they sent another supply, and promised an annual one; but withal warned the planters to consider how these advances were to be repaid, since they were now determined, they declared, to make no more desperate debts. "It must be a bad soil," they observed, "that will not maintain industrious men, or we must be very silly that would maintain the idle." They transmitted at the same time a large assortment of vines and other useful plants, and sent out a number of men who were acquainted with the management of them; but they refused an application for a stock of cattle, observing that they wished not to encourage graziers but planters; and they strongly recommended the cultivation of tobacco, till more beneficial staples could be introduced. Mutual jealously and dissatisfaction began now to arise between the proprietaries and the colonists, and embittered the whole of their future intercourse. But a useful lesson was conveyed to the people by the circumstances which thus diminished their reliance on foreign support, and enforced their dependence on their own unassisted exertions. The proprietaries ascribed the unproductiveness of the colony, and the poverty of its inhabitants, to the misgovernment of Sir John Yeamans, who in the commencement of this year had been forced by ill health to resign his command, and try to repair his constitution in Barbadoes, where he quickly found a grave. The factions and confusion in which the colony was shortly after involved, have rendered the annals of this period extremely perplexing and inconsistent, and obscured, with an almost impenetrable cloud, the real characters of men, and the connection of events. Yet amidst conflicting testimonies, I am strongly inclined to believe that these charges of the proprietaries against Sir John Yeamans were unjust, and either the effusions of spleen and disappointment, or (more probably) the artful suggestion of an apology for the body of the colonists, with whom it was not convenient for them to quarrel irreconcilably. The real offence of Yemans seems to have been his eagerness to procure ample supplies from the proprietaries to the colonists; a policy which, while the proprietaries were determined to discourage, they were naturally interested to view and represent as the consequence of his own mal-administration. When he abdicated his office, the council again appointed Joseph West his successor; and on this occasion the palatine thought proper to confirm the popular choice, with many compliments to the object of it, which, however gratuitous at the time, were amply justified by the prudence and success of his administration.

From the affairs of the southern colony, we must now transfer our attention for a little to the northern settlement of Albemarle. The same instructions which had been communicated to Sayle, in the year 1679, were transmitted to Stevens, the governor of Albemarle, at the same period; but a system, pregnant with innovations so unfavourable to the interests of freedom, was received with disgust and even derision, by a people who were no more disposed to give their consent to the fundamental constitutions than the proprietaries had been to demand it. The promulgation of this instrument produced no other effect than to excite the most inveterate jealously of the designs of the proprietaries; till, in process of time, it came to be reported and believed, that they had formed the purpose of partitioning the province, and bestowing Albemarle on Sir William Berkeley as his portion of the whole. This apprehension, though perfectly groundless, prevailed so strongly, [1675,] that at length the assembly of Albemarle presented a remonstrance to the proprietaries against a measure which they declared to be no less injurious to individuals than degrading to the country. Though this remonstrance was answered in a conciliating manner by the proprietaries, who graciously confessed that they had been wanting in attention to the people of Albemarle, and solemnly promised to preserve the integrity of the province, the discontents of the colonists were too deeply rooted to be thus easily removed. Little satisfaction was derived from the expectation of more frequent attentions from those whose policy had become the object of incurable suspicion: and a jealous and refractory spirit, taking possession of the minds of the people, was at length exasperated into sentiments as hostile to subordination, as the policy of the proprietaries was repuguant to liberty. From this period the history of the northern province, for a series of years, is involved in such confusion and contradiction, that it is impossible to render it interesting, and difficult to make it even intelligible. Chalmers, the most accurate of its historians, has been enabled, by his access to the most authentic sources of information, to rectify the mistakes of other writers respecting the nature and orders of the following events; but has found it utterly impracticable to account for them.* Unhappily they have been involved in the deeper confusion, from being connected in some degree, with the violent but unsteady and mysterious politics of Lord Shaftesbury.

Shortly after the remonstrance by the assembly of Albemarle, Miller, a person of some consideration in the province, was accused of sedition; and having been acquitted, notwithstanding the grossest irregularity and injustice in conducting his trial, he proceeded to England to complain to the proprietaries of the treatment he had undergone. Stephens the governor died soon after; and the assembly made choice of Cartwright to succeed him till orders should be received from England; but this man, after a short attempt to conduct the administration, was so disgusted with the distractions that prevailed around him, that he abandoned the colony altogether and returned to England, [1676,] whither he was accompanied by Eastchurch, a man whose address and abilities had raised him to the dignity of speaker of the assembly, and who was deputed to represent to the proprietaries the existing state of the province. The proprietaries conceiving a favourable opinion of Eastchurch, appointed him governor of Albemarle; and strongly disapproving the treatment that Miller had received, gave him as a compensation the office of secretary, to which Lord Shaftesbury added a deputation of his proprietary functions. The commissioners of the customs appointed Miller, at the same time, the first collector of these duties in the province. The proprietaries had observed with dissatisfaction how little their designs had been promoted, or their instructions respected by the provincial government. They had signified their desire to have settlements formed to the southward of Albemarle sound, and a communication by land established with the southern colony. But this scheme had been obstructed by the governor and council of Albemarle, who had engrossed nearly the whole of the trade with the neighboring Indians, and justly apprehended that the extension of the settlements would divert this profitable traffic into other hands. The proprietaries had no less vainly endeavored to alter the channel of the foreign trade of the colonists, and to substitute a direct intercourse with Britain for the disadvantageous commerce to which they had restricted themselves with New England, whose traders, penetrating into the interior of the province, and bringing their goods to every man's door, had obtained a monopoly of the produce of Albemarle, and habituated the planters to a traffic which they preferred, on account of its ease and simplicity, to the superior emolument of more distant commercial transactions. It was hoped by the proprietaries that an important alteration in both these particulars would be effected by the instructions which they now communicated to Eastchurch and Miller. [1677.] These officers departed to take possession of their respective offices; but Eastchurch, finding an opportunity of making a wealthy marriage in the West Indies, thought it prudent to remain there till his object was accomplished, and despatched his companion with directions to govern the colony as president till he himself should arrive.

As chief magistrate and collector of the royal customs, Miller was received with a hollow civility and treacherous acquiescence, of which he became the dupe and the victim. Not aware how unacceptable his authority was to a considerable party among the settlers,

* "Such," says this writer, "is the early history of North Carolina, which is probably as important and instructive as the annals of the most renowned states of antiquity, if we deduct from them the agreeable fables with which their eloquent authors have adorned them." P. 520. Hewit declares that the transactions of commonwealth's in their infancy are as interesting to the moralist as the vegetation of plants in spring is to the natural philosopher; a sentiment which, whatever justice it may be thought to possess, is totally inapplicable to the annals of a period disturbed by civil commotions, destitute of letters, and obscured by inconsistent traditions the offspring of contending factions and reciprocal rancor.

he at once promulgated purposes and commenced innovations that gave offence and alarm to all. He found the colony to consist of a few insignificant plantations dispersed along the north-eastern bank of the river Albemarle, and divided into four districts. The colonists were yet but an inconsiderable body; the *tithables*, under which description were comprehended all the working hands from sixteen to sixty years of age, amounting only to fourteen hundred; and one third of these being composed of Indians, negroes, and women. Exclusive of the cattle and Indian corn, eight hundred thousand pounds of tobacco was the annual produce of their labor, and formed the basis of an inconsiderable commerce, which was carried on almost entirely by the traders from New England, who enjoyed unbounded influence in the colony. Remote from society, and utterly destitute of instruction, the planters were remarkable for ignorance and credulity, and were implicitly directed by the counsels of these traders, who regarded with the utmost jealousy the commercial designs which Miller had been instructed by the proprietaries to pursue. Unsupported by any effectual power, and possessing neither the reputation of eminent ability nor the advantage of popularity, this man commenced the work of reformation with a headlong and impetuous zeal that provoked universal displeasure. He was reproached, and perhaps justly, with some arbitrary exertions of power; but the rock on which his authority finally split was an attempt to promote a more direct trade with Britain and with the other colonies,* in order to destroy the monopoly enjoyed by the traders of New England, whom the proprietaries regarded as insiduous rivals, and dangerous associates of the people of Carolina. At length, on the arrestment of a New England trader who was accused of smuggling, an insurrection† broke forth among the settlers of Pasquetanke, one of the districts of Albemarle; and the flame quickly spread through the whole colony. The insurgents were chiefly conducted by Culpepper, who had formerly excited commotions in the settlement of Ashley-river, and whose experience, in some enterprises, seems to have formed his sole recommendation to the regards of his present associates. As the government possessed no power capable of withstanding them, they soon acquired undisputed possession of the country; and having deposed the president, who was the chief object of their indignation, they committed him and seven of the proprietary deputies to prison. They seized the royal revenue, amounting to three thousand pounds, which they appropriated to the support of the revolt; they established courts of justice, appointed officers, convoked a parliament, inflicted punishments on all who presumed to oppose them, and, for several years, exercised the authority of an independent government. As there had been no example of a revolt unaccompanied by a manifesto, the inhabitants of Pasquetanke, in conformity with this usage, had commenced their insurrectionary proceedings, by publishing a feeble frivolous composition, entitled *a remonstrance to the people of Albemarle*, in which they complained of many oppressions, which they imputed to Miller, and declared the object they had in view to be the assembling of a free parliament, through whose instrumentality the grievances of the country might be represented to the proprietaries. The subsequent conduct of the insurgents, however, demonstrated very clearly, how little of real deference the proprietaries enjoyed with them; for, on the arrival of Eastchurch, [1678,] to whose commission and conduct no objection could be made, they derided his authority, and denied him obedience. He applied for assistance to the government of Virginia; but died of vexation before a force sufficient for his purpose could be assembled.

After two years of successful revolt, the insurgents apprehensive of an invasion from Virginia, despatched Culpepper and Holden to England, [1679,] to offer submission to the proprietaries, on condition of their past proceedings being ratified, and Miller declared and treated as a delinquent. This unfortunate president, the and other officers, who had languished, meanwhile, in imprisonment, having found means to escape, appeared in England at the same time, [1680,] and filled the courts and the nation with complaints of their own sufferings, and accusations of their persecutors. If the proprietaries could have ventured to act with decision, and in conformity with their own notions of right, it was the complaint of this latter party that would doubtless have prevailed with them. But while they hesitated to embroil themselves irreconcilably with the colonists, their perplexity was increased by the encouragement which Shaftesbury thought proper to extend, in the most open manner, to Culpepper. This enterprising politician, who was now deeply engaged in his last revolutionary projects, and whose resent espousal of the popular canse in England had placed him at variance with some of the brother proprietaries, plainly saw that Culpepper possessing the confidence of the people of Albemarle, was capable of becoming an useful instrument in the province, and that Miller, his ancient deputy, was utterly unfit to lend him any assistance. Culpepper, thus powerfully countenanced, seemed to have prevailed over his opponents, and was preparing to return to Carolina, when he was accused by the commissioners of the customs (at the private instigation, most probably, of the palatine, and others of the proprietaries,) of the offences of acting as collector without their authority, and of embezzling the king's revenue. He was seized on board a vessel in the Downs, under a warrant from the privy council; and his case being referred to the committee of plantations, the proprietaries no longer scrupled, nor indeed could in decency refuse, to come forward as his accusers; in consequence of which, the report of the committee impeached him not only of embezzlement of the customs, but of having promoted a rebellion in the province. It was in vain for him to acknowledge the facts, and beg for mercy, or at least that he might be sent for trial to Carolina, where the offences had been committed; his powerful accusers were determined to wreak the uttermost vengeance on so daring an opponent of legitimate authority; and by virtue of a statute of Henry the Eighth, which enacted that foreign treasons might be tried in England, he was brought to trial in the court of King's Bench, on an indictment of high treason committed without the realm. There is no defect of justice in requiring a colonial governor or other public officer delegated by the parent state, to answer before her domestic tribunals, for betraying the trust, or perverting the power which he derived from her appointment. But Culpepper had not been an officer of the British government; and, however consonant with the statute law of Henry the Eighth, it was plainly repugnant to the spirit of the English common law, as well as to the principles of equity, to compel him to take his trial at such a distance from his witnesses, and in a community where the witnesses on both sides were unknown, and conflicting testimony could not probably be adjusted. It must be confessed, however, that from the actual state of the province, the British government was reduced to the alternative of either trying him in England, or not trying him at all. His destruction at first appeared inevitable; for the judges pronounced, that to take up arms against the proprietary government was treason against the king; and the amplest evidence was produced of every circumstance requisite to constitute the crime. But Shaftesbury, who was then in the meridian of his popularity, appearing in behalf of the prisoner, and representing, contrary to the most undoubted facts, that there had never been any regular government in Albemarle, and that its disorders were mere feuds between the planters, which at worst could amount to no higher offence than a riot easily prevailed with the jury to return a verdict of acquittal. This was the last act by which Shaftesbury signalised his participation in the government of Carolina. His attention, thenceforward, was absorbed by the daring cabals that preceded his exile; and, about three years afterwards, having ruined or dishonored every party with which he had been connected, he was obliged to fly from England, and implore the hospitality and protection of the Dutch, whom he had formerly exhorted the English parliament to extirpate from the face of the earth. The ruin of this ablest of the proprietaries extended its influence to the fortunes of the most distinguished of the landgraves. Locke had been so intimately connected with Shaftesbury, that he deemed it prudent to abandon England at the same time; but so remote was he from any accession to the guilt of his patron, that when William Penn afterwards prevailed on James the Second to consent to the pardon and recall of Locke, the philosopher resolutely refused to accept a pardon, declaring that he had done nothing that required it.* Meanwhile the palatine, and the majority of the proprietaries, reduced to their former perplexity by the acquittal of Culpepper, pursued a temporising policy, that degraded their own authority: and cherished the factions and ferments of the colonists. Fluctuating between their resentments and their apprehensions, they alternately threatened the insurgents and blamed their own partisans. The inevitable consequences of this policy was, that they further exasperated all parties in the colony against each other, without attaching any to themselves, and at length found it too late either to overawe the insurgents by vigor, or to conciliate them by lenity. [1681] They are said to have resolved at last to abandon a hopeless vindication of their insulted authority, and to govern in future according to whatever portion of obedience the colonists might be disposed to yield to them. Having established a temporary administration, at the head of which they placed one Harvey as president, they announced, immediately after, their intention to send out Seth Sothel, who had purchased Lord Clarendon's share of the province, and whose interest and authority, they hoped, would powerfully conduce to the restitution of good order and tranquility. These measures, however, were productive only of additional disappointment. Little regard was paid to the rule of Harvey, by men who were already apprised that his government would have but a short duration; and the proprietaries, along with the tidings of his inefficiency, received intelligence of the capture of Sothel on his voyage by the Algerines. Undismayed by so many disappointments, the proprietaries, having now resolutely adopted a lenient and conciliating policy, pursued it with a commendable perseverance; and Henry Wilkinson, a man from whose prudence the most happy results were expected, was appointed governor of the whole of that portion of Carolina stretching from Virginia to the river Pemlico, and five miles beyond it. The most earnest endeavors were now employed by the proprietaries to heal the former disorders. To the governor and council, they recommended, in persuasive language, the enforcement and exemplification of mutual forbearance and indulgence: and, in compliance with their desire, an act of oblivion was passed by the assembly of Albemarle in favor of the late insurgents, on condition of their restoring the money of which they had plundered the royal revenue. But it was found easier to enforce topics of conciliation on the parties who had suffered wrong, than on those who had done the injury; and the late insurgents, who were still the strongest party, not only condemned the conditions of an act which they felt to be quite unnecessary to their security, but, acquiring the command of the assembly, proceeded, with triumphant insolence and injustice, to denounce and punish the party which had so far mistaken its situation, as to profer terms of pardon and forbearance to them. They inflicted heavy fines, and severe imprisonment on their opponents, who were forced to fly to Virginia for protection;† and with whom every trace of justice and freedom took a long leave of this unhappy colony. The lamentable scene of violence and anarchy that thus ensued was no way changed, nor was the condition of the colony in any degree meliorated, by the arrival of Sothel, the governor, in the year 1683. The dangerous character of this man was displayed in the first acts of his administration. Though required by the proprietaries to expel from the council all those who had been concerned in the late disorders; to establish a court of the most impartial of the inhabitants, for the redress of wrongs committed during the distraction of the times; and to assist the officers of the customs in collecting the royal revenue, and executing the acts of navigation, he declined to comply with any of these mandates; and, seeking only his own immediate enrichment, he disregarded equally the happiness of the people, the interest of his colleagues, and the deep stake which he himself possessed in the future welfare of the colony. Newly escaped from captivity on the coast of Barbary, he was so far from enlarging his own humanity, or fortifying his sense of equity, by the experience of hardship and injustice, that he seemed to have adopted the policy of his late captors as the model of his own government: nor have the annals of colonial oppression recorded a name that deserves to be transmitted to posterity with

* Virginia, from her situation, might have absorbed the whole of this traffic of which she then enjoyed only a very inconsiderable portion. But so narrow were the commercial views by which she was governed, that two years after this period she passed an act prohibiting "the importation of tobacco from Carolina; as it had been found very prejudicial." Laws of Virginia, p. 127. In the year 1681, the governor of Virginia, writing to the English committee of colonies, declares that "Carolina (I mean the north part of it) always was and is the sink of America, the refuge of our renegadoes, and till in better order, dangerous to us." State Papers, apud Chalmers, 356.

† This insurrection, it will be remarked, broke out but a few months after the suppression of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia. But no connection has been ever supposed between these two events.

* Life of Locke Clarkson's Life of Penn Though Locke refused to avail himself of Penn's good offices, he was by no regardless or unmindful of them; and after the Revolution in England, found an opportunity of amply repaying them. Post B. VII. cap. 2.

† Some of these unfortunate persons appear to have transmitted addresses and complaints to Charles the Second, and vainly implored his protection. Chalmers, p. 503

greater infamy than his. Rapacity, cruelty, and treachery, appear to have been the prominent traits of his administration which, after afflicting the colony for a period of five years, at length exhausted the patience of all parties, and produced at least one good effect, in uniting the divided people by a sense of common suffering and danger. Driven almost to despair, the inhabitants universally took arms against the government in 1688, and having deposed and imprisoned him, were preparing to send him to England for trial, when, descending to the most abject supplications, he entreated to be judged rather by the provincial assembly, whose sentence he declared himself willing to abide. If the colonists, in granting this request, arrogated a power that did not constitutionally belong to them, they at least exercised it with a moderation that reflects honor on themselves, and aggravates the guilt of the tyrannical governor. The assembly declared him guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge, and ordained that he should abjure the country for twelve months, and the government for ever. When the proprietaries received intelligence of these proceedings, they deemed it proper to signify that they did not altogether approve the irregular justice of the colonists; but they expressed the deepest regret for their sufferings, and the utmost astonishment and indignation at the conduct of the governor. They summoned him still to answer for his crimes before the palatine's court in England; and they protested to the people, that, if they would render a dutiful obedience to legal authority, no governor should in future be suffered to enrich himself with their spoils.* Such was the condition to which North Carolina was reduced at the epoch of the British Revolution.

CHAPTER II.

Affairs of South Carolina—Indian War—Practice of kidnapping Indians—Emigrants from Ireland—Scotland—and England—Pirates entertained in the colony—Emigration of French Protestants to Carolina—Disputes created by the Navigation Laws—Progress of Discontent in the Colony—Sothel usurps the government—Endeavors of the Proprietaries to restore good order—Naturalization of French Refugees resisted by the Colonists—The Fundamental Constitutions abolished—Wise Administration of Archdale—Restoration of general Tranquility—Ecclesiastical Condition of the Province—Intolerant Proceedings of the Proprietaries—State of the People—Manners, Trade, &c.

We now resume the progress of the southern province of Carolina, which, under the prudent administration of Joseph West, whom we have seen appointed governor in 1674, enjoyed a much larger share of prosperity than fell to the lot of the settlers of Albemarle. The governor has been highly celebrated for his courage, wisdom, and moderation; and the state of the province over which he was called to preside, gave ample occasion to the exercise of these qualities. Strong symptoms of mutual jealousy and dislike began to manifest themselves between the dissenters and puritans, who were the most numerous party in the colony, and the cavaliers and episcopalians who were favored by the proprietaries in the distribution of property and appointment to offices of trust: and although the firmness and good sense of West prevented the discord of these parties from ripening into strife and confusion, it was beyond his power to eradicate the evil, or to prevent his own council, which was composed of the leading cavaliers, from treating the puritans with insolence and contempt. The cavalier party was reinforced by all those persons whom loose manners and dissipated habits had carried to the province, [1674—1677] not for a cure but a shelter of their vices, and who regarded the rigid manners of the puritans with as much dislike as the cavaliers entertained for their political principles. The adversaries of the puritans, finding that it was in their power to shock and offend them by exhibition of manners opposed to their own, affected an extreme of gay license and jollity. Each party considering its manners as the test of its principles, emulously exaggerated the distinctive features of the demeanor it embraced; and a competition of manners and habits ensued, in which the ruling party gave countenance and encouragement to practices very unfavourable to the prevalence of industry and acquisition of wealth. The proprietaries, whose imprudence had begotten these divisions, were the first sufferers from their evil consequences, and found all their efforts unavailing to obtain repayment of the large advances which they had made for the settlement. The colonists who had undertaken to pay the small salary of 100*l.* a year allotted to the governor, found themselves unable to discharge even this obligation: and the proprietaries found it necessary, in April, 1677, to assign to him the whole stock of their merchandises and debts in Carolina, in liquidation of his claims. This transaction gave rise to the remark that West was perhaps the only factor, who, at the end of ten years of confessedly prudent management, received, without any impeachment of his morals, the whole product of his traffic as the reward of his services. Meanwhile the population of the province received considerable accessions from the continued resort of English dissenters, and of protestant emigrants from the catholic states of Europe. In the year 1679, the king, willing to gratify the proprietaries, and hoping, perhaps, to divert the tide of emigration from Massachusetts, ordered two small vessels to be provided at his own expense, to convey a detachment of foreign protestants to Carolina, who proposed to add wine, oil, and silk, to the other produce of the territory; and he granted to the colonists an exemption for a limited time from the payment of taxes on these commodities, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the commissioners of customs, who represented that England would be ruined and depopulated if the colonies were rendered a more desirable residence. Although these new settlers were not able to enrich the province with the valuable commodities which they had so confidently promised, they preserved their settlement in it, and formed a useful and respectable addition to its population. The proprietaries having learned that the agreeable district called Oysterpoint, formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, enjoyed greater convenience than the station that the first settlers had chosen, encouraged the inclination of the people, who began to remove thither about this time: and here, in 1680, was laid the foundation of the modern Charlestown, a city which in the next century claimed the highest consideration for the elegance of its streets, the extent of its commerce, and the refinement of its society. It was instantly declared the port of the province for the various purposes of trade, and the capital for the general administration of government. For sometime, however, it proved extremely unhealthful; insomuch, that from the month of June till October, the courts of justice were annually shut; and during that interval no public business was transacted; and men fled from the pestilential atmosphere of the place. The inconvenience at length was found to be so great, that orders were given to inquire for situations more friendly to health. But happily (in consequence, it has been supposed, of the purification of the noxious vapor by the smoke of numerous culinary fires) the climate gradually underwent a favorable change, and finally evinced so complete a revolution, that Charlestown was considered to enjoy the most salubrious air of Carolina.

Notwithstanding the earnest desire of the proprietaries, that the colonists should cultivate the good will of the Indians, a war that proved very detrimental to the settlement broke out in the year 1680, with a powerful tribe that inhabited the southern boundary. The war seems to have originated, partly from the insolence with which the idle and licentious emigrants behaved to the Indians, and partly from the depredations of straggling parties of Indians, who being accustomed to the practice of killing whatever animals they found at large, accounted the planters' hogs, turkeys, and geese, lawful game, and freely preyed upon them. The planters as freely made use of their arms in defence of their property, and several Indians having been killed, the vengeance of their kindred tribe burst forth abruptly in general hostilities, which for some time threatened the most serious consequences to the colony. So divided were the colonists among themselves, that the governor found it difficult to unite them in measures requisite even for their common safety, or to persuade any to undertake an effort that did not promise to be attended with advantage immediately and exclusively their own. That he might address himself effectually to their selfish disposition, he offered a price for every Indian who should be taken prisoner and brought to Charlestown; and raised the necessary funds by disposing of the captives to the traders who frequented the colonies, and who sold them for slaves in the West Indies. This policy was productive of so much profit, and of enterprises so agreeable to the temper and habits of some of the planters, that the war was carried on with a vigor that soon enabled the government to dictate a treaty of peace with the Indians. [1681.] The proprietaries, desiring that this pacification should rest on a lasting and equitable basis, appointed commissioners who were empowered to decide all complaints between the contending parties in future, and declared that all the tribes within four hundred miles of Charlestown were under their protection. But the practices that had been introduced during the war had established themselves too strongly to be thus easily eradicated. Many of the colonists found it more profitable, as well as more agreeable, to traffic in the persons of the Indians, than to clear the forests or till the ground: and not only the principal inhabitants, but the officers of government, fomented the spirit of discord that prevailed among the savage tribes and promoted their mutual wars, with the design of procuring to themselves the captives whom they purchased as slaves. It was in vain for the governor and council to plead in justification of this inhuman policy, that by occupying the tribes, and causing them to expend their force in mutual hostilities, they secured the colony against their attacks; and that humanity sanctioned the purchase of prisoners who would otherwise have been put to death. The proprietaries were by no means satisfied with these reasons; and strongly declaring their conviction that it was a sordid thirst for private gain, and not a generous concern for the public safety, that engendered a policy so dastardly and dishonest, they ceased not to insist for its entire abandonment. But their humane interference was long unavailing; and it was not till after the most persevering and vehement remonstrances, that they were able to procure the enactment of a law to regulate, and at length utterly prohibit, this profligate and ignoble practice. Its continuance was attended with consequences both immediately and lastingly injurious. The traders who carried the captives to the West Indies imported rum in exchange for them; and a destructive habit of indulging to excess in this beverage depraved the manners and relaxed the industry of many of the colonists. A deep and mutual dislike was formed between them and the victims of their injustice, which the lapse of many years was unable to allay; and in after times the Indians inflicted a severe retribution on the posterity of those who had been the authors of their wrongs and the insidious abetters of their ferocity.

Governor West held a parliament at Charlestown in the close of the following year; [1682,] when laws were enacted for settling a militia, which the late war had shown to be necessary; for making ways through the boundless forest that every where surrounded the capital; for repressing drunkenness and profanity, and otherwise promoting the morality of a people who did not enjoy the instruction of a public ministry. [1683.] Shortly after this proceeding, West, who had incurred the displeasure of the proprietaries by introducing the traffic in Indians, and by curbing the excesses of the cavaliers, who were accounted the proprietary party, was removed from his command; and the government of the colony was committed, by Lord Craven, to Joseph Moreton, who had been recently created a landgrave of Carolina. This was the commencement of a course of rapid succession of governors, and all the other public officers in the colony: a system arising partly from unexpected casualties, and partly from defective policy; and which did not fail to produce the consequences with which it has been invariably attended, in the degradation of government, and the promotion of party spirit and cabals. But, however much the policy of the proprietaries might fluctuate in other respects, it continued long to be steadily and strenuously directed to the encouragement of emigration. At the desire of several wealthy persons, who proposed to emigrate to the province, they once more revised their fundamental constitutions, which, at the time of their first enactment, had been declared unalterable; now again promulgating a similar declaration of their future inviolability. The object of the present alteration was to relax somewhat in favor of liberty, the rigor of the original constitutions: but it is the less necessary to particularize them, as they were never acknowledged or received by the people of Carolina, who were more jealous of the power assumed to introduce such alterations, than gratified with the particular advantages now tendered to their acceptance. The alterations, however, proving satisfactory to the parties who had sol

* Williamson, i. 136—141. Chalmers, 538—540. Hewit, i. 103, 104. Hewit has related these proceedings against Sothel, as having occurred in South Carolina. Nor is this the only error with which he is chargeable. He perpetually combines events that are totally unconnected with each other. His notation of dates is extremely scanty, and sometimes very inaccurate. While he abstains from the difficult task of relating the history of Norlh Carolina, he selects the most interesting features of its annals, and transfers them to the history of the southern province. His errors, though hardly honest, were probably not the fruit of deliberate misrepesentation. Almost all the prior historians of America have been betrayed into similar inaccuracies with respect to the provinces of Carolina. Even that laborious and generally accurate writer Jedediah Morse has been so far misled by defective materials as to assert (American Gazeteer, second edit 1798. p. 381) that the first permanent settlement in North Carolina was effected by certain German refugees in 1710.

...ited them, one Ferguson soon after conducted to the colony an emigration from Ireland, which instantly mingled with the mass of the inhabitants. Lord Cardross, a Scottish nobleman, also led out a colony from his native country (then groaning under the barbarous administration of the Duke of Lauderdale,) which settled on Port Royal island, and in pursuance of some agreement or understanding with the proprietaries, claimed for itself co-ordinate authority with the governor and grand council of Charlestown. This claim, however, was disallowed by the colonial government; and the new occupants of Port Royal having been compelled to acknowledge submission, Lord Cardross, whether disappointed with this result, or satisfied with what he had already accomplished, forsook the settlement and returned to Britain. The settlers whom he left behind, were sometime after dislodged from their advantageous situation by an expedition despatched against them by the Spaniards at Augustine, whom they had wantonly provoked by inciting the Indians to make an irruption into the Spanish territory. But the most valuable addition to its numbers which the colony at this time received, arose from the emigration of a considerable body of pious and respectable dissenters, from Somersetshire in England. This body was conducted by Joseph Blake, the brother and heir of the renowned Admiral Blake, and who now devoted the moderate fortune which his disinterested brother had bequeathed to him, to facilitate the retirement of a number of dissenters, with whom he was connected, from the persecutions they endured in England, and the greater calamities they apprehended under the reign of the popish successor of the king. Several persons of similar principles, and considerable substance, united themselves to this emigration; and the arrival of these people served to strengthen the hands of the puritan or sober party in the colony, and to counteract, in a salutary manner, the influence of circumstances unfavorable to the character and manners of the planters. From the exertions of the proprietaries, and the condition of England at this period, there is little doubt that the colony would have received a much larger accession to its inhabitants, if the recent colonization of Pennsylvania had not presented an asylum more generally attractive to mankind. The liberality of William Penn's institutions; the friendly sentiments with which the Indians returned his kind and pacific demeanor; the greater salubrity of the climate of Pennsylvania, and superior adaptation of its soil to the cultivation of British grain, powerfully enforced the claim of this province to the preference of emigrants; and such multitudes resorted to it, both from England and the other states of Europe, as soon enabled it to outstrip the older settlement of Carolina, both in wealth and in population.

A few months after his elevation to the office of governor, Moreton assembled a parliament, which established a great variety of regulations, for the remedy of those little inconveniences that are incidental to the infancy of all colonial settlements. A law that was now enacted for raising the value of foreign coins gave rise to the currency of Carolina, which, in after times, incurred an extreme depreciation. In imitation of the early policy of the settlement of Albemarle, all prosecutions for foreign debts were suspended. But the proprietaries, now regarding with displeasure what they had formerly confirmed without animadversion, interposed to negative this enactment, declaring that it was contrary to the king's honor, since it obstructed the course of justice, and that the colonial parliament had no power to frame a law so inconsistent with the jurisprudence of England: and the more sensibly to manifest their displeasure, they issued orders that all officers who had promoted this enactment should be displaced. Another cause of dispute between the proprietaries and the province, arose from the manner in which this parliament had been constituted. The province at this time was divided into the three counties of Berkeley, Craven (including the district formerly called Clarendon), and Colleton. The proprietaries had desired, that of the twenty members of whom the lower house of parliament was composed, ten should be elected by each of the counties of Berkeley and Colleton; the third being reckoned as yet too inconsiderable to merit a share of parliamentary representation. Berkeley, which contained the metropolis, was the only one of the counties which as yet possessed a county court: and the provincial government having appointed the election to be held at Charlestown, the inhabitants of Berkeley had combined to prevent the people of Colleton from voting at all, and had themselves returned the whole twenty members. They maintained that this advantage was due to their own superiority in number of people; a circumstance which at least enabled them to realize the pretension it suggested. The proprietaries, however, were highly displeased with this contempt of their instructions, which they were no sooner informed of, than they gave orders that the parliament should be dissolved, and none other assembled in so irregular a manner. But their commands were unavailing; and this signal injustice, after maintaining its ground for some time, obtained the countenance and assent of the proprietaries themselves, and continued to subsist, till, at a later period, its abettors were compelled to yield to the indignant and unanimous voice of the people whom they had disfranchised. The proprietaries, meanwhile, were exceedingly displeased with the reiterated disobedience of their deputies, and, in a remonstrance which they addressed to the governor and council, they reminded them, in language which at least expresses good intentions, "that the power of magistracy is put into your hands for the good of the people, who ought not to be turned into prey, as we doubt hath been too much practised." It was remarked, that the greatest dealers in Indian slaves were the keenest opponents of the claim of Colleton county to share in the exercise of the elective franchise; exemplifying how the indulgence of selfishness and oppression in any one relation tends entirely to pervert or extinguish in men's minds the sense of what is due to the rights of others. The proprietaries, though at times they expressed themselves, as on this last occasion, with vigor and wisdom, seem to have been quite incapacitated, by ignorance or irresolution, from pursuing or enforcing a consistent course of policy. It was found that some of the councillors, and even the commissioners that had been appointed to watch over the interests of the Indians, encouraged the traffic in Indian slaves; and though Moreton was able to remove these delinquents from office, they succeeded in rendering his own situation so disagreeable to him, that he was constrained to resign his authority, which was immediately conferred on West, who suffered the people to continue the practice of inveigling and kidnapping the Indians without restraint. The proprietaries then intrusted the government to Sir Richard Kyrle, an Irishman, who died soon after his arrival in the province. [1684.] West, thereupon, was again chosen interim governor by the council, whose appointment, on this occasion, the proprietaries thought proper to confirm. He was, however, shortly after superseded by Colonel Quarry, who retained the office only till the following year, [1685,] when, in consequence of the countenance he was found to have given to piracy, he, in his turn, was dismissed, and Joseph Moreton reinstated in the government.*

The American seas had long been infested by a race of daring adventurers, privateers in time of war, pirates in time of peace, whose martial exploits, and successful depredations on the rich colonies and commerce of Spain, enabled them to conciliate the regard or purchase the connivance of many of the inhabitants of the British settlements, and even of the authorities supreme as well as subordinate, of the British empire. The king himself, for several years after his restoration, had extended to them his patronage, and even granted the honor of knighthood to one of their number, Henry Morgan, a Welshman, who had plundered Portobello and Panama, and acquired a vast booty by his achievements. Thus recommended by the king to the favorable regards of his subjects, these freebooters found it no less easy than advantageous to cultivate a friendly connexion with the people of Carolina, who willingly opened their ports, and furnished supplies of provisions to guests who lavishly spent their golden spoils in the colony. The treaty of 1667, together with the increasingly lawless character of the adventurers, had withdrawn the king's protection from them; but they continued, nevertheless, to maintain, and even extend, their intercourse with the planters and authorities of Carolina. The governor, the proprietary deputies, and the principal inhabitants, degraded themselves to a level with the vilest of mankind, by abetting the crimes of pirates, and becoming receivers of their nefarious acquisitions. The proprietaries strongly remonstrated against practices that degraded the character of the province, and depraved the manners of all who participated in them; and their orders, backed by a proclamation from the king, prevailed so far as to restrain the colonists from indulging an inclination which they had begun to demonstrate of sharing in the enterprises as well as the gains of their piratical associates. But they obstinately continued to retain their connection with these adventurers, which, diffusing among them the infectious desire of sudden wealth and the spirit of dissipation, contributed to the formation of habits pernicious to every community, but more particularly injurious to the prosperity of an infant settlement. Traces of these habits have continued long to be discernible in the character and manners of the inhabitants of Carolina. The king at length aroused by the complaints of his allies, and sensible how much the trade of his own subjects had been injured by these lawless proceedings, transmitted to the colony in April, 1684, "a law against pirates," which the proprietaries required their parliament to enact, and their executive officers rigorously to enforce. The first part of this requisition was readily complied with; but the evil had become so inveterate, that the law, instead of being carried into effect, was openly violated even by those by whom it had been enacted. It was not till three years after this period, that the evil received an effectual check, from an expedition which James the Second despatched under Sir Robert Holmes, for the suppression of piracy in the West Indies. Of this expedition the proprietaries sent intimation to the governor and council of Charlestown, and recommended to them a prompt submission to the authority, and co-operation in the designs and proceedings of Holmes; and their mandates being now supported by a force sufficient to overawe all opposition, these disgraceful proceedings sustained a complete, though unfortunately only a temporary interruption.

Meanwhile the obloquy and disrepute which the province of South Carolina thus deservedly incurred, was not the only inconvenience that resulted from its connexion with the pirates. The Spaniards at St. Augustine had always regarded the southern settlements of the English with jealousy and dislike; they suspected, and not without reason, that the Scotch planters at Port Royal inflamed the Indians against them; and they beheld with indignation the plunderers of their commerce openly encouraged at Charlestown. [1686.] After threatening to avenge themselves by hostilities, they at length invaded the southern frontiers of the province, and laid waste the settlements of Port Royal. The Carolinians finding themselves unable to defend a wide extended boundary, resolved to carry their arms into the heart of their enemy's territory; and accounting themselves authorised by the terms of the provincial charter to levy war on their neighbours, they made preparations for an expedition against St. Augustine. The proprietaries, informed of this project, hastened to withstand it by their remonstrance and prohibition. Every rational being, they declared, must have foreseen that the Spaniards, provoked by such injuries as the colonists had wantonly inflicted on them, would assuredly retaliate. The clause of the charter which was relied on by the colonists to justify their projected invasion meant no more (they maintained) than a pursuit in the heat of victory, and never could authorise a deliberate prosecution of war against the king of Spain's subjects within his own territories. "We ourselves," they protested, "claim no such power: nor can any man believe that the dependencies of England can have liberty to make war upon the king's allies, without his knowledge or consent."* They intimated, at the same time, their dissent from a law which had been passed for raising men and money for the projected expedition against the Spaniards; and the inhabitants, either convinced by their reasonings, or disabled from raising the necessary supplies, abandoned the enterprise. On learning this result, the proprietaries congratulated the governor and council on their timely retraction of a measure which, had it been carried into effect, the promoters of it, they declared, might have answered with their lives. They instructed them to address *a civil letter* to the governor of St. Augustine,

* Oldmixon, i. 339, 340. Hewit, i. 92, 93. Chalmers, 545, 547. From Oldmixon's Lists, it appears that Colonel Quarry held other situations under the crown in several of the provinces at the same time. On his return to England in the year 1703, he presented to the lords of trade a memorial on the state of the American colonies, which is preserved among the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. Some notice of it occurs in Oldmixon's account of Virginia.

* There can be little doubt, I apprehend, that if the proprietaries had transferred their own residence to the colonies, or [illegible] the magnificent scheme [illegible] their fundamental constitutions, they would have put a much [illegible] on the belligerent privilege [illegible] by the charter, [illegible] would have made war as largely and independently as the English East India Company have ever done. [illegible] their [illegible] views [illegible] that in a later age was [illegible] (erroneously) anticipated from the India bill of Mr. Fox; and disturbed the balance of the English constitution by the vast endowment of power and influence which it would have bestowed on a junta of the Aristocracy.

to inquire by what authority he had acted; and, in the mean time, to put the province in the best position of defence. From this period, mutual dread and animosity rarely ceased to prevail between the Spanish and English colonists in Florida and Carolina.

When the governor and council received intelligence of the death of Charles the Second, they proclaimed his successor with expressions of loyalty and joy, apparently the effusions of mere levity and love of change, but which gave so much satisfaction to James, that he conveyed to them, in return, the assurance of his favor and protection. His sincerity herein was on a par with their own; for he already meditated the revocation of the colonial charter, and the annihilation of all their privileges. He was prevented, however, from completing this intention, and his reign was productive of events that proved highly advantageous to the colony. Many of his English subjects, apprehending, from his arbitrary principles and his bigotry to the church of Rome, the subversion of their religion and liberties, fled beyond the Atlantic, from the approaching rigors of persecution: being determined rather to endure the severest hardships abroad, than to witness the establishment of popery and tyranny in England. The population of America, recruited by these emigrations, derived even a larger acquisition from the persecution of the protestants in France, that followed the revocation, in 1685, of the edict of Nantz. Above half a million of her most useful and industrious subjects, expelled from France, carried with them into England, Holland, and other European states, the arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich their native country. James, affecting to participate the indignation that was expressed by his own subjects at the persecution exercised by the French monarch, hastened to tender the most friendly assistance to the distressed Hugonots, who sought shelter in his dominions; and besides those who established themselves in England, considerable numbers were enabled to transport themselves to the British settlements in America. Many, also, who needed not his assistance, and who dreaded his designs, purchased colonial property with their own money, and retreated to the same distant region. Among the other colonies which thus reaped advantage from the oppressions exercised in France, and the apprehensions entertained in England, Carolina derived a considerable acquisition of people. Many of the protestant refugees, in particular, having purchased lands from the proprietaries, who were ever on the watch to encourage emigration to their territories, embarked with their families for this colony, and made a valuable addition to its industry, prosperity, and population.

Although the colonists had as yet made but small progress in cultivating their territory, and still found their efforts impeded, and their numbers abridged, by the obstructions of the forest and the ravages of disease, they were obviously beginning to surmount the first difficulties and disadvantages of their situation. Their cattle, requiring neither edifices nor attendance, found sufficient shelter, and ample nourishment, in the woods, and increased in an amazing degree. They traded to the West Indies for rum and sugar, in return for their lumber and provisions; and England supplied them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils for building and cultivation, in exchange for their deer-skins, furs, and naval stores. This commerce, inconsiderable as it was, having begun to attract attention, a collector of the customs was established at Charlestown, soon after the accession of James to the throne. The proprietaries, on this occasion, transmitted their orders to the governor and council, to show a becoming forwardness in assisting the collection of the duty on tobacco transported to other colonies, and in seizing ships that presumed to trade contrary to the acts of navigation. But, although the proprietaries enjoyed in theory the most absolute authority within the province, and seemed, indeed, to have engrossed the whole powers of government, they had long been sensible of the practical inefficiency of every one of their mandates that was opposed to the opinions or favorite practices of the people. This last injunction was not only disobeyed but openly and argumentatively disputed by the colonists and the colonial judges and magistrates, who insisted that they were exempted from the operation of the navigation acts by the terms of the provincial charter, *against which*, they plainly informed the collector, that "they held an act of parliament to be of no force whatever." As the charter was posterior in date to the navigation act, this was in effect to contend for the dispensing power of the crown; and to maintain against the king himself, the very doctrine which he forfeited his throne by attempting to realize. Illegal and dangerous, as a plea involving such doctrines may at first sight appear it will be found, in proportion as we examine it, that it is very far from being destitute of support, either from natural reason or legal principle. It was the charter alone that had added the colonial territory to the British empire; and it was to the execution and existence of that charter alone, that Great Britain could refer for legal evidence of the connexion between herself and the colonial people. The planters, possessing the power of transferring their labors to any region where they might please to settle, and the benefit of their allegiance to any sovereign whose stipulations in their favor might appear satisfactory to them, had, on the faith of this charter, and of its due observance in all points, formed and reared, at great expense, their present colonial settlement; and in all the courts of Great Britain the charter was undoubtedly held a valid paction in so far as it imposed obligations on the colonists. There appears, then, to have been no want of justice or equity in the claim of the planters, that a charter which had formed their original paction and bond of union with the mother country, on the faith of which their subjection had been yielded and their settlement created, and which was, on all hands, acknowledged to be strictly valid in so far as it imposed obligations upon them, should be held no less sacred in respect of the privileges which it conceded to them. While it was allowed to remain unannulled, it seemed to be entitled to entire and equal operation: and if it were to be set aside, the grantees should have been left at liberty to attach themselves to some other dominion, if they could not arrange with Britain new terms of a prorogated connexion with her. It must be acknowledged, however, that the legal force, if not the natural equity of this plea, is considerably abated by the consideration, that it was disclaimed by the proprietaries, and preferred exclusively by the resident colonial population. The proprietaries vainly disputed the reasonableness of the colonial plea, and as vainly prohibited the continuance of the relative practices. Neither awed by their authority, nor convinced by their reasonings, nor yet deterred by the frequent seizures of their own vessels and merchandize, the colonists continued to defend the legality and persist in the practice of trading wheresoever and in whatsoever commodities they pleased. While the proprietaries were laboring to prevail in this disagreeable controversy, they received a new and more painful addition to their embarrassments, from the alarming intelligence, that the king, having adopted the resolution of annihilating all proprietary governments, had directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the patent of Carolina. Thus, neither their submission to every royal mandate, nor their readiness to aid, with their feeble power, in the collection of the royal revenue, and the execution of the acts of navigation, could protect the chartered rights of the proprietaries from the enmity and injustice of the king. Yet prudently bending under the violence which they were unable to resist, they eluded the force of an attack which proved fatal to the charter of Massachusetts; and by proposing a treaty for surrender of their patent, they gained such delay as left them in possession of it, at the period of the British Revolution.

Governor Moreton, after his second appointment to the presidency of the colony, was allowed to retain it little more than a year. Though endowed with a considerable share of wisdom and ability, and connected with several respectable families in the colony, so inconsistent were his instructions from England with the prevailing views and interests of the people, that he found it difficult to execute the duties of his office at all, and impossible to discharge them satisfactorily. He had been described as a man of sober and religious temper; and having married the sister of Blake, it was hoped by the friends of piety and good morals, that the hands of government would be strengthened by this alliance, and an effectual check imposed on the more licentious and irregular party of the people. But the majority of his council entertained opinions very different from his, with respect to the conduct of the provincial administration, and claimed greater indulgences for the people than he had authority to grant. Hence there arose in the colony two political parties; the one attached to the prerogative and authority of the proprietaries, the other devoted to the liberties of the people. By the one it was contended that the laws and regulations transmitted from England, should be strictly and implicitly obeyed: by the other, more exclusive regard was had to the local circumstances of the colony; and it was maintained that the freemen were obliged to observe the injunctions of the proprietaries, only in so far as they were consistent with the interest of the resident population, and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation of affairs, no governor could long maintain his authority among a number of bold and restless adventurers, averse to all restraint, and active in improving every opportunity to advance their own interest; for whenever he attempted to control any of their designs, by the exercise of his authority, they insulted his person, and complained of his administration, till they prevailed in having him removed from his office. The proprietaries finding that Moreton had become obnoxious to a considerable party among the people, now resolved with their usual feeble policy to sacrifice him to the enmity which his integrity had provoked; and having accordingly dispatched him, they appointed as his successor, James Colleton, a brother of one of their own number, and on whose attachment to the proprietary interest they thought themselves entitled to rely. His fortune and connections, it was hoped, would add influence to his office; and to lend him the greater weight as he was created a landgrave of the colony, with the appropriate endowment of forty-eight thousand acres of land. A high opinion had been entertained by his constituents of his good sense and ability; but either it was very ill-founded, or he was deprived of discretion and self-possession by the confusions and cabals in which he found himself involved. To his great mortification, he was quickly made sensible that the proprietary government had acquired very little stability, and was continually declining in the respect of its subjects. His own imprudence contributed materially to increase the weakness and discredit into which it had fallen.

The commencement of Colleton's administration gave universal satisfaction. But his instructions requiring him to attempt what his authority was unable to effect, the punishment of almost all the other colonial officers for various instances of disobedience to the proprietaries, and to execute with vigor the law against pirates, very soon embroiled him with a great body of the inhabitants. The form of the constitution, composed of a variety of jurisdictions, and investing the parliament with the choice of members for the grand council, gave rise to perpetual intrigue; and a diversity of factions sprung up, "as rampant," says Oldmixon, "as if the people had been made wanton by many ages of prosperity." A parliament having been summoned by Colleton, the majority of the members openly expressed their disapprobation of the fundamental constitutions; and having appointed a committee to revise and amend them, this body proceeded without delay to frame a new and very different scheme of government, which they distinguished by the name of *the standing laws of Carolina*, and transmitted to England for the approbation of the proprietaries. The reception of such a communication might have been easily foreseen. The proprietaries hesitated not a moment to reject these standing laws, and to issue the most positive orders for the due observance of the fundamental constitutions which had been so irreverently handled. But men who had deliberately undertaken so bold a measure, were not to be deterred from the prosecution of it by a consequence so obvious as the displeasure of the proprietaries; and a majority of the assembly still obstinately refused to acknowledge the authority of the fundamental constitutions. They were thereupon expelled from the house by the governor: and protesting* against the validity of any laws that might be enacted by a minority of the commons, they retired into the country, and eagerly endeavored to instil their own principles and discontents into the minds of the people. So successful were their exertions for this purpose, that when a new parliament was convoked, [1687,] the undisguised and unanimous purpose of the members was to thwart and contradict the governor in whatsoever proceedings he might embrace, recommend, or be supposed to approve. So pertinaciously did they adhere to this line of policy, as to refuse to settle a militia act, though the safety of the province, endangered by the Spaniards and their Indian allies, seemed urgently to demand such a measure: and, in fine, to make sure of giving sanction to nothing that could be agreeable to the Governor, they flatly declined to pass any laws at all. A dispute in which they engaged with him about the payment of quit rents, afforded them an additional opportunity of indulging their spleen, and increasing their popularity. Colleton had attempted to enforce payment of the arrears of the

* Their protest, which is preserved in the archives of the Plantation Office, at London, is subscribed by one of the protestors with his mark, in respect of his inability to write Chalmers, p. 566—a significant indication, it must be confessed, of the extent of his political knowledge and legislational qualifications

quit rents due by the people, which though inconsiderable in amount, were reckoned extremely burdensome, as not one acre among a thousand for which quit rents were demanded yielded as yet any profit to the holders. Finding it impossible to accomplish a measure so unpopular, while he was destitute of support from the other provincial officers, he wrote to the proprietaries, requesting them to appoint as deputies, certain persons, whom he knew to be favourably disposed towards their government, and from whom he might expect assistance in the execution of his office. Apprised of this measure, the adverse party scrupled no violence or injustice to defeat or counteract it. Letters from England, containing deputations to persons obnoxious to the people, they seized and suppressed; and themselves appointed other men better affected to the popular cause. Advancing in this course of resolute usurpation, the leaders of the popular party proceeded to issue writs in their own name, [1688] and held assemblies in opposition to the governor, and in utter disregard of the authority of the proprietaries. Having imprisoned the secretary of the province, they took forcible possession of the public records; and without appearing to have any fixed or definite object in view, they effected a complete subversion of legitimate authority. Only a determined and active usurper was wanting to possess himself of the power which they seemed to be more eager to suspend or overthrow, than permanently to appropriate; and a personage altogether fitted to take advantage of the opportunity did not fail shortly after to present himself. During this scene of confusion, the tidings of the birth of a Prince of Wales were received in the colony, and celebrated by all parties with appearances of cordial sympathy and congratulation; and yet so unmeaning were these expressions, or so absorbed were the colonists with their own internal cabals, and so regardless of all changes beyond their own immediate sphere, that the intelligence of the revolution in England, though following the other event so closely, excited no emotion whatever, [1689,] and William and Mary were proclaimed with the most mechanical regularity and indifference.

Colleton mortified by the insignificance to which he was reduced, and alarmed by the bold and seditious spirit of the people, vainly perplexed himself with a variety of ineffectual schemes for recalling them to the recognition of legal authority. His conduct had been far from blameless, and had even attracted censure from the quarter whence he principally relied for countenance and protection. Among other irregularities into which he had been betrayed, he had imposed an arbitrary fine of one hundred pounds on the minister, for preaching what he accounted a seditious sermon; and the proprietaries had remitted the fine, not on account of the illegality of its infliction, but of the extravagance of its amount. It was at length suggested to him, whether by imprudent partizans or insiduous counsellors, that to proclaim martial law was the only means that remained of inducing the people to return to his governance, and yield obedience to the person, who under such a state of things would alone have the power to punish mutiny and sedition. Actuated no doubt by this purpose, though professing to apprehend an invasion of the Spaniards and Indians, he published an ordinance declaratory of martial law, and requiring every one to appear in arms for the defence of the province. However constitutional, however consistent with the provisions of the charter, this measure was imprudent in the extreme because the colonists, thus summoned to arms, were far more inclined to turn their weapons against their ruler than against the public enemy. The designs of the governor were easily seen through, and not less easily defeated. The assembly having convoked themselves, and taken this measure into their consideration, resolved at once that it was a daring encroachment on their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power at a time when the colony was in no danger from without. Colleton, however, driven to the extremity of his resources, persisted in his proclamation of martial law, and vainly attempted to enforce the articles of war. But he was very soon taught to feel that the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy, and that all his efforts served but to unite the body of the people more firmly in opposition to his government. It was given out by some of his opponents, that the sole object of his present proceedings was to acquire to himself the monopoly of the Indian trade; and this surmise, with every other imputation, however groundless or inconsistent, was readily credited by a people to whom for years he had been an object of suspicion and dislike.

During the ferment that ensued upon these proceedings [1690.] Seth Sothel, whom we have seen banished from Albemarle, and recalled by the proprietaries to justify his conduct, suddenly presented himself at Charlestown, and in the double capacity of a proprietary of the province, and a champion of popular rights against proprietary pretensions, laid claim to the possession of supreme authority. Hailed at once with the acclaim of a numerous faction, he succeeded without difficulty in prevailing over the opposition of the governor and the more respectable inhabitants, and in possessing himself of the reins of government, which had long awaited and invited the grasp of some vigorous hand. With a gracious semblance of respect to petitions which had been suggested by himself, he consented to convene a parliament; and during the distractions of the times, it was easy to procure the return of members who were ready to sanction, by their votes, whatever measures he might dictate to them. Colleton was, by this assembly, impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, and not only disabled from holding any office in the government, but banished from the province. Others who were accused of having abetted his misgovernment, were subjected to fine, imprisonment, and exile. Having now obtained possession of the supreme authority, and under pretence of gratifying the resentments of the people, enriched himself by forfeitures, and disencumbered himself of rival candidates for office, Sothel proceeded to exercise his power with a tyranny that effectually rebuked and punished the folly of those who had permitted him to obtain it, and soon united the southern colony against him in the same unanimous hatred which he had excited among their brethren in North Carolina. He is said to have trampled under foot every restraint of justice and equity, and ruled the colonists with a rod of iron. The replenishment of his coffers was the sole object of his government, and his financial operations were varied only by varieties of rapine. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda were seized by his orders, under the pretended charge of piracy, and compelled to purchase their ransom from imprisonment by enormous fines; bribes were accepted from real felons to favor their escape from justice; and the property of individuals was seized and confiscated on the most unjust and frivolous pretences. The proprietaries hearing with astonishment of these outrageous proceedings, [1691,] transmitted letters of recal to Sothel, and threatened, in case of his disobedience, to procure a mandamus from the king to compel his appearance in England; and their orders being now seconded by the hearty concurrence of the people, the usurper was constrained to vacate his functions, and abandon the province. [1692]. He retired, however, no farther than to North Carolina, where he died in the year 1694.*

The revolution of the British government had excited very little attention in either of the colonies of Carolina, which were too remotely connected with the higher institutions of the empire, to be sensibly affected by the changes they had undergone. It was from the proprietaries alone that they could expect the interposition of a superior power to arrest or repair the misrule, oppression and calamity, that had so long composed the chief part of the history, both of the northern and the southern settlements. In the hope of accomplishing this desirable object, the proprietaries, on the deposition of Sothel, intrusted the government of the whole of their settlements to Colonel Philip Ludwell, a person totally unconnected with the province, and with any of the parties it contained, and who had been sent by his countrymen in Virginia to England, to present the complaints of this province against Lord Effingham. The proprietaries directed their new governor to publish to the inhabitants a general pardon for all crimes that had been formerly committed; to inquire into the grievances they might complain of; and to report to themselves the measures he should judge best calculated to preserve order and restore happiness. He was accompanied by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been general of the Leeward Islands in the preceding reign, and who, having now adopted the resolution of retiring to Carolina, was appointed a cazique of the province, and a member of council. Ludwell, who was a man of sense and humanity, and possessed considerable experience of colonial affairs, commenced his administration in a manner that gave general satisfaction, and seemed to have completely allayed the prevailing ferments of the people. But this tranquility was of short duration; the minds of men had been too long and too violently agitated to relapse at once into a settled composure; and a circumstance that at first promised to produce the happiest effects on the prosperity of the province, proved the immediate occasion of the revival of public discontents. In the year 1690, a great body of French protestant exiles had taken refuge in England, whence a considerable number of them had been conveyed, at the expense of the British government, to the colony of Virginia. Others, who were less indigent, purchased lands in South Carolina, and having transported themselves and their families to this province, brought a valuable accession to the numerical strength, as well as to the industry and morality of its people. They had taken the oath of allegiance to the king, and promised fidelity to the proprietaries; and were disposed to regard the colonists whom they had joined in the friendly light of brethren and fellow-citizens. But, unhappily, these older colonists were very far from regarding their new associates with corresponding good-will. The numbers of the strangers, and the wealth by which some of them were distinguished, excited their suspicion and national antipathy; and when Ludwell, in compliance with the instructions of the proprietaries, prepared to admit the refugees to a participation in all the franchises and immunities of the other planters, the English and native inhabitants refused to acquiesce in this measure, and resolutely opposed its execution. They insisted that it was contrary to the laws of England, and therefore beyond the power of the proprietaries, who were subject to these laws; and that no power but that of the British parliament could dispense with the legal inability of aliens to purchase lands within the empire, or incorporate them into the British community, and make them partakers of the rights and privileges of natural-born Englishmen. They even maintained, that the marriages of the refugees, performed by the clergymen who had accompanied them, were unlawful, as being celebrated by men who had not obtained episcopal ordination; and, for themselves, they declared that they could not brook the thoughts of sitting in the same assembly with the rivals of the English nation, or of receiving laws from Frenchmen, the pupils of a system of slavery and arbitrary government. The unfortunate refugees, alarmed by these menacing resolutions, implored the protection of the proprietaries; and Ludwell found it necessary to suspend the measure he had begun, and to apply to the same quarter for further directions. The proprietaries returned a friendly but indecisive answer to the application of the refugees, who continued in a state of the most disagreeable solicitude, and entire privation of civil rights, for several years after; when at length their humane and patient demeanor prevailed over the antipathy of their former adversaries who then became the advocates of the pretensions they had so vehemently opposed, and passed a law of naturalization in favor of the aliene, without being disturbed by any scruples about invading the functions of the British parliament. In the meanwhile, the dispute that had arisen on this subject was productive of a great deal of irritation in the province, which was increased by the arrival of a crew of pirates, whom Ludwell caused to be apprehended and brought to trial for their crimes. The people exclaimed against the severity of this proceeding, and interested themselves so effectually in behalf of the pirates, who, previous to their apprehension, had spent a great deal of money very freely in the province, that on their trials they were all acquitted,* and the government was even compelled to grant them an indemnity. It was not till more than twenty years after this period, that Carolina was delivered from the resort of pirates, and not till after a series of bloody executions, at the last of which no fewer than forty of these naval robbers were put to death at once. Further disputes now arose between the government and the inhabitants about the arrears of the quit rents that were due to the proprietaries, who at length becoming impatient of this untoward issue of Ludwell's administration, and suspecting him of bending too readily to the popular will, deprived him of office, and conferred it, together with the dignity of landgrave, upon Thomas Smith, a

* Hewit, I. 103. Chalmers, 551, 552. Williamson, I. 142, 143. Sothel left an ample estate, which, however, sustained no small diminution after his death from numerous decrees in favor of parties whom he had pillaged or defrauded. But the other proprietaries, in suing for a large amount of rents which he had recovered and embezzled, were hoisted on the absurd existing maxim of the English law, that tenants in common could not bring actions of account against each other. It was not till the reign of Queen Anne that this inquitous regulation was repealed.

* A few years after this period, some of the citizens of London appeared to have been infected with a similar favor for pirates. In the year 1696, several of these freebooters were acquitted at the Old Bailey, by a verdict which Chief Justice Holt declared was "a dishonor to the justice of the nation." State Trials, XIII. 460

wealthy planter, and a prudent, upright, and popular man.*

[1693.] It was in the midst of these disputes, and with the hope of appeasing them, that the proprietaries at length determined to surrender to the general dislike of the people, the fundamental constitutions which had been originally declared sacred and unalterable, but which an experience of twenty-three years had proved to be utterly worthless and impracticable. Apprised of the incurable aversion with which this instrument was now regarded by all classes of the colonists, and despairing of ever establishing a stable or acceptable government among them without making some considerable sacrifice to their inclinations, they accordingly enacted the following resolution; "That, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." Thus perished the legislative labors of John Locke. Their abolition was unregretted by any party; for they had neither insured obedience to the government, nor afforded happiness to the people. What is still more singular, they seem to have perished unheeded;† their abolition exciting no sensation whatever, and not being even noticed in any public act or order within the province. The convocations that were formerly termed parliaments, were now called assemblies; and this was all the visible change that took place. So perfectly impracticable had the great body of these celebrated constitutions been found. All that remained of them was the titles of nobility, which continued to drag on a sickly existence for a few years longer.‡

This important measure, which had been deferred till the constitutions which it repealed had been practically abrogated by their own inefficacy, and sunk into utter contempt, failed to produce any sensible effect in tranquillizing or conciliating the inhabitants of Carolina. Governor Smith, though he exerted himself with a zeal and prudence that have not been impeached by any party, to promote the peace and prosperity of the settlements intrusted to his care, found his endeavors so unsuccessful, and his situation so irksome, that he was constrained to solicit his dismission from the proprietaries, [1694] whom he strongly urged, as the only means of restoring order and tranquility, to send over as governor one of their own body, invested with full power to hear and finally determine on the spot the complaints and controversies by which the province was distracted. The short administration of Smith was signalized by an occurrence that produced lasting and extensive effects on the prosperity of Carolina. A vessel from Madagascar, on her homeward voyage to Britain, happening to touch at Charlestown, the captain, in acknowledgment of the civilities of Smith, presented him with a bag of seed rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food and yielded a prodigious increase. The governor divided it between several of his friends, who agreed to make the experiment; and planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this inconsiderable beginning, Carolina dates the rise of her staple commodity, the chief support of her people, and the main source of her opulence.

The proprietaries, disappointed in so many attempts to establish a satisfactory administration in the province, determined the more readily to adopt the suggestion of Smith. Their first choice for this purpose fell upon Lord Ashley, the grandson of the notorious Shaftesbury, and afterwards the author of *The Characteristics*. It was supposed that his shining talents, agreeable manners, and elevated rank, would powerfully conduce to the pacification of the colony. Happily, however, for all parties, his lordship, either having little inclination for the voyage, or being detained, as he alleged, by the state of his private affairs in England, declined the appointment, which was then conferred on a far more estimable person, John Archdale, another of the proprietaries, a quaker, and a man of great prudence and sagacity, and endowed with admirable patience and command of temper. Accepting the office, he was vested with authority so absolute and extensive, that the proprietaries thought fit to have it recorded in his commission, that such powers were not to be claimed in virtue of this precedent by future governors. Archdale proved himself worthy of the distinguished trust that had been reposed in him. He arrived first in South Carolina, [August, 1695,] where he formed a new council of moderate men; and in a short time, by remitting some arrears of rent, and by other conciliatory measures, aided by a firmness and mild composure that was neither to be disturbed nor overcome, he prevailed so far in quieting the public discontents, that he ventured to call a meeting of the general assembly. An address of grateful thanks voted by this body to the proprietaries (the first expression of such sentiments that had ever been uttered in Carolina) attests the wisdom of Archdale's administration, and justifies the opinion that notwithstanding the inflammable materials of which the colonial society was composed, only a good domestic government had been hitherto wanting to render the colony flourishing and happy. Moreton, Ludwell, and Smith, were, doubtless, meritorious governors; but they had been denied the power that was requisite to give efficacy to their wisdom, and could never grant the slightest indulgence to the people without assuming the dangerous liberty of violating their commission, or abiding the tedious intervention of a correspondence with England. Though Archdale was a quaker, and therefore opposed to military operations and the shedding of blood, yet he adapted his regulations to the sentiments of the people whose affairs he had undertaken to administer; and considering that a small colony surrounded by savage enemies, and exposed to the attacks of the Spaniards, should hold itself in a state of constant defence, he promoted a militia law, which, however, exempted all persons restrained by religious principles from bearing arms.* He was, at the same time, more desirous of preserving peace than of ensuring victory; and for this purpose exerted himself so successfully, by the exercise of courtesy and liberality, to cultivate the good will both of the civilized and savage neighbors of the province, that the Spaniards at St. Augustine expressed a cordial desire to maintain a good correspondence with the English; and various tribes of Indians embraced their friendship, and placed themselves under the protection of the government of Carolina. The Indians around Cape Fear in particular, who had long pursued the practice of plundering shipwrecked vessels,* and murdering their crews, renounced, this inhumanity, and evinced the favorable change of their disposition by mitigating with friendly assistance, the numerous disasters by which the navigation of that coast was then unhappily signalized.

In North Carolina, the administration of Archdale was attended with equal success, and conducted with greater facility by the concurrence of a number of quakers who inhabited the northern province, and with whom he enjoyed a large share of personal influence. The esteem in which he was held by all ranks of men may be inferred from the elation with which the historian of North Carolina has recorded, as a circumstance redounding to the honour of this province, that Archdale purchased an estate at Albemarle, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to a planter at Pasquetanke But it was not his intention to remain longer in Carolina than was necessary for the adjustment of the existing controversies; and having effected this object in a degree that had surpassed the expectations of all parties, he returned to England in the close of the year 1696, loaded with the grateful benedictions of a people to whose peace and prosperity he had been so highly instrumental. The only portion of the inhabitants to whom he had been unable to give complete satisfaction, where the French refugees, against whom the jealous antipathy of the English settlers had not yet subsided. But while he soothed the public jealousy by withholding civil rights from the refugees, he awakened public generosity by an impressive recommendation of these unfortunate strangers to the hospitality and compassion of his countrymen; and to the refugees themselves, he recommended a patient perseverance in those virtues that tend to disarm human enmity, and by the exercise of which they were enabled shortly after to overcome the aversion, and even to conciliate the hearty friendship of their fellow colonists.†

It was in this year that a regular administration of the ordinances of religion was first introduced into Carolina by the friendly aid of the colonists of New England. Intelligence of the destitute state of the province, in this respect, seconded by the earnest applications of some of the more religious planters, had induced the New Englanders, in the preceding year, to form an association at Dorchester in Massachusetts which was designed to be removed to Carolina, "to encourage the settlement of churches and the promotion of religion in the southern plantations." The persons thus associated, having placed at their head a distinguished minister of the New England churches, arrived in the beginning of this year in Carolina, which now for the first time beheld the celebration of the rite of the Lord's supper. Proceeding to a spot on the north-east bank of Ashley river, about eighteen miles from Charlestown, the pious emigrants founded there a settlement, to which in commemoration of the place they had left, they gave the name of Dorchester.

Among other extraordinary privileges, there had been granted to Archdale the power of nominating his successor; and in the exercise of this power he propagated the benefit of his own administration, by conferring the office of governor on Joseph Blake (nephew of the English admiral, a man of virtue, prudence, and moderation, acceptable to the people, and a proprietary of the province. Blake governed the colony wisely and happily for a period of four years. Shortly after his elevation to office, there was sent out to Carolina a new code of fundamental constitutions, subscribed by the Earl of Bath, who was then palatine, and the other proprietaries in England: but it was never recognised or confirmed by the provincial assembly. Blake appears to have exerted the most laudable endeavors to promote the religious instruction of the people, and to facilitate the exercise of worship to all denominations of christian professors. In the year 1698, he had the satisfaction to see John Cotton, a son of the celebrated minister of Boston, remove from Plymouth, in New England, to Charlestown, in South Carolina, where he gathered a church, and enjoyed a short, but happy and successful ministry. Though Blake was himself a dissenter, yet from regard to the spiritual interests of the episcopalian portion of the inhabitants of Charlestown, he caused a bill to be introduced into the assembly for

* Archdale, 14. Oldmixon, i. 342. Chalmers, 552, Hewit i. 108—118. 139, 140. Williamson, i. 150, 1. In the account of the succession of governors, the annals of this period are involved in mutual, frequently in self contradiction, and confusion. Williamson says that Ludwell retained the government for four years: but this is impossible; as Archdale, the successor of Smith, was appointed in 1694. Oldmixon renders confusion more confounded by his attempt to reconcile contradictory accounts, and to explain satisfactorily the sequence of governors. The historian of the British dominions in North America delivers his account of the matter in the following terms: "Thomas Smith, Esq. succeeded Mr. Colleton properly as governor, although Colonel Quarry, Mr. Southwell, and Colonel Ludwell, were intermediate for a short time."

† The repeal of the fundamental constitutions is noticed in a very slight and ambiguous manner by Hewit (i. 109): it is not noticed at all either by Wynne or by the historian of the British Dominions in North America; and Oldmixon, who wrote in 1708, says "The fundamental constitutions keep their ground to this day." i. 342. Yet Oldmixon's work, as it is the earliest, is also, next to the Political Annals of Chalmers, the most elaborate, as well as ingenious and interesting, of the general histories of the North American Settlements. A remarkable instance of the ignorance that prevails respecting Locke's connexion with America occurs in the work of a traveller who visited the United States in 1794, and who asserts (on the authority of the American General Gates,) that Locke was the legislator of Connecticut. Wansey's Journal, p. 58.

‡ The operation and fate of Locke's system strikingly exemplify the observation of an eminent American statesman, that "A man may defend the principles of liberty, and the rights of mankind, with great abilities and success, and yet, after all, when called upon to produce a plan of legislation, he may astonish the world with a signal absurdity." Adam's Defence of the American Constitutions, p. 365. Yet some writers, (and among others the author of a valuable little biographical work lately published at Edinburgh) have not scrupled to pronounce the constitutions of Carolina a model of legislative wisdom. So dangerous is it to judge works without reading them, and to assume their merit from the general character of their authors.

* The following clause, by which this exemption was expressed, strongly attests the confidence that Archdale enjoyed, with the colonists. "And whereas there be several inhabitants called quakers, who, upon a conscientious principle of religion cannot bear arms, and because in all other civil matters they have been persons obedient to government, and ever ready to disburse their monies in other necessary and public duties; Be it therefore enacted, that all such whom the present governor John Archdale, Esq. shall judge that they refuse to bear arms on a conscientious principle of religion only, shall, by a certificate from him, be excused." Archdale's Preface, p. 3. Williamson, i. Append. 272.

† It is remarked by a statistical writer (Warden ii. 373,) that notwithstanding the temptations presented by the frequency of shipwreck on the coast of Carolina, no instance has ever occurred of the plunder of a wreck by the colonists. In this respect they have been distinguished, not indeed from the people of the other provinces, but from the inhabitants of the parent state, in which this inhumanity obtained so long and unreproved a prevalence, that in the middle of the eighteenth century, Pope represents the the enrichment "of a citizen of sober fame" as originating in two rich shipwrecks on his lands in Cornwall

† Archdale, 17. 21, 22. Oldmixon, i. 342—345. Hewit, i. 129—137. Williamson, i. 152—158, and Append. 270. Some years after his return to England, Archdale published his Statistical and Historical Description of Carolina, a work replete with so much good sense, benevolence, and piety, that it is surprising it should never have been reprinted. One or two very interesting volumes might be composed by republication of Josselyn's and Dunton's Travels in New England, Archdale's Carolina, Denton's New York, part of Smith's Virginia, Asiop's Maryland, Wesley's Journal in Georgia, and other tracts relative to the early history of America

settling a perpetual provision of 150*l.* a year, with a house and other advantages, on the episcopal minister of that city. Marshall, the person who then occupied this ministerial situation, had gained universal regard by his piety and prudence; and the dissenters in the house acquiescing in the measure, from regard to this individual, the bill was passed into a law. Those who think that the dissenters acted amiss, and stretched their liberality beyond the proper confines of this virtue, in thus promoting the national establishment of a church from which they dissented, will regard the persecution they soon after sustained from the episcopal party as a merited retribution for their practical negation of dissenting principles. Those who judge more leniently, an error (if it be such) which there is little reason to suppose will ever be frequent in the world, will regret and condemn the ungrateful return which the dissenters experienced from a party for whose advantage they had incurred so great a sacrifice.

[1700.] With the administration of Blake; who died in the year 1700, ended the short interval of tranquility which had originated with the government of Archdale. Under the rule of his immediate successors, James Moore and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the colony was harrassed with Indian wars, involved in a heavy debt by an ill conducted and fruitless expedition against the Spaniards at Augustine, and agitated by religious disputes originating in a series of persecuting laws against the dissenters. Henceforward the proprietary government continued (with the exception of one returning gleam of success and popularity which it derived from the administration of Charles Craven in 1712) to afflict the province with every variety of misrule, and to fluctuate between the aversion and contempt of its subjects, till they were relieved by its dissolution in the year 1729, when the chief part of the chartered interest was sold to the crown.

The first Indian war by which this period was signalized, broke out in the year [1703,] and was occasioned by the influence of the Spaniards over the tribes that inhabited the region of Apalachia. Exasperated by the insults and injuries which these savages were instigated by the Spaniards to commit, Governor Moore determined by one vigorous effort to break their power, and by a sanguinary example to impress on all the Indian tribes the terror of the English name. At the head of a strong detachment of the colonial militia, reinforced by a body of Indian allies, he marched into the hostile settlements; defeated the enemy with the loss of eight hundred men, who were either killed or taken prisoners; laid waste all the Indian towns between the rivers Alatamah and Savannah; and compelled the whole district of Apalachia to submit to the English government. To effectuate his conquest, he transported fourteen hundred of the Apalachian Indians to the territory which is now denominated Georgia, where they were compelled to dwell in a state of dependence on his government—a measure which appears to have paved the way to the settlement of the English colony which arose about thirty years after in that region.

When the proprietaries of Carolina first undertook their colonial project, they solemnly declared, and caused it to be recorded in their charters, that they were moved to embrace this great design by zeal for the christian faith, and especially for its propagation among the Indian tribes of America. Yet a general provision in favor of toleration, which they permitted Locke to insert as an article of the fundamental constitutions, and which they took care to nullify by another article adjected to that instrument by themselves, constituted the whole amount of their ecclesiastical operation during the first forty years of the proprietary government. They never at any time made the slightest attempt to fulfil their pledge of communicating instruction to the Indians: and this important field of christian labor was completely unoccupied till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a few missionaries were sent to Carolina by the society incorporated in England for the propagation of the gospel in foreign countries. No visible fruits of the labors of those missionaries have ever been mentioned. Prior to this, the only European instructions that the Indians received under the auspices of the proprietary government, were communicated by a French dancing master, who settled in Craven county, and acquired a large estate by teaching the savages to dance and play on the flute.*

At the close of the seventeenth century, there were only three edifices for divine worship erected within the southern province; containing respectively an episcopal, a presbyterian, and a quaker congregation; and all of them situated in the town of Charlestown. Throughout all the rest of the province, there were neither institutions of public worship nor schools for education. The first attempts that were made to supply these defects proceeded not from the proprietaries, but from Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, Compton, Bishop of London, and the society for the propagation of the gospel; but as in most of these attempts the paramount object was plainly to multiply adherents to the institutions of the church of England, they were the less successful among a people of whom many had personally experienced the persecution of this church, and more entertained a hereditary dislike to it. In the year 1707, the society for propagation of the gospel maintained six episcopal ministers in Carolina, and had sent two thousand volumes of books to be distributed gratuitously among the people. In the northern province, which was thinly peopled by colonists professing a great diversity of religious opinions, there was as yet no church at all. An act was passed by its assembly in the year 1702, imposing an assessment of 30*l.* per. annum on every precinct, for the maintenance of a minister; and in 1705 and 1706 the first two religious edifices of North Carolina were erected. This northern province had for many years received from the proprietaries the appellation of *the county of Albemarle in Carolina*, and was sometimes, but not always, included in the commission of the governor of the southern settlement. It now came to be termed the colony of North Carolina; and at the dissolution of the proprietary government, was made a separate province with a distinct jurisdiction.

At length, after having so long disregarded the ecclesiastical concerns of the colony, the proprietaries in the beginning of the eighteenth century, turned their attention to this object with a spirit that caused the cessation of their prior indifference to be deeply regretted; and they made their first and last effort to signalize their boasted zeal for christianity, by the demonstration of a temper and the adoption of measures in the highest degree unchristian and tyrannical. The office of palatine was now in the hands of Lord Granville, who entertained the utmost aversion and contempt for dissenters of all descriptions, and had already signalized his bigotry to the church of England, by the zealous and vehement support he had given in parliament to the bill against occasional conformity.* His acquisition of the office of palatine presented him with an opportunity of indulging his favorite sentiments in the regulation of the ecclesiastical polity of Carolina. Contemning the remonstrances, and overruling the opposition of Archdale, he eagerly laid hold of so fair an occasion to exercise his bigotry; and in Moore and Johnson, on whom he successively bestowed the government of the province, he found able and willing instruments for the execution of his arbitrary purpose. These men, notwithstanding the great numerical superiority of the dissenters, by a series of illegal and violent proceedings acquired for themselves and a party of the episcopalian persuasion, a complete ascendancy over the provincial assemblies, which they exercised in the enactment of laws for the advancement of the church of England, and the oppression of every other christian association After various preparatory measures, which under the impudent pretence of promoting the glory of God, had the effect of banishing every vestige of peace and goodwill from a numerous community of his rational creatures, the episcopal faction at length, in the year 1704, enacted two laws, by one of which the dissenters were deprived of every civil right, and by the other an arbitrary court of high commission (a name of evil import to Englishmen) was erected for the trial of ecclesiastical matters and the preservation of religious uniformity in Carolina. The society for propagation of the gospel, on receiving intelligence of the latter of these enactments, declared their resolution to send no more missionaries to Carolina till it should be repealed. Both the acts, however, having been ratified by the proprietaries, and the complaints of the dissenters treated with derision, these oppressed and insulted men were advised by the merchants of London who traded to the province, to seek redress of their grievances from the supreme power of the state. A petition for this purpose was accordingly presented to the House of Lords, who were struck with surprise and indignation at the tyrannical insolence of these despotic proprietaries and their provincial officers; and forthwith presented an address to Queen Anne, praying her royal repeal of the obnoxious laws, and recommending that the authors of them should be brought to condign punishment. The lords commissioners of trade, to whom the matter was referred by the queen, reported to her majesty, "that the making such laws was an abuse of the power granted by the charter, and inferred a forfeiture of the same;" adding their humble advice that judicial steps should be adopted for having the forfeiture legally declared, and the government resumed by the crown.* The queen, thereupon, issued an order, declaring the laws that had been complained of null and void, and promised to institute a *quo warranto* against the charter; but this promise was never fulfilled.† It was alleged that the forfeiture of the charter was obstructed by legal difficulties arising from the minority of some of the proprietaries, who could not be made responsible for the acts of the rest; as if the inability of these hereditary rulers of mankind to afford protection to their subjects, had not been the strongest reason why they should be deprived of the power of exacting obedience from them. While incessant attempts were made by the British government to deprive the New England states of the charters by which popular rights were preserved, this fair and legitimate occasion was neglected, of emancipating the people of Carolina from a patent which had confessedly been made subservient to the most odious oppression and intolerance: and even after the proprietaries had publicly declared (as they were soon after constrained to do) that it was not in their power to defend the province against the Indians by whose attacks it was menaced, the proprietary government was suffered to subsist, perhaps with the view of bringing colonial charters into discredit, until it sunk under the weight of its own weakness and incapacity. It was in the year 1706, that the intolerable policy of Lord Granville received this signal check: and, from this period, the dissenters were permitted to enjoy, not indeed the equality, which they had originally been encouraged to expect, but a simple toleration. In the following year, an act of assembly was passed in South Carolina for the establishment of religious worship according to the forms of the church of England; by this act the province was divided into ten parishes, and provision made for building a church in each parish, and for the endowment of its minister. The churches were soon after built, and supplied with ministers by the English Society for the propagation of the gospel.

The progress of population is, if not the most certain, one of the most interesting tests of the prosperity of a state; but it is a test not easily applicable to communities subject, like all the American colonies, to a continual but irregular influx and efflux of people. The population of North Carolina appears to have sustained a severe check from the troubles and confusions that attended Culpepper's insurrection and Sothel's tyranny; insomuch that, in the year 1694, the list of taxable inhabitants was found to contain only seven hundred and eighty seven names, about half the number that had been in the colony at the commencement of Miller's administration. Frequent emigrations were made from the northern to the southern province; and we must conclude that the diminution of inhabitants ascertained in 1694 had been effected in this manner; since prior to the year 1708, only two persons (a Turk for murder, and an old woman for witchcraft) had been executed in North Carolina—a fact which, considering the violent convulsions that the province had undergone, appears highly creditable to the humanity of the people. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, North Carolina received an accession to its inhabitants, first from a body of French refugees, who removed to it from Virginia, and afterwards from a colony of Germans, who, many years before, had been expelled from their homes by the desolation of the palatinate, and since experienced a great variety of wretchedness and exile. In the year 1710, its whole population amounted to 6000 persons, but of these not 2000 were taxables. There was no court-house in North Carolina before the year 1722; the assemblies and general courts till then being convened in private houses. Printing was unknown in either of the provinces, and the laws were

* Hewit, i. 227. Oldmixon, i. 379. Oldmixon was struck with the [illegible] being silenced, arrested, and punished at the same time by the nobility and gentry of London and the savage aborigines of America.

* This was a bill imposing severe penalties on any person, who having conformed so far to the church of England as to entitle him to hold a civil office, should ever after attend a dissenting place of worship. It did not pass into a law.

* This report, among other signatures has that of Prior the poet who was one of the commissioners of trade at the time.

† Oldmixon, i. 347—364. Hewit, i. 163 177. Preparatory to their address to the queen, the House of Lords passed a resolution containing these remarkable expressions, that the law for enforcing conformity to the church of England in the colony "is an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tends to ruin and depopulation of the province."

published by oral proclamation. Debts and rents were generally made payable in hides, tallow, furs, or other productions of the country. In the year 1705, it was enacted by law that marriages should be celebrated by the ministers of religion; but magistrates were permitted to perform this office in parishes unprovided with ministers. The executive power within the province was feeble and inefficient; partly in consequence of the state of dispersion and the lazy plenty in which the bulk of the inhabitants lived, and partly from the worthless or insignificant characters of many of the executive officers.* In the year 1709, Cary, the collector of the proprietary quit-rents, resolving to appropriate the amount of his collections, found it easy, with the aid of a few idle and dissolute partisans, to maintain himself in a state of opposition to the proprietary government, and suspend the operations of justice. The people, though they neither approved nor abetted his lawless proceeding, offered no resistance to it; and the governor, unable to reduce him to obedience, made application for assistance from Virginia, where some regular troops were quartered at the time. On the approach of a small party of these forces, Cary fled the colony, and his partisans dispersed. In the year 1712, this province sustained a severe and dangerous blow from a conspiracy of the Coree and Tuscorora tribes of Indians, who, resenting a real or supposed encroachment on their hunting lands, formed an alliance and project, with amazing secrecy and guile, for the total destruction of the European settlement. A general attack, in which a hundred and thirty seven of the colonists were massacred in one night,† gave the first intelligence of their hostility. Happily, the alarm was given before the work of destruction had proceeded farther; and, after an obstinate resistance, the colonists were able to keep the enemy in check till a powerful force was despatched to their assistance by the governor and assembly of the southern province. An expedition was then undertaken by the combined forces of the two provinces against the hostile Indians, who were defeated with great slaughter, and compelled to abandon the country. The assembly of South Carolina voted 4000*l.* for the service of this war; and, during the continuance of it, the assembly of the northern province was compelled to issue 8000*l.* in bills of credit. A few months after its termination, North Carolina showed her willingness to repay the seasonable aid she had derived from the sister province, and despatched a body of troops to her assistance against a hostile movement of the Indians in that quarter. During the war in North Carolina, the people fled from the province in such numbers, that to prevent its total desertion, a law was passed, prohibiting any one from quitting its territory without a passport from the governor. In confirmation of this edict, the governor of Virginia issued a proclamation, commanding that all fugitives from Carolina without a passport should be apprehended and compelled to return.

The population of South Carolina, in the year 1700, is said to have amounted to no more than 5500 persons, a computation probably short of the truth. In the year 1723, it amounted to 32000, including 18000 slaves. For several years after the colonization of the territory, there were very few negro slaves in Carolina; but the demand for them was increased by the increasing cultivation of rice, which was thought too unhealthy and laborious for European constitutions; and the slave ships of Great Britain, encouraged the demand by the readiness with which they supplied it. At the close of the seventeenth century, Charlestown was already a flourishing town, containing several handsome edifices, a public library, and a population of 3000 souls—more than half of the total population of the province. No printing press was established in Carolina till thirty years after.

When the difficulties attending the establishment of the first settlers in Carolina had been in some degree overcome, the fertility of the soil, the cheapness of provisions, and the agreeableness and general salubrity of the climate, afforded the highest encouragement to national increase. Families of ten and twelve children were frequently seen in the houses of the colonists at the close of the seventeenth century; and though some parts of both the provinces were for a time infected with severe epidemical diseases, and others still continue to be unfavorable to health at particular seasons, yet the statistical accounts and the registers of mortality amply demonstrate that the climate of the whole region is in the main highly conducive to the preservation, as well as the production of life. The salubrity of these, as well as of the other colonial settlements, has been greatly promoted by the progress of industry, in opening the woods, draining the marshes, and confining the streams within a certain channel. Yet the influence of cultivation has been by no means uniformly favorable to health in the Carolinas; and much of the disease with which they are afflicted at certain seasons is ascribed to the periodical inundations which the culture of the rice lands requires.*

During the infant state of the colony, the proprietaries sold the land at twenty shillings for every hundred acres, and sixpence of quit rent. They raised the price in the year 1694 to thirty shillings; and in 1711, to forty shillings for every hundred acres, and one shilling of quit rent. Lawson, who travelled through Carolina in the year 1700, celebrates the courtesy and hospitality of the planters; but represents an aversion to labor, and a negligent contentment with present advantages, as qualities very prevalent among them. Fruit, he says, was so plentiful that the hogs were fed with peaches.† The Carolinians have always been characterised by a taste for idleness, and a strong predilection for the sports of the field. The disposition that was evinced at a very early period of the history of these provinces, to treat insolvent debtors with extreme indulgence, has continued ever since to be a feature in their legislation, and has been thought to encourage a loose and improvident aptitude to contract debts. The most serious evils with which the two provinces have been afflicted have arisen from the abuse of spirituous liquors, the neglect of education, and the existence of negro slavery. It was long before institutions for the education of youth were generally established in Carolina; the benefits of knowledge were confined entirely to the sons of wealthy planters, who were sent to the colleges of Europe, or to the seminaries in the more northern states; and the consequent ignorance of the great bulk of the people, together with the influence of a warm climate, and the prevalent aversion to industry (increased by the pride which the possession of slaves inspires, and the discredit which slavery brings on labor), promoted an intemperate use of ardent spirits, which contributed additionally to deprave their sentiments, habits, and manners. It was in North Carolina that all the evils which I have enumerated (except those arising from negro slavery, and which are more deplorable perhaps than all the rest) prevailed longest and most extensively.‡ The improvement that after times have witnessed in all these respects, has been considerable in both the provinces: and the inhabitants of South Carolina, in particular, have long been distinguished for the cultivation of literature, the elegance of their manner, and their polite hospitality.

In every community where slavery exists, the treatment which the slaves experience will be regulated in no small degree by the proportion which they bear to the numbers of the free, and the apprehensions which they may consequently be capable of inspiring. No passion has a more dreadful or insatiable appetite, or prompts to more unrelenting cruelty, than fear; and no apprehension can be more selvish or more provocative of inhumanity, than that which is inspired in men's bosoms by the danger of retaliation for the injustice which they are continuing to inflict. In South Carolina, for a very considerable period, the number of the slaves bore a greater proportion to that of the whole population than in any other of the North American colonies. From the year 1720 till the year 1765, the slaves in this state continued greatly and increasingly to outnumber the white inhabitants.* The consequence of this state of things was, that the slaves of the South Carolina planters were treated with extreme severity; and, in the year 1739, they formed a conspiracy for a general massacre of their masters, and proceeded to carry their design into effect by a dangerous insurrection, which was suppressed with the utmost difficulty, and punished by an exacerbation of the cruelty that had provoked it. The discontents of the slaves in this state proved a formidable auxiliary to the hostile designs of the neighbouring Spaniards, who were not wanting in endeavors to turn it to their advantage. After the American revolution the farther importation of slaves into South Carolina was forbidden by law;† and the proportion between the freemen and the slaves underwent a change highly promotive of the security and humanity of the one, and of the comfort and consideration enjoyed by the other.‡ Neither here nor in any other country with whose history I am acquainted, have the protestant episcopal clergy ever distinguished themselves by exertions to mitigate the evils of slavery. Wherever a protestant episcopal church has been established by law, the only ministers of the gospel who have shown themselves the friends of the outcasts of the human race, have been methodists, Moravians, or dissenters of some other denomination It has not been so in countries where the catholic church has prevailed. The priests of this persuasion have always constituted themselves the defenders and patrons of Indians and negro slaves. Perhaps this has arisen in part from the peculiarities of sentiment and habit by which the catholic priests are separated from the rest of mankind, and which may lessen in their estimation the differences of temporal condition by which the laity are distinguished.

It does not appear from the earlier annals of Carolina in what manner the provincial assemblies were constituted, or to what amount of property political franchises were attached. All the executive officers were nominated by the proprietaries, who specified the amount of the salaries in the warrants of appointment. Such was the difficulty of collecting money or produce, especially in the northern colony, that the proprietaries were frequently obliged to grant assignations of lands or quit rents to their officers in order to secure the performance of their duties. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was appointed governor of Carolina in the year 1702, received a warrant for a salary of 200*l.* a year. The other cotemporary officers had salaries of which the highest was 60*l.*, and the lowest 40*l.* a year. The governor's salary was doubled in the year 1717.

Carolina, by its amazing fertility in animal and vegetable produce, was enabled, from an early period, to carry on a considerable trade with Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the leeward islands, which, at the close of the seventeenth century, are said to have depended in a great measure on this colony for their means of sub-

* In 1701, Porter indicted a man for calling him "a cheating rogue." The defendant justified the words, and, proving that they were properly applied, was acquitted, and allowed his costs from the prosecutor. Yet, a few years after, Porter was appointed a proprietary deputy and member of council. Williamson, i. 209. 210. In 1726, Burrington, who had previously held the office of governor, and afterwards held it again, was indicted for defamation, in saying of the existing governor, Sir Richard Everard, that "he was no more fit for a governor than Sancho Panza," and for riotously threatening to scalp "his d—d thick scull." Ib. ii. 228. Two years after, the grand jury present Sir Richard the governor for having with his cane twice or thrice struck George Allen." Ib. 241.

† The Indians took a number of prisoners on this occasion, among whom were John Lawson, author of a descriptive account, which has been improperly termed a History of Carolina, and who had been appointed surveyor-general of the province, and Baron Graffenried, the leader of the palatine emigrants. Lawson was murdered at leisure by the savages; but Graffenried extricated himself from the same fate, for which he had been designed, by declaring that he was the king of a distinct tribe, lately arrived in the province, and totally unconnected with the English.

* Warden, ii. 374. 415. Dr. Williamson (vol. ii. cap. 13) has clearly proved that the immediate effects of the extirpation of wood in Carolina have always been unfriendly to health, from the exposure to the sun of a surface of fresh land covered with vegetable produce in a state of decay.

† Lawson, p. 63. 83. 164. Archdale (p. 7.) speaks in nearly the same terms of the fertility of Carolina. Bloome (p. 153) states, that the province, in 1686, contained many wealthy persons, who had repaired to it in a state of great indigence.

‡ In March, 1720, the grand jury of Albemarle presented thirty-six persons, viz. seven for drunkenness, eight for profane swearing, seven for breaking the sabbath, four for adultery, five for stealing or mismarking hogs, three for breaking the peace, and two for selling liquor without license." Williamson, i. 211 It was an unfortunate supposition (whether well or ill founded) that was at one time entertained, that the water of Carolina possessed deleterious qualities which an infusion of rum was was necessary to counteract.

* From Warden's population tables, it appears that, in the year 1734, they outnumbered the freemen in the proportion of 4 to 1; a relative proportion never at any other time known in an American province, though far short of what prevails in many of the British West India settlements.

† Indeed, a law to the same effect had been enacted by the assembly of South Carolina several years before the revolution but it was disallowed by the royal governor as contrary to the policy, and injurious to the trade of Great Britain.

‡ Wynne, ii 341.—543. Hewit, ii. 14. 72—74. 93—97. Warden, ii. 413. 436. Traces of the cruelty with which slaves were anciently treated in South Carolina have lingered, it must be confessed, till a very late period, both in the laws of this province and the manners of its inhabitants. Slaves are, or till very lately were, burned alive for murder, burglary, or fire raising. In the year 1808, two negroes were actually burned alive over a slow fire in the market place in Charlestown. Bristed's "America and her Resources," p. 155. "The grand jury of Charlestown, for the term of January, 1816, reported, as a most serious evil, that instances of negro homicide were common within the city for many years; the parties exercising unlimited control as masters and mistresses indulging their cruel passions in the barbarous treatment of slaves, &c. &c " and thereby bringing on the community, the state, and the city the contumely and reproach of the civilized world." Warden ii. 437. They who entertain such a sense of the evil, will, it may be hoped, in time find a cure for it.

What strange inconsistencies may coexist with even the worst evils of slavery, is strikingly evinced in the life of that distinguished Roman who united all the abstractions and refinements of Pithagorean philosophy with the most odious inhumanity to his slaves. Plutarch's Life of Marcus Cato

sistence. Its staple commodities were rice, tar, and, afterwards, indigo. Oldmixon, whose history was published in the year 1708, observes, that the trade of the colony with England had of late obtained a great increase; "for notwithstanding all the discouragements the people lie under," he adds, "seventeen ships came last year laden from Carolina with rice, skins, pitch, and tar, in the Virginia fleet, besides straggling ships."

By an act that was passed in the year 1715, every planter of Carolina was ordered to purchase and enclose a burial ground for all persons dying on his estate; and, before interment of any corpse, to call in at least three or four of his neighbours to view it, for the purpose of further enquiry in case of any suspicious appearance. It has been noted, from an early period, as a peculiarity in the manners of many of the American provinces, that funerals are conducted with a degree of pomp and expense unknown to the usages of Europe. In some of the states, laws were enacted from time to time to restrain this vain and ill-timed prodigality. In none of them has it been carried to a greater extreme than in South Carolina, where the interment of the dead has been generally combined with a luxurious entertainment and a profusion of good cheer to the living.*

BOOK V.

NEW YORK.

CHAPTER I.

Hudson's Voyage of Discovery—First Settlement of the Dutch at Albany—The Province granted by the States General to the West India Company of Holland—The Dutch Colonists extend their Settlements into Connecticut—Disputes with the New England Colonies—Delaware first colonized by the Swedes—War between the Dutch and Indians—Farther disputes with New England—Designs of Charles the Second—Alarm and Efforts of the Dutch Governor—The Province granted by Charter to the Duke of York—Invaded by an English Fleet—Surrenders—Wise Government of Colonel Nichols—Holland cedes New York to England—recaptures it—finally cedes it again—New Charter granted to the Duke of York—Arbitrary Government of Andros—Discontent of the Colonists—The Duke consents to give New York a Free Constitution.

New York is distinguished from the other colonial settlements whose history we have already considered, both by the race of its first European settlers, and the mode of its annexation to the dominion of Britain. In all the other provinces, the first colonists were Englishmen, and the several occupations of American territory and corresponding extensions of the British empire, were the enterprises of English subjects, impelled by the spirit of commercial adventure, inflamed with religious zeal, or allured by ambitious expectation. The people of England had derived, in all these instances, an increase of their commercial resources, and the crown an enlargement of its dominion, from the acts of private individuals, sanctioned no doubt by the appropriation of public authority, but wholly unaided by the funds or forces of the community. But the territory of New York was originally colonized, not from England, but from Holland; and the incorporation of it with the rest of the British dominions was effected, not by settlement, but by conquest; not by the enterprise of individuals, but by the forces of the state. It is a singularity still more worthy of remark, and illustrative of the slender influence of human views and purposes in the pre-adjustment and connection of events, that this military conquest proved the means of establishing a colony of quakers in America; and the sword of Charles the Second, in conquering an appanage for his bigot brother, prepared a tranquil establishment in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, for the votaries of peace, toleration, and philanthrophy.

The pretensions of the Dutch to this territory were certainly, from the first, more consistent with natural justice than with the law of nations, and the privilege which it attaches to priority of discovery. For if, on the one hand, the voyage of Cabot, and his general and indefinite visitation of the North American continent, preceded by more than a century the occurrence from which the Dutch occupation originated, there seems, on the other hand, a monstrous disregard of the rights of human nature, in maintaining that a claim, so precariously constituted, could subsist so long unexercised, and that a navigator, by casually approaching North America, in a vain and erroneous search of a passage to the Indies, should acquire, for his countrymen, a right to prevent the whole continent from being inhabited for more than an hundred years.

The prior right of England (yet unrecognized by the rest of the world) had produced no other permanent occupation than a feeble settlement on the distant territory of James River in Virginia; which had now subsisted for two years, when Henry Hudson, an Englishman, employed by the East India Company of Holland, set sail [1609] from the Texel for the discovery of a north-west passage to India. Having attempted in vain to accomplish the object of his voyage, he steered for Cape Cod, and entered the bay of Chesapeake, where he remarked the infant settlement of the English. He afterwards anchored his vessel off the Delaware, and proceeding thence to Long Island, sailed up the river Manhattan, on whose banks the chief fruit of his enterprise were destined to grow. Some authors have asserted that he sold his right to this territory to the Dutch: but the assertion is equally unproved and improbable; as he could convey to them no right which the voyage did not vest by a much better title in themselves. Several voyages were afterwards made from Holland to the river Manhattan, which, at first, was called the North River, but, in process of time, received the name of the able and enterprising navigator, by whom, if not originally discovered, it had been introduced for the first time to the acquaintance of the Dutch. This people now conceived that they had acquired a sufficient title to the adjacent territory, which they distinguished by the name of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands.* The depending or recent conflicts of rival provinces, and even rival nations, lent at one time to all the circumstances attending the first occupation of this territory, an interest which they have long ceased to possess, except in the estimation of antiquarians.

The favorable report that Hudson had given of the country having been confirmed by subsequent voyages, a body of Dutch merchants embraced the resolution of establishing a trading settlement within its confines; [1614,] and the States General promoted the enterprise by granting them a patent for the exclusive trade of Hudson's river. Encouraged by this act of favor they proceeded, in the course of the same year, to appropriate a small portion of ground on the western bank of the river near Albany, where they erected a fort, and intrusted the government of the place to one Henry Christiaens. This feeble settlement had scarcely been established, when it was invaded by a Virginian squadron, commanded by Captain Argal, and returning from the conquest of the French possessions in the bay of Fundy. Argal claimed the territory occupied by the Dutch, as appertaining of right to the British dominion in America; and the governor was compelled to obey a summons of surrender, and to stipulate allegiance to England, and tribute and subordination to the government of Virginia. The states of Holland had too recently established an independence promoted by the aid, and recognised by the mediation of Great Britain, to make this outrage the cause of quarrel with a powerful ally, whose assistance they could not yet deem themselves strong enough to dispense with.

They forbore, therefore, to take any notice of Argal's hostile proceedings: and it is even asserted by some writers, that, in answer to a complaint by the British courts, of their intrusion into America, they denied that the settlement had been established by their authority, and represented it as the private act of a company of merchants. The same writers have alleged, that the Dutch, at the same time, besought the king to permit a few trading houses to be erected within his territories on Hudson's river, and that a permission to this extent was actually obtained. Whatever truth or falsehood there may be in these statements, it is certain that, in the year following [1615] Argal's invasion, a new governor, Jacob Elkin, having arrived at the fort with an additional complement of settlers, the claim of the English to the stipulated dependence was forthwith defied, and the payment of tribute successfully resisted. For the better protection of their independence, the colonists now erected another fort on the south-west point of Long Island: and two others were afterwards built at Good Hope, on Conneticut river, and at Nassau, on the east side of Delaware Bay. They continued for a series of years, in unmolested tranquility, to mature their settlement, enlarge their numbers, and, by the exercise of their national virtues of patience and industry, to subdue the first difficulties and hardships of an infant colony.*

The states of Holland finding their commerce enlarge with the continuance of freedom and the enjoyment of peace, and observing that their subjects had succeeded in preserving the footing they had gained on Hudson's river, began to form the project of improveing this settlement, and rendering it the basis of more general and extended colonization in America. With this purpose was combined the scheme of their celebrated West India Company, which was established in the year 1620, and to which, in pursuance to their invariable policy, of colonizing by the agency of exclusive companies, it was determined to commit the administration of New Netherlands. They seemed to have watched, with an attentive eye, the proceedings of the English puritan exiles at Leyden, and viewed with alarm their projected migration to the banks of Hudson's river. [16] Unable or unwilling to obstruct the design by an opposition which would have involved an immediate collision with the pretensions of Britain, they defeated it by bribing the Dutch captain, with whom the emigrants sailed, to convey them so far to the northward, that their plantation was finally formed in the territory of Massachusetts. This fraudful proceeding, though it prevented a rival settlement from being established on Hudson's river discredited their own title to this territory, and proportionably enforced the title of Great Britain, which, in the same year, was again distinctly asserted and exercised by the grant of king James's patent to the grand council of Plymouth. The Plymouth patent, however, which was declared void in the following year by the English House of Commons, and surrendered a few years after by the patentees, seemed as little entitled to respect abroad as to favor at home; for, even if its disregard of the Dutch occupation should not be supposed to infringe the law of nations, it unquestionably merited this reproach by appropriating territories where the French, in virtue of previous charters from their sovereign, had already established the settlements of Acadia and Canada. The nullity of the Plymouth patent, in this last particular, was tacitly acknowledged by Charles the First, in 1630, when, at the treaty of St. Germain, he restored the French provinces which his arms had conquered in the preceding year. Whether the States of Holland considered the patent equally unavailing against their rights or not, they appear to have made a grant of the country which was now called New Netherlands to their West India Company, in the following year, [1621]—the very year in which the English House of Commons protested against a similar patent of the same territory by their own monarch, as inconsistent with the general rights of their countrymen, and the true interests of trade. If the States General, or the colonists of Hudson's river, were acquainted with this parliamentary proceeding, they made more account of the benefit that might accrue from it to their territorial claim, than of the rebuke it might be thought to convey to their commercial policy. Under the management of the West India Company, the settlement was soon both consolidated and extended. The city of New Amsterdam, afterwards called New York, was built on York Island,

* W[illegible] the scripture observation. It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting, [illegible] as it [illegible] the one from the other."

* Purchas, iii. 591, &c. Charlevoix, Hist. of New France, i. 221. Oldmixon, i. 117. Stith's Virginia, 75. Douglas's Summary, i, 201. Smith's History of New York, p. 2. 3. All these writers, except the first two, represent Hudson's Voyage as having been performed in 1608, and under the authority of a British commission. But they are all mistaken. They seem not to have been aware of the existence of any other authority, for the account which I have preferred, but that of Charlevoix; and Smith's opinion is obviously not a little influenced by the circumstance of Charlevoix being a French Jesuit, while Stith, who contradicts him, was an English,or at least a Virginian protestant minister. But the journals of all the voyages of Hudson are preserved in Purchas's collection; and they confirm Charlevoix, and contain the account I have adopted. From these journals also we may discover the cause of the error committed originally by Oldmixon, and from him transmitted to Stith and the others. Hudson's second Voyage, in which he visited Nova Zembla, was made from London in 1608, and with an English commission. This has evidently been confounded with his third voyage in 1609 from the Texel. The employment of Hudson, and the date of his voyage, are correctly represented in a new work, of which the first part has been very recently published.—The History of New York, by John Yates and Joseph Moulton, vol. i. part i. 202. 209.

This point has been the more eagerly contested, that some timid or servile civilians have doubted, if Holland, whose independence was not acknowledged by Spain till the beginning of 1609, could be regarded as previously admitted into the community of sovereign states, and capable of deriving rights from the laws of nations. Sounder jurists, and more manly thinkers, have adjudged, indeed, that this privilege accrues to a people from the time when they publicly assert a claim to independence, which, though partially denied for a while, they finally succeed in causing to be generally recognized. But this doctrine is not necessary to the support of the interest of the Dutch in Hudson's discovery, which was some months posterior to the treaty with Spain.

* Oldmixon, i. 118. Stith, 133. Wynne, i. 170. Smith, 2, 3. See Note 16, at the end of the volume. In the year 16:4, the exports from New Netherlands were "[illegible] thousand beavers and seven hundred otters estimated at 27,150 guilders." Hazard, i. 397.

then known by the name of Manhattan; and at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles higher up the Hudson, was laid the foundation of the city of Albany.*

What was the precise extent of territory claimed by the Dutch, as comprehended within their colony of New Netherlands, has been differently represented even by their own writers, some of whom have not scrupled to maintain that it embraced the whole country from Virginia to Canada. Whatever was its titular extent, which was probably unknown to the colonists themselves, they proceeded to enlarge their occupation far beyond their immediate use, and, by their intrusion into the Connecticut and Delaware territories, laid the foundation of their future disputes with the colonies of New England. While these powerful neighbours as yet possessed no other establishment but the small settlement of Plymouth, to which the artifice of the Dutch had consigned the English emigrants from Leyden, the local authorities of New Amsterdam attempted to cultivate a friendly, or at least a commercial correspondence with the English colony; and for this purpose despatched their secretary Rosier with a congratulatory communication to the governor of Plymouth. [1627.] The English, from whose memory the fraud that had deprived them of a settlement at Hudson's river had not banished the recollection of Dutch hospitality at Leyden, received with much courtesy the felicitations of their successful rivals on the courageous struggle they had maintained with the difficulties of their situation; and as some years had yet to relapse before Massachusetts became populous, and before the English establishments in Connecticut were begun, the Dutch colonists were enabled to flatter themselves that their stratagem would not be resented, nor their settlements disturbed. They seem to have been aware of the reluctance of their government to exhibit publicly a title derogatory to the pretensions of Britain, and to have endeavoured to counteract the restraint which this policy might impose on their future acquisitions by the energy of their immediate occupation. Their first settlement was effected, apparently, without any equitable remuneration to the Indian proprietors of the land; and hence perhaps arose those dissensions with the Indians which afterwards produced a great deal of bloodshed. But when they extended their appropriations to Connecticut and Delaware, they were careful to facilitate their admission by purchasing the territory from its savage owners.† If their policy really was (as we may reasonably suppose, though we cannot positively assert), to supply a defective, or at least non-apparent title, by extent and priority of occupation, it was completely disappointed by the event: and when New England and Maryland began to be filled with inhabitants, the Dutch at length discovered that the early and immediate extent of their occupation only served to bring their rights the sooner into collision with the pretensions of neighbours more powerful than themselves; and to direct a severer scrutiny into a title which they were unable to produce, which their detected stratagem had contributed to discredit, and which the length of their possession was yet unable to supply. These disagreeable results were not experienced till after the lapse of several years of uninterrupted peace; and during the administration of Wouter Van Twiller, [1629] who arrived at Fort Amsterdam as the first governor appointed by the West India Company,‡ the Dutch colonists appear to have enjoyed a state of calm and monotonous ease. This state afforded no materials for history, and served but indifferently to prepare them for their impending contentions with men whose frames and spirits had undergone the discipline of those severe trials that befel the first settlers in New England.*

[1636] It was near the close of Van Twiller's administration, that the English colonists extended their settlements beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts into the territory of Connecticut: an intrusion which the Dutch governor resented no farther than by causing his commissary, Van Curlet, to intimate a harmless protest against it. He was succeeded in the following year [1637] by William Kieft, a man of enterprise and ability, but choleric and imperious in temper, unfortunate in conduct, and more fitted to encounter with spirit than to stem with prudence the sea of troubles that now began on all sides to invade the possessions of the Dutch. These colonists now experienced a total change in the complexion of their fortune; and their history for many subsequent years is little else than a chronicle of their struggles and contentions with the English, the Swedes, and the Indians. [1638] Kieft's administration commenced, as his predecessor's had concluded, with a protest against the advancing settlements of Connecticut and New Haven, accompanied by a prohibition of the trade which the English were carrying on in the neighbourhood of the fort of Good Hope. His reputation for ability, and the vigor of his remonstrance, excited at first some alarm in the English inhabitants of Connecticut, who had originally made their advances into this territory in equal ignorance of the proximity and the pretensions of the Dutch; but, quickly convinced that their imperious rival had no title to the country from which he pretended to exclude them, and encouraged by promises of assistance from the other New England colonies, they disregarded his remonstrance, and not only retained their settlements, but two years after [1640] compelled the Dutch garrison to evacuate the fort of Good Hope, and appropriated this plantation to themselves. This aggression, though passively endured, was loudly lamented by the Dutch,† who, notwithstanding the increase of their numbers, and the spirit of their governor, displayed a helplessness in their contentions with the English, which if partly occasioned by the enervating influence of a long period of tranquility, seems also to have been promoted by secret distrust of the validity of their claim to the territories they had most recently occupied. It is certain, at least, that the Dutch were not always so forbearing; and an encroachment which their title enabled them more conscientiously to resist, was soon after repelled by Kieft, with a vigor and success which he was not often enabled to display. Lord Stirling, who had obtained a grant of Long Island from the Plymouth Company, transferred a considerable portion of it to certain of the inhabitants of New England, who had removed to their new acquisition in the year 1639, and, unmolested by the Dutch, whose settlements were confined to the opposite quarter, they had peaceably inhabited the eastern part of the island. Having received a considerable accession to their numbers, they at length proceeded to take possession of the western quarter; but from this station they were promptly dislodged by Kieft, who drove them back to the other end of the island, where they built the town of Southampton, [1642] and subsisted as a dependency of Connecticut, till they were united to the state of New York on the fall of the Dutch dominion in North America.*

Kieft, in the same year, equipped two sloops, which he despatched on an expedition against a body of English who had penetrated from the settlements in Maryland into a district within the Delaware territory, the whole of which was claimed by the Dutch, but had been included in the charter obtained by Lord Baltimore from Charles the First. As the number of these emigrants from Maryland was inconsiderable, and they were totally unprepared to defend their possession against this unexpected attack, they were easily dislodged by the forces of Kieft. But there still remained in another quarter of Delaware a different race of settlers who, without any legal claim whatever to the territory they occupied, possessed a strength that proved of more avail to them than the formal title of the English. This was a colony of Swedes, of whose settlements in this corner of North America very few particulars have been transmitted by history. Their enterprise appears to have originated in the year 1626, when Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, having received a magnificent account of the country adjacent to the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands, issued a proclamation exhorting his subjects to associate for the establishment of a colony in that region. Considerable sums are said to have been raised accordingly by contribution: and a number of Swedes and Fins emigrated in the year 1627 to America. They first landed at Cape Henlopen, at the entrance of Delaware Bay, and were so much charmed with its aspect that they gave it the name of Paradise Point. Some time after, they purchased from the natives all the land between that cape and the falls of Delaware; and maintaining little connexion with their parent state, but addicting themselves exclusively to agricultural occupations, they had possessed their new settlement without challenge or interruption, till Kieft assumed the government of New Netherlands.† Several of the Swedish colonists were scalped and killed, and in some instances, their children were stolen from them by the Indians. Yet, in general the two races lived on friendly terms together, and no war seems ever to have arisen between them. The Indians sometimes attended the religious assemblies of the Swedes; but with so little edification, that they expressed their amazement that one man should detain his tribe with such lengthened harangues without offering to entertain them with brandy. One of the earliest of Kieft's proceedings had been to protest against the intrusion of the Swedes, and vainly to urge their departure from a territory which he assured them his countrymen had purchased with their blood. But as the Dutch discovered no inclination to purchase it over again at the same expense, the Swedes, unawed by this governor's power, paid no regard whatever to his remonstrances. A war, as it has been called, subsisted between the two communities for several years; but though attended with a plentiful reciprocation of rancor, it was unproductive of bloodshed. At the treaty of Stockholm, in 1650, Sweden and Holland forbore to make any allusion to colonial disputes or American territory;‡ and the two colonies being left to adjust their pretensions between themselves,§ their animosities

* Oldmixon, i. 118. Smith, 3. Chalmers, 569, 570. Chalmers questions the existence of the grant to the Dutch West India Company altogether. Though frequently referred to by Dutch writers, and by the governors of New Netherlands, it has never been published; and it was not until eight years after, that the West India Company sent out Van Twiller to assume the government in their behalf. But the authorities cited by Smith (p. 11), together with various circumstances in the subsequent history, seem to me to render Chalmers' doubts unreasonable. That the principal deed of grant was not at first transmitted to America, is no more than from its nature we should be led to expect. Its proper depository was in the archives of the Company in Holland. That no authenticated copy was sent, seems to have proceeded from the timorous and temporizing policy of the States-general.

† Smith, p. 3. This is the assertion of the Dutch writers; and though Kieft, the governor of New Netherlands in 1648, declared in his remonstrance against the Swedish occupants of Delaware, that the possessions claimed by the Dutch there "had been sealed by their blood," (Smith, p. 4.) the two statements may be perfectly consistent with each other.

‡ Wynne (vol. i. p. 173.) ascribes the appointment of Elkin, the predecessor of Van Twiller, to the West India Company. Oldmixon supposes Christianes also to have been appointed by this corporation, which did not exist until several years after the appointment of them both. This may be easily explained by supposing, that it was the same merchants originally associated as patentees of the trade of Hudson's river, who were afterwards incorporated as the members of the West India Company.

* The only fact that has been recorded, as illustrative of Van Twiller's administration, is the style of government evinced in his patents of land, which commenced after this manner: "We, directors and council, residing in New Netherlands, on the Island of Manhattan, (York Island), under the government of their High Mightinesses, the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the privileged West India Company." Smith, p. 3.

† The Dutch preserved, for a series of years, a very minute and formal record of the grievances which they laid to the charge of the English Colonists. The insignificance of many of these complaints, and the homeliness of the subject-matter of others, contrast somewhat ludicrously with the pompousness of the titles and the bitter gravity of the style. The following are some extracts from this singular chronicle:—"25th April, 1640. Those of Hartford have not only usurped and taken in the lands of Connecticut, &c. but have also beaten the servants of the High and Mighty and Honored Company; with sticks and plough-staves in hostile manner laming them; and, among the rest, struck Ever Duckings a hole in his head with a stick so that the blood ran very strongly down his body." "24th June, 1641. Some of Hartford have taken a hog out of the common, and shut it up out of mere hate or other prejudice, causing it to starve for hunger in the sty." "29th May, 1642. The English of Hartford have violently cut loose a horse of the Honored Company that stood bound upon the common." "23. The said English did again drive the Company's hogs from the common into the village, and pounded them." "16th September, 1642. Again they sold a young pig, which had pastured on the Company's land." Hazard, vol. ii. p. 264, 265, 266.

* Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 121. Smith, p. 3—5. Chalmers, p. 570, 571. Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. i. p. 113, 114, 148. The histories of these events, by Oldmixon, Smith, and Chalmers, are exceedingly confused, and, in some points erroneous. Their chronology, in particular, is remarkably careless. Trumbull is always distinguished by the accuracy of his statements but not less distinguishedby his partiality Here, in particular, he relates with great fidelity all the offences of the Dutch, but passes over in total silence every charge of this people against the English.

† The Swedish government appears to have made some attempt to obtain a recognition of its right to the territory. An application to this effect was made by Oxenstiern, the Swedish ambassador to the court of England: but though the Swedes alleged that the application was successful, and the validity of their occupation admitted, no proof of this averment was ever produced. Not less improbable was a pretence they seemed to have urged, of having purchased the claim of the Dutch. Samuel Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 23. This is a work of extreme rarity, and has been confounded by some writers with Smith's History of New York. The copy of which I have been enabled to peruse is in the library of George Dillwyn, Esq. It contains much curious matter, but is written in a very confused, tiresome manner.

‡ Smith, 5. Holmes's American Annals, i. 199. Professor Kalm's travels in North America, vol. ii. p. 113, 118. Douglas, ii. 221. Chalmers, 572, 631, 632. Chalmers unfortunately seems to relax his usual accuracy when he considers his topics insignificant; and from this defect, as well as the peculiarities of his style, it is sometimes difficult to discover his meaning, or reconcile his inconsistency in different passages. Douglas's "Summary," which is replete with prejudice and partiality when it treats of New England states, is very frequently inaccurate when it travels beyond them.

§ Trumbull represents the Dutch and Swedish governors in 1642, as "uniting in a crafty design" to exclude an inhabitant of New Haven from trading at Delaware.

subsided into an unfriendly peace. Even this degree of good neighborhood did not subsist for many years.

Meanwhile, numberless causes of dispute were continually occurring between New Netherlands and the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven; and the English, who had formerly been the parties complained of, now became the complainers. They charged the Dutch with disturbing, kidnapping, and plundering their traders; with enticing servants to rob and desert from their masters; and with selling arms and ammunition to the natives. The unfriendly relations that subsisted between the Dutch themselves and the Indians, would render this last charge against them extremely improbable, if it were not known that their countrymen in Europe have, on various occasions, manufactured and sold to their enemies the cannon balls which they knew were to be fired back into their own towns. To all these complaints, the English could obtain no other answer from Kieft but haughty reproaches and angry recriminations; and it was partly from suspicion of his designs, and for the purpose of defending themselves against them, though chiefly, no doubt, for their own security against Indian hostility, that the New England colonies were induced to form the scheme of the federal union, which they carried into effect in the year 1643. That the complaints of the English against Kieft were by no means unfounded, may be strongly inferred from the fact, that the succeeding governor of New Netherlands, though warmly attached to the cause of his countrymen, declined to make any answer to these charges, and desired that he might not be held responsible for them. And yet notwithstanding their mutual disagreements, the Dutch and English colonists never suffered themselves to forget entirely either the forms of courtesy, or the more substantial rights of humanity. Kieft, perhaps with more politeness than sincerity, congratulated the united colonies on the league they had formed; and when, in the course of the same year he applied to New Haven for assistance against the Indians, with whom he was engaged in a bloody and dangerous war, the government of this colony, though precluded by the federal union as well as by doubts of the justice of the Dutch cause, from embarking separately in hostilities, tendered the amplest contribution they could afford of provisions for men and cattle, to supply the scarcity that might have arisen from the Indian devastations. So unwarlike were the Dutch colonists in general, that they found it necessary to hire the services of Captain Underhill, who had been banished from Boston as one of the associates of Mrs. Hutchinson, and who at the head of a mixed troop of English and Dutch whom he commanded opposed the Indians with a skill and bravery that proved fatal to great numbers of them both in Long Island and on the main land, and was thought to have saved the colony of New Netherlands from utter destruction. Notwithstanding the need he had thus experienced of English assistance, and the benefit he had derived from it, Kieft continued, during the following years, to exchange with the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, not only the most vehement remonstrances and vituperations, but menaces of hostility, which happily for himself, he was no less unable than they were unwilling to carry into effect. He continued all this time to be involved in hostilities with the Indians, between whom and the Dutch there was fought, towards the conclusion of the administration, [1646,] a great and general battle on Strickland's Plain, where, after an obstinate conflict and great slaughter on both sides, the Dutch with much difficulty kept the field, and the Indians withdrew unpursued.*

Kieft was succeeded, in the following year, [1647] by the last of the governors of New Netherlands. This was Peter Stuyvesant, a brave old officer, and one of those magnanimous spirits of which the republican service of Holland was in the age unusually productive. By his justice, prudence, and vigor, he appears to have succeeded in restoring peace with the Indians, and preserving it uninterrupted during the whole of his administration. His arrival was honored by an address of congratulation from the commissioners of the united colonies of New England, accompanied with an earnest entreaty for redress of the grievances they had endured from his predecessor. One of the most serious of these grievances had latterly been the frequent seizures and confiscation of the English trading vessels, on the pretence of infractions of the custom-house regulations of New Netherlands, which the Dutch, with insolent injustice, refused to explain, and yet proceeded to enforce. Stuyvesant, though he declined to justify some of the acts of his predecessor, returned, as might have been expected, a counter claim of redress for the wrongs of New Netherlands, and in particular demanded a restoration of the territories of Connecticut and New Haven this was a hopeless demand; and Stuyvesant soon perceiving that the state of his title and of his force would barely suffice to prevent further invasion of the Dutch pretensions, was too prudent to persist in it. After various negociations, [1650.] a treaty was at length concluded between the commissioners of the United English Colonies and the governor of New Netherlands, by which the settlements of the respective nations on Long Island were mutually secured to them, and a boundary ascertained between the Dutch settlement and the Connecticut and Newhaven occupations on the main land. [1651] This treaty was not productive of the good consequences that were expected from it. The English had passed a law prohibiting the Dutch from trading within their territories: a restriction that was highly resented by the Dutch; and the disputes that arose concerning the observance of this law, together with the competition of the two nations, to engross the profits of Indian trade, engendered a degree of mutual jealousy and ill humor that caused them to regard each other's proceeding and policy through a very unfavorable medium. The treaty seems not to have embraced any arrangement with regard to the Delaware territory, and Stuyvesant was determined to preserve entire all that yet remained uninvaded of the Dutch pretensions in this quarter. In support of these pretensions he was soon constrained to make such efforts to resist a trading settlement which the colony of New Haven attempted to establish on the borders of Delaware, as completely effaced every appearance of good understanding between the Dutch and the English provincial governments. The breach between them was widened by a panic excited in the English settlements of Connecticut and New Haven, where a number of Indians volunteered a confession of a projected massacre of the English, to which they declared that they had been instigated by the governor of New Netherlands, [1652.] The only confirmation of their story that they could produce, was the ammunition which the Dutch had been always in the practice of selling to them, and which the English now believed the more readily to have been supplied for their destruction, as the Indians had frequently employed it for this purpose. Notwithstanding the confident assertions of a respectable historian of Connecticut, this confession appears to me to have derived the credit it received chiefly from the fears and prepossessions of the English, who suffered themselves to be made the dupes of perfidious savages, whose enmity would have been gratified by the destruction of either of the races of their powerful neighbors. What may be thought, indeed, to place this beyond a doubt is, that no future confirmation of the charge was ever obtained, even after the fall of the Dutch dominion had placed every facility for the procurement of evidence in the hands of the English. The governments of Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, however, blinded by apprehension and resentment, gave implicit faith to a statement discredited no less by the habitual fraud and treachery of the Indians, than by the manly and honorable character of Stuyvesant. To his indignant denial of the charge they answered by reminding him of the massacre of their countrymen by the Dutch in Amboyna, about thirty years before; and to his just exceptions to the value of the Indian testimony, they replied that the Dutch governor of Amboyna had sought a pretext for his cruelty in the charges against the English which he extorted by torture from the Japanese. The absurdity of this reasoning forcibly demonstrates the intensity of passion by which they were transported; and the repeated introduction of the topic of Amboyna shows as clearly the strong, but unconscious, dominion of national resentment and antipathy on their minds. [1653] In Massachusetts, the evidence of the conspiracy was not considered satisfactory; nor could all the instances of their confederates prevail with this state to join with them in a war against the Dutch. Judging their own forces along inadequate to such an enterprise, the other colonies applied for assistance to Oliver Cromwell, who was then engaged in the two years' war with Holland, which the long parliament had begun, [1654.] and who promptly acceded to their request by despatching a squadron to undertake in concurrence with the colonial troops an invasion of New Netherlands. The design was, however, arrested by intelligence of the peace that had been concluded between the protector and the States-general, and his squadron having fortified the spirits of the English colonists by demonstrating to themselves and their adversaries the vigor with which a powerful government would resent their wrongs, proceeded still farther to augment their security, by effecting the conquest of the French province of Acadia.* It is remarkable, that the treaty of peace that was executed at this time between England and Holland contained no express allusion to the claims or possessions of either in North America; but as it was stipulated that war should cease, and peace and friendship prevail between all the dominions and possessions of the two countries in all parts of the world, and as the English expedition against New Netherlands was thereupon countermanded, the validity of the Dutch claim to this territory seems to have been manifestly implied, and practically acknowledged.

It was in the Delaware territory that Stuyvesant most resolutely and successfully defended the claims of his countrymen against the invasions of the New England colonists and the Swedes. As the war between the Dutch and the Swedes during Kieft's administration had in some respects resembled a peace, so the peace that ensued bore no little resemblance to a war. To check the encroachments which these settlers were continually attempting, Stuyvesant had erected a fort a a place then called New Amstel, and afterwards Newcastle. This proceeding gave umbrage to the Swedes, who expressed their displeasure in a protest, which, with the usual fate of such documents, was totally disregarded. About a year afterwards, Risingh, the Swedish governor, proceeded with an armed vessel against the Dutch fort, and obtaining admission into it by a stratagem somewhat discreditable to his own honesty, as well as to the vigilance of its defenders,† he easily overpowered the garrison, and expelled them with violence, but without cruelty, not only from their strong hold, but from the confines of Delaware. During the short time that the fortress remained in his possession, it received the name of Christina, in compliment to the Queen of Sweden. Stuyvesant was not of a disposition to submit tamely to such an outrage, or to content himself with a simple recapture of the fort. He determined to invade and subdue the whole Swedish settlement; but destitute of a force sufficient for this enterprise, and fully occupied at the time, with a controversy more dangerous to his government as well as more interesting to his honor, he was constrained to apply for reinforcement to the West India company, This corporation, however, was then laboring under such embarrassments, that it was only by a friendly contribution of the city of Amsterdam, that its administrators were at length able to supply Stuyvesant with a small body of troops. Thus reinforced, he marched into Delaware, [1655.] where the Swedes had employed their leisure in erecting another fort, as if they had intended to defend their pretensions to the last extremity. But no sooner did they find themselves about to be attacked in earnest by a warrior, whose hostilities were not confined to stratagems and protests, and perceived that their forts failed to answer their true object of intimidating the enemy from approaching, than they peaceably surrendered them, together with the whole of their settlements, to the forces of Stuyvesant. This conquest of Delaware was effected without bloodshed; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as it certainly did not arise from absence of the passions from which this fatal extremity might be expected to ensue; for many of the Swedes detested the Dutch so cordially that they chose to return to Europe and to abandon a country they had called a paradise, rather than submit to a union with the colony of New Netherlands. To this extremity, however, the rest were reduced, and the settlement for some years continued to be ruled in peace by a lieutenant-governor appointed by Stuyve-

* Trumbull, i. 114. 121–123. 129. 138–140. 155. 157. 161. Belknap, i. 50. Yet the greater number of the writers of American history repeat each others' statements without examination, [illegible] that the Dutch were never once involved in a quarrel with the Indians. One [illegible] writer, indeed, whose work is very curious, has stated that the Dutch were [illegible] by the Indians. Brief Description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands, by Daniel Denton, p. [illegible]. In Samuel Smith's History of New Jersey, [illegible] reference is made to some bloody contests between the Dutch and Indians.

* Oldmixon, i. 119. Chalmers, 574. Trumbull, i. 169. 174. 189. 191–3. 197. 202. 204. 212. 219. 220. 267. Smith, 6. The whole voluminous correspondence that took place, both on this occasion and afterwards, between the governors of the Dutch and English colonies, is preserved in Hazard's Collection, vol. ii.

† "Risingh, under the disguise of friendship, came before the works, fired two salutes, and landed thirty men, who were entertained by the commandant as friends; but he had no sooner discovered the weakness of the garrison than he made himself master of it, seizing also upon all the ammunition houses, and other effects of the West Indian company, and compelling several of the people to swear allegiance to Christina, Queen of Sweden." Smith.

eant. Thus unassisted by the parent state, fell the only colony that Sweden ever has possessed. The historian would have little pretension to piety or virtue who would deride a bloodless adjustment of national disputes. But in timorous hostilities, a new feature of opprobrium is added to the moral aspect of war. When we recollect that these Swedes were either the subjects of Gustavus Adolphus, or the immediate descendants of his subjects, and when we see them provoke a war by fraud and outrage, and then decline it by tamely submitting to the object of their insult and hatred, it must be acknowledged that they have enlarged the catalogue of those nations whose spirit has degenerated in their colonial settlements. The Dutch have been generally obnoxious to this remark; and their conduct in New Netherlands will never be cited as an exception to its application. All their colonies have been the offspring of motives no higher than the thirst of commercial gain; and the same sentiments which engaged them to extend their dominions, have gradually obliterated the energy that was requisite to their defence and preservation. The valor of Stuyesant* rather reproached than animated the sluggish spirit of his fellow-colonists, whom his example could never teach either to repel injustice with spirit, or to bear it with dignity. Yet Holland was now in the meridian of her fame; and this was the age of Tromp and De Ruyter.

The attention which had been awakened in the mother country to the state of the colony of New Netherlands, was maintained by the prosperous result of her recent interposition, and further evinced itself in the following year [1656] by a constitution which was enacted by the West India company and the burgomasters of Amsterdam, and approved by the States-general. This instrument provided that the colonists of New Netherlands were to be ruled in future by a governor nominated by the deputies of Amsterdam; and by burgomasters and a town council elected by the people themselves; the council thereafter enjoying the power of filling up all vacancies in its own body. Some such constitution as this, appears to have been already established in New Netherlands; and the attention of the mother country beginning soon to relax, with the decline of the colony's prosperity, no further attempt seems to have been made to introduce the projected alteration. The West India company, however, transmitted about this time to Stuyvesant, a ratification they had procured from the States-general of his treaty in 1650 with the commissioners of the united English colonies. The Dutch governor gave notice of this circumstance to the commissioners, in a letter replete with christian benevolence and piety; and proposed to them that a friendly league and sincere good-will might thenceforward unite the colonies of England and Holland. But the English were averse to believe the sincerity of a man whom they had recently accused of plotting their destruction with the Indians; and, beginning to regard the Dutch occupation as altogether lawless and intrusive, they were determined not to sanction it by any new recognition. The commissioners answered the governor's communication with austere civility; recommending the continuance of peace, but declining either to ratify the former treaty or to execute a new one. They had begun to entertain strong hopes that the English government would unite with them in regarding the Dutch settlers in America, as mere intruders who could derive no claim of forbearance from the peace with Holland, and whom it would be no less just than expedient to expel or subdue. Their friends in England succeeded in impressing these views upon Richard Cromwell; [1659.] and during his short enjoyment of the protectorate, he addressed instructions to his commanders for an invasion of New Netherlands, and wrote letters to the English colonial governments, desiring the concurrence of their forces in the enterprise. But his speedy deposition spared him the actual guilt of attacking an unoffending people, whom his father had plainly considered as comprehended in his pacification with Holland.

Meanwhile, Stuyvesant had made attempts to improve his conquest of the Swedes by extending the Dutch settlements in Delaware; and equitable as well as brave, he caused the territory which he occupied to be fairly purchased from the Indians. But his success in this quarter was now drawing to a close. Fendal the governor of Maryland, claimed the territory occupied by the Dutch and Swedes, as included within Lord Baltimore's grant; and finding that Stuyvesant was determined to retain the possession and defend the supposed title of his country, he procured a remonstrance to be transmitted in the name of Lord Baltimore to the States General and the West India Company, who, with an inversion of their usual policy, publicly denied the pretensions of the English, but at the same time transmitted private orders to Stuyvesant to avoid hostilities, if they should seem likely to ensue, by retiring beyond Lord Baltimore's alleged boundary. This injunction was complied with, though not to the extent of an entire evacuation of Delaware, when Charles Calvert a few years after assumed the government of Maryland.* Stuyvesant deeply deplored the feeble policy of those whose mandates he felt it his duty to obey; and sensible of the total discredit in which the Dutch title would be involved by thus practically avowing that its maintenance depended on the forbearance of the English, he earnestly solicited that a formal copy of the grant by the States General to the West India Company might be transmitted to New Netherlands, to enable him to assert, with proper form and dignity, the interest he was intrusted to defend. But his applications proved ineffectual. The States General were now more anxious than ever to avoid a rupture with England; and the West India Company, either concurring with their policy, or controlled by their orders, refused to exhibit a title [1660] of which they feared that Stuyvesant would make such an use as would infallibly provoke that extremity. Perhaps they thought that his prudence would be enforced by the consciousness of a defective title; and such was at least the effect that their policy actually produced. Stuyvesant, willing by any honorable means to propitiate the English, and hoping to obtain a recognition of the title which he was unable to produce, sent an embassy to Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia, to propose a treaty of mutual trade between this colony and New Netherlands, and an alliance against the Indian enemies of both. Berkeley received the ambassadors with much courtesy, and despatched Sir Henry Moody to New Netherlands, with the terms of a commercial treaty; but he took care to decline every expression that might seem either to acknowledge, or even apply, assent to the territorial pretensions of the Dutch.

The authorities whose dominion in England was terminated by the Restoration, had been regarded with continual uneasiness and apprehension by the colonists of New Netherlands. The long parliament had attacked their countrymen in Europe; Cromwell had once been on the point of subduing the colony; and only the deposition of his successor had again snatched them from a repetition of the same danger. Of the government of Charles the Second they were disposed to entertain more favorable hopes, which might, perhaps, derive some confirmation from the well-known fact, that their rivals, the New English colonists, were as much disliked by the king as they had been favorably regarded by the protector. Accordingly, when the pursuers of Goffe and Whalley, baffled in their attempts to recover the retreat of these fugitive regicides in New England, besought Stuyvesant to deny them his protection in New Netherlands, [1661] he readily seized the opportunity of ingratiating his colony with the English court, by undertaking to give instant notice of the arrival of any of the regicides within his jurisdiction, and to prohibit all vessels from transporting them beyond the reach of their pursuers.† But this policy, which, it must be confessed, is not the most honorable trait of his administration, proved utterly unavailing; and every hope that the Dutch might have entertained, of an amelioration of their prospects, was speedily dissipated by the intelligence of designs entertained by the king of England. Charles, though he had received, during the exile, more friendship and civility from the Dutch than from any other foreign power, even regarded this people with enmity and aversion; and he was the more disposed, at present, to embrace any measure that might humble the ruling party in Holland, by the interest he felt in a weaker faction, at the head of which was his nephew, the young Prince of Orange, whom he desired to see reinstated in the office of Stadtholder, which his ancestors had possessed;—an office which the ruling party had pledged themselves to Cromwell never again to bestow on the Orange family. [1663.] These sentiments were enforced by the interest and urgency of the Duke of York, who had placed himself at the head of a New African company,* and found its commerce impeded by the more successful traffic of the Dutch. In imitation of the other courtiers, the Duke had also cast his eyes on the American territory, which his brother was now distributing with so liberal a hand; and, accordingly, in addition to the other reasons which he employed to promote a rupture with the Dutch, he solicited a grant of their North American plantations, on the prevailing plea that they had been originally usurped from the territory properly belonging to Britain. The influence of these motives on the mind of the king was doubtless aided by the desire to strike a blow that would enforce the arbitrary commission he was preparing to send to New England, and teach the puritan colonists there that it was in the power of their prince to subdue his enemies in America.

The rumor of the king's intentions appears to have reached America before it was generally prevalent in Europe; owing to the vigilance and activity of the numerous friends of the English colonists, who watched and apprised them of the designs of the court. When the association of the royal commission, with the expedition against New Netherlands, was known to the inhabitants of New England, the first piece of intelligence appeared to them much more unwelcome than the other was satisfactory. In Massachusetts, particularly, the proceedings of the general court seemed to indicate a strong apprehension that the military, no less than the civil department of the expedition, was intended to be employed against the liberties of the English colonists. Stuyvesant, whose anxious eye explored the darkening horizon of his country's fortune, discerned these symptoms of dissatisfaction in the New England settlements, and conceived from them the bold project of obtaining the alliance, or at least securing the neutrality, of his ancient enemies. With this view (apparently,) he undertook, first, a voyage to Massachusetts, where he was entertained by the governor and magistrates with much state and solemnity. Former rivalship was forgotten in the season of common danger, or remembered only to enhance the respect with which Endicot and Stuyvesant recognised, each in the other, an aged, brave, and virtuous champion of his country's cause. Perhaps some traces of the effect of this conference may be discerned in the slowness with which Massachusetts obeyed the requisition of the royal commanders to raise a body of men in aid of the invasion of New Netherlands. But it was impossible that Stuyvesant's negociation could succeed, or his proposals, even to the extent of neutrality, be acceded to. Notwithstanding this disappointment, however, he proceeded afterwards to Connecticut, where he was engaged in vainly attempting to bring a similar negociation to a more successful issue, when the intelligence of the approach of the British fleet recalled him to the immediate defence of his province.

The king, who was totally unable to assign a just reason for going to war with Holland, after trying in vain to provoke the resentment of the States General by the most insulting memorials, and the most groundless complaints, determined, at length, to embrace the suggestion of his right to the province of New Netherlands; expecting, with good reason, that, from the assertion of this pretended right, the cause of quarrel which he was industriously seeking would infallibly arise. In pursuance of this purpose, a royal charter was executed in favor of the Duke of York, containing a grant of the whole region extending from the western banks of Connecticut to the eastern shore of the Delaware, [1664,] together with the adjacency of Long

* This gallant veteran did not fail to attract a portion of that idle rumor and absurd exaggeration to which solitary superiority is exposed. To the English he was a subject of continual marvel and apprehension. He had lost a leg in fighting for the independence of Holland; and the English believed that his artificial limb was made of silver (Josselyn, 153); and with still greater credulity, that he restrained the Dutch colonists from immediate hostilities with them, that he might destroy them more cruelly by the hands of the Indians (Trumbull, 202); so well did he cover the deficiency of his countrymen's military ardor. The fable of the silver leg is also related by Biome, 202.

* See ante, B. iii. One cause of the neglect which New Netherlands experienced from the Dutch West India Company, seems to have been that the attention and resources of the Company were absorbed by the efforts they made to maintain the rich settlement they had wrested from the Portuguese in South America. See Southey's History of Brazil, Part I.

† Trumbull, i. 245. It was notorious, at the time, that Goffe and Whalley were sheltered within the territory of New Haven, where the local authorities and the inhabitants, so far from assisting, had, with very little disguise, obstructed and defeated the attempts to apprehend them. This conduct of a people who had peculiarly distinguished themselves by enmity to the Dutch, had probably some weight in inducing Stuyvesant to pledge himself to a proceeding which, he seems not to have been aware, would have compromised the honor and independence of his country.

* This company was formed with the view of extending and appropriating the slave trade. Under the patronage of the Duke of York, it treated every commercial rival with a violence and injustice worthy of the purpose of its institution. In return for the protection of the English government, it lent its aid to harass the colonies by promoting a rigid enforcement of the acts of navigation. See Oldmixon, Vol. II. cap. I.

Island; and conferring upon his royal highness all the powers of governing, civil and military, within these ample boundaries. This grant took no more notice of the existing possession of the Dutch, than it showed respect to the recent charter of Connecticut, which, whether from ignorance, or from carelessness in the definition of the boundaries, it tacitly but entirely superceded. No sooner did the Duke of York obtain this grant, than, without waiting to take possession of his investiture, he proceeded to exercise his proprietary powers in their fullest extent, by conveying to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret all that portion of the territory that forms the province of New Jersey. But, as it was manifest that this title of the duke himself, no less than of his assignees, would require to be effectuated by a military force, an armament had been prepared for this purpose, with some attention to secresy; a precaution which, if it proved ineffectual, was no less unnecessary; as the states of Holland reckoned it impossible that the king would attack their possessions, without the formality of a previous declaration, and were averse to provoke his injustice by seeming to expect it. So little, indeed, was the hostile enterprise against New Netherlands credited in Europe, that, but a few months before it sailed, a vessel arrived at the colony from Holland, bringing a further supply of planters, and of implements of husbandry. Stuyvesant earnestly pressed upon the West India Company the alarming intelligence which he had received; but the only defensive step to which they were moved by his urgency was, to send him now, when it was too late, the original grant from the States General, which, at the period when it might have availed him, he had solicited in vain.

The command of the English troops that embarked for this expedition, and the government of the province against which it was directed, were intrusted to Colonel Nichols, who had studied the art of war under Marshal Turenne, and who, with Car, Cartwright, and Maverick, also held a commission to visit the colonies of New England, and investigate and determine, according to their discretion, all disputes and controversies within the various colonial jurisdictions. After touching at Boston, where an armed force was ordered to be raised and sent to join the expedition, the fleet proceeded to Hudson's river, and took its station before the capital of New Netherlands. The requisition of a subsidiary force from Boston was so tardily obeyed, that the enterprise was over before the Massachusetts troops were ready to march: but, on the transmission of a similar requisition to Connecticut, Governor Winthrop, with several of the principal inhabitants of the province, immedietely repaired to the English armament, and joined the standard of their king.

The veteran governor of New Netherlands, and the pupil of Turenne, were, according to military ideas, enemies worthy of each other; though doubtless it is a manifest profanation of language to assert the worthiness of two brave and honest men to shed each others' blood, or to represent Nichols as worthily employed in executing the lawless rage and rapacity of a tyrant upon an unoffending people. But the two commanders were very unequally supported. Stuyvesant had vigorously exerted himself to put the city and fort in the best attitude of defence: but he found it totally impossible to man the hearts of its defenders. It must indeed be confessed in favor of these unfortunate Dutchmen, that the superior artillery and disciplined forces of the enemy rendered successful resistance utterly hopeless. Their residence in the country had been too short to connect them with it by patriotic ties; and their unwarlike habits rendered them utterly unsusceptible of impressions which their governor derived from the prospect of a contest, where the harvest of glory was proportioned to the hopelessness of victory. They felt themselves unjustly attacked; and their resentment of this injury was so strong, that many of them were determined not to remain the subjects of a tyrannical usurper; but it was not strong enough to overcome the rational conviction, that safety and independence were the only worthy objects of battle, and that where independence could not be gained by fighting, safety should not be risked by it. To add unnecessary combat to unavoidable defeat, appeared to them a driftless and fool-hardy waste of life; and if they must surrender the image they had built of their native Holland in the wilderness, they would rather surrender it entire to the pollution of hostile occupation, than defaced by the contact of the enemy. They were willing to become exiles with their wives and children, or laborers for them; to encounter, in short, every evil that hope could alleviate or virtue subdue. But to expose their kindred, their city, and themselves, to the certainty of capture by storm, and the extremity of military violence, seemed to them an inversion of all the dictates of wisdom, happiness and virtue.

Widely different were the sentiments, the views, and even the determinations of Stuyvesant; and for several days his undaunted spirit upheld the honor and prolonged the dominion of his country, in despite both of the desertion of her unwarlike children, and the impending violence of a stronger foe. On the arrival of the English armament, he sent a deputation to its commander, consisting of one of the ministers of New Amsterdam, one of the city councillors, and two other inhabitants, with a courteous letter desiring to know the reason and purpose of this hostile approach. Nichols answered, with equal politeness,* that he was commanded by his royal master to take possession of the British territory which had been usurped by the Dutch, whom, though nearly allied to him, the king could not, consistently with his honor, allow to invade and occupy the dominions of his crown: that he must therefore now demand the instant surrender of the place; that the king being tender of the effusion of Christian blood, had authorised him to offer security of life, liberty, and estate, to all who would readily submit to this requisition; but that such as should oppose his majesty's gracious intentions must prepare themselves for the worst miseries of war. Governor Winthrop, who was connected by acquaintance and mutual esteem with Stuyvesant and the principal Dutch citizens, enforced this summons by a letter, in which he strongly pressed the prudence of doing soon what must unavoidably be done at last. Stuyvesant, on receiving the summons of the English commander, was sensible of no other consideration than of the insolence and injustice with which his country was treated; and still earnestly hoping that her honor would be preserved unblemished, even though her dominions should be overthrown, he invited the burgomasters and council to attend him, and vainly labored to impart a portion of his feelings to this municipal body. They coolly desired to see the letters he had received; but as he judged with good reason that the easy terms of surrender that were proffered would not contribute to animate their ardor or further his own martial designs, he declined to gratify them in this particular; and simply assured them that the English had declared their purpose of depriving Holland of its sovereignty, and themselves of their independence. Suspecting the truth, they became more importunate in their first request; whereupon the governor, in a transport of indignation, tore the letters in pieces, and scattered them on the ground; while the burghers, in amazement and dismay, protested against his conduct, and all the consequences that might attend it. But Stuyvesant's courage needed not the aid of sympathetic bravery to sustain it: and more incensed to see his country's honor deserted than appalled to find himself its only defender, he determined to try the effect of an appeal to the justice and generosity of a gallant enemy; and to express in his reply to the summons of the English commander, not what he painfully saw, but what he magnanimously wished, to be the sentiments of his fellow-citizens. He exhibited to a deputation sent to him by Nichols, the original grant of the States General, and his own commission from the West India Company; and in a long and manly letter, maintained that a province thus formally incorporated with the Dutch dominion could not lawfully be attacked while peace subsisted between England and the republic. He represented the long possession of the territory which his countrymen had enjoyed, and the ratification which the English colonial governments had given to the Dutch claim, by the treaty they concluded with him in the year 1650; and he protested that it was impossible that the English monarch could have despatched this hostile armament, in the knowledge of these facts, or would hesitate to countermand it if they were submitted to his consideration. To spare the effusion of blood, he offered a treaty for a provisional arrangement, suspended on the issue of a reference to the two parent states; and he concluded with this calm and undaunted reply to the threat of military execution in the event of a refusal to surrender. "As touching the threats in your conclusion, we have nothing to answer, only that we fear nothing, but what God (who is as just as merciful) shall lay upon us; all things being in his gracious disposal; and we may as well be preserved by him with small forces as by a great army; which makes us to wish you all happiness and prosperity, and recommend you to his protection." But Stuyvesant found it more easy to refute the pretensions than to resist the force of his opponent. Even after the English had begun to invest the place, and had occupied posts, from which attack seemed immediate and capture inevitable, he still clung to the hope that his fellow-citizens would not surrender the rights of their country till they had defended them with their lives, and shed the blood of the invaders. But Nichols who had learned how little the great body of the Dutch partook the martial ardor of their governor, caused a proclamation,* reiterating his original offers, to be circulated through the country and introduced into the town; a measure which so completely disarmed the spirit of the besieged, and extinguished the authority of Stuyvesant, that this stubborn veteran, after one more fruitless attempt to effect a provisional treaty, was at length obliged to capitulate for surrender, in order to prevent the people from giving up the place without the formality of capitulation. By the treaty which ensued it was provided that the Dutch garrison should march out with all the honors of war, and that the States General and West India Company should preserve their ammunition and public stores, and be allowed within six months to transport them to Holland: that the inhabitants should be free to sell their estates, and return to Holland, or retain them and reside in the settlement; that all who chose to remain should enjoy their ancient customs with respect to inheritance of property, liberty of conscience in divine worship and church order, and perpetual exemption from military service. All Dutchmen, either continuing in the province, or afterwards resorting to it, were to be allowed a free trade with Holland; a privilege which, as it was totally repugnant to the navigation act, neither Nichols nor even the king could confer, and which accordingly was withdrawn from them very soon after. As a concession to the inflexible obstinacy of the old governor, it was very superfluously provided, that if at any time thereafter the king of England and the States General should concur in desiring the province to be re-delivered to its former owners,† their desire should be promptly complied with. These, and various other articles, of additional advantage to the Dutch, forming perhaps the most favourable terms that a capitulating city ever obtained, were satisfactory to every one except the individual to whose solitary valor they were in some degree a tribute: and it was not till two days after they had been signed by the commissioners on both sides, that he could be persuaded to ratify them. Yet the Dutch West India Company, whose blunders and imbecility had promoted the fall of a dominion which they were unworthy to administer, had the mean ingratitude to express dissatisfaction with the conduct of this magnanimous man The fall of the capital, which now received the name of New York, (a name also extended to the whole provincial territory,) was followed by the surrender of Albany, and the general submission of the province with its subordinate settlement of Dutch and Swedes in Delaware. The government of Britain was acknowledged over the whole in the beginning of October, 1664.

Thus by an act of the most flagrant injustice and tyrannical usurpation, was overthrown the Dutch dominion in North America, after it had subsisted for more than half a century, and absorbed the feebler settlements of Sweden. It is impossible for a moment to suppose that the king was prompted to undertake this enterprise by an honest conviction of his right to the province; and that he was actuated by no concern for the interest of his other colonies was proved (if

* Chalmers betrays his usual partiality in describing this intercourse. While he decries the affected civility of Stuyvesant, he commends in Nichols the politeness that softens the rigors of war. Once for all I must remark on this writer, that the composition of his work had one great point in view—the apology of the kings and government of England in all their American transactions. He steadily pursues this object; and though too honorable wilfully to misrepresent facts, he is often too prejudiced to appreciate them fairly. Yet his Annals are a valuable source of information to those who carefully consult them; comparing one portion with another, and the whole with collateral authorities.

* It declared that all who would "submit to this his majesty's government, as his good subjects, shall be protected in his majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoy whatsoever God's blessing and their own honest industry have furnished them with." Smith, p. 25. To the Swedish settlers in Delaware, it was specially represented, that it would be an honorable change for them to return from a republican to a monarchical government. S. Smith's New Jersey, p. 48.

† According to Hume, it would appear that this improbable condition did actually occur; for he states that on the complaint of Holland, the king disavowed the expedition, and imprisoned the admiral. Hist. of England, vol. vii. p. 399, 400. But he has confounded the invasion of New York with the expedition against Goree, which took place two years before, and which Charles after despatching, affected to disavow.

such proof were wanting) by his subsequent conduct with regard to Acadia. This territory, to which the English had as fair a claim as to New York,* had been conquered from its French occupiers by the manly hostilities of Cromwell; and yet the earnest entreaties of the New England colonies could not prevent the king from restoring it to France, though a neighbor much more dangerous than Holland to his subjects. But Acadia was not, like New Netherlands, a settlement of protestant republicans, but of the subjects of a brother despot to whom Charles became a pensioner, and to whom he scrupled not to sell as much of the honor of England as was capable of being conveyed by his hands. His object, in so far as it embraced the English colonies, was rather to intimidate them, than to promote their advantage. Yet eventually it was they who derived the chief advantage from the acquisition of New York; and this, as well as every other conquest of American territory achieved by Great Britain, only tended to undo the bands by which she retained her colonies in a state of dependence. As they ceased to receive molestation or alarm from the neighborhood of rival settlements, their strength and their jealousy converged against the power and pretensions of the mother country.

Colonel Nichols, who had been appointed the first British governor of New York, probably with the humane view of persuading his master to refrain from burdening or irritating the people by fiscal impositions, seems to have depreciated, somewhat unjustly, the actual condition of the setttlement, in his letters to the Duke of York. But all the early writers and travellers unite in describing the Dutch colonial metropolis as a handsome well built town; and Josselyn declares that the meanest house in it was worth 100*l*. Indeed, the various provisions that were introduced into the articles of surrender, to guard the comforts of the inhabitants from invasion, attest the orderly and plentiful estate which these colonists had attained, as well as explain the causes of their unwarlike spirit. If the manners of the Dutch colonists corresponded with those of their countrymen in the parent state, they were probably superior in elegance to the manners which the English colonists could derive from similar irritation. Sir William Temple was surprised to find in Holland that he was expected not to spit upon the floors of gentlemen's houses. [17] Of the colonists who had latterly resorted to the province, some were persons who had enjoyed considerable affluence and respectability in Holland, and who imported with them, and displayed in their houses, costly services of family plate, and well selected productions of the Dutch school of painting. No account has been preserved of the total population of the province and its dependencies; but the metropolis, at this time, seems to have contained about 3,000 persons.† More than half of this number chose to continue in the place after its annexation to the British empire: the rest abandoned a settlement which was no longer to retain its Dutch aspect or name; and their habitations were soon occupied by a supply of emigrants, partly from Britain, but chiefly from New England. The Duke of York, to allure the New England planters to settle in his province, published what he termed *conditions for plantations*, by which (among other provisions) it was declared that the inhabitants of every township should elect their own minister, and arrange his emoluments by private agreement between themselves and him. Among the Dutch who remained at New York, was the venerable Stuyvesant, who still adhered to the wreck of the institutions and community over which he had presided, and to the scenes that reminded him of the exploits of his old age. Here, for a few years more, he prolonged the empire of Dutch manners and the respect of the Dutch name, till full of days and honor, he breathed his last amidst the tears of his countrymen. His descendants inherited his worth and popularity, and, in the following century, were frequently elected into the magistracy of New York.

One of the first proceedings in which Nichols was employed, was in determining with the other commissioners the boundaries of New York and Connecticut. The claims of the latter of these provinces in Long Island were disallowed, and the whole of that insular region annexed to the new British jurisdiction: but in the arrangement of the boundaries on the main land, so little disposition was entertained to take advantage of the erroneous appropriation in the Duke of York's grant, so ignorant also of the localities of the country were the commissioners, and so much inclined, at the same time, to gratify the people of Connecticut, in order to detach them from the interest of Massachusetts, that they undoubtedly received an allotment of territory far more liberal than equitable. A more correct adjustment of limits was found necessary at a subsequent period, and was not effected without creating the most vehement disputes between the two colonial governments.

1665.] Leaving the other commissioners to proceed to the execution of their functions in New England, Nichols betook himself to the discharge of his own peculiar duty in the province, which he had been deputed to govern. The Duke of York, who considered himself invested by his patent with regal authority, had made an ample delegation of his powers to his deputy; and the prudence and humanity of Nichols rendered his administration creditable to the proprietary and acceptable to the people. To confirm the acquisition that his arms had gained, and to assimilate, as far as possible, the different races of inhabitants, he judged it expedient to introduce among them all, an uniform frame of civil policy; and with a prudent conformity to the institutions that had already been established by the Dutch, he erected a court of assizes, composed of the governor, the council and the justices of the peace; which was invested with every power in the colony, legislative, executive, and judicial. The only liberal institution that he was allowed to introduce was trial by jury; and to this admirable check on judicial iniquity, all causes and controversies were subjected. He encouraged the colonists to make purchases of land from the natives; and these purchases he made the foundation of grants from himself, in which he reserved a quit rent of a penny an acre. A dispute which occurred among the inhabitants of Long Island suggested to him a salutary regulation which continued long to obtain in the province. The controversy had arisen out of some conflicting Indian deeds; and to prevent a recurrence of it as well as of the more fatal dissensions which were apt to arise from these transactions with the natives, it was ordained that henceforward no purchase from the Indians should be valid, unless the vendition were authorised by the license from the governor, and executed in his presence. The strength and numbers of the natives rendered it necessary to treat them with unimpeachable justice: and to prevent their frequent sales of the same land to different persons (a practice in which they had been encouraged by the conflicting pretensions and occupations of the Dutch, Swedes, and English), it was expedient that the bargains should be signalized by some memorable solemnity. The friendly relations that were now established between the European colonists of this province, and the powerful Indian tribes known by the title of the Five Nations, and which will afterwards demand a considerable share of our attention, were greatly promoted by the harmony which had subsisted between the Dutch and Indians during the government of Stuyvesant, whose prudence thus bequeathed a wise lesson and a valuable opportunity to the administration of his successor.

The court of assizes applied itself, without delay, to collect into one code the ancient customs of the province, with such additional improvements as the change of empire seemed to render necessary, and as served to introduce the supremacy that was ascribed to the jurisprudence of England. In this code, which was afterwards ratified by the Duke of York, there occur some laws that seem to denote the influence which the New England settlers in Long Island* no doubt exercised in its composition. Any child above sixteen years of age, striking his father or mother (except in defence of his own life), "at the complaint of the said father and mother, and not otherwise, they being sufficient witnesses thereof," was adjudged to suffer death. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden; and fornication was punished by marriage, fine, or corporal punishment, according to the discretion of the court. The barbarous state of medical science and practice was indicated by an ordinance, strictly prohibiting all surgeons, physicians, and midwives, from "presuming to exercise or put forth any act contrary to the known approved rules of art;* and the unsubdued state of nature appears from the proposition of rewards for the destruction of wolves in Long Island. The city of New York which had enjoyed extensive privileges under the old government, was now incorporated and placed under the administration of a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff; the English official nomenclature serving additionally to link the provincial institutions with English jurisprudence. One of the highest acts of power that was reserved to the court of assizes was the imposition of taxes; and this it soon had occasion to exercise in order to meet the exigencies of the war which Charles the Second had at length succeeded in provoking with Holland. But even the most ungracious acts of Nichols were disarmed of their offence by the conciliating demeanor that caused the Dutch to forget he had been their conqueror, and by the moderation and integrity which he uniformly evinced, and the personal sacrifices that he readily incurred for the public advantage. An assembly of deputies from the Dutch and English plantations in Long Island, which he summoned to adjust the boundaries of their respective settlements, took the opportunity of their congregation to transmit an address to the Duke of York, acknowledging their dependence on his sovereignty according to his patent; engaging to defend his rights, and to submit cheerfully to whatever laws might be enacted by virtue of his authority; and requesting that their declaration might be accepted as a memorial against them and their heirs, if they should ever be found to fail in the performance of their duty. Yet one portion of these people had but recently submitted to Nichols as the conquering leader of the troops of a foreign usurper; and the others had as recently been united to the liberal institutions of New England. So strongly does the universal story of mankind confirm the truth of Sully's observation, that where the people are not deceived by factious leaders, even arbitrary power is seldom resisted when it is humanely employed; and that popular discontent evinces much less frequently a promptitude to assert just rights, than impatience of accumulated sufferings.

1666.] The intelligence of the declaration of war with Holland, which was communicated by the Lord Chancellor (Clarendon) to Colonel Nichols, was accompanied with the assurance that the Dutch were preparing an expedition for the recovery of their American settlement, and that De Ruyter had received orders to sail immediately for New York.† Nichols exerted himself, with his usual energy, to resist the hostility of so formidable a foe; and though it appeared eventually, that either the chancellor's information had been erroneous, or that the expedition was suspended by De Ruyter's more important employments in Europe, the expense that attended the preparations for his reception, and the other consequences of the war, reduced the province to a state of considerable distress. As the people were destitute of shipping, their trade, which had been carried on by Dutch vessels, was totally lost; no supplies were sent from England to alleviate this calamity; and, in addition to other concomitant burdens of war, a general rate was imposed on the estates of the inhabitants by the court of assizes. Still there was every reason to apprehend that the supply that was raised would be insufficient, and the preparations consequently inadequate to repel the expected invasion. In this extremity, the governor, without, pressing the people for further contributions to defeat an enterprise which many of them must have contemplated with secret satisfaction, wisely and liberally advanced his own money and interposed his credit to supply the public exigencies. Happily for the prosperity of the settlement, which Nichols, with the aid of the other English colonies, would have defended to the last ex-

* It was included in the claim derived from Cabot's voyage, and had been made the subject of various grants by James the First and Charles the First, to the Plymouth council in the first instance, and afterwards to Lord Stirling. This nobleman was the king's secretary of state in Scotland; and seeing the English courtiers obtaining grants of American territory, he applied for a share; and Acadia, under the name of Nova Scotia, was granted to him (most irregularly), by a patent under the great seal of Scotland.

† I found this calculation on a Report to the Board of Trade a few years after, published by Chalmers, p. 598, together with a consideration of the intervening events.

* It was more probably to them than to the Dutch that Nichols alluded, when in a letter to the Duke of York he expressed his hope that "now even the most factious republicans must acknowledge themselves satisfied with the way they are in." Chalmers, 599.

* Both medicine and surgery were then in a very rude state in England, where the efficacy of royal touch for the king's evil was still believed and tried, and Sydenham's career had but recently begun. Notwithstanding a legal determination pronounced in England, two centuries before this, that "a chirurgeon may cut off one member to save the rest" (State Trials, iii. 927), it was in France alone that a manufacture of surgical instruments existed till the end of the seventeenth century. Cheselden told Voltaire that he first introduced this manufacture into England in 1715. Age of Louis the Fourteenth, cap. 30. In Spain, as late as the year 1786, the treatment of fever was regulated by law. Townsend's Travels iii. 140—142, &c

† Hume (vii. 400) says that De Ruyter actually committed hostilities on Long Island before the declaration of war, in revenge for the capture of New York: but De Ruyter was not accustomed so imperfectly to avenge the wrongs of his country: and Hume has been misled by an erroneous account, or inaccurate recollection, of a more serious and successful attack on New York by the Dutch about seven years after this period, and in the course of a subsequent war.

trenity, neither the States-general, nor the Dutch West India Company, made any attempt to repossess themselves of New York during this war; and at the peace of Breda it was ceded to England, in exchange for her colony of Surinam, which had been conquered by the Dutch. [1667] This exchange was no otherwise expressed, than by a general stipulation in the treaty that each of the two nations should retain what its arms had acquired since hostilities began. The Dutch had no reason to regret the exchange; for it was impossible that they could long have preserved New York against the increasing strength and rivalry of the inhabitants of New England, Maryland, and Virginia. It was by this treaty that Acadia was ceded to France, which had acted as the ally of Holland during the war, and was the only party that reaped advantage from it. England saw her character dishonored by the injustice of the war: the glory of her arms tarnished by the disgrace at Chatham; the conquest achieved for her by Cromwell surrendered; and every one of the purposes for which the contest had been provoked, rendered utterly abortive.*

The security which the British dominion in New York derived from the treaty of Breda, occurred very seasonably to supply the useful services of Colonel Nichols, who, finding the pecuniary burdens of the war pressing too heavily on himself, was forced, in the beginning of this year, to resign an appointment which, at one time, seems to have rendered him as elate and happy as it had enabled him to make himself useful and beloved. The king, as a testimony of the approbation to which his eminent services were entitled, sent him a present of *two hundred pounds;* and this brave and modest loyalist was more gratified with the expression of royal favor than disappointed with the meanness and inadequacy of the remuneration. He was long remembered with respect and kindness by a people whom he had found hostile and divided; and whom, notwithstanding that he had been constrained to deprive them of liberty and independence, he left friendly, united, and contented.† The benefit of his successful exertions, together with the signal advantage of peace, and of the recognition by Holland of the British dominion, devolved on his successor, Colonel Lovelace, a man of quiet temper and moderate disposition, which in tranquil times so well supplied the absence of vigor and capacity, that the colony, during the greater part of six years that he presided over it, enjoyed a noiseless tenor of content and prosperity;‡ and the most memorable occurrence that signalised his administration, was the unfortunate event that brought it to a close.

1672.] The second war with Holland, which the king undertook in subservience to the ambition of Louis XIV., was calculated no less to injure the trade of New York, than to disturb the harmony of its mixed inhabitants, and alienate the regards of the original colonists. The false and frivolous reasons that were assigned by the English court for this profligate war, rendered it more offensive to every Dutchman by adding insult to injury; and the gallant achievements of De Ruyter, that extorted the admiration and applause even of his enemies, must have awakened in the most languid bosoms of the Dutch colonists some sympathy with the glory and danger of their country, and a reluctance to the destiny that had associated them with her enemies. The intelligence of the Duke of York's recent profession of the catholic faith contributed to increase their discontent, which at length prevailed so far with a considerable body of them, that they determined to abandon New York, and either return to Holland, or seek out another settlement in the new world. Happily for English America, they were retained within her territory by the address of the proprietaries of Carolina, who prevailed with them to direct their footsteps towards this province, [1673,] where, remote from foreign war, and surmounting hardships by patient industry, they formed a settlement that recompensed them for the habitations they had forsaken. If more of their countrymen projected a similar migration, their purpose was suspended by an event which occurred the same year, and invited them to embrace a more gratifying deliverance from the irksomeness of their situation. A small squadron had been despatched from Holland, under the command of Binkes and Evertzen, to destroy the commerce of the English colonies; and having performed this service with great effect on the Virginian coast, they were induced to attempt a more important enterprise, by intelligence of the negligent security of the governor of New York. Repairing with secresy and expedition to this ancient possession of their country, they had the good fortune to arrive at the metropolis while Lovelace was at a distance, and the command was exercised by Colonel Manning, whose own subsequent avowal, added to the more credible testimony of his conduct, has recorded his character as a traitor and poltroon. Now was reversed the scene that took place when New York was invaded by Nichols. The English inhabitants prepared to defend themselves, and offered their assistance to Manning; but he obstructed their preparations, rejected their aid, and, on the first intelligence of the enemy's approach, struck his flag, before their vessels were even in sight. As the Dutch fleet advanced, his garrison could not forbear to demonstrate their readiness to fight; but, in a transport of fear, he forbade a gun to be fired, under pain of death; and surrendered the place unconditionally to the invaders.* The moderation of the conquerors, however, showed them worthy of their success; and, hastening to assure all the citizens of the security of their rights and possessions, they inspired the Dutch colonists with triumph, and left the English no cause of resentment but against their pusillanimous commander. The same moderation being tendered to the other districts of the province, on condition of their sending deputies to swear allegiance to the States General, the inclinations of one party, and the fears of the other, induced the whole to submit; the Dutch dominion was restored, still more suddenly than it had been overthrown; and the name of New Netherlands once more revived. But neither the triumph of the one party, nor the mortification of the other, was destined to have a long endurance.

Great was the consternation that these events excited in the adjoining colonies of the English. The government of Connecticut, with astonishing absurdity, sent a deputation to the Dutch admirals, to remonstrate against their usurpation of dominion over the territory of England, and the property of her subjects; to desire them to explain the meaning of their conduct, and their further intentions; and to warn them, that the united colonies of New England were intrusted with the defence of their sovereign's dominions in America, and would be faithful to their trust. To this ridiculous application, the Dutch commanders returned a soldierlike answer, expressing their surprise at the terms of it, but declaring that they were commissioned by their country to do all the damage in their power to her enemies by sea and land; and that, while they applauded the fidelity of the English colonies to their sovereign, they would imitate so good an example, and endeavor to approve themselves not less zealous and faithful in the service of the States General. The most active preparations for war were forthwith made in Connecticut and the other confederated colonies: but as each party stood on the defensive, awaiting the invasion of the other, only a few insignificant skirmishes had taken place, when the arrival of winter suspended military operations. Early in the following spring, [1674] the controversy was terminated without further bloodshed, by the intelligence of the treaty of peace concluded at London, and of the restoration of New York to the English, by virtue of a general stipulation, that whatsoever countries might have been taken during the war, should be restored to the power that had possessed them at its commencement.

The events of this war, both in Europe and America, were attended with important consequences to that portion of the North American population that derived its origin from Holland. The elevation to the dignity of Stadtholder, which the Prince of Orange had now derived from the fear and danger of his countrymen, and from their desire to propitiate the king of England, paved the way to his advancement to the English throne, and consequently to a reign under which the Dutch colonists, though disunited from Holland, ceased to regard the British sovereignty as a foreign domination. The effectual re-conquest of the province by the Dutch arms, and the final cession of it to England, by a pacific and conventional arrangement, cured the wound that had been inflicted by the injustice of England's original acquisition. Many of the Dutch colonists, besides, apprehensive of molestation, or, at least, despairing of favor from a government whose suspension had excited their undisguised triumph, were the more readily induced to follow their former companions, who had emigrated to Carolina; and this dispersion of the Dutch tended at once to promote their friendly association with the English, and to divest New York of a distinctive character which might have obstructed the harmony between her and the other provinces, with which she was now to be for ever united.

The Duke of York, understanding that some doubts had been suggested of the validity of his original grant, which had been executed while the Dutch government was in peaceable possession of the country, and which, even though originally valid, seemed to have been vacated by the intervening conquest, thought it prudent to remedy this defect, and signalise the resumption of his proprietary functions by obtaining a new patent. This deed, which was readily granted to his solicitation, recited and confirmed the former grant of the province. It empowered him to govern the inhabitants "by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish; and to administer justice according to the laws of England, with the admission of an appeal to the king in council. It prohibited all persons from trading thither without his permission; and, though it allowed the colonists to import merchandises, it subjected them to payment of customs, according to the laws of the realm. Under the authority of this charter, the duke continued to rule the province (diminished however by the New Jersey territory which he had previously assigned to others) till his proprietary right was merged in his regal title. It seems at first sight not a little surprising, that neither in this nor in the former charter of the territory, did the brother of the king obtain a grant of the same extraordinary powers and privileges that had been previously conferred on the proprietaries of Maryland and Carolina. But relying on the greatness of his connexion and his prospects, the duke was probably very little solicitous to share the dignities and immunities which these other proprietaries had procured for themselves; and, while as counts-palatine they exercised every act of government in their own names, he contented himself with ruling his territory in the name of the king. The misfortunes and evident incapacity of Lovelace precluded his reappointment to the office of governor, which was conferred on Edmund Andros, a man who disgraced superior talents by the unprincipled zeal and activity with which he rendered them subservient to the arbitrary designs of a tyrant. [18] This officer, whose subsequent proceedings in New England have already introduced him to our acquaintance, now commenced that career in America which has gained him so conspicuous a place in the annals of almost every one of her states for twenty years after this period. He was ordered to disturb no man's estate while he received possession of the province from the Dutch, and to distribute justice in the king's name according to the forms that had been observed by his predecessors. But in order to raise a revenue and defray the expenses of government, a great variety of rates were at the same time imposed by the sole authority of the duke; and one Dyer was appointed the collector of these odious and unconstitutional impositions.

The duke, in his instructions to Andros, had recommended to him the exercise of gentleness and humanity; but his selection of him to administer the more arbitrary policy which he now began to pursue towards the colonists, gave more reason to suppose that the admonition was necessary than that it would prove effectual: and accordingly the new governor had not been long in the province, when, besides embroiling

* The elevation that had been projected for the Prince of Orange, in particular, was defeated; the states engaging to bestow a considerable appointment upon him when he should attain the age of twenty-two, but declaring their determination not to make him stadholder. Sir William Temple's Works (folio), vol. i. p. 74.

† From his monument in Ampthill church, Bedfordshire, it appears that Nichols was killed on board the Duke of York's ship in an engagement with the Dutch in 1672. Within the pediment is fixed the cannon-ball that killed him, surmounted by this inscription: Instrumentum mortis et immortalitatis.

‡ A feeble attempt was made, indeed, in the year 1669, by one Coningsmarke, a Swede, to excite an insurrection of his countrymen in the Delaware territory against the English. The attempt was defeated without bloodshed, and Coningsmark was commanded to be sent as a slave to Barbadoes. Samuel Smith's Hist. of New Jersey, p. 53, 54.

* Manning, after all this extraordinary and unaccountable conduct, had the impudence to repair to England; whence he returned, or was sent back, when the province was again given up by the Dutch in the following year. He was then tried by court martial on a charge of treachery and cowardice, expressed in the strongest and most revolting terms. Confessing this charge to be true, he received a sentence almost as extraordinary as his conduct: "that though he deserved death, yet because he had since the surrender been in England, and seen the king and the duke, it was adjudged that his sword should be broke over his head in public, before the city hall, and himself rendered incapable of wearing a sword, and of serving his majesty for the future in any public trust." Smith, p. 42, 43. The old maxim that was respected on this occasion, that grace is dispensed by the mere look of a king, was denied a few years after to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth.

himself with the neighboring government of Connecticut, he excited the murmurs and remonstrances of the magistrates, the clergy, and the whole body of the people. The pressure of the arbitrary rates, suggesting especially to the settlers in Long Island the benefit of a representative assembly, they began at length to broach this proposition as a matter of constitutional right; but these first emotions of liberty were checked by Andros, with a vigor and decision for which he received the thanks of his master. A Dutch clergyman, named Renslaer, who had been recommended by the duke to the patronage of Andros, proved unacceptable to the people, and was punished by the magistrates of Albany for some language that was deemed improper. The governor interfered with his usual energy in the dispute, and having first loaded with insult a popular clergyman, whom Renslaer considered his rival, proceeded to adjudge all the magistrates to find bail to answer Renslaer's complaints, to the extent of 5,000*l.* each, and threw Leisler, one of their number, into prison for refusing to comply. But finding that he had, on this occasion, stretched his authority farther than he could support it, he was compelled to recede barely in time to prevent a tumult that might have dissolved the government. Apparently somewhat daunted with this defeat, he conducted himself with greater regard to prudence, and was able for a while to lead a quiet administration; but the seeds of popular discontent had been sown, and a strong desire for more liberal institutions took silent but vigorous root in the colony. This disposition, which the contagious vicinity of liberty in New England doubtless tended to keep alive, was fomented by a measure to which the governor resorted, to supply the inadequate returns from the colonial rates; [1676] the practice of soliciting pecuniary *benevolences* from the various communities and townships within his jurisdiction. This *badge of bad times*, as a colonial historian has termed it, is sometimes the promoter of those rights which it attacks indirectly and yet strongly suggests. In the close of the following year [1677] Andros was compelled to pay a visit to England, in order to obtain farther instructions adapted to the new scene that was about to open.

The revenue which the Duke of York had imposed on the province, had been limited to the duration of three years; and as this period was on the point of expiring, the interest both of the government and the people was fixed on the issue to which this emergency would lead. The people anxiously hoped that the very inadequacy of the present system of finance would induce their proprietary to consent to the desires they had expressed, and to seek the improvement of his revenue from the establishment of a representative assembly. But the duke was obstinately determined against this measure; and thought that he made a sufficient sacrifice to the advantage of the colonists, by simply enacting that the former rates should continue for three years longer. [1678] When Andros returned to his government with this unwelcome edict, the province was pervaded by universal discontent; and when a new edict, in the following year, [1679] announced an increase of the tax on the importation of liquors, the public indignation was expressed so vehemently, and so many complaints were transmitted to England, that the duke, in much surprise, recalled his governor to give an account of an administration that plainly appeared to be universally odious. [1680] This prince was determined that his subjects should be enslaved, and at the same time very willing that they should be happy;* and seeing no incompatibility between these circumstances, he supposed the more readily that Andros might have committed some enormities unconnected with his official functions, and called him home to ascertain if he had really so discredited legitimate tyranny. The inquiry, as might be expected, terminated in the honorable acquittal of the governor, who proved that he had committed no breach of trust; that he had merely evinced a temper suitable to his arbitrary functions, and enforced his master's orders with the rigor that was necessary to carry such obnoxious measures into execution. But circumstances which occurred in the colony, during the absence of Andros, determined the duke to forbear for the present to re-employ so unpopular an officer, or to risk his own authority in a farther contest with the desires of the people, till his hand should be strengthened by the grasp of a sceptre.

Dyer, the collector of the revenue, had continued ever since his appointment to perform his functions with great odium, but little opposition. Latterly, however, the people had begun to question the lawfulness no less than the liberality of a system of taxation originating with the duke alone; and when they learned that their doubts were sanctioned by the opinions of the most eminent lawyers in England, their indignation broke forth with a violence that had nearly transported them to the commission of injustice still more outrageous than the wrongs they complained of. They accused Dyer of high treason, for having collected taxes without the authority of law; and the local magistrates seconding the popular rage, appointed a special court to try him on this absurd and unwarrantable charge. It was pretended that although he had not committed any one of the offences specified in the statute of treasons, yet it was lawful to subject him to the penalties of this statute, for the ancient and exploded crime of *encroaching power*;—one of those vague and unintelligible charges, which it had been the very purpose of the statute to abolish. But reason and humanity returned in the short interval between the impeachment and the trial: and when the prisoner demanded to know how his judges came to be invested with their functions, and if they did not act under an authority derived from the same prince, whose commission he himself enjoyed, the court interposed to suspend farther proceedings in the colony, and ordered him to be sent with an accuser to England. [1681] He was of course discharged immediately after his arrival; and no accuser thought proper to appear against him. But if this prosecution was any thing more than a bold undesigning expression of popular displeasure and impatience, it completely effected the farthest purposes of its promoters; and to their spirited though irregular measures, New York was indebted for the overthrow of an odious despotism, and her first experience of systematic liberty. While the duke regarded with astonishment the violent proceeding by which his collector had nearly perished as a traitor, and had been banished from the colony without a voice being raised in his favor, he was assailed with expressions of the same sentiments that had produced this violence, in a more constitutional, and therefore, perhaps, more disagreeable shape. The governor's council, the court of assizes, and the corporation of the city of New York, concurred with the whole body of the inhabitants in soliciting the duke to permit the people to participate in the legislative power; and while their conduct enabled him to interpret these addresses into a formal declaration that they would no longer continue to pay taxes without possessing an assembly, he was given to understand, by his confidential advisers, that the laws of England would support them in this pretension. Overcome by the united force of all these circumstances, and not yet advanced to the height whence he was afterwards enabled to regard the suggestion of legal obstructions with a smile,* the duke first paused in his arbitrary career, and then gave a reluctant and ungracious assent to the demands of the colonists. Directions were sent to the deputy-governor on whom the administration had devolved in the absence of Andros, "to keep things quiet at New York in the mean time;" and shortly after, [1682] it was intimated to him that the duke could condescend to grant the desires of the people on condition of their raising money sufficient for the support of government, and of the principal inhabitants consenting to grant a written engagement that this should be done. At length, after wavering a little longer between fear and aversion, the duke gave notice of his final determination to establish in New York the same frame of government that the other colonies enjoyed, and particularly a representative assembly. The governor whom he nominated to conduct the new administration was Colonel Dongan, afterwards Earl of Limerick, a man of integrity, moderation, and agreeable manners, and, though a professed papist, which perhaps was his chief passport to the duke's favor, yet in the main acceptable, and justly so, to a people who regarded popery with suspicion and dislike. The instructions that were communicated to Dongan, required him to convoke an assembly, which was to consist of a council of ten, and a house of representatives, not exceeding eighteen, to be elected by the freeholders. Like the other provincial legislatures, this body was empowered to make laws for the people, under the requisition of conformity to the general jurisprudence of the empire, and of subjection to the assent or dissent of the proprietary. Thus the inhabitants of New York, after being treated as a conquered people for nearly twenty years, and governed by the arbitrary will of the Duke of York and his deputies, were promoted by their own spirit and vigor to a participation in legislative rights; and by a singular coincidence obtained a free constitution at the very time when their old rivals, the colonists of New England, were deprived of it. Nothing could be more acceptable to them than this interesting change; and the ardent gratitude of their acknowledgments expressed much more justly their sense of the benefit, than the merit of their nominal benefactor.

The most interesting monument of the tyrannical administration which was thus suspended, is a report prepared by Andros, in reply to certain inquiries of the English committee of colonies in the year 1678; from which, and from a similar communication by the municipality of New York to the board of trade a few years after, some insight may be obtained into the condition of the province about this period. The city of New York, in 1678, appears to have contained 3,430 inhabitants, and to have owned no larger navy than three ships, eight sloops, and seven boats. No account appears to have been collected of the population of the whole province, which contained twenty-four towns, villages, or parishes. About fifteen vessels, on an average, traded yearly to the port of New York, importing English manufactures to the value of 50,000*l.* and exporting the productions of the colony, which consisted of land produce of all sorts, among which are particularised beef, pease, lumber, tobacco,* peltry procured from the Indians, and 60,000 bushels of wheat. Of servants the number was small, and they were much wanted. Some unfrequent and inconsiderable importations of slaves were made from Barbadoes: and there were yet but very few of these unfortunate beings in the colony. Agriculture was more generally followed than trade. A trader worth 1,000*l.*, or even 500*l.*, was considered a substantial merchant; and a planter worth half that sum in moveables was accounted rich. All the estates in the province were valued at 150,000*l.* "Ministers," says Andros, "are scarce, and religions many." The duke maintained a chaplain at New York; which was the only certain endowment of the church of England. There were about twenty churches or meeting places, of which half were vacant. All districts were liable by law to the obligation of building churches and providing for ministers, whose emoluments varied from 40*l.* to 70*l.* a year, with the addition of a house and garden. But the presbyterians and independents, who formed the most numerous and substantial portion of the inhabitants, were the only classes who showed much willingness to procure and support their ministers. Marriages were allowed to be solemnized either by ministers or by justices of the peace. There were no beggars in the province; and the poor, who were few, were well taken care of. The number of the militia amounted to 2,000; comprehending 140 horsemen; and a standing company of soldiers was maintained, with gunners and other officers for the forts of Albany and New York. Such was the condition of the province about four years preceding the period at which we have now arrived. Four years after (in 1686,) it was found to have improved so rapidly, that the shipping of New York amounted to ten three masted vessels, twenty sloops, and a few ketches of intermediate bulk. The militia had also increased to 4,000 foot, 300 horse, and a company of dragoons. The augmentation of inhabitants, indicated by this increase of military force, appears the more considerable, when we keep in view, that some time prior to this last mentioned period, the Delaware territory had been partly surrendered to Lord Baltimore, and partly assigned to William Penn.

* Such were also the sentiments of Charles the Second. Sir William Temple, who conversed intimately with him, says that he wished that every body should be easy, "and would have been glad to see the least of his subjects pleased." Works, vol. i. p. 449. Yet when Temple and others entreated him to alleviate the misery of the Scotch, by restraining the bloody hands of the duke of Lauderdale, they found it utterly impossible to prevail. Ib. 336. Lauderdale's conduct, indeed, at one time underwent a similar scrutiny to that which we have seen Andros abide. The result was nearly the same: the king (says Bishop Burnet) declaring, after a full inquiry, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has acted any thing contrary to my interest."

* See ante, B. II. cap. 5. One might almost be tempted to suspect Chalmers of an intention to satirize the duke by extravagance of unmerited praise, when he suggests as the reason for his acquiescence on this occasion, that "the continued adversity which had so long embittered his life, made him regard the rights and feel for the sufferings of others."

* Denton states that the New York tobacco was considered equal in quality to the finest produce of Maryland, p. 3.

CHAPTER II.

Colonel Dongan's Administration—Account of the Five Indian Nations of Canada—Their Hostility to the French—Missionary Labors of the French Jesuits—James the Second assumes the Liberties of New York—commands Dongan to abandon the Five Nations to the French—Andros again appointed Governor—War between the French and the Five Nations—Discontents at New York—Leisler declares for King William, and assumes the Government—The French attack the Province, and burn Schenectady—Arrival of Governor Sloughter—Perplexity of Leisler—his Trial—and Execution—Wars and mutual Cruelties of the French and Indians—Governor Fletcher's Administration—Peace of Ryswick—Piracy at New York—Captain Kidd—Factions occasioned by the Fate of Leisler—Trial of Bayard—Corrupt and oppressive Administration of Lord Cornbury—State of the Colony at the Close of the Seventeenth Century.

Colonel Dongan did not arrive at the seat of his government till a year after the date of his appointment; [1683.] a delay which appears to have created some uneasiness, and was probably beneficial to the people, in affording time for the first ardor of an ill-merited loyalty to cool, and suggesting the precautions for preserving liberty that should signalise the first opportunity of exercising it. To relieve the public apprehensions, the governor proceeded at once to issue writs to the sheriffs, to convene the freeholders, for the purpose of electing their representatives in the assembly; and this legislative body soon afterwards held its first meeting at New York, to the great satisfaction of the whole province. One of the first ordinances which it framed naturally arose from the mixture of nations of which the population was composed, and was an act of general naturalization, securing and extending equal privileges to all. From this period the Dutch and English at New York were firmly compacted into one national body. They saw the daughter of their common proprietary married to the Stadtholder of Holland, and willingly cemented their own union by frequent intermarriage and the ties of consanguinity. There was passed, at the same time, an act declaring the liberties of the people, and one for defraying the requisite charges of government for a limited time. These, with a few other laws regulating the internal economy of the province, and, in particular, enacting its division into counties, were transmitted to the Duke of York, and received his confirmation, as proprietary, in the following year. [1684] An amicable treaty, which the governor effected, about the same time, with the provincial authorities of Connecticut, terminated, at length the long-subsisting dispute with regard to the boundaries of Connecticut and New York.

But the administration of Colonel Dongan was chiefly distinguished by the attention which he bestowed upon Indian affairs, and by the increasing influence which now began to be exerted on the fortunes of the province by the state of its relations with the tribes composing the celebrated confederacy of The Five Nations of Canada. This federal association is said to have derived its origin from the most remote antiquity; and, as the name imports, it comprehended five Indian nations, of which the Mohawks have obtained the most lasting name, and which were united on terms of the strictest equality, in a perpetual alliance, for united conquest and mutual defence. The members of this united body reckoned themselves superior to all the rest of mankind, and the distinctive appellation which they adopted* was expressive of this opinion. But the principles of their confederacy display far more policy and refinement than we might expect from the arrogance of their barbarous name. They had embraced the Roman maxim, of increasing their strength by incorporating the people of other nations with themselves After every conquest of an enemy, when they had indulged their revenge by some cruel executions, they exercised their usual policy in the adoption of the remaining captives; and frequently with so much advantage, that some of their most distinguished sachems and captains were derived from defeated and adopted foes. Each nation had its own separate republican constitution, in which rank and office were claimed only by age, procured only by merit, and enjoyed by the tenure of public esteem; and each was divided into three tribes, bearing respectively for their ensigns, and distinguished by the names of, the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. In no community was age graced with more respect, or youth endowed with greater beauty. Such was the efficacy of their mode of life in developing the fine proportions of which the human frame is susceptible, that, when the statue of the Apollo Belvidere was beheld, for the first time, by the American Apelles, Benjamin West, he started at the unexpected recognition, and exclaimed, "How like it is to a young Mohawk warrior." The people of the several nations, and especially the Mohawks, were distinguished by the usual Indian qualities of attachment to liberty, fortitude in the endurance of pain, and preference of craft and stratagem to undisguised operation in war,* and by a more than usual degree of perseverance, resolution and active intrepidity. Almost all the tribes around this people, and even many at a great distance, who were not included in their confederacy, acknowledged a subjection to it, paid a tribute, which two aged sachems were annually deputed to collect,† and were restrained from making war or peace without the consent of the Five Nations. It was the policy of all the chiefs to affect superior poverty, and to distribute among the people the whole of their own share of tribute and plunder. All matters of common concernment were transacted in general meetings of the sachems of each nation: and the influence of time, aided by a long course of judicious policy and victorious enterprise, had completely succeeded in causing the federal character and sentiments to prevail over the peculiarities of their subordinate national associations. In the year 1677, the confederacy possessed 2150 fighting men. When the Tuscorora tribe was vanquished, as we have seen, at a subsequent period, and expelled from its territory by the colonists of Carolina, the fugitives proposed, and were permitted, to revive their broken estate by engrafting it on this powerful confederacy; and as (in consequence of a supposition derived from similarity of language, of their original derivation from the same stock to which they now returned), they were associated as a new member of the general union, instead of being intermingled with any particular portion of it, the confederacy soon after obtained the name of the Six Nations. Both the French and the English writers, who have treated of the character or affairs of this people, have concurred in describing them as at once the most judicious and politic of the native powers, and the most fierce and formidable of the native inhabitants of America. There was only wanting to their fame, that literary celebration which they obtained too soon from the neighborhood of a race of civilized men, who were destined to eclipse, and finally extinguish, their greatness; and particularly from the pen of a highly-accomplished writer, Cadwalader Colden, one of the governors of New York, they have received the same historic service which his own barbarian ancestors derived from the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus.

When the French settled in Canada, in the beginning of this century, they found the Five Nations engaged in a bloody war with the powerful tribe of *Adirondacks;* in which, after having been themselves so severely pressed, that they were driven from their possessions round Montreal, and forced to seek an asylum on the south-east coast of Lake Ontario, the Five Nations had latterly succeeded in gaining a decided advantage, and had in turn constrained their enemies to abandon their lands situated above the *Three Rivers*, and fly for safety behind the strait where Quebec was built. The tide of success, however, was suddenly turned by the arrival of Champlain, who conducted the French colony, and who naturally joined the Adirondacks, because he had settled on their lands. The conduct, the bravery, and espicially the fire-arms, of these new allies of the enemy, proved an overmatch for the skill and intrepidity of the Five Nations, who were defeated in several battles, and reduced to the greatest distress. It was at this critical juncture that the first Dutch ship arrived in Hudson's river, with the colonists who established themselves at Albany. The Five Nations, easily procuring from these neighbors a supply of that species of arms to which alone their enemies had been indebted for their superiority, revived the war with such impetuosity and success, that the nation of the Adirondacks was completely annihilated; and the French too late discovered, that they had espoused the fortunes of the weaker people.‡ Hence originated the mutual dread and enmity that so long subsisted between the French and the confederated Indians, and entailed so many calamities upon both. The French, less accustomed to the climate, and less acquainted with the country, than their savage enemies, attempted vainly to imitate their rapid and secret expeditions. A party despatched in the winter of 1665, by Courcelles, the governor of Canada, to attack the Five Nations, lost their way among wastes of snow, and after enduring the greatest misery, arrived, without knowing where they were, at the village of Schenectady, near Albany, which a Dutchman of consideration, named Corlear,* had recently founded. The French, exhausted and stupified with cold and hunger, recembled rather an army of beggars than of hostile invaders, and would have fallen an easy prey to a body of Indians who were in the village, if Corlear, touched with compassion at their miserable appearance, had not employed both influence and artifice with the Indians, to persuade them to spare their unfortunate enemies, and depart to defend their own people against a more formidable attack in a different quarter, which he led them to expect. When the Indians were gone, Corlear and his townsmen brought refreshments to the famishing Frenchmen, and supplied them with provisions and other necessaries to carry them home: having taught them by a sensible lesson, that it is the mutual duty of men to mitigate by kindness and charity, instead of aggravating by ambition and ferocity, the ills that arise from the rigors of nature, and the frailty of humanity. The French governor expressed much gratitude for Corlear's kindness, and the Indians never resented his benevolent stratagem: but their mutual warfare continued unabated. At length, after a long period of severe but indecisive hostilities, both parties, wearied of war, but not exhausted of animosity, agreed to a general peace, which was concluded in the year 1667, and had subsisted ever since without any considerable interruption, at the period when Colonel Dongan was made governor of New York.

Of the relation that subsisted between the Dutch and the Five Nations, only confused and uncertain accounts have been preserved. The writers who have asserted that the Dutch were continually in close alliance and friendship with the Indians, seem to have derived their statements entirely from their own ideas of what was probable, and to have mistaken for an expression of particular friendship, the indiscriminate readiness of the Dutch to traffic with friend or foe. It is certain that at one time they were engaged in a bloody war with the Indians; though with what particular tribes, there are no means of ascertaining; and that during Stuyvesant's administration they enjoyed a peace with them, of which the benefit was transmitted to the English. When Colonel Nichols assumed the government of New York, he entered into a friendly treaty with the Five Nations; which, however, till the arrival of Dongan, seems to have been productive of no farther connexion than an extensive commercial intercourse, in which the Indians supplied the English with peltry in return for arms and ammunition, of the use of which, as long as they were not employed against themselves, the venders were entirely, and, as it proved, unfortunately, regardless. The Indians adhered to the treaty with strict fidelity; but always showed a scrupulous niceness in exacting the demonstrations of respect due to an independent people; and in particular when any of their forces had occasion to pass near the English forts, they expected to be saluted with military honors. In the mean time the French Canadians were not remiss in availing themselves of their deliverance from the hostilities of these formidable Indians. They advanced their settlements along the river St. Lawrence, and in the year 1672 built Fort Frontignac on its north-west bank, where it rushes from the vast parent waters of Ontario. With a policy proportioned to the vigor of their advances, they filled the Indian settlements with their missionaries, who laboring with great activity and success, multiplied converts to their doctrines, and allies to their countrymen. The praying Indians, as the French termed their converts, were either neutral, or, more frequently, their auxiliaries in war. The Jesuits preached not to their Indian auditors the doctrines that most deeply wound the pride of human nature, nor a lofty morality which the conduct of the bulk of its nominal professors practically denies and disgraces. They required of their converts but a superficial change; an embracement of one superstition in place of ano-

* "Ongue-honwe"—that is, "Men surpassing all others."

* In this peculiarity most of the Indian tribes resembled the ancient Spartans; as they did also in the diligence with which they cultivated conciseness of speech.

† "I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under, while those two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket, and dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator." Colden, i. 4.

‡ To amuse the French, the Five Nations, at one time, sent them a proposal of peace, to which the French readily inclining, requested them to receive a deputation of Jesuits, whose exertions, they expected, would sincerely conciliate their friendship. The Five Nations willingly agreed, and desired to see the priests immediately; but the instant they got hold of them, they marched to attack the Indian allies of the French, and taking the priests with them as hostages, to enforce the neutrality of their countrymen, gave the Adirondacks a signal defeat. Colden, i. 25.

* This man enjoyed great influence with the Indians, who, after his death, always addressed the governors of New York with the title of Corlear, as the name most expressive of respect that they could employ. Colden, i. 32.

ther; and they entertained their senses, and impressed their imaginations, by a ceremonial at once picturesque and mysterious. Yet as, from the weakness of man, an admixture of error is inseparable from the best system of doctrine, so, from the goodness of God, a ray of truth is found to pervade even the worst. The instructions of the Jesuits, from which the lineaments of christianity were not wholly obliterated, may have contributed, in some instances, to form the divine image in the minds of the Indians; and the good seed, unchoked by the tares, may, in some places, have sprung up to everlasting life. The moral and domestic precepts contained in the Scriptures were communicated, in some instances, with a happy effect: and various congregations of Indian converts were persuaded by the Jesuits to build villages in Canada in the same style as the French colonists, to adopt European husbandry, and to renounce spirituous liquors. The visible separation of the catholic priests from the family of mankind, by a superstitious renunciation of conjugal and parental ties, gave no small sacredness to their character, and a strong prevailing power to their addresses. In the discharge of what they conceived their duty, their courage and perseverance were equalled only by their address and activity. They had already compassed sea and land to make proselytes, and the threats of death and torture could not deter them from executing their commission. Many of them, though commanded to depart, continued to remain among tribes that were at war with their countrymen; and some of them, on the principle of becoming all things to all men, embraced Indian habits of living. One of these last, established himself so firmly in the affections of one of the tribes of the Five Nations, that although they continued faithful to the national enmity against the French, they adopted him as a brother, and elected him a sachem. With such industry, resolution, and insinuation, did the French Jesuits exert themselves to recommend their faith and their country to the affections of the Indians. The French laity, too, and especially their civil and military officers and soldiery, succeeded better than the generality of the English, in recommending themselves to the good graces of the savages. French vanity was productive of more politeness and accommodation* than English pride; and even the displeasure that the French sometimes excited by the commission of injuries, was less intolerable than the provocation that the English too frequently inspired by a display of insolence. The stubborn disposition of the English was best fitted to contend with the obstructions of nature; the pliancy and vivacity of the French, to prevail over the jealousy of the natives. There were as yet no protestant missions in this quarter of America, which, in the following century, some New England clergymen, aided by a religious society in Scotland, were destined to illustrate by noble and successful exertions of missionary labor.

Colonel Dongan, who was not, like his predecessors, encumbered with a monopoly of all the functions of government, nor absorbed in struggles with popular discontent, had leisure for a wider survey of the state of his countrymen's relations with the Indians, and very soon discovered that the peace which was so advantageous to the French Canadian colonists, by enabling them to extend their fortifications and their commerce over a vast extent of country, was productive of severe inconvenience to some of the colonies of Britain, and threatened serious danger to them all. The Five Nations, inflamed by their passion for war, and finding a pretext for its gratification in the recollection of numerous insults that had been offered to them in the season of their adversity, had turned their arms southward, and conquered the country from the Mississippi to the borders of Carolina; exterminating numerous tribes and nations in their destructive progress. Many of the Indian allies of Virginia and Maryland sustained their attacks; and these colonies themselves were frequently involved in hostilities both in defence of their allies, and in defence of themselves against allies incensed by discovering that their invaders derived their means of annoying them from the English at New York. But this year, Colonel Dongan, in conjunction with Lord Effingham, the governor of Virginia, concluded with the Five Nations a definitive treaty of peace, embracing all the English settlements, and all tribes in alliance with them. Hatchets, proportioned to the numbers of the English colonists, were solemnly buried in the ground; and the arms of the Duke of York, as the acknowledged supreme head of the English and Indian confederacy, were suspended along the frontiers of the territories of the Five Nations.† This treaty was long inviolably adhered to; and the fidelity of its observance was powerfully aided by a renewal of hostilities between the Five Nations and their ancient enemies the French. It was at this time that the merchants of New York first adventured on the great lakes to the westward, hoping to participate in the trade which the French were carrying on with much profit in that quarter, and which they endeavored to guard from invasion by prejudicing the Indians against the English, and by every art that seemed likely to obstruct the advances of their rivals. Dongan perceiving the disadvantages to which his countrymen were exposed, solicited the English ministry to take measures for preventing the French from navigating the lakes which belonged to the Five Nations, and, consequently, as he apprehended, to England. But he was informed that it was preposterous to ask, or expect, that France would command her subjects to desist from an advantageous commerce for the benefit of their rivals; and he was directed rather by acts of kindness and courtesy to encourage the Indians to retain their adherence to England, and to make it the interest of all the tribes to trade with the English in preference to the French; observing withal such prudence as might prevent offence to European neighbors. So far were these views from being realised, that from this time there commenced a series of disputes between the two nations, which for the greater part of a century engaged them in continual wars and hostile intrigues that threatened the destruction of their colonial settlements, cost the lives of many of the European colonists, and wasted the blood, and prolonged the barbarism, of those unfortunate Indians who were involved in the vortex of their hostility.

1685.] On the death of Charles the Second, the Duke of York ascended his brother's throne, and the province of which he had been proprietary devolved, with all its dependencies, on the crown. The people of New York received, with improvident exultation, the accounts of their proprietary's advancement to royalty, and proclaimed him as their sovereign with the liveliest demonstrations of attachment and respect. They had been for some time past soliciting with much eagerness a formal grant of the constitution that was now established among them; and the duke had not only promised to gratify them in this particular, but had actually proceeded so far as to sign a patent in conformity with their wishes, which, at his accession to the throne, required only some trivial solemnity to render it complete and irrevocable. But James, though he could not pretend to forget, was not ashamed to violate, as King of England, the promise which he had made when Duke of York; and a calm and unblushing refusal was now returned to the renewed solicitations of all the incorporated bodies, and the great bulk of the inhabitants of the province. Determined to establish the same arbitrary system in New York which he designed for New England, so far from conferring new immunities, he withdrew what had been formerly conceded. [1686.] In the second year of his reign he invested Dongan with a new commission, empowering him, with consent of a council, to enact the laws, and impose the taxes; and commanding him to suffer *no printing press to exist*. Though he now sent Andros to New England, he paused a while before he ventured to restore the authority of that obnoxious governor in New York. But the people beheld in his appointment to govern the colonies in their neighborhood, an additional indication of their princes character and their own danger, and with impatient discontent† endured a yoke which they were unable to break, and which they were prevented from exhibiting to public odium, and English sympathy, through the medium of the press.

Dongan, having been a soldier all his life, seems to have been fitted rather by habit to regard with indifference, than by disposition to enforce with rigor, a system of arbitrary power; and, accordingly, the remainder of his administration, though less favorable to his popularity, was not discreditable to his character, which continued to evince the same moderation, and the same regard to the public weal, as before. Though a Roman catholic, he had beheld with alarm, and resisted with energy, the intrusion of the French priests into the settlements of the Five Nations; and even when his bigoted master was persuaded by the court of France to command him to desist from thus obstructing the progress of popish conversion, he continued nevertheless to warn his Indian allies, that the admission of the Jesuits among them would prove fatal to their own interests, and to their friendship with the English. He still insisted that the French should not treat with the Indians in alliance with his colony, without his privity and intervention: but the French court again employed their interest with his master, and he accordingly received orders to depart from this pretension. The Five Nations, however, seemed more likely to need the assistance of his forces than the suggestions of his policy. Their untutored sagacity had long perceived what the ministers of the court of England were not skilful enough to discern, that the extensive projects of France both threatened themselves with subjugation, and involved, to the manifold disadvantage of the English colonies, a diminution of their trade, and a removal of the powerful barrier that still separated them from the rival settlement of Canada. The treaty that excluded the Five Nations from hostile expeditions against the more distant tribes allied to the other English colonies, gave them leisure to attend with less distraction to their nearer interests; and finding themselves inconvenienced by the supplies which their numerous enemies derived from the French, they had of late chosen to consider this as a hostile act which they were entitled to chastise and obstruct, and had constantly attacked the Canadian traders who carried military stores to any tribe with whom they were at war. The French, under the conduct of two successive governors, De la Barre and Nouville, had vainly endeavored, partly by treaty and partly by force, to repress proceedings so injurious to their commerce, their reputation, and their political views; when Dongan perceiving that a war would probably ensue between the rivals and the allies of his countrymen, prevailed, by the most urgent entreaties, on the English court to invest him with authority to assist the Five Nations in the contest that menaced them. But the French ministers gaining information of these instructions, hastened to counteract them by a repetition of artifices which again proved successful. They had already more than once, by their hypocrisy and cunning, succeeded in outwitting the sincere bigotry of the English king; and they had now the address to conclude with him *a treaty of neutrality for America*, by which it was stipulated that neither party should give assistance to Indian tribes in their wars with the other. Armed with so many advantages, the French authorities in Canada resumed, with increased vigor, their endeavors to chastise by force, or debauch by intrigue, the Indian tribes who had preferred the English alliance to theirs; while Dongan was compelled to sacrifice the honor of his country to the mistaken politics of his master, and to abandon her allies to the hostility, and her barrier to the violation, of an insidious and enterprising rival. He could not, however, divest himself of the interest he felt in the fortunes of the Five Nations, and seized every opportunity of imparting to them advice no less prudent than humane, for the conduct of their enterprises, and the treatment of their prisoners. But his inability to fulfil former engagements, and afford them farther aid, greatly weakened the efficacy of his councils. Though the remonstrances of Dongan enabled the ministers of James to discover, in the following year, [1687] that the treaty of neutrality for America was prejudicial to the interests of England, it was impossible to prevent the king from renewing, in the close of the same year, this impolitic arrangement with France.

But the king had no intention of relinquishing his empire in America; and his mind, though strongly tinctured with bigotry, was not unsusceptible of politic views; though he seems rarely to have mingled these considerations together. As his bigotry had prompted him to give up the Indians to the French, his policy

* A curious instance of the complaisance of this people is related by Oldmixon (ii. 229), in his account of a tribe of savages who were greatly charmed with the good breeding of the French, in always appearing stark naked at their mutual conferences. Charlevoix boasts, that the French are the only European people who have ever succeeded in rendering themselves agreeable to the Indians. Whatever reason he may have had for this boast, he had no reason to glory in the means by which they courted popularity.

* When this treaty was renewed some years after, the sachem who acted as orator for the Indians thus addressed the colonial envoys. "We make fast the roots of the tree of peace and tranquillity, which is planted in this place. Its roots extend as far as the utmost of your colonies: if the French should come to shake this tree, we would feel it by the motion of its roots, which extend into our country." Colden, i. 109.

† So great was the change produced in the sentiments of the colonists by this change of treatment, that we find Dongan writing this year to the English ministry, "I wish for more fortifications, as the people every day grow more numerous, and are of a turbulent disposition." State Papers, apud Chalmers, 601. This censure seems to be as unjust as the retort which his own character experienced at the Revolution, when a body of the inhabitants denounced him as "a wicked popish governor."

now suggested the measure of uniting all his northern colonies in one government for their more effectual defence. It must be confessed, indeed, that he seems to have been at least as strongly prompted to this design by the desire of facilitating his own arbitrary government in the colonies, as by concern for their safety, or for the integrity of his dominions.* As his scheme included New York, and as he thought the people of this province now sufficiently prepared to abide the extremity of his will, he indulged the more readily the displeasure that Dongan had given him by obstructing the French Jesuits, which had been a subject of continual complaint from the court of France. The commission of this meritorious officer was accordingly superseded by a royal command to deliver up his charge to Sir Edmund Andros; and New York not only reverted to the dominion of its ancient tyrant, but beheld its existence as a separate province completely merged in its annexation to the government of New England. Andros remained at Boston as the metropolis of his jurisdiction; committing the administration of New York to Nicholson, his lieutenant-governor; [1688.] and though by the vigor of his remonstrances, and his reputation for ability, he compelled the French to suspend some encroachments which they were making or threatening to make on the English territories, he could lend no assistance to the Five Nations in the hostilities that were now carried on between them and the French with a mutual fury and ferocity that seemed totally to obliterate the distinction between civilized and savage men. The people of New York, deprived of their liberties, and mortified by their annexation to New England, felt themselves additionally ill used by the policy which compelled them to stand aloof and behold the fate of the allies to whom they had promised protection, together with their own most important interests suspended on the issue of a contest in which they were not suffered to take a share; while all the while their countrymen in the eastern part of New England were harassed by a dangerous Indian war which was believed on strong reasons to have been excited by the intrigues of the French. But though deserted by the English, the Five Nations maintained the struggle with an energy that promised the preservation of their independence, and finally with a success that excited hopes even of the subjugation of their civilized adversaries. Undertaking an expedition with twelve hundred of their warriors against Montreal, they conducted their march with such rapidity and secresy as to surprise the French in almost unguarded security. The suddenness and fury of their attack proved irresistible. They burned the town, sacked the plantations, put a thousand of the French to the sword, and carried away a number of prisoners whom they burned alive; returning to their friends with the loss of only three of their own number. It was now that the disadvantage arising from the neutrality of the English was most sensibly felt, both in the cruelties with which the Indians stained the triumphs they obtained, and which the influence of a humane ally might have contributed to moderate,† and also in the inability of the savages to improve their victories into lasting conquest. They strained every nerve indeed to follow up their advantage, and shortly after the attack on Montreal possessed themselves of the fort at Lake Ontario which the garrison in a panic abandoned to them; and being now reinforced by the desertion of numerous Indian allies of the French, they reduced every station that this people possessed in Canada to a state of the utmost terror and distress. Nothing could have saved the French from utter destruction but the ignorance which disabled the Indians from attacking fortified places; and it was evident to all that a single vigorous act of interposition by the English colonists would have sufficed to terminate for ever the rivalry of France and England in this quarter of the world.

1689.] While this war between the French and the Indians was prolonged by indecisive hostilities, a scene of the utmost importance was preparing to open at New York. A deep and general disaffection to the government prevailed there among all ranks of men; and as the public discontents had been for some time plainly gathering to a head, some violent convulsion was fearfully anticipated; and perhaps was suspended by divisions in sentiment arising from the different aspects in which the state of the times presented itself to different minds. To the wealthy and the discerning, the privation of liberty and the degradation of the province, appeared with justice the only public disadvantages which they had occasion to deplore, or were interested to remove. But a dread of popery had seized the minds of many of the poorer inhabitants, and not only diminished real and substantial evils in their esteem, but gone far to extinguish common sense in their understandings and common justice in their sentiments. The king's well known bigotry, his attempts to introduce popery in England, and his tyrannical suppression of liberty among themselves, inculcated this additional apprehension on their irritated minds; and the servile apostasy of some of the officers of government at New York, who endeavored to court royal favor by professing to adopt the king's religion, appeared strongly to confirm it. Some angry feelings that had been excited in the commencement of Colonel Dongan's administration were now seen to revive and at once augment and diversify the prevailing ferments. At that period, notwithstanding the exertions of a former governor to adjust the boundaries of property in Long Island, a great many disputes on this subject prevailed in the same quarter between different individuals and different townships; and on Dongan had devolved the thankless office of adjusting these controversies by judgments which could hardly fail to engender a great deal of enmity against him. In such cases it too commonly happens that the arbitrator by seeking to gratify both parties, disappoints them both, and is taxed on all sides with partiality; or that studying only to enforce strict justice, he excites extreme discontent in those whom his award both deprives of the property they had hoped to keep or gain, and stigmatizes as unjust and unreasonable men. Most men possess sufficient ingenuity to supply them with plausible reasons for imputing the disappointment of their expectations to the dishonesty of those who obstruct or withhold them: and disappointed litigants have in all ages been notorious for the vehemence and acrimony of their spleen.* A great many persons who accounted themselves wronged by Dongan's adjudications, had made no scruple to impute their disappointments to the darkness and obliquity of his popish understanding. They conceived a violent jealousy of popish designs, which the recollection of their wrongs preserved unimpaired by the lapse of time and the character of Dongan's administration. These feelings were revived and inflamed by recent events and appearances; the apostasy of some of the public officers confirmed the apprehensions of popery; and the painful stroke inflicted by the establishment of civil tyranny was chiefly felt as aggravating the smart of a former and totally different injury. This class of persons esteemed popery the most terrible feature in the aspect of the times, and themselves as eminent victims of popish persecution; and considered these as by far the fittest considerations to unite the general resentment, and justify its vindictive reaction.

While the minds of men were thus agitated by common resentment, but restrained from cordial union by difference of opinion and variety of apprehension, the public expectation was awakened and elevated by intelligence from Europe of the designs of the Prince of Orange. Yet no commotion had ensued, when the important tidings arrived of the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England, and of the successful insurrection at Boston which had terminated the government of Andros. Even the contagious ferment excited by this last intelligence might have subsided without producing an explosiou of poonlar violence, if the conduct of the local authorities of New York had not indicated an intention to resist, or at least a hesitation to concur with, the general revolution of the empire. Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, and his council, not only refrained from proclaiming William and Mary, but despatched a letter to governor Bradstreet, at Boston, commanding with haughty menace, the immediate release of Andros, and the suppression of the insurrectionary rabble* who had presumed to put him in confinement. Notwitstanding this demonstration of opposition to the revolution, the more reflecting part of the inhabitants clearly perceived that their local government must follow the fate of the rest of the empire, and were disposed calmly to wait for the spontaneous submission of Nicholson and his council to William and Mary, or the arrival of orders or help from Britain to reduce them. But the impatience of a considerable body of the people, and especially of those who were panic struck with the terrors of popery, could not abide this tedious issue, and was inflamed with the apprehension of some notable piece of craft from Nicholson and his associates in office.†

This party found a chief in Jacob Leisler, a man of eager headlong temper and narrow capacity, and whose zeal against popery and former ill treatment by Andros, seemed to designate him the proper leader of the opposition to the political and religious enemies of the province. He had already committed the first act of resistance, by refusing to pay customs on some goods he had imported, alleging that the collector was a papist, and that there was no legitimate government in the colony. Nicholson having begun to make preparations for defending the city against a foreign invasion, and summoned the trained bands to garrison the fort, a report was circulated that the papists were preparing to massacre the protestants; and Leisler, who commanded a company of the trained bands, instantly marched at the head of a detachment of this body, and making his way into the fort, assumed the command of it in defence of the protestant cause, and in attendance on the orders of the king and queen of England. The precautions of the late king had deprived the people and their leaders of the power of diffusing their sentiments by the agency of the press; but a written declaration was subscribed by Leisler and his followers, importing that, although they had suffered many grievances from "a wicked popish governor, Dongan," they would have patiently awaited redress from England, if the violence and oppression of Nicholson and the schemes of the papists had not forced them to take arms and secure the fort, which they were ready to deliver up to such protestant officer as the king and queen might send to receive it. Leisler, finding that at first he was not joined by any persons of consideration in the province, despatched a messenger to King William, and by negotiations with Massachusetts and Connecticut, succeeded in interesting the governments of these colonies on his side. But a report arising that an English fleet was approaching to assist the insurgents, they were instantly joined by all classes of people in New York; and Nicholson, afraid of sharing the fate of Andros, fled to England. Unfortunately for Leisler, the command which priority of resistance and the favor of the lower orders enabled him, his natural temper equally prompted him to retain, though surrounded by men who dreaded his violence and reluctantly submitted to his elevation. These new adherents had influence enough to cause a second proclamation to be issued, in which the unworthy censure on Dongan was omitted, and no stipulation whatever inserted as to the religion of the royal officer to whom the fort would be surrendered. It had been happy for all parties if the jealousy of Leisler's rivals had been satisfied with this wise and moderate control over his measures. But Courtlandt, the mayor of the city, Colonel Bayard, Major Shuyler, and a number of other gentlemen, unable to brook the superiority of a man whose rank and talents were inferior to their own, retired to Albany, and, seizing the fort there, declared that they held it for King William, and would maintain no connexion with Leisler. Each

* Chalmers's account of this project of the king and of the measures which it produced (wherever the subject engages his attention, but especially in cap. 16), is strangely erroneous. He quotes, as words used by the king in explanation of his views (p. 125), expressions employed by a different person, and not ascribed at all to the king (Hutchinson, i. 371). He asserts also that Andros made an advantageous peace for the Five Nations with the French. Here indeed he is so far supported by an author to whom incorrectness is very unusual, and who says merely that "the Mohawks made peace with the French under the influence of Sir Edmund" (Hutchinson, i. 370). But the fact is, that the Five Nations were at war with the French during the whole of Andros's administration: and so totally unconnected was he with their affairs, that neither Smith nor Colden was aware of his having ever been a second time governor of New York.

† The contrast which we have already witnessed in some of the Indian wars of the New England states, in their joint wars, [illegible] this a vain speculation. But the Five Nations were a [illegible] and intelligent race of beings than the Pequods and Narraghansets. Colonel Dongan, whom they greatly loved and respected (Colden, i. 53), might have moderated their ferocities by his example, as he frequently [illegible] attempted to do by his counsels.

* "May they be perpetually defeated in judicial controversies," was thought by the Greeks a curse worthy of being inserted in the denunciation they published against such as should violate the Amphictionic engagement. It is an observation of Thucydides that men are much more exasperated by a supposed injustice of which the benefit accrues to their equals, than by the most violent usurpation committed by their superiors.

* Chalmers, in strains of equal arrogance, imputes the subsequent proceedings at New York to the rabble of this place. But a country where beggary and dependence are unknown produces no class to which such an epithet can justly belong. The whole account he has given of the proceedings at this period is defaced by the grossest partiality.

† Thucydides thus characterizes the proceedings of the populace in one of the revolutions of Corcyra:—Such as had the least wit had the best success; for both their own defect and the subtlety of their adversaries putting them into a great fear to be overcome in words, or at least in premsidation by their enemy's great craft, they therefore went roundly to work with them with deeds. B. iii. Hobbes Translation. Hobbes' own summary of this passage and the context is, "In seditions and confusion, they that distrust their wits suddenly use their hands, and defeat the stratagems of the more subtle sort.

party now professed adherence to the same sovereign, and denounced the other as rebels to his authority. Leisler, though intrusted by the militia with the sole command, judged it prudent to associate some respectable citizens along with him in a station that was likely to prove so dangerous. Having fortified his own power by the appointment of a committee of safety at New York, he despatched his son-in-law, Milbourn, against the adverse faction at Albany. Courtlandt and his associates, burning with resentment, but averse to shed blood in such a quarrel, were relieved from their perplexity by a hostile irruption of French and Indians, [1690] which, by the desolation it inflicted on the surrounding country, either rendered their post untenable, or induced them to sacrifice their pretensions, for the purpose of enabling their countrymen to unite all the force of the province against the common enemy. Abandoning the fort to their rival, they took refuge in the neighboring colonies; and Leisler, with vindictive rashness, proceeded to confiscate their estates. To add strength and reputation to his party, a convention was summoned by Leisler of deputies from all the towns and districts to which his influence extended; and this assembly, in which two deputies from Connecticut were admitted to assist with their advice, enacted various regulations for the temporary government of the province. But the acts of this body, and especially its financial impositions, were disputed by a powerful party among the colonists, whose indignation against Leisler was confined with difficulty to insults and menaces; and many of the English inhabitants of Long Island, while they expressed a reluctant submission to this chief, privately applied to Connecticut, and solicited this state to annex their insular settlements to its jurisdiction.

In this unhappy state of animosity and contention the colonists of New York continued altogether nearly two years, notwithstanding a revolution which, by elevating the stadtholder of Holland to the English throne, had promised to unite them together more firmly than ever. Happily, the quarrel exhibited no symptoms of national antipathy between the Dutch and English, who without discrimination of races, embraced respectively the party to which their political sentiments attached them; and though much evil passion and malignity were engendered between the two factions, no blood was shed by either while their commotions lasted. But, unfortunately, the miseries of foreign war and hostile invasion were soon added to the calamity of internal discord. The condition of the French in Canada had been suddenly raised from the brink of ruin by the arrival of a strong reinforcement from the parent state, under the command of a skilful and enterprising officer, the old Count de Frontignac, who now assumed the government of the French settlements, and quickly gave a different complexion to the affairs of his countrymen. He set on foot a treaty with the Five Nations, and succeeded, meanwhile, in obtaining a suspension of their hostilities. War had already been declared between France and England; and the dissensions among the inhabitants of New York seeming to invite an attack upon this province, he determined to revive the drooping spirits of his people by availing himself of this tempting opportunity of success. A considerable body of French and Indians was accordingly collected, and despatched in the depth of winter against New York. By a strange coincidence, which seemed to have been decreed for the purpose of staining the French name in America with the blackest ingratitude and dishonor, this party, like their predecessors in 1665, after wandering for twenty-two days through deserts rendered trackless by snow, approached the village of Schenectady in so exhausted a condition that they had determined to surrender themselves to the inhabitants as prisoners of war. But, arriving at a late hour on an inclement night, and learning from the messengers they had sent forward that the inhabitants were all in bed, without even the precaution of a public watch, they exchanged their intention of imploring mercy to themselves for a plan of nocturnal attack and massacre of the defenceless people, to whose charity their own countrymen had once been so highly indebted. This detestable requital of good with evil was executed with a barbarity which of itself must be acknowledged to form one of the most revolting and horrific pictures that have ever been exhibited of human cruelty and ferocity. Dividing themselves into a number of parties, they set fire to the village in various places, and attacked the inhabitants with fatal advantage when, alarmed by the conflagration, they endeavored to escape from their burning houses. The exhausted strength of the Frenchmen appeared to revive with the work of destruction, and to gather energy from the animated horror of the scene. Not only were all the male inhabitants they could reach put to death, but pregnant women were ripped up, and their infants dashed on the walls of the houses. But either the delay occasioned by this elaborate cruelty, or the more merciful haste of the flames to announce the calamity to those who might still fly from the assassins, enabled many of the inhabitants to escape. The efforts of the assailants were also somewhat impeded by a sagacious discrimination which they thought it expedient to exercise. Though unmindful of benefits, they were not regardless of policy, and of a number of Mohawk Indians who were in the village not one sustained an injury. Sixty persons perished in the massacre, and twenty-seven were taken prisoners. Of the fugitives who escaped half naked, and made their way through a storm of snow to Albany, twenty-five lost their limbs from the intensity of the frost. The French having totally destroyed Schenectady, retired loaded with plunder from a place where I think it must be acknowledged that even the atrocities of their countrymen in the Palatinate had been outdone.

The intelligence of this event excited the utmost consternation in the province of New York. Forces were quickly raised to repel or retort the hostility of the French; and, on the application of Leisler, the colony of Connecticut sent a body of auxiliaries to his aid. It was found difficult to excite the Five Nations to join actively with allies who had once deserted them; but they declared that no arts of the French should ever prevail with them to take the part of an ancient enemy against an ancient friend. As the province of Massachusetts was severely harassed at the same time by Indian hostilities instigated and aided by Count Frontignac, a scheme was projected between the New England states and New York for a general invasion of Canada. An expedition, commanded by Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston against Quebec; and the united forces of Connecticut and New York, under the command of General Winthrop, were to march against Montreal. But Leisler's son-in law, Milbourne, who acted as commissary-general, had made such imperfect provision for the expedition, that, partly from this defect, and partly from the inability of the Indians to supply as many canoes for crossing the rivers and lakes as it had been hoped they would furnish, the general was obliged to call a council of war, and, by their unanimous opinion, to order a retreat. The expedition against Quebec was equally unsuccessful. Leisler, transported with rage when he was informed of the retreat, caused Winthrop to be arrested, but was instantly compelled by universal indignation to release him. Infatuated by his dangerous elevation, this man began to display the spirit that goes before a fall. The government of Connecticut, incensed at the affront by which he had revenged the result of his own incapacity on the best officer and most respected inhabitant of their province, signified in very sharp terms their astonishment and displeasure at his presumption, and warned him, with prophetic wisdom, that his state needed rare prudence, and that he had urgent occasion for friends.

King William had received Leisler's messenger with the most flattering encouragement, and admitted him to the honor of kissing his hand, as a testimony of his satisfaction with the proceedings at New York. But Nicholson, on his arrival in England, found means to make his party good with the king, and instil into his mind a prejudice, of which royalty rendered it very susceptible, against the insurgents both at Boston and New York. He returned thanks, indeed, to the people of New York, by Leisler's messenger, for their fidelity; but in none of his communications with either Boston or New York did he recognise the governors whom the people had appointed; and he demonstrated to the inhabitants of both these places how very lightly he respected their complaints against Andros and Nicholson, by subsequently promoting these men to the government of others of the American provinces. He would, doubtless, have contiued to unite New York and Massachusetts in the same government; but plainly foreseeing that he must inevitably grant a charter to Boston, and that he might hope to evade a similar concession to New York, which had never yet possessed this advantage, he consented to the separation which both desired, and in August, 1689, committed the separate government of this province to Colonel Sloughter. In consequence, however, of the embarrassed situation of his master's affairs in England, this officer did not arrive at New York till the second year [1691] after his appointment, and till Leisler had possessed power so long that he was extremely unwilling, and exercised it with so much envy that he was exceedingly afraid, to surrender it. This ill-fated adventurer seems to have hoped to the last that the king would either continue him in his office or expressly sanction and reward his services; and when he found himself no otherwise noticed than by a summons from Colonel Sloughter to deliver up the fort, he answered in the language of folly and despair, that he would not give it up but to an order under the king's own hand. Such a resolution it was unfortunately possible to utter, though quite impracticable to maintain; and he only sealed his fate by this last frantic effort to evade it, and furnished his enemies with a legal pretext to destroy him, which otherwise they would have found it no easy matter to adduce. The new governor's ears were now readily opened to all the charges that Leisler's enemies hastened to prefer against him; and though he quickly abandoned the desperate purpose of defending the fort he was denounced as a rebel, and committed to prison with his kinsman and Milbourne various others of his adherents on a charge of high treason.

Colonel Sloughter having thus established his authority in the province, proceeded to convoke an assembly which voted addresses in reprobation of Leisler's rebellious conduct, in holding out the fort against the governor. A general act of annulment was passed, not only against all the regulations that had been established by former royal governors and their counsels, but even against the laws that had been enacted by the popular assembly in 1683, on the strange and unintelligible pretext, that having never been observed by the late king, they had ceased to be binding on the people. As some doubt had arisen, whether, in the absence of a charter, the assembling of a representative body was an inherent right of the people, or a mere grace from the king, this assembly passed a remarkable law, declaring that this and all the other liberties of Englishmen belonged of right to the colonists; but this act was afterwards annulled by King William. Leisler and Milbourne were now brought to trial, and, vainly pleading their meritorious services in originating the revolution of the province, were convicted, and received sentence of death. The governor still hesitated to destroy the two persons, who, of all the inhabitants, had first declared themselves in favor of his sovereign; and, shortly after the trial, wrote to the English ministers to direct him in what manner the convicts should be disposed of: but he had hardly taken this step, when the renewed instances of their enemies induced him to alter his purpose, and issue the warrant of death, which was instantly carried into execution.* The adherents of Leisler and Milbourne, who had been much enraged at the sentence, were filled with terror and astonishment when they saw it carried into effect, and began to fly in such numbers from the province, that it was found necessary to pass in haste a general act of indemnity. Leisler's son complained to the king of the execution of his father, and the confiscation of his property; and the privy council reporting that, although the trial and execution were legal, it was advisable, under all the circumstances of the case, to restore the forfeited estate, this was all the grace that could for some time be obtained. But a compensation more honorable and satisfactory was awarded to them soon after; and, under the reign of the same king, the English parliament enacted a reversal of the colonial attainder. The passions which Leisler's administration had excited in one party, and which his execution had communicated to the other, continued long to distract the public councils, and embitter the private intercourse, of the inhabitants of New York.

The most respectable act of Sloughter's short administration was a conference which he held with the chiefs of the Five Nations, who admitted that they had so far relaxed their hostile purposes against the French, as to entertain propositions for a lasting peace with them; but now willingly consented to *brighten*, as they termed it, *their ancient belt of friendship*, and to renew a league, offensive and defensive, with the English. "We remember," they declared, "the deceit and treachery of the French; the belt they have sent us is poison; we spew it out of our mouths; and are resolved to make war with them as long as we live." On his return from this conference, a sudden death put a period to Sloughter's administration.

To animate the Indians in the purposes they had

* When no other measures could prevail with the governor tradition informs us that a sumptuous feast was prepared, to which Colonel Sloughter was invited. When his excellency's reason was drowned in his cups, the entreaties of the company prevailed with him to sign the death-warrant, and before he recovered his senses the prisoners were executed." Smith, 104.

now professed, and to sharpen by exercise their hostility against the French, Major Schuyler, who had acquired extraordinary influence with the Five Nations by his courage, good sense, and friendly attention to their interests, undertook, in the close of this year, an expedition against Montreal at the head of a considerable body of colonial and Indian forces. Though the invaders were finally compelled to retreat, the French sustained great loss in several encounters, and the spirit and animosity of the Five Nations were whetted to such a pitch, that even when their allies retired, they continued during the winter to wage incessant and harassing hostilities with the French. Count Frontignac, whose sprightly manners and energetic character supported the spirits of his countrymen amidst every reverse, [1692] was at length so provoked with what he deemed the ingratitude of the Five Nations for his kindness to them at Schenectady, that, besides encouraging his own Indian allies to burn their prisoners alive, he at length condemned to a death still more dreadful two Mohawk warriors who had fallen into his hands. In vain the French priests remonstrated against this sentence, and urged him not to bring so foul a stain on the christian name; the count declared that every consideration must yield to the safety and defence of his people, and that the Indians must not be encouraged to believe that they might practise the extreme of cruelty on the French without the hazard of having it retorted on themselves. If he had been merely actuated by politic considerations, without being stimulated by revenge, he might have plainly perceived, from the conduct of all the Indian tribes in their wars with each other, that the fear of retort had no efficacy whatever to restrain them from their barbarous practices, which he now undertook to sanction as far as his exemple was capable of doing. The priests, finding that their humane intercession was ineffectual, repaired to the prisoners, and labored to persuade them to embrace the christian name, as a preparation for the dreadful fate which they were about to receive from christian hands; but their instructions were rejected with scorn and derision, and they found the prisoners determined to dignify, by Indian sentiments and demeanor, the Indian death which they had been condemned to undergo. Shortly before the execution, some Frenchman, less inhuman than his governor, threw a knife into the prison, and one of the Mohawks immediately despatched himself with it; the other, expressing contempt at his companion's mean evasion from glory, walked to the stake, singing, in his death-chant, that he was a Mohawk warrior, that all the power of man could not extort an indecent expression of suffering from his lips, and that it was ample consolation to him to reflect that he had made many Frenchmen suffer the same pangs that he must now himself undergo. When attached to the stake, he looked round on his executioners, their instruments of torture, and the assembled multitude of spectators, with all the complacency of heroic fortitude; and, after enduring for some hours, with composed mien and triumphant language, a series of barbarities too atrocious and disgusting to be recited, his sufferings were terminated by the interposition of a French lady, who prevailed with the governor to order that mortal blow, to which human cruelty has given the name of *coup de grace*, or stroke of *favor*.*

It was with great reluctance that King William had surrendered to the American colonies any of the acquisitions which regal authority had derived from the tyrannical usurpations of his predecessors; and his reign was signalised by various attempts to invade the privileges which at first he had been compelled to respect or to restore. He was informed by the English lawyers that he could not refuse to recognise the charter of Connecticut with all its ample privileges, and he was baffled in his attempt to procure an act of parliament to annul it. But as New York, never having had a charter, was judged to be not legally entitled to demand one, he determined not only to deprive it of this advantage, but, through the medium of its undefined constitution, and the utter absence of restriction on the powers with which he might invest its governor, to attempt an encroachment on the envied privileges of Connecticut. Colonel Fletcher, a man of sordid disposition, violent temper, and shallow capacity, yet endowed with a considerable share of activity, was the governor who next arrived to represent the king at New York, and to him was intrusted the execution of the design that William had conceived against the neighboring colony. For this purpose he had been invested with plenary powers of commanding, not merely the militia of New York,* but all his majesty's militia in the colonies of that quarter of America. His first step towards effectuating this encroachment was to send a commission to governor Trent, who already commanded the militia of Connecticut according to the institutions of the provincial charter; and the reception of this, even in the light of a mere superogatory confirmation, it was probably hoped would pave the way to a more thorough establishment of the king's pretensions. But Connecticut had then, both in the offices of her government and the ranks of her people, abundance of men, who, thoroughly appreciating the privileges they enjoyed, had sense to see, and spirit to resist, every attempt to violate them; and the tender of Fletcher's commission was not only flatly refused but made the subject of a vigorous remonstrance. Incensed at such contumacy, as he was pleased to regard it, Fletcher proceeded with his usual impetuosity to Hartford, [1693.] and commanded the assembly of the state, who were sitting, to place their militia under his orders, as they would answer it to the king. He even proceeded to such a length as to threaten to issue a proclamation calling on all who were for the king to join him, and denouncing all others as guilty of disloyalty and sedition. Finding his menacing injunctions received with a calm but firm refusal, he presented himself with one of his council, Colonel Bayard, to the militia, at their parade, and expecting that a royal warrant would find greater favor with the men than it had done with the civil rulers, he commanded Bayard to read his commission aloud, as an act of declaratory possession of the authority to which he pretended. But Captain Wadsworth, who was always present when the liberties of his country were in danger, and who had once before saved the charter of Connecticut from invasion, now stepped forward to prevent the privileges it conveyed from being abridged or insulted, and commanding the drums to beat, completely drowned the obnoxious accents. When Fletcher attempted to interpose, Wadsworth supported his orders with such an energy of determination, that the meaner genius of his antagonist was completely rebuked; and seeing the countenances of all around kindling into sympathy with their patriot's fervor, he judged it best to consult his safety by a hasty departure to New York, where his spleen, at least, could not be obstructed by any exceptions to his commission. The king, with the view of covering his defeat, or of trying whether legal chicane could repair it, ordered this matter to be submitted to the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general of England; and on their reporting without hesitation in favor of the plea of Connecticut, an order of council was passed in conformity with their report; as if the matter at issue had involved a mere local dispute between two provincial jurisdictions, in which the king was to exercise the dignified functions of supreme and impartial arbitrator.†

It was fortunate for New York that the incapacity of her governor was prevented from being so detrimental as it might otherwise have proved to her Indian interests, by the confidence he reposed in Major Schuyler, whose weighty influence was employed to preserve the affections and sustain the spirit of the Five Nations. Yet so imperfectly were they assisted by the colony, that Frontignac, even while occupied with other hostilities in New England, was able by his vigor and activity to give them a severe defeat. Roused by this intelligence, Fletcher assembled the militia of New York, and abruptly demanding who was willing to march to the aid of their allies against the French, the men threw up their hats in the air and answered unanimously "One and all." The march was effected with a rapidity that highly gratified the Indians; and though it produced no substantial advantage to them, it was so favorably regarded as a demonstration of promptitude to aid them, that they were prevented from embracing Frontignac's offers of peace. They could not help observing however that it was too frequent with the English to defer their succors till they had become unavailing; and that while the whole of the power of France in America was concentrated in simultaneous efforts to maintain the French dominion, the English colonies acted with partial and divided operation, and Maryland and Delaware in particular (though the quarrel was said to be a national one) took no share in the hostilities at all.

But the vigor of Governor Fletcher was more frequently and strenuously exerted in contentions with the house of assembly, than in aiding the Indians; though it was to his services in this last department that he owed what little popularity he enjoyed in the province. A bigot himself to the church of England, he labored incessantly to introduce a model of her establishment in New York, and naturally encountered much resistance to this project from the opposite predilections of the Dutch and other presbyterian inhabitants. At length his efforts succeeded in procuring a bill to be carried through the lower house, or assembly of representatives, for settling ministers in the several parishes: but when the council adjected to the clause which gave the people the privilege of electing their own ministers, a proviso that the governor should exercise the episcopal power of approving and collating the incumbents, this amendment was directly negatived by the assembly. The governor, exasperated at their obstinacy, called the house before him, and prorogued their sitting with a passionate harangue. "You take upon you," said he, "as if you were dictators. I sent down to you an amendment of but three or four words in that bill, which though very immaterial,* yet was positively denied. I must tell you, it seems very unmannerly. It is the sign of a stubborn, ill temper. You ought to consider that you have but a third share in the legislative power of the government; and ought not to take all upon you, nor be so peremptory. You ought to let the council have a share. They are in the nature of the House of Lords or upper House; but you seem to take the whole power in your hands, and set up for every thing. You have sat a long time to little purpose, and have been a great charge to the country. Ten shillings a day is a large allowance, and you punctually exact it. You have been always forward enough to pull down the fees of other ministers in the government. Why did not you think it expedient to correct your own to a more moderate allowance?" The members of assembly endured his rudeness with invincible patience; but they also obstructed his pretensions with immoveable resolution. In the following year, [1694] their disputes were so frequent that all business was interrupted; and the governor seemed to have embraced the determination of convoking the assembly no more. But though his own emoluments were secured by an act that had established the public revenue for several years yet to come, the necessity of raising further supplies to make presents to the Indians, and the arrival of a body of troops from Britain, obliged him to alter his determination. He had been required also by the king to lay before the assembly an assignment which his majesty had framed of the quotas to be respectively contributed by the colonies for the maintenance of an united force against the French.† [1695.] The assembly could not be prevailed with to pay the slightest attention to this royal assignment. But they made a liberal grant of money for the support of the troops that had arrived, and added a present to the governor; who now perceiving that the people of New York were totally unmanageable by insolence and passion, but might be made subservient to his avarice, ceased to harass himself and them by farther pressing obnoxious schemes, and maintained a good correspondence with the assembly during the remainder of his administration. In this respect he was more successful than some of the future governors of the province, whose remarkable unpopularity during many years of honest and praiseworthy exertion has excited some surprise in those who have not examined with sufficient

* Colden, i. 135, 6. 139—145. Smith, 107, 8. Such fortitude was [illegible] American savage; and the subsequent execution of Damien at Paris renders the act of Frontignac at least no solitary instance in the history of civilized France. The execution of the English regicides in 1660, and of the Scottish rebels in 1745, exhibited scenes little less disgraceful [illegible] In all such cases of the addition of torture to death, cruelty [illegible] overreaches itself, and, [illegible] the mind of the sufferer from the one last enemy [illegible] involving him in the [illegible] contest where victory is in his own power. The more [illegible] the mortal act is made, and the longer the [illegible] to die even in taking it away, the more impressive and formidable an execution appears.

* He was appointed also Governor of Pennsylvania by the king who had deprived William Penn of his proprietary functions.

† Smith, 110 Trumbull, i. 390 395, and Appendix, 541–545. In the commission from George the Second to Sir Danvers Osborn (recited at length by Smith, p. 321, &c.) the right of commanding the Connecticut militia was again conferred on the governor of New York.

* It is surprising that he was not sensible of the inappropriateness of this observation, which had it been true, would have rendered his own passion exceedingly ridiculous. But the governor was at all times an indifferent reasoner: and anger, with which he was very subject to be overtaken, has always been more promotive of rhetoric than of logic.

† The list of the respective quotas was as follows.

Pennsylvania	80l.	Rhode Island and Providence	48l.
Massachusetts	350	Connecticut	120
Maryland	160	New York	200
Virginia	240		

This assignment seems nowhere to have received much attention or any respect.

minuteness the whole of their official career. Like Fletcher, these officers conceiving themselves vested with regal power uncircumscribed by chartered rights, looked on the provincial inhabitants as an inferior people, and began their administration with insolent demeanor and arbitrary pretensions: like him they learned wisdom from experience; but their wisdom came a day too late; the people had ceased to be as placable as in former times; and the spirit of liberty, thoroughly exercised, had become prompt to repel as well as firm in resisting injustice. Their government was impeded by the total want of a public confidence, which having once deservedly forfeited, they found that even a complete change of measures was insufficient to regain. From ignorance or disregard of such considerations as these (which a very attentive perusal of colonial controversy has impressed upon me,) it has often been thought that the government of this province was embarrassed by the factious obstinacy of a perverse and unreasonable people, when in truth the governors were but reaping what themselves had sown, and struggling with the just suspicions that their original misconduct had created. In the unchartered province of Virginia, as well as in New York, such also were, not unfrequently, the proceedings of the British governors, and the complexion of their administrations: and Britain, it must be confessed, by employing such functionaries and promoting such policy, took infinite pains to educate the principles of liberty in those of her colonial dependencies, where they seemed least likely to attain a flourishing growth.

1695.] The remainder of Fletcher's administration was not distinguished by any occurrence that deserves to be particularly commemorated. The war between the French and the Five Nations sometimes languished by the address of Frontignac's negotiations, and was oftener kindled into additional rage and destruction by his enterprise and activity. Neither age nor decrepitude could chill the ardor of this man's spirit, or impair the resources of his capacity. On the threshold of his own fate,* and supported in a litter, he flew to every point of attack or defence, to animate the havoc of war, and contemplate the execution of his plans. His own bodily situation had as little effect in mitigating his rigor, as in diminishing his activity; and as their hostilities were prolonged, the French and the Indians seemed to be inspired with a mutual emulation of cruelty† in victory, no less than of prowess in battle. The prisoners on both sides were made to expire in tortures; and the French, less prepared by education and physical habits for such extremities of suffering, endured a great deal more evil than they were able to inflict. [1696.] On one occasion, when Frontignac succeeded in capturing a Mohawk fort, it was found deserted of all its inhabitants except a sachem in extreme old age, who sat with the composure of an ancient Roman in his capital, and saluted his civilised compeer in age and infirmity, with dignified courtesy and venerable address. Every hand was instantly raised to wound and deface his time-stricken frame; and while French and Indian knives were plunged into his body, he recommended to his Indian enemies rather to burn him with fire, that he might teach their French allies how to suffer like men. "Never, perhaps," says Charlevoix, "was a man treated with more cruelty; nor ever did any endure it with superior magnanimity and resolution."‡ The governor of New York, meanwhile, encouraged the Five Nations, from time to time, to persevere in the contest, by endeavoring to negotiate alliances between them and other tribes, and by sending them valuable presents of ammunition and of the European commodities which they principally esteemed; and their intercourse with him fluctuated between grateful acknowledgments of these occasional supplies, and angry complaints that he fought all his battles by the instrumentality of the Indians. Indeed, except repelling some insignificant attacks of the French on the frontiers of the province, the English governor took no actual share in the war, and left the most important interests of his countrymen to be upheld against the efforts of a skilful and inveterate foe, by the unaided valor of their Indian allies. [1697.] The peace of Ryswick, which interrupted the hostilities of the French and English, threatened at first to be attended with fatal consequences to the allies, to whose exertions the English had been so highly indebted; and if Fletcher had been permitted to continue longer in the government of New York, this result, no less dangerous than dishonorable to his countrymen, would most probably have ensued. A considerable part of the forces of Count Frontignac had been employed hitherto in warlike operations against Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in conjunction with the numerous Indian allies whom he possessed in that quarter. [1698.] But the peace of Ryswick, of which he now received intelligence, enabled him to concentrate his whole disposeable force against the only foe that remained to him; and refusing to consider the Five Nations as identified with the English, he prepared to invade them with such an army as they never before had to cope with, and overwhelm them with a vengeance which they seemed incapable of resisting. But Fletcher had now been very seasonably succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, who was appointed governor both of New York and Massachusetts; and this nobleman being endowed with a considerable share both of resolution and capacity, clearly perceived the danger and injustice of suffering the French project to be carried into effect, and promptly interposed to counteract it. He not only furnished the Five Nations with an ample supply of ammunition and military stores, but notified to Count Frontignac, that if the French should presume to attack them, he would march with the whole forces of his province to their aid. The count thereupon abandoned his enterprise, and complained to his sovereign (Louis the Fourteenth) of the interruption it had received; while Lord Bellamont, in like manner, apprised King William of the step he had taken. The two kings commanded their respective governors to lend assistance to each other, and evince a spirit of accommodation in making the peace effectual to both nations, and to leave all disputes concerning the dependency of the Indian tribes to the determination of the commissioners who were to be named in pursuance of the treaty of Ryswick. Shortly after the reception of these mandates, a peace was concluded between the French and the Five Nations; but not till English insolence and French cunning had nearly detached these tribes entirely from the alliance they had so steadily maintained, by leading them to believe that the English interposed in their concerns for no other reason than that they accounted them their slaves. The French endeavored to take advantage of their ill humor by prevailing with them to receive an establishment of Jesuits into their settlements. But although the Indians at first entertained the offer, and listened with their usual gravity and politeness to the artful harangue of a Jesuit who had been sent to enforce it, [19] their habitual sentiments soon prevailed over a transient discontent, and they declared their determination to adhere to the English, and to receive, instead of the French priests, a ministry of protestant pastors which Lord Bellamont had proposed to establish among them.*

Some abuses that prevailed, and some disorders that were likely to arise at New York, had induced King William to bestow the government of the province on Lord Bellamont, who, it was hoped, would be easily able, by the influence of his elevated rank, added to the resolution and integrity of his character, to redress the one and compose the other. Fletcher, his predecessor, had proved a very unfaithful steward of the public revenue, and had gratified his avarice and his partialities by unjust and exorbitant appropriations and grants of land. Lord Bellamont, on investigating the particulars of Fletcher's administration, openly denounced him as a corrupt and profligate magistrate; and not only caused judicial proceedings to be instituted against him and the favorites whom he had enriched with a share of the public spoil, but at one time proposed to send him as a criminal, to undergo a public trial in England. The expense and difficulty of procuring what the law would deem requisite evidence, together with other obstructions which always oppose themselves to every scheme for effecting the exposure or compelling the restitution, of official plunder, prevented any of these proceedings from attaining a satisfactory issue.

An attempt that was made to correct another abuse proved at first eminently unfortunate, and was attended with very singular circumstances in its progress, and very remarkable consequences in England. The late war had given rise to a great deal of privateering, which in many instances had degenerated into piracy, and the evil was greatly increased by the readiness with which James the Second, in his exile, granted commissions for privateering to adventurers adhering, or professing adherence, to his cause, and who expected that these commissions would entitle their robberies to be regarded as acts of legitimate warfare.* From New York, in particular, many English piratical cruisers were known to have sailed; and, indeed, there was strong reason to suspect that Fletcher's hunger for gold had been too voracious to scruple the receiving of it from the hands of these robbers as the price of his connivance at their depredations. The suppression of this nuisance had been strongly recommended by the king to Lord Bellamont, who, casting about in his mind, and consulting his friends in what manner this design would be most efficaciously conducted, was advised to take the assistance of one Kidd, who was represented to him as a man of honor and intrepidity, and well acquainted with the persons and the haunts of the pirates. Kidd, who was in England at the time, was introduced to Lord Bellamont by the person who had so characterised him, and readily offered to undertake the suppression and apprehension of the pirates, if the king would grant him a commission for the purpose, and place at his disposal a good sailing frigate of thirty guns. The earl laid the proposal before the king, who was strongly disposed to embrace any feasible plan for extirpating piracy; but some difficulties having been started by the admiralty, the scheme was dropped, and, unfortunately for the character of all parties, a private adventure, to be conducted by Kidd against the pirates, was suggested in its stead, and finally embraced. The king himself was concerned in the enterprise, and had a tenth share reserved to him; and the Lord Chancellor (Somers,) the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney and Oxford, Sir Edmund Harrison, and various other persons of distinction, were associated in the adventure as partners with their sovereign. Kidd received an ordinary commission from the crown as a privateer, with special directions from the royal and noble owners of his vessel, to proceed against the pirates, and to hold himself particularly responsible to Lord Bellamont. Embarking on this important enterprise, with so much illustrious character intrusted to his keeping, Kidd arrived at New York long before Lord Bellamont, whose assumption of his government did not take place till more than two years after his appointment. When his lordship subsequently reached New York, he learned, to his no small confusion and resentment, that by his patronage of Kidd he had been accessary to an enormous aggravation of

* He died very soon after the restoration of peace by the treaty of Ryswick. Smith, 133.

† In truth, this emulation was more than a mere semblance. On one occasion a deliberate competition was made between the French and a tribe in alliance with them, to ascertain which people could insist the most ingenious cruelty on a Mohawk prisoner. Of the horrid tragedy that ensued, I shall give no further account than that the Indians greatly excelled their competitors, and threw the French into transports of laughter by the fantastic variety of the tortures they inflicted. The French soldiers appear to have been prompted to this brutality by mere revenge and ferocity. Their commander's object on this occasion was to create irreconcilable enmity between a tribe newly allied to him and the Five Nations. Colden, i. 194, 5. It may surprise a philosopher to consider, that these Frenchmen were the conntrymen and cotemporaries of Pascal, Fenelon, and Arnauld. It will edify a Christian to remember, that these eminent saints were beings of the same nature with the civilized and the savage perpetrators of such atrocities in Canada.

‡ Neither the French nor the Indians, however, slew all their prisoners. A great many remained to be exchanged at the end of the war: and on this occasion it was remarked, that all the Indians returned with great alacrity to their friends, but that in many cases it proved very difficult, and in some utterly impossible, to induce Frenchmen, who had lived a few years with the Indians and embraced their habits, to return to civilized life. The English found it no less difficult to prevail with their friends who had been taken prisoners by the French Indians, and lived for any considerable time with them, to return to New York; "though no people enjoy more liberty, and live in greater plenty, than the common inhabitants of New York do." Colden, i. 212.

So many English prisoners have remained and married in the Indian settlements (says Professor Kalm), and so many French traders have spontaneously united themselves to the Indians, that "the Indian blood in Canada is very much mixed with European blood, and a great part of the Indians now living (1749) owe their origin to Europe." Travels, iii. 153. 276.

* Smith, 114—125. Colden, i. 159—210. The fulfilment of the promise of sending protestant pastors to the Five Nations seems to have been deferred till the year 1712, when one Andrews was sent among them by the English Society for propagating the Gospel. The Indians at first received him with joy, but peremptorily refused to suffer him to teach the English language to their children. After preaching and teaching among them, in the Indian tongue, for several years, he was universally forsaken by his auditors and scholars, and closed a fruitless mission in 1718. Humphrey's Hist. Acc. of the Society for propagating the Gospel, 295—310.

* Unreasonable as we may think the expectation of these pirates, that the English, who denied James' regal right to govern them, should recognise the same right to the more formidable extent of making war on them, this plea was actually maintained by certain of King William's crown lawyers. Some pirates commissioned by James having been apprehended in 1693, Dr. Oldish, the king's advocate, refused to prosecute them, and along with Sir Thomas Pinfold, Tindall, and other lawyers, supported this refusal by a learned argument before the privy council. Tindall's Essay on the Law of Nations, p. 25—30. But other lawyers were found willing to prosecute the prisoners, who were convicted and executed. Howel, xii. No. 378.

the evil he had hoped to extirpate, and to the dishonor of his king and of all the distinguished persons who had been associated in the privateering adventure; and that Kidd had already rendered himself more infamous and formidable than any other pirate that infested the seas, by the extent of his naval robberies and his numberless murders. Lord Bellamont vigorously exerted himself to repair, by better agency, the consequences of this unhappy error; and having fortunately succeeded in apprehending Kidd, [1699] who had repaired on a trafficking speculation to Boston, where he hoped not to be recognised, he wrote to the secretary of state, desiring that a warrant might be sent for transmitting this daring offender to England, where already considerable interest had been excited in the public mind by the tidings of the freebooter's desperate enterprises, and vague rumors of the share which the first personages in the state had taken in supplying him with the means of performing them. A ship of war was sent out to bring home the prisoner, and repel any attempt that might be made for his escue; but, unfortunately, the vessel was disabled on her passage, and obliged to return to port. A strong suspicion now arose of collusion between Kidd and the ministry, who it was thought were determined not to have him brought home at all, lest in his own defence he should discover their infamous confederacy. This suspicion was inflamed by the artifices of the tory party, who were opposed to King William's government, and who vehemently pressed a motion in the House of Commons, that all persons who had been concerned in Kidd's adventure might be dismissed from their employments. Though this motion was rejected, they prevailed with the House to have Kidd examined at the bar, when the exertions of the ministers and Lord Bellamont to vindicate their characters had at length succeeded in bringing him to England; and though disappointed at first in their hope of obtaining any valuable disclosures from him, yet either honestly suspecting what they professed to believe, or trusting that he would be induced to become a useful instrument of their purposes (which he discovered more inclination than ability to do), they endeavored to have his trial deferred, and prevailed with the house to call him again to the bar, even after an address had been voted to the crown recommending that he should be speedily remitted to an English jury. Kidd was brought to trial at the Old Bailey in the year 1701, and being totally unable either to criminate the ministers or to defend himself, was convicted, with several of his accomplices, of piracy and murder, and soon after underwent the just punishment of his crimes. The violence of the Tory faction in England prevented this matter from proving as injurious as, more moderately handled, it would, and perhaps ought to have been to Lord Bellamont and the Whig ministers of the king. Kidd's conduct previous to his employment as a privateer had in reality been such that a proper investigation of it would have subjected him to punishment, instead of recommending him to an important trust. A charge derived from this gross and culpable neglect, and directed against all who had been concerned in procuring Kidd's commission, was introduced into the articles of impeachment preferred soon after by the commons against Lord Somers. The name and character of the Earl of Bellamont, in particular, were expressly involved in this charge, though his recent death at New York prevented him from being included in the impeachment. But the managers of the impeachment associating this charge with other weightier imputations which they were unable to prove, and involving themselves (purposely, perhaps) in a dispute with the House of Lords, the impeachment ended in an acquittal, without producing a trial.

But the most afflicting disorders that threatened to assail the government and community of New York, were portended by the increasing animosity of two numerous factions, consisting of the friends and the enemies of the unfortunate Leisler. The son of this man, incapable of forgetting or forgiving the tragical fate of his father, had labored incessantly for the re-establishment of his character and the retribution of his wronge; and having obtained, by the assistance of the province of Massachusetts, an act of parliament to reverse his father's attainder, and now proceeding, with every likelihood of success, to urge a claim for indemnification on account of his family's sufferings and losses, the spirits of his partizans in New York were powerfully excited by the hope of a triumph so humiliating to their adversaries. The mutual animosity of the two factions was roused and whetted to such a degree by the occurrence and the prospect of fresh opportunities to indulge it, that the public business of the province was seriously impeded; and in the very first assembly that Lord Bellamont convoked at New York, except an unanimous address of thanks to himself for his speech on the state of the province, there was scarcely a single measure proposed, about which the members of assembly found it possible to agree. The character and manners of Lord Bellamont were happily adopted to compose these dissensions; a task which perhaps, if he had longer enjoyed the government, he would have wisely attempted and successfully effected: but unfortunately the circumstances in which he found himself placed on his first arrival at New York, and the sentiments which he was thence led to entertain, tended rather to inflame than to mitigate the evil. His just displeasure against Fletcher, animated by the discovery of that profligate governor's encouragement of the pirates, at first extended itself to every person who had held office along with him, or been distinguished by any appearance of his regard; and as in this class were comprehended the principal adversaries of Leisler, the spirits of this party were additionally revived, and their numbers augmented by the near prospect of supremacy and triumph. Young Leisler's solicitations in England at length so far prevailed, that a letter was addressed by the Secretary of State to Lord Bellamont, [1700] declaring that his majesty, from "a gracious sense of the father's services and sufferings," desired that the son's claims of indemnification might be entertained by the general assembly of New York. No sooner was the royal letter laid before the assembly, of which a great majority now consisted of the friends of young Leisler, than a vote was passed, appointing the sum of 1000*l.* to be levied immediately on the province for his advantage.

Lord Bellamont had now succeeded in acquainting himself with the state of the province: and the resentment and disturbance he had suffered from the piratical transactions in which his own and his sovereign's honor had been so deeply involved, seemed to have had time to subside. But the influence which his good sense and moderation were confidently expected to produce in tranquillizing the angry factions over which he presided, was intercepted by his unexpected death in the beginning of the year 1701. This event was attended with the most unfortunate consequences. The faction that had appeared likely to be totally defeated, received intelligence that Lord Cornbury, who was expected soon to arrive as the successor of Bellamont, was prepossessed in their favor, because they were accounted the partizans of the church of England, and began already to anticipate a favorable change in their relations with the adverse party; while this party, at the head of which was Nanfan, the lieutenant-governor, made haste to use their power with an energy enforced by the probable shortness of its duration. The most strenuous exertions were made by both, to increase their strength in the assembly; and the most furious animosities were created by the theoretical respect which both professed for the same fundamental principles; by the practical respect which each, accordingly, required for these principles from their adversaries; and by the practical disregard of them into which both were hurried by the violence of their passions. The faction opposed to Leisler's friends, being generally defeated in these contests, vented their indignation, and exercised the only policy that seemed to remain to them, in vehement complaints of their adversaries to the king, the parliament, and, above all, to Lord Cornbury, on whose favor their hopes of victory and vengeance now exclusively depended. Colonel Bayard, in particular, having promoted some of these addresses, in which the most scandalous charges of bribery, public plunder, and oppression, were preferred against the lieutenant-governor, the chief-justice, and the assembly, [1702] was committed to prison as a traitor, by Nanfan, under a law which Bayard and his friends had caused to be enacted in 1691, to curb their own adversaries, and which subjected to the pains of treason every person endeavoring, by force of arms, or otherwise, to disturb the peace, good, and quiet of the king's government. Though the attorney-general of New York gave a written opinion, that the addresses contained nothing criminal or illegal, Nanfan, finding the solicitor-general differently minded, urged on the charge; and, after a trial more fair, perhaps, than in such a state of public feeling could have been reasonably expected, Bayard was dragged to the brink of the pit which he himself had dug, by a verdict of guilty, and sentence of death.* Alderman Hutchins was immediately after tried, and convicted on a similar charge. But here the adversaries of the prisoners thought proper to pause. Though the law on which the convictions had been founded was an arbitrary one, it had been enacted by the prisoners themselves and their party, and never yet repealed; and though the convictions proceeded on a somewhat strained construction of it, there had been no signal or undoubted departure from the ordinary principles of criminal justice. The prosecutors, therefore, had not incurred such guilt as to confound altogether their sense and humanity, or imperiously to urge them to complete what they had begun, and destroy their victims while they were yet in their power. Happily for themselves, and for the province, they consented to reprieve the prisoners till the king's pleasure should be known. But long before the application on which the fatal issue was thus suspended could be made, Lord Cornbury arrived at New York; and not only caused the attainders of Bayard and Hutchins to be reversed, but placing himself at the head of their party, conducted his administration with such violence and partiality, that the late chief justice, and several other considerable persons of the opposite faction, thought it prudent to depart from the province

Lord Cornbury, the grandson of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, possessed not one of the qualities for which his distinguished ancestor had been celebrated, except an exaggeration of his bigotry to the church of England, and his intolerance of all other religious communions. The rest of his character would have disgraced more estimable qualities; and seems to have formed a composition no less odious than despicable, of rapacity and prodigality, voluptuousness and cruelty, the loftiest arrogance, and the meanest chicane. Whether from real difference in sentiment, or from a policy which in these days was not uncommon, while his father had adhered to the cause of James the Second, the son declared himself, at a very early period, for King William, and was one of the first officers who deserted with his troop to him; and having now dissipated his substance in riot and debauchery, and being obliged to fly from his creditors in England, it had been one of the last acts of his royal patron's administration, to reward his services with the government of New York. This appointment was confirmed by his kinswoman Queen Anne, who added to it the government of New Jersey, which had been recently surrendered by the proprietaries to the crown. The public events that belong to the period of Lord Cornbury's administration* do not fall within the compass of the present work; and I allude to its general complexion, for the purpose of explaining how the factions which we have seen carried to such a height in New York came to be, if not entirely suppressed, yet greatly mitigated and reduced. This desirable end, which was more obstructed than advanced by the only respectable governor that had been sent to New York since the revolution, was now signally promoted by the administration of a successor, who robbed even Andros of his evil eminence, and rendered himself more universally detested than any officer to whom the government of this province was ever intrusted. For a while the majority of the assembly, composed by his influence of the faction which had but recently smarted under the power of a triumphant rival, adhered with unscrupulous loyalty to him as its leader and protector; and even after the intolerance he began to exert against the presbyterians, and every other religious sect, except the protestant episcopalians, had alienated many of his first political adherents, he found their loss nearly compensated by the increased regards of those who now boasted him their ecclesiastical ally. Though the great body of the inhabitants, including the most ancient families in the province, were presbyterians, he refused to permit the ministers of this persuasion to preach without a license from himself, which implied that they officiated, not of right, but by indulgence. On one occasion, finding that in a township in Long Island there were a few episcopalians intermixed with the

* The proceedings on this trial, which are reported at some length in Howell's Collection, are creditable to the legal knowledge, acuteness, and spirit of the lawyers employed to conduct them, and especially of the counsel for the prisoner Emot, one of the latter, maintained a plea, which was not heard of till a much later period in England, but illustrated it by an observation which we should not expect to hear in the courts of justice of a state where slavery was admitted. "The jury," he said, "are judges both of law and fact, as the case is now circumstanced; and if they will enslave themselves and their posterity, and debar themselves of all access to their prince, they will be worse than negroes." Even under the liberal jurisprudence of Oliver Cromwell, it was declared from the bench (on the first trial of Lilburne), that it was "a damnable doctrine" to hold that the jury were judges of law as well as fact. Howell, vol. iv. p. 1284, note.

* One of the first and the most respectable act of his administration was a renewal of the league with the Indian allies of New York, in a numerous convention of the tribes, which was held at Albany in 1702. Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 130.

presbyterians who formed the great majority of the inhabitants and had built a parsonage for their minister, he fraudulently contrived to get possession of the house, and then delivered it up to the episcopal party. Hearing some time after, that two presbyterian ministers from Virginia had preached to a congregation in New York without his license, he threw them both into prison; and afterwards brought them to trial for a misdemeanor: but although the judge advised the jury to return a special verdict, that the law on this subject might be finally ascertained, the jury were too prudent to put the liberties of their country so far out of their own keeping, and without hesitation acquitted the prisoners. In every quarter of the province his lordship offered his assistance to the episcopalians, to put them in possession of the churches that other sects had built; and to the disgrace of some of the zealots for episcopacy, this offer was in several instances accepted, and produced a wide scene of riot, injustice, and confusion. But happily for the unfortunate people who were exposed to the mischief of his administration, his conduct in other departments of government soon weakened his influence with all parties, and gradually deprived him of the power of instigating any portion of the society to harass or oppress the rest. It was discovered, that not content with the liberal grants of money which the assembly had made to him for his private use, he had embezzled large sums appropriated to the erection of public works, and the defence of the province; [1702—1709] and that unable to subsist on his lawful emoluments, even with the addition of enormous pillage, he had contracted debts to every tradesman who would trust him, and employed the powers of his office to set his creditors at defiance. Even after this discovery was made, he contrived to have some of the public money intrusted to his hands, by alarming the assembly with pretended intelligence of an approaching invasion; and this farther trust was executed with as little fidelity as the preceding ones. In vain the assembly proposed to establish a body of functionaries to control the public expenditure, and account for it to themselves; and with as little success did they transmit a remonstrance to the queen. Their application to her majesty met with no other attention than some private instructions, which were said to have been sent to the governor; their proposition to control the public disbursements was disallowed; and when they insisted on a scrutiny of his accounts, he warned them in an angry speech, not to provoke him to exert "certain powers" which the queen had committed to him, and advised them to let him hear less about the rights of the house, as the house had no rights but what the grace and good pleasure of her majesty permitted it to enjoy. By such declarations, and a line of policy pursued in strict conformity with them, he succeeded in alienating all his adherents, and finally in uniting all classes of the people in one common interest of opposition to himself. When he dissolved an assembly for its attention to the public interests, he found his influence no longer able to affect the composition of the assembly which he called to succeed it. It was fortunate for the people that they were compelled to endure this state of things for several years, and till the lessons which it was well calculated to teach them were deeply impressed on their minds. The governor had leisure to repeat the expedient of dissolving intractable assemblies, and the mortification of finding every succeeding one more stubborn than its predecessor; till he at length convoked assemblies which absolutely refused to vote the smallest supply for the public service, till he should account for all his past receipts and applications of money, and perform the impossible condition of refunding all the sums he had embezzled—preferring even an extremity so inconvenient to themselves, to the continuance of so corrupt and profligate an administration. The dissolute habits, and ignoble tastes and manners of the man, completed and embittered the disgust with which he was now universally regarded; and when he was seen rambling abroad in the dress of a woman, the people beheld with indignation and shame the representative of their sovereign, and the ruler of their country.

The inhabitants of New York had now ample leisure, and strong inducements to reflect, with little satisfaction, on the folly and mischief of those divisions that had once enabled such a man to enjoy influence among them, and successfully to incite them to harass and maltreat each other, that he might the more securely pillage and insult them all. His administration forcibly taught them the important lesson that divisions among themselves were profitable only to the party who ought to be the object of their constitutional jealousy, the royal governor; and that union among themselves, founded on a sense of common interest, and maintained by the exercise of mutual forbearance and charity, was essential alike to their tranquillity and independence. The lesson was not lost upon them; and though former animosities were not entirely extinguished for many years, they never again reached the height which they had attained at the commencement of Lord Cornbury's administration. This worthless personage continued for a considerable period to remind the people by his presence of the salutary lessons they had derived from his administration, even after they had obtained a deliverence from its burden. In the year 1709, Queen Anne was at length compelled by the reiterated and unanimous complaints of New York and New Jersey (where he was equally odious), to supersede his commission, and appoint Lord Lovelace to succeed him; and no sooner was he deprived of his office, than his creditors threw him into the same prison, where he had unjustly confined many worthier men. Thus degraded from office by his public crimes, and deprived of liberty by his private vice and dishonesty, this kinsman of his queen remained a prisoner for debt in the province he had governed, till the death of his father, by elevating him to the peerage, entitled him to his liberation.* He then returned to Europe, and died in the year 1723.

Both before and after the British Revolution, the province of New York had received large additions to the number of its inhabitants from all the various sources of emigration which European hardships and regal misgovernment contributed so copiously to supply. The poor found here a country where their services were highly valued, and their rights enjoyed peculiar consideration; where, instead of being compelled to vie with each other for the boon of ill-rewarded labor, [20] their industry was eagerly courted by the rich, and conducted them with certainty to ease and independence. Among the later accessions of people, were a number of protestant refugees from France, and of presbyterians from Ireland.† The metropolis of the province, which, in the year 1678, contained about three thousand four hundred inhabitants, was found to contain nearly double that number in 1696; and the port which, at the former period, owned no more than three ships and eight sloops, possessed, in the last mentioned year, forty ships, sixty-two sloops, and the same number of boats. The shipping of New York, was promoted, not merely by the growth of its proper population, but by the advantages of its situation, which enabled it to command nearly the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jersey. The total population of the province amounted, in 1701, to about thirty thousand persons.‡ Many of the first English colonists who repaired to this province, after the conquest of it from the Dutch, are said to have remained but a short time in it, and to have sought a refuge in New Jersey from the hostilities of the French and their Indian allies. At the end of the seventeenth century the people consisted of various races, English, Scotch, Irish, French, and chiefly Dutch; the great majority being presbyterians and independents. The Dutch congregations continued at this time, and for long after, to acknowledge subjection to the ecclesiastical authorities of Holland; and from them, their ministers, in general, derived their ordination to sacred functions. The Scotch presbyterians, after repeatedly soliciting a charter incorporating their congregation, and being continually disappointed by the interest and opposition of the episcopal party, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, made a grant of their church, and the ground attached to it, to the general assembly of the church of Scotland. The episcopalians, though the least numerous class, enjoyed a charter of incorporation from the assembly; and the minister of their church in New York had a salary of 100*l.* a year levied by a tax on all the inhabitants of the city. For this privilege they were indebted to the exertions of Governor Fletcher; and they were elated by it to such a degree of presumption, as to maintain that the ecclesiastical establishment of the church of England extended to this province, and that theirs was the religion of the state; a pretension that excited much jealousy among all the dissenters, and was peremptorily disputed by them. When the episcopal clergy became more numerous, they accounted themselves subject immediately to the bishop of London, who maintained a commissary at New York. They made an attempt at an after period to engross the privilege of solemnizing all marriages in the province, but found themselves unable to carry this pretension into effect. Though all law proceedings were conducted in English, and an English free school was established in 1702, the Dutch language continued long to prevail among a considerable portion of the people. For many years public worship was celebrated in Dutch in some of the churches; and in several counties the sheriffs often found it difficult to collect as many persons acquainted with English as were necessary to compose the juries in the courts of law. The English that was generally spoken was much corrupted by intermixture of the two languages.*

The subsistence of the Dutch language was less advantageous to the province than the permanence of Dutch manners, which continued long to be visible in the sobriety of deportment, and the peculiar attention to domestic cleanliness, order, and economy, by which the descendants of the orignal colonists of New York were eminently distinguished, and which their example succeeded in communicating, in no small degree, to the other races of European settlers with whom they were latterly associated. It was remarked, several years after this period, that the style of living was less gay and expensive, and that there was less inequality of fortune at New York than at Boston. A printing press was established at New York in the year 1693, by a printer flying from the very unwonted occurrence of quaker persecution in Pennsylvania; and a library was founded under the government of Lord Bellamont in the year 1700. But the schools in this province were inconsiderable; and although the wealthier families obtained valuable instructors for their children among the numerous protestant refugees from France, even the first elements of knowledge were very generally neglected by the bulk of the people till the era of the American Revolution.†

If Britain had pursued a wiser policy towards this and her other American provinces, she might have obtained from their resources a very great, if not a total, deliverance from the burdens of her poor laws. But various circumstances contributed to screen or diminish the attractions which the colonial territories were calculated to present to the resort of the industrious poor. The practice of transporting felons to America brought this country into disrepute with many whose information was not sufficiently extensive to acquaint them with the real amount of the evil, and the great preponderance of the advantages by which it was counterbalanced. The historian of New York has ascribed to this cause the dearness of labor, and the increased importation of slaves which began to take place about this period. Another obstruction to the colonization of this province by the free poor arose from the practices of many of the governors, who, to promote the royal interest in the assembly, were permitted to make large grants of land to their partisans and dependants, by whom it was again farmed out at exorbitant rates to the cultivators, or retained in a vacant and unproductive state in the hope of a future rise in its value from the general progress of population.‡

* Smith, 144, 145, 146—164. History of the British Dominions in America, B. III. cap. 1. This work, which I have frequently referred to, is an anonymous publication in quarto. It contains more ample and precise information than the composition of Wynne, and, like it, brings down the history and state of the colonies to the middle of the eighteenth century. It is more of a statistical than a historical work.

† Smith, 156. In 1710, three thousand palatines, flying from persecution in Germany, settled in New York. Ib. 174.

‡ Holmes, ii. 246. In 1731 it amounted to more than sixty thousand persons, of whom seven thousand were slaves. Ibid. ii. 114. Warden, i. 499.

* Smith, 150. 156. 263, 264, 265. 267 294. 296. 304, 306, 307 319. The English, French, and Irish colonists seem to have acquired pretty early an uniform character. The stronger nationality and more rigid manners of the Scotch, aided by frequent accessions from Scotland, preserved their national peculiarities longer unimpaired. "They preserve unaltered," says Dwight, "the character which they brought with them. They are industrious, frugal, orderly, patient of hardship, persevering, attached to government, reverential to religion, generally moral, and often pious. At the same time they are frequently unwarrantably self complacent, rigid in their dispositions, unbending in their opinions, sequestered, avaricious, ready to unchurch those who differ from them, and to say, doubtless we are the people." President Dwight's Travels, iii. 513.

Even when intermarriages and the common influence of free institutions and national associations shall have produced uniformity of character among all the races of American colonists, the national pedigrees of many particular districts will be preserved by their names. In one county of New York, almost every place bears the name of an Irish saint, city, county, or mountain. A neighboring district, originally planted by New Englanders, is all mapped out under the names of Unanimity, Frugality, Sobriety, Enterprise, and the like (Dwight, iv. 27.) It may be hoped that the recollection of such names as these last will impress a corresponding bias on the sentiments and character of the inhabitants of the region.

† Oldmixon, i. 128. Smith, 295, 296. Thomas's History of Printing, ii. 10. Winterbotham, ii, 338. Warden, i. 500. 525. Grant's Memoirs of an American Lady, &c. vol. i.

‡ Smith, 290. 294. "The governors were, many of them, land jobbers, bent on making their fortunes; and being ra-

The local government of the province was vested in the governor, the council, and the assembly. The governor, appointed by the king, was commander in chief by sea and land, and received from the provincial revenue a salary of about 1,500*l.* together with perquisites amounting to as much more. The councillors were appointed by the crown, but might be suspended by the governor. They enjoyed no salaries, and acted as a privy council to the governor, besides performing the legislative and judicial functions belonging to the English House of Lords. The members of assembly (elected by freeholders possessing lands or tenements improved to the value of forty pounds) had a daily allowance for their attendance; and to them, in concurrence with the council and the governor, was committed the privilege of enacting the provincial laws, which were required to be analogous to the jurisprudence of England. The laws were transmitted to England within three months after their enactment, and might, *at any time after*, be annulled by the king. The governor was empowered to prorogue or dissolve assemblies at his pleasure; to appoint the judges; to collate to all vacant benefices; and, with the advice of the council, to make grants of land, to be held of the crown by soccage tenure. Besides subordinate courts of law, there was a supreme court at New York, of which the chief-justice had a salary of 300*l.* a year. From its judgments an appeal might be made, in causes involving more than 100*l.* to the governor and council, and in causes above 300*l.* to the king and the privy council of England. Much uncertainty prevailed in the administration of civil justice from ignorance and difference of opinion as to the extent in which English statutes and decisions were to be admitted to operate as rules or precedents.

By a law passed in 1700 for the purpose of checking the missions of the Jesuits among the Indians, it was enacted, that every Jesuit or other popish priest, coming voluntarily into the province, should be subjected to perpetual imprisonment, and in case of escape and recapture, to the punishment of death. Slaves (by a law passed in 1702), except when assembled for labor, were forbidden to meet together in greater number than three; a regulation which proved insufficient to prevent a formidable insurrection of these unfortunate beings in the year 1712. Masters were enjoined by law to baptize their slaves, and encouraged to do so by a provision that their baptism should not entitle them to freedom. Indeed, manumission of slaves was discouraged by a heavy fine. Slaves were disqualified from bearing evidence against any body but slaves; and no negro, Indian, or mulatto, even though free, could hold or possess lands, tenements, or hereditaments. Any negro or Indian conspiring the death of a white man was capitally punished. Even though baptized, slaves were not considered to be properly comprehended in the denomination of Christians; for by an act passed in 1702, and confirmed in 1708, there was offered a reward of twenty shillings to every *Christian*, and half that sum to every Indian or *slave*, killing a wolf in the provincial territory.* Various laws were passed from time to time against selling ardent spirits to the Indians. The extortions of usurers were repressed by an act passed in 1717, restricting lawful interest to six per cent. This was repealed in the following year, when eight per cent. was allowed to be taken.

BOOK VI.

NEW JERSEY.

Sale of the Territory by the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret—Liberal frame of government enacted by the Proprietaries—Emigration from Long Island to New Jersey—Arrival of the first governor and Settlers from England—Discontent and Disturbance in the Colony—Renovation of the Titles to New Jersey—Equivocal Conduct of the Duke of York—Situation of the Quakers in England—Sale of Berkeley's Share of the Province to Quakers—Partition of the Province between them and Carteret—Emigration of Quakers from England to West Jersey—Encroachments of the Duke of York—Memorable Remonstrance of the Quakers—causes the Independence of New Jersey to be recognised—First Assembly of West Jersey—The Quakers purchase East Jersey—Robert Barclay appointed Governor—Emigration from Scotland to East Jersey—Designs of James the Second against the Proprietary Governments—defeated by the Revolution—Inefficient State of the Proprietary Government—Surrender of the Colonial Patent to the Crown, and Re-union of East and West Jersey—Constitution of the Provincial Government—Administrations of Lord Cornbury—State of the Colony.

Of all the national communities in which mankind have ever been united, there is none (except the fallen commonwealth of Israel*) which can boast of an origin as illustrious as that which belongs to the provinces of North America. Almost all these provincial settlements have been founded by men whose prevailing motives were, zeal for the advancement of religious truth, for the security of political freedom, or for the enlargement of the resources and renown of their country; and all have been indebted for a very considerable share of their early population to the shelter which they afforded from civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. The successful establishment of every one of them is a noble monument of human energy and fortitude; for it was not accomplished without an arduous conflict with the most powerful habits of human nature, and the most formidable obstructions of difficulty, danger and distress. The colonists of New Jersey, indeed, from their proximity and friendly relation to older colonial settlements, and from other advantageous peculiarities in their situation, were exempted from many of the hardships which elsewhere attended, in so many instances, the foundation of society in North America. But the motives which conducted a great proportion of them to this territory were such as must be held to reflect the highest honor on their enterprise, and to ennoble the origin of New Jersey.

The territory to which this appellation belongs was first appropriated by the Dutch, of whose settlements I have given an account in the history of New York. It was included in the province to which this people gave the name of New Netherlands, and had received a few Dutch and Swedish settlers at the period of the conquest of the Dutch colony by the English. Preparatory to this enterprise, as we have already seen, Charles the Second granted a charter of American territory, including the whole of the Dutch occupation to his brother James, Duke of York; [1664] and, as the king, in conformity with his pretension to an antecedent right, which the intrusion of the Dutch could neither extinguish nor suspend, had thought himself entitled to bestow this grant before the territory was actually reduced to his dominion, the duke, in like manner, seems to have regarded his investiture as completed by the charter, and proceeded to exercise the powers it conferred on him, without waiting till he had attained actual possession of the province. His charter, though much less ample in its endowments than the charters which had been previously granted to the proprietaries of Maryland and Carolina, resembled these others in conferring the province, and the powers of government, on the proprietary and "his assigns." Various instances, both in the history of the Carolinas and of New Jersey, sufficiently demonstrate that, in conformity with this expression, the proprietaries regarded their functions less as a trust than as an absolute property, subject to every act of ownership, and in particular to mortgage and alienation; and, accordingly, the government of large provinces of the British empire was repeatedly assigned by proprietaries to their creditors, or sold to the highest bidder. It was not till after the British revolution, that the legality of these transactions was disputed; but although the ministers of William the Third maintained that they were totally repugnant to the law of England, which recognised a hereditary but not a commercial transmission of office and power, the point was never determined by any formal adjudication. The evil, in process of time, produced its own remedy. The succession and multiplication of proprietaries occasioned so much inconvenience to themselves, that sooner or later they were glad to bargain with the crown for a surrender of their functions; and both in Carolina and in New Jersey, the exercise of the right of assignation materially contributed to abridge the duration of the proprietary government.

The first example of a sale of proprietary rights and functions was afforded by the Duke of York, in his conveyance to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, of a portion of the territory comprehended in the royal charter which he had recently procured for himself. If he had deferred the exercise of his ownership till he had attained possession of the country, and procured a report of its condition from Colonel Nichols, whom he had nominated the governor of it, this partition would probably not have taken place. But, before he was yet in possession of any part of it, or had obtained the information requisite to enable him to conclude such a transaction with advantage either to himself or the country, he consented to sell one of the finest districts which it embraced, to two persons who appear to have been much better acquainted with it. Berkeley and Carteret were already proprietaries of Carolina; and not contented with this ample investiture, nor yet certified by experience of the tardy returns from colonial possessions, they had been induced, by the representations of a projector acquainted with the domain assigned to the Duke of York, to believe that a particular portion of this domain would form a valuable acquisition to themselves. How far the disjunction of this portion was likely to affect the interest and value of the remainder, was a point, which, for the honor of the purchasers, we must suppose them to have overlooked as completely as it was misunderstood by the seller. But, at a subsequent period, Colonel Nichols did not scruple to assert that the person* by whose advice Berkeley and Carteret were induced to make the purchase had himself been an unsuccessful candidate for the patent which the Duke of York had obtained, and that he had revenged his disappointment by instigating these courtiers to an acquisition which he was aware would greatly depreciate the remainder of the duke's investiture. Be this as it may, the transaction that ensued, as it was very little creditable to either of the parties who engaged in it, proved in the sequel disadvantageous to them both.

It was only three months after the date of his own charter, that the Duke of York, by deeds of lease and release, in consideration of "a competent sum of money," conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and their heirs and assigns, that tract of land adjacent to New England, lying westward of Long Island, and bounded on the east, south, and west, by the river Hudson, the sea, and the Delaware; on the north by the forty-first degree and fortieth minute of latitude. In compliment to Carteret, who had defended the island of Jersey against the Long Parliament in the civil war, he bestowed on this region the name of Nova-Cesaria, or New Jersey; and he transferred to the grantees every right and royalty, and all the powers of government, which he himself possessed in virtue of his charter from the crown.

Having obtained, in this manner, the sovereignty of New Jersey, the first care of the proprietaries was to invite the resort of inhabitants to the province, and their exertions for this purpose, though pursued with more eagerness than perseverance, evinced no inconsiderable share of political sagacity. In those colonial territories which are destitute of the means of attracting adventurers by the prospect of speedy enrichment, and which must owe their cultivation to the steady enterprise and industry of permanent settlers, the most powerful attractions are supplied by liberal provisions for the security of the civil and religious rights of mankind. The recent history of New England had plainly demonstrated, that those attractions, of all others, address themselves most prevailingly to that description of human character which is best fitted to contend with the difficulties of colonization, and that their operation is so forcible as to overpower the temptations even of very superior climate and soil. That the useful lesson thus afforded to the founders of colonies was not disregarded by the courtiers of Charles the Second, has already appeared from some parts of the history of Carolina, and is still more strongly mani-

vested with power to do this, they either engrossed for themselves, or patented away to their particular favourites, a very great proportion of the whole province." Winterbotham, [337]

* In some of the colonial settlements of the Dutch (particularly at the Cape of Good Hope), the treatment of their slaves is said to have been distinguished by the most barbarous cruelty. It seems to have been very far otherwise in the province of New York. A pleasing picture of the mild patriarchal manners by which the harsh features of this institution were softened among the Dutch settlers at Albany, is delineated by Mrs. Grant in her "Memoirs of an American Lady," &c. vol. i. Letter VII. Extreme severity was inflicted only at second hand, by selling unruly and troublesome negroes to the planters of Jamaica.

From the Travels of that accurate observer and inquirer, Professor Kalm, it appears that Mrs. Grant has given a just picture of the treatment of the slaves; but that her description of the manners of the people of Albany in other respects is entirely fanciful and erroneous. Vol. ii. p. 260—266.

* It is remarkable that among those of the colonists of North America who were most eager to trace a resemblance between their own situation and that of the Jewish emigrants from Egypt, the opinion should have first sprung up that the savage Indians were the offspring of one of the tribes of Israel. This opinion (which is supported by very strong probabilities) was not without its use, if it tended to abate that spiritual pride sometimes unhappily engendered by a belief of the possession of an especial degree of divine favor. It was early adopted by the New England divines, and was maintained, with much learning and ability, in a treatise by one Thorowgood, published at London in 1650, and entitled "Jewes in America." It was afterwards embraced by William Penn the quaker, and supported by him, and by many other distinguished writers.

* The name of this individual was Scot. Whether it was the same person, or another with the same name, who afterwards published an account of East New Jersey, I am unable to ascertain. Colonel Nichols gratuitously acquits Berkeley and Carteret of any accession to the design of defrauding the duke. But Carteret did not always enjoy an unsullied reputation. In 1669, he was expelled the House of Commons for confused accounts as chamberlain.

rested by the first measures that were pursued by the proprietaries of New Jersey. They hastened to concert and make public a body of institutions for the government of the province; and, as their object was to exhibit a political fabric that should appear desirable and advantageous to mankind, they succeeded in producing a project which obtained a very favorable reception, and would have better deserved it, if the proprietaries had been legislating for an existing population. It was indeed a singular competition which these proprietary governments produced, in which sovereigns and legislators found it their interest to vie with each other in the production of models of liberty, and in tendering to the acceptance of their subjects the most effectual securities against arbitrary government. Whatever doubts may be entertained of the dignity of their motives, or the sincerity of their professions, the measures which the various proprietaries adopted in pursuance of this policy proved highly beneficial to the provinces of North America, and cherished in the minds of their inhabitants an attachment to liberty, and a conviction of their right to it.

The instrument* which was now published by Berkeley and Cartaret gave assurance to all persons who should settle in New Jersey, that the province should be ruled only by laws enacted by an assembly in which the people were represented, and to which the power of making peace or war†, and many other important privileges, were confided. In particular, it was stipulated by the proprietaries, "for the better security of the inhabitants in the said province, that they are not to impose, *nor suffer to be imposed*, any tax, custom, subsidy, tallage, assessment, or any other duty whatsoever, upon any color or pretence, upon the said province, and inhabitants thereof, other than what shall be imposed by the authority and consent of the general assembly." By another clause, of no less importance, it was provided, that "no person, at any time, shall be anyways molested, punished, disquieted, or called into question, for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment, who does not actually disturb the civil peace of the province; but all and every such person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully, have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury, or outward disturbance of others; any law, statute, or clause, contained, or to be contained, usage or custom, of the realm of England, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding." The import of these expressions could not be misunderstood; and as they were publicly promulgated, without censure or disallowance from any quarter, it must be admitted, that the colonization of this province was undertaken on an assurance, which the settlers were very well entitled to credit, of their being completely exempted from the jurisdiction of the English parliament, both in the imposition of taxes and the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. The administration of the executive power, together with the right of a negative on the enactments of the provincial assembly, were reserved to the proprietaries. To all persons resorting to New Jersey with the intention of settling in it, there were offered allotments of land, proportioned to the earliness of their arrival in the province, and to the numbers of their indented servants and *slaves*; and for this they were required to pay a quit rent of an halfpenny per acre after the year 1670, and to maintain one able male servant for every hundred acres in their possession. As the quit rents were deemed the private estate of the proprietaries, it was declared that all public expenses should be defrayed by general contribution. Such was the first constitution of New Jersey. New provisions were added to it from time to time, by subsequent proclamations, and the whole code was denominated by the people *the Laws of the Concessions*, and regarded by them as their great charter, and as possessing a higher authority than even the acts of assembly, from not being subject to alteration or repeal. An important addition was suggested by the prudence and equity of Philip Carteret, who was the first governor appointed by the proprietaries, and who, without any directions from his constituents to respect the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of the province, judged it proper to obtain their consent to the settlement, by purchasing their titles to the several districts which were occupied. The proprietaries had the wisdom to approve this proceeding, and some years after established the rule, that all lands should be purchased from the Indians by the governor and council, who were to be reimbursed by the settlers, in proportion to their respective possessions.

The conquest of New Netherlands had now been achieved by Colonel Nichols, who assumed the administration of the whole territory as governor for the Duke of York. While yet unacquainted with the grant to Berkeley and Carteret, he formed the design of colonizing the district which they had acquired, and for this purpose granted licenses to various persons to make purchases of lands from the aboriginal inhabitants of New Jersey. Three small townships were speedily formed in the eastern part of the territory, by emigrants chiefly from Long Island, who laid the foundation of Elizabeth Town, Woodbridge, and Piscataway: and Nichols, who entertained a very favorable opinion of this region, bestowed on it the name of Albania, in commemoration of one of the titles enjoyed by his master. But the hopes which he had conceived of rendering the district a valuable appendage of the duke's possessions, were soon interrupted by intelligence of the title of its new proprietaries; and the measures he had already taken gave rise to disputes respecting the property of the soil between the settlers, whose establishment he had promoted, and the proprietaries who now claimed their allegiance, which disturbed the repose of the province for more than half a century. He transmitted an earnest remonstrance to the Duke of York, on the impolicy of thus multiplying statistical divisions, and of disjoining from his own province a portion distinguished above all the rest by the fertility of its soil, the commodiousness of its rivers, and the richness of its minerals; and while he urged the duke to revoke a grant so prejudicial to his own interest, he predicted, what really happened, that the undertaking of Berkeley and Carteret, to colonize a vacant territory, would disappoint their expectations of profit, and involve them in expenses, of which only their remote posterity could hope to gather the fruits. This remonstrance appears to have produced some impression on the mind of the duke: but either it failed to suggest to him a sufficient inducement to revoke the grant he had executed, or he judged such revocation beyond his power; and Nichols was reluctantly compelled to surrender the government of New Jersey to Philip Carteret, who arrived with a company of thirty settlers from England, and established himself at Elizabeth Town, which was regarded as the capital of the infant province. Here for some years he ruled in peace over a desert which was gradually replenished with people from the provinces of New York and New England, attracted by the qualities of the country and the repute of the liberal institutions which its inhabitants were to enjoy. It was a happy peculiarity of the lot of those colonists that, establishing themselves in the vicinity of countries already cultivated, they escaped the disasters and privations which had afflicted so severely the first inhabitants of most of the other provinces. Their neighborhood to the commerce of New York, in particular, was considered a circumstance of no small advantage during the infancy of their settlement; though, in process of time, it was less favorably regarded, as having contributed to prevent the rise of a domestic mart, which would have afforded still more effectual encouragement to their trade. Like the other colonists of North America, they enjoyed the advantage of transporting the arts and habits of industry from an old country, where they had been carried to a high state of perfection, into a new land which afforded them more liberal encouragement and more unrestricted scope. Their exertions for the raising of cattle and grain were speedily and amply rewarded by a grateful soil; and their relations with the Indians enabled them to prosecute their labors in undisturbed tranquillity, and to add to them a beneficial traffic in peltry with the roving tribes by whom the neighboring forests were inhabited. Their connexion with the sister colony of New York communicated to them the benefit of the alliance which subsisted between this colony and the powerful confederacy of the Five Nations; and, as the influence of this confederacy extended to all the tribes in the vicinity of the new settlement, its inhabitants enjoyed the felicity of an entire exemption from Indian war. Recommended by the salubrity of its climate, in addition to so many other advantages, it will not appear surprising that New Jersey was soon considered a very desirable residence, and that its attractions were celebrated by early writers with higher commendation than any of the other settlements obtained. The proprietaries, still buoyed up with the hope of a gainful revenue from their province, were not wanting in exertions to circulate the intelligence of its advantages both in Europe and America, and from time to time despatched from England vessels freighted with settlers and stores to reinforce the numbers and supply the wants of their people. But the period to which they had looked for the fulfilment of their hopes, was fated to demonstrate their fallacy; and the scene of felicity which the province had hitherto presented was disagreeably overcast by the arrival of the day when the payment of quit rents had been appointed to commence. [1666—1670.] The first demand of this tribute excited general disgust among the colonists, who seem to have expressed more unwillingness than inability to comply with it. A party among them, including the oldest settlers, who had occupied their lands under the authority of Colonel Nichols, refused to acknowledge the title of the proprietaries, and, in opposition to it, set up titles which they had obtained for themselves from the Indians. It was easier for the governor to demonstrate the illegality of these pretensions, than to prevail with the people to abandon them. For two years he maintained an ineffectual struggle to enforce the claims of the proprietaries, till at length the popular discontent broke forth in an insurrection [1672] which he found it impossible to withstand. He was compelled to return to England, stript of his functions, which the colonists forthwith conferred on a natural son of Sir George Carteret, by whom their pretensions had been abetted. Disappointing as this result must have been to the proprietaries, it was impossible for them to impute the blame of it to their governor, or to hesitate to replace him in the station from which he had been expelled. This measure, however, was retarded by the unexpected events of the following year, [1673,] when New York again reverting to the dominion of Holland, New Jersey was once more reunited to the province of New Netherlands.

[1674.] The Dutch, as we have already seen, did not long retain their acquisition, which was restored to Great Britain by the treaty of London. But the re-establishment of the proprietary governments into which the territory had been previously divided, was thought to require some additional formality, and was not effected without a renovation of the titles by which these jurisdictions had been originally created. Some doubts had already been suggested of the validity of the royal charter, which had been granted to the Duke of York at a time when the Dutch Government was in quiet possession of the country; and, however, unwilling to acknowledge the force of this objection, and recede from a pretension that had been deliberately embraced by his brother and himself, the duke was prompted by his own interest to remove from men's minds a doubt so likely to obstruct the resort of settlers to this province. Another cause seems also to have contributed to turn his thoughts to the procurement of a new investiture. The remonstrances of Colonel Nichols had led him to regard the grant he had made of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret with feelings of dissatisfaction, which were not diminished by the liberal institutions which these proprietaries had conferred on their province, and the number of inhabitants who had been attracted to it from his own dominions. Whatever were the motives that withstood the gratification of his wishes, whether he scrupled to commit the injustice and incur the dishonor of robbing two of the firmest adherents of his family, or doubted the support of the law or the king in such a transaction, it is manifest from his conduct that he entertained a desire to repossess himself of the New Jersey territory, without making any compensation to the parties who had acquired it. The Dutch conquest seemed to furnish him with an opportunity of removing the objections to which his own title was subject, without seeming to confess its original defectiveness; and to afford him, at the same time, a decent pretext for divesting Berkeley and Carteret of their property, without disowning the grant by which he had bestowed it upon them, or incurring any obligation to indemnify them for its loss. It was pretended that the Dutch conquest had extinguished the proprietary

* Writers are not agreed upon the date of this instrument. The copies printed by Scot and Smith bear the date of February, 1664: which is manifestly erroneous, except on the very improbable supposition, that the document was framed by Berkeley and Carteret, not only before they had obtained their own grant from the Duke of York, but before the duke himself had obtained his charter from the king. Chalmers supposes the date to have been February, 1665: but this is inconsistent with the clause which tenders certain advantages to settlers "who shall transport themselves before the 1st of January, 1665." Chalmers was prevented from observing this inconsistency by mistaking this last mentioned date for 1655.

† The assembly was empowered, not merely to levy forces and declare war as they should see cause, but "to pursue an enemy as well by sea as by land (if need be), out of the limits and jurisdictions of the said province, with the particular consent of the governor, and under his conduct, or of our commander-in-chief."

rights, and that the country, unencumbered by them, had now reverted to the crown. In conformity with this view, the duke sued for a new investiture, and found no difficulty in obtaining from the king a second charter, which recited the former grant, and confirmed to him the whole of the territory which that grant had embraced. He now appointed Andros his lieutenant over the whole reunited province; and, investing all the functions of legislative and executive power in the governor and council, established the same arbitrary government in New Jersey that he had all along maintained in New York. But, although he could thus meditate the meanness of despoiling his friends of a property which he had sold to them, he wanted either resolution or authority to effectuate his iniquitous pretensions; and, on the application of Sir George Carteret, scrupled not to promise a renewal of the grant of New Jersey. Yet, though ashamed to acknowledge his intentions, he was unwilling to abandon them; and while the execution of the grant was delayed, he transmitted orders to Andros to maintain his prerogative over the whole territory. [1675] Even when he finally consented to restore New Jersey, he endeavored to evade the complete performance of his engagement, and pretended to have reserved certain rights of sovereignty over it, which Andros seized every opportunity of asserting.

In the beginning of the year 1675, Philip Carteret returned to New Jersey, and resumed the government of the settlements which had been formed in the eastern part of the province, and from which he had been expelled about two years before. The inhabitants, who had experienced the rigors of conquest and the arbitrary rule of Andros, now received their old governor very willingly; and, as he postponed the payment of their quit rents to a future day, and published a new set of concessions by Sir George Carteret that confirmed all their privileges, a peaceable and contented subordination was once more re-established in the colony. The only subject of disquiet that occurred for several years, arose from the arbitrary proceedings by which Andros from time to time enforced the unjust pretensions of the Duke of York. Governor Carteret, in the hope of procuring to his people a share of the advantages which the neighboring colony derived from her commerce, attempted to establish a direct trade between England and New Jersey. But Andros warmly opposed this proceeding, as an injury to the commerce and the customs of New York; [1676] and by confiscating the vessels that traded in opposition to his mandates, put an end to the New Jersey commerce in its infancy. In addition to this outrage, he endeavored by various exactions to render the colonists tributary to his government; and even proceeded to such extremity of insolence as to arrest Governor Carteret and convey him prisoner to New York. When complaints of these proceedings of his deputy were carried to the duke, he evinced the same indecision and duplicity that had characterized all his recent demeanor. He could not consent, he said, to depart from a prerogative which had always belonged to him; yet he directed that the exercise of it should be relaxed, as a matter of favor to his friend Sir George Carteret. But the province had now been divided into two proprietary jurisdictions; and it was in the western part of it, in which Carteret had ceased to have any interest, that the duke attempted to appropriate the largest share of his pretended prerogative. The circumstances that attended this partition of the territory, compose the most interesting portion of the early history of New Jersey.

Among the various sectaries who had reason to complain of the ecclesiastical policy pursued by the ministers of Charles the Second, the quakers incurred an ample share of persecution. During the last years of the protectorate of Cromwell, a number of quakers, charged with offending against public order and decency, had been committed to prison in various parts of England: and because the protector refused or delayed to pass an order for their release, one of the leaders of the sect rebuked him publicly in an angry harangue, which he concluded by tearing his own cap in two, and prophesying that the government would be rent from Cromwell and his family.* The accomplishment of this prediction however, was the only gratification that the quakers were permitted to derive from the abolition of the protectoral government. In the interval between that event and the restoration, they experienced such additional severity as again elicited from one of their number the prophecy of another political revolution. These severities, partly occasioned by the aversion which the presbyterian ministers and magistrates entertained for the doctrines of the quakers, were also in part provoked by the frenzy and indecency with which many of the professors of these doctrines thought proper to signalise their contempt for the worship of their adversaries. [21] To the committee of safety, in whose hands the supreme power was lodged, the quakers were rendered additionally obnoxious by the progress which their tenets had made among the veteran soldiers of the commonwealth, and the success with which George Fox interposed to prevent a body of these converts from joining the parliamentary forces who were marching to suppress the insurrection of the royalists in Cheshire. They refused to interpose for the liberation of those quakers who had been imprisoned by the magistrates as vagabonds and disturbers of the peace or even to restrain the outrages of the populace, who in many places began to insult and disturb the quaker assemblies. The advancement of General Monk to the supreme direction of affairs, not only gratified these sectaries with the accomplishment of another prediction, but encouraged them to expect a favorable change in their own situation. Monk issued an order that no further disturbance should be given to the peaceable meetings of the quakers, and he listened to their complaints with a respect and attention which they had not been able to procure from his predecessors in authority. The hopes which this altered treatment gave rise to, were realised at the restoration. To the favorable regards of the king, the quakers were recommended by the complaints they preferred against every description of authority that had subsisted in England during the suspension of monarchy, and by the peculiar enmity they expressed against those who were also, in an eminent degree, the objects of his own dislike. Their accusations of the government of New England, in particular, met with a gracious acceptance, and produced an order for the suspension of all further severities against them in that quarter. Upwards of seven hundred quakers were released from various prisons in England, and an assurance was given that a complete toleration of quaker worship would be established by law. The fulfilment of this assurance, however, was obstructed by certain of the king's ministers, who, though willing by delusive pretences to tranquillise all the dissenters till the newly-restored monarchy might appear to be firmly established, were secretly determined to enforce a strict uniformity of religious worship in England; and, before many months of the new reign had elapsed, their purpose was effectually promoted by a circumstance which suddenly and completely extinguished whatever of court favor the quakers had really or seemingly enjoyed. Meanwhile, the sect, like all others, was indulged with an actual toleration, which was diligently improved by its founder and his wiser associates in multiplying their converts, and introducing into their society a system of order and discipline that tended to curb the wild spirit which had transported so many votaries of quakerism beyond the bounds of decency and sobriety, and exposed their profession, in so many places, to reproach and persecution. But this state of unmolested tranquillity, together with the hope of seeing it perpetuated by law, were quickly destroyed by a violent explosion of fury and fanaticism from a different body of sectarians. In some points, both of doctrine and practice, the "Fifth Monarchy men," or "Millenarians," bore a strong resemblance to the quakers; a temporal hierarchy, in particular, was equally odious to both, and both rejected, on all occasions, the ceremonial of an oath. The millenarians, however, went a step further than the quakers, and held themselves entitled to employ force for the overthrow of every temporal supremacy that usurped the place, and obstructed the advent, of that spiritual dominion which they eagerly expected to behold. George Fox, on the contrary, had taught, from the beginning of his ministry, that it was absolutely unlawful to employ any other than spiritual weapons for the promotion of spiritual ends, or, indeed, of any ends whatever. But he was well aware that he had collected around him many of the wildest and most combustible spirits in the kingdom; and the exaggeration of his own principles, which he beheld in the demeanor of many of his own followers, together with numberless examples among the other sects and factions of which the times were so prolific, had forcibly taught him by what insensible gradations the minds of men, when thoroughly heated by religious or political zeal, are carried from the disapprobation of hostile institutions into the conviction of an especial call, or of a clear moral duty, to attempt their subversion. It was therefore with no small alarm that Fox had heard of the projects that the millenarians entertained some time prior to the restoration, of effecting by force of arms the establishment, or at least the recognition, of the Messiah's personal reign upon earth; and he had published, at the time, an earnest remonstrance to all his followers on the unlawfulness of designs, which, however remote from their distinctive principles, would prove, he feared, but too congenial to the spirit with which, in many instances, these principles were associated. But his endeavors, whatever effect they may have produced on his own followers, failed to convince the public that there was any radical or solid distinction between the quakers and the millenarians; and what probably contributed to sharpen his own apprehensions, as well as to increase the public prepossession, was, that the quakers were encumbered with a number of partial and temporary adherents, the limits of whose faith they were unable to ascertain by reference to a creed, and who, flitting from sect to sect, according to the ebbs and flows of their own humor and caprice, remained only long enough with any one to infect it with their own levity, and dishonor it with a share of their own reputation. The insurrection that broke forth among the millenarians, in the first year of the restored monarchy, proved highly prejudicial to the interests of the quakers, not only from the common opinion that the principles of the two sects were substantially the same, but from the plausible grounds that were afforded to the adversaries of toleration; and the pledges which the government, no less alarmed than provoked, determined to exact from every description of its subjects. The quakers now became the objects of peculiar jealousy, from their refusal to give assurance of fidelity to the king by taking the oath of allegiance, and were assailed with a rigor and reality of persecution which as yet they had never experienced in England. They were at first included along with the millenarians in a royal proclamation which forbade either of these classes of sectaries from assembling under pretence of worship elsewhere than in parochial churches, but were soon after distinguished by the provisions of an act of parliament that applied exclusively to themselves. By this statute it was enacted, that all quakers refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and assembling to the number of five persons above sixteen years of age for the purpose of divine worship, should, for the first and second offences, incur the penalty of fine and imprisonment, and, for the third, should either abjure the realm or be transported beyond it. Nay, so cordial was the dislike now entertained by the court against the quakers, that, instead of employing the complaints of this sect as the handle for a quarrel with the obnoxious province of Massachusetts, it was determined to stir up the enmity that had been expressed in this province against the quakers, and to invite the provincial government to a repetition of the severities that had been so recently prohibited. For this purpose, it was signified to the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, by a letter under the hand of the king, that his majesty, though desirous that liberty of conscience should be granted to all other religious professors in the province, would be glad to hear that a severe law were passed against the quakers, whose principles he reckoned incompatible with the existence of government. These unfavorable sentiments were very shortly after exchanged by the king for a juster estimate of quaker principles. In a conference which he granted to some of the leading members of the sect, he received assurances which satisfied him not only that this people had been unjustly confounded with the millenarians, but that their principles with respect to government, including an absolute renunciation of the right of resistance, were such as he had reason to wish more generally diffused through his dominions. But this alteration in his sentiments produced no relaxation of the legal severities to which the quakers were subjected, and was attended with no other consequence than a familiar and apparently confidential intercourse between him and some of their more eminent leaders, together with many expressions of regard and good will on his part which he was unwilling or unable to substantiate. In the

* Cromwell, though in general he treated the quakers with [illegible] of which the [illegible] of this prophet may be adduced as an instance, could not entirely subdue his jealousy of a sect in which some of his own most determined adversaries had enrolled themselves. That restless agitator, John Lilburn, [illegible] made a profession of quakerism, and yet not only continued to write against [illegible] promise that he would not employ his sword in aid of his pen. Gough and Sewell, i. 70. Cromwell had personally witnessed a great deal of quaker extravagance. He was interrupted when preaching in parliament by a quaker, who called out that he had a message from the Lord to the protector. Ibid. 79. [illegible] when he was sitting with his officers at divine worship. Hume, vii. 336.

persecution that was now commenced against all classes of dissenters, the quakers were exposed to a more than equal share of severity from the unbending zeal with which they refused to conform even in appearance to any one of the obnoxious requisitions of the law, and the eagerness with which they seized every opportunity of making manifest their forbidden practices, and signalizing their peculiar gifts of patient suffering and unconquerable perseverance. In every part of England the quakers were harassed with fines and imprisonments, and great numbers were transported to Barbadoes and to the American settlements,* where they formed a valuable addition to the English population, and quickly found that their persecutors in expelling them from their native land, had unconsciously contributed to the melioration of their lot. Instead of the wild enthusiasts who had formerly rushed with headlong zeal to New England in quest of persecution, there was now introduced into America a numerous body of wiser and milder professors of quakerism, whose views were confined to the enjoyment of that liberty of worship, for the sake of which they had been driven into exile. In several of the American provinces, as well as in the island of Barbadoes, they experienced an ample toleration and a friendly reception from the governments and the inhabitants; and, even in those provinces where they were still the objects of suspicion and severity, they contributed to render their principles less unpopular, by demonstrating with what useful industry and peaceful virtue the profession of them might be combined. Contented with the toleration of their worship, and diligently improving the advantages of their new lot, many of their exiles attained, in a few years, to a plentiful and prosperous estate; and so far did they carry their willingness to reconcile their own tenets with the existing institutions and practices of the countries in which they found themselves established, that in many instances they united a profession of quakerism with the purchase and employment of negro slaves. Perhaps the deceitfulness of the human heart was never more strikingly exhibited than in this monstrous association of the characters of exiles for conscience sake and the principles of universal peace and philanthropy, with the condition of slave owners and the exercise of arbitrary power. Yet, in process of time, much good was educed from this evil; and the inconsistency of one generation of quakers enabled their successors to exhibit to the world a memorable example of disinterested regard for the rights of human nature, and a magnanimous sacrifice to the requirements of piety and justice.

The principles of the sect continued meanwhile to propagate themselves in Britain, to an extent that more than supplied the losses occasioned by the banishment of so many of their professors. Almost all the other sects had suffered an abatement of piety and reputation from the furious disputes and vindictive struggles that attended the civil wars; and while the quakers were distinguished by exemption from this reproach, they were no less advantageously distinguished by a severity of persecution which enabled them to display in an eminent degree the primitive graces of christian character. It was now that their cause was espoused and their doctrines defended by writers who yielded to none of their cotemporaries in learning, eloquence, or ingenuity, and who have never been equalled, or even approached, by any succeeding authors in the ranks of the quakers. The doctrines that had floated loosely through the quaker body were now collected and reduced to an orderly system; the discipline necessary to preserve from anarchy, and restain the fantastic sallies which the genuine principle of quakerism is peculiarly apt to beget,† was explained and enforced; and, in the midst of a persecution which drove many of the presbyterians of Scotland to despair and rebellion, the quakers began to add to their zeal and resolution that mildness of address and tranquil propriety of thought and conduct by which they are now universally characterized. Yet, it was long before the wild and enthusiastic spirit which had distinguished the rise of the society was banished entirely from its bosom: and while it continued to exert its influence, a considerable diversity of sentiment and language prevailed among the quakers. [22] This diversity, in particular, was manifest in the sentiments that were entertained with regard to the duty of confronting persecution. While all considered it unlawful to forsake their ordinances on account of the prohibition of their oppressors, there were many who esteemed it no less a derelection of duty to abandon their country for the sake of a peaceful enjoyment of their ordinances in another land. Considering quakerism as a revival of primitive christianity, and themselves as fated to repeat the fortunes of the first Christians, and to gain the victory over the world by evincing the fortitude of martyrs, they had associated the success of their cause with the infliction and endurance of persecution, and deemed the retreating from a country where this evil impended over them, to one where they might be exempted from it, equivalent to the desertion of the contest in which the prevalence of truth or of error was to be decided. The toleration of their principles seemed to be less the object of their desire than the victorious spread of them; and the success of quakerism in England appeared to be incomplete without the downfall of the established hierarchy.* But there were others of more moderate temper, who, though willing to sustain the character of the primitive Christians deemed this character no way inconsistent with the exercise of that liberty which was expressly conceded to the objects of their imitation in the apostolic direction that when persecuted in one city they should flee to another. Disturbed in their religious assemblies, harassed and impoverished by fines and imprisonments, and withal continually exposed to a violent removal from their native land, as the consequence of a line of conduct which they held it their duty to pursue, they were led to meditate the advantage of a voluntary expatriation with their families and their substance, and naturally cast their eyes on that country which, notwithstanding the severities once inflicted on their brethren in some of its provinces, had always presented an asylum to the victims of persecution. Their regards were farther directed to this quarter by the number of their fellow sectaries who were now established in several of the North American states, and the freedom, comfort, and tranquillity which they were there enabled to enjoy.

Such was the situation of the quakers at the time when Lord Berkeley, alarmed by the insubordination of the planters of New Jersey, and dissatisfied with an acquisition which seemed likely to realize the predictions of Colonel Nichols, offered his share of the province for sale. He soon received the proposal of a price that was satisfactory from two English quakers named Fenwick and Byllinge, and in the year 1674, in conformity with their desire, conveyed the subject of the purchase to the first of these persons in trust for the other. Fenwick appears to have been unworthy of the confidence implied in this arrangement. A dispute soon arose between Byllinge and him with regard to their respective proportions of interest in the territory; and, to avoid the scandal of a law-suit, the two parties agreed to submit their pretensions to the judgment of the celebrated William Penn, who now began to occupy a conspicuous place among the leaders and champions of the quaker cause. Penn found it easier to appreciate the merits of the case than to terminate the controversy: and, after, he had pronounced an award in favor of Byllinge, it required the utmost exertions of his address and authority to prevail upon Fenwick to recognise it. Yielding at length to the solemn and earnest remonstrances of Penn, Fenwick forbore to press his unjust demand any farther; and, in the year 1675, with his wife and family, and a small troop of quaker associates, he set sail from England, and established himself in the western part of New Jersey. But Byllinge was now no longer in a condition to profit by the adjustment of the dispute. He had sustained such losses in trade that it became necessary for him to divest himself of the whole of his remaining property for the indemnification of his creditors; and as the most valuable part of this property consisted of his New Jersey purchase, he was the more naturally led to desire that its administration should be confided to the same eminent person whose good offices had so recently contributed to ascertain and preserve it. William Penn, after some consideration, agreed to undertake this duty, and, in conjunction with Gawen Laurie and Nicholas Lucas, two of the creditors of Byllinge, assumed the direction of their constituents' share of the New Jersey territory.

The first care of Penn and his associates was to effect a partition of the province between themselves and Sir George Carteret; and as all parties were sensible of the disadvantage of a joint property, the division was accomplished without difficulty. The eastern part of the province was assigned to Carteret, under the name of East New Jersey; the western, to Byllinge's assigness, who named their moiety West New Jersey. The administrators of this latter territory then proceeded to divide it into a hundred lots, or proprieties; ten of which they assigned to Fenwick, and the remaining ninety they reserved for sale for the benefit of the creditors of Byllinge. Their next and most important proceeding was to frame a political constitution for the purchasers and future inhabitants of the land, which was promulgated under the title of "concessions," or terms of grant and agreement, to be mutually signed by the venders and purchasers of the territory. This instrument adopted the provisions that had been previously enacted by Berkeley and Carteret for the exemption of the provincials from all taxes but such as their own native assemblies should impose on them, and for the security of religious freedom; the clause by which this latter provision was introduced being prefaced by a general declaration, "that no men, nor number of men, upon earth have power to rule over men's consciences in religious matters." It was appointed that the people should meet annually to choose one honest man for each propriety to sit in the provincial assembly; that "these elections be not determined by the common and confused way of cries and voices, but by putting balls into balloting boxes to be provided for that purpose, for the prevention of all partiality, and whereby every man may freely choose according to his own judgment and honest intention;" and that every member of assembly should be allowed a shilling a day during the session, "that thereby he may be known to be the servant of the people." Every man was to be capable of choosing and being chosen to sit in these assemblies, which were vested with the power to make, alter, and repeal laws, and to elect, from time to time a committee of assistants to carry the laws into execution. Without the verdict of a jury, no man could be arrested, confined, or deprived of life, liberty, or estate. Imprisonment for debt was disallowed: and a bankrupt, after surrendering his estate to his creditors, was set at liberty to work again for himself and his family. Such is an outline of the composition that forms the first essay of quaker legislation, and entitles its authors to no mean share in the honor of planting religious and political liberty in America. "There," said Penn and his colleagues, in allusion to this fruit of their labors, "we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and christians, that they may not be brought in bondage but by their own consent; 'for we put the power in the people.'"

The publication of this instrument, which its authors accompanied with a special recommendation of the province to the members of their own religious fraternity produced an immediate display of that diversity of sentiment which had begun to prevail among the society of quakers. Many prepared with alacrity to embrace the proposals of the trustees, and expressed the most exaggerated expectations of the liberty, prosperity, and repose that awaited them in the new settlement; while others regarded with jealousy, and even vehemently opposed a secession which they considered pusillanimous and discreditable. To moderate the expectations of the one, and to appease the jealousy of the other of these parties, William Penn and his colleagues addressed a circular letter to the members of their sect, in which they solemnly cautioned them against leaving their country from a timid reluctance to bear testimony to their principles, from an impatient unsettled temper, or from any motive inferior to a deliberate conviction that the God of all the earth opened their way to New Jersey, and sanctioned their removal thither. They were admonished to remember that, although quaker principles were established in the province, only quaker safeguards could be interposed or relied on for their preservation; and, in particular, that the religious toleration which was to be established must depend for its continuance on the aid of that Being with whose will they believed it to concur, and could ever be defended

* In one vessel alone, which was despatched from England in March 1664, sixty quaker convicts were shipped for America. Williamson's North Carolina, i. 82.

† Robert Barclay, the author of the "Apology for the Quakers," and of a treatise on "the Anarchy of the Ranters," has perhaps done more than any other writer of his persuasion to render quakerism a methodical and rational system. Yet this eminent person, though remarkably distinguished for the strength and soundness of his understanding and the sedateness of his temper, soon after his conversion to quakerism, betrayed in his conduct a strong taint of enthusiastic extravagance. He himself mentions, that on one occasion, having experienced a very vivid impression of the duty of walking through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes, he could not be easy till he had obeyed the divine call, as he conceived it to have been. Aikin's General Biography, vol. ii.

* In Neal's History of the Puritans (vol. iv.) there is preserved an account of a debate which took place in one of the churches of London between an English bishop and a party of these wilder professors of quakerism, who willingly accepted the bishop's rash challenge to a public disputation. The debate was short, and soon degenerated into a reciprocation of abuse, in which the bishop, finding himself by no means a match for his opponents, took to flight, and was pursued to his house by a mob of quakers, vociferating at his heels, "The hireling flieth, the hireling flieth."

by force or violence against the arm of an oppressor. To the administrators' letter there was annexed "A Description of West New Jersey," for the better information of intending colonists, in which some trivial exaggerations that had gone abroad respecting the excellence of the soil and climate were corrected, but in the main, a most inviting representation of the settlement was conveyed. This publication was certainly not intended to repress the ardor of quaker emigration; neither had it any such effect. Numerous purchases of colonial land were made by quakers in various parts of England; and, in the course of the year 1677, upwards of four hundred persons of this persuasion transported themselves to West New Jersey. Many of these were persons of considerable substance and respectability, who carried with them their children and servants; and along with them were sent a board of commissioners appointed by Penn and his colleagues to make partition of the lands, and purchase the acquiescence and friendship of the Indians. While the ship that carried out the first detachment of these emigrants was lying in the Thames, and preparing to sail, it happened that Charles the Second was passing by in his pleasure barge. Observing a number of quakers on board, the king came alongside the vessel, and inquired whither they were bound. Informed of their purpose, he asked if they were all quakers, and, being answered in the affirmative, he gave them his blessing and departed.*

On their arrival in America, the quakers very soon discovered that the danger of a lawless encroachment on their privileges had not been suggested to them in vain. Andros summoned them to acknowledge the soveriegnty of his master, the Duke of York; affirming that his own life would be endangered if he should venture to recognize their independence without an express order from the duke. When they remonstrated against this usurpation, Andros cut short the controversy by pointing to his sword; and as this was an argument which the quakers were precluded from retorting, they submitted for the present to his violence, and acknowledged themselves and their territory subject to the Duke of York, till the issue of an application for redress, which they transmitted to England. They were compelled for some time to endure the hardships inseparable from the occupation of a desert land. But these hardships were surmounted by industry and patience; and their first settlement, to which they gave the name of Burlington, quickly exhibited a thriving appearance, and was replenished with inhabitants by successive arrivals of additional quaker emigrants from the parent state. [1678] It was observed in this, as in most of the other infant settlements in America, that the success of individual colonists was in general proportioned to the original humility of their condition, and the degree of reliance which they placed on the resource of their own unassisted industry. Many who emigrated as servants were more prosperous than others who imported a considerable substance along with them. Inured to industry, they derived from it a return so ample, as soon enabled them to rise above a state of servitude, and cultivate land on their own account; while the others, subsisting too long on their imported stock, and relying too far upon the hired labor of the poor, were not unfrequently reduced to indigence. The first exertions of the colonists to procure themselves a livelihood had been facilitated by the friendly assistance of the Indians; but a hostile attack was soon threatened by these savages, who, on finding that a dangerous epidemic had broke out among them, accused their neighbors of having treacherously *sold them the small pox*. The danger, however, was averted, by the influence of an Indian chief, who assured his countrymen that similar diseases had afflicted their forefathers, while as yet they had no intercourse with strangers, and that such calamities were not of earthly origin, but came down from heaven.

1679] Sir George Carteret, the proprietary of East Jersey, died in 1679; having derived so little benefit from his American territory, that he found it necessary to bequeath it by his will to trustees, who were instructed to dispose of it for the advantage of his creditors. The exemption which this district had been permitted to enjoy from the jurisdiction of the Duke of York, had not contributed to moderate the discontent with which the inhabitants of West Jersey submitted to an authority from which their right to be exempted was equally clear. They had never ceased to importune the duke for a redress of this grievance; and were at length provoked to additional vehemence of complaint and urgency of solicitation, by a tax which Andros, in the exercise of his master's pretended sovereignty, imposed on the importation of European merchandize into West Jersey. Wearied at length with the continual importunity of these suitors, rather than moved with a sense of honor or equity, this unjust prince consented to refer the matter of their complaint to certain commissioners, by whom it was finally remitted [1680] to the legal opinion of Sir William Jones. The argument employed in behalf of the colonists of West Jersey on this occasion, was prepared by William Penn, George Hutchinson, and several other coadjutors, chiefly of the quaker persuasion, and breathes a firm undaunted spirit of liberty, worthy of the founders of a North American commonwealth. "Thus then," they insisted, after a narrative of the titles by which the territory had been transmitted to them, "we come to buy that moiety which belonged to Lord Berkeley, for a valuable consideration: and in the conveyance he made us, powers of government are expressly granted; for that only could have induced us to buy it; and the reason is plain, because to all prudent men the government of any place is more inviting than the soil. For what is good land without good laws? the better the worse. And if we could not assure people of an easy, and free, and safe government, both with respect to their spiritual and worldly property,—that is an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, by a just and wise government,—a mere wilderness would be no encouragement: for it were a madness to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure." Having adverted to the argument in support of the duke's usurped authority, they continued—"Natural right and human prudence oppose such doctrine all the world over: for what is it but to say, that people free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in the plantations abroad. And why? because he is a con queror there; but still at the hazard of the lives of his own people, and at the cost and charge of the public. We could say more, but choose to let it drop. But our case is better yet; for the king's grant to the Duke of York is plainly restrictive to the laws and government of England. Now the constitution and government of England, as we humbly conceive, are so far from countenancing any such authority, that it is made a fundamental in our constitution, that the king of England cannot justly take his subjects' goods without their consent. This needs no more to be proved than a principle; it is an home-born right, declared to be law by divers statutes." "To give up this," they added, "the power of making laws, is to change the government, to sell, or rather resign ourselves to the will of another; and that for nothing; For, under favor, we buy nothing of the duke, if not the right of an undisturbed colonizing, and that as Englishmen with no diminution, but rather expectation of some increase of those freedoms and privileges enjoyed in our own country: for the soil is none of his; 'tis the natives', by the *jus gantium*, the law of nations; and it would be an ill argument to convert them to Christianity, to expel instead of purchasing them out of those countries. If then the country be theirs, it is not the duke's; he cannot sell it; then what have we bought?" "To conclude this point, we humbly say that we have not lost any part of our liberty by leaving our country; for we leave not our king, nor our government, by quitting our soil; but we transplant to a place given by the same king, with express limitation to erect no polity contrary to the same established government, but as near as may be to it; and this variation is allowed but for the sake of emergencies; and that latitude bounded by these words, *for the good of the adventurer and planter*." In a subsequent part of their pleading,* they remark, that "there is no end of this power; for since we are by this precedent assessed without any law, and thereby excluded our English right of common assent to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for all our personal estates. This is to transplant, not from good to better, but from good to bad. This sort of conduct has destroyed government, but never raised one to any true greatness." "Lastly, the duke's circumstances, and the people's jealousies considered, we humbly submit it, if there can be in their opinion, a greater evidence of a design to introduce an unlimited government, than both to exact an unterminated tax from English planters, and to continue it after so many repeated complaints; and on the contrary, if there can be any thing so happy to the duke's present affairs, as the opportunity he hath to free that country with his own hand, and to make us all owers of our liberty to his favor and justice. So will Englishmen here know what to hope for, by the justice and kindness he shows to Englishmen there; and all men see the just model of his government in New York to be the scheme and draught in little of his administration in Old England at large, if the crown should ever devolve upon his head." Unpalatable as this argument must doubtless have been to the British court, and the counsellors of the Duke of York at this period, it was attended with the most triumphant success. The commissioners to whom the case had been referred were constrained to pronounce their judgment in conformity with the opinion of Jones, "that as the grant to Berkeley and Carteret had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the legality of the taxes could not be defended." In compliance with this adjudication, the duke without farther scruple resigned all his claims on West Jersey, and confirmed the province itself in the amplest terms to its new proprietaries. And as the same procedure was evidently due to East Jersey, he granted soon after a similar release in favor of the representatives of his friend Sir George Carteret. Thus the whole of New Jersey was promoted at once from the condition of a conquered country to the rank of a free and independent province; and made the adjunct, instead of the dependency, of the British empire. The powerful and spirited pleading, by which this benefit was gained, derives additional interest from the recollection of the conflict that was then carrying on in England between the advocates of liberty and the abettors of arbitrary power. I question if it be possible to point out, in any of the writings or harangues of which that period was so abundantly prolific, a more impressive or magnanimous effort for the preservation of liberty, than is evinced in this first successful vindication of the rights of New Jersey. One of the most remarkable features of the plea which the provincials had maintained, was the strong and deliberate assertion that no tax could be justly imposed on them, without their own consent and the authority of their own general assembly. The report of the commissioners in their favor, and the relief that followed, were virtual concessions in favor of this principle, which in an after age was destined to obtain a more signal triumph in the independence of North America.

West Jersey now filled apace with inhabitants, by the accession of numerous settlers, of which the greater proportion still continued to be quakers. Byllinge, who was appointed the first governor by the other proprietaries, not finding it convenient to leave England, granted a deputation of his functions to Samuel Jennings, by whom the first representative assembly of West Jersey was convoked. [1681] In this assembly, there was enacted a body of Fundamental Constitutions, and a number of laws for the protection of property and the punishment of crimes. By the Fundamental Constitutions, the assembly was empowered to appoint and displace all persons holding offices of trust in the province; and the governor was precluded from making war, or doing any act that should be obligatory on the state, without the assembly's concurrence, and from withholding his assent to any of its enactments. Assemblies were to be annually convoked: and no assembly was to have power to impose a tax which should endure longer than a year. In the laws that were passed on this occasion, the most remarkable feature is a provision, that in all criminal cases, except treason, murder, and theft, the person aggrieved should have power to pardon the offender, whether before or after condemnation—a provision of very questionable expediency, but probably intended to prevent the christian duty of forgiveness from being evacuated, as in most countries is practically done, by the supposed municipal duty which engages a man to avenge as a citizen the wrong which as a christian he is pledged to forgive. The landed property of every inhabitant was made liable for his

* S. Smith, [illegible] 93. Proud's History of Pennsylvania, i. 138—144. This is a very scarce work. I am indebted to the kindness of [illegible]

* This curious document, which [illegible] with some display of legal knowledge, is printed at full length in S. Smith's History. It is remarkable that Chalmers has taken no notice of it. [illegible] p. 287; has given an [illegible] and very imperfect version of it. That Penn concurred in the [illegible] of this pleading, is undeniable; and hence it may be fairly presumed, that he assisted in its composition. But that he was the sole author of it, as some of his modern biographers have asserted, is strongly refuted by its style, in which not the slightest resemblance is discernible to any of his acknowledged productions.

debts; marriages were appointed to be solemnized by justices of the peace; for the prevention of disputes with the Indians, the sale of spirituous liquors to them was strictly prohibited; and for the encouragement of poor but industrious laborers, who obtained the means of emigrating from Europe by indenting themselves as servants to more wealthy settlers, every servant was entitled to claim from his master, at the expiry of his indenture, a set of implements of husbandry, certain articles of apparel, and ten bushels of corn. To prevent the resort of worthless and depraved men to the province, a law was soon after passed, requiring every new settler, under pain of a pecuniary fine, to give satisfactory evidence to a justice of the peace, that his change of residence was not the effect of crime, nor an act of fraud, but that he was reputed a person of blameless character and sober life. From this period till the dissolution of the proprietary government, the provincial assembly continued to be annually convoked. It did not always confine itself to the exercise of the ample powers with which it was constitutionally endowed. For when Byllinge soon after proposed to deprive Jennings, the deputy-governor, of his office, the assembly interposed to prevent this proceeding; declaring that Jennings gave satisfaction to the people, and desiring him to retain his situation. The rule and ordinary practice of the constitution, however, was that the council of assistants to the governor were nominated by the assembly; while the proprietaries appointed the governor; and he, with the consent of the proprietaries, named his own deputy.

The success of their experiment in West Jersey encouraged the quakers of Great Britain to avail themselves of the opportunity that was now afforded of enlarging the sphere of their enterprise by the acquisition of the eastern half of the territory. The close of Philip Carteret's administration of East Jersey was embittered by a revival of the disputes that had once rendered him a fugitive from his government. Even the concession that had been recently obtained from the Duke of York served out to afford additional materials of discord between the proprietary government and the people; and instead of mutually enjoying the important benefit which it conferred, the two parties set themselves to debate with the utmost vehemence and pertinacity, whether this instrument or the proprietary concessions in 1664 should be regarded as the foundations of their government. Disgusted with these disputes, and perceiving that they were not likely to derive either emolument or satisfaction from a prolonged administration of the proprietary government, the trustees and executors of Sir George Carteret offered the province for sale to the highest bidder; and closing with the proposals of William Penn,* conveyed their rights over East Jersey to him, [1682] and to eleven other persons of the quaker persuasion. The territory comprehended in this conveyance contained already a variety of settlements, inhabited by seven hundred families, or about three thousand five hundred persons, exclusive of the inhabitants of certain remote and scattered plantations, who were computed to amount to at least half as many more. The great majority of the settlers were not quakers; and whether with the view of allaying the jealousy with which these persons might have regarded a government wholly composed of men whose principles differed so widely from their own, or for the purpose of fortifying their own interest at the British court, by the association of persons of influence in their undertaking, the twelve purchasers made haste to assume twelve other partners in their proprietary rights, and among others the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, and Lord Drummond of Gilston, the Secretary of State for that kingdom.† In favor of these twenty-four proprietaries, the Duke of York executed his third and last grant of East Jersey; on receiving which, they proceeded to appoint a council or committee of their own number, to whom all the functions of the proprietary government were intrusted. To facilitate the exercise of their dominion, they obtained from Charles the Second a royal letter, addressed to the governor, council and inhabitants of the province, stating the title of the proprietaries to the soil and jurisdiction, and requiring all to yield obedience to their government and the laws.

At the time when East Jersey thus became subject to quaker administration (for the quakers still formed a great majority of the proprietary body) the inhabitants, by a diligent improvement of their advantages, had attained a flourishing and prosperous estate. The greater number of them had emigrated from New England, or were the descendants of New Englandmen; and their laws and manners in some particulars bore the traces of this origin. The punishment of death was denounced by law against children striking or cursing their parents. Adulterers were liable to flogging or banishment. Fornication was punished, at the discretion of the magistrate, by marriage fine, or flogging. Nightwalking, or revelling abroad, after the hour of nine, subjected the offenders to a discretionary punishment. A thief, for the first offence, was to make threefold restitution; in case of frequent repetition, he might be capitally punished, or reduced to slavery. There was no law for the public support of religion; but every township maintained a church and minister. "The people," said the first deputy who came among them from their quaker sovereigns, "are generally a sober, professing people, wise in their generation, courteous in their behavior, and respectful to us in office." So happily exempt were they from the most ordinary and forcible temptation to violence and dishonesty, that according to the same testimony there was not an industrious man among them whose own hands could not procure him a state of honest competence, and even of ease and plenty.* If we might rely implicitly on the opinion of this observer, we should impute the dissensions that had lately prevailed in the province to the folly and mismanagement of Carteret and his associates in the government. But there is reason to believe that the blame of these dissensions was more equally divided between the people and their rulers. A headstrong and turbulent disposition appears to have prevailed among some classes at least of the inhabitants; various riots and disturbances broke forth even under the new government; and the utmost exertions of quaker prudence and patience were required to compose them. A law which was passed about four years after this period reprobates the frequent occurrence of quarrels and challenges, and interdicts the inhabitants from wearing swords, pistols, or daggers.

Among the new proprietaries of East Jersey was the celebrated Robert Barclay of Urie, a Scottish gentleman, who had been converted to quakerism, and in defence of his adopted principles had published a series of works that elevated his name and his cause in the esteem of all Europe. Admired by scholars and philosophers for the stretch of his learning and the strength and subtlety of his understanding, he was endeared to the members of his religious fraternity by the liveliness of his zeal, the excellence of his character, and the services which his pen had rendered to their cause. These services consisted rather of the literary celebrity which he had given to the quaker doctrines, than of any wider diffusion of their influence among mankind. For his writings in general are much more calculated to dazzle and confound the understanding, than to produce conviction or sink into the heart. To the King and the Duke of York, he was recommended not less by his distinguished fame, and his happy genius and address, than by the principles of passive obedience professed by that sect of which he was considered a leader; and with both the royal brothers as well as with several of the most distinguished of their Scottish favorites and ministers, he maintained the most friendly and confidential intercourse. Inexplicable, as to many such a coalition of uncongenial characters may appear, it seems at least as strange a moral phenomenon to behold Barclay and Penn, the votaries of universal toleration and philanthropy, voluntarily associating in their labors for the education and happiness of an infant community, such instruments as Lord Perth and other abettors of royal tyranny and ecclesiastical persecution in Scotland. [23]

1683] By the unanimous choice of his colleagues Robert Barclay was appointed the first governor of East Jersey, under the new proprietary administration. So highly was he esteemed by his colleagues, and such advantage was anticipated from his superintendance of the colony, that his commission bestowed the office on him for life, and while it dispensed with his personal residence,* authorised him to nominate his own deputy. But the expectations which produced or attended his elevation, were disappointed by the result; his government (like that of Sir Henry Vane in Massachusetts) was brief and ill fated, and calculated rather to lower than to advance his illustrious reputation. The most signal and beneficial event of his presidency, was the emigration of a considerable number of his own countrymen the Scotch to East Jersey; a measure which, however congenial it may appear to the situation of that oppressed and persecuted people, was not recommended to their adoption but by dint of a good deal of importunity and persuasion. For although the great bulk of the people of Scotland were dissatisfied with the episcopal establishment which their kings had forced upon them, and vast multitudes were enduring the utmost rigors of tyranny for their resistance to it, it was found no easy matter to persuade them to seek a relief from their sufferings, in a distant and perpetual exile from their native land. In addition to the motives to emigration which the severities exercised by Lord Perth and the other royal ministers contributed to supply, the influence of Barclay and other Scottish quakers was more successfully employed in prevailing with their countrymen to seek an asylum in East Jersey; and thither accordingly a body of emigrants, chiefly from Barclay's native county of Aberdeen, soon after resorted. [1684] For the purpose of rendering the Scotch more generally acquainted with the state of the colonial territory and the nature of its institutions, and of inciting them to remove thither, it was determined by the proprietaries to publish a historical and statistical account of it, with a preliminary treatise in which the prevailing objections to emigration should be combated, and this resource presented in a more desirable view than that in which the Scotch were generally disposed to regard it. From undertaking the authorship of this performance, Barclay was probably deterred by knowing that, as a quaker, his estimate of the popular objections, some of which were founded on religious considerations, would find little favor with the bulk of his countrymen; as well as by unwillingness to entangle himself with allusions to the existing persecution, which he could hardly have characterised in a manner satisfactory at once to his own conscience and to Lord Perth and others of his proprietary associates. To the work which was now composed and published, in furtherance of his and his colleagues' design, it is probable that he contributed some assistance; and indeed the inequality of the performance strongly attests that it was not wholly the composition of a single author. It was published as the production of a Scotch gentleman, George Scot of Pitlochie, and bore the title of "The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America." From various passages in this work, it would appear that many of the Scotch were prepossessed with the notion, that to emigrate from their native land without some extraordinary sanction from the Divine will, was an impious dereliction of the lot which the Almighty had assigned to them. In opposition to this view a large and ingenious commentary was made on the Divine command to replenish and subdue the earth; and it was argued that as this was an eternal law, the duty to fulfil it was of continual obligation, and required no extraordinary manifestation from Heaven. Among other incitements to emigration, it is remarked that "We see by nature trees flourish fair, prosper well and wax fruitful in a large orchard, which would otherwise decay if they were straitened in a little nursery. Do we not see it thus fall out in our civil state, where a few men flourish best, furnished with abilities or best fitted with opportunities, and the rest wax weak and languish, as wanting room and means to nourish them? Now, that the spirits and hearts of men are kept in better temper by spreading wide, will be evident to any man who considers that the husbanding of unmanured ground and shifting into empty lands, enforceth men to frugality and quickeneth invention; and the settling of new estates requireth justice and affection to the common good; and the taking in of large countries presents a natural remedy against covetousness, fraud, and vio-

* Though Penn thus became a proprietary of East Jersey, his connexion both with its concerns, and with those of West Jersey, was henceforward almost merely nominal. He had now acquired for himself the province of Pennsylvania, which occupied all his interest, and diverted his attention from New Jersey.

† From the dedication of Scot's Model, &c. of East Jersey, it appears that Viscount Tarbet and Lord M'Leod, two other powerful Scotch nobles, became very shortly after proprietaries of this province. In one of Oldmixon's lists of the proprietaries (vol. i. p. 143), we find the name of Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, whom his contemporaries justly denominated the bloody Mackenzie: and in one of his subsequent lists we find the names of Archdale the quaker proprietary of Carolina, and of West the lawyer, who obtained so much infamous distinction as a witness for the crown on the trial of Lord Russel. 2d Edit. vol. i. p. 291.

* This testimony is confirmed by Gawen Laurie, who was the second deputy-governor under the quaker administration. "There is not," he says, "in all the province a poor body, or that wants." "The servants work not so much by a third as they do in England, and I think feed much better; for they have beef, pork, bacon, pudding, milk, butter, and good beer and cider to drink. When they are out of their time, they have land for themselves, and generally turn farmers for themselves. Servants' wages are not under two shillings a day, besides victuals." S. Smith, p. 177. 181.

* Oldmixon is mistaken in asserting that Barclay himself repaired, and carried his family with him to the province. Barclay never was in New Jersey. Soon after his appointment, he sent thither his brother David, some of whose letters from the province are printed in S. Smith's History.

lence, when every man may enjoy enough without wrong or injury to his neighbor." The heads of ancient families were particularly exhorted to embrace this opportunity of cheaply endowing their younger sons with a more liberal provision in America than the laws and usages of Scotland enabled them to bestow at home. In reply to an objection that had been urged that a province governed by quakers would be left unprovided of the means of military defence, it was stated that several of the proprietaries and many of the inhabitants did not belong to the quaker persuasion, and that East Jersey already numbered six hundred armed men. The argument derived from the severities inflicted by government on the presbyterians, is handled in a very courtly style. "You see it is now judged the interest of the government altogether to suppress the presbyterian principles; and that in order thereto, the whole force and bensil of the law of this kingdom are levelled at the effectual bearing them down; that the rigorous putting these laws in execution hath in a great part ruined many of these, who notwithstanding thereof find themselves in conscience obliged to retain these principles; while, on the other hand, episcopacy is by the same laws supported and protected. I would gladly know what other rational medium can be proposed in these circumstances, than either to comply with the government, by going what length is required by law, in conforming; or to retreat, where by law a toleration is by his majesty allowed. Such a retreat doth at present offer itself in America, and is nowhere else to be found in his majesty's dominions." What an encomium on America, at the expense of every other portion of the British empire! The work contains a minute account of the climate, soil, institutions and existing settlements of the province, and an elaborate panegyric on its advantages in all these particulars. As a farther recommendation of the province to the favor of the Scotch, Barclay, displacing a deputy whom he had appointed, of his own religious persuasion, conferred this office on Lord Neil Campbell, uncle of the Marquis of Argyle, who repaired to East Jersey, and remained there for some time as its lieutenant-governor.*

1685] The efforts of Barclay and his colleagues were crowned with success. A great many inhabitants of Scotland emigrated to East Jersey, and enriched American society with a valuable accession of virtue that had been refined by adversity, and piety that was invigorated by persecution. The more wealthy of the Scotch emigrants were noted for bringing with them a great number of servants, and in some instances for transporting whole families of poor laborers whom they established on their lands for a term of years, and endowed with a competent stock; receiving in return one half of the agricultural produce.†

But James the Second had now ascended the British throne: and practically inverting the magnanimous sentiment that has been ascribed to a French monarch, he deemed it unnecessary for a King of England to respect the engagements of the Duke of York; nor could all his seeming friendship for Barclay, together with all the influence of Lord Perth and the other courtier proprietaries, deter him from involving New Jersey in the design he had formed of annulling all the charters and constitutions of the American colonies. [1686] A real or pretended complaint was preferred to the English court against the inhabitants of the Jerseys for evasion of custom-house duties; and the ministers of James eagerly seizing this handle, without farther ceremony caused writs of quo warranto to be issued both against East and West New Jersey, and directed the attorney-general to prosecute them with the utmost stretch of legal expedition; assigning as the reason for this proceeding, the necessity of checking the pretended abuses "in a country which ought to be more dependent on his majesty." Alarmed at this blow, the proprietaries of East Jersey presented a remonstrance to the king, in which they reminded him that they had not received this province as a benevolence, but had purchased it at the price of many thousand pounds, and had been encouraged to do so by the assurances of protection which they had received from himself; that they had already sent thither several hundreds of people from Scotland; and that, if it would be satisfactory to his majesty, they would immediately propose to the New Jersey assembly to impose the same taxes there that were paid by the people of New York. They entreated that if any change should be made in the condition of their province, it might be confined to an union of East and West Jersey in one jurisdiction, to be ruled by a governor whom the king might select from the body of proprietaries. [1687.*] But James was inexorable, and to their remonstrance gave no other answer than that he had determined to unite the Jerseys with New York and the New England states in one general government dependent on the crown and to be administered by Andros. Finding it impossible to divert him from his arbitrary purpose, the proprietaries of East Jersey were so far deserted of spirit and dignity, as not only to abandon a hopeless contest for the privileges of their people, but even to facilitate the execution of the king's designs against them, as the price of his consenting to respect their own private property in the colonial soil. They made a formal surrender of their patent on this condition; and as James agreed to accept it, the proceedings in the quo warranto process were no longer needed for East Jersey, and were even suspended with regard to the western territory. Seeing no resistance opposed to his will, the king was the less intent on consummating his acquisition; and while the grant of the soil to the proprietaries, which was necessary for this purpose, still remained unexecuted, the completion of the design was abruptly intercepted by the British revolution.

Although the proprietary governments in New Jersey were preserved for a time from dissolution by this event, they never afterwards attained a state of vigor or efficiency. Robert Barclay, who seems never to have been divested of the government of East Jersey, died in 1690; but no traces of his administration are to be found after the year 1688; and from thence till 1692, it is asserted by Chalmers that no government at all existed in New Jersey. The peace of the country was preserved, and the prosperity of its inhabitants promoted by their own honesty, sobriety, and industry. Almost all the original proprietaries of both provinces had in the mean time disposed of their interests to recent purchasers; and the proprietary associations had become so numerous and so fluctuating, that their proceedings were deprived of proper concert and steadiness, and their authority possessed neither the respect nor the affection of the people. The appointment of new proprietary governors in 1692, was the commencement of a series of disputes, intrigues, and vicissitudes of office, which in a society more numerous or less virtuous would probably have been attended with civil war and bloodshed. The government of New York, which from its dependence on the crown, was encouraged by King William to arrogate a pre-eminence over the neighboring chartered colonies, seemed to have thought this a favorable opportunity of reviving, and even extending, its ancient pretensions in New Jersey, whose inhabitants learned with equal surprise and indignation that the assembly of New York had included them in a taxation which it imposed on its own constituents. This attempt, however, was not more successful than the other instances in which New York made similar efforts to usurp an undue authority. A complaint to the English government on this subject was referred to the crown lawyers, who delivered an opinion that produced an abandonment of the pretensions of New York.† [1697] At length the disagreements between the various proprietaries and their respective adherents attained such a height, and were productive of so much schism and confusion, that it was sometimes difficult, if not impossible, for the people to tell in which of two or more rival pretenders to authority the legal administration was truly invested.‡ Numerous complaints of the inconvenience occasioned by this state of matters, were addressed by the inhabitants of the Jerseys to the British court; and the proprietaries themselves, finding that their seignoral functions tended only to disturb the peace of their territories, and to obstruct their own emoluments as owners of the soil, hearkened willingly to an overture from the English ministers for a surrender of their powers of government to the crown. This surrender was finally arranged and effected in the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne, who proceeded forthwith to reunite East and West Jersey into one province, and to commit the government of it, as well as of New York, to her kinsman, Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury.* [1702]

The commission and instructions which this nobleman received on his departure from England, present an abstract of the constitution and civil state of New Jersey from the resumption of its charter till the period when it ceased to be a British province. The local government was appointed to consist of a governor and twelve councillors nominated by the crown, and of a house of assembly, consisting of twenty-four members, to be elected by the people. The sessions of this assembly were to be held alternately in East and West Jersey. None were capable of voting for representatives in the assembly but persons possessing an hundred acres of land, or personal property to the value of fifty pounds; and none were eligible but persons possessing a thousand acres of land, or personal property worth five hundred pounds. The laws enacted by the council and assembly were subject to the negative of the governor; but if passed by him, they were to be immediately transmitted to England, where they were to be finally affirmed or disavowed by the crown. The governor was empowered to suspend any of the members of council from their functions, and to fill up vacancies occurring among them by death; and, with consent of this body, to constitute courts of law, to appoint all civil and military officers, and to employ the forces of the province in hostilities against public enemies. To the assembly there was to be communicated the royal desire, that it should impose sufficient taxes to afford a competent salary to the governor, to defray the salaries of its own members and of the members of council, and to support all the other provincial establishments and expenditure; the prescribed style of all money bills being, that the sums contained in them were granted to the crown, with the humble desire of the assembly, that they might be applied for the benefit of the province; and all monies so raised were to be paid into the hands of the receiver of the province till the royal pleasure should be signified with regard to their distribution. The former proprietaries of the province were confirmed in their rights to the estates and quit rents which they had formerly enjoyed; and none but they and their agents and surveyors were to be suffered to purchase land from the Indians. Liberty of conscience was assured to all men, except papists. Quakers were declared to be eligible to every office, and their affirmation accepted in lieu of the customary oaths. The governor was invested with the presentation to all ecclesiastical benefices. He was required to give particular encouragement to all ministers of religion in connexion with the church of England, and to "take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served." It is deserving of regret rather than of surprise, to find combined with, and almost in immediate sequence to this display of royal zeal for the interests of religion and the honor of God, a requisition to the governor, that, in encouraging trade, he should give especial countenance to the Royal African Company of England—a company that had been instituted for the piratical purpose of kidnapping or buying negroes in Africa, and selling them as slaves in the American and West Indian plantations. It was declared to be the intention of her majesty "to recommend unto the said company, that the said province may have a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes at moderate rates;" and the governor was required to

* Oldmixon and S. Smith concur in stating that Lord Neil Campbell succeeded Barclay as governor. But this seems to have been a blunder of Oldmixon, which Smith has unadvisedly copied. Barclay, as we have seen, was appointed governor for life in 1683; he did not die till 1690: and from a document preserved by Smith himself (p. 196) it appears that Barclay, in 1688, as governor of East Jersey, subscribed an agreement of partition between it and West Jersey.

† Scot. 24. 27. 35. 38. 45. 49. 101. 217. Oldmixon, i. 145. S. Smith, 166, 167. 181, 2. The convulsions that preceded the assassination of De Witt and the triumph of the Prince of Orange in Holland, drove many respectable Dutch families from their native land. Most of these exiles retired to North America. Sonmans, a member of the States General, had proceeded to England with this view when he was overtaken by the sanguinary fury of the Orange faction, and murdered by their emissaries in the street. Last with Robert Barclay, the quaker, in the neighborhood of London. He family, however, finally reached New Jersey. S. Smith, 125.

* This year the assembly of East Jersey, convened at Perth Amboy, granted a tax of a penny in the pound on estates to enable the governor of New York to repel a threatened invasion, "because the king had instructed him to call on other provinces for aid in case he was invaded." State Papers apud Chalmers, 629.

† Sir John Hawles and Sir Cresswell Levinz were the lawyers consulted on this occasion. The opinion they delivered was "that no customs could be imposed on the people of the Jerseys, otherwise than by act of parliament or their own assemblies."

‡ Obedience was refused by a considerable party to one governor, because it was doubted if a majority of the proprietaries had concurred in his nomination; to another, because it was denied that his appointment had been ratified by the king; to a third (notwithstanding the precedent of Lord Neil Campbell's appointment) because, being a Scotchman, it was questioned if he were legally capable of holding office in an English colony.

* Oldmixon, i. 147. S. Smith, 207—220, and Append. 558—573. Chalmers, 622. State Papers, apud eund. 626. Although the proprietaries persisted in terming this surrender a voluntary act, and asserting their right to have retained the government if they had pleased so to do, they appear to have been swayed in some measure by the threat of an expensive suit with the crown, which had determined to bring the validity of their pretensions to trial. In the instrument of surrender, the queen, while she declares her gracious acceptance of the powers resigned to her by the proprietaries, expressly refuses to acknowledge that these powers ever legally belonged to them.

compel the planters duly to fulfil whatever engagements they might make with the company. He was further instructed to cause a law to be passed for restraining inhuman severity to slaves, and attaching a capital punishment to the wilful murder of them; and to take every means in his power to promote the conversion of these unhappy persons to the christian faith. All printing was prohibited in the province without a license from the governor. In all law-suits where the sum in dependence exceeded an hundred pounds, an appeal was admitted from the provincial courts to the governor and council: and when the sum exceeded two hundred pounds, a further appeal was competent to the privy council of England.

The instructions to Lord Cornbury contain reiterated intimations of the queen's sincere desire to promote peace, tranquillity and contentment, among her American subjects; but this desire accorded as ill with the disposition and qualifications of the individual to whom she remitted its accomplishment, as her anxiety to mitigate the evils of slavery will be thought to do with her earnest endeavor to diffuse this mischievous institution more widely in her dominions. Of the character and conduct of Lord Cornbury we have already seen a specimen in the history of New York. If the people of New Jersey had less reason to complain of him, it was only because his avocations at New York compelled him generally to delegate his functions in the other province to a deputy; and because the votaries of his favorite institution, the church of England, were too few in New Jersey, and perhaps too honest and unambitious, to afford him the materials of a faction whose instrumentality he might employ in oppressing and plundering the rest of the community. His distinguished name and rank, his near relationship to the queen, and the advantage he derived from appearing as the substitute of a government which had become universally unpopular, gave him at first an influence with the people of New Jersey, which a man of greater virtue might have rendered highly conducive to their felicity, and a man of greater ability might have improved to the subjugation of their spirit, and the diminution of their liberty. But all the illusions that attended his outset among them were speedily dispelled by acquaintance with his character, and experience of his administration. From the period of his appointment till his deprivation of office, the history of New Jersey consists of little else than a detail of the miserable squabbles in which he involved himself with the colonial assemblies; and a picture of the spirit and resolution with which they resisted his arbitrary violence, condemned his partial distribution of justice, and exposed his fraudulent misapplication of the public money. After repeated complaints, the queen was compelled to sacrifice him to the universal indignation which he had provoked; but not till he had very effectually, though most unintentionally, contributed, by a wholesome discipline, to awaken and fortify a vigorous and vigilant spirit of liberty, in two of the colonies which were most immediately subjected to the influence of the crown. He was superseded, in 1709, by Lord Lovelace, who was at the same time appointed his successor in the government of New York.*

The attractions which the neighboring province of Pennsylvania presented to the English quakers, and the cessation which the British revolution produced of the severities that had driven so many protestant dissenters from both England and Scotland, undoubtedly prevented the population of New Jersey from advancing with the rapidity which its increase at one period seemed to betoken. Yet, at the close of the seventeenth century, the province is said to have contained twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom twelve thousand belonged to East, and eight thousand to West Jersey.† It is more probable that the total population amounted to about fifteen thousand persons The great bulk of them were quakers, presbyterians, and anabaptists The militia of East Jersey amounted, at this period, to 1,400 men. There were two church of England ministers in the province; but their followers were not sufficiently numerous and wealthy to provide them with churches. New Jersey is said to have witnessed an unusually long subsistence of varieties of national character among its inhabitants. Patriotic attachment and mutual convenience had generally induced the emigrants from different countries to settle in distinct bodies; a circumstance which strongly promoted among them the preservation of their peculiar national manners and customs. Kalm, the traveller, has preserved a very agreeable picture of the manners and habits of his countrymen, the early Swedish colonists of New Jersey and Delaware. They seem to have been less tenacious of their national peculiarities than the Dutch, and to have copied very early the manners of the English. Notwithstanding some symptoms of a turbulent and refractory disposition which were evinced by a portion of the East Jersey population during the subsistence of the proprietary government, a much more reasonable and moderate temper seems to have generally characterised the people of both parts of the united province; whereof a strong testimony is afforded in the harmony that attended their union by the act of the crown in 1702, and which even the policy of such a promoter of discord as Lord Cornbury was unable to disturb. Though separated from each other by differences of religious denomination, the inhabitants of the eastern and western territories were strongly assimilated by the habits of industry and frugality peculiar to the national character of the Scotch, and the sectarian discipline of the quakers; and the prevalence of these habits, doubtless, contributed to maintain tranquillity and harmony among the several races of people. Yet they were always distinguished by the steadiness and ardor of their attachment to liberty, and a promptitude to assert those generous principles which had been incorporated with the first foundation of political society in New Jersey. It is disagreeable to remember, that this manly appreciation of their own rights was not always accompanied with a proportionate consideration of the rights of others. Negro slavery was established in New Jersey; though at what precise period, or by what class of the planters, it was first introduced, I have not been able to ascertain. In spite of the royal patronage which we have beheld this baneful system receive, it never attained more than a very insignificant extent of prevalence throughout the territory. Even the quakers in this province, as well as in Pennsylvania, became proprietors of slaves; but their treatment of them was always distinguished by a humanity that rendered slavery little else than a name; and so early as the year 1696, the quakers of New Jersey united with their brethren in Pennsylvania in recommending to the members of their own sect to desist from the employment, or at least from the farther importation, of slaves. This interesting subject will demand more particular consideration in the history of Pennsylvania.

New Jersey had been for some time in possession of an increasing trade; but of its extent at this period no accurate estimate can be formed. Its exports consisted of agricultural produce (including rice), with which it supplied the West India islands; furs, skins, and a little tobacco for the English market; and oil, fish, and other provisions, which were sent to Spain, Portugal, and the Canary isles. Blome, whose account of the American provinces was published in 1686, says, that the town of Burlington even then gave promise of becoming a place of considerable trade. The stateliness of the public edifices, and the comfort and elegance of the private dwellings that composed this town, are highly commended by a writer whose account of the province was published about ten years later than the work of Blome. It possessed already a thriving manufactory of linen and woollen cloth. [24] This manufacture, which was also introduced into Pennsylvania by some of the earliest colonists of this province, began so soon to excite the jealousy of the parent state, that in the year 1699 an act of parliament was passed prohibiting the exportation of wool and woollen manufactures from the American colonies, under a penalty of five hundred pounds for each offence, in addition to the forfeiture of the ship and cargo.

It is alleged by some writers, that, till a very late period, the inhabitants of New Jersey evinced a general neglect of education, and indifference to all improvement in the arts of life, and particularly in their system of agricultural labor. This reproach is said to have been more especially merited by the descendants of the Dutch settlers. Yet the college of Princeton was founded so early as the year 1738; the people have always enjoyed a high reputation for piety, industry, economy, and good morals; and no community, even in North America, has witnessed a wider diffusion, among all classes of its inhabitants, of the comforts and conveniences of life. It has been noted as a singular peculiarity in their manners, that women in this state have always engrossed a considerable share in the practice of the medical art, and, except in cases of great difficulty and importance, have been the only physicians whom the inhabitants have had recourse to.*

It was a fortunate circumstance for the inhabitants of this province, that the Indian tribes in their neighborhood were far from numerous, and were almost always willing to cultivate a friendly relation with the Europeans. The gravity, simplicity, and courtesy of quaker manners, seem to have been particularly acceptable to these savages. An historian of New Jersey has preserved an account of a visit paid by an old Indian king to the inhabitants of Burlington, in the year 1682. Being attacked with a mortal disorder, the old man sent for the heir of his authority, and delivered to him a charge replete with prudent and reasonable maxims. Thomas Budd, a quaker, and one of the proprietaries of the province, being present on this solemn occasion, "took the opportunity to remark, that there was a great God who created all things; that he gave man an understanding of what was good and bad; and after this life rewarded the good with blessings, and the bad according to their doings. The king answered, It is very true, it is so; there are two ways, a broad and a strait way; there are two paths, a broad and a strait path; the worst and the greatest number go in the broad, the best and fewest in the strait path." This king dying soon afterwards, was attended to his grave, in the quakers' burial-place in Burlington, with solemnity, by the Indians in their manner, and with great respect by many of the English settlers.

In the year 1695, the governor's salary in East Jersey was 150*l.*; in West Jersey 200*l.* In 1704, when these two provinces had been united into one state, a bill was passed for raising by tax 2000*l.* per annum for the support of government: but it does not appear what proportion of this sum was allotted to the governor.

BOOK VII.

PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Character of William Penn—He solicits a Grant of American Territory from Charles the Second—Charter of Pennsylvania—Object and Meaning of the Clauses peculiar to this Charter—English and American Opinions thereon—Penn's Efforts to people his Territories—Emigration of Quakers to the Province—Letter from Penn to the Indians—Penn's first Frame of Government for the Province—Grant of Delaware by the Duke of York to Penn—who sails for America—his joyful reception there—Numerous Emigrations to the Province—First Legislative Assembly—Pennsylvania and Delaware united—Controversy with Lord Baltimore—Treaty with the Indians—Second Assembly—new Frame of Government adopted—Philadelphia founded—Penn's Return to England—and Farewell to his People.

William Penn, so renowned as a patriarch and champion of the quakers, and a founder of civilized society in North America, was the son of that naval commander who, under the protectorate of Cromwell, enlarged the British dominions by the conquest of Jamaica. This was the first colony which had been acquired by the English arms. New York was the next: for Acadia, though conquered in the interim by Cromwell's forces, did not then become an English settlement, and was surrendered by Charles the Second, soon after his restoration. It is another example of the strange concatenation of human affairs, that the second instance of the acquisition of a colony by the British arms, should have been the means of introducing the son of the first conqueror, as a quaker colonist and a preacher of peace, in America.

His father, who afterwards attained the dignity of knighthood, and the station of an admiral, was the descendant of a respectable English family. Devoting himself to the naval service of his country in the commencement of the civil wars, he embraced the cause of the parliament, and subsequently adhered to the fortunes of Cromwell. From an inferior rank in the service of these authorities, he was promoted to a dignified and important command, and enjoyed a considerable degree of favor with the Protector till the failure of the expedition which he conducted against St. Domingo. It is asserted very decidedly by some historians, and especially by all the quaker writers, that this disaster was occasioned by the fault of Venables, who

* S. Smith, 275. 352. "I confess," says Oldmixon in the 2d edition of his work, "it gives me a great deal of pain in writing this history, to see what sort of governors I meet with in the plantations."

† Warden's estimate of the population is much lower. He says (ii. 42), that until the peace of Utretcht in 1713, the province never possessed more than 16,000 inhabitants. But his account of this province evinces great negligence and inaccuracy. Holmes (i. 45) reports the population to have amounted to 15,000 in 1701.

* Warden, ii. 50. Whether this usage was the effect or the cause of the remarkable healthiness of the people of New Jersey, will admit of a doubt. But it may be regarded as the symptom of a remarkable degree of respect for the female sex. Of this sentiment another very singular testimony was afforded even so late as the commencement of the nineteenth century, by a law which extended the elective franchise in New Jersey to women. The New Jersey women, however showed themselves worthy of the respect of their countrymen, by generally declining to avail themselves of this preposterous proof of it.

commanded the land forces, and could not fairly be attributed to Admiral Penn: but Cromwell, who understood military affairs better than those writers can be supposed to have done, was so far from acquitting the admiral of blame, that he imprisoned him in the Tower, and never afterwards intrusted him with any public employ. This circumstance, perhaps, contributed to the favor which he enjoyed at court after the Restoration; when he scrupled not to accept honor and employment from a government that stigmatized the service in which he had been previously engaged, by the insults it heaped on the memory of Blake.* It is alleged by Bishop Burnet, that he obtained the friendship of the Duke of York, with whom he commanded at sea in the Dutch war of 1665, by enabling him to avoid a renewed action with the enemy's fleet, without having seemed to decline it. Other writers, and especially those who have embraced the tenets, or felt themselves interested in the fame of his son, have asserted that the admiral owed his favor with the king and the duke to no other recommendations than those of his eminent valor and abilities. He was impeached, in 1668, by the House of Commons, for embezzling prize money; but, from some unexplained circumstance, the impeachment was permitted to drop.

Whatever was the cause of the court favor which he enjoyed, it was so considerable as to authorise the most ambitious hopes of the advancement of his son, and proportionally to embitter his disappointment at beholding that son embrace a profession of faith which subjected him not only to official disability, but to the severity of penal law, the derision of courtiers, and the displeasure of the great. Young Penn's predilection for the quakers, first excited by the discourses of one of their itinerant preachers, was manifested so early, and with so much warmth, as to occasion his expulsion from the university of Oxford at the age of sixteen. His father endeavored to prevail with him to abandon principles and manners so ill calculated to promote his worldly grandeur; and, finding his arguments ineffectual, resorted to blows, and even banished him from his home, with no better effect. Along with the peculiarities of quakerism, the young convert had received the first profound impression he had ever experienced of the truth and importance of Christianity; and both were for ever inseparably blended together in his mind. The treatment he received from his father, tended to fortify his conviction that quakerism was a revival of that pure and primitive Christianity which was fated to occasion the division of households, and the dissolution of the strongest ties of natural affection. The admiral, at length, devised a method of sapping the principles which he could not overthrow; and, for this purpose, sent his son to travel, with some young men of quality, in France, then the gayest and most licentious country of Europe. This device, which reflects little credit on the purity of that natural affection by which it was suggested, was attended with apparent success. Quakerism and Christianity were checked alike, for a time, in the mind of Penn, who returned to his gratified father with the manners of an elegant gentleman, and the sentiments of a man of pleasure.† But, having repaired, in the year 1666, to Ireland, to inspect an estate that belonged to his father in this country, it was here again his fate to meet with the same itinerant preacher who had impressed his mind so powerfully ten years before, at Oxford. His former sentiments were now revived, with deeper conviction and increased zeal and energy; and quickly produced a public, solemn, and resolute expression of his adherence to the tenets and usages of the quakers. In vain were his father's instances once more repeated, and the temporal dignities which seemed only to wait his acceptance pressed with fond and pathetic earnestness on his regard. It was even in vain that the admiral, in despair, restricted his solicitation to such a slender compliance with the usages of the world, as that his son should uncover his head in the presence of the King, the Duke of York, and his parents. Penn's eye was now elevated to the contemplation of objects so glorious, that the lustre of earthly dignities grew dim before them; and his resolution (fortified by an early experience of imprisonment, and other legal severities) was wound up to such a pitch of firmness and intensity, that he refused to lay even a single grain of incense on what he deemed an unhallowed altar of human arrogance and vanity. He now devoted all the large resources of his capacity to the defence and propagation of the quaker tenets, and sacrificed his temporal ease and enjoyment to the illustration of the quaker virtues,—with a success that has gained for him a renown more illustrious and imperishable than the ambition of his father ever ventured to hope, or the utmost favor of his sovereign could have been able to confer. It would not be easy to figure a more interesting career than is exhibited in the greater portion of his subsequent life. He travelled over many parts of Europe, and even extended his personal labors to America: and every where, from the courts of German princes to the encampments of Indian savages, we find him overcoming evil by good, and disarming the wrath of man by gentleness, patience, and faith. In his exterior appearance and address, there were combined, in an unusual degree, a venerable dignity and gravity of aspect, with a frank cheerful simplicity of manner, and a style of expression fraught with plainness, vigor, and good humor. His face was a very uncommon one, and its lineaments, though by no means fine, were far from unpleasing, and derived from their peculiarity something impressive and rememberable. With the general corpulence which his frame attained as he advanced in years, his countenance expanded to a considerable dimension; and while his eye expressed considerate thought, and strength of understanding, the amplitude and regularity of the rest of his features seemed to indicate a habitual tranquillity of spirit. A mind so contemplative, and a life so active; such a mixture of mildness and resolution; of patience and energy; of industry and genius; of lofty piety and profound sagacity, have rarely been exemplified in the records of human character. The most pious and the most voluminous, he was also, next to Robert Barclay, the most learned and ingenious writer in defence of quakerism; and, at the same time, next to George Fox, the most indefatigable minister that the quakers have ever possessed. He contrived to exhibit at once the active and passive virtues suitable to a champion and a confessor of quakerism; and the same prisons that were the scene of his patient suffering for the rights of his brethren, were also the scene of his most elaborate literary efforts for their instruction. Among other quaker peculiarities, his writings are distinguished by a tedious prolixity; yet not much more so than the productions of the most celebrated cotemporary authors. They abound with numerous passages replete alike with the finest eloquence and the most forcible reasoning, engaging benevolence, and fervent piety. He was deeply infected with the doctrinal errors of the quakers; yet more deeply embued with the spirit of the truth than many who profess to hold it devoid of such appendages; and, notwithstanding the tendency of these doctrinal errors to lead those who have thoroughly embraced them into frantic and indecent excesses, there were none of the quaker leaders who contributed more signally than Penn to the establishment of a system of orderly discipline throughout the society. This was a work of such difficulty, and so repugnant to the sentiments of many who regarded discipline as an attempt to control the sovereignty, and obstruct the freedom of spiritual communication, that all the influence of Penn's character and address, and all the weight he derived from his labors and sufferings, were requisite to its success, and barely sufficed to effect it. Except George Fox, no other individual has ever enjoyed so much authority in this society, or realized so completely the character of a patriarch of the quakers. Though his principles excluded him from the official dignities which his father had coveted for him, they did not prevent him from attaining a remarkable degree of favor and consideration, both with Charles the Second and his successor; which he improved, to the utmost of his power, for the relief of the suffering members of the quaker society. Whatever were the services of the admiral, the claim which they were thought to infer was extended to his son; nor was its efficacy impaired by his visible influence over a numerous body of men, whose absolute renunciation of the rights of resistance and self-defence could not fail to interest the regards of arbitrary princes.

There exists, in all mankind, a propensity to unbounded admiration, arising from an indistinct glimpse and faint remaining trace of that image of infinite majesty and purity with which their existence connects them, and to which their nature once enjoyed a more ample conformity than it has been able to retain. We may consider either as the expression of this sentiment, or the apology for indulging it, that anxiety to claim the praise of faultless perfection for the objects of our esteem, which may truly be thought to indicate a secret consciousness that it is only to excellence above the reach of humanity that our admiration can ever be justly due. This error has never been evinced in a more signal degree than by the biographers of Penn, and the historians of his labors and institutions in America. The unmixed and unmerited encomium which his character and labors have received, originated, no doubt, with the writers of his own religious persuasion; but, so far from being confined to them, it has been even exaggerated by writers of a totally different class, and whose seeming impartiality has contributed, in a remarkable degree, to fortify and propagate the illusion. The quakers have always enjoyed, with some infidel philosophers, a reputation, which no other professors of Christianity have been permitted to share; partly because they were accounted the friends of unlimited toleration, and partly from an erroneous idea that their christian name was but a thin mystical covering which veiled the pure and simple light of reason and philosophy from eyes yet too gross to receive it. Refusing to define their doctrinal tenets by a creed, and having already evacuated, by allegorical interpretation, some of the plainest precepts of the gospel, the quakers were expected, by their philosophical panegyrists, to pave the way for a total dissolution of Christianity, by gradually allegorizing the whole of the Scriptures. By the united efforts of these several tributaries to his fame, William Penn has been presented to the eyes of mankind as a character nearly, if not entirely, faultless; as the author of institutions not less admirable for their wisdom than their originality, and not less amply than instantaneously productive of the gratitude and happiness of mankind. [25] How exaggerated is this picture of the merit and the effects of his institutions, will appear but too clearly from the following pages. That the dazzling light with which his character has been invested, was sullied with the specks of mortal imperfection is also a truth which it is more easy than agreeable to demonstrate. But excellence, the more credibly it is represented, is the more effectually recommended to human imitation: and those who may be conscious of such infirmities as William Penn evinced, receive an important lesson when they are taught that these imperfections neither inevitably obstruct, nor satisfactorily apologise for, deficiency of even the most exemplary virtue.

In the commencement of his career, Penn evinced, towards his opponents, an arrogance of disdain, and a coarseness of vituperation, very little consistent with the mildness of quaker manners, or even with common decency and propriety.* It redounds to his credit that he corrected this fault, and graced his wisdom by an address replete with courtesy and kindness. But another change which his disposition appears also to have undergone, presents him in an aspect which it is less agreeable to contemplate. Recommended to Charles the Second and his successor, by a hereditary claim of regard, by the principles of passive obedience, which, as a quaker, he professed, and as a writer he contributed widely to disseminate, and by the willingness with which he and his fellow sectaries alone, of all the British protestants, recognized the royal prerogative of suspending laws, he was admitted to a degree of favor and intimacy with these perfidious and tyrannical princes, which laid a dangerous snare for the integrity

* In alluding to the history and character of his father, William Penn seems to have felt at once a natural sympathy with his republican honors, and an unwillingness to have him considered an associate of republicans, and antagonist of royalty. "From a lieutenant," says his son, "he passed through all the eminent offices of sea employment, and arrived to that of general about the thirtieth year of his age; in a time full of the biggest sea actions that any history mentions; and when neither bribes nor alliance, favor nor affection, but ability only could promote." He adds, however,—"He was engaged both under the parliament and king: but not as an actor in the domestic troubles; his compass always steering him to eye a national concern, and not intestine wars. His service, therefore, being wholly foreign, he may be truly said to serve his country, rather than either of these interests, so far as they were distinct from each other." Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania, i. 21, 22. Oldmixon thus characterizes the admiral:—"He was a strong Independent, and so continued till the Restoration; when finding religion and liberty at the mercy of their enemies, he very quickly made his peace with King Charles and the Duke of York." Second edition, i. 296.

† To reconcile this well-authenticated conduct of the admiral with the interest which quaker writers have evinced in defence of his reputation, it is necessary to remember, that as is said to have cited to convert to quaker principles, and to have prophesied to his son that these principles, calmly and patiently supported, would finally triumph over all opposition. Prud. Clarkson.

* In the predatory address which he prefixed to his account of his celebrated trial at the Old Bailey, for preaching at a conventicle, he makes use of this very unquaker expression. "Magna Charta is magna —— with the reconcilers of London." Those who are unable to conceive the propriety which I forbear to transcribe, may consult the preface itself, which is reprinted in Howell's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 953. Penn had no occasion to this peasantry. An adversary of the quakers having published an address to them, entitled "The Quaker's last Shift found out," Penn answered it by a work bearing the ludicrous title of "Naked Truth needs no Shift." Clarkson's Life of Penn, i. 155.

of his character and the rectitude of his conduct. It was natural that he and his friends, oppressed by the parliamentary enactments, should regard with more favor the arbitrary power which was frequently interposed for their relief, than the constitutional authority which was directed to their molestation. But none of the other protestant dissenters beheld otherwise than with disgust, the boon of a temporary mitigation of legal rigor, which implied a power in the crown subversive of every bulwark of British liberty. As the political agent of his society, cultivating the friendship of a tyrant, and seeking a shelter under his power from the laws, Penn occupied a situation regulated by no ordinary duties or ascertained principles;* and becoming gradually familiarized with arbitrary power, he scrupled not to beseech its interposition in the behalf of his own private concernments, and to employ, for the enlargement of his American territory, at the expense of the prior right of Lord Baltimore, the same authority which he had accustomed himself to respect as an engine of public good, and religious toleration. Dazzled, rather than corrupted, by royal favor and confidence, he beheld nothing in the character of the princes that reproved his friendship with them, or prevented it from becoming even more intimate and confidential, when their tyrannical designs were already fully developed, their characters unmasked to every other eye, and the hands from which he solicited favors were embrued with the blood of men whom he had loved as friends, and reverenced as the most illustrious characters in England. While as yet the struggle between the popular leaders and the abettors of arbitrary power had not terminated in favor of the crown, Penn appeared to participate in the sentiments that were cherished by the friends of liberty. He addressed his applications for repeal of the penal laws against dissenters to the House of Commons; he attached himself to Algernon Sidney, and endeavored to promote his election in a contest with a court candidate for the borough of Guildford; and we have seen how he concurred in the magnanimous vindication of the rights of West Jersey against the encroachments of the Duke of York. Yet when the cause of liberty seemed for ever to have sunk beneath the ascendancy of royal prerogative, he applied to the crown for the relief which he had already practically recognized as the province of the parliament; he beheld his friend Sidney butchered on the scaffold without any interruption of cordiality between himself and the court; and when James the Second committed a far greater outrage on the rights of Magdalen college of Oxford than the encroachment he had attempted on the liberties of New Jersey, Penn's advice to the fellows of the college was to appease the king by concessions for their past conduct, which, at the same time, he acknowledged to have been honorable and praiseworthy. Nay, as if to render the change of his disposition still more eminently conspicuous, he concurred with the other proprietaries of East Jersey in tamely surrendering the liberties of this province to the same prince, against whom, when supported by the spirit of better times, he had so strenuously defended the liberties of its sister colony. Penn was present at the execution of Mrs. Gaunt, an aged lady, renowned for her piety and charity, who was burnt alive for having given shelter to a person in distress, whom she knew not at the time to have been a fugitive from the rebel army of the Duke of Monmouth; and at the execution of Alderman Cornish, who was hanged before the door of his own house, for a pretended treason, of which nobody believed him to be guilty. The only sentiment that he is reported to have expressed, on this occasion, was that "the king was greatly to be pitied for the evil counsels that hurried him into so much effusion of blood." When it is considered that, after all this, Penn's eyes were not opened† to the real character of James, and, on the contrary, his friendship with the barbarous tyrant continued to subsist, and even to increase, till the very last; it seems by no means surprising that his contemporaries should have generally regarded him as a secret abettor of all the monarch's designs for the establishment of popery and the destruction of liberty. It was perhaps fortunate for his fame that the public displeasure vented itself in this injustice; [26] the detection of which has contributed to shelter him even from the milder but more merited censure of an infatuated credulity, fortified by the vanity of supposing that he would ultimately render the royal authority entirely subservient to the accomplishment of his own religious and philanthropic views.

The character of William Penn has not escaped the charge of ambition*—a charge which admits of such variety of signification, that perhaps no human being was ever absolutely exempt from it. Assuredly, he was neither conscious nor susceptible of that vile and vulgar ambition that courts a personal distinction and elevation derived from the depression and impoverishment of mankind. Of the desire to derive a reflected lustre from the happiness and improvement which others might owe to him, it is neither so easy nor so desirable to absolve him. Nor, perhaps, was he wholly exempt from the influence of a temptation which this refined ambition is very apt to beget—the desire of magnifying and extending the power by which such benefits might continue to be conferred by himself and his posterity. William Penn, among the quakers, and that no less estimable man, John Wesley, among the methodists, have not been the only benefactors of the human race, who, confident of their good intentions, and habituated to power, have seemed to covet it somewhat too eagerly as a peculiarly efficient instrument of human welfare. But it is time to proceed from these prefatory observations on the character of this illustrious man, to a consideration of that portion of his life, which is identified with the rise of Pennsylvania and the history of Delaware.

The circumstances that first attracted the attention of Penn to the colonization of North America, have already been unfolded in the history of New Jersey. While he was engaged with his quaker associates in administering the government of that territory, he received such information of the fertility and resources of the country situated to the westward of the Delaware, as inspired him with the desire of acquiring a separate estate in this quarter. For this purpose he presented a petition to Charles the Second, [1680] stating his relationship to the deceased admiral, and his claim for a debt incurred by the crown to his father, when Shaftebury's memorable device was adopted, of shutting the exchequer; soliciting, on these accounts, a grant of land to the northward of Maryland, and westward of the Delaware; and adding, that by his interest with the quakers, he should be able to colonize a province, which might, in time, not only extinguish his claims, but enlarge the British empire, augment its trade, and promote the glory of God by the civilization and conversion of the Indian tribes† This petition was referred to the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, that they might report how far its object was compatible with their prior investitures. Both signified their acquiescence in Penn's demand, provided his patent should be so worded as to preclude any encroachment on their territories; and the Duke of York added his recommendation of the petition to the favor of the crown. Successful thus far, Penn transcribed from the charter of Maryland, the sketch of a patent in his own favor; but the attorney-general, Jones, to whose opinion it was remitted, declared, that certain of the clauses were "not agreeable to the laws here, though they are in Lord Baltimore's patent," and, in particular, pronounced that the exemption from British taxation, which Penn had proposed to confer on his colony, was utterly illegal. Compton, Bishop of London, at the same time, understanding that Penn, in soliciting his patent, had described himself as the head of the quakers, interposed in the proceedings, for the protection of the interests of the church of England. After some discussion of the points that had thus arisen, the committee of plantations requested chief-justice North, [1681] a personage of considerable eminence, both as a statesman and a lawyer, to undertake the revision of the patent, and to provide, by fit clauses, for the reservation of the king's sovereignty, and the observance of acts of parliament. With his assistance, there was prepared an instrument which received the royal confirmation, and afterwards acquired so much celebrity as the charter of Pennsylvania.*

By this charter, which professed to be granted in consideration of "the merits of the father, and the good purposes of the son," there was conferred on William Penn, and his heirs and assigns, that vast region bounded on the east by the river Delaware; extending westward five degrees of longitude; stretching to the north from twelve miles northward of Newcastle, (in the Delaware territory) to the forty-third degree of latitude; limited on the south by a circle of twelve miles drawn round Newcastle to the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. Penn was constituted the absolute proprietary of the whole of this territory, which was erected into a province by the name of Pennsylvania,† and was to be held in free and common soccage by fealty only, paying two bear skins annually, and one-fifth of all the gold and silver that might be discovered to the king He was empowered to make laws, with the advice and assent of the freemen of the territory assembled, for the imposition of taxes and other public uses, but always in conformity to the jurisprudence of England; to appoint judges and other officers; and to pardon and reprieve, except in the cases of wilful murder and high treason. In these cases, reprieve might be granted only till the signification of the pleasure of the king, to whom there was also reserved the privilege of receiving appeals. The distribution of property, and the punishment of felonies, were to be regulated by the laws of England, until different ordinances should be enacted by the proprietary and freemen. Duplicates of all the provincial laws were to be transmitted to the privy council, within five years after they were passed; and if not declared void by the council within six months after transmission, they were to be considered as having been approved of, and to become valid ordinances. That the colony might increase by resort of people, liberty was given to English subjects (those only excepted who should be specially forbidden) to remove to and settle in Pennsylvania; and thence to import the productions of the province into England, "but into no other country whatsoever," and to re-export them, within one year, paying the same duties as other subjects, and observing the acts of navigation. The proprietary was empowered to divide the province into towns, hundreds, and counties; to erect and incorporate towns into boroughs, and boroughs into cities; and to constitute ports for the convenience of commerce, to which the officers of the customs were to have free admission. The freemen in assembly were empowered to assess reasonable duties on the commodities loaded or unloaded in the harbors of the colony; and these duties were granted to Penn, with a reservation, however, to the crown of such customs as then were, or in future might be, imposed by act of parliament. He was to appoint, from time to time, an agent to reside in or near London, to answer for any misdemeanor he might commit against the laws of trade and navigation; and, in case of such misdemeanor, he was to make satisfaction within a year; in the default of which the king was to seize the government of the province, and retain it till due satisfaction were made. He was not to maintain correspondence with any king or power at war, nor to make war against any king or power in amity, with England. In case of incursion by neighboring barbarians, or by pirates or robbers, he had power to levy, muster, and train to arms all the inhabitants of the province, and to act as their captain-general, and to make war on and pursue the invaders. He was enabled to alienate the soil to the colonists, who might hold their lands under

* That Penn did not acknowledge the same duties, as a political character, which he prescribed to himself as a quaker, appears from his withdrawing from a state warrant that was issued for his imprisonment on a political charge by King William (Proud, i. 348—350.)—an evasion which he never stooped to, when he was persecuted for his religious practices.

† He published a book in favor of the king's attempts to establish toleration, even after James had so far disclosed his real views as to have thrust papists into the government of the university of Oxford. He had recently before undertaken a secret embassy from the king to the Prince of Orange, in the hope of prevailing with the prince to give his sanction to the measures in behalf of toleration. Clarkson, i. 474. 509; ii. 5. Though unable to discern the designs of the king, he had not always been equally insensible to the dangers of popery; and in the days of his patriotic fervour, had written a pamphlet to animate the national rage against the pretended popish plot Ibid. i. 246.

* An acute, but very partial writer, has characterised him as "a man of great depth of understanding, attended by equal dissimulation; of extreme interestedness, accompanied with insatiable ambition; and of an address in proportion to all these." Chalmers, 635. Jedediah Morse, the American geographer, has expressed an opinion equally unfavorable of the character of Penn.

† In a letter to a friend, about the same time, he declares his purpose in the acquisition of American territory to have been "so to serve the truth and people of the Lord, that an example may be set to the nations:" adding, "there may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment." Proud. i. 169

* Oldmixon, i. 149, 159. Proud, i. 169—171. Chalmers, 635, 636. Dillwyn (see note 12.) apud Winterbotham, ii. 289. Both Oldmixon (who was a personal friend of Penn) and Mr. Clarkson have asserted that Penn's efforts to obtain his charter were greatly obstructed by his profession of quakerism. Of this I can find no evidence at all. Penn himself, writing to the lords of trade in 1683, says, "I return my most humble thanks for your former favors in the passing of my patent, and pray God reward you." Chalmers, 666.

† Penn's account of this denomination is creditable to his modesty. Finding that the king proposed that the name of Penn should form a part of the appellation of the province, he requested leave to decline an honor that might be imputed to his own vanity, and proposed the name of New Wales, which was opposed by the under secretary of state, who was a Welshman. Penn then suggested Sylvania, on account of its woody surface; but the king declared that the nomination belonged to him, and that in honor of Admiral Penn, the last suggested name should be enlarged into Pennsylvania. Clarkson, i. 279.

his grants, no withstanding the English statute prohibiting such subinfeudations. It was stipulated by the king for himself and his successors, "that no custom or other contribution shall be levied on the inhabitants or their estates, unless by the consent of the proprietary, or governor and assembly, or by act of parliament in England." It was provided (in compliance with the desire of Bishop Compton) that if any of the inhabitants, to the number of twenty, should signify their desire to the Bishop of London to have a preacher sent to them, the preacher so appointed by that dignitary should be allowed to reside and perform his functions without denial or molestation. If any doubt should arise with regard to the true construction of the charter, it was commanded that an interpretation favorable to the proprietary should always be made; with the exclusion, nowever, of any thing that might derogate from the allegiance due to the crown.*

Such is the substance of a grant on which was established the fabric of the Pennsylvanian government and laws, so renowned for their wisdom, their moderation, and the excellence of their provisions in favor of liberty. The cautious stipulations for guarding and ascertaining the British ascendancy, by which this charter was distinguished from all preceding patents, were manifestly the offspring of the disputes in which the court had been for some time engaged with the colony of Massachusetts. There, the provincial government had deemed the acts of navigation inoperative within its jurisdiction, till they were legalized by its own ordinance. But the immediate and uninterrupted observance of them in Pennsylvania, was enforced by the stipulated penalty of a forfeiture of the charter. Laws had been passed in Massachusetts for the coining of money and other purposes, which were deemed inconsistent with the prerogative of the sovereign state. For the prevention of similar abuse, or, at least, the correction of it, before inveterate prevalence could have time to beget habits of independence, it was required that all the laws of the new province should be regularly transmitted to England for the royal approbation or dissent. The inefficacy of this requisition was very soon made apparent. To obviate the difficulty that had been experienced by the English government in conducting its disputes with the people of Massachusetts, who could never be prevailed with to accredit an agent at the court, without the utmost reluctance and delay, it was now required that a standing agent should be appointed to reside in London, and be responsible for the proceedings of his colonial constituents. But the most remarkable provision, by which this charter was distinguished from all the other American patents, was that which expressly reserved a power of taxation to the British parliament. Of the import of this much agitated clause, very different opinions were entertained from the first, by the lawyers and statesmen of England, and the colonists of Pennsylvania. In England, while it was denied that the novel introduction of such a clause into the charter of this province afforded to any of the other colonies an argument against parliamentary taxation, it was with more appearance of reason maintained that its actual insertion in this charter precluded even the possibility of an honest pretension to such immunity on the part of the Pennsylvanians. Of the very opposite ideas, however, that were entertained on this subject by the colonists, an account was rendered about a century afterwards by Dr. Franklin in his celebrated examination, as the representative of America, at the bar of the British House of Commons. Being asked, how the Pennsylvanians could reconcile a pretence to be exempted from taxation, with the express words of a clause, reserving to parliament the privilege of imposing this burden upon them; he answered, "They understand it thus:—By the same charter† and otherwise, they are entitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen. They find in the great charters, and in the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not taxed but by their common consent; they have, therefore, relied upon it *from the first settlement of the province*, that the parliament never would nor could, by color of that clause in the charter, tax them till it had qualified itself to exercise such right, by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed." That this reasoning was not (as some have suggested) the mere production of Franklin's own ingenuity, nor even the immediate growth of the era of American independence; but that it expressed the opinion of the earliest race of the Pennsylvanian settlers, is a point susceptible of the clearest demonstration. From the official correspondence between the royal functionaries in America and the court of London, it appears that before the Pennsylvanians had existed as a people for seventeen years, the English ministry were apprised of the general prevalence of these sentiments among them; and in the work of a contemporary historian of this province, who derived his ideas with regard to it from the communication of Penn himself, the right of the colonists to elect representatives to the British parliament is distinctly asserted [27] It was only in the year preceding the date of the Pennsylvanian charter, that Penn, in reclaiming for the colonists of New Jersey the exclusive right of imposing taxes on themselves, had protested that no reasonable men would emigrate from England to a country where this right was not to be enjoyed; and, as the argument which he maintained on that occasion, was founded entirely on general principles, and what he regarded as the constitutional rights inseparable from the character of English subjects, without reference to any peculiarities in the charter of New Jersey, it seems highly improbable that he believed the clauses peculiar to his own charter to admit of an interpretation that would have placed his favorite province beyond the pale of the English constitution, and deterred reasonable men from resorting to it. We must either believe him to have entertained the same opinion on this point, that appears to have been prevalent among the colonists of his territory, or adopt the illiberal supposition of an historian.* who charges him with making concessions, in theory, which he never intended to substantiate in practice.

Having obtained this charter, to which the king gave additoinal authority, by a royal letter, commanding all intending planters in the new province to render due obedience to the proprietary, the next care of Penn was to attract a population to his vacant territory. To this end, he published an account of the soil and resources of the province, together with advices to those who were inclined to become adventurers, and a sketch of the conditions on which he was willing to deal with them. The advices are almost precisely the same with those which he had previously addressed to the intending emigrants to West Jersey; and enjoin all persons, who were deliberating, to have an eye, above all things, to the providence of God; to balance present inconvenience with future ease and plenty; and to obtain the consent of their near relations, that natural affections might be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between the two countries maintained. It was intimated to all, who were disposed to become planters, that land would be sold at the price of forty shillings, for a hundred acres, together with a perpetual quit-rent of a shilling. It was required that, in disencumbering the ground of wood, care should be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, and especially to preserve oaks and mulberries, for the construction of ships and the manufacture of silk. It was declared, that no planter would be permitted to overreach or otherwise injure the Indians, or even to avenge, at his own hands, any wrong he might receive from them; but that, in case of disputes between the two races, the adjustment of them should, in every instance, be referred to twelve arbitrators, selected equally from the Europeans and the Indians. The reservation of quit-rents, in addition to the payment of a price, which proved ultimately so fertile a source of discord between the proprietary family and the colonists, was the only feature in this scheme that appeared objectionable to the religious fraternity, of which Penn was a member;† but his influence among them was so great, and his description of the province so inviting, as more than to outweigh this disagreeable and unexpected requisition. Numerous applications for land were speedily made by persons, chiefly of the quaker persuasion, in London, Liverpool, and especially in Bristol, where one trading association alone became the purchasers of twenty thousand acres of the territory, and prepared for embarking in various branches of commerce related to their acquisition. The prospect thus afforded of an early replenishment of his province, enforced the immediate attention of Penn to the form and fabric of its political constitution; in the composition of which, there could be room for little other labor than the exercise of a judicious selection from the admirable theoretical models, which had employed the pens, and exhausted the invention, of contemporary writers, and the excellent institutions, by which the several proprietaries of American provinces had vied with each other for the approbation of mankind, and the attraction of inhabitants to their vacant territories. In undertaking an employment so congenial to his disposition, as the work of legislation, Penn appears to have been impressed with equal confidence in the resources of his capacity and the rectitude of his intentions, and touched at the same time with a genereus sense of the value of those interests that were involved in his labors, and the expanse of liberty and happiness that might result from them. "As my understanding and inclinations," he declared, "have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." The liberal institutions that arose shortly after in Pennsylvania, and the happiness of which they were so abundantly productive, attested the sincerity and rewarded the virtue of this magnanimous design; while the partial disappointment which it sustained, and particularly the mischief and dissension that arose from the power that was actually reserved to the proprietary and his successors, forcibly exemplified the infirmity of human purpose, and the fallacy incident to all human expectations.

As several of the purchasers of land, in their eagerness to commence the new settlement, were prepared to embark before Penn had yet completed his legislatorial composition, it was necessary that they should be previously acquainted with the purport of a work of so much concern to their interests A rough sketch of its principal features was accordingly prepared and mutually signed by the proprietary and these adventurers, who being now assured of unlimited toleration,* and satisfied with the structure of the political constitutions, no longer hesitated to bid adieu to a scene of tyranny, contention, and persecution, and set sail in quest of freedom and repose for Pennsylvania. Three vessels from London and Bristol carried out these first Pennsylvanian settlers, and along with them, Colonel William Markham, the kinsman and secretary of Penn, who had also appointed him deputy-governor; and certain commissioners who were appointed to confer with the Indians respecting the purchase of their lands, and to endeavor to form with them a league of perpetual peace. These commissioners were solemnly enjoined to treat the Indians with all possible candor, justice, and humanity, and were made the bearers of a letter from Penn to them, accompanied by suitable presents. The Indians were given to understand by the letter of Penn, that the great God and Power who had created all men and commanded them to love and do good to one another, had been pleased to make a connexion between Penn and America; that the king of England had bestowed on him a province there, but that he desired to enjoy it with the goodwill and consent of the Indians; that many evil disposed Europeans, he was aware, had used the Indians very ill, but that he was a person of different disposition, and bore great love and regard to them; that the people he now sent among them were similarly disposed, and wished to live with them as neighbors and friends.

* Proud, i. 171. 187. Chalmers, 638, 657. "It is remarkable," says Dr. Franklin, in his Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, "that such an instrument, penned with all the appearance of candor and simplicity imaginable, and equally agreeable to law and reason, to the claims of the crown and the rights of the subject, should be the growth of an arbitrary court. Perhaps it is no less singular, that the national rights, the authority of the laws, and of the supreme legislature, should have been so carefully attended to and preserved."

† This is a mistake. The Pennsylvanian charter differs from all the others in not communicating an express assurance to the colonists of the rights and character of Englishmen. The reason for this omission is said by Chalmers (p. 639) to have been, that the eminent lawyers, who prepared the charter, considered such declarations as superfluous, and their import sufficiently inferred by law.

* Chalmers,—who, in corroboration of his opinion, remarks that not one of the laws and constitutions, enacted by Penn, or under his auspices, was ever submitted, according to the terms of the charter, to the English court.

† The apology suggested by Mr. Clarkson for this imposition, that "Whereas William Penn held of the king, by a small annual rent, others were obliged to hold of him in the same manner," (Life of Penn, i. 282,) is quite unsatisfactory. It was merely an elusory duty to the crown, to which Penn was subjected, for the whole province. He would have gained both in character and happiness, if he could have avoided to mingle the acquisition of a private estate with the purpose of making a holy experiment, and setting an example to the nations.

* It detracts not from the wisdom of Penn, but merely from the accuracy of those writers who have deemed originality indispensably requisite to the praise of virtue, that this equitable principle of toleration had been already realised in America by Lord Baltimore and the catholics of Maryland, and employed as a politic device by Lord Clarendon and his associates in Carolina, and by Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret in New Jersey. Mr. Clarkson is the only historian of Penn who has conceded to Lord Baltimore the honor of originating toleration in America.

Markham, at the head of one of these detachments of adventurers, proceeded, on his arrival in America, to take possession of an extensive forest, situated twelve miles northward of Newcastle on the western side of the Delaware, whose waters contributed with other streams of lesser note to the salubrity of the air and the fertility of the soil. As this situation enjoyed the advantages of a settled neighborhood on the south and east, the colonists were not embarrassed with the difficulties which depressed so many of their predecessors in similar pursuits; and, animated with hope and a spirit of steady activity, they set themselves diligently to prepare for the reception of the numerous emigrants who were expected to join them in the following year. Greater hardships were endured by another detachment of the first adventurers, who, arriving later in the season, went on shore at the place where Chester now stands: and the river having suddenly frozen before they could resume their voyage, were constrained to pass the remainder of the winter there. A discovery was now made by Colonel Markham which had a material influence on the future proceedings of Penn, who had hitherto supposed that the whole of the Delaware territory except the settlement of Newcastle and its appendages (occupied by the Duke of York as a dependency of his own province of New York), was really included in the Pennsylvanian charter—a supposition which he seems to have entertained with a great deal of satisfaction. For he was aware that this territory already contained a number of Swedish and English settlers; and though doubtless he proposed to people his domain chiefly with quakers, it was far from undesirable to obtain for himself an immediate accession of tributaries, and for his people a social connexion with a race of hardy settlers already inured to colonial life and habits. He knew that Lord Baltimore claimed the allegiance of a number of those settlers whose plantations he supposed to be included within the domain of Pennsylvania, and had instructed Markham to demand from that nobleman a relinquishment of his pretensions. Markham accordingly applied to the proprietary of Maryland, and eagerly accepted his proposal to compare the titles of the two provinces and adjust their boundaries; but discovering very speedily that Penn had in reality no other claim than what might be derived from the confused designation which his charter had given to the limits of his province, and that a literal construction of Lord Baltimore's prior charter, where the limits were indicated with great precision, would evacuate at once the pretensions both of Penn and the Duke of York, he declined all further conference, and acquainted Penn with a discovery that threatened so much obstruction to his views.

In the spring of the following year, [1682] Penn completed and delivered to the world a composition of much thought and labor, entitled "The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania." It was introduced by a noble preface containing his own thoughts on the origin, nature, and objects of government; wherein he deduces from various texts of Scripture the derivation of all power from God, the utter unlawfulness of resisting constituted authority, and, in short, "the divine right of government, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil doers, secondly, to cherish those that do well; which," he continues, "gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be, so that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end." "They weakly err," he afterwards observes, "who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarser part of it." Declining to pronounce any opinion on the comparative merit of the various political models which had been adopted by states or suggested by theorists, and remarking that not one of these had ever been realised without incurring some alteration from the lapse of time or the emergency of circumstances, he advances this position, that "any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to these laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." "Governments," he insists, "ratner depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn. I know some say, 'Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them.' But let them consider that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws ma want good men, and be invaded or abolished by ill mei; but good men will never want good laws nor suffer ill ones.* That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it; namely, men of wisdom and virtue; qualities that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth." In conclusion he declares that, "We† have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the frame of this government to the great end of all government, to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." This production, which will always command respect for its intrinsic merits, excited the greater interest at the time from its being regarded as the political manifesto of the party that had now become the most numerous and powerful among the quakers, and whose ascendancy continued gradually to increase till at length the whole society, by dint of conversion or expulsion, was moulded to a conformity with its opinions. Another party still existed, but was daily diminishing, which regarded with equal aversion the establishment of sectarian discipline, and the recognition of municipal government as a legitimate ordinance. The adherents of this party were willing to forbear from all forcible resistance to human violence; but were no less resolutely bent against any voluntary co-operation with human authority; and reproached the rest of their brethren with degenerating from original quaker principles, and substituting a servile obedience to the dead law without, in place of a holy conformity to the living law within.

By the frame which followed this preface, it was declared that the government of the province should be administered by the proprietary or his deputy as governor, and by the freemen formed into two separate bodies of a provincial council and a general assembly. The council was to be elected by the freemen, and to consist of seventy-two members, of whom twenty-four were annually to retire, and be replaced by the same number of new ones. Here the governor was to preside, invested with no other control than a treble vote. Thus composed, the council was to exercise not only the whole executive power, but the peculiar privilege which had been annexed to the functions of the same state organ in the Carolinian constitutions,‡ of preparing all the bills that were to be presented to the assembly. Not less than two-thirds of the members of council were necessary to make a quorum; and the consent of two-thirds of such quorum was indispensable in all matters of moment. The general assembly was to consist, the first year, of all the freemen; the next, of two hundred elected by the rest; and afterwards to be augmented in proportion to the increase of population. This body was not permitted to originate laws, but was restricted to a simple assent or negation in passing or rejecting the bills that might be sent to them by the governor and council. They were to present sheriffs and justices of the peace to the governor; naming double the requisite number of persons, for his choice of half. They were to be elected annually; and all elections, whether for the council or the assembly, were to be conducted by ballot. Such was the substance of the charter or frame of government, which was further declared to be incapable of alteration, change, or diminution in any part or clause, without the consent of the proprietary or his heirs, and six parts in seven of the freemen both in the provincial council and general assembly

The mode of election by ballot, which has since become so general in North America, was first introduced there by the puritans, and subsequently adopted by quaker legislation—by which we have seen it established in New Jersey, and now transferred to Pennsylvania. This latter repetition of the experiment proved very unsatisfactory. The planters soon declared that they felt it repugnant to the spirit of Englishmen, to go muzzled to elections; that they scorned to give their opinions in the dark; that they would do nothing which they durst not own; and that they wished the mode of election to be so constituted as to show that their foreheads and their voices agreed together. In consequence of these objections, Penn, perceiving (says Oldmixon) that the perfection of his institutions was not in accordance with the imperfect nature of human beings, consented to assimilate the Pennsylvanian to the English mode of election.

To the frame, there was appended a code of forty conditional laws which were said to have been concerted between the proprietary and divers of the planters before their departure from England,* and were to be submitted for confirmation or modification to the first provincial assembly. This code is a production very superior to the constitutional frame, and highly creditable to the sense, the spirit, and the benevolence of its authors. Among other regulations propounded in it, it was declared that the character of freemen of the province should belong to all purchasers or renters of a hundred acres of land; to all servants or bondsmen who at the expiring of their engagements should cultivate the quota of land (fifty acres) alloted to them by law, and to all artificers and other inhabitants or residents who should pay scot and lot to the government; that no public tax should be levied from the people "but by a law for that purpose made," and that whoever should collect or pay taxes not so sanctioned, should be held a public enemy of the province and a betrayer of its liberties: "that all prisons shall be workhouses;" that a thief should restore twice the value of his theft, and in default of other means adequate to such restitution, should work as a bondsman in prison for the benefit of the party injured; that the lands as well as the personal property of a debtor should be responsible for his obligations, except in the case of his having lawful children, for whose use two-thirds of the landed estate were appointed to be reserved; that all factors and correspondents in the province wronging their employers, should, in addition to complete restitution, pay a surplus amounting to a third of the sum they had unjustly detained; that all dramatic entertainments, games of hazard, sports of cruelty, and whatever else might contribute to promote ferocity of temper or habits of dissipation and irreligion, should be discouraged and punished; and "that all children within this province of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want." This regulation, so congenial to primitive quaker sentiment and to republican spirit and simplicity, was admirably calculated not less to promote fellow-feeling than to secure independence. It contributed to preserve a sense of the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination to labor: and while it tended thus to abate the pride and insolence of wealth, it operated no less beneficially to remedy the decay of fortune peculiarly incident to wealthy settlers in a country where the dearness of all kinds of labor rendered idleness a much more expensive condition than in Europe. It was further declared, that no persons should be permitted to hold any office, or to exercise the functions of freemen, but "such as profess faith in Jesus Christ, and are not convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation;" and that all persons acknowledging the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and professing to be conscientiously engaged to live peaceably and justly in society, should be wholly exempted from molestation for their more particular opinions and practices, and should never at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious place, ministry, or worship whatever.

* How they could refuse to suffer bad laws, under a frame of government that excluded them from a share in legislation, is a difficulty which he has not undertaken to solve, and which, indeed, his general anathema against all resistance to constituted authority renders perfectly insoluble. It is true that he reproaches a government so framed with the character of tyranny; but this reproach merely gives additional sanction to discontent, without giving any to resistance. In order to harmonise his religious with his political creed, we must regard the forms which he depreciates, as essential to the efficacy of the virtues which he exalts with exclusive praise.

† Some of the planters had cooperated with Penn in the composition of the frame.

‡ Penn boasted that his legislative production excelled the performance of Locke: yet here he seems to have copied from it a very illiberal feature: doubtless with some improvement, inasmuch as the Carolinian council, which exercised this restriction of the topics to be discussed by the general assembly, was far less liberally constituted than the council of Pennsylvania. Penn had more occasion to boast the superior excellence than the better fate of these constitutions, which enjoyed even a shorter duration than the project of Locke.

* Markham, the kinsman and secretary of Penn, and afterwards governor of the province, has ascribed the greater part of the constitutions of the frame itself to the suggestions and importunity of these persons, in opposition to the original intentions of Penn. In a letter to Fletcher, the governor of New York (in May, 1696), Markham says, "I very well know that it [the frame of government] was forced from him by friends, when unless pleased and granted whatever they demanded, they would not have settled his country." State Papers, apud Chalmers, 660. It is plain from the preface, that Penn considered a future alteration of the constitutions as far from unlikely.

This composition having been published, the next care of Penn, enforced by his experience of the Duke of York's proceedings in New Jersey, was to obtain, from this prince, an express release of every claim or pretence of jurisdiction over Pennsylvania; nor did the Duke refuse a concession so manifestly just to the son of a man for whose memory he professed the highest regard. It was stronger proof of this regard, and the fruit of much more importunate solicitation, that Penn obtained at the same time, in a grant of the Delaware territory,* whose thriving plantations he had anxiously desired to annex to his immense but uncultivated domains of Pennsylvania. Yielding to the urgency of Penn, and probably swayed in some degree, both by sentiments of friendship, and by indifference about a territory which he held by a defective and uncertain title, and had never been able to render productive of a revenue—the Duke now conveyed to him, by two separate deeds of gift, the town of Newcastle, with a territory of twelve miles around it, together with the tract of land extending southward from it upon the river Delaware to Cape Henlopen. This conveyance included not only the settlements originally formed by the Swedes and afterwards conquered by the Dutch, of which the early history is blended with the annals of New York, and to which Lord Baltimore possessed a claim which he had never been able to render effectual, but a large district which this nobleman's title equally embraced, and his activity and remonstrance had actually reclaimed from Dutch and Swedish occupation. Without adopting the harsh censure of a writer who maintains that this transaction reflected dishonor both on the Duke of York and William Penn, we can hardly fail to regard it as a faulty and ambiguous proceeding, or to regret the proportions in which its attendant blame must be divided between a prince distinguished even among the Stuarts for perfidy and injustice, and a patriarch renowned even among the quakers for humanity and benevolence. The Duke's patents assuredly did not include within his boundaries what he now pretended to convey; and it was only to a part of it that he could transfer even the dubious title arising from occupancy, in opposition to the legal claim of Lord Baltimore†

All things having been now prepared for his own personal presence in America, Penn himself set sail from England to visit his transatlantic territory, in company with a hundred English quakers, who had determined to unite themselves to their friends already removed to that quarter of the world. Arriving on the banks of the Delaware, he beheld with great satisfaction the thriving settlements comprehended in his late acquisition, and the hardy, sober, and laborious race of men by whom they were inhabited. The population of that part of the Delaware territory which he ultimately succeeded in retaining against Lord Baltimore, amounted already to three thousand persons, chiefly Swedes and Dutch;‡ and by them, as well as by the English settlers who were intermixed with them, and by the quakers whom Markham had carried out in the preceding year, the proprietary was received on his arrival with a satisfaction equal to his own, and greeted with the most cordial expressions of respect and good will. The English rejoiced in their deliverance from the sway of the Duke of York; and the Dutch and Swedes were glad to renounce a connexion that had originated in the conquest first of the one and afterwards of both their races. It was flattering to their importance to be united to a state that seemed then much less likely to overshadow them by superior greatness, than either New York or Maryland: and whatever they might think of the justice of Lord Baltimore's pretensions, or the equity of his administration, it was manifest that his power was unequal to wrest from the Duke of York what had now been granted to the solicitations of William Penn. Proceeding to Newcastle, where the Dutch had a court-house, the proprietary convoked here a meeting of his new subjects; and, after the formalities requisite to ascertain his legal possession of the country, he explained to them the objects of his coming among them, exhorted them to live in sobriety and mutual amity, and renewed the commissions of the existing magistrates. The number of his colonists meanwhile was fast increasing around him. In the course of this year, no fewer than two thousand persons, chiefly quakers, arrived from England on the banks of the Delaware. Many of them were persons of rank and substance, and all were men of some education and great respectability, and with whom devotion to religious liberty had been the principal inducement to forsake their native land. They needed all the influence of this noble principle, to animate them to a brave endurance of the hardships they were compelled to undergo during the rigorous winter that followed their arrival. Their sufferings were mitigated as far as possible by the hospitality of the Swedes; but many of them were compelled to pass the winter in temporary huts or sheds, and the greater number had no better lodging than caves, which they dug for themselves on the banks of the river. These hardships neither abated their zeal, nor were represented by them in such a formidable light as to repress the ardor of their friends in Europe, who, in the course of the following year, continued, by successive arrivals, to enlarge the population of Delaware and Pennsylvania. A valuable addition, in particular, was derived soon after from a numerous emigration of German quakers, who had been converted to this faith by the preaching of Penn and his associates, and whose well-timed removal from their native land happily enabled them to escape from the desolation of the Palatinate. The eminent piety and virtue by which these German colonists were distinguished in America, formed an agreeable sequal to the happy intervention of Providence by which they were snatched from the desolating rage of a tyrant, and the impending ruin of their country. There arrived also about this time, or shortly after, a number of emigrants from Holland; a country in which Penn had already preached and propagated his doctrines.*

Seeing his people thus gathering in augmenting numbers around him, Penn hastened to bind them together by some common act of social arrangement. Having distributed his territory into six counties, he summoned, at Chester,† the first general assembly, consisting of seventy-two delegates. Here, according to the *frame* that had been concerted in England, the freemen might have attended in their own persons. But both the sheriffs in their returns, and the inhabitants in petitions which they presented to the proprietary, declared that the fewness of the people, their inexperience in legislation, and the pressing nature of their domestic wants, rendered it inexpedient for them to exercise their privileges; and expressed their desire that the deputies they had chosen might serve both for the provincial council and the general assembly, in the proportions of three out of every county for the former, and nine for the latter of these bodies. In the circumstances of the province, the session of this first assembly was necessarily short; but it was distinguished by proceedings of considerable moment. The proprietary having expressed his approval of the representations that had been conveyed to him, an *act of settlement* was passed, introducing a corresponding and permanent change into the provincial constitution. With this and a few other modifications, the frame of government that had previously been made public was solemnly recognized and accepted. An *act of union* was passed, annexing the Delaware territory to the province of Pennsylvania; and the rank of naturalized British subjects was conferred on the Dutch, the Swedes, and all other foreigners within the boundaries of the province and territory. This arrangement, which, at the time, was both the effect and the cause of mutual harmony, unfortunately contained within itself the seeds of future dissension and discontent; for Penn held the Delaware territory, not by a grant from the crown, but by an assignation from the Duke of York; and when the efficacy of such a title, to convey the rights of government, came to be questioned, the people reprobated with resentful blame the wanton rashness, as they deemed it, of building their constitutional rights and privileges on a foundation so precarious. All the laws that had been concerted in England, together with nineteen others, were proposed and enacted by the assembly, which, in three days, closed a session no less remarkable for the importance of its labors, than for the candor and harmony that prevailed among men so diversified by variety of race, habit, and religious opinion. All concurred in expressing gratitude and attachment to the proprietary; the Swedes, in particular, deputing one of their number to assure him, "that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, and that this was the best day they had ever seen."

Among the many praiseworthy features of the code of laws that was thus enacted for Pennsylvania and Delaware, we have already remarked the particular wisdom of the provision for educating every native-born colonist to some useful trade or employment. But the points on which this code most justly claims the praise of original excellence and enlightened humanity, are its provisions for the administration of penal law. Nor was there any point on which its regulations have been more efficacious, or more productive of lasting and extensive benefit to mankind. It was reserved for quaker wisdom to discover, and for quaker patience and benevolence to prove, that, in the treatment of criminals, justice and mercy were not inconsistent virtues, nor policy and humanity incompatible objects of pursuit. Only two capital crimes, treason and murder, were recognised by this code; and, in all other cases, the reformation of the offender was esteemed a duty not less imperative than the punishment of the offence. To this end it was enacted, that *all prisons should be work-houses*, where offenders might be reclaimed, by discipline and instruction, to habits of industry and morality, and political benefit educed from the performance of christian duty. The institutions that resulted from this benevolent enterprise in legislation, have reflected honor on Pennsylvania, and diffused their advantages extensively in America and Europe. Notwithstanding the strict injunctions in the royal charter, neither the code of laws which was now enacted, nor the alteration and enlargement which it subsequently underwent, was ever submitted to the royal revision.

No sooner was the assembly adjourned, than Penn hastened to Maryland to vindicate that part of its proceedings which was necessarily offensive to Lord Baltimore, and, if possible, effect with this nobleman an amicable adjustment of their respective boundaries. But he seems, from the beginning, to have been aware that such a termination of the dispute was not to be expected; and, notwithstanding all the respect he must have felt for Lord Baltimore's tolerant policy, and the protection which the quakers had experienced from it in Maryland, he plainly regarded him with a suspicion and aptitude to surmise wrong and anticipate resistance, not very creditable to his own candour and moderation; finding matter of evil import even in the demonstrations of honor and respect which he received from his brother proprietary.* Lord Baltimore, relied on the priority and distinctness of his own title; while Penn defended a later and more indistinct grant, on a plea that had been furnished to him by the Committee of Plantations in England—that it had never been intended to confer on Lord Baltimore any other territory but such as was inhabited by savages only, at the date of his charter; and that the language of his charter was therefore inconsistent with its intendment, in so far as it seemed to authorise his claim to any part of the ter-

* Only a month before this favor was granted, Sir John Werden, the Duke's secretary, signified to Penn a repetition of former refusals of it, and at the same time wrote to Dongan, the governor of New York, cautioning him to beware of the encroachments of Penn, whom he describes as "very intent on his own interest in these parts, as you observe." State Papers, apud Chalmers, 660. The effect of the scenes of intrigue and altercation, which his views on the Delaware territory had produced, and seemed likely still further to prolong, is pathetically visible on the mind of Penn. One of his letters to a friend, at this period, expresses an evident abatement of the fervor of his first impressions of the degree in which his colonial designs might be rendered conducive to spiritual ends. "Surely," he says, "God will come in for a share in this pleasing work, and that heaven shall heaven the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord's providence had run this way towards me, but that he has a heaven'ly end and service in it." Clarkson, i. 329.

† Oldmixon, i. 165. 175. Proud, i. 200—2. Chalmers, 643 Once for all, I would observe that, in the course of this history, I have frequently illustrated particular portions of my narrative by citations of various authorities, not one of which accords entirely either with the views of the others or with my own. To explain, in every such instance, how I have been led, from comparison of the whole, to the view that I have adopted, would encumber every chapter of my work with a long series of subsidiary discussions. Much of the labor of an honest historian can never be known to his readers.

‡ In one of Penn's letters the Dutch and Swedish inhabitants of Delaware are thus described:—"They are a plain, strong, industrious people, who hitherto made no great progress in culture; desiring rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full." Proud, i. 200, 1. The Dutch had one, and the Swedes three meeting-houses for divine worship in the Delaware territory.—Ibid.

* In this [1682] and the two next succeeding years, arrived ships with passengers or settlers, from London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c. to the number of about fifty sail."—Proud, i. 219.

† Penn, resolving to distinguish by a new name the place at which he called his first assembly, said to Thomas Pearson, a quaker, who had accompanied him from England, "Thou hast been the companion of my perils; what wilt thou that I should call this place?" Pearson suggested the name of his own native city of Chester. This friend of Penn was the maternal grandfather of Benjamin West. Galt's Life of West Part I. p. 2.

* In an account of their conference, which Penn transmitted to England, he says, "I met the proprietary of Maryland, attended suitably to his character, who took the occasion, by his civilities, to show me the greatness of his power." Proud, i. 208

ritory previously colonized by the Swedes or the Dutch. Each of them tenaciously adhered to what, with more or less reason, he considered his own; and neither could suggest any mode of adjustment save a total relinquishment of the other's pretensions. To avoid the necessity of recurring again to this disagreeable controversy, I shall here overlook intervening events to relate, that it was protracted for some years without the slightest appproach to mutual accommodation; that King Charles, to whom both parties had complained, vainly endeavored to prevail with the one or the other to yield; and that James the II., soon after his accession to the throne, caused an act of council to be issued for terminating the dispute by dividing the subject matter of it equally between them. By this arrangement, which had more of equitable show than of strict justice, Penn obtained the whole of the Swedish and Dutch settlements, and, in effect, preserved all that he or the Duke of York had ever been in possession of. These districts, annexed, as we have seen, to his original acquisition, received the name of *the Three Lower Counties*, or *the Territories*, in contradistinction to the remainder of the union, which was termed the Three Upper Counties or Province of Pennsylvania.*

This busy year was not yet to close without an important and memorable scene, in which the character of Penn has shone forth in a very different light from that which his controversy with Lord Baltimore reflects on it. The commissioners who had accompanied the first detachment of emigrants, had, in compliance with their instructions, negotiated a treaty with the neighboring Indian tribes, for the purchase of the lands which the colonists were to occupy, and for the preservation of perpetual friendship and peace. The time appointed for the ratification of this treaty was now arrived; and, at a spot which is now the site of Kensington, one of the suburbs of Philadelphia, the Indian sachems, at the head of their assembled warriors, awaited in arms the approach of a quaker deputation. To this scene William Penn repaired, at the head of an unarmed train of his religious associates, carrying various articles of merchandise, which, on their approach to the sachems, were spread on the ground. Distinguished from his followers by no other external appendage than a sash of blue silk, and holding in his hand a roll of parchment that contained the confirmation of the treaty, Penn exchanged salutations with the Indians, and taking his station under an elm tree,† addressed them through the intervention of an interpreter. He assured them that the Great Spirit who created all men, and beheld the thoughts of every heart, knew with what sincerity he and his people desired to live in friendship and a perpetual commerce of good offices with the Indians. It was not the custom of his friends, he said, to use hostile weapons against their fellow creatures, and for this reason they came to meet the Indians unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good; and in this and every transaction, to consider the advantage of both people as inseparable, and to proceed with all openness, brotherhood, and love. Having read from the parchment record the conditions of the purchase, and the articles of compact, by which it was agreed that all disputes between the colonists and the Indians should be adjusted by arbitrators mutually chosen, he delivered to the sachems the stipulated price,‡ and farther desired their acceptance, as a friendly gift, of the additional articles of merchandise that were spread before them. He then invited them to consider the land which he had purchased, as common to the two races, and freely to use its resources whenever they might have occasion for them.§ He added, "that he would not do *as the Marylanders did*, that is, call them children or brothers only; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the friendship between him and them to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts." He concluded by presenting the parchment to the sachems, and requesting, that, for the information of their posterity, they would carefully preserve it for three generations. The Indians cordially acceded to these propositions, and solemnly pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.

Thus ended a treaty of which Voltaire has remarked, with sarcastic exhultation, that it was the only one between the christians and the Indians that was not ratified by an oath, and that never was broken. In one respect, indeed, the forbearance of Penn on this occasion to introduce christianity in any other way than as a name, into his harangue, may have contributed to the cordiality with which his propositions were received. He seduously forbore every allusion to distinctive peculiarities or offensive truths: and in addressing men whom he considered as benighted heathens,* he descended to adopt their religious nomenclature, and more than insinuated, that the Great Spirit of the Indians, and the True God of the christians, were not different, but the same. But a much more respectable peculiarity of quakerism than abstinence from oaths, formed the most remarkable feature in this treaty with the Indians, and mainly contributed to ensure its durability. Nothing could be more magnanimous than the explicit declaration of a race of civilised men, surrounded by a nation of warlike barbarians, that they renounced all the advantage of superior military skill, and even disclaimed the employment of every weapon of violence for the defence of their lives, or the vindication of their wrongs: trusting the protection of their persons and possessions against human ferocity and cupidity, to the dominion of God over the hearts of his rational creatures, and his willingness to signalize this dominion in behalf of all such as would exclusively rely on it. The singular exemplification of christian character in this respect, which the Pennsylvanian quakers continued uniformly to exhibit, was attended with an exemption no less singular, from those contentions and calamities which Indian neighborhood entailed on every other description of European colonists. The intentional injury of a quaker by an Indian is an event unknown in Pennsylvanian, and very rare in American history. The probity of dealing, and courtesy of demeanor, by which the quakers endeavored to maintain this good understanding, were powerfully aided by the distinctions of dress and manners by which they were visibly disconnected with other men, and thus exempted, as a peculiar or separate tribe, from responsibility for the actions, or concern in the quarrels of their countrymen. The inhabitants of many of the other colonies were no less distinguished than the quakers for the justice and good faith that characterised their transactions with the Indians; and the catholic inhabitants of Maryland are said, in addition, to have graced these estimable qualities with the most conciliating demeanor. Yet none were able wholly to exempt themselves from Indian attack, or to refrain from retaliatory hostility. The people of Maryland were sometimes involved in the indiscriminate rage with which certain of the Indian tribes pursued the hostilities they had commenced against the colonists of Virginia. But whatever animosity the Indians might conceive against the European neighbors of the Pennsylvanians, or even against Pennsylvanian colonists who did not belong to the quaker society, they never failed to discriminate the followers of Penn, or *children of Onas*,* (which was the denomination they gave to the quakers), as persons whom it was impossible for them to include within the pale of legitimate hostility. The friendship that was created by Penn's treaty between the province and the Indians, refreshed by successive acts of courtesy and humanity, endured for more than seventy years, and was never interrupted while the quakers retained the command of the government of Pennsylvania. Undoubtedly, the feature of quaker manners which proved most efficient in guarding them against Indian ferocity, was their rigid abstinence not only from the use, but even from the possession, of offensive weapons, arising from their conviction of the sufficiency of divine aid, and their respect to the scriptural threat, that all who take the sword shall perish by it. It was a totally different feature of christian character that was exhibited by the puritan colonists of New England in their intercourse with the Indians. They felt less indulgence for the frailty of the savages than concern for their spiritual blindness, and abhorrence of their idolatrous superstition: they displayed less meekness of wisdom than the quakers, but more of active zeal and missionary ardor. The puritans were most concerned to promote the religious interests of the Indians; the quakers to gain their good will. The puritans converted a number of their heathen neighbors; the quakers conciliated them all. It was unfortunate for the colonists of New England, that, asserting the lawfulness of defensive war, they were surrounded by numerous bold and warlike tribes, stimulated to acts of aggression, at first by their own ferocity and jealousy, and latterly by the intrigues of the French. It was a happy contingency for the planters of Pennsylvania, that the Indian tribes around them were inconsiderable in number, and either belonged to the confederacy or were subjected to the influence of *the Five Nations*, who were themselves in alliance with the sister colony of New York.

Nothing can be more exaggerated or inapplicable than the encomiums which numerous writers have bestowed on this celebrated transaction between Penn and the Indians. They have, with unhappy partiality, selected as the chief, and frequently the sole object of commendation, the supposed originality of the design of buying the lands from the savages, instead of appropriating them by fraud or force,—which last they represent as the only methods of acquisition that had been employed by the predecessors of Penn in the colonization of North America.* This is at once to reproach every one of the other christian founders of North American society with injustice and usurpation; to compliment the Indians with the gratuitous supposition that only bare justice on the part of the colonists was requisite to the preservation of peace between the two races; and to ascribe to Penn a merit which assuredly did not belong to him, and which he himself has expressly disclaimed. The example of that equitable consideration of the rights of the native owners of the soil, which has been supposed to have originated with him, was first exhibited by the planters of New England, whose deeds of conveyance from the Indians were earlier by half a century than his; and was successively repeated by the planters of Maryland, Carolina, New York, and New Jersey, before the province of Pennsylvania had a name. Penn was introduced to an acquaintance with American colonization, by succeeding to the management of New Jersey, in which Berkeley and Carteret had already established this equitable practice; and his own conformity to it in Pennsylvania had been expressly recommended by Bishop Compton (whose interference in the composition of the charter we have already witnessed) and was publicly ascribed by himself to the counsels of that prelate.†

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* Proud, i. 208. 293, &c. Chalmers, 647, 8. 650, &c. The Duke of York, who supported Penn's pretensions, finding it impossible otherwise to prevail over the title of Lord Baltimore, solicited from the King a new charter of the Delaware territory to himself, in order to reconvey it with more effect to his friend; and this was on the point of being done, when the Duke's accession to the throne enabled him to gratify Penn by a proceeding no less arbitrary in its import, but more equitable in its appearance.

† This tree was long regarded with universal respect. During the war of independence, General Simcoe, who commanded a British force stationed at Kensington, when his soldiers were cutting down all the trees around them for firewood, placed a sentinel under this elm to guard it from injury —a singular tribute from a man who was engaged in violating the very principles of equity and peace of which the object of his consideration was respected as a memorial.

‡ What this price amounted to has nowhere been recorded. Penn, writing in the following year to some friends in England, represents it as dear; and adds, "He will deserve the name of wise that outwits them (the Indians) in any treaty about a thing they understand." Proud, i 258.

§ The same liberality was shown by the colonists of New England, where, as we learn from Dr. Dwight, "the Indians were always considered as having a right to dwell and to hunt within the lands which they had sold." Travels in New England, &c. i. 312.

* In one of his letters to his friends in England, he says of the Indians: "These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion." Proud, i. 256. The following adventure was communicated by Penn himself to Oldmixon. He was visiting an Indian sachem, and had retired for the night, when a young woman, the sachem's daughter, approaching his bed lay down beside him. Penn was much shocked; but, unwilling to offend by rejecting an intended compliment, he lay still without taking any notice of her, till she thought proper to return to her own couch. Vol. I p. 308. 2d edition. A New England patriarch in such circumstances, would probably have excited the enmity of the whole Indian tribe by his expressions of disgust and reprobation.

† Onas, in the Indian tongue, signifies a pen. It came to be the Indian appellation of the governors of Pennsylvania, as corlear was of the governors of New York. Proud, i 214. John Wesley, in the close of his life, was forcibly impressed with the influence of the peculiar dress of the quakers, as at once a segregating principle, and a bond of sectarian union; and regretted that he had not prescribed a distinctive apparel to the methodists. Wesley's Journal.

* The Abbe Raynal declares, that Penn, in purchasing a conveyance from the Indians, in addition to his charter from the king of England, "is entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, never so much as thought of before by the Europeans." Noble, in his Continuation of Granger, says, "He occupied his domains by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This fact does him infinite honor. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and properties of the most unenlightened nations." It would be easy to multiply similar quotations. Even Mr. Clarkson, who acknowledges that Lord Baltimore at least preceded Penn in this act of justice, cannot refrain from complimenting Penn for soaring, in this instance, "above the prejudices and customs of his time." The most modest and moderate account of Penn's treaty which I have seen, is that which claims Mr. Dillwyn (See note 25 for its author).

† In a letter from Penn to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations in England (in 1683), he declares, that "I have followed the Bishop of London's counsel by buying and not taking away the natives' land." Proud, i. 274. This

1683] The continual arrival of vessels, transporting settlers to the colony from all parts of the British dominions, afforded ample occasion to Penn for the exercise of the agreeable labor of surveying his territories, and appropriating to the purchasers their respective allotments of land. One of these allotments, consisting of a thousand acres, was a gift from the proprietary to his friend George Fox, and formed the only estate which that venerable quaker patriarch was ever possessed of.* The greater number of the emigrants still continued to be quakers, with the addition of some other dissenters, withdrawing from the severities of persecution, and the contagion of European vices; and their behavior in the colony corresponding with the noble motives that had conducted them to it, [28] the domains of Penn exhibited a happy and animated scene of active industry, devotional exercise, and thankful enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. It appeared, however, that some worthless persons had already intruded themselves among the more respectable settlers; and three men, who were now brought to trial and convicted of coining adulterated money, gave occasion to the first practical display of the mildness of Pennsylvanian justice.

Shortly before this judicial proceeding, the second session of the assembly of Pennsylvania and Delaware had been held. In this assembly, some new laws were passed, and certain singularities in legislation were attempted. It was proposed that all young men should be compelled by law to marry before a certain age; and that no inhabitant of the province should be permitted to have more than two suits of clothes, one for summer, and the other for winter; but these propositions were very properly rejected. More wisdom was displayed in an ordinance which abrogated the common law with regard to the descent of lands, and enacted, that, in the succession of children to a father dying intestate, the eldest son should have no farther preference than a double share. However consonant it might have been to feudal principles, to bestow the fief undiminished upon him who was first able to defend it, this policy was manifestly unsuitable to colonists who had a wilderness to cultivate, and were the more especially called to invigorate exertion by an extensive diffusion of interest and property in the soil. An impost upon goods imported and exported was voted to the proprietary,† who acknowledged the kindness of the assembly, but wisely and generously remitted the proposed burden on the province and the traders who resorted to it. But the most important business that was transacted in this session was an alteration in the constitution of the state, which, unquestionably, from whatever cause, underwent at first much greater and more frequent fluctuations than the history of any of the other colonial settlements evinces. William Penn having demanded of the members of council and assembly, "Whether they desired to preserve his first charter, or to obtain a new one?" they unanimously adopted the latter part of the alternative. With the assistance of a committee of these two bodies, a new frame or charter was accordingly prepared and executed by the proprietary. The chief purpose of this proceeding seems to have been to legalize (according to Penn's ideas) the alteration that had been effected by the "act of settlement" passed in the first session of the assembly. It was accordingly now provided, by a charter emanating from the proprietary, that the provincial council should consist of eighteen persons, three from each county, and the assembly of thirty-six; by whom, in conjunction with the governor, all laws were to be made, and public affairs transacted. But still no laws could be proposed in the assembly but such as had been prepared and presented by the governor and council. The only alteration in the distribution of power that was effected by this new charter was, that the governor, with his treble vote, necessarily possessed more control in a council of eighteen, than by the original frame he could have enjoyed in a council of seventy-two members. The interests of freedom were, however, promoted by a grant, to all the inhabitants of the province, of unlimited liberty to hunt in uninclosed lands, and to fish in all waters, "that they may be accommodated with such food and sustenance as God in his providence hath freely afforded;" and aliens were encouraged by a provision, that, in case of their dying without having been previously naturalized, their lands should nevertheless descend to their heirs. This charter was thankfully accepted by the representatives of the people, who closed their second assembly with expressions of undiminished attachment to the proprietary.

This assembly had been held at the infant city of Philadelphia. Shortly after his arrival in the province, Penn had selected a commodious situation, between the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, for the erection of the metropolis of Pennsylvania: and having regulated the model of the future city by a map,* he bestowed on it a name expressive of that brotherly love which he hoped would ever characterise its inhabitants. To many of the streets he gave names descriptive of the varieties of forest trees that had been cut down to make room for the structures of civilized life; and which still continue to commemorate the sylvan origin of the place. The progress of the buildings of Philadelphia was a favorite object of his care, and advanced with such rapidity, that, in less than a year from the time when it was begun, a hundred substantial houses overlooked the caves that had sheltered their owners but a few months before; and, in the course of the following year, [1684] the population of the city amounted to two thousand five hundred persons.

The remainder of the time occupied by the proprietary's first visit to his colony was spent in conducting his controversy with Lord Baltimore; in extending his treaties with the Indian tribes, to whom his presents from time to time amounted in value to several thousand pounds; in acting as a minister among the quaker colonists, and arranging the frame of their sectarian usages and discipline; and in impelling and directing the progress of his favorite city of Philadelphia. He saw his religious society and principles established in a land where they were likely to take a vigorous root, and expand with unbounded freedom; and institutions rising around him that promised to illustrate his name with a lasting and honorable renown. In fine, he beheld the people who acknowledged his supremacy happy and prosperous, and seemed himself to enjoy his transatlantic, retirement † The only sources of uneasiness that had yet arisen from his colonial labors, were, his dispute with Lord Baltimore, and the failure of all his efforts to guard the Indians from that destructive vice which the vicinity of Europeans has always contributed to diffuse among them. A law had been passed against supplying these savages with spirituous liquors; but the practice had been introduced by the colonists of Delaware, long before Penn's arrival, and his attempts to suppress it proved utterly ineffectual. The Europeans acknowledged the cruelty and injustice of this traffic, and the Indians confessed their experience of its baneful effects; but neither could be persuaded to refrain from it. It was attended with the additional evil of confirming the Indians in their roving habits of life; as the peltry they acquired in hunting was the only commodity they were able to exchange with the colonists for rum and brandy. The more valuable possessions and advantages by which the colonists were distinguished, were either lightly esteemed by the Indians, or reckoned unworthy of the laborious habits that were requisite to procure them. In answer to the advice of the Europeans, that they should betake themselves to a life of regular industry, one of the Indians begged to hear some satisfactory reason "why he should labor hard all his days to make his children idle all theirs."

In the midst of a scene of felicity as unmixed, perhaps, as any community of human beings has ever exhibited, Penn resolved upon returning to England, in order to enforce, by personal solicitation, the interest which he possessed at the English court, and which he was desirous to employ in aid of his controversy with Lord Baltimore, as well as for the relief of a number of his quaker brethren who were suffering in the parent state from an increased strictness in the execution of the penal laws against non-conformists.* In preparation for this measure, he entrusted the administration of his proprietary functions to the provincial council, of which he appointed Thomas Lloyd, a quaker, to be president, and his own kinsman, Markham, to be secretary; and committed the execution of the laws to Nicholas Moore and four other planters whom he constituted the provincial judges. On the eve of his departure, and having already embarked, he addressed, to Lloyd and others of his more intimate associates, a valedictory letter, which he desired them to communicate to all his friends in Pennsylvania and Delaware. "Dear friends," he declared to them, "my love and my life is to you, and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and dear to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord; and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over. Oh that you would eye him in all, through all! and above all, the works of your hands." After admonishing those to whom he had committed the rule, to consider it as a sacred function and heavenly trust, he thus apostrophizes his favorite city: "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail, has there been to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! Oh that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee! that, faithful to the God of thy mercies in the life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end. My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power. My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eyes! The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace." "So, dear friends," he thus concludes, "my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy, and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you:—So says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth, William Penn."

At the period of the proprietary's departure from the province, Philadelphia already contained three hundred houses, and the population of Pennsylvania amounted altogether to six thousand souls. Of the increase which the inhabitants of the Delaware territory had undergone, no memorial has been preserved.

CHAPTER II.

Penn's Favor at the Court of James the Second—Dissensions among the Colonists—their Disagreement with Penn about his Quit Rents—He appoints Five Commissioners of State—Rumour of an Indian Massacre—Penn dissatisfied with his Commissioners—appoints Blackwell Deputy Governor—Arbitrary Conduct of Blackwell—Displeasure of the Assembly—Dissension between the People of Delaware and Pennsylvania—Delaware obtains a separate Executive Government—George Keith's Schism in Pennsylvania—Penn deprived of his Authority by King William—Fletcher appointed Governor—Penn's Authority restored—Third Frame of Government—Quaker Accession to War—Penn's Second Visit to his Colony—Sentiments and Conduct of the Quakers relative to Negro Slavery—Renewal of the Disputes between Delaware and Pennsylvania—Fourth and Last Frame of Government—Penn returns to England—Union of Pennsylvania and Delaware dissolved—Complaints of the Assembly against Penn—Misconduct of Governor Evans—He is superseded by Gookin—Penn's Remonstrance to his People—State of Pennsylvania and Delaware at the Close of the Seventeenth Century.

BIDDING adieu to the peaceful scenes of Pennsylvanian life, Penn transferred his exertions to the very dissimilar theatre of the court of England. Here the interest which he possessed was soon increased to such

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* Fox disposed of this estate by his will. But he never was in Pennsylvania.

† This seems to refute the allegation of Dr. Franklin, in his "Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania," "that Penn persevered with his first colonists to submit to his quit rents, by holding out the delusive hope, that they would supersede all public impositions for the support of government." Franklin has not succeeded on the side of the Pennsylvanian assembly in their disputes with the descendants of Penn, unless he can increase the discredit of his adversaries by the harshest censure of their illustrious ancestor. Yet, that Franklin really esteemed Penn, is apparent from many passages in his writings, and that he even regarded him with no common admiration may be inferred from a curious letter of his (relative to a supposed portrait of Penn), preserved in Wraxhouseleo's Life of Lord Kaimes.

* In the "Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament," by Dean Prideaux, there is a plan or model of the city of ancient Babylon. "Much according to this model," says the dean, "hath William Penn the quaker laid out the ground for his city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world."

† In a letter to a friend in England, he says, "Oh how sweet is the quiet of these parts, free from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities, of woeful Europe: and God will thin her; the day hastens upon her." Proud, i. 209.

* The unfortunate consequences that attended Penn's withdrawment at this period from the quiet of America, to plunge again into the solicitations of woeful Europe, have rendered the cause of this step a subject of some importance. Oldmixon, who derived his information from Penn himself, says that he was determined, much against his will, to return by tidings of the persecution of the quakers and other dissenters in England; and that "He knew he had an interest in the court of England, and was willing to employ it for the safety, ease, and welfare of his friends," i. 171. But Proud, who is by far the best authority on points of early Pennsylvanian history, declares that "the dispute between him and the Lord

a degree, by the advancement of his own patron and his father's friend, the Duke of York, to the throne, that, in the hope of employing it to his own advantage, and to the general promotion of religious liberty, he abandoned all thoughts of returning to America, and continued to reside in the neighborhood, and even to employ himself in the service, of the court, as long as James the Second was permitted to wear the crown:—a policy that, in the sequel, proved equally prejudicial to his reputation in England and his interests in America. The first fruit of his enhanced influence at court was the adjudication that terminated his controversy with Lord Baltimore, and secured to him the most valuable portion of the Delaware territory.* Fruits of a more liberal description were evinced in his successful efforts to procure a suspension of the legal severities to which the members of his own religious society were obnoxious, and for the discontinuance of which he had the satisfaction of presenting an address of thanks to the king from all the quakers in England.†

This year was signalized by an attempt, that originated with the annual meeting of the quaker society at Burlington, in New Jersey, to communicate the knowledge of christian truth to the Indians. These savages readily acceded to the conferences that were proposed to them, and listened with their usual gravity and decorum to the first body of missionaries who, in professing to obey the divine command to *teach and baptise* all nations, ever ventured to teach that baptism was not an ordinance of christian appointment. Of the particular communications between these quaker teachers and the Indians, no account has been preserved; but the result, as reported by a quaker historian, was, that the Indians in general acknowledged at the time that what they heard was very wise, weighty, and true, and never afterwards thought farther about it. The first successful attempts to evangelize the Indian inhabitants of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, were not made till towards the middle of the following century, when this work was undertaken by the celebrated David Brainerd, of New England, and by a body of Moravian brethren who had emigrated from Germany.

Meanwhile, the emigrations from England to Pennsylvania continued to proceed with undiminished vigor; the stimulus that had been previously afforded by the rigors of ecclesiastical law, being amply supplied by the dislike and suspicion with which the king's civil policy was regarded, by the accounts which had been circulated of the prosperity enjoyed by the colonists of this province, and by the general belief that Penn's interest with the king would protect its liberties from the general wreck in which his tyranny had involved the other colonial constitutions. In the course of this year, about a thousand emigrants appear to have resorted to Pennsylvania alone. But this increase in the population of his territories was now the only source of satisfaction that they were to afford to the proprietary, and the remainder of his connexion with them was overclouded by disappointment, and embittered by mutual dispute. It was but a few months after his departure from the province, that a spirit of discord began to manifest itself among the planters. Moore, the chief justice, and Robinson, the clerk of the provincial court, neither of whom belonged to the quaker persuasion, had rendered themselves disagreeable to the leading persons of this society in the colony. The first was impeached by the assembly of high crimes and misdemeanors, and for refusing to answer the charge was suspended from his functions by the council; while a very disproportioned censure was passed on the other, who, for what was deemed contemptuous behavior in answering the questions of the assembly, was not only committed to custody, but voted "a public enemy to the province and territories." Of the charges against Moore not a trace has been preserved; but it is manifest that Penn considered them frivolous or unfounded. In vain he wrote to the authors of these proceedings,* entreating them to restrain their tempers, and forbear from the indulgence of animosities so discreditable to the colony; to value themselves a little less, and to honor other men a little more than they appeared to him to have done. The assembly answered by professions of the highest reverence for himself, accompanied by entreaties (unfortunately ineffectual) that he would return to live among his people; but declared withal that they thought fit "to humble that corrupt and aspiring minister of state, Nicholas Moore." The correspondence between the proprietary and this body, as well as the council, gradually assumed an increasingly disagreeable complexion. To other causes of displeasure, were added reports of the increased consumption of spirituous liquors among the colonists—the intemperance in this respect which they propagated among the Indians thus recoiling upon themselves; and complaints of various abuses and extortions committed by the officers whom he had entrusted to conduct the sales of his land. But nothing seems to have mortified him more sensibly than the difficulty he experienced in obtaining payment of his quit rents, and the universal reluctance that was shown to comply with, or even pay any attention to, his applications for remittances on that account. The people in general had rather submitted to than approved the imposition of quit rents; and, though prospering in their circumstances, and conscious of the expenses that the proprietary had incurred for their advantage, they were only now beginning to reap the first fruits of the far greater expenses incurred by themselves in purchasing their lands from him, and in transporting themselves and their families, servants, and substance to the province. Much labor and expense was yet wanting to render more than a small portion of their lands productive of advantage to them: and to be now called on to pay quit rents for the whole, and for this purpose to surrender the first earnings of their own hazard, hardship, and toil, to be expended by their proprietary in a distant country, was a proceeding very ill calculated to obtain their favorable regard, and which the very generosity of the proprietary, that rendered it the more unavoidable on his part, had by no means prepared them to expect. Penn had, doubtless, hoped that the council to whom he had delegated his proprietary functions, would have spared him the humiliating necessity of descending to a personal altercation with his people on this subject. But, so far were the council from demonstrating any such regard for his delicacy or his interest, that they would give him no assistance whatever in the prosecution of his unpopular demand, and even forbore to take any notice of the remonstrances which he addressed to them on the neglect of their duty. Astonished and indignant to find himself treated in a manner which he deemed so ungrateful and unjust, Penn felt himself constrained at length to reproach his people in a letter, [1686] which forms a melancholy contrast to the beautiful valediction with which he had taken his leave of them, scarcely two years before. He complained that the provincial council had neglected and slighted his communications; that the labor which he had religiously consecrated to his people's good was neither valued nor understood by them; and that their proceedings in other respects had been so unwarrantable as to have put it in his power more than once to annul the charter he had bestowed on them, if he had been disposed to take advantage of their misconduct. He declared that he was suffering much embarrassment by the failure of the remittances he had expected from America, and that this was one of the causes of his detention in England. His quit rents, he said, amounted then, at the very least, to five hundred pounds a year; but he could not obtain payment of a penny of this income. "God is my witness," says he, "I lie not. I am above six thousand pounds out of pocket more than ever I saw by the province; and you may throw in my pains, cares, and hazard of life, and leaving of my family and friends to serve them." According to this statement, it would appear that he had already sold a million acres of land in the province, and devoted twenty thousand pounds (the stipulated price corresponding to sales of that extent) to the public service, besides the additional expenditure which he mentions of six thousand pounds.

This remonstrance, which was more especially addressed to the provincial council, having proved as ineffectual as his preceding applications, Penn determined to withdraw from that body the management of his interests and the possession of the executive power, which he had committed to its keeping on his departure from the province. Expecting more activity from fewer, and more integrity from different hands, he resolved to confine the executive power to five persons, and, in order to mark his sense of the injurious treatment which he conceived had been inflicted on an able and honorable man, he hesitated not to appoint Nicholas Moore to be one of the persons by whom this important function was to be exercised. To Lloyd, the former president of the council, and three other quakers, in conjunction with Moore, he accordingly granted a warrant or deputation investing them with their office under the title of *commissioners of state*. He commanded them, at the very first assembly that should be holden after their instalment in office, to abrogate, in the proprietary's name, every act that had been passed in his absence. He charged them to be particularly careful to repress every tendency to disorder, dispute, or collision of powers between the several organs of government, and, for this purpose, to permit no parleying or open conference between the council and the assembly, but to confine the one to the exercise of its privilege of proposing laws, and the other to a simple expression of assent or dissent. He admonished them to act with vigor in suppressing vices without respect of persons or persuasions,—adding, "Let not foolish pity rob justice of its due, and the people of proper examples. I know what malice and prejudice say; but they move me not. I know how to allow for new colonies, though others do not." He advised them, before ever "letting their spirits into any affair," to lift up their thoughts to Him who is not far from every one of us, and to beseech from that only source of intelligence and virtue, the communication of a good understanding and a temperate spirit. He recommended to them a diligent attention to the proprietary's interest, and a watchful care to the preservation of their own dignity. "I beseech you," he said, "draw not several ways; have no cabals apart, nor reserves from one another; treat with a mutual simplicity, an entire confidence, in one another; and if at any time you mistake, or misapprehend, or dissent from one another, let not that appear to the people: show your virtues but conceal your infirmities; this will make you awful and reverent with the people." "Love, forgive, help, and serve one another," he continued; "and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord."*

1687.] This appointment proved more conducive than might have been expected to the peace of the province, which appears for some time to have sustained no other interruption than what arose from the rumor of an Indian massacre. In the midst of the consternation which his report excited, Caleb Pusey, a quaker, volunteered to go to the spot where the Indians were said to have assembled in preparation for their bloody design, provided the council would appoint five other deputies to accompany him, and who would agree, like him, to present themselves unarmed to the Indians. On the arrival of this magnanimous deputation at the spot which had been indicated to them, they found only an Indian prince with a small retinue engaged in their usual occupations. The prince, on being apprised of the cause of their visit, informed the deputies that the Indians had indeed been disappointed to find that the price of a recent occupation of land had not yet been fully paid to them; but that, having perfect confidence in the integrity of the English, they were by no means impatient; he declared that the story of the projected massacre was a wicked fabrication, and that some Indian women who had contributed to give it currency deserved to be burned alive. One of the deputies having reminded the prince that the Indians and the English were the creatures of the same God, and equally the objects of his impartial love, which he showed by

Baltimore before-mentioned was what mainly occasioned Penn's return to England," i. 288. In a letter written shortly after his arrival in England, Penn says, that "He had seen the king and the Duke of York. They and their nobles had been very kind to him, and he hoped the Lord would make way for him in their hearts to serve his suffering people, as also his own interests as it related to his American concerns." Clarkson, i. 426.

* This adjudication was not so distinct as to prevent much subsequent dispute respecting the precise boundaries between Delaware and Maryland, which continued to distract the inhabitants on the borders of these provinces, till it was finally closed in 1750, by a decree pronounced in Chancery by Lord Hardwicke. Chalmers, 651. Vesey's Reports, i. 144.

Nothing was more common for a long time in the American provinces than disputes arising from uncertain boundaries. A dispute of this nature between the townships of Lyme and New Nondon, in New England, during the seventeenth century, was decided by a solemn pugilistic combat between four champions chosen by the inhabitants of the two places. Dwight's Travels, ii. 498.

† Proud, i. 290—294. 308—314. "The king has given us," said Penn in the speech with which he accompanied the presentation of the quaker address, "an illustrious example in his own person; for while he was a subject he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now he is Cæsar he gives God his due, namely, the sovereignty over consciences."

* "For the love of God, me, and the poor country," he says in one of these letters, "be not so governmentish, so noisy, and open in your dissatisfactions. Some folks love hunting in government itself." Proud, i. 297

* Proud, i. 295—300. 303—307. In a letter to these commissioners, some time after, he tells them, "They that live near to God, will live far from themselves; and, from the sense they have of his nearness and majesty, have a low opinion of themselves; and out of that low and humble frame of spirit it is that true charity grows. Oh that the people of my province felt this gracious quality abounding in them! My work would then be done, and their praise and my joy unspeakably abound. Wherefore, in the name and fear of God, let all old sores be forgotten as well as forgiven." Ibid. 339. This letter is dated from a mansion which politics and literature have since contributed to distinguish, Holland House, which Penn had made his residence on account of its vicinity to Kensington, where King James held his court

sending dew from heaven alike on their lands, and urged that the two races ought therefore to love one another, the prince replied, "What you have said is true; and as God has given you corn, I would advise you to get it in, for we intend you no harm." This amicable assurance, repeated by the deputies to their friends, delivered the province from an apprehension that had excited general dismay.

But Penn was far from deriving the satisfaction which he had expected from his commissioners of state; and his letters continued to repeat, though in a milder manner than before, his complaints of the detention of his quit rents, the neglect of his communications, and the disregard of his services. "I believe I may say," was his expression on one of these occasions, "I am one of the unhappiest proprietaries with one of the best people."* From the numerous apologies contained in these letters for his continued residence in England, and his protestations that he found attendance at court as burdensome and disagreeable as a state of slavery in Turkey could be, it would seem that the people of Pennsylvania regarded his absence from them with much dissatisfaction. At length, Lloyd and some of the other quaker commissioners desiring that he would discharge them from their functions, it appeared to him that some farther change was necessary in the form of his provincial administration; and, having determined to commit his powers and his interests to the more active management of a single individual, who should be invested with the rank of deputy governor, he selected for this purpose Captain John Blackwell, one of Cromwell's officers, who had married the daughter of General Lambert, and was residing at this time in New England. The consequences of this appointment were, in truth, the reverse in all respects of those which had resulted from the preceding one; but, unfortunately, they were much more disagreeable and pernicious. Blackwell appears to have been very highly esteemed by Penn, and he probably exerted himself much more than his predecessors in the executive authority had done to vindicate the patrimonial interest of the proprietary; but he provoked the general indignation and disgust of the people by his arbitrary and illegal proceedings. "Rule the meek meekly," was the instruction of Penn to him; "and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority." But meekness was no part of the disposition of Blackwell; and violence and intrigue were the chief engines of his policy.† He commenced his administration by endeavoring, not without effect, to sow discord among the freemen, and to overawe the timid by a display of power. But he had mistaken the real character of the people over whom he presided; and was taught, by the issue of an obstinate struggle, that the profession of quaker meekness and submission is not inconsistent with the exhibition of unbending firmness and determined resolution. Finding that White, the individual who had given most displeasure to Penn, by urging the impeachment of Moore, had been chosen a delegate to the assembly, he resolved to debar him from attendance there; and for this purpose caused him to be thrown into prison on the most frivolous pretences. A writ of *habeas corpus* was procured in behalf of White; but the execution of it was long impeded by the devices of Blackwell. Other practices, no less arbitrary and illegal, were employed by him for disabling men whom he disliked or suspected, from performing the duties of members of the provincial council. To give the assembly time to cool, after the commission of these outrages, he deferred the convocation of it as long as possible, and at length opened its session [1689] with a haughty and insolent harangue. His predecessors in authority had not considered it expedient to comply with the proprietary's desire of abrogating all the laws that had been made in his absence; but this measure was now announced by the deputy governor, with an insolence that would have discredited a more acceptable communication. The first proceeding of the assembly was a remonstrance against his arbitrary proceedings; and all that his utmost influence could effect on some of the members of this body, was to prevail with them to absent themselves from its sittings. This miserable manœuvre had no other effect than to provoke the assembly to declare that the secession of these members was a treacherous desertion of the public service. They passed, at the same time, a series of resolutions, importing, "That the proprietary's absence, as it may be to his disappointment, so it was extremely to the peoples prejudice; that as to the project of abrogating all the laws, he had no right so to do, because every law was in force that had not been declared void by the king; that, even with the consent of the freemen, the proprietary could make no laws to bind the province, except in the way prescribed by the charter; and that as it was desirable, so it was also to be hoped, that no laws of any other make would be imposed upon the people." After a vain struggle with an opposition thus vigorously supported, Blackwell was compelled to abandon his office, and depart from the province, leaving the executive authority once more in the hands of the provincial council, of which the presidency was resumed by Thomas Lloyd.

The ferment which had been excited during Blackwell's administration, whatever evil influence it may have exercised on the tempers of some of the colonists, was not permitted to retard in the slightest degree the rapid pace with which the general prosperity was advancing. On the contrary, a more vigorous spring seemed to have been imparted to the industry and general progress and improvement of the community, as if the energy that was excited by the provocation given to the public spirit of the people, had diffused its influence through every occupation and department of life. It was in this year that the first institution for the education of youth was established in Pennsylvania. This was called "The Friends' Public School of Philadelphia;" at the head of which was placed George Keith, a celebrated quaker writer; and which was subsequently incorporated and enlarged by charters from the proprietary.

It had been happy for Penn, if he had sooner discovered how detrimental to all his interests this long absence from the colony, and residence at the English court, must inevitably prove. The revolution that had occurred in the close of the preceding year, had abruptly destroyed that precarious favor of a tyrant, for the sake of which he had risked his popularity in England and his influence in Pennsylvania, and which had infatuated his understanding to such a degree, that he even continued to correspond with the fugitive monarch after his expulsion from the throne. That he was engaged in any of the plots, that were carrying on at this period for the restoration of James, there is truly no reason to believe; but as he voluntarily lingered in England for some time after the revolution had been accomplished, and never transmitted any instruction for proclaiming William and Mary in Pennsylvania, it is not improbable that he looked with some expectation to the success of these attempts.* To return to America was soon after put out of his power, by the consequences of the general suspicion which his conduct had excited in England. He was compelled to give bail for his appearance before the privy council; [1690] and though he more than once succeeded in justifying himself from the charges adduced against him, yet, finding that farther accusations continued to be preferred, and that a warrant had at length been issued for committing him to prison, he thought proper to sequester himself from public view, and to live for some time in a state of concealment. His name was occasionally inserted in the proclamations for the apprehension of suspected persons, that were issued, from time to time by the English ministers; who were, however, too deeply engaged in more pressing and important affairs, to have leisure as yet to attend to the concerns of his Pennsylvanian sovereignty. During this retirement, his repose was invaded very disagreeably by tidings of factious disputes and dissensions among his people, and particularly by the rupture that took place between Pennsylvania and Delaware, and separated from each other two communities, for the conjunction of which he had labored with a zeal that outstripped his usual equity and moderation

The increasing greatness of Pennsylvania had gradually excited the jealousy of the people of Delaware, who beheld with impatience their more ancient settlement dwindling into comparative insignificance, and verging into a mere fraction of a younger but more thriving community. The members deputed to the provincial council at Philadelphia from Delaware complained that they were deprived of a just share in the appointment of public officers, and at length endeavored by intrigue to counterbalance the preponderance of their associates. Privately assembling, without the usual formality of an official summons, in the council-room, they proceeded to exercise the executive functions vested in the whole body, and issued warrants for displacing a number of public officers, and appointing others to fill their places. This proceeding was almost instantantly declared illegal and void by a council more regularly convoked; but the waters of strife had now been let out, and could no longer be stayed. Penn, alarmed at the account of these dissensions, endeavored to mediate between the parties, and desired them to make choice of any one of the three forms of executive administration which they had already respectively tried. He was willing, he said, to invest the executive power either in the council, or in five commissioners, or in a deputy governor; and their choice would be determined by the recollection of which of these they had found the most impartial in the distribution of public offices. [1691] The Pennsylvanians at once declared themselves in favor of a deputy governor, and, anticipating the proprietary's approbation of their wishes, desired Lloyd to perform the duties of this office. The Delaware counsellors, on the contrary, protested against this choice, and declared their own preference of a board of commissioners. They refused to submit to the government of Lloyd, and, withdrawing from the council, they returned to Delaware, where their countrymen were easily prevailed on to approve and support their secession. In vain Lloyd endeavored, by the most liberal and generous offers to the Delaware colonists, to prevail with them to submit to an administration which he had reluctantly assumed in obedience to the urgent and unanimous desire of the Pennsylvanians; they rejected all his offers; and, countenanced by Colonel Markham, the kinsman of the proprietary, declared that they were determined to have an executive government separate from that of Pennsylvania. Stung with vexation and disappointment at this result, Penn was at first inclined to impute the blame of it to Lloyd; but soon ascertaining how perfectly disinterested and well meaning the conduct of this worthy man had been, he transferred his censure to the Delaware counsellors, and bitterly reproached them with selfish ambition and ingratitude. Hoping, however, by gratifying them in their present desire, to prevent the rupture from extending any farther, he granted separate commissions for the executive government of Pennsylvania and Delaware to Lloyd and Markham; the functions of the legislature still remaining united in a council and assembly common to the two settlements. By the friendly co-operation of Lloyd and Markham, this singular machinery of government was conducted with much greater harmony and success than the peculiarities of its structure, and the causes from which they had arisen, would have prepared us to expect.*

The following year [1692] was signalised in a manner still more discreditable to the province, and disagreeable to the proprietary, by a violent dissension among the quakers of Pennsylvania. This has been represented, by the party that proved weakest in the struggle, as a purely ecclesiastical quarrel, in which their adversaries, worsted in spiritual, had resorted to carnal weapons; and by the stronger, as a political effervescence which the power of the magistrate was rightfully employed to compose. The disturbance originated with George Keith, a man eminently distinguished by the vigor and subtlety of his apprehension, by an insatiable appetite for controversy, a copious eloquence, and a vehement temper. To his religious associates, the quakers, he was recommended by his numerous writings in defence of their tenets, and more particularly endeared as the champion of their quarrel with the churches, ministers and magis-

* "It is none of the endearingest considerations," he adds in the same letter, "that I have not had the present of a skin, or a [illegible] since I came over." Proud, i. 334.

† Penn appears to have been deceived into this appointment by a report of which Blackwell proved to have been totally undeserving. He [illegible] to the people of Pennsylvania for the [illegible] from it, by saying that he [illegible] Blackwell till he [illegible] with any [illegible] to accept the [illegible]; yet, he added withal, "I must say, I can [illegible] friends (quakers) has not been out of the dust without occasion." Proud, i. 340.

* In a letter, written by him to his friends in Pennsylvania in January, 1689, he says, "Great revolutions have been of late in this land of your nativity, and where they may period the Lord knows." He adds, that "to improve my interest with King James for tender consciences" had been the main cause of his detention so long in England. Proud, i. 341. From a letter of Leisler, who at this period acquired so much celebrity at New York (ante. B. v. cap ii), to Bishop Burnet, it appears that he considered Pennsylvania as one of the strongholds of the jacobites in America, and that a considerable number of this party were then retiring from the other provinces to Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Chalmers, 667.

* Proud, i. 346—62. Clarkson, ii. 61. Penn seems to have expressed no disapprobation whatever of the conduct of Markham, of whom Proud indeed reports (i. 236) that "he had the proprietary's confidence and esteem till his death;" whence perhaps it may be inferred that the real purpose of Markham, in placing himself at the head of the factious counsellors of Delaware, was to retain over them an influence favorable to the authority of the proprietary.

trates of New England—a country which, by a numerous body of the quakers, was long regarded with a feeling to which it is difficult to give any other name than that of a vindictive dislike. [29] He had travelled in that country as a quaker preacher: and, adding the smart of personal controversy with the people to a resentment of the well-remembered wrongs which they had wreaked on his religious fraternity, he had accumulated against them a hoard of animosity, which all the prolixity of his publications seemed to be incapable of exhausting. With an animated vituperation, which was thought very savoury by the quakers as long as it was directed against their adversaries,* he had condemned the government of New England for the severities inflicted by it heretofore upon enthusiasts, with whose extravagance, as well as whose sufferings, it appeared that he himself was too much inclined to sympathise. Even those quakers, who were possessed of that moderate spirit which was gradually leavening the whole of their society, and was utterly opposed to the wild exrravagance by which their brethren in New England had provoked their fate, were flattered by publications which artfully turned the shame of quakerism into its glory, and added the honors of martyrdom to the other evidences of their claim to a revival of primitive christianity. His eminent repute with his fellow sectaries had recommended him first to the appointment of surveyor-general of East Jersey, and more recently to the mastership of the quaker seminary of education established at Philadelphia. From real conviction, from an inveterate habit of controversy, or from ambitious desire to gain a still higher eminence among the quakers than he had already attained, he began at length to utter censures upon various particulars in the conduct and usage of his fellow sectaries in Pennsylvania. He complained that there was a great deal too much slackness in the system of quaker discipline, and that very loose and erroneous doctrine was taught by many of the quaker preachers. He insisted that, as the infliction and even the violent resistance of evil was inconsistent with Christian meekness and brotherly love, no quaker ought to be concerned in "the compelling part of government," and much less ought any such to retain negroes in a state of slavery.† His censures had in some respects a substantial reality, and in others at least a reasonable show, of just application, that rendered them only the more irritating to the minds of those whom he rebuked without being able to convince. Supported by a respectable company of adherents, and particularly in some of his views by the German emigrants, who from the first had protested against negro slavery as utterly inconsistent with quaker christianity, Keith appears to have encountered the opposition which his new doctrines received from the majority of the quakers, with as much vehemence as he had displayed in his previous contests with their common enemies. A regular trial of strength ensued between the two parties in the quaker society; and the adversaries of Keith, finding themselves supported by a majority, published a declaration or testimony of denial against him. In this curious production they expressed their deep regret of "the tedious exercise and vexatious perplexity" which their late friend, George Keith, had brought upon them. "With mourning," they declared, "and lamentation do we say,—How is this mighty man fallen!—How is his shield cast away!—How shall it be told in Gath!—Will not the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph?" They proceeded to accuse him of uttering against themselves "such unsavoury words and abusive language, as a person of common civility would loath;" and in particular with having assured them on various occasions, "and upon small provocations, if any, that they were fools, ignorant heathens, silly souls, rotton ranters, and Muggletonians, with other names of that infamous strain, thereby to our grief, foaming out his own shame." They accused him of asserting that quakerism was too often a cloak of heresy and hypocrisy: and that more diabolical doctrine passed current among the quakers than among any other description of Protestant professors. As the climax of his contumacy, they alleged, that when they had "tenderly dealt" with him for his abusive language and disorderly behavior, he had insultingly answered, "that he trampled their judgment under his feet as dirt;"* and that he had since set up a separate meeting, whose proceedings had rendered the religious reputation of the bulk of the quakers "a scorn to the profane, and the song of the drunkard."

Keith who had by this time collected around him a numerous concourse of adherents, whom he styled "Christian quakers," while he bestowed on all the rest of the quaker community the opprobious title of "apostates," did not fail to answer this declaration by an address which contained a defence of himself and his principles, and an illustration of the various acts of apostacy committed by his adversaries. This publication presented so ludicrous a contrast between the sectarian principles and the magisterial conduct of these persons, that it fairly transported them beyond the bounds of quaker patience, and convinced them that what had been hitherto regarded as a mere ecclesiastical dispute, ought now to be resented as a political quarrel. They declared, that though a tender meekness should undoubtedly characterize their notice of offences committed against them in their capacity of quakers, yet a magisterial sternness was no less incumbent upon them, in the visitation of offences that tended to "lessen the lawful authority of the magistracy in the view of the baser sort of the people." Keith, the author of the address, and Bradford, the printer of it, were both (after an examination which the other magistrates refused to share with their quaker brethren) committed to prison; Bradford's printing press was seized, and both Keith and he were denounced, by proclamation, as seditious persons, and enemies of the royal authority in Pennsylvania. Bradford, who relied on the protection of English constitutional law, compelled his prosecutors to bring him to trial for the offences they had laid to his charge; but though he was acquitted by the verdict of a jury, he had incurred such pecuniary loss, and found himself the object of so much active dislike, that he was compelled to remove his printing establishment from Pennsylvania. Keith was brought to trial shortly after, along with Francis Budd, another quaker, for having, in a little work which was their joint production, falsely defamed a quaker magistrate, whom they had described as too high and imperious in worldly courts. They were found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds.† Retiring soon after to England, Keith published an account of the whole proceedings against him, in a pamphlet which he entitled "New England spirit of persecution transmitted to Pennsylvania, and the pretended quaker found persecuting the true quaker." So extensive was his influence, both in England and America, that for some time it was doubted whether he and his friends, or the party opposed to them, would succeed in eclipsing the others, and securing to themselves the exclusive possession of the quaker name. But the career of Keith, as a quaker, was suddenly abridged, and his influence in the society completely overthrown, by a consequence which it is probable that neither he nor his opponents anticipated from the commencement of their disputes. In the course of his labors in that wide field of controversy, which the attacks of his various adversaries in Pennsylvania and New England spread before him, Keith succeeded (to his own satisfaction at least) in refuting all the peculiar tenets, that had ever been common to himself and the quakers; and scorning to conceal the desertion of his original opinions, he hesitated not to declare himself a convert from the quaker society, to the church of England. This secession was a death-blow to the influence of that party, which had hitherto espoused his sentiments; and which henceforward, either gradually coalescing with a more powerful majority, or peaceably submitting to a sentence of expulsion, contributed alike to the ascendancy of principles which originally it had hoped and intended to subvert. When Keith finally declared himself the antagonist of quakerism, he encountered the most active opposition from William Penn; but till then, the treatment which he had experienced in Pennsylvania, had been a source of the utmost regret and disapprobation to the proprietary.*

1693.] The government that had been formed in England by the revolution, having now completed the arrangements that were necessary for its establishment and security at home, had leisure to extend its cares to the colonial communities at the extremity of the empire. In the histories of the other American settlements, we have seen instances of the eagerness which King William and his ministers evinced to appropriate to the crown the appointment of the provincial governors. The situation of the proprietary of Pennsylvania, together with various circumstances in the recent history of this province, presented a favorable opportunity of repeating the same policy, and, indeed, furnished a much more decent pretext for it than had been deemed sufficient to warrant an invasion of the rights of the proprietary of Maryland. Penn was generally suspected by the English people of adherence to the interests of his ancient patron James the Second; and in consequence of a charge of this nature (though supported only by falsehood and perjury†) he had absconded from judicial inquiry, and was living in concealment. In Pennsylvania the laws had been administered in the name of the banished king, long after the government of William and Mary had been recognised in the other colonies; and the dissensions which Keith's schism had excited were magnified into the appearance of disorders inconsistent with the honor of the British crown. Fortified with such pretexts for the royal interposition, King William issued a commission, depriving Penn of all authority in America, and investing the government of his territories in Colonel Fletcher, who had also been appointed the governor of New York. Penn, who regarded this proceeding as a tyrannical usurpation of his rights, adopted the strange defensive precaution of writing to Fletcher, beseeching him, on the score of private friendship, to refuse compliance with the king's commission; but an effort of this irregular description could not possibly avail him, and the government was quietly surrendered to Fletcher, who appointed, first Lloyd, and afterwards Markham, to act as his deputy. In the commission to Fletcher, no manner of regard had been expressed to the charter of Pennsylvania, and the main object of his policy was to obtain a recognition of the dependence of the province on the crown. This involved him in a series of disputes with the assembly, who passed an unanimous resolution, "that the laws of this province, which were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor, are still in force;" but afterwards judged it expedient to acquiesce in the arrogation, that the liberty of conscience which they owed to the wisdom and virtue of William Penn and themselves, was bestowed on them by the grace and favor of the king. Farther than this, the governor found it impossible to bend them to his wishes. One object to which he strenuously labored to obtain their concurrence, [1694] was a general contribution in aid of the defence of the frontiers of New York against the arms of the French. Finding it necessary to reinforce, by argument, the authority of a royal letter which he produced for this purpose, he reminded them that the military operations carried on at this frontier contributed to the defence of the other colonies as well as New York, and that it was unjust to burden this province with the sole charge of proceedings which

* On a retrospect of his character, however, after they themselves had become his adversaries, the quakers discovered that, even before his schism with them, and even in his treatment of the people of New England, he had "had too much life in argument," had "exhibited an unbecoming vanity on victory thereby obtained by him over his opponents," and altogether conducted himself "in a very extravagant manner." Proud, i. 364.

† It is less remarkable that this latter feature of his doctrine should have been unnoticed by Proud, than that it should have escaped the observation of Clarkson, who, in his life of Penn, speaks of Keith with unmixed contempt; and in his history of the Abolition of the Slave Trade refers to a period four years later, as the era of the first effort of the American quakers to mitigate the evil of negro slavery. Gabriel Thomas, a quaker, contemporary with Keith, the friend of Penn, and the earliest historian of Pennsylvania, expressly ascribes to Keith the particular doctrine to which I allude; and Dr. Franklin, in one of his letters, mentions that he had seen the protestation against negro slavery, that was issued at this period by Keith and his followers.

* These very words, long before addressed by William Penn to an English magistrate, who was committing him to Newgate (Clarkson, i. 100) for refusing to take an oath, had been hitherto current and respected among the quakers, as importing no more than a magnanimous contempt, or decent disdain. However deficient in meekness and courtesy, they were certainly much less so than a great deal of the language that, about this period, was exchanged between many of the quaker writers and their adversaries. One Bugg, a quaker, having about this time deserted the society and quarrelled with his friends, maintained a literary warfare with them that tended much more to promote the mirth than the edification of mankind. I have seen an address to Bugg, from his ancient associates, in which they greeted him with numerous abusive allusions to the unsavouriness of his name.

† Penn, writing to a friend in America, declares that the report of this trial had excited much disgust in England, and induced many to exclaim against the fitness of quakers to administer municipal authority. Proud, i. 376.

* G. Thomas' Hist. of Pennsylvania, 52, 1. Proud, i. 315. 361.—376. Clarkson's Hist. of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, i. 136. Thomas' Hist. of Printing in America, ii. 10. 24. Proud's account of these proceedings bears evident marks of partiality. It is amusing to observe his grudge against Keith and Bradford for having dated a paper, which they published, from the prison to which they had been committed.

George Keith, after his embracement of the doctrines of the Church of England, was sent back again as a missionary to America, by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and in his labors to convert the Indians, is said to have been much more successful than any of the votaries of his former tenets. Oldmixon, i. 146.

† The author of the charge from which Penn withdrew himself, was the notorious Fuller, who was afterwards condemned to the pillory, for the detected falsehood of the charges which he had preferred against other distinguished persons.

were indispensible to the general safety. He was aware, he said, that the quaker principles which prevailed among them forbade not only the carrying of arms, but the levying of money even for the support of defensive war; but he hoped they would not refuse to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, which were certainly Christian virtues, and which the hunger and nakedness of the Indian allies of New York now presented them with a favorable opportunity of exercising. This ingenious casuistry, which the quakers might well have regarded rather as an affront to their understandings than a concession to their principles, proved on the present occasion, quite unavailing; to the no small displeasure of William Penn, who, on being reinstated in his government, reproached the assembly with their refusal to contribute towards the common defence, and desired that a sum of money for this purpose should forthwith be levied and remitted to New York.

In addition to the other disappointments and misfortunes that had recently befallen the proprietary of Pennsylvania, he had now to lament a sensible diminution of the esteem he had enjoyed with the members of his religious society in England. They reproached him with having meddled more with politics, and the concerns of the English government, than became a member of their Christian body; and would not admit the benevolent motives of his conduct, or the benefit which they themselves had personally reaped from it, as a sufficient apology for the scandal it had created, and the evil example it had afforded.* In the midst of so many adverse circumstances, involving the desertion of ancient friends, and the disappointment of almost every object of temporal satisfaction which he had proposed to himself, his retirement was penetrated by the grateful kindness of that illustrious man, whom once, in circumstances resembling his own present situation, he had endeavored to befriend. John Locke, who was now in the enjoyment of considerable favor at the English court, convinced of Penn's innocence, and mindful of the friendly intercession which Penn had made in his behalf with King James, when he was an exile in Holland, offered to employ his interest to procure him a pardon from King William. But the dignity of Penn's virtue was rather elevated than depressed by adversity; and emulating the magnanimity by which his own similar kindness had been formerly rejected by Locke, he declared, that, as he had done nothing blameworthy, he would not consent to stain his reputation by accepting a pardon.† The retirement thus virtuously preserved, contributed no less to the refinement of his character than to the extension of his fame: and was signalised by the publication of a series of literary performances replete with learning, genius, and mild benevolence.

In a short time, the clouds that had gathered around his fortunes began to disperse; the quakers became completely reconciled, and as much attached as ever to him; and the good offices of Lord Somers, Locke, and other friends, concurring with the justice of his cause, and the detection of impostures committed by one of his accusers, succeeded in undeceiving the English court, and obviated every pretence for continuing to exclude him from the enjoyment of the privileges conferred on him by the charter of Pennsylvania. A royal warrant was accordingly issued for reinstating him in his proprietary functions; in the exercise of which he proceeded forthwith to invest his kinsman, Markham, with the office of deputy-governor, of his whole territories—thus again re-uniting the executive administration of Pennsylvania and Delaware.‡

Pennsylvania, meanwhile, continued to increase its population with such rapidity, that, about this period, [1695] the number of inhabitants (exclusive of negro slaves), was estimated at twenty thousand. A considerable change was observed soon after the English Revolution in the character of the emigrants, who, though generally respectable persons, yet showed very plainly, in many parts of their conduct, and especially in their reluctance to embrace the measures that were proposed for mitigating the evils of negro slavery, that views of temporal enrichment had much more powerfully influenced them in resorting to America than religious zeal. The formality of apparel and simplicity of manners peculiar to the constitutions of the quakers, served to purify their body by confining its attractions to sober-minded men; and enforced the example of industry; by increasing its efficacy in conducting to a plentiful estate. But the temporal advantages thus closely associated with quaker manners had latterly tended to produce a practical relaxation of the strictness and spirituality of quaker principles, and to adulterate the motives from which the profession of these principles was embraced. The attractions of Pennsylvania as a sanctuary of liberty of conscience had been comparatively diminished to the English dissenters by the Revolution; but its attractions, in other respects, continued unabated, and, by the widely-diffused influence and correspondence of Penn, were circulated through all parts of the British empire. Already many persons who in England had found it difficult to gain a livelihood, had in Pennsylvania amassed estates, to the value, some, of many thousands, more of many hundreds of pounds. The accounts that were published in England of the wages of labor in the province attracted thither a considerable number of persons in the humblest walks of life, who had the expenses of their transportation defrayed by the wealthier individuals, to whom for a series of years, they engaged themselves as servants. But the improvement in the condition of these people was so rapid, that a want of laborers, and the exorbitancy of the wages that were necessary to retain free men in that condition, were continual subjects of complaint. These circumstances, concurring with the example of the neighboring colonies, had originally introduced, and now continued to prolong, the subsistence of negro slavery in the province; and this vile institution, by degrading servitude, and rendering it a condition still more undesirable to free men, promoted the causes from which itself had arisen. It required more virtue than even the quakers were yet capable of exerting to defend themselves from the contagion of this evil, and to induce them to divide the produce of their lands with their laborers, in such proportions as might have enabled them to employ only free labor in their cultivation.

During the interval that elapsed between the restoration of Penn to his proprietary authority, and his second visit to his people, [1696] some change was introduced into the form of the provincial constitution. Markham had repeatedly pressed the assembly to authorise the levy of a sum of money, to be remitted to the governor of New York, for the support of the war; or, as it was decently declared, for the relief of the poor Indians; and Penn, in his letters from England, had reinforced this application by declaring, that the preservation of the proprietary government would again be endangered by their refusal to comply with it. This appeared to the assembly a favorable opportunity of obtaining a change which they had long desired to effect, in the distribution of the legislative functions between themselves and the governor and council; and showing plainly that, without this equivalent, they were determined not to wave their scruples to a contribution for hostile purposes, they compelled Markham to consent to the passing of a new act of settlement, which formed the third *frame* or charter of the Pennsylvanian constitution. By this new compact, it was provided, that from each county there should be chosen only two persons to represent the people in council, and four as their representatives in assembly; the council being thus reduced in number from eighteen to twelve, and the assembly from thirty-six to twenty-four. It was farther stipulated, that the assembly should regulate its own adjournments, and should be no longer confined to a simple assent or negation to legislative propositions originating with the governor and council, but should share with them the privilege of preparing and proposing laws. On receiving this boon, the assembly passed an order for raising the sum of three hundred pounds, to be remitted to the governor of New York, for the relief of the distressed Indians on the frontiers of his province.* Governor Fletcher wrote to Markham in the following year, [1697] declaring that the money had been faithfully applied to the feeding and clothing of the Indians, and desiring a fresh supply for the same benevolent purpose. The assembly, in reply to this proposition, desired that their thanks might be conveyed to Fletcher for "his regard and candor to them" in applying their former remittance to the use they had intended; adding, that although, for the present, they must decline to impose farther burdens on the province, they would always be ready to observe the king's farther commands, "according to their religious persuasions and abilities." Thus early did the quakers experience the difficulty of reconciling their religious principles with the administration of political power. It was but a few years after, when, in answer to a requisition from William Penn, in the king's name, for a sum expressly intended for the erection of forts and batteries at New York, the Pennsylvanian assembly assigned their poverty, and the partiality which imposed upon them so many exactions from which other and older colonies were exempted, as the only reasons for deferring to comply with the king's commands, "so far as their abilities and religious persuasions shall permit." This *salvo*, which was always inserted on such occasions, for the honor of quaker consistency, never prevented the quakers of Pennsylvania from contributing, as the subjects of a military government, their full contingent to the sinews of war. In voting grants of money which were expressly demanded, and which they well knew would be employed to impel the rage of war, and reward the ferocity of savages whom they had professed their anxious desire to convert and civilize, it was always attempted by the substitution of some other alleged purpose, to shift the sin from themselves to their military superiors, or at least to draw a decent veil over concessions which they could neither withhold nor avow.* This veil was not without its use, if it contributed to maintain among the Pennsylvanian quakers that respect for their pacific tenets which they displayed in the following century, when the English government, endeavoring to push them into a still more active and unequivocal co-operation with military measures, they sacrificed to their principles the possession of political power. To the real dereliction of these principles, however, which was suffered to gain admission among them under the cover of this veil, may perhaps, in part, be ascribed that schism which produced the sect or party of *Free Quakers*, who, during the war of independence, took arms against Great Britain, and have since continued to profess the lawfulness of defensive war.

1698—99.] The colony continued to glide on for some time in a course of tranquil prosperity, interrupted at length by an event which had been now too long deferred to be capable of producing the beneficial consequences which at one time were fondly expected to ensue from it—the return of the proprietary to his American dominions. On this second occasion, accompanied by his family, and professing his intention to spend the remainder of his life in Pennsylvania, his arrival was hailed with general, if not universal satisfaction,—of which the only visible abatement was created by the first visitation of that dreadful epidemic the yellow fever (since so fatally prevalent) at Philadelphia.† Some young men having ventured, in opposition to the commands of the magistrates, to salute the proprietary on his arrival with a discharge of artillery, performed this operation so awkwardly, as to occasion a severe injury to themselves; which the quakers seem to have regarded as a providential rebuke of a tribute so unsuitable to a member of their fraternity. The very first transactions that took place between Penn and his provincial assembly were but ill calcula-

* Lower, a quaker, the friend of Penn, and in good repute with the rest of the society, undertook to mediate a reconciliation between them, and for this purpose drew up the following apology, which was to be subscribed and distributed by Penn: "If any things, during these late revolutions, I have concerned myself, either by words or writings (in love, pity, or good-will to any in distress), farther than consisted with truth's honor or the church's peace, I am sorry for it; and the government having passed it by, I desire that it may be by you also." Clarkson, i. 98. Whether this apology was presented or not, is unknown: but a reconciliation took place shortly after between Penn and the quakers.

† This was not the only point of similarity in the histories of these distinguished persons. Both had been the dupes of very bad men (Shaftesbury and James the Second), and both suffered unjustly for their connexion with them. Both were expelled from the university of Oxford.

‡ Proud, i. 400—404. Clarkson, 277. 97. Mr. Clarkson's statements that this warrant was expressed in a manner particularly creditable to William Penn, is erroneous. The abstract he has given of its import is equally so, and shows him to have been misled by some defective copy of the instrument, which is exactly commenced in this manner:—"Whereas upon information, that, by reason of great miscarriages in the government of our province of Pennsylvania, in America, and the absence of the proprietor, the same was fallen into disorder and confusion," &c. The reason assigned for restoring him is, that he "has given us good assurance that he will take care of the government thereof, and preserve the said territories and provide for the safety and security thereof."

* It was almost at the same time that Archdale, the quaker governor of Carolina, introduced into this province a law for the formation of a militia.

* Dr. Franklin mentions an instance some years after of a requisition addressed to the assembly of Pennsylvania, of a grant of of £2000 for the purchase of gunpowder: to which the assembly replied, that, consistently with quaker principles, they could not grant a farthing for such a purpose. But had voted £2000 for the purchase of grain. Various instances of accession to war, still more unambiguous, on the part of the American quakers, are related in Kalm's travels in North America, vol. i.

† Thomas Story, an eminent preacher among the quakers, and afterwards recorder of Philadelphia, thus describes the impression produced by the prevalence of this epidemic:—"Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord; great was the fear that fell upon all flesh; I saw no lofty or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter; nor extravagant feasting to excite above measure the lusts of the flesh; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar." Proud, vol. i. p. 422. How different this from Thucydides' description of the increased gaiety and profligacy produced by the plague at Athens.

ted to promote their mutual satisfaction. In the history of some of the other settlements (and particularly of Carolina and New York,) we have seen that the American seas were at this time infested by pirates, whose prodigal expenditure of money among their entertainers, and whose readiness to assist in evading the obnoxious acts of navigation, recommended them too successfully to the countenance of many of the North American colonists. Pennsylvania had not escaped this reproach, which Penn had communicated in letters to the assembly; by whom, while laws were readily enacted against the practices imputed to them, proclamations had at the same time been issued, declaring in the strongest terms that these imputations were unfounded. This disagreeable subject was resumed immediately after the arrival of Penn; and though the assembly still complained of the injustice of the reproach, it was found necessary to expel from it one of its members, the son-in-law of Colonel Markham, who was suspected of participating, or at least countenancing piracy. Still more productive of uneasiness were the applications which Penn was compelled by the British government to address to his assembly for levying money to be expended on military operations at New York; and which were answered only by complaints of the hardship of these exactions, and protestations of the inability of the province to comply with them. But the most signal and unhappy disagreement that occurred between Penn and the assembly, arose from the measures which he now suggested for improving the treatment of negro slaves, and correcting abuses that had occurred in the intercourse between the colonists and the Indians.

It was impossible that the evils of slavery, and the repugnance of such an inhuman institution to the duties of Christianity, which Baxter, Tryon, and other writers had already pressed upon the attention of the protestant inhabitants of Christendom, could escape the sense of those benevolent sectaries, who professed to exhibit a peculiar conformity to the mildest and most self-denying precepts of the gospel. When George Fox, the founder of this sect, paid a visit to Barbadoes in 1671, he found the quakers, as well as the other white inhabitants, in possession of slaves. "Respecting their negroes," he relates among his other admonitions to the quaker planters, "I desired them to endeavor to train them up in the fear of God, as well those that were bought with their money, as those that were born in their families. I desired also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude, they should make them free.*" How conscientiously the quakers complied with this admonition is apparent, from a law passed by the legislature of Barbadoes five years after, commanding them to desist from giving instruction to negroes, and in particular from admitting them to their religious assemblages;† and how magnanimously they persisted to do their duty in the face of this unchristian command, may be inferred from an enactment of the same legislature in the following year, imposing a penalty on any shipmaster who should bring a quaker to the island. The prosecution of such measures, and the adoption of a similar policy in others of the West India plantations, succeeded in banishing from these settlements an example which might have been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the interests of the planters and the happiness of the negroes; and compelled many quaker planters to emigrate to America, where they brought with them their modified opinions on the subject of slavery. Many of them probably entertained the intention of an entire compliance with the admonition of Fox, by setting their negroes at liberty after certain years of servitude; but this purpose was easily overpowered by the sophistry and temptation of self-interest, the contagion of general example, and the influence of habit in blunting the feelings of humanity.

By his acquisition of the Delaware territory, it is probable that Penn, on coming to the possession of his American domains, found the system of negro slavery already established within them. During his first visit, it appears that a few negroes were imported into Pennsylvania, and were purchased by the quakers, as well as the other settlers. While the scarcity of laborers enforced the temptation to this practice, the kindness of quaker manners contributed to soften its evil and veil its iniquity; and it was not till the year 1688, that the repugnance of slavery itself, however disguised to the tenets of Christianity, was first suggested to the Pennsylvanians by the emigrants who had resorted to them from Germany. Whatever taint the practice of the quakers might have derived from human infirmity, they were still anxious as a body to maintain the theoretical purity of their principles; and accordingly, in compliance with the suggestion of the Germans, a resolution declaratory of this undeniable truth was passed in the same year, by the annual meeting of the quakers of Pennsylvania. The effect of this generous homage to religious truth and the rights of human nature, however, was not carried beyond a practical exemption of the slaves of the quakers, from evils not inevitably inherent in the system of bondage. George Keith, as we have seen, made an attempt, in 1692, to bring the practice of his fellow-sectaries into a closer accommodation to their theory. But his violence and irregularity were not calculated to recommend his dictates to general esteem; and the increasing number of the slaves, together with the diversities of character among the colonists (to which I have already adverted), rendered the emancipation of the negroes increasingly improbable. In the year 1696, the annual meeting of the Pennsylvanian quakers repeated their former declaration, adding to it an earnest admonition to the members of their society, to refrain from all farther importations of negro slaves; but no other immediate effect seems to have resulted from this measure, than an increased concern for the welfare of the negroes, who in some instances were admitted to attend divine worship in the same meeting-houses with their quaker masters.

On his second arrival in America, [1700] Penn seems very soon to have perceived, that from the varieties of character among his colonists, and the inevitable tendency of absolute power to abuse, the negro slavery of Pennsylvania too much resembled, in some instances, the features of the same institution in other places. He was mortified with the discovery, at the same time, of numerous frauds and abuses that disgraced the character of the colonists in their traffic with the Indians. With the view of providing a remedy for both these evils, he presented to the assembly three bills which he had himself prepared; the first, for regulating the morals and marriages of the negroes; the second, for regulating the trials and punishments of the negroes; and the third, for preventing abuses and frauds upon the Indians. The assembly instantly negatived the first and last of these bills; acceding only to that which related to the trial and the punishment of their slaves. No account is transmitted of any discussion or debate on the bills which were rejected; and indeed it is probable that the assembly, in this instance, were glad to confine themselves to the ancient formula of simply approving or rejecting the bills presented to them. But it is said by one of the biographers of Penn, that the feelings of the proprietary received a convulsive shock on the occasion. He had indeed been unanimously supported by his council, which consisted entirely of quakers, in proposing the bills; but he had seen them decisively negatived by an assembly, of which a great majority consisted of persons of the same religious persuasion. Though disappointed of the more extensive influence, which as a political legislator he had hoped to exercise, he was yet able, in his ecclesiastical ministry among the quakers, to introduce into their discipline regulations and practices relative to the purposes of the rejected bills, the spirit of which, at least, was by the example of this powerful sect forcibly recommended to general imitation. Monthly meetings were enacted among the quakers, for the religious and moral education of their negro slaves; and regular conferences were arranged with the Indians, for communicating to them whatever instruction they could be prevailed on to accept. Penn finally obtained leave, or at least, took it upon himself to make a treaty with the Indians, by which they acknowledged themselves subjects of the British crown, and amenable to the provincial laws; and by which certain regulations were prescribed, for preventing frauds upon them in their commercial dealings with the white population.

Thus was cherished in the quaker society a principle which about fifty years after obtained the signal triumph of procuring emancipation to all the negroes in America belonging to quakers; and thus, meanwhile, was cherished in the general body of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania a sense of what was due to the claims of human nature, which obtained for the slaves in this province a treatment far kinder and more equitable than they enjoyed in any other of the American states. Notwithstanding the encouragement afforded by the British government to the importation of negroes into all the American settlements, the slaves in Pennsylvania never formed more than a very insignificant fraction of the whole population of the province. Slavery subsisted longer in Delaware; and the slaves in this settlement, though not numerous, were rather more so than in the larger province of Pennsylvania.*

In addition to the other disagreeable impressions of which his second visit to America had been productive, William Penn had now the mortification of witnessing a revival of the jealousies between Delaware and Pennsylvania, and the inefficacy of all his efforts to promote a cordial union between the inhabitants of these countries. As a remedy for their mutual dissatisfaction, he had prepared a change in the frame of government: but the adjustment of this compact tended rather to inflame than allay the existing disputes. He endeavored to defer the extremity to which their disputes manifestly tended, by various acts of conciliation towards the weaker and more jealous party, and particularly by convoking at Newcastle, the metropolis of Delaware, another assembly, which was held in the close of this year. But although he succeeded after many efforts in obtaining from this assembly a subsidy for the support of his government, and made some progress in arranging with them the terms of a new charter or frame of government, the mutual jealousies between the two settlements were displayed with such unreserve, that in almost every topic of consideration, the Delaware representatives, to a man, voted exactly the reverse of whatever was proposed or approved by the Pennsylvanians. The subsidy amounted to 2000*l.* of which 1573*l.* was the proportion imposed upon Pennsylvania, and the remainder upon Delaware. It was unwise, perhaps, of Penn to invite his people to the acceptance of a new social compact, at a time when they were so much heated by mutual jealousy, and when the union between the two settlements was evidently so precarious. It afforded a pretext not long after for taxing him with converting the public distractions to his own advantage, and effectuating devices for the enlargement of his own power, while the minds of his people were too much occupied [1701] with their mutual dissensions to perceive the drift of his propositions.

But Penn had now determined again to leave America, and return to England; and while he naturally desired to have some frame of government finally established before his departure, his recent experience had doubtless impressed him with the conviction, that an extension of his own authority would render the constitution more subservient to the welfare of the people, and afford a freer scope to the promotion of views, and the exertion of influence, which must always be impartially directed to the general advantage.

In the last assembly, which he held before his departure, he had occasion to exert all his authority and address to prevent the representatives of Delaware and Pennsylvania from coming to an open rupture, and also to guard his own interests in the sale and lease of vacant lands, from an attempt of the assembly to exercise a

* Fox's Journal (3d edit.) 431. An earlier and more uncompromising resistance to slavery was made by some of the clergy of the church of Rome. At St. Luiz, in the year 1653, the celebrated Jesuit Vieyra scrupled not from the pulpit to declare, to a congregation of slave owners, that no man could hold a negro in slavery, without devoting his own soul to eternal slavery in hell. Southey's History of Brazil. Part II. cap. 26. This discourse, which Mr. Southey has preserved at full length, is, perhaps, the most eloquent and powerful denunciation of the system of slavery that ever was uttered or written by priest or layman.

† Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 38. The preamble of this law sets forth, that "Whereas many negroes have been suffered to remain at the meeting of quakers as hearers of their doctrine, and taught in their principles, whereby the safety of this island may be much hazarded," &c. We find the legislature of Barbadoes, an hundred and fifty years after, enacting similar laws against the methodist teachers and preachers, and declaring that their doctrines were fitted to turn the world upside down.

* Proud, vol. i. p. 423. 428—432. Clarkson's Abolition of the Slave Trade, vol. i. p. 136, 137. Ibid. Life of Penn, vol. ii. p. 218, 219. 225. Winterbotham, vol. ii. p. 417. Warden, vol. ii. p. 69. 125. In the course of his ministerial labors at this time, Penn visited his quaker brethren in Maryland, and appears to have been received in a friendly manner by his ancient adversary Lord Baltimore, who with his lady accompanied him to a quaker meeting. Penn regretted, for the sake of his noble companions, that the fervor of the meeting had subsided before their entrance, and lady Baltimore declared herself disappointed of the diversion she had expected. He had also various interviews with the Indians, who listened to him willingly as long as he confined himself to general allusions to religion. But when he desired on one occasion to direct their minds to the search of an internal manifestation of the Redeemer of the human race, his interpreter declared that there were no words in the Indian tongue that were capable of conveying such a notion.

To Penn himself, the Indians very readily paid a degree of respect, which they refused to extend to his religious tenets. Many of them believed him a being of a higher order than the rest of mankind; "nor could they for a long time credit the news of his death, not believing him subject to the accidents of nature." Farmer's View of the Policy of Great Britain, &c. (A. D. 1764.) p. 60.

control over them. A great many laws were passed; of which the most remarkable were, for the establishment of a post-office, for the punishment of the vices of scolding and drunkenness; for restraining the practice of drinking healths, and for the destruction of wolves. But the most important proceeding on this occasion was the enactment of the new charter or frame of government, which Penn finally tendered to the assembly, and prevailed with six parts in seven of that body to accept, and even thankfully acknowledge. By this charter, it was provided (in conformity with the frame of 1696) that an assembly should be annually chosen by the freemen, to consist of four persons out of each county, or of a greater number, if the governor and assembly should so agree; that this assembly should choose its own officers, and be the sole judges of the qualifications and elections of the members; that it should prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redress grievances; and possess all the other powers and privileges of an assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and the customs observed in any of the king's plantations in America. The governor was empowered to summon, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly; to nominate his council; to discharge singly the whole executive functions of government, and to share the legislative, by affirming or rejecting the bills of the assembly.* It was declared that liberty of conscience should be inviolably preserved; that Christians of every denomination should be qualified to fill the officers of government; and that no act or ordinance should ever be made to alter or diminish the form or effect of this charter, without the consent of the governor for the time being, and six parts in seven of the assembly. But as it was now plainly foreseen that the representatives of the province, and those of the territories, would not long continue to unite in legislation, it was provided that they should be allowed to separate within three years from the date of the charter; and should enjoy the same privileges when separated as when connected. In the exercise of the new authority thus invested in himself, Penn proceeded to nominate a council of state, to consult with and assist the governor or his deputy, and to exercise his functions in case of his death or absence. The office of deputy-governor† he bestowed on Colonel Andrew Hamilton, who had formerly been governor of New Jersey.

One of the last acts which he performed before his departure, the incorporation, by charter, of the city of Philadelphia, has been justly charged with great illiberality: though, according to the apology that has been suggested for it, the blame must be divided between himself and others. By this charter, he nominated the first mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common councilmen of the city; and among other privileges and franchises, empowered them to elect their successors in office, and even to increase their own number at pleasure. The city lands were granted to them, by the style of the mayor and commonalty of the city of Philadelphia; but the commonalty had no share in the government or estate of the city; the civic functionaries being self-elective, and not accountable to their fellow-citizens in any respect. It has been said that this municipal constitution, which was copied from the charter of the town of Bristol in England, was accorded by Penn to the desires of certain of his colonists who were natives of that place; and it is admitted that the functionaries whom he himself named, were men of integrity and abilities. But the possession of power, divested of control and responsibility, produced its usual effect on this corporate body; and the abuses engendered by its administration, were from a very early period a continual theme of discontent and complaint to the inhabitants of the city and the provincial assembly. Having finished these proceedings, and once more renewed a friendly league with the Indians, Penn communicated to his people an adieu, friendly and benevolent, but far less affectionate than his former valediction; and embarking with his family, returned to England.

The only reason that Penn assigned to his people for this second departure was the intelligence he had received of a project of the English ministers to abolish all the proprietary jurisdictions in North America, and the necessity of his own appearance in England to oppose a proceeding so derogatory to his interest. But as he found on his arrival in this country, that the measure had been abandoned, and yet never again returned to America, it seems very unlikely that this was the sole or even the chief reason for his conduct. The disagreements that had taken place between himself and his colonists, had rendered their intercourse far less satisfactory than he could have desired, and induced him to supply the inadequacy of his own personal influence by a large addition to his political power; and from the numerous demands of the British government for contributions, in aid of military purposes, it was manifest that this power must be frequently exerted for the attainment of objects which, as a professor of quakerism, he could pursue with more decency and more vigor by the intervention of a deputy, than by his own personal agency. The disagreeable tidings that pursued him from America must have increased his aversion to return thither: and the favor he enjoyed with queen Anne on her accession, [1702] perhaps reawakened the views and hopes that had led him once before to prefer the courtly shades of Kensington, to the wild woods of Pennsylvania. His attendance at court, however, was soon interrupted by the perplexity and embarrassment of his private affairs (arising from the fraud of his steward), which compelled him to mortgage his American territory; and the same cause, concurring with increased dissensions between him and the colonists, induced him subsequently to bargain with the British government for a sale of his proprietary functions.* The completion of the bargain, however, was prevented by his death, which transmitted the proprietary government to his descendants, by whom it was enjoyed till the period of the American revolution.

Penn had scarcely quitted America when the disputes between the province and the territories broke forth with greater bitterness than ever. The Delaware representatives protested against the charter; and, refusing to sit in the same assembly with the Pennsylvanian representatives, chose a separate place of meeting for themselves in Philadelphia. After continuing for some time to indulge their jealous humor, and to enjoy whatever satisfaction they could find in separate legislation, [1703] they were persuaded by the successor of Hamilton, Governor Evans (who was much more agreeable to them than to the people of Pennsylvania,) to evince a more reasonable temper, and to propose a reunion with the Pennsylvanian assembly. But this body, provoked with the refractoriness which the Delaware representatives had already displayed, now refused to listen to their overtures of reconciliation. The breach thus became irreparable, and in the following year [1704] the separate legislature of Delaware was permanently established at Newcastle. In addition to the tidings of these prolonged disagreements and final rupture between the two settlements, Penn was harassed by complaints against the government of Evans, whose exertions to promote a militia, though they rendered him popular in Delaware, made him odious in Pennsylvania. Deriding the pacific scruples of the quakers, [1706] Evans falsely proclaimed the approach of a hostile invasion, and invited all who were willing to join him to take arms against the enemy. A few individuals, and among these, four quakers, duped by this stratagem, flew to arms, and prepared to repel the threatened attack. But the chief effect of the proclamation was to cause many persons to bury their plate and money, and to fly from their homes; and the detection of the falsehood was followed by an impeachment of the governor, and of Logan the secretary of the province, who though innocent of accession to the fraud, made himself suspected, by endeavoring to palliate the guilt of it. Penn, however, supported these accused officers, and thereby increased the displeasure that was beginning to prevail in the province against himself. He was now very little disposed to look with favor on the proceedings of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; who, no longer engrossed with their disputes with the people of Delaware, began to scan with very dissatisfied eyes the whole course of his proceedings with respect to themselves. The assembly of Pennsylvania not only assailed him with repeated demands, that the quit-rents which he deemed his own private estate, should be appropriated to the support of the provincial government, but transmitted to him a remonstrance, entitled *Heads of Complaint*, in which they alleged that it was by *his artifices* that the several charters granted at the first settling of the province had been defeated; that he had violated his original compact by the recent stretch of his authority so far beyond the limits within which he had engaged to confine it; and that he had received large sums of money during his last visit to the province, in return for benefits which he had promised to procure, but had never yet obtained for the people from the English government. They censured the original annexation of Delaware to Pennsylvania; reminding him that his title to the government of Delaware, not having been founded on a royal grant, was from the first very precarious; and *lamenting with great grief* that the privileges granted to the Pennsylvanians by his first charters, had been exposed to perish with the baseless fabric of the Delaware institutions with which he had associated them. Numerous extortions of his officers were at the same time complained of; and these were attributed to his refusal, in the year 1701, to affirm a bill that had been framed by the assembly for the regulation of official fees. Probably some of these complaints were founded in misapprehension, or suggested by factious malignity; and doubtless the discontent, which both on this and other occasions was expressed towards the proprietary, owed in some degree its origin to the peculiar relation which he held with the members of his own religious society in the province. They had always regarded the civil and political institutions of Pennsylvania as subordinate to the establishment and liberal encouragement of quakerism, and expected a degree of equality to result from the legislation of a quaker minister, which they would never have looked for from a law-giver of any other persuasion. His own assurances at the beginning, that in acquiring the province, his main purpose was to serve the truth and people of God, (which they understood to signify quakerism and the quakers,) contributed to exaggerate their expectations in this respect.

Indignant at these charges against himself, and, prejudiced by this feeling against the accusers of Evans, Penn continued to maintain this worthless individual in the office he had conferred on him, till his conduct had gone far to excite the people of Delaware to actual hostilities against their Pennsylvanian neighbors, in prosecution of an unjust demand for a toll on the navigation of the Delaware, which Evans had suggested to them. Receiving complaints of this, as well as of other instances of official malversation, on the part of his deputy-governor, and having ascertained, by a deliberate examination of them, that they were too well founded, Penn hesitated no longer to supersede Evans, and appointed in his place Charles Gookin, a gentleman of ancient Irish family, sometime retired from the army, in which he had served with repute; and who seemed qualified, by his age, experience, and the mildness of his manners, to give satisfaction to the people over whom he was sent to preside. Gookin carried out with him an affectionate letter from Penn to the assembly, in which their recent disagreements were passed over without any other notice than what may be inferred from a recommendation to his people as well as himself, of that humility with which men ought to remember their own imperfections, and that charity with which they ought to cover the infirmities of others. But the assembly were not so to be pacified. While they congratulated Gookin on his arrival, [1709] they revived in their address every topic of complaint that they had ever before preferred. Their ill-humor was augmented by the number of applications which Gookin was from time to time compelled to make, in the queen's name, for contributions in aid of the various military operations that related more immediately to the American colonies. To all these applications, the assembly invariably answered, that their religious principles would not suffer them to contribute to the support of war; but they voted the sums that were demanded as *presents* to the queen.

Finding his people not so easily intreated to conciliation as he had hoped, Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year,* for the last time addressed the assembly, in a letter replete with calm solemnity, and dignified concern. It was a mournful consideration to him, he said, that he was forced by the oppressions and disappointments which had fallen to his share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language he once hoped never to have occasion to employ. [1710] In a style of serious remonstrance he appealed to them, if, at the expense of his own fortune and personal care, he had not conducted them into a land where prosperity

* Mr. Clarkson has omitted to notice this important innovation, in his abstract of the charter. Dr Franklin (in his Historical Review, &c.) comparing it with the corresponding [illegible] in favor of the assembly, admits, that, "upon the whole there was much more reason for acknowledgments than complaints."

† No mention is made of the royal approbation of this appointment, [illegible] the appointment of Evans, the successor of Hamilton. [illegible] Mary [illegible] it was requisite now that all the acting governors in the proprietary jurisdictions should be approved by the king.

* He demanded as the price of this surrender £20,000, but agreed to accept £12,000.

* Mr. Clarkson has miscalculated in supposing that Penn was in his seventieth year when he wrote this letter. Penn was born on the 14th October, 1644.

and liberty, far beyond the common lot of mankind, had been made their portion; and if this work of his hand, had yielded him aught else than the sorrow, disquiet and poverty, that now depressed his old age.* "I must desire you all," he proceeded, "in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given on my side for that opposition to me and my interest which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done. I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I could readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand." He entered into a long deduction of the various alterations that the constitution of the province had received, and endeavored to show that every one had arisen out of inconveniences of which all had been sensible at the time, and which all had willingly united in thus correcting. It was right, he contended, that the proprietary, who was personally responsible to the crown, for an administration conformable to the provincial charter, should be vested exclusively with the executive power. He could no longer, he said, impute the treatment he had met with, to mistakes in judgment,—seeing that he had such injuries to complain of as repeated attacks on his reputation; numerous indignities offered to him in papers sent over to England, by the hands of men who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; insinuations against his integrity; attempts upon his estate; and disfavor shown to individuals (particularly Logan, the secretary of the province) on account of their well known attachment to him. "I cannot but mourn," he added, "the unhappiness of my portion dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built. Friends! the eyes of many are upon you: the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy: but to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise." He concluded by declaring, that the opposition he had received from them, must at length force him to consider more closely his own private and declining circumstances in relation to the province. He was willing to continue his kindness to them, if they should think him deserving of reciprocal regard. If it should be otherwise deemed by a majority among them, let them say so at once; and he would know what he had to rely on. *And yet* he would hope that God might so direct them by the impartment of heavenly wisdom and holy fear, that "we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end."

This letter is said to have produced a deep and powerful impression on the more considerate part of the assembly, who now began to feel for the father of his country, and regard with tenderness his venerable age; to remember his long labors, and to appreciate their own interest in his distinguished fame. These sentiments were rapidly propagated throughout the province; and their effect was apparent at the next annual election, when not one of the persons who had demonstrated enmity to Penn, and excited the rest of their countrymen to think unfavorably of him, was returned to the provincial assembly. But it is more than doubtful if this change of sentiment was ever known to its illustrious object, who was attacked shortly after by a succession of apoplectic fits, which suspending in a great degree the exercise of his memory and understanding, prevented him alike from completing an arrangement he had made with the crown for the sale of his proprietary rights, and from receiving the intelligence that would have induced him to consider such an arrangement unnecessary. [30.]

* Notwithstanding this desponding strain, it is manifest from Penn's competition with Locke for the praise of superior legislation (see a note to B. III. ante), that he was by no means insensible to the imperishable fame assured to him as the founder of Pennsylvania. The services of Penn were not only more liberally remunerated, but more gratefully remembered by his people, than were those of Lord Baltimore by the colonists of Maryland.

Little remains to be added to the view that has already been exhibited of the civil and political institutions of Pennsylvania and Delaware, at the close of the seventeenth century. Pennsylvania continued to retain the constitution enacted by Penn's last charter, in 1701, till the era of American independence; and Delaware continued to enjoy its own assembly, and to be subject to the executive administration of the governor of Pennsylvania till the year 1755, when it was formally erected into a separate state, and endowed with a separate government. No fixed salary seems to have been allotted to the governor of Pennsylvania; but sums of money were voted to him, from time to time, to defray the expenses of his government; and the amount of these was proportioned, in a great degree, to the favor he enjoyed with the representatives of the people. At the assembly which was held by Penn at Newcastle in the close of the year 1700, the remuneration allotted to the members consisted of six shillings a day for attendance, and threepence per mile for travelling charges. The speaker's daily allowance was ten shillings. The meeting of the assembly was indicated by the ringing of a bell; and any member entering half an hour after the appointed time, was fined tenpence. The humane code of criminal law, that was coeval with the first instance of Pennsylvanian legislation, continued in force till the year 1705, when it was abolished by Queen Anne as too little consonant with the spirit of English jurisprudence. But it was soon after re-established by the same princess, on the intercession of William Penn.

Although quakerism continued long to be the most prevalent religious profession in Pennsylvania, yet from a very early period the province had been resorted to by sectaries of various other denominations, and a church had already been built in Philadelphia for the reception of a congregation o 700 persons attached to the tenets and discipline of the church of England. Some displeasure is said to have been evinced by the quakers at the first proposal of this episcopal party to erect an organ in their church. The episcopalians, and all the other sectaries unconnected with the quakers, made frequent propositions for the establishment of a militia; but the quakers steadily refused to sanction such a proceeding, by an act of the provincial government; though all who deemed the use of arms lawful, were permitted to train themselves, and to adopt every military precaution for their defence that should not be inconsistent with the peace of the province. Most of the offices of government were filled by quakers; and neither the duties of the bar, nor the functions of the bench, were deemed incompatible with their religious profession.† So early as the year 1686, a printing press was established at Philadelphia; and an almanac, for the following year, was printed at this press by Bradford.

When the Swedish colonists first occupied Delaware, they found the country infested with wolves, whose ferocity was soon after inflamed to an extraordinary pitch, by the mortality which the small-pox occasioned among the Indians, and the increased quantity of prey that they derived from the unburied corpses of the victims of this pestilence. Both in Pennsylvania and Delaware, bounties continued to be paid for the destruction of wolves so late as the middle of the eighteenth century.

The *province* and the *territories*, but especially the former, appear to have enjoyed very soon a thriving trade with England, with the southern colonies of America, and with the West India settlements. Their exports consisted of corn, beef, pork, fish, pipe staves; hides, tallow, and wool to the West India settlements; horses and other live cattle to the southern plantations; and peltry to England. Their direct trade with England was afterward increased by the cultivation of tobacco, which was begun under Blackwell's administration, and so rapidly extended, that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, fourteen ships sailed annually with that commodity from Pennsylvania. Their exports, however, were abridged in the year 1699, by an act of parliament (already noticed in the history of New Jersey) which prohibited the exportation of wool, whether raw or manufactured, from the American colonies. The province, at the same time, imported the produce of various English manufactures, to the value of about £18,000 a year, and yielded a revenue of £3,000 to the customs of the crown. The consumption of English manufactures would probably have been larger, but that the German colonists had imported with them into Pennsylvania, the manufactures of paper, linen, and woollen cloth.

† In the case of Kinsey, a quaker lawyer (afterward attorney-general, and finally chief-justice of Pennsylvania,) it was determined, after solemn debate, by the provincial government, that quaker lawyers should not be obliged to uncover their heads in addressing the judges. Proud, ii. 196, 197, 231.

According to Oldmixon, whose history was published in 1708, the total number of inhabitants within the domains of William Penn then amounted to 35,000; a computation which the author himself terms a modest one, and which, as it includes Indians and negroes, is probably short of the truth. The town of Philadelphia, in 1696, contained two thousand houses, most of which are described as stately structures of brick; and Newcastle, the metropolis of Delaware, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, possessed 2500 inhabitants. For many years after its first occupation by the English, Pennsylvania continued to witness a rapid growth of its people, not only from a constant resort of emigrants, whom its attractions invited from all parts of Europe,‡ but from a native increase more vigorous than any society since the infancy of the world, has ever exhibited. Gabriel Thomas, who published his account of this province in 1696, declares that barrenness among women was unknown in Pennsylvania, and their celibacy, after twenty years of age, not less so; adding, with quaker plainness, that it was impossible to meet a young married woman there who had not a child in her body or one in her arms. The children born in the province he describes as in general "better natured, milder, and more tender hearted than those born in England." The fertility of the soil, the general healthiness of the climate (notwithstanding the severe epidemics occasionally prevalent at Philadelphia), the liberal reward of labor, and the frugal, industrious, and regular habits diffused by the powerful example of the quakers, contributed to the promotion of this large increase, and rendered the people of Pennsylvania distinguished, even among the North American communities, as a moral and a happy race. The manners of a great proportion of the first race of quaker settlers, and of their immediate descendants, are said to have formed a pleasing exhibition of courteous benevolence, corresponding to the purpose with which their removal to America had been undertaken,—of facilitating the enjoyment of that affectionate intercourse which their tenets peculiarly enjoined. Some of the leading persons among the earliest quaker settlers were men who traced their lineage to the stock of the most ancient nobility of England, and in whom a sense of ancestral distinction was so tempered with the meekness of genuine quakerism, as to impart only a patriarchal dignity to their manners. Their hospitality, in particular, was conducted with a grace and simplicity entirely patriarchal.§ The people of Delaware appear to have been, in general, a less refined and enterprising, but not a less virtuous race. Penn himself has celebrated the good morals and sobriety of deportment of the Swedish and Dutch agriculturists. The Swedish church at Wilmington is reputed one of the oldest churches in North America.

Among the first race of Pennsylvanian settlers were many persons whose attainments in science and literature would have done honor to the most enlightened communities. James Logan, a quaker, and secretary of the province, was the correspondent of the most learned men in Europe; and several of his works, written in the Latin tongue, (particularly a treatise on the generation of plants, and one on the properties of light,) were published with much applause at Leyden. He enriched Philadelphia with a valuable library; and, in his old age, executed an admirable translation of Cicero's treatise *De Senectute*, which was afterward printed with an encomiastic preface by Dr. Franklin. Thomas Makin, another quaker, and one of the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania, produced, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, a descriptive and historical account of the province, in a Latin poem, entitled, *Descriptio Pennsylvaniæ*, exhibiting with great force of thought, and beauty of language, one of the most delightful pictures of national virtue and happiness, that ever was presented to the admiration of mankind

‡ In the year 1729 alone the number of emigrants from various parts of Europe to Pennsylvania amounted to 6200. The greater part of these were Germans and Irish. Douglas's Summary.

§ Warden, ii. 98. Galt's Life of West, Part I. p. 11 14 "In the houses of the principal families, the patricians of the country," says Mr. Galt, "unlimited hospitality formed a part of their regular economy. It was the custom among those who resided near the highways, after supper, and the last religious exercises of the evening, to make a large fire in the hall, and to set out a table with refreshments for such travellers as might have occasion to pass during the night; and when the families assembled in the morning, they seldom found that their tables had been unvisited."

APPENDIX.

State and Prospects of the North American Provinces at the Close of the Seventeenth Century—Sentiments and Opinions of the Colonists respecting the Sovereignty and the Policy of Great Britain, &c.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the British settlements in North America contained a population of more than three hundred thousand persons, distributed among the various colonial establishments, whose origin and early progress I have endeavored to illustrate.* The formation of these colonies is by far the most interesting event of that remarkable age.

"Speculative reasoners during that age," says a great historian, "raised many objections to the planting of those remote colonies, and foretold that, after draining their mother country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America; but time has shown that the views entertained by those who encouraged such undertakings, were more just and solid. A mild government, and great naval force, have preserved, and may still preserve, during some time, the dominion of England over her colonies. And such advantages have commerce and navigation reaped from these establishments, that more than a fourth of the English shipping is at present computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic with the American settlements." The apprehensions of depopulation, alluded to by this author, are noticed at greater length in the prior work of Oldmixon, who asserts, that "on this argument are founded all the reasons to excuse the ill-usage the plantations have met with;" and after demonstrating the absurdity of such a notion, appeals to the large increase which the trade and the revenue of England had already derived from the colonies, as affording a juster and more powerful argument for repairing this ill-usage, and introducing more liberal provisions into the English commercial code.† The apprehensions of American independence were no less the object of ridicule to the best informed writers, in the beginning of that century which was destined to witness the American revolution. "It will be impossible," says Neal, "for New England to subsist of itself for some centuries of years; for, though they might maintain themselves against their neighbors on the continet, they must starve without a free trade with Europe, the manufactures of the country being very inconsiderable; so that *if we could suppose them to rebel against England*, they must throw themselves into the arms of some other potentate, who would protect them no longer than he could sell them with advantage." So slightly were the colonies connected with each other, and so much of mutual repugnance had been created by religious and political distinctions between them, that the probability of their uniting together for common defence against the parent state never occurred to this author. Nor will this be thought any great impeachment of his sagacity, when we consider that seventy years afterward, the prospect, which had then begun to dawn, of an effectual confederacy of these colonies against England, was declared by a philosophical historian to be perfectly delusive and chimerical.

If Hume had studied the history and condition of the colonies, or if Neal and Oldmixon had added to this acquirement the sagacity of Hume, it is probable that he would not have adduced the *mildness* of the English government as one of the causes that were likely to retard the independence of America, which he perceived must ere long ensue; and that they would have discerned, in the policy of the English government, an influence that powerfully tended to counteract the principles that separated the American communities from each other, and to unite them by a strong sense of common interest and common injury in a confederacy fatal to the pretensions of the parent state. Every added year tended no less to weaken the divisive influence of the distinctions imported by the original colonists into their settlements, than to enhance the sense of a common interest, and to fortify the power by which that interest might be defended. The character of *generous undertakings*, which Hume very justly accords to these colonial establishments, expresses a praise which the English government had no pretensions to share with the private individuals by whom they were founded;‡ and the mild policy, whether voluntary or not, which permitted the liberal institutions erected for themselves by these men to continue in existence, tended rather to abridge than to prolong the British dominion, by cherishing in the colonies a spirit and habit of liberty repugnant to the unjust and oppressive tenor of the English commercial restrictions.§ The colonial empire of Spain would not have boasted a longer duration than that of England if her settlements in South America had enjoyed as liberal constitutions as the North American colonies. "The policy of Europe," says a writer who perhaps equalled Hume in political sagacity, and certainly excelled him in acquaintance with colonial history, "has very little to boast of, either in the original establishment, or, so far as concerns their internal government, in the subsequent prosperity of the colonies of America." Folly and injustice, he pronounces, were the principles that presided over the formation of all the colonial establishments; avarice of gold impelling the adventurers to the southern, and tyranny and persecution promoting the emigrations to the northern parts of America. The governments of the several parent states, he observes, contributed little or nothing towards effectuating the establishments of their colonies, and yet invariably attempted to enrich their own exchequers, and secure to themselves a monopoly of the colonial commerce. [31,] by regulations injurious to the freedom and prosperity of the colonists—a procedure, in which the particular policy of England was only somewhat less illiberal and oppressive than that of the other European states. "In what way, therefore," he demands, "has the policy of Europe contributed either to the first establishment, or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way, and in one way only, it has coutributed a great deal. *Magna mater virum!* It bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions, and of laying the foundations of so great an empire; and there is no other quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming, or has ever actually and in fact formed such men. The colonies owe to the policy of Europe the education and great views of their active and enterprising founders; and some of the greatest and most important of them, so far as concerns their internal government, owe to it scarce any thing else."

In the colonial establishments of the French, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the royal government was stronger and more arbitrary, and subordination more strictly enforced, than in the parent states. Illiberal institutions, remote from the power and splendor of the thrones to which they were allied, required to be guarded with peculiar strictness from the intrusion of opinions and practices that savored of freedom. It was otherwise in the British colonies, where the grafts of constitutional liberty that had been transplanted from the parent state, expanded with a vigor proportioned to their distance from the rival shoots of royalty and aristocracy with which they were theoretically connected. Not only did these colonies enjoy domestic constitutions favorable to liberty, but there existed in the minds of the great bulk of the people, a democratic spirit and resolution that practically reduced the power of the parent state even below the standard of its theory. Many causes seem to have contributed to the formation of this spirit, and to the production of sentiments and habits conducive to its efficacy. All the colonial charters were extorted, by interest or importunity, from princes noted for arbitrary designs or perfidious characters; and no sooner had these charters produced the effect of collecting numerous and thriving communities in America, than some of them were, and all of them would have been, annulled, if the dynasty of the Stuarts had been much farther prolonged. The designs of these princes were not entirely abandoned by their successors at the British Revolution. For many years after, the American colonists were roused to continual contests in defence of their charters, which the English court made successive attempts to qualify or annul. These defensive efforts, and the success with which they were generally crowned, tended powerfully to keep alive an active and vigilant spirit of liberty in America. The ecclesiastical constitutions and the religious sentiments that prevailed in the majority of the provinces, were no less favorable to the nurture of liberal and independent sentiments. In Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, alone of all the states:—in the first, from its earliest settlement, and in the two others by a most unjust usurpation; the church of England was possessed of a legal pre-eminence, and maintained at the expense, not only of its own adherents, but of all the other inhabitants, of whatever christian denomination.|| In all the other states there existed, about the close of the seventeenth century, either an entire political equality of religious sects, or at least a very near approach to it; and in all these, not only were the inhabitants, by their general character of protestants, the votaries of a system founded on the rights of private judgment, but the majority of them belonging to that class which in England received the name of protestant dissenters, professed tenets which have been termed *the protestantism of the protestant faith*, and which peculiarly predisposed to a jealousy of civil liberty, and a promptitude to repel every arbitrary exertion of authority. Even the episcopal church where it existed, whether as the pre-eminent establishment, or as one among many co-equal associations, was stript of its aristocratical appendages, and exhibited neither a titled hierarchy nor a gradation of ranks among the ministers of religion. In civil life, a similar equality of ranks universally prevailed. No attempt was ever made to plant the proud distinction of *nobility* in any of the provinces, except in Carolina, where the institution soon withered and died.¶ Unaccustomed to that distinction of ranks which the policy of Europe has established, the people were generally impressed with an opinion of the natural equality of all freemen; and even in those provinces where negro slavery had the greatest prevalence, the possession of this tyrannical privilege seems rather to have adulterated the spirit of freedom with a considerable tinge of arrogance, than to have contributed at all to mitigate or depress it. Except this inhuman institution, every circumstance in the domestic or relative condition of these provinces had a tendency to promote industry, good morals, and impressions of equality. The liberal reward of labor and the cheapness of land, placed the enjoyment of comfort, and the dignity of independence, within the reach of all; the luxuries and honors of England attracted the wealthy voluptuary and the votary of ambition to that more inviting sphere of enjoyment and intrigue; and the vast *wastes* or uncultivated districts attached to every province served as salutary outlets by which the population was drained of those restless disorderly adventurers who were averse to legal restraint and patient labor, and who, in the roving occupation of hunters and *backwoodsmen* (as they have been termed,) found a resource that diverted them from more lawless and dangerous pursuits, and even rendered them useful as a body of pioneers, who paved the way for an extension

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* From a comparison of the calculations of various writers, each of whom, almost invariably, contradicts all the others, and not unfrequently contradicts himself, I am inclined to [illegible] the following estimate of the population of the colonies at this period nearly, if not entirely correct. Virginia, 60,000; Massachusetts (to which Maine was then attached), between [illegible] and 100,000; Connecticut, 30,000; Rhode Island, 10,000; New Hampshire, 10,000; Maryland, 30,000; North and South Carolina, 10,000; New York, 30,000; New Jersey, 15,000; and Pennsylvania, 35,000. Even writers so accurate and sagacious as Dwight and Holmes have been led to underrate the early population of North America, by relying too far on the estimates which the local governments furnished to the British ministry for the ascertainment of the numbers of men whom they were to be required to supply for the purposes of naval and military expeditions.

† Oldmixon, Introduct. 19, &c. This author refers to a still earlier work in which the same topics had been enforced, [illegible] "Groans of the Plantations," by Judge Littleton, of Barbadoes. A still more distinguished writer on the same side [illegible] Sir Dalby Thomas, an eminent merchant, who wrote an Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies.

‡ The colonization of Georgia which was not effected till 1732, was the only instance in which the English government contributed to the foundation of any of the North American states.

§ See an account of the commercial restrictions that were imposed prior to the English Revolution, and an examination of their policy, ante, B. I. cap. 3. To the restrictions there described, there was added, before the close of the seventeenth century, a prohibition (noticed in the histories of New Jersey and Pennsylvania) of the exportation of wool from the colonies.

I have some doubts of the accuracy of a statement (derived from Neal) in B. II. cap v. ante. of the colonists having been at one time restrained from working mines of iron and copper. Till the year 1750. the export of American iron was restrained by heavy duties, Raynal, B. IV. cap vii.; and even the manufacture appears to have been subject to some inconvenient regulations, Oldmixon, (2d Edit.) vol. i. p. 286. But even then, both iron and copper mines were worked in several of the states, and the success of these undertakings seems to have been chiefly obstructed by the dearness of labor. Douglas, vol. ii. p. 109. Winterbotham, vol. ii. p. 368.

|| The most remarkable dispute that occurred during the eighteenth century between England and Virginia, prior to the Revolution, was occasioned by an attempt of the English government to support the episcopal clergy of the province in a pretension which was disagreeable to the bulk of the people. The English government interfered to prevent the execution of a law prejudicial to the emoluments of the clergy; but the provincial tribunals refused to pay any attention to its mandate.

¶ Yet the mysterious nonsense of free masonry seems to have been introduced pretty early, and has continued to maintain a footing among the Americans. This is perhaps the only instance of the successful importation into America of one of these institutions so frequent in European states which have become absurd by surviving the manners and [illegible] in which they originated, but which are consecrated by time and the passion that mankind have for connecting themselves with antiquity.

and multiplication of the colonial settlements. No trading corporations or monopolies restrained the freedom with which every man might employ his industry, capital, and skill; and no forest laws nor game laws confined the sports of the field to a privileged class of the community. No entails were admitted to give adventitious aid to natural inequalities, and perpetuate, in the hands of idleness and folly, the substance that had been amassed by industry and ability.* Happily for the stability of American freedom, it was impossible for the first generation of colonists to succeed in effectuating their settlements, and attaining a secure and prosperous establishment, without the exercise of virtues, and the formation of a character, that guaranteed the preservation of the blessings to which they had conducted. Even the calamities of French and Indian war with which some of the provinces long continued to be harassed, contributed to preserve a spirit and habits without which their people might have been unable in the eighteenth century to achieve their independence. If the latter settlements of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were exempted in some degree from the discipline of those hardships and difficulties with which the commencement of all the other settlements was attended, they were happily peopled, in a great degree, by a class of sectaries whose habits and manners are peculiarly favorable to industry and good morals, and congenial to the spirit of republican constitutions. The quakers, indeed, have been much more successful in leavening American society with manners favorable to liberty, than with principles allied to their own political doctrines.

To England, the acquisition of these colonial settlements was highly advantageous. They enlarged her trade and revenues; they afford a vast field in which her needy and superfluous population might improve their condition and dissipate their discontent; and finally, they created for her a new nation of friends interested in her happiness and glory, and of customers, whose growing wants and wealth excited and rewarded the manufacturing industry of her people. All the nations of Europe derived advantage from the formation of these establishments, which disburdened their territories of great numbers of men, whom the pressure of poverty, aggravated by defective civil institutions, and an aversion to the systems of their national churches inflamed by ecclesiastical intolerance, must have rendered either martyrs or rebels in their native land. The emigration from the continent of Europe, and especially from Germany to America, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, was much more copious than the emigration from England. To the colonists, the subsistence of their peculiar connexion with England was likewise attended with some advantages. The acknowledged right and implied protection of England deterred all other European powers who were not at war with her from molesting them: while their chartered or traditionary constitutions opposed (after the English Revolution) a barrier to gross and open encroachments of the parent state herself on colonial rights and liberties. As their own strength and resources increased, the benefit of English protection was proportionally diminished, while the inconvenience of her commercial restrictions, and of participation in her politics and wars, was more sensibly experienced.

A considerable variety and indistinctness of opinion prevailed both in England and America, respecting the precise import of the political relation subsisting between the two countries. It was at first the maxim of the English court, that the crown was the only member of the British constitution which possessed jurisdiction over the colonies.† All the charters were framed in conformity with this maxim, except the charter of Pennsylvania. The colonies were by no means uniform in the sentiments which they expressed on this subject. They complained very generally of an unjust usurpation of power over them by the British parliament, when the navigation laws were passed; and openly maintained on many occasions, that an act of the British parliament was not binding on America. Yet they scrupled not to complain of their grievances to the houses of parliament, and to invoke, from time to time, parliamentary interposition in their behalf. The New England states alone seem to have perceived from the first the advantage they might one day derive from adhering to the maxim, that they were politically connected only with the king, and not at all with the parliament; and with singular prudence forbore to ask favors from a parliament by which they were regarded with especial favor, lest they should seem to sanction parliamentary interference with their concerns. When the parliament enjoyed but an occasional existence, and was frequently, indeed generally, opposed to the court, the English monarchs resolutely maintained their exclusive jurisdiction over the colonies. When the parliament acquired greater power and permanence it enforced, both on the court and the colonies, the acknowledgment of its supreme legislatorial jurisdiction. The colonies murmured against the trade laws: they often evaded them; and many persons still maintained that the parliament had no right to impose them. This opinion kept its ground, and would have been more generally and openly asserted, if the colonies had been able to enforce it, or had received encouragement from the crown. But the English ministers were now always (by a necessity of the constitution) in possession of a majority in parliament, and found it easier and safer to act on all occasions through the instrumentality of this organ, than through a prerogative employed on a number of distant provincial assemblies. The revolution of 1688 established firmly the supreme power of the parliament, and enforced the submission of America to its legislative control; and from this period, all the measures by which the British government proposed to affect the public interest of the colonists, were pursued through the medium of parliamentary enactments. No taxation of the colonies was *practically attempted* by the parliament, except what arose from the regulation of commerce; but a power was assumed to alter the American charters, or at least to modify the constitutions which these charters had created. There was one point, indeed, in which the relation of the colonies to the royal prerogative, seemed still to be acknowledged. It was not to the House of Lords, or to any of the ordinary tribunals of England, that appeals were carried from the judgments of American courts, but to the king in council; and it was the same organ that enjoyed the power of modifying and rescinding the provincial laws which were deemed repugnant to English jurisprudence.‡

Yielding not to conviction but to necessity, overawed by the strength of Britain, and encumbered by the dangerous vicinity of the French in Canada, the colonists submitted to the power of parliament, and rendered to it even that degree of voluntary acknowledgment which may be inferred from numerous petitions for the redress of grievances.◊ Yet the submission that was actually enforced, was yielded with manifest reluctance, and the pretensions by which that submission might in after times be extended, were regarded with the most jealous apprehension. So early as the year 1696, a pamphlet was published in England, recommending the imposition of a parliamentary tax on one of the colonies This was immediately answered by two other publications, in which the power of taxing the colonies was utterly denied to a parliament in which they were not represented.‖

There were various particulars in the supremacy that was exercised and the policy that was pursued by the parent state, that were offensive to the colonists, and regarded by them as humilating badges of dependence. The appointment of certain of the provincial governors by the crown, not only created discontent in the provinces which beheld this privilege enjoyed by the inhabitants of the other states, but excited in these others a continual apprehension of being levelled in this respect with the condition of their neighbors. The manner in which this branch of the royal prerogative was too often exercised, tended to render it additionally disagreeable. It was the general practice of the English ministers to commit the royal governments to needy dependents, whose chief aim was to repair a shattered fortune and to recommend themselves to their patrons by a headlong zeal for the assertion of every real or pretended prerogative of the crown.¶ The transportation of English felons to America, was also a practice of the British government, which the lapse of time rendered increasingly offensive to the colonists. We have seen the assembly of Maryland, as early as the year 1676, endeavour to stem the torrent of vicious and profligate example which was thus directed by the parent state among the laboring classes of her colonial subjects. The assembly of Pennsylvania made an attempt to obstruct the importation of convicts into that state by imposing a duty of five pounds on every convict that should be imported. But it was not till a later period that the practice was generally objected to by the colonists. So pressing in most places was the demand for laborers, that their moral characters and the terms on which they were obtained, were considerations to which the planters had not leisure to attend. Nay, in some instances, felons were not the only involuntary emigrants from England whose labor they appropriated. It became at one time a common practice for captains of vessels to entice ignorant persons, by flattering promises of wealth and preferment, to accompany them to America, where they had no sooner arrived, than they were sold as bondsmen to defray the cost of their passage and entertainment. [32] So early as the year 1686 an order of council** was issued for the prevention of this practice. In process of time all the local governments and all the respectable inhabitants of the provinces united in petitioning the English government to discontinue the practice of sending felons to America:†† but their complaints of this evil, as well as of the continued importation of additional negro slaves, experienced the most contemptuous disregard. One consequence that is said to have resulted from this arbitrary treatment, was the existence of very general ignorance or very illiberal prejudices, with regard to the condition of North America, in the minds of all classes of people in England. Though persons connected with the colonies, by commerce or otherwise, might entertain juster ideas of their condition, it is certain that till a very late period these territories were generally regarded in England as wild inhospitable deserts, infested by savages and beasts of prey, and cultivated only by criminals or by kidnapped negroes and Europeans. Though Bishop Berkeley had prophesied a destiny of unequalled splendor to this region, in his "Verses on the prospect of planting arts and literature in America," and though Thomson had celebrated the happiness of the colonies, and their subservience to the greatness of the British empire,‡‡ the encomiastic strains of these writers were more than counteracted by the sarcastic and opprobrious imputations which were sanctioned by others and more

* At a subsequent period, the system of entails became prevalent in Virginia. Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 33. It was productive of great dislike and jealousy between the aristocracy and the yeomanry of the province. Ibid. passim.

† A bill having been introduced into the House of Commons in the reign of James the First, for regulating the American fisheries, Sir George Calvert, the secretary of state, conveyed to the house the following intimation from the king; "America is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of parliament; you have, therefore, no right to interfere." Colonial Tracts in Harvard Library, apud Holmes, i. 195.

‡ Lord Mansfield repeatedly pronounced that it was within the competency of the English court of King's Bench to send a writ of habeas corpus into America; but he declared that this was a power which could rarely if ever be exercised with propriety. Stokes on the Constitution of the British Colonies, p. 5, 6.

◊ When they became more wealthy and powerful, and found that the parliament was about to usurp their domestic taxation, they refrained from sending petitions to it, and presented them only to the king—See Franklin's Works, iii. 336—and at length boldly revived the ancient maxim, "that the king, and not the king, lords, and commons collectively, is their sovereign; and that the king with their respective assemblies is their only legislator." Ibid. 381. Thus the Americans in contending for their independence, finally took their stand on a principle originally introduced by despotic princes, and intended to secure their subjection to arbitrary government and royal prerogative.

‖ Gordon's Hist. of the United States vol. i. Letter ii. "The pamphlets against taxation (said Lord Camden in his speech in the House of Lords, April, 1766) were much read, and no answer was given to them, no censure passed upon them; nor were men startled at the doctrine." Ibid.

¶ Sir William Keith's Hist. of Virginia, 134. Williamson's North Carolina, ii. 15. We have already seen abundant confirmation of the testimony of these writers in the histories of Virginia, New York, and New Jersey. See the observations on the general effect of the English Revolution on the American colonies, at the close of the history of Virginia, B. I. cap. 3, ante.

In some instances, the government was bestowed as a sinecure office on a courtier who resided in England, while his deputy (appointed also by the crown) performed the duty, and received a part of the salary. The Earl of Orkney, in particular, who was appointed governor of Virginia in 1704, held this appointment so long that he received 42,000l. of salary from a people who never once beheld him among them. Oldmixon, (2d Edit.) vol. i. p. 400. His place in the province, however, was very well supplied for nearly twenty years by a distinguished officer and man of science, Colonel Alexander Spottiswoode, (of the Scotch family of that name,) to whom, among other benefits, the colonists were indebted for the expedition in 1714, by which a passage over the Apalachian mountains was first ascertained. Ibid. p. 401, 402. In honor of his services, one of the counties of Virginia is called Spottsylvania.

** This document is preserved in the British Museum. The system of inveigling and kidnapping was not confined to England. It was carried on to a great extent in Suabia and other German cantons by Dutch factors, whom Raynal asserts to have been hired by the British government. British Settlements in America, B. IV. cap. 9.

†† An American patriot humorously proposed that a reciprocal transportation of American felons to England should in equity be indulged to the colonists. Franklin's Memoirs.

‡‡ "Lo! swarming o'er the new-discover'd world,
Gay colonies extend; the calm retreat
Of undeserved distress——
——Bound by social freedom, firm they rise,
Of Britain's empire the support and strength."
THOMSON

popular authors.* The conquest of Louisburgh from the French in 1745, an enterprise originally projected by the wisdom, and mainly accomplished by the vigor of the government of Massachusetts, was the circumstance that first prepared the people of England to receive more just impressions of the dignity and importance of the American provinces.

But no particular of the treatment which the colonists experienced from England during the early part of their connexion with her, was so generally offensive to them as the restrictions she imposed upon their trade and industry. The system not only disgusted them by its injustice, but seemed in some instances to have perverted their own sense of justice, and communicated to their counsels a portion of its own illiberality. In some features of the commercial policy pursued by the colonists, we may discern the reflection of that narrow and selfish spirit that pervaded the system adopted toward themselves by the parent state. An act of the assembly of Virginia, in 1680, imposed a duty on all tobacco exported from, and on all emigrants imported into the colony in vessels not belonging to Virginian owners. By an ordinance of Massachusetts a tonnage duty was imposed on all ships casting anchor in any port within its jurisdiction, excepting vessels owned by inhabitants of the state. A similar duty was imposed by the assembly of Rhode Island, in the year 1704, on all vessels not wholly owned by inhabitants of that colony. In 1709, the inhabitants of New York imposed a tonnage duty on every vessel of which one half did not belong to citizens of that state. By a law of Maryland, in 1715, the duties imposed on the importation of negroes, servants, and liquors, were declared not to extend to such as were imported in vessels whose owners were all residents in the province. In the same province it had been enacted, eleven years before, that debts due to English bankrupts should not be collected till security were given that the claims of colonial creditors on the bankrupt's estate should be first wholly discharged.† Even the Pennsylvanians, who in this respect professed a more liberal consideration of the claims of foreign creditors than any of the other provincial communities, passed a law for securing priority of payments from the estates of bankrupts to the inhabitants of their province. Among other apologies for this policy with regard to the recovery of debts (which was very generally adopted throughout the colonies) it is proper to notice the fact that the planters were commonly treated with great illiberality by the merchants to whom they consigned their produce in England, who took advantage of their necessities, while the sales were in suspense, to lend them money at exorbitant interest, and on the security of their mortgaged plantations. In 1701, the assembly of South Carolina imposed a duty of three farthings a skin on hides exported by the colonists in their own ships, but double this amount if the exports were loaded in English vessels—a distinction against which the English commissioners of plantations remonstrated, as an unjust discouragement to the trade of England. The Virginian act of 1680 had excited similar remonstrances from the same quarter, and made the nation feel, that to practise injustice is to teach a lesson that often returns to plague the inventor.

In the year 1696, King William erected a new and standing council under the name of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. All the American governors were required to maintain correspondence with this board, and to transmit to it the journals of their councils and assemblies, the accounts of the collectors of customs, and similar articles of official intelligence. This requisition was obeyed by the royal governors, but met with very little attention in those colonies of which the governors were appointed by the people. In the year 1714, the attorney-general of England (Northey) informed the English ministers that it was not in their power to punish this neglect, and advised them to apply to parliament for an act commanding all the colonies to transmit their laws for royal revision. This proceeding, however, was not adopted: and a report of the lords commissioners, in the year 1733, sets forth that "Rhode Island and Connecticut, being charter governments, hold little or no correspondence with our office, and we are very little informed of what is doing in these governments; they not being under any obligation to return authentic copies of their laws to the crown for disallowance, or to give any account of their proceedings."‡

There was a considerable variety in the constitutions of the several provinces at the commencement of the eighteenth century. In Maryland and Pennsylvania, the property of the soil, and the government of the state, belonged to one or more proprietaries. This was also the situation of the Carolinas, till the surrender of the proprietary jurisdiction. In New Jersey, and in the Carolinas, after the proprietary jurisdictions were surrendered, the soil belonged to the proprietaries, and the government to the crown. In Massachusetts, the property of the soil was vested in the people and their representatives, and the government was exercised by the crown. In Virginia and New York, both property and government belonged to the crown. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, both property and government were vested in the corporation of the freemen of the colony. These distinctions, among other evil consequences, promoted disputes respecting boundaries, in which the crown was thought, and not without reason, to favor the claims of those states in which its power was largest, and the quit rents were subservient to the royal revenue.

No encouragement seems ever to have been given by the English government to the cultivation of science or literature in the American provinces, except in the solitary instance of a donation by William and Mary, in aid of the college which took its name from them in Virginia. The policy adopted by the parent state in this respect is very correctly indicated by one of the royal governors in the beginning of the eighteenth century. "As to the college erected in Virginia," says this officer, "and other designs of the like nature which have been proposed for the encouragement of learning, it is only to be observed in general, that although great advantages may accrue to the mother state both from the labor and luxury of its plantations, yet they will probably be mistaken who imagine that the advancement of literature and the improvement of arts and sciences in our American colonies can be of any service to the British state."§ We have already seen the instructions that were given to the royal governors by the English court, both prior and subsequent to the revolution of 1688, to restrain the exercise of printing within their jurisdictions. Many laws were enacted in New England, after that event, for enlarging the literary privileges and honors of Harvard College; but they were all disallowed by the English government.

The first printing-press established in North America, was erected in Massachusetts in the year 1638. It was more than forty years afterward before printing commenced in any other part of British America. In 1686, a printing-press was established in Pennsylvania; in 1693, at New York; in 1709, in Connecticut; in 1726, in Maryland; in 1729, in Virginia; and in 1730, in South Carolina. Previous to the year 1740, more printing was performed in Massachusetts than in all the other colonies together. From 1760 till the commencement of the revolutionary war, the quantities of printing executed in Boston and Philadelphia were nearly the same. The first North American newspaper was published at Boston by Campbell, a Scotchman, the postmaster, in 1704. The second made its appearance in the same city in 1719; and in the same year, the third was published in Philadelphia. In 1725, New York, for the first time, published a newspaper; and after this, similar journals were gradually introduced into the other colonies.‖

The press in America, was no where entirely free from legal restraint till about the year 1755. In 1723, James Franklin was prohibited by the governor of Massachusetts from publishing *The New England Courant*,¶ without previously submitting its contents to the revision of the secretary of the province; and in 1754, one Fowle was imprisoned by the House of Assembly of the same province, *on suspicion* of having printed a pamphlet containing reflections on some members of the government. After the year 1730, no officer seems to have been appointed in Massachusetts to exercise a particular control over the press; but prior to that period, the *imprimatur* of a licenser was inscribed on many of the New England publications.

A country where labor was so dear, and property in land so general as in North America, might have been expected to have proved eminently favorable to the growth of a skilful and economical system of husbandry. While the dearness of labor restrained expensive cultivation, the general diffusion of the ownership of land, enhanced and multiplied the incitements to industry. But the influence of these causes was counteracted by the cheapness and abundance of land, and the vast forests with which the whole country was covered. Every man possessed land enough to afford him a sufficient subsistence by the easiest agricultural process; and a great deal of industry was continually directed to the task of disencumbering the ground of wood. Although every one of the settlements already possessed numerous substantial edifications of brick and stone, yet, from the dearness of labor and the abundance of wood, the greater number of dwelling-houses were every where constructed of this material—a practice which was prolonged till a very late period by the erroneous notion, that wooden houses contributed a better defence than stone buildings against the humidity of the atmosphere.**

America has owed to Europe not only a race of civilized men, but a breed of domestic animals. Oxen, horses, and sheep, were introduced by the English, French, Dutch, and Swedes, into their respective settlements. Bees were imported by the English. The Indians who had never seen these insects before, gave them the name of *English flies*.††

Every one of the provinces beheld the Indian tribes by which it was surrounded melt away more or less rapidly under the influence of a civilized neighborhood. In none of the provinces (with the exception, perhaps, of South Carolina) were wars undertaken against that unfortunate race for the sake of conquest; yet none of the colonies whose history we have hitherto traced, except New Jersey and Pennsylvania, were able to avoid altogether a contest, in which the uniform aggression of the Indians was uniformly punished with discomfiture and destruction. Virginia was the only province of which the soil had been occupied without a previous purchase from the Indians; and in South Carolina alone had the treatment which these savages experienced from the Europeans, been justly chargeable with defect

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* Smollet alludes to the colonies of North America in the following strain:—"The galleys of France abound with abbes; and many templars may be found in our American plantations." Count Fathom, vol. i. cap. 22. Fielding sends his hero, Jonathan Wild, to fortify his vice and villany in Virginia; and in various other allusions to the colonies always represents them as the suitable refuge of deserved distress. In Reed's farce of The Register Office, a miserable Irishman is exhibited as on the point of being trepanned to America, to be there sold as a slave. Even in Goldsmith's Traveller, where the expulsion of an English peasant and his family from their home is represented as a very ordinary consequence of the pride and luxury of English landlords, the exiles are supposed to find a tenfold addition to their woes in North America. Nay, this strain seems not yet to have ceased; and the grief of "heart-sick exiles" in America has been deplored by a Scottish bard of the nineteenth century. From the time when Waller and Marvell celebrated the tranquil retreat of Bermudas, I am not aware that any other English poets but Thomson and Campbell have celebrated the happy scenes and circumstances of American life.

† In the history of Maryland we have already seen the first instance of a law designed to exclude emigrants to the colony from enjoying [illegible] till by residence for a term of years they had become completely colonists.

‡ Anderson's Hist. and Chronol. Deduct. of the Origin of Commerce, ii. 622, 623. Chalmers, 295. As a remedy for the defective correspondence which was anticipated between the colonies and the board of trade, an act of parliament was passed in 1696, declaring (in conformity with the colonial charters,) "that all by-laws, usages, and customs which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law made in the kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be void and of no effect."

§ Sir William Keith's History of Virginia. I have termed Keith a royal governor. He was, it is true the governor of a proprietary settlement, Pennsylvania. But all these governors were now approved by the crown; and Keith's nomination, in consequence of William Penn's mental incapacity at the time proceeded altogether from the crown.

‖ John Dunton, in the prospectus of the journal which he began to publish at London, in 1696, states that there were then but eight newspapers published in England. None were published in Scotland till after the accession of William and Mary.

In 1749, there was no printing press in Canada. There had formerly been one; but it did not afford its owner the means of subsistence. The French colonists, more ashamed of the reproach of poverty or intellectual inferiority than of destitution of liberty, asserted that the Canadian press had been interdicted, lest it should produce libels against government. Kalm's Travels, iii. 182. The difference between French and English manners was very apparent in the colonial settlements of the two nations. The Canadian French, says Charlevoix, will rather retrench from their tables than wear plain clothes. Voyage to North America in 1720, vol. i. Letter III. But Hutchinson declares, that the English colonists would rather simplify their attire than impoverish their diet. Hist. of Massachusetts, ii. 443.

¶ This journal (first published in 1721) was edited by an elder brother of Dr. Franklin, and had been previously denounced by Dr. Increase Mather as a worthless and mischievous publication. It was the earliest literary organ of infidelity in North America. In one of the numbers of this paper it was advanced, that "if the ministers of God approve of a thing, it is a sign it is of the devil." Dr. Mather was compelled to vindicate himself publicly from an assertion in the paper, that he was one of its friends and supporters. Isaiah Thomas' Hist. of Printing in America, i. 215.

** Mr. Jefferson was the first who attempted to combat this error of his countrymen, in his "Notes on Virginia."

†† Kalm, i. 288. Oldmixon asserts (2d edit. i. 411.) that America had neither rats nor mice till the arrival of the European vessels.

of forbearance and humanity. But the friendship of the colonists proved in general no less fatal than their hostilities to the Indians. The taste for spirituous liquors, which they communicated, was indulged by the savages with a passion that amounted to frenzy; and the new diseases which they imported from Europe, both from peculiarities in the constitution of the Indians, and the defective treatment occassioned by their inexperience of such maladies were productive of a havoc among the tribes that far outstripped all the efforts of human hostility. The peculiar mortality which the small-pox produced among the Indians has been ascribed by some writers to their practice of anointing themselves with bears' grease, in order to repel the attacks of noxious insects in summer, and to exclude the extreme cold of winter, which is supposed to repress the cutaneous eruption that is requisite to a favorable issue of the distemper. Guided by their own sensations, the Indians anticipated the Europeans in the use of the cold regimen in small-pox; and the mortality that the disorder occasioned among them was at first erroneously ascribed to this practice. Even the relish for superior comforts and finer luxuries, which might have been expected to lead the Indians to more civilized modes of life, was productive of an opposite effect, and tended to confirm them in savage habits; as these luxuries were now generally tendered to them in exchange for the peltry which they procured by hunting. Almost all the Indian tribes were engaged in wars with each other, and all were eager to obtain the new instruments of destruction which the superior science of the Europeans had created. Wielding this improved machinery of death with the same rage and fury that had characterised their previous warfare with less efficacious weapons, their mutual hostilities were rendered additionally destructive by the communication of an invention which, among civilized nations, has shortened the duration and diminished the carnage of war.

At the close of the seventeenth century the Indian tribes of New England could still muster 10,000 fighting men;* those of New York, 1,000; and those of Virginia, 500. There were 6,000 Indians altogether in Pennsylvania; 4,000 in North Carolina; probably as many in South Carolina; 3,000 in Maryland; and only 200 in New Jersey.†

The danger which the European colonists must have incurred from a coalition between their negro slaves and the Indians, was obviated by the irreconcileable dislike and antipathy which prevailed universally between these two degenerate races. The gentle and effeminate Indians of South America were regarded from the first with insolence and scorn by the negro slaves of the Spaniards; and the freer and hardier Indians of North America have always demonstrated the fiercest aversion and contempt for the negroes imported into the settlements of the English.

* When Connecticut was first settled, there were computed to be 20,000 Indians within its boundaries alone. Trumbull, i. 43. In Gookin's "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," some illustration is afforded of the rapid decline which these tribes sustained during the short interval between the settlement of the New England states and the year 1764. The Pequods were reduced from 4,000 to 300 warriors; the Narraghansetts, from 3,000 to 1,000; the Pawtuckets, from 3,000 to 250; the Massachusetts (who have given their name to the principal state in New England,) from 3,000 to 300; and the Pawkunnakuts, a tribe which had formerly numbered 3,000 warriors, was almost entirely extinct. Collections of the Massachusetts Hist. Soc. i. 141–227.

† Oldmixon, i. 106. 125. 141. 164. 204. 282. Warden, ii. 375. 419. The most accurate, believe, and certainly the most interesting picture of Indian manners that exists in the English language, is contained in that noble production of learning and genius, Southey's History of Brazil.

NOTES TO GRAHAM'S HISTORY.

Note [1] p. 218.—The important instruction, both moral and political, which may be derived from a consideration of the origin of the Slave Trade, is forcibly depicted by that distinguished philanthropist (Thomas Clarkson), whose virtue promoted, and whose genius has recorded, the abolition of this detestable traffic. It is a remarkable fact, that the pious and benevolent Las Casas, actuated by a vehement desire to emancipate the feeble nations of South America from the bondage of the Spanish colonists, was the first person who proposed to the government of Spain the importation of negroes from Africa to America. His proposition was rejected by Cardinal Ximenes, who considered it unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, and was, moreover, struck with the inconsistency of delivering the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery, by inflicting it upon the inhabitants of another. "After the death of Cardinal Ximenes, the Emperor Charles the Fifth encouraged the slave trade. In 1517, he granted a patent to one of his Flemish favorites, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Africans into America. But he lived long enough to repent of what he had thus inconsiderately done. For in the year 1542, he made a code of laws for the better protection of the unfortunate Indians in his foreign dominions; and he stopped the progress of African slavery by an order that all slaves in his American islands should be made free." This order was subsequently defeated by his own retirement into a monastery; but "it shows he had been ignorant of what he was doing, when he gave his sanction to this cruel trade. It shows, when legislators give one set of men an undue power over another, how quickly they abuse it; or he never would have found himself obliged, in the short space of twenty-five years, to undo that which he had countenanced as a great state measure. And while it confirms the former lesson to statesmen, of watching the beginnings or principles of things, in their political movements, it should teach them never to persist in the support of evils, through the false shame of being obliged to confess that they had once given them their sanction; nor to delay the cure of them, because, politically speaking, neither this nor that is the proper season; but to do them away instantly, as there can be only one fit or proper time in the eye of religion, namely, on the conviction of their existence." Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, vol. i. p. 36—38.

Louis the Thirteenth of France was at first staggered by the same scruples of conscience that prevailed with Charles, and could not be persuaded to authorize the slave trade till he had been made to believe that the readiest way of converting the negroes was by transporting them to the colonies —Ibid. 41, 42.

Note [2] p. 219.—Captain Smith appears to have been so obnoxious to the leading patentees, that, even if he had remained in the colony, it is highly improbable they would ever have intrusted him with any authority. They never rewarded nor re-employed him after his return to England. They were bent on deriving immediate supplies of gold or rich merchandize from the colony, and ascribed their disappointment in a great measure to his having restricted his views to the establishment of a solid and respectable frame of society. This is apparent from many passages of his writings, and particularly from his letter to the patentees while he held the presidency.—B. III. cap. vii. An honester, but absurder reason, that appears to have prevailed with some of them to oppose his pretensions to office, was, that certain fortune-tellers had predicted that he would be unlucky; a prediction that sometimes contributes to its own fulfilment.—B. VI.

In various parts of his history he applies himself to refute their unreasonable charges, and account for the disappointment of their expectations. For this purpose he has drawn a parallel between the circumstances of the Spanish and the English colonists of America. "It was the Spaniards' good hap," he observes, "to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence it afforded victuals at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, that they had the use of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those countries afforded: so that what the Spaniard got was chiefly the spoil and pillage of those country people, and not the labors of their own hands. But had these fruitful countries been as savage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, labored, and manured, as Virginia, their proper labors, it is likely, would have produced as small profit as ours. And had Virginia been peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious jewels and rich commodities as were the Indies; then, had we not gotten and done as much as, by their example, might be expected from us, the world might then have traduced us and our merits, and have made shame and infamy our recompense and reward."—B. III. cap. ix.

Were we to confine our attention to the seeming import of this isolated passage, it would be difficult not to suppose that this excellent person was deterred less by want of inclination than lack of opportunity, from imitating the robberies and enormities of the Spanish adventurers. But the general context of his book, as well as the more credible evidence derived from the whole scope and tenor of his life, would amply refute the unjust supposition. That he was utterly unacquainted with the enormities committed by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, may be collected from the praises he bestows on their exploits, and from his appealing to the glory of these exploits as an incentive that should stimulate the ardor of the English to the prosecution of laborious virtue, and humble but honest emolument in North America. Thus nobly we find him expressing the sentiments of a mind which the condition of humanity did not exempt from being deceived but which piety preserved from being depraved or perverted, "Who can desire more content that hath small means or but only his merit, to advance his fortunes, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any; if he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do less hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ and humanity, whose labors with discretion will triple thy charge and pains? What so truly suits with honor and honesty as the discovering things unknown, erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue, and gaining to our mother country a kingdom to attend her; finding employment for those that are idle because they know not what to do; so far from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, ever honor that remembrance with praise?" It is probably such expressions as these that have led certain writers to charge Smith with *enthusiasm*— a term by which some persons denote every elevation of view and tone that religion imparts, and by which many others designate every quality and sentiment that they feel to be above the pitch of their own nature.

Smith proceeds as follows: "Then who would live at home idly, or think in himself any worth to live, only to eat, drink, and sleep, and so die; or consuming that carelessly his friends got worthily, or using that miserably that maintained virtue honestly: or being descended nobly, pine with the vain vaunt of great kindred in penury; or, to maintain a silly show of bravery, toil out thy heart, soul and time basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice; or by relating news of other men's actions, shark here and there for a dinner or supper," &c. "though thou seest what honors and rewards the world yet hath for them that will seek them, and worthily deserve them."—B. VI. He adds shortly after, "It would be a history of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portugals, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries, which, with such incomparable honor and constant resolution, so far beyond belief, they have attempted and endured, in their discoveries and plantations, as may well condemn us of too much imbecility, sloth, and negligence. Yet the authors of these new inventions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that but seek to imitate their unparalleled virtues."

I should contend neither wisely nor honestly for the fame of Captain Smith, were I to represent him as a faultless character, perfectly unclothed of the imperfections of humanity. The sufferings of others have been known to provoke him to an intemperance at least of expression which none of his own trials and provocations ever excited, and which none of his actions ever realized. Indignant at the dreadful massacre of the Virginia colonists in 1622, long after he had left them, he pronounced in haste and anger that the colony could not be preserved without subduing or expelling the Indians, and punishing their perfidious cruelty as the Spaniards had punished "the treacherous and rebellious infidels" in South America.—B. IV. These expressions afford a farther proof of the very imperfect acquaintance he had with the real circumstances that attended the subjugation of South America by the Spaniards. "Notwithstanding such a stern and invincible resolution as Captain Smith displayed," says an intelligent historian of Virginia, "there was seldom seen a milder and more tender heart than his was." Stith, p. 112.

He expatiates at great length, and with much spirit and ability, on the advantages of colonial establishments in America; and displays a variety of inducements to embark in them, appropriate to the various classes of society in England. Colonies he describes as schools for maintaining the hardy virtues on which the safety of every state must depend. He ascribes the fall of Rome and the subjugation of Constantinople to the indolence and covetousness of the rich, who not

only passed their own lives in slothful indulgence, but retained the poor in factious idleness, by neglecting to provide them with safe and useful employment; and strongly urges the wealthy capitalists of England to provide for their own security, by facilitating every foreign vent to the energies of active and indigent men. He enlarges on the pleasures incident to a planter's life, and enforces his description by the testimony of his own experience. "I have not been so ill-bred," he declares, "but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery. And lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it, than I should do there to gain wealth sufficient; and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content." B. VI. To gentlemen he proposes, among other inducements, the pleasures of fishing, fowling, and hunting, to an unbounded extent; and to laborers, the blessings of a vacant soil, of unequalled cheapness and unsurpassed fertility. He promises no mines to tempt sordid avarice, nor conquests to allure profligate ambition; but the advantages of a temperate clime, and of a secure and exhaustless subsistence; the wealth that agriculture may extract from the land, and fisheries from the sea. "Therefore," he concludes, "honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanness of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potosi, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."

I have given but a very general outline of Smith's exposition of this subject. The details with which he has filled it up are highly interesting, and well deserving of perusal. I think there can be no doubt that he has treated the subject of colonization with more both of the skill of a politician and the profound sagacity of a philosopher, than Lord Bacon has shown in either or both of his productions, the "Essay on Plantations," and the "Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland."

The name of Smith has not yet gathered all its fame. The lustre it once possessed is somewhat obscured by time, and by the circumstances that left America so long to depend on England for the sentiments and opinions that literature preserves or produces, and consequently led her to rate her eminent men rather by the importance of their achievements in the scale of British than of American history. But I think I can foresee its revival. It will grow with the growth of men and letters in America; and whole nations of its admirers have yet to be born. As the stream becomes more illustrious, the springs will become more interesting. Romulus, I doubt not, was an object of greater interest in the Augustan æra than in the preceding ages of Rome. The age of Smith's fame has in like manner yet to come; an age when there will be inscribed by the Americans, on tablets more lasting than Carthaginian gold,

> "Fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum,
> Per tot ducta viros prima ab origine gentis;"

and he will then be thought as far to excel Romulus in true glory, as America has excelled, and is yet likely to excel old Rome in happiness and virtue.

He was born in the year 1579, and died on the 21st of June, 1631.

Nothing can be more erroneous or unjust than Winterbotham's Chronological Catalogue of the American States, in which Lord Delaware is recorded as the founder of Virginia. If this honor belong to any individual, it is to Captain Smith.

Note [3] p. 219.—The history of Lord Delaware's government, and the more recent example of the settlement formed by Lord Selkirk in Prince Edward's Island, demonstrate very strongly the beneficial influence, to which noblemen may render their rank subservient, in the promotion and support of such establishments. The mass of mankind bear very little resemblance to the original colonists of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. They are utterly incapable of appreciating superior piety, and yield (especially in small bodies) a very reluctant deference to the pretensions of superior wisdom and ability. The claims of superior birth and hereditary elevation have the advantage of being more certain and manifest, more adapted to their habits, and less offensive to their self-complacency. Lord Bacon observes, that plantations are most frequent in the earlier stages of society; that is, in the period when superior birth, united (as it then commonly is) with a monopoly of the little knowledge that exists, exercises the strongest influence on mankind. The colony conducted by Lord Selkirk to Prince Edward's Island consisted of Highlanders, a race of men peculiarly distinguished by, what Burke has termed, "the proud submission and generous loyalty to rank." When their countrymen in the Hebrides beheld Dr. Johnson, they made little account of the intellectual superiority which had gained him a sort of monarchical influence in England; but desiring to know what were his claims to respect, inquired of him if he could recount a long genealogy

Note [4] p. 219.—The surprising errors that Robertson has committed in his account of Sir Thomas Dale's administration may well seem to detract, in no small degree, from the credit of history He not only imputes to the Company the enactment and introduction of the arbitrary code transmitted by Sir Thomas Smith, but unfolds at length the (imaginary) reasons that prevailed with them to adopt a measure so harsh and sanguinary; though of this measure itself they are expressly acquitted by Stith, the only authority on the subject that exists, and the very authority to which Robertson himself refers. Among the other reasons which he assigns, is the advice of Lord Bacon, which he unhesitatingly charges this eminent person with having communicated, and the Company with having eagerly approved. In support of a charge so decided and so remarkable, he refers merely to a passage in Lord Bacon's *Essay on Plantations*. It would be well for the fame of Bacon if all the charges with which his character is loaded were supported by such evidence. For *supposing* (which is doubtful) that this essay was published before the collection of Sir Thomas Smith's system of martial law, and *supposing* it to have been read by the compiler of that system, it is surely more than doubtful if the passage alluded to would yet support Dr. Robertson's imputation. It merely recommends that a colonial government should "have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation;" a power inseparable from such, and indeed from every system of government. The twenty-fourth section of King James' second charter to the Company had already invested the colonial governors with "full power and authority to use and exercise martial law, in cases of mutiny or rebellion;" and the preceding section of the same charter authorizes them, "in case of necessity," to rule, correct, and punish, according to their own "good discretions." No blame can attach to the bare authorization of an extraordinary power, reserved in every society, for extraordinary occasions. What alone seems deserving of blame is Sir Thomas Smith's violent and illegal substitution of the most sanguinary code of martial law that was ever framed, in the room of the former constitution, and for the purposes of the ordinary administration of the colony; and Dr. Robertson's very hasty and unfounded imputation of this proceeding to the act of the Council and the advice of Lord Bacon. It had been well if the Council had paid more attention to the maxim of this great man, that "those who plant colonies must be endued with great patience."

The inaccuracy and misrepresentation in which Dr. Robertson has indulged, in his history of South America, has been detected by Mr. Southey, and exposed in the History of Brazil, Part I. note 58.

Note [5] p. 240.—Chalmers and Robertson have imputed the slow increase of the colonists of New Plymouth to "the unsocial character of their religious confederacy." As the charge of entertaining antisocial principles was preferred against the first Christians by men who plumed themselves on exercising *hospitality to the gods of all nations*, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of this imputation, if we would know whether it be praise or blame that it involves. Whether, in a truly blameworthy acceptation, the charge of unsocial principles most properly belongs to these people or to their adversaries, may be collected from the statements they have respectively made of the terms on which they were willing to hold a companionable intercourse with their fellow men. Mr. Winslow, who was for some time governor of New-Plymouth, in his account of the colony declares that the faith of the people was in all respects the same with that of the reformed churches of Europe, from which they differed only in their opinion of church government, wherein they pursued a more thorough reformation. They disclaimed, however, any uncharitable separation from those with whom they differed on this point, and freely admitted the members of every reformed church to communion with them. "We ever placed," he continues, "a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the word of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in anti-christian opposition to it, and persecution of it. It is true we profess and desire to practise a separation from the world and the works of the world; and as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God nor the communion of saints may be leavened or polluted thereby." He adds, that none of the new settlers who are admitted into the church of New Plymouth are encouraged, or even permitted, to insert in the declaration of their faith a renunciation of the Church of England or any other reformed establishment. (Mather, B. I. cap. iii.) It does not appear to me that these sentiments warrant the charge of unsocial principles in any sense which a Christian will feel himself at all concerned to disclaim. Whether the adversaries of these men were distinguished for principles more honorably social or more eminently charitable, may be gathered from a passage in Howel's Familiar Letters, where this defender of church and state thus expresses the sentiments of his party respecting religious differences between mankind. "I rather pity than hate Turk or infidel, for they are of the same metal and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ. If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." (vol. i. let. 31.) The policy of the ecclesiastical administration of England gave a premium to the production of such sentiments. Howel's fervor for the church party did not survive the power of that party to reward him. After the fall of the English church and monarchy, he became the defender and penegyrist of the administration of Cromwell; though, like Waller and Dryden, he returned in the train of Fortune, when she returned to his original friends.

Note [6] p. 245.—The introduction of this feature into the portrait of Sir Henry Vane rests entirely on the authority of Burnet and Kennet, (followed by Hume,) who speak from hearsay. Ludlow, who knew Vane personally, bestows the highest praise on his imperturbable serenity and presence of mind; and, with the glowing sympathy of a kindred spirit, describes the resolute magnanimity with which at his trial he sealed his own fate by scorning to plead, like Lambert, for his life, and gallantly pleading for the dying liberties of his country. At his execution, when some of his friends expressed resentment of the injuries that were heaped upon him, "Alas!" said he, "what ado they keep to make a poor creature like his Saviour. I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at death, that I find it rather shrink from me than I from it. Ten thousand deaths for me, before I will defile the chastity and purity of my conscience; nor would I for ten thousand worlds part with the peace and satisfaction I have now in my heart." Even Burnet admits that the resolution he summoned up at the last prompted him "to some very extraordinary acts, though they cannot be mentioned." Oldmixon, less scrupulous, has satisfied the curiosity that Burnet excited, by relating that "Lady Vane began her reckoning for her son, the Lord Barnard, from the night before Sir Henry lost his head on Tower Hill." Perhaps the deep piety and constant negation of all merit in himself, by which the heroism of Vane was softened and ennobled, may have suggested to minds unacquainted with these principles the imputation of constitutional timidity. At all events this cloud, whether truly belonging to his character, or raised by the envious breath of his detractors, has, from the admirable vigor of his mind and the unquestioned courage of his demeanor, served rather to embellish than to obscure the lustre of his fame.

Note [7] p. 252.—The accounts of the first conversations which the missionaries held with various bodies of these heathens, abound with curious questions and observations that proceeded from the Indians in relation to the tidings that were brought to their ears. One man asked, Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as the Indians? A second, Whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language? A third proposed this question,

How there could be an image of God, since it was forbidden in the second commandment! On another occasion, after Mr. Elliot had done speaking, an aged Indian started up, and with tears in his eyes asked, Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God? A second asked, How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one Father? A third desired to be informed, How it came to pass that sea water was salt, and river water fresh? Several inquired, How Judas could deserve blame for facilitating the end which it was the purpose of God to effect? One woman asked, Whether she was entitled to consider herself as having prayed, when she merely joined in her mind with her husband who prayed by her side? Another, If her husband's prayer signified any thing while he continued to beat his wife? Many of the converts continued to believe that the gods whom they had formerly served had in reality great power, but were spirits subordinate to the true and only God; and when threatened with witchcraft by the Powaws for their apostacy, they said, We do not deny your power, but we serve a greater God, who is so much above yours that he can defend us from them, and enable even us to tread upon them all. One sachem sent for an Indian convert, and desired to know how many gods the English had? When he heard they had but one, he replied scornfully, Is that all? I have thirty-seven! Do they suppose I would exchange so many for one?

Note [8] p. 255.—The character of George Fox is by no means generally understood in the present day. His writings are so voluminous, and there is such a mixture of good and evil in them, that every reader finds it easy to justify his preconceived opinion, and to fortify it by appropriate quotations. His works are read by few and wholly read by still fewer. Many form their opinions of him from the passages which are cited from his writings by his adversaries: and of the quakers there are many who derive their opinions of him from the passages of a very different complexion which are cited in the works of the modern writers of their own sect. I shall here subjoin some extracts from his Journal, which will verify some of the remarks I have made in the text: premising this observation, that the book itself was first put into my hands by a zealous and intelligent quaker, for the purpose of proving that it contained no such passages as some of those which I am now to transcribe from it.

Fox relates, that in the year 1648 he found his nature so completely new-modelled, that "I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practice physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. The Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation and the virtues thereof may be known through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made." In many of the disputes which he afterward held with ministers and doctors, he maintained that he was, and that every human being by cultivation of the spiritual principle within him might become like him, perfectly pure and free from all dregs of sin. He relates with complacency and approbation, that having one day addressed a congregation of people at Beverley in Yorkshire, the audience declared afterward that it was an angel or spirit that had suddenly appeared among them and spoken to them. He conceived himself warranted by his endowments to trample on all order and decency. One Sunday as he approached the town of Nottingham, he tells, "I espied the great *steeple-house*; and the Lord said unto me, thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He accordingly, entered the church, and hearing the minister announce the text, *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, and tell the people that by this was meant the Scriptures, whereby they were to try all doctrines religions, and opinions, Fox adds, "I could not hold, but was made to cry out, "Oh no; it is not the Scriptures; it is the Holy Spirit." On another occasion, having entered a church, and hearing the preacher read for his text, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters*, &c, Fox called out to him, "Come down, thou deceiver! dost thou bid people come freely and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the scriptures to them?" Approaching the town of Litchfield, he declares he found himself directed to cast off his shoes, and in that condition walked through the streets, exclaiming, "Wo to the bloody city of Litchfield!" which he accordingly did. These examples are selected almost at random from numberless instances of similar proceedings recorded in his voluminous journal. Yet he strongly condemns those whom he terms *ranters*, and relates in various places the attempts he had made to convince them of their delusion. Journal, 3d edit. 1765, pp. 16. 24. 27. 34. 49. 50. 51.

William Penn, in the beautiful Preface which he wrote for this Journal, informs us that these ranters were persons who "for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with these divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God." "Divers," he adds, "fell into gross and enormous practices, pretending in excuse thereof that they could without evil commit the same act which was sin in another to do." "I say," he continues, "this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to blaspheme." (Preface, p. 7.)

Fox himself relates some horrid immoralities of the ranters, and that he had found it necessary to publish addresses to give assurance to the people that these deluded persons were quakers only in name (Journal, p. 399.) He applies the epithet of ranters to many of those who called themselves quakers in America (443.) Some of Fox's chief associates and coadjutors appear to have become in the end ranters, or something worse. Of these was James Nayler, who was long the fellow-laborer and fellow-sufferer of Fox, and whom Fox still terms a quaker, at the same time when he was in prison for his horrible enormities. Fox alludes vaguely and sorrowfully to Nayler's errors and disobedience to himself. When he found that Nayler would not give heed to his rebukes, Fox told him that "the Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him." He adds, that it soon after happened to Nayler that "his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth of God that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens." (Journal, p. 205.) Nayler had ridden naked into Bristol with a crew of insane followers making the most blasphemous proclamations before him, and had committed the most profligate immoralities. On his trial he produced a woman, one Dorcas Earberry, who deposed that she had been dead two days, and was recalled to life by Nayler.

It is impossible to discover what part of the extravagance of Nayler was condemned by Fox and the proper body of the quakers. We find Fox relating with great approbation many wild and absurd exhibitions by which quakers were moved, as they said, to show themselves as signs of the times. "Some," he says, "have been moved to go naked in the streets, and have declared amongst them that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwise abused them." (Journal, p. 386.) Many such instances he relates in the Journal (p. 323, &c.,) with cordial approbation of the conduct of the quakers, and the strongest reprobation of the persecutors who punished them for walking naked.

Fox taught that God did not create the devil, (Journal. p. 140.) Yet though the reasoning by which he defends this gross heresy would plainly seem to imply that the devil was a self-created being, there is another passage, (p. 345,) from which we may perhaps conclude that Fox's real opinion was that the devil was created by God a good spirit, but transformed himself by his own act into a wicked one. He sets down every misfortune that happened to any of his adversaries or persecutors as a judgment of Heaven upon them. He relates various cures of sick and wounded persons that ensued on his prayers, and on more ordinary means that he used for their relief. It is not easy to discover if he himself regarded these as the exertions of miraculous power; but from many passages it is plain that they were, to his knowledge, so regarded by his followers; and the editor of his journal refers to them in the index under the head of "Miracles."

I think it not unreasonable to consider quakerism the growth of a protestant country, and quietism, which arose among catholics, as branches of a system essentially the same; and Madame Guyon and Molinos as the counterparts of Fox and Barclay. The moral resemblance is plainer than the historical connexion; but the propagation of sentiment and opinion may be powerfully effected when it is not visibly indicated. Quietism was first engendered in Spain, by a sect called the Illuminati or Alambrados, who sprung up about the year 1575. They rejected sacraments and other ordinances, and some of them became notorious for indecent and immoral extravagances. This sect was revived in France in the year 1634, but quickly disappeared under a hot persecution. It re-appeared again with a system of doctrine considerably purified, yet still inculcating the distinctive principle of exclusive teaching by an inward light and sensible direction, towards the close of the seventeenth century, both at Rome in the writings of Molinos, and in France under the auspices of Madame Guyon and Fenelon. Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. ix. p. 156, and xv. p. 766

Note [9] p. 256.—Besse, in his voluminous "Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers," relates that Lydia Wardell, of Newbury in New England, a convert to quakerism, at length found herself concerned to appear in a public assembly "in a very unusual manner, and such as was exceeding hard and self-denying to her natural disposition, she being a woman of exemplary modesty in all her behavior. The duty and concerns she lay under was that of going into their church at Newbury naked, as a token of that miserable condition which she esteemed them in." "But they, instead of religiously reflecting on their own condition, which she came in that manner to represent to them, fell into a rage and presently laid hands on her," &c. Vol. ii. p. 235. He also notices the case of Deborah Wilson, a young woman of very modest and retired life, and of a sober conversation, having passed naked through the streets as a sign against the cruelty and oppression of the rulers." 236.

George Bishop, another quaker writer, thus relates the case of Deborah Wilson. "She was a modest woman, of a retired life and sober conversation; and bearing a great burden for the hardness and cruelty of the people, she went through the town of Salem naked as a sign; which she having in part performed, was laid hold on, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers sentenced her to be whipt." New England judged, p. 388. The writings of Besse, Bishop, and some others, who were foolish enough to defend the extravagance that they had too much sense to commit, were the expiring sighs of quaker nonsense and frenzy. They are still mentioned with respect by some modern quakers, who praise instead of reading them; as the sincere but frantic zeal of Loyola and Xavier and still commended by their sly successors, who have inherited the name and the manners, without the spirit that distinguished the original Jesuits.

It had been well if the government of Massachusetts had inflicted punishment on the disgusting violations of decency avowed by these writers, without extending its severity to the bare profession of quakerism. This injustice was occasioned by the conviction that these outrages were the legitimate fruits of quaker principles; a conviction which, it appears the language even of those quakers who were themselves guiltless of such outrages, tended strongly to confirm. It is only such language on the part of the quakers that can acquit their adversaries of the inhuman absurdity that pervades the reasoning of persecutors, and holds men responsible for all the consequences that may be logically deduced from their principles, though rejected and denied by themselves. The sentiments of the people of New England are thus strongly expressed by Cotton Mather: "I appeal to all the reasonable part of mankind whether the infant colonies of New England had not cause to guard themselves against these dangerous villains. It was also thought that the very quakers themselves would say, that if they had got into a corner of the world, and with immense toil and charge made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have New Englanders come among them and

interrupt their public worship, and endeavor to seduce their children from it; yea and repeat such endeavors after mild entreaties first, and then just banishments to oblige their departure" B. VII. cap. iv. Yet Mather deplores and condemns the extreme severities which were ultimately inflicted by his countrymen upon the quakers. It was one of the privileges of Israel that *the people shall dwell alone;* and the hope of enjoying a similar privilege was one of the motives that led the puritans to exchange the pleasures of their native land for the labors of desolate wilderness.

Note [10] p. 259.—Upon this occasion Cotton Mather observes—"Such has been the jealous disposition of our New Englanders about their dearly-bought privileges, and such also has been the various understanding of the people about the extent of those privileges, that of all the agents which they have sent over unto the court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not at his return meet with some very froward entertainment among his countrymen: and there may be the Wisdom of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the malice of the Evil One, acknowledged in the ordering of such temptations."

Mr. Norton, before his departure for England, expressed a strong apprehension that the affair he was required to engage in would issue disastrously to himself. Mather adds, "In the spring before his going for England he preached an excellent sermon unto the representatives of the whole colony assembled at the Court of Election, wherein I take particular notice of this passage—Moses was the meekest man on earth, yet it went ill with Moses, 'tis said, for their sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah? Sure I am, it killed him in a short time; a man of as good a temper as could be expected from a mere man."

It might have been thought that Mr. Norton, whose death was thus in a manner the fruit of his exertions to extend religious liberty in the colony, would have escaped the reproach of persecution. But he had given great offence to some of the quakers, by writing and preaching against their tenets And after his death, certain of that body published at London, *A representation to the King and Parliament*, wherein, pretending to report some *Remarkable judgments upon their Persecutors*, they inserted the following passage: "John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord, was smitten and as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died." Mather, B. III. cap. ii. sect. 21, 22, 23. The popish fables respecting the deaths of Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and Beza, are hardly more replete with folly, untruth, and presumption, than some of these quaker interpretations of providence. Their authors, like many other persons involved in religious contentions, or exposed to persecution for religion's sake, mistook an ardent zeal for God, for a complete subjection of mind to his will, and an entire identification of their views and purposes with his; practically regardless of their own remaining infirmity and corruption, and of that important truth, that while we continue in this veil of flesh we know only in part, and can see but through a glass darkly. Among other evil consequences, this error begets a contracted or perverted view of the administration of divine justice. It was when the royal psalmist, impatient of his own sufferings, and of the prosperity of oppressors, perplexed himself with endeavors to find within the compass of this life a visible display of the whole scene of divine justice, that he uttered the words of folly and ignorance, and offended against the generation of the children of God.

Note [11] p. 259.—Mr. Winthrop the younger was in the bloom of manhood, accomplished by learning and travel, and the heir of a large estate, when he readily joined with his father in promoting and accompanying an emigration to New England. Cotton Mather has preserved a letter written by Winthrop the elder to his son, while the one was governor of Massachusetts, and the other of Connecticut. I shall be excused for transcribing some part of an epistle so beautiful in itself, and so strikingly characteristic of the fathers of New England. 'You are the chief of two families. I had by your mother three sons, and three daughters; and I had with her a large portion of outward estate. These now are all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone; you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things and learn wisdom thereby; which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you: and for which this may stay and quiet your heart, that God is able to give you more than this; and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which has here prospered so well through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself, out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself. From whence, as I do often take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not my dear son, but let your faith be built upon his promise and faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you nor forsake you. My son the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my care has been more for thee than for myself. But I know thy prosperity depend not on my care, nor on thine own, but on the blessing of our heavenly Father: neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's countenance, through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the turnings of divine providence together, you shall find great advantage. The Lord hath brought us to a good land; a land where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and above all, the blessing of the gospel, without the burthen of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labor, therefore, my good son, to increase our thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his everlasting good will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church, in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travels abroad from being infected with the vices of these countries where thou hast been, (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers.) Let Him have the honor of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee favor in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land; He it is who hath given thee a gift in understanding and art; and he it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help and many sweet children. And therefore I would have you to love him again, and serve him, and trust him for the time to come."—Mather, B. II. cap. xi. sect. 9.

The wife of the writer of the foregoing letter, and the mother of the person to whom it was addressed, was a daughter of the celebrated Hugh Peters.—Savage's Notes to Winthrop's Hist. vol. i. p. 65.

Winthrop the elder not only performed actions worthy to be written, but produced writings worthy to be read. Yet his Journal, or History as it has been termed, in the late edition by Mr. Savage, is, I think, very inferior in spirit and interest to his letters. I hope that Mr. Savage has expressed rather his own editorial partiality than the prevalent taste of New England, in preferring this performance to the work of Cotton Mather. It would seem indeed that Winthrop's Journal has not derived much support from its own popularity, since "the liberal aid" of the legislature of Massachusetts is acknowledged to have been requisite to its publication.

I must regret that I had not an earlier opportunity of perusing the performance of Mr. Savage, to whose sagacity I owe the detection of an error into which I have been betrayed by the authorities on which I have hitherto relied. At present it is not in my power to correct it otherwise than by noticing (in conformity with Lt. Savage's note. vol. ii. p. 159), that although Sir John Harvey was displaced from the office of Governor of Virginia in 1639, Sir William Berkeley, whom I have supposed to have been his immediate successor was not appointed till 1641. The government in the interim was held by Sir Francis Wyatt.

Note [12] p. 263.—Among many interesting and romantic adventures and escapes related by Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, Dwight, and other New England writer, as having occurred during the continuance of Philip's war, there is one incident which excited much marvelling at the time, and has since derived an increase of interest from the explanation which it received after the death of the party principally concerned in it. In 1675 the town of Hadley was alarmed by the sudden approach of a body of Indians in the time of public worship, and the people were thrown into a confusion that betokened an unresisted massacre. Suddenly a grave elderly person appeared in the midst of them. Whence he came or who he was, nobody could tell. In his mein and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but putting himself at their head, he rallied, instructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulsed. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared; and the people were left in a state of perplexity and amazement, and utterly unable to account for this singular phenomenon. After his death it was known to have been Goffe the regicide, who resided somewhere in the neighborhood, but in such deep sequestration that none but those who were intrusted with the secret were ever able to make the remotest approach to a dicovery of his retreat. Whaley resided with him; and they had some years before been joined by another of the regicides, Colonel Dixwell. They frequently changed their place of abode, and gave the name of *Ebenezer* to every spot that afforded them shelter. They had many friends both in England and in the New England states, and with some they maintained a pretty close correspondence. They had constant and exact intelligence of every thing that passed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their greatest expectations were from the fulfilment of the prophecies of scripture, which they had intently studied. They had no doubt that the execution of the judges was *the slaying of the witnesses;* and were much disapointed when the year 1666 had passed without any remarkable event, but still flattered themselves with the hope that common chronology might be erroneous. The strict inquisition that was made for them by the royal commissioners and others, renders their concealment in a country so thinly peopled, and where every stranger was the object of immediate and curious notice, truly surprising. It appears that they were befriended and much esteemed for their piety by persons who regarded the great action in which they had participated with the strongest disapprobation. Hutchinson. 215—219.

It requires less sense and humanity than were common in New England to perceive that the capital trial of a king must ever be a mockery of justice, and practically refutes the plea of necessity that is sometimes made the apology for defect of justice. No man will accept a commission to sit as judge of his king without, previously determining for his own safety to convict him, and to guard the sentence from being infringed by pardon; and the authority that is powerful enough to bring the king to trial has nothing to apprehend from his hostility in exile. How different was the situation of Charles and his persecutors, from the relations which courts of justice commonly imply, was strongly expressed by Cook, the Solicitor for the People of England, who declared, that although in ordinary trials he had often trembled to think how much easier it would be to account to God for mercy and indulgence than for justice and rigor, yet now it was meat and drink to him to ask judgment against the king. Howell's State Trials, iv. 1045.

In such, as in all cases, to be brave and generous is the safest course. While the deposed king lives, the demerits that have procured his deposition attach to his cause; but when his blood is shed, his faults seem to be washed away, and the cause which he maintained, purified from much of his odium by compassion, is transmitted to his unoffending descendants.

Note [13] p. 271.—In every state of human society, and under every form of faith, the belief of witchcraft has prevailed. Heathens, who are represented in scripture as serving demons, have respected and sought to propitiate the powers of witchcraft. Christians, or persons professing the service of the true God, have condemned and punished the practice. It has prevailed from time immemorial in Africa, which is generally considered by the learned as its cradle. Bryan Edwards has given a curious account of the witchcraft or Obeah practices believed and cultivated among the negroes in the West Indies. He states that 'the term Obeah, Obiah, or Obia (for it is variously written), is the adjective, and Obe or *Obi* the noun substantive; and that by the terms Obia men, and Obia woman, are meant those who practise *Obi* or witchcraft. History of the West Indies, vol. ii. p. 107.—Jacob Bryant, in his commentary on the word *Oph*, remarks that "a serpent in the Egyptian language was called *Ob* or

Auk;" and that "*Obion* is still the Egyptian name for a serpent." "Moses," he continues, "in the name of God forbids the Israelites ever to inquire of the demon *Ob*, which is translated in our Bible, charmer or wizard, divinator or sorcilegus." "The woman at Endor," he adds, "is called *Oub* or *Ob*, translated Pythonissa; and *Oubaois* was the name of the basilisk or royal serpent, emblem of the sun, and an ancient oracular deity of Africa." Bryant's Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 48, 475 and 478.

Note [14] p. 283.—The following may serve as a specimen of these articles of grievance, and of the answers they received:—"IV. As no laws can be repealed but by the assembly, it desired to know if the proprietary intended to annul a clause in the act for bringing tobacco to towns?" *Answer.* "The proprietary does not intend to annul the clause mentioned without an act of repeal." "V. The attorney-general oppresses the people." *Answer.* "If such proceedings have been practised, the law is open against the offender, who is not countenanced by government." "VI. Certain persons, under a pretended authority from some militia officers, have pressed provisions in time of peace." *Answer.* "We know of no such offenders; but when informed of them we shall proceed against them according to law and matter of fact." "VII. The late adjournment of the provincial court to the last Tuesday in January is a time most incommodious to the people." *Answer.* "At the request of the lower house, they will adjourn the provincial court by proclamation." Chalmers, 380, 381. Why Chalmers, who is generally displeased even with the more moderate assertors of American liberty, should term this "a spirited representation of grievances," (p. 372,) I am at a loss to discover. But perhaps no other writer has ever combined such elaborate research of facts with such temerity of opinion and such glaring inconsistency of sentiment, as the "Political Annals" of this writer display. The American provinces, though little indebted to his favorable opinion, owe the most important illustration of their history to his industrious researches. Some of the particulars of his own early history may perhaps account for the peculiarities of his American politics. A Scotsman by birth, he had emigrated to Maryland, and was settled at Baltimore as a lawyer, when the revolutionary contest, (in which he adhered to the royal cause,) blasted all his prospects, and compelled him to take refuge in England, where his unfortunate loyalty and distinguished attainments procured him an honorable appointment from the Board of Trade. The first (and only) volume of his Annals was composed while he hoped that the royal cause would yet prevail in America, and was intended to be the apology of his party. His labors were discontinued when the cause and party to which they were devoted had evidently perished. Though a strong vein of Toryism pervades all his pages, he is at times unable to restrain an expression of indignant contempt at particular instances of the conduct of the kings and ministers, whose general policy he labors to vindicate.

Note [15] p. 288.—That a gift will blind the discernment even of the wise, and pervert the words even of the just, is an assurance conveyed to us by unerring wisdom, and confirmed by examples among which even the name of Locke must be enrolled. If no gift could be more seducing than the deference and admiration with which Shaftesbury graced his other bounties to Locke, no blindness could well be greater than that which veiled the eyes, and perverted the sentiments of the philosopher with respect to the conduct and character of his patron. In his memoirs of this profligate politician, not less insiduous in his friendships than furious in his enmities, and who alternately inflamed and betrayed every faction in the state,—he has honored him as a mirror of worth and patriotism; declaring that, in a mild yet resolute constancy, he was equalled by few and exceeded by none; and that while liberty endures, his fame will mock the efforts of envy and the operations of time. Locke, folio edit. III. 456, &c. While Locke reprobates the unprincipled ambition and inveterate falsehood, with which Monk endeavored to the last to obtain for himself the vacant dignity of Cromwell,—he is totally insensible to any other feature than the *ability* of the more successful manœuvres by which Shaftesbury outwitted the less dexterous knave, and at length forced him to concur in the Restoration. Locke has vaunted the profound sagacity with which Shaftesbury could penetrate the character, and avail himself of the talents and disposition, of every person he conversed with. For his own vindication, it is necessary to regard him in this performance as exemplifying the quality which he so highly commended. When occasion required it, Shaftesbury could assume, a virtue to which his talent lent such a degree of efficacy as commanded universal admiration. When he was appointed to preside in the Court of Chancery, he was unacquainted with law, and had grown grey in the practice of fraud and intrigue. Yet in the discharge of the functions of this office, he is acknowledged to have combined the genius of Bacon with the integrity of More; and the satisfaction that was derived from the legal soundness of his decrees, was surpassed only by the respect that was entertained for the lofty impartiality of his conduct.

Among other marks of confidence bestowed by Shaftesbury on Locke, he employed him to choose a wife for his son, whom he was anxious to marry early; as the feebleness of the young man's constitution gave him cause to apprehend the extinction of his family. Locke, undismayed by the nice and numerous requisites which Shaftesbury desired him to combine in the object of his choice, fulfilled this delicate office to his patron's satisfaction; and afterwards accepted the office of tutor to the eldest male offspring of the marriage. Life of Locke, prefixed to the folio edition of his Works. Like Philip of Macedon, Shaftesbury seems to have determined to extract as much advantage as possible to his posterity from the genius of the great philosopher who proved to be his contemporary. Neither the tutors, however, derived much credit from his tuition, or received much gratitude from his pupil. Alexander sneered at the sophisms of Aristotle, (Plutarch's Life of Alexander;) and the author of the "Characteristics," in his "Letters written by a Nobleman to a Young Man at the University." 1716, severely censured the writings of Locke, as giving countenance to infidelity.

Shaftesbury was able to infect Locke with all his own real or pretended suspicions of the catholics; and even when the philosopher could not refrain from censuring the severity and intolerance of the protestants, he expressed his regret that they should be found capable of "such popish practices." Not less unjust and absurd was Lord Russel's declaration, that massacreing men in cool blood was so like a practice of the papists, that he could not but abhor it; and Sir Edward Coke's remark, that poisoning was *a popish trick*. When Locke undertook to legislate for Carolina, he produced ecclesiastical constitutions not more, and political regulations far less favorable to human liberty and happiness, than those which had been previously established by a catholic legislator in Maryland.

Mr. Fox is much puzzled to account for Locke's friendship with Shaftesbury, and has attempted it, I think, very unsuccessfully.

It is strange that we should be obliged to prefer the testimony of an unprincipled satirist to that of an upright philosopher. Yet Dryden's character of Achitophel" is undoubtedly the justest and most masterly representation of Shaftesbury that has ever been produced by friend or foe. So much more powerful is affection than enmity in deluding the fancy and seducing the understanding!

Note [16] p. 300.—Founders of ancient colonies have sometimes been deified by their successors. New York is perhaps the only commonwealth whose founders have been covered with ridicule from the same quarter. It is impossible to read the ingenious and diverting romance entitled Knickerbocker's History of New York, without wishing that the author had put either a little more or a little less truth in it, and that his talent for humor and sarcasms had found another subject than the dangers, hardships, and virtues, of the ancestors of his national family. It must be unfavorable to patriotism to connect historical recollections with ludicrous associations; but the genius of Mr. Irving has done this so effectually, that it is difficult to read the names of Wouter Van Twiller, of Corlear, and of Peter Stuyvesant, without a smile; or to see the free and happy colonists of New York enslaved by the forces of a despot, without a sense of ridicule that abates the resentment which injustice should excite, and the sympathy which is due to misfortune. Yet Stuyvesant was a gallant and generous man; and Corlear softened the miseries of war and mitigated the wrath of man by his benevolence. If this writer had confined his ridicule to the wars, or rather bloodless buffetings and squabbles of the Dutch and the Swedes, his readers would have derived more unreproved enjoyment from his performance. Probably my discernment of the unsuitableness of Mr. Irving's mirth, is quickened by a sense of personal wrong; as I cannot help feeling that he has by anticipation ridiculed my topic and parodied my narrative. If Sancho Panza had been a real governor, misrepresented by the wit of Cervantes, his future historian would have found it no easy matter to bespeak a grave attention to the annals of his administration.

Note [17] p. 305.—"Dining one day at Monsieur Hoeft's, and having a great cold, I observed, everytime I spit, a tight handsome wench, that stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand, was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the board clean. Somebody at table speaking of my cold, I said the most trouble it gave me was to see the poor wench take so much pains about it. Monsieur Hoeft told me, 'twas well I escaped so; and that if his wife had been at home, tho' I were an ambassador, she would have turned me out of doors for fouling her house." Sir William Temple's Works, i. 472.

Note [18] p. 306.—The charitable attempt of Chalmers to vindicate the character of this man from the impeachment and abhorrence, not of one, but of every province over which he exercised the functions of government previous to the British Revolution, is totally unsuccessful. The main topic of apology is, that he merely executed the orders of his master, and sometimes ineffectually recommended more humane and liberal measures; an apology which might be, as in fact it was equally pleaded to justify the atrocities of Kirke and Jeffries in England, and of Graham of Claverhouse and Sir James Turner, in Scotland. It is an apology that may sometimes exempt from punishment, but can never redeem character, or avert reprobation. When Turner was taken prisoner by the persecuted Scottish peasantry in Dumfriesshire, they were proceeding to put him to death for his cruelty; but observing from the written instructions found on his person that he had actually fallen short of the severity which he had been ordered to commit, these generous men arrested their uplifted hands, and dismissed him with impunity, but not without abhorrence. That Andros, from some of his private suggestions to the duke, seems at times to have been willing to alleviate the burdens of the people, only renders him the more culpable for so actively effectuating a contrary policy, the mischief and odium of which he plainly discerned. It might have been argued, with some appearance of probability, that the unanimous dislike he excited in New England inferred less of reproach to his personal character, than of the repugnance between the previous habits of the people and the structure of that arbitrary system which he was appointed to administer among them. But the detestation he excited in New York where the people had been habituated to arbitrary government, admits not of this suggestion; which, even with regard to New England, we have already seen to be very slightly, if at all admissible. James the Second evinced a sagacity that approached to instinct, in the employment of fit instruments to execute injustice and cruelty; and his steady patronage of Andros, and constant preference of his to any other instrumentality, in the subjugation of colonial liberty, is the strongest certificate that could be given of the aptness of this officer's disposition for the employment for which he was selected. His friend and compeer Randoph boasted, that, in New England, Andros was as arbitrary as the Great Turk.

After the British Revolution, Andros is said to have conducted himself irreproachably as governor of Virginia. But William and Mary had not entrusted him with tyrannical power; and the Virginians would not have permitted him to exercise it. His appointment to this situation, however, was an insult to the American colonies, and a disgraceful proceeding of King William, who assuredly was not a friend to American liberty.

Andros died at London in 1715, at a very advanced age.

Note [19] p. 313.—This jesuit accompanied the French commissioners who repaired to the head quarters of the Five Nations to treat for peace. When the commissioners approached the Indian station, they were met by a sachem who presented them with three separate gifts, strings of wampum; the first, to wipe away their tears for the French that had been slain; the second, to open their mouths, that they might speak freely; and the third, to clean the mat on which

they were to sit, while treating of peace, from the blood that had been spilt on both sides. The jesuit, who acted as the orator of the embassy, endeavored to pay court to the Indians by imitation of their style. "The war kettle," said he, "boiled so long, that it would have scalded: if the Five Nations had it continued; but now it is overset, and turned upside-down, and a firm peace made." He recommended to them the preservation of amity with *Corlear*, the Indian name for the governor of New York; and having thus attempted to disarm their suspicions, uttered many injurious insinuations against this ally. "I offer myself to you," he continued, "to live with you at *Onondaga*, to instruct you in the christian religion, and to drive away all sickness, plagues, and the diseases of your country." Though this proposition, which the French were much bent on effectuating, was absolutely rejected, the peace brought them a deliverance from so much misery and fear, that, when a deputation of the sachems of the Five Nations arrived at Montreal to ratify the treaty, they were received with general acclamations of joy, and a salute from the artillery on the ramparts. The Indian allies of the French were highly offended with this demonstration of respect. "We perceive," they angrily observed, "that fear makes the French show more respect to their enemies, than love can make them do to their friends." Colden, i. 209—212.

Note [20] p. 315.—Denton, whose description of New York was published in 1702, gives a very agreeable picture of the state of the province and its inhabitants at this period:—"I must needs say, that if there be terrestrial Canaan, 'tis surely here. The inhabitants are blessed with peace and plenty; blessed in their country, blessed in the fruit of their bodies, and the fruit of their grounds; blessed in their basket and in their store; in a word, blessed in whatsoever they take in hand, or go about; the earth yielding plentiful increase to all their painful labor."—"Were it not to avoid prolixity, I could say a great deal more, and yet say too little, to show how free are these parts of the world from that pride and oppression, with their miserable effects, which many, nay almost all, parts of the world are troubled with. There, a wagon or cart gives as good content as a coach; and a piece of their home-made cloth better than the finest lawns or richest silks; and though their low-roofed houses may seem to shut their doors against pride and luxury, yet, how do they stand wide open to let charity in and out, either to assist each other or to relieve a stranger! and the distance of place from other nations doth secure them from the envious frowns of ill-affected neighbors, and the troubles which usually arise thence." Denton, 19,20.

What a contrast there is between this happy picture and the state of European society about the same period, as depicted by De Foe in the most celebrated of his romances!—"I saw the world busy around me; one part laboring for bread, and the other squandering it in vile excesses or empty pleasures:"—"The men of labor spent their strength in daily strugglings for bread to maintain the vital power they laboured with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow; living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread."

Note [21] p. 318.—From the writings of the modern historians and apologists of quakerism, we might be led to suppose that none of the quakers who were imprisoned by the magistrates of England at this period had been accused of aught else but the profession of their peculiar doctrinal tenets, or attendance at their peculiar places of worship. But very different accounts of the causes of their imprisonment have been transmitted by some of the sufferers themselves; and, from the tenor of these it is manifest that the only wrong they sustained from the magistrates was, that they were committed to prison, instead of being confined in lunatic hospitals. The most remarkable of these compositions is the Narrative of the Persecution of Solomon Eccles, in the year 1659, written by himself, and dated from Newgate, where he describes himself as "a prisoner for the testimony of the Lord." This man, who was a quaker, and a tailor in London, relates, that "It was clearly showed to me that I should go to the steeple-house in Aldermanbury the first day of the week then following, and take with me something to work, and do it in the pulpit at their singing time." So, after much musing, "I purposed to carry with me a pocket to sew." He repaired to Edmund Calamy's chapel, and watching his opportunity, made his way into the pulpit. "I sat myself down upon the cushion, and my feet upon the seat where the priest, when he hath told out his lies, doth sit down, and, having my work ready, I pulled one or two stitches." When the people began to persecute him, i. e. to pull him down, he cared not if they had killed him, "for I was full of joy, and they were full of wrath and madness." He was carried before the mayor. "'Then said he to me, 'Wherefore did you work there?' I said, 'In obedience to the Lord's commandment.' He said it was a false spirit: and said he, 'Where are your sureties?' I said, the Lord was my security." Accordingly, his persecution was consummated by a commitment to Newgate. "Now, *let all sober people judge* whether I did this thing out of envy against either priest or people. Yea, farther, I say, the Lord lay it not to their charge who have said that I did it in malice, devilishness, and envy," &c. &c. This singular narrative is republished in the State Trials, vol. vi. p. 998.

Note [22] p. 319.—Of this diversity the following instance may serve as a specimen. When the statute against the quakers began to be generally enforced, George Bishop, a man of some eminence among them, remonstrated against it in these terms: "To the king and both houses of parliament, *Thus saith the Lord*, Meddle not with my people because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience; for if you do I will send my plagues among you, and you shall know that I am the Lord. Written in obedience to the Lord, by his servant, G. Bishop." Gough and Sewell, i. 249. Very different was the remonstrance which William Penn addressed on the same subject to the king of Poland, in whose dominions a severe persecution was instituted against the quakers. "Give us poor christians," says he, "leave to expostulate with thee. Suppose we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called, yet pluck us not up for Christ's sake, who saith, Let the tares and the wheat grow up until the harvest, that is, until the end of the world. Let God have his due as well as Cæsar. The judgment of conscience belongeth unto him and mistakes about religion are known to him alone." Clarkson's Life of Penn, i. 189.

Note [23] p. 321.—It is not difficult to understand how a friendly intercourse originated between the leading persons among the quakers and Charles the Second and his brother. The quakers desired to avail themselves of the authority of the king for the establishment of a general toleration, and their own especial defence against the enmity and dislike of their numerous adversaries. The king and his brother regarded with great benevolence the principles of non-resistance professed by these sectaries, and found in them the only class of protestants who could be rendered instrumental to their design of re-establishing popery by the preparatory measure of a general toleration. But how the friendly relation thus created between the royal brothers and such men as Penn and Barclay should have continued to subsist uninterrupted by all the tyranny and treachery which the reigns of these princes disclosed, is a difficulty which their contemporaries were unable to solve in any other manner than by considering the quakers as at bottom the votaries of popery and arbitrary power. The more modern and juster, as well as more charitable censure is, that they were the dupes of kingly courtesy, craft, and dissimulation. They endeavored to make an instrument of the king; while he permitted them to flatter themselves with this hope, that he might avail himself of their instrumentality for the accomplishment of his own designs.

Perhaps since the days when the prophets of Israel were divinely commissioned to rebuke their offending monarchs, no king was ever addressed in terms of more dignified admonition that Robert Barclay has employed in concluding the dedication of his famous *Apology for the Quakers* to Charles the Second. "There is no king in the world," he bids him remember, "who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness; neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians; which thing renders thy government more honorable, and thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations filled with slavish and superstitious souls. Thou has tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country and to be overruled, as well as to rule and sit upon the throne; and being oppressed, thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man. If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give thyself up to follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation." Yet Charles gave himself up to lust and vanity, without apprehending or experiencing any diminution of the regards of his quaker friends; and the tyranny and oppression that stained the conduct of both Charles and James rendered them hateful to all men except the catholics and the quakers. The horrible cruelties inflicted by the orders, and in the presence of James himself on the Scottish covenanters must have been perfectly well known to Barclay. But perhaps his sympathy with the sufferers was abated by the lamentable intolerance which many of these unfortunate victims of bigotry themselves evinced. There were few of them who, even in the midst of their own afflictions, did not bequeath a dying testimony to their countrymen against the *sin* of tolerating the blasphemous heresy of the quakers. See *The Cloud of Witnesses*, Wodrow's History, and other works illustrative of that period.

Of the cajolery that was practised by King James upon the quakers, I think a remarkable instance is afforded, very unintentionally, by Mr. Clarkson, in his Memoirs of William Penn, vol. ii. cap. 1. In the year 1688, Gilbert Latey, an eminent quaker minister, having been presented by Penn to this prince, thanked him for his *Declaration of Indulgence* in favor of quakers and other dissenters, adding an expression of his hope, that, as the king had remembered the quakers in their distress, so God might remember him in his distress. Some time after when James, expelled from England, was endeavoring to make head against his adversaries in Ireland, he sent a message to Latey, confessing that the revolution had approved him so far a prophet, inasmuch as the king had fallen into distress. But Latey was not satisfied with this partial testimony, and reminded James, that as his life had been saved at the battle of the Boyne, the *prophecy* that had been addressed to him was entirely fulfilled.

Note [24] p. 323.—Gabriel Thomas, the author of this pleasing little work, which is dedicated to Sir John Moore and Sir Thomas Lane, aldermen of London, and at that time two of the principal proprietaries of West Jersey, was a quaker, and the friend of Penn—to whom at the same time he dedicated a correspondence history of the province of Pennsylvania. His chief aim in writing he declares to have been to inform the labouring poor of Britain of the opportunity afforded to them by these colonial settlements, of exchanging a state of ill-rewarded toil, or of beggarly and burden some dependence, for a condition at once more useful, honorable, prosperous, and happy. "Now, reader," he thus concludes, "having no more to add of any moment or importance, I salute thee in Christ, and whether thou stayest in England, Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, or goest to Pennsylvania, West or East Jersey, I wish thee all health and happiness in this, and everlasting comfort, in God, in the world to come. Fare thee well!"

Note [25] p. 324.—The following instance of the sensitiveness of the quakers to the reputation of William Penn and his institutions, I believe has never before been published, and I think deserves to be made known. When Winterbotham undertook the compilation of his "Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States," he was encouraged to pursue his labors by the assurance of numerous subscriptions, a great part of which were obtained from English quakers. The authorities which he consulted on the subject of Pennsylvania, gave him an insight into the lamentable dissensions that had occurred between the founder of this province and his quaker colonists, and induced him to form an opinion unfavorable to the equity of Penn, and to the moderation of both parties. The historical part of his account of this province was accordingly written in a strain calculated to convey this impression. Unfortunately for him this came to be known just when his work was ready for publication and delivery to the subscribers. The quakers instantly withdrew their subscriptions, a step that involved Winterbotham in the most serious embarrassment. Alarmed at this unexpected blow, the unfortunate author, then a prisoner in Newgate for seditious expressions of which he is now generally acknowledged to have been innocent, applied to the late William Dillwyn, of Walthamstow, and throwing himself on the humanity of that venerable

man, implored his powerful intercession with the members of his religious fraternity. By his advice, Winterbotham consented to cancel the objectionable portion of the work, and, in the place of it, there was substituted a composition on the same subject from the pen of Mr. Dillwyn. A few copies of the work in its original state having got into circulation, there was added to the preface in the remaining copies an apology for the error into which the author declared that he had been betrayed with regard to the character of Penn and his colonists. The Quakers, on being apprised of this, complied at once with the solicitation of their respected friend, and fulfilled their engagements with Winterbotham. This anecdote was related to me by Mr. Dillwyn himself. The contribution which this excellent person, celebrated in Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, thus made to Winterbotham's work, is characterised by his usual mildness and indulgence. Without denying the existence of unhappy dissensions in Pennsylvania, he suggests reasons for supposing that they originated in mutual misapprehension, and were neither violent nor lasting. An apologetical vein pervades the whole composition, of which the only fault is, that, unlike the generality of Quaker productions, it is a great deal too short. Mr. Dillwyn was a native of New Jersey, and had devoted a great deal of attention to the history of America.

Note [26] p. 325.—Bishop Burnet relates that Penn, in alluding to the executions of Mrs. Gaunt and Alderman Cornish, at which he had attended as a spectator, said, that "the king was greatly to be pitied!" and endeavored to palliate his guilt, by ascribing his participation in these and other atrocities, to the influence that Jeffries had acquired over his mind. Unfortunately for the credit of this wretched apology, the king was not under the influence of Jeffries when he ordered and witnessed the infliction of torture on the covenanters in Scotland; and the disgrace into which Jeffries fell immediately before the Revolution, for refusing to gratify the king by professing popery, and pretending to keep a corner of his conscience sacred from the royal dominion, shows how voluntary and how limited the king's pretended subjection to him truly was. It is related in the diary of Henry Lord Clarendon, that Jeffries expressed his uneasiness to this nobleman at the king's impetuosity and want of moderation. When Jeffries was imprisoned in the Tower at the Revolution, he assured Tutchin, one of his victims, who came to visit and exult over him, that on returning from his bloody circuit in the west, he had been "snubbed at court for being too merciful." Kirke, in like manner, when reproached with his cruelties, declared, that they had greatly fallen short of the letter of his instructions.

For the credit of Penn's humanity, it may be proper to observe, that it was common, in that age, for persons of the highest respectability, and, among others, for noblemen and ladies of rank, in their coaches, to attend executions, especially of remarkable sufferers. See various passages in that learned and interesting work, Howell's State Trials.

Note [27.] p. 326.—Colonel Nicholson, an active agent of the crown, both before and after the English Revolution, who held office successively in many of the colonies, and was acquainted with the condition of them all, in a letter to the Board of Trade, in 1698, observes, that "A great many people of *all the colonies*, especially in those under proprietaries, think that no law of England ought to be binding on them, without their own consent; for they foolishly say, that they have no representatives sent from themselves to the parliament of England; and they look upon all laws made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships." State Papers, *apud* Chalmers, 443.

In the introduction to the historical work of Oldmixon, who boasts of the assistance and information he received from William Penn, we find this remarkable passage:—"The Portuguese have so true a notion of the advantage of such colonies, that to encourage them, they admit the citizens of Goa to send deputies to sit in the assembly of the Cortes. And if it were asked, why our colonies have not their representatives, who could presently give a satisfactory answer?" Edit. 1708, p. 34.

An extension of the right of electing members of parliament, to a part of the realm which had not been previously represented there, occurred in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth. The inhabitants of the county Palatine and city of Chester complained, in a petition to the king, "that, for want of knights and burgesses in the court of parliament, they sustained manifold damages, not only in their lands, goods, and bodies, but in the civil and politic governance and maintenance of the commonwealth of their said county; and that while they had been always bound by the acts and statutes of the said court of parliament, the same as other counties, cities, and boroughs, that had knights and burgesses in said court, they had often been touched and grieved with acts and statutes, made within the said court, as well derogatory unto the most ancient jurisdictions, liberties, and privileges of the said county Palatine, as prejudicial unto the commonwealth, quietness, and peace of his majesty's subjects." They proposed as a remedy, "that it would please his highness, that it be enacted, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the commons in parliament assembled, that, from the end of the session, the county Palatine shall have two knights for the said county; and likewise two citizens, to be burgesses for the city of Chester." The complaint was thought just and reasonable, and the petitioners were accordingly admitted to send representatives to parliament.

Various instances of similar proceedings occurred in the reigns of this monarch's successors—Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth; the latter of whom created twenty-four new boroughs in England.

Note [28] p. 330.—In the year 1684, there was published, by one of these emigrants, "The Planter's Speech to his Neighbors and Countrymen of Pennsylvania;" a composition which reminds us of some of the productions of the early colonists of New England. "The motives of your retreating to these new habitations," says this writer, "I apprehend, measuring your sentiments by my own, to have been,—

"1st. The desire of a peaceable life, where we might worship God and obey his law, with freedom, according to the dictates of the divine principle, unincumbered with the mouldy errors occasioned by the fierce invasions of tradition, politic craft, and covetous or ambitious cruelty.

"2d. That we might here, as on a virgin Elysian shore, commence, or improve, such an innocent course of life, as might unload us of those outward cares, vexations, and turmoils, which before we were always subject unto from the hands of self-designing and unreasonable men.

"3d. That, as *Lot*, by flying to little *Zoar*, from the ungodly company of a more populous and magnificent dwelling, we might avoid being grieved with the sight of infectious, as well as odious, examples, of horrid swearings, cursings, drunkenness, gluttony, uncleanness, and all kinds of debauchery, continually committed with greediness; and also escape the judgments threatened to every land polluted with such abominations.

"4th. That as trees are transplanted from one soil to another, to render them more thriving and better bearers, so we here, in peace and secure retirement, under the bountiful protection of God, and in the lap of the least adulterated nature, might every one the better improve his talent, and bring forth more plenteous fruits to the glory of God, and public welfare of the whole creation.

"5th. And lastly, that in order hereunto, by our holy doctrine, and the *praetical teachings* of our exemplary abstemious lives, transacted in all humility, sobriety, plainness, self-denial, virtue, and honesty, we might gain upon those thousands of poor dark souls scattered round about us, and commonly, in way of contempt and reproach, called *heathens*, and bring them not only to a state of civility, but real piety; which effected, would turn to a more satisfactory account than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi." "These thoughts, these designs, my friends, were those that brought you hither; and so far only as you pursue and accomplish them, you obtain the end of your journey." "Our business, therefore, here, in this new land, is not so much to build houses, and establish factories, and promote trade and manufactures, that may enrich ourselves, though all these things in their due place are not to be neglected, as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in." Among other advices, which this writer proceeds to communicate, he recommends not only the refraining from all wanton waste of inferior animal life, but a total abstinence from animal food.—Proud, i. 226, &c.

Note [29] p. 333.—Of the long prevalence of this feeling among the Quakers, innumerable instances might be adduced. One of the most remarkable, is a transaction which occurred in England, in 1705, and which reflects very little credit on the honesty of any of the persons who were implicated in it. At that time, Lord Cornbury, the royal governor of New York, in conjunction with the royal governor of Massachusetts, and various enemies of colonial liberty in England, were endeavoring to supply Queen Anne's ministers with some pretext for annulling the charter of Connecticut. To this end, they preferred against the government of this province a great variety of charges, some of which were so manifestly incapable of abiding parliamentary scrutiny, or judicial investigation, that they could not have been intended to serve any other purpose than that of discrediting the colonial government in the opinion of the English public, and abating the sympathy by which the colonists were aided in the defence of their liberties. Among other proceedings of this description, the enemies of the colony laid hold of one of the laws that had been passed by the Connecticut assembly, more than fifty years before, against the Quakers, at the time of the general persecution of these sectaries in New England; and which, as it had been enacted before the last Connecticut charter was granted, could never imply an abuse of the powers which this charter conferred. A complaint against this law was presented to the queen in council, describing it as an ordinance recently enacted, and beseeching her majesty's interposition to prevent the injustice which it threatened from being carried into effect. In vain the colonial agents endeavored to prevent the sanction of a royal order from being given to this charge by offering to prove, that the law had been enacted half a century before; that it had never been carried into effect even at that time, and was long since deemed obsolete, and that no suspicion could now have been reasonably entertained of an attempt to revive it, as there was not a single Quaker living in the colony. An order of council was issued, nevertheless, stating the complaint exactly in the terms in which it had been presented, and annulling the law as a recent enactment, and contrary to the colonial charter. To give greater efficacy to this proceeding, the Quakers of London, who had been instigated to support the complaint, and must, therefore, have known the explanation which it had received, presented a public address of thanks to the queen for her gracious interposition in behalf of their brethren in New England; taking especial care so to word their representation of what she had done, that the public should not be undeceived as to the date of the law that had been repealed. Nay, more than seventy years after, Robert Proud, a Quaker, and American historian, with astonishing ignorance, or shameful partiality, published a copy of the queen's order in council, and of the Quaker address, with the preliminary remark, that "About this time, (anno 1705,) the Quakers, in America, seem to have had reason to be alarmed by a singular act of Assembly, passed in the colony of Connecticut; the substance or purport of which appears by the order of Queen Anne in council, made upon that occasion." Proud, 1. 465, 6. Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 420.

William Penn, probably, partook of the general prejudice entertained by his fellow sectaries against the people of New England; and it is certain that he carried on a friendly correspondence with Randolph, who had rendered himself so odious to that people, and done so much to destroy their liberties (*ante*, b. ii. cap. iv. and v.) But it is with sincere pleasure, I add, that he appears to have had no concern whatever with this proceeding of the London Quakers, in 1705. Indeed, it appears (from Clarkson's Life of him, vol. ii. cap xvi.) that he was at this time involved in great perplexity by the embarrassed state of his circumstances, and compelled to reside within the rules of the Fleet prison. It is the more necessary to note this, as two years before he had carried up an address from the Quakers of England to Queen Anne, thanking her for her general declaration of indulgence to all dissenters.

No sectaries have ever evinced a stronger corporate spirit than the Quakers. None have shown a keener sense or more lasting resentment of injuries sustained by any member of their fraternity. It was the opinion of Turgot, says his biographer Condorcet, "that only good men were capable of sustaining indignation and displeasure." In truth, this is a frailty which many good men have too readily indulged. Deeming offences against themselves offences against goodness, and convinced of their own good intentions, they have forgotten to believe in their own imperfections, or to make allowance for the infirmities of others; and so have cherished passions and prejudices that obscured their moral discrimination, and, on some occasions, rendered their general honesty of little avail.

The quakers have always delighted to exaggerate the persecutions that they have encountered. An illustrious French traveller has been so far deceived by their vague declamations on this topic, as to assert that quakers were, at one time, *put to the torture* in New England.—Rochefoucault's Travels, i. 525.

Note [30] p. 337.—Of the condition in which Penn continued to linger for a number of years before his death, an interesting account is given by Thomas Story the quaker, (whose account of the yellow fever at Philadelphia in 1699 I have already noticed,) who, arriving from America in 1713, proceeded to pay a visit to all that remained of his venerable friend. "He was then," says Story, "under the lamentable effects of an apoplectic fit which he had had some time before; for his memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversable as formerly, and yet as near the truth, in the love of it, as before; wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks. For though to some this accident might look like judgment, and no doubt his enemies so accounted it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet sensible of the enjoyment of truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to the house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions from want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. When these are but a little obstructed in their various functions, a man of the clearest parts and finest expression becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions; and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him. And that he had still a good sense of truth, is plain by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of his life, which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."—Clarkson, ii. 335. Yet some writers have believed that, at this very time, Penn was engaged with the Jacobites in concerting plots in behalf of the Pretender. This allegation appeared the more plausible, as proceeding from the State Papers (published by Macpherson) of Nairne, an under secretary at the Pretender's court; although the statements in these papers are founded entirely on the reports sent to France by two obscure Jacobite spies in England.

William Penn lingered in this condition till the 30th of July, 1718, when he closed his long and laborious life. This event, though long expected, was deeply bewailed in Pennsylvania; and the worth of Penn honorably commemorated by the tardy gratitude of his people.—Proud, ii. 105. 120. 122.

Note [31] p. 338.—"It is remarkable," says a distinguished modern statesman and philosopher, "how exactly the history of the Carthaginian monopoly resembles that of the European nations who have colonized America. At first, the distant settlement could admit of no immediate restraints, but demanded all the encouragement and protection of the parent state; and the gains of its commerce were neither sufficiently alluring to the Carthaginian merchant from their own magnitude, nor necessary to him from the difficulty of finding employment for his capital in other directions. At this period, the colony was left to itself, and was allowed to manage its own affairs in its own way, under the superintendance and care of Cartharge, which protected it from foreign invasion, but neglected its commerce. In this favourable predicament, it soon grew into importance; some of the Carthaginian merchants most probably found their way thither, or promoted the colonial speculations by loans; at any rate, by furnishing a ready demand for the rude produce.

"In this stage of its progress, then, we find the colony trade left free; for the first of the two treaties, prohibiting all the Roman ships of war to approach within a certain distance of the coast, allows the trading vessels free access to all the harbors, both of the continent and the colonies. This intercourse is even encouraged with the port of Carthage, by a clause freeing the vessels entering, from almost all import duties. The treaty includes the Roman and Carthagenian allies; by which were probably meant their colonies, as well as the friendly powers; and the clause, which expressly includes the colony of Sicily, gives the Romans all the privileges in that island which the Carthaginians themselves enjoyed. At this period, it is probable that the commerce of Rome excited no jealousy, and the wealth of the colonies little avarice; although a dread of the military prowess of the former seems to have given rise to the negotiation.

"Some time afterwards another treaty, conceived in a different spirit, and formed exactly upon the principles of the mercantile system, was concluded between those celebrated rival powers. The restrictions upon the navigation of the Roman ships of war are here extended and enforced; the freedom of entry into the port of Carthage is continued, and into the ports of Sicily also, the Romans granting to the Carthaginians like privileges at Rome. But the Romans are debarred from plundering, trading, or settling (a singular conjunction) upon the coast of Africa Propria, which was peopled by Carthaginian colonies, and furnished large supplies of provisions and money to the city. The same restriction is extended to Sardinia; and trading vessels are only permitted to enter the harbour of that colony for the space of five days, to refit, if driven thither by stress of weather. A singular clause is inserted, to which close analogies may be traced in the modern questions of neutral rights and contraband of war;—if any Roman troops shall receive stores from a Carthaginian port, or a port in the provincial territories of the state, they are bound not to turn them against either the republic or her allies.

"The substance of this very singular document will suggest various reflections to my readers. I shall only observe, that we find in it the principles of the modern colonial system clearly unfolding themselves; and that we have every reason to regret the scantiness of our knowledge of the Carthaginian story, which, in so far as relates to the commerce of that people, breaks off here, and leaves us no trace of the farther restrictions most probably imposed by succeeding statesmen upon the growing trade of the colonies."—Brougham's Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers

Note [32] p. 339.—A good deal of irritation seems to have been excited in America, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, by some discussion that took place in parliament with regard to a project for the employment of felons in the royal dock-yards of England. A bill for this purpose was passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the House of Lords as tending to discredit his Majesty's service in the dock-yards. This was commented on with just displeasure in an American periodical work, of which some passages have been preserved in Smith's History of New York. By making felony a passport to the advantages of an establishment in America, says this writer, the number of criminals is multiplied in England; and the misery of the industrious poor is aggravated by the discredit attached to the only certain means of improving their condition. "There are thousands of honest men," he continues, "labouring in Europe at fourpence a day, starving in spite of all their efforts, a dead weight to the respective parishes to which they belong; who, without any other qualifications than common sense, health, and strength, might accumulate estates among us, as many have done already. These, and not the felons, are the men that should be sent over for the better peopling the plantations."—268, 9.

THE

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA.—*Continued.*

This far Mr. Grahame's work has enabled us to trace the progress of the North American Continent down to that period when, by a revolutionary process, a Protestant supremacy was finally established in the government of Great Britain, and new concessions to the claims of popular opinion were secured. We have next to mark the development of the American provinces under a new system, and to follow out the various steps by which the policy of the House of Hanover led to the ultimate establishment of an American Nationality. The guidance we have to follow in doing this is new, but none the less authoritative and sound.

CHAPTER I.

Disputes between New York and New Jersey—Overthrow of the Royal Government in New York—Settlement of Pennsylvania—New Charter for Massachusetts—Restoration of the Royal Government in New York—War with the French and Indians—Fort Pacmaquid burnt—Comparative Force of the Colonies in 1695—War with Canada—With the Spanish Colonies—Between Carolina and the Indians—Dissensions in New York—Boundary settled between Massachusetts and Connecticut—Yale College.

In 1674, William Penn obtained an assignment of Lord Berkeley's interest in the Jerseys; and in 1676 he released East Jersey to Carteret. About 1680, after settling a controversy with the Duke of York, he, with eleven others, obtained a transfer of Carteret's part; and immediately conveyed one half of their interest to the Earl of Perth and others. Continual efforts were made in the meantime for re-annexing the Jerseys to New York. Carteret established a port of entry at Amboy. Andros seized and condemned the vessels which traded there. New York then claimed the right of taxing the Jerseys; but when her collector ventured to prosecute a vessel, judgment was almost invariably given against him. A *quo warranto* issued against East Jersey: the proprietors surrendered their patent, and it was not long after, that both Jerseys were annexed to New England.

A Mr. Dongan was the governor who succeeded Andros in 1683. The French had undertaken to exclude the people of New York from the fur trade in Canada; and as the Five Nations were then at war with the tribes of that country, Dongan sought revenge by obtaining permission to assist them. The permission was recalled in 1686, and under Andros, New York was shortly after annexed to New England. James II. had ordered the discontinuance of assemblies: the colonists were greatly exasperated at the proceeding; and as soon as they heard of the revolution at Boston, they took possession of the fort in King William's name, and drove the lieutenant-governor out of the country. Captain Jacob Leisler, who was the leader of the insurrection, conducted afterwards with so little prudence or moderation, that the province was divided into two factions, and for a long time suffered much inconvenience from their mutual animosities.

In 1681 William Penn obtained a charter for the territory of Pennsylvania; in April, 1682, he formed a code of laws for his intended colony; in August he obtained from the Duke of York a grant of Newcastle, with the country southward to Cape Henlopen, and in October of the same year he landed on the banks of the Delaware with two thousand emigrants. Philadelphia was immediately founded, and within twelve months nearly one hundred houses demonstrated the

rapidity of its growth. The proprietor, though appointed "captain-general" of his territory, and invested with power to raise, equip, and lead his forces whenever it should be necessary, did not come to the country as a conqueror, and instead of exasperating the natives by forcing them to quit their lands, conciliated their good will by paying them a satisfactory equivalant. He experienced considerable difficulty, however, in settling a dispute with Lord Baltimore about the boundaries of his grant, and after some fruitless altercation the question was submitted to the committee of plantations, who decided that the peninsula formed by the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware should be equally divided between the two claimants by a meridional line, drawn from the fortieth degree of north latitude to Cape Henlopen. Penn's code of laws was founded on the enlightened principle, that "liberty, without obedience, is confusion; and obedience without liberty, is slavery;" but its complicated provisions were much better in theory than in practice, and after many unsuccessful attempts to make it fit the circumstances of the colony, it was finally abandoned for a more simple form of government. Pennsylvania was dilatory in acknowledging the Prince of Orange. The government was administered in the name of James for some time after his abdication; and when at last the proprietor was obliged to recognise William and Mary, he did not lack address to make satisfactory apologies for his delay.

Nor did Massachusetts derive so much benefit from the Revolution as she had at first anticipated. In June, 1689, the assembly met at Boston, and until orders were received from England the council were requested to administer the government according to the original charter. The king sent for Sir Edmond Andros, and the other prisoners; the general court deputed two assistants, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes, to aid the other agents in procuring a confirmation of their beloved charter; but a new one was issued in 1691, and the colony found with no little dissatisfaction, that in future the king was to appoint their governor, deputy-governor, and secretary, and that the governor was to have the calling, adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution at the assembly, as well as the sole appointment of all military, and with the council, of all political officers. By another provision Plymouth and Nova Scotia were annexed to Massachusetts; while, contrary to the wishes of both parties, New Hampshire was left to a separate government. In May, 1692, Sir William Phipps, the first governor, arrived with the new charter, which after all was, in the following June, joyfully accepted by the general assembly.

New York was reduced to its former allegiance in March, 1691. The conduct and character of Leisler had determined some of the most respectable men in the colony to settle at Albany, where a convention of the people resolved to retain the fort and country for the king and queen. Leisler sent against it a small force, under his worthy lieutenant, one Jacob Melbourne, who, though on his first attack, he found the garrison impregnable to his sermons against James and popery, was enabled to subdue them on the second by the co-operation of the Indians. Their property was confiscated, and Leisler's authority re-established. But both himself and his authority were short-lived. He had the folly to resist the new governor, Colonel Henry Slaughter, who soon obtained possession of the fort, and ordered Leisler and Melbourne to be executed for high treason. Nor was it with internal enemies alone that New York had at this time to contend. In 1688 Louis XIV. despatched some ships of war, under one Caffiniere, in order to assist Count Frontignac, general of the land forces, in a project for the conquest of that province. Count Frontignac was indefatigable in his efforts to gain over the Five Nations, who had made two attacks upon Montreal, and murdered a great number of inhabitants. He held a great council with them at Onondaga, and as they seemed to be somewhat inclined to peace, he resolved to give their favourable disposition no time for change, and at the same time to inspirit his own drooping countrymen, by finding them immediate employment against the English colonies. On the 19th of January a party of about two hundred French and some Cahnuaga Indians, set out in the deep snow for Schenectady: they arrived on the 8th of February, eleven o'clock at night, and the first intimation the inhabitants had of their design was conveyed in the noise of their own bursting doors. The village was burnt; sixty persons were butchered, twenty-seven suffered the worst fate of captivity, and the rest made their way naked through the snow to Albany. A party of young men and some Mohawk Indians set out from the latter place, pursued the enemy, and killed and captured twenty-five. In the spring and summer of 1690, New Hampshire and Maine were subject to similar inroads. Massachusetts fitted out seven small vessels with about eight hundred men, who under Sir William Phipps had the poor revenge of taking Port Royal, and returned on the 30th of May, with hardly plunder enough to pay the expense of equipment. About the same time Count Frontignac made an attack upon Salmon Falls and Fort Casco, where he killed and captured about one hundred and eighty persons.

New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts now resolved to join in a united attack upon the common enemy. The troops of the former set out by land for Montreal. Those of the latter, consisting of about two thousand. set sail from Nantucket on the 9th of August, in a fleet of forty vessels, some of which carried forty-four guns. The land forces did not receive the aid they expected from the Five Nations. Their provisions fell short, and they were obliged to return. The naval expedition did not reach Quebec till October; the energy of Sir William Phipps was by no means calculated to counterbalance the inclemency of the season, and after holding several councils of war, and parading about the place for two or three days, it was deemed most expedient to return, and the fleet arrived safely at Boston on the 13th of November. The colony being unable to pay off the troops, they threatened to mutiny, and as a last resource the general court issued bills of credit, and at the same time imposed a tax payable in those bills at five per cent. above par. The paper for a time was worth only fourteen shillings in the pound, but it rose above par when the tax was about to be collected.

The Indians now renewed their hostilities. Sir William Phipps went to England for aid, but returned without effecting his purpose. A fort was built at Pamaquid. Iberville and Villebone appeared before it with two ships of war, and some French and Indians; but to the no small dissatisfaction of the latter the lateness of the season and the want of a pilot, necessitated them to return. In the summer of 1693, king William at length despatched two thousand one hundred sailors and two thousand four hundred soldiers, for the reduction of Quebec, but they were first to capture Martinique; and before they reached Boston a contagious fever had carried off more than half of their numbers. The rest were incapable of service, and the expedition was abandoned. In 1696 the conquests which Massachusetts had made in the French territory refused their obedience. Pamaquid was taken by Iberville, and New Hampshire was obliged to secure herself from attack, by putting a body of five hundred men under the command of Colonel Church. But Iberville retired and though Church made in turn a successful inroad upon the French territory, nothing of consequence took place on either side. In the course of the same year a plan was matured at the court of Versailles for laying waste all the English possessions in America, and it is said that the plan would probably have succeeded, had not the forces appropriated for the purpose been employed in other service, till the season of operation was past.

The peace of Riswick put an end to hostilities between the French and English on both sides of the Atlantic. All the New England colonies had suffered severely from the Indians during the war. New York was protected by the Five Nations: and yet, so little did the English ministry know of the respective situations of the colonies, or so partial were they to that of the Duke of York, that they formed a design, in 1695, of uniting the forces of all the others for the defence of this. Massachusetts was to furnish three hundred and fifty men; Rhode Island, forty eight: Connecticut, one hundred and twenty; New York, two hundred: Pennsylvania, eighty; Maryland, one hundred and sixty; Virginia, two hundred and fifty; in all, eleven hundred and ninety-eight. But the plan was never carried into execution. Such of the colonies as were attacked themselves, could not spare troops to defend others; and those that were still at peace, could not tell how long they should be. As Virginia was peculiarly peaceful, she furnishes little matter for the pen of the historian. The college of William and Mary obtained a charter, in 1692; had a liberal endowment, soon after; and was established at Williamsburgh, in 1693. In 1698, the state-house at Jamestown was consumed by fire; and, in the following year, the seat of government was removed to Williamsburg.

By the treaty of Riswick, there was to be a reciprocal surrender of all conquests made during the war. But no specific arrangement was entered into, for ascertaining the respective boundaries of the English and French possessions in America. The subject furnished ample room for controversy; and, when news was brought, that hostilities had been re-commenced in Europe, it found the colonies in a fit disposition to welcome the event. They mutually flew to arms; and, as New York had secured herself from danger, by assisting to conclude a treaty of neutrality, between the Five Nations and the Governor of Canada, New England was obliged to endure the whole brunt of the war. Propositions were, indeed made for a general neutrality; but Dudley, the governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was in hopes of subduing Nova Scotia, and. perhaps, Canada; and, in the spring of 1707, he applied to Connecticut and Rhode Island to assist his own colonies in raising, for the purpose, a body of one thousand men. The former declined to contribute her quota: the troops were raised by the other three; and on the 13th of May, the expedition set sail from Nantasket in twenty-three transports, under the convoy of the Deptford man of war, and the Province galley. It arrived at Port Royal in a few days; but, as Colonel March, though a brave man, was unfit to head so difficult an enterprise, little was done beyond the burning of some houses, and the killing of a few cattle. The officers were jealous of each other: all were mistaken as to the state of the fort; and it was soon concluded to re-embark the troops. They were led back again by the vicegerents of the governor; but after spending ten days in fruitless parade about the fort, they again re-embarked and came home.

The colonies were resolved not to give up the enterprise so. In the fall of 1708, Massachusetts plied the queen with an address; which, with the assistance of the colony's friends in England, at length obtained from the ministry a promise of five regiments of regular troops. These, with twelve hundred men raised in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, were to sail from Boston and proceed to Quebec; while a second division of fifteen hundred men, from the colonies south of Rhode Island, were to march against Montreal, by the route of Lake Champlain. Pennsylvania did not raise her quota of troops; and those furnished by the other colonies did not penetrate beyond Wood Creek. The Boston troops waited for the English army from the 20th of May to the 11th of October, 1709, when the news that it had been ordered to Portugal, obliged the provinces to abandon the undertaking. But their patience was not yet exhausted. Another application was made to the queen; and in July, 1710, Colonel Nicholson, who commanded the troops destined for Montreal, the year before, came over with five frigates and a bomb-ketch, for the purpose of attacking Port Royal. He was joined by three regiments of New England troops; sailed from Boston the 18th of September; and on the 24th was before Port Royal, which surrendered on the 5th of October; and being called *Annapolis*, in honour of the queen, was put under the government of Samuel Vech, a Nova Scotian trader. Nicholson returned to England; and pleading the success of his first expedition, obtained from the new ministry an army of seven regiments, who had grown veteran under the Duke of Marlborough. The colonies, too, made every exertion to bear the expenses and burthens of the expedition. Troops were soon raised; Massachusetts issued forty thousand pounds in bills of credit; provisions were impressed; and on the 30th of July, 1711, the whole armament left Boston harbour for Quebec. On the 23d of August the wreck of ten transports on Egg Island, in the St. Lawrence, determined the squadron to put about. A debate was held at Spanish River, in Cape Breton, upon the expediency of annoying the French at Placentia; but the whole expedition sailed for England, without annoying them there, or any where else. The frontiers of the colonies were again left exposed to depredation; nor was it till 1713, that the cession of Nova Scotia to England prevented the French from instigating the Indians to hostility.

While these things were taking place in the north, Carolina was alternately engaged in disputes with its proprietors, and in quarrels with its neighbours. A rumor of the war against France and Spain, in 1702, induced Governor Moore to anticipate the event, by proposing an immediate attack upon St. Augustine. In vain did the more temperate incur the epithet of traitor, by protesting against the measure. There were six thousand white inhabitants of the colony; two thousand pounds were voted to defray all expenses; and in September of the same year, Mr. Moore sailed, with a part of six hundred militia and six hundred Indians; while Colonel Daniel set out by land with the remainder. The Spaniards, apprised of the undertaking had stored the castle with four months provisions; and

when their invaders arrived, they found it impossible to dislodge the garrison, without battering artillery. While Colonel Daniel was gone to Jamaica to procure it, the appearance of two small Spanish vessels at the mouth of the harbor so terrified the Governor, that he abandoned his own ships, and fled precipitantly to Carolina. Daniel escaped the enemy with great difficulty; and the only result of the enterprise was a debt of six thousand pounds; which the colony was obliged to discharge by bills of credit redeemable in three years, out of a duty on liquors, skins, and furs. But the ignominy of this expedition was shortly after wiped off, by a successful war gainst the Appalachian Indians; who, after witnessing the conflagration of all their towns between the Altamaha and the Savannah, were fain to solicit peace, and to acknowledge the British government. Peace with external enemies was soon followed by a revival of the old dispute with the proprietors. They added new fuel to the controversy, by attempting to establish the episcopal church; and the flame at length mounted so high, that, had not another foreign war withdrawn the attention of the colony, they must have shortly fallen under a writ of *quo warranto*.

Spain, through the Governor of Havanna, despatched M. Le Feboure, captain of a French frigate, with four other armed vessels, and eight hundred men, to make a practical assertion of her right, by first discovery, to all North America. The News was no sooner brought to Charleston, than the appearance of the squadron was announced by signals from Sullivan's Fort. But the enemy consumed one day in sounding South Bar; and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had succeeded Mr. Moore, and who had well employed the military skill he acquired in Europe, in erecting works of defence about the harbor, made good use of the twenty-four hours, in calling out the militia, and procuring the aid of the Indians. The enemy landed three times; three times they were successfully repulsed; and they weighed anchor for Havanna, under new impressions of the strength of Carolina. The invasion cost the colony about eight thousand pounds; no tax had ever yet been imposed on lands or persons; and a continuance of the duty on liquors, skins, and furs, was pledged to redeem an additional amount of bills of credit. Commodities immediately rose in price; and the paper currency soon fell thirty-three and a third per cent. below par.

In 1707, the death of the palatine, Lord Granville, a bigoted churchman, gave place to Lord Craven, a more liberal and tolerant member of the same sect. In 1712, the neighbouring Indians formed a secret plan for the extermination of the North Carolinians. They fell suddenly upon the inhabitants; and in the single settlement of Roanoke, one hundred and seventy-seven persons fell victims to their cruelty. Some fugitives carried the intelligence to Charleston. The assembly voted four thousand pounds to raise troops for their defence, and a Colonel Barnwell was soon detached, with six hundred militia, and about three hundred and sixty friendly Indians. In the first engagement, three hundred of the enemy fell, and one hundred were captured. The rest took shelter in a wooden breast-work at Tuscarora; but were so vigourously pressed, that they soon sued for peace; quitted the country; and joining with the Iroquois, formed what has since been called the *Six*, instead of the *Five*, nations. The addition made by this war to the debt of the colony, induced the assembly to institute a bank; and to issue notes for forty thousand pounds; which should be lent on interest, and made a legal tender. In the first year, the exchange rose to one hundred and eighty; in the second, to two hundred per cent. And what was an additional vexation to the colonists, Queen Anne made a desperate attempt to settle, by proclamation, the nominal value of their foreign coin.

About the year 1702, a contagious fever was brought from the West Indies, into several of the North American sea ports. It raged violently in New York, and was mortal in almost every instance. To increase the calamities of the colony, it was in the same year put under the government of the needy and profligate Lord Cornbury; who joined the Anti-Leislerian party, because it was the strongest; flattered the assembly in a set speech; got them to raise fifteen hundred pounds for erecting batteries at the Narrows; and appropriated the money to his own use. A quarrel ensued between himself and the Legislature. But he continued to charge enormous fees, and to demand and misapply money,—till in 1706, the united complaints of New York and Jersey induced the queen to recall him. One good consequence attended his administration. The assembly passed a resolution, "That the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, without their consent in general assembly, is a grievance, and a violation of the people's property." As early as 1692, it is worthy of observation that Massachusetts published a still stronger assertion of the same principle. "No aid, tax, tallage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever," (says the act, and the words remind us of *Magna Charta*,) shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on any of their majesty's subjects, or their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in general court.

New York had entered with much zeal into the project of conquering Canada, which we have before mentioned as having failed for the want of the promised support from England. To defray the expenses of the army under Colonel Nicholson, New York voted twenty thousand pounds, in bills of credit: New Jersey added three thousand pounds; and Connecticut eight thousand more. After the enterprise had failed, Colonel Schuyler, a gentleman of great influence in New York, undertook a voyage to England at his own expense, in order to enlist the ministry once more in the cause. The presence of five Indian Sachems, who sailed with him, added considerably to the weight of his negotiation; and he has the merit of having been a chief promoter of the expedition, which was so successful against Port Royal in 1710. When Massachusetts undertook that, which terminated so differently, against Quebec, in 1712, New York issued ten thousand pounds in bills of credit, and incurred debts to still greater an amount, in order to co-operate with Connecticut and New Jersey, in putting Mr. Nicholson at the head of four thousand men, for a corresponding attack upon Montreal. But some of the ships which had been sent to co-operate in the plan, were wrecked in the St. Lawrence; and the return of the fleet having left the French governor at liberty to direct his whole force against the army, Colonel Nicholson was apprehensive of discomfiture, and commenced a retreat.

Here concludes the history, down to this period, of every important event in the colonies, if we except the order of Queen Anne, issued in 1712, to discontinue the presents with which the inhabitants had been accustomed to conciliate their governors; and the adjustment of boundaries between Rhode Island and Connecticut, and between Connecticut and Massachusetts. The two latter agreed that the towns which they had respectively settled should still remain under their former jurisdiction; and that if either party should be found to have encroached on the territory of the other, the loss should be made good by an equal grant of lands in some other place. Massachusetts had to give Connecticut one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three acres; which were sold by the latter chiefly for the support of Yale College.

As early as 1655, New Haven made an appropriation of three hundred, and Milford of one hundred pounds for the support of a grammar school and college. The former, soon after, added a donation of lands; and in 1659, the legislature voted forty pounds annually, and one hundred pounds for the purchase of books. In 1660, a donation was received from Governor Hopkins. The general court agreed to establish both institutions at New Haven; and the project had just begun to show its fruits, when the troubles of the colony so impoverished their resources, that they could not pay for instructors. When the New England colonies formed the union in 1665, the grammar school was revived; and the funds, which had been raised for both institutions, being appropriated exclusively to this, it has been enabled to continue in existence to the present time.

In 1698, the clergy began again to talk upon the subject of a college; in the following year ten of their number were chosen to found, erect, and govern one; and in 1700 they met at Branford, each bringing three or four large books, and laying them upon the table, with, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." As it was doubtful whether they could hold property, it was agreed to petition for a charter. To promote the design, Mr. Fitch, of Norwich, gave six hundred acres of land, and "all the glass and nails which should be necessary to build a college house and hall." The charter was granted in October, 1701; and on the 11th of November, the trustees held a meeting; chose a rector; passed some rules for the government of the institution, and concluded to fix it at Saybrook. The first commencement was held at that place on the 13th of September, 1702. The college was originally designed for the education of ministers: the charter provided that the trustees should be none but clergymen; and of the forty-six graduates, between 1702 and 1713, thirty-four became ministers.

The growth of the school, though slow, at length rendered it inconvenient to accommodate all the students at Saybrook; and both they and their parents were dissatisfied to see a part transferred to Milford. The evil grew worse every day; and as the trustees did not seem inclined to apply the proper remedy, by removing the institution to a more adequate place, the several towns of the colony undertook to force the measure, by subscribing different sums for its establishment in different situations. Seven hundred pounds sterling were subscribed to fix it at New Haven; five hundred for its continuance at Saybrook; and less sums for its removal to other places. Still there was much difference of opinion among the trustees; nor was it till October, 1716, that they agreed to establish the college at New Haven. In 1714, Governor Yale had made it a present of forty volumes; and in 1716, he added three hundred more. Two years afterwards, he gave the trustees goods to the value of two hundred pounds sterling, prime cost; and a similar donation of one hundred pounds in 1721, induced them to call the institution after his name. In 1717, the number of students was thirty-one. A century after, it had increased nearly ten-fold.

CHAPTER II.

Paper Money in Massachusetts—Quarrel between the Governor and Representatives—Imports of the Indians—Deputation to the French—Peace—Attachments to the Charter—Renewal of the Dispute between the Executive and Legislature—Mr. Burnet's Instructions for a Fixed Salary—Adjournment of the Court—Mr. Burnet's Death—Mr. Belcher renews the Discussion—Association for issuing more bills of credit—Mr. Shirley—Adjustment of the Dispute between New York and New Jersey concerning Rivers—Controversy between New York and Canada—Progress of the Northern Colonies—The Parson's Cause in Virginia—Proceedings in Carolina—Settlement of Yamasee Territory—Paper Money—Disposition of the Province—Dissensions between the Governor and the Assembly—Dissolution of the Charter and Division of the Province—Settlement of Georgia—Mr. Oglethorpe—Quarrel with the Spaniards—Intellectual Attack upon St. Augustine—Abortive attempt upon Georgia.

The rise in exchange produced by imprudent issues of paper money in Massachusetts, was idly attributed to a decay in trade; and the colony was almost unanimously of opinion, that trade could only be revived, by an additional quantity of bank notes. A few saw the real evil, and were for calling in the bills that were already abroad; but it was determined by the great majority, that either by a private, or a public bank, the province should be supplied with more money, or rather, with more paper. The general court at length resolved to place bills for fifty thousand pounds in the hands of trustees; who were to lend them at five per cent interest, with a stipulation, that one-fifth of the principal should be repaid annually. Still trade would not improve. Mr. Shute, who had just succeeded Mr. Dudley, attributed the fact to a scarcity of money; and recommended, that some effectual measures should be taken to make it more abundant. The specific was therefore doubled. But an additional emission of one hundred thousand pounds so greatly depreciated the value of the currency, that the general court were, at last enabled to see the true cause of the difficulty: and the governor, too, when his salary came to be voted in the depreciated money, according to its nominal amount, began to be somewhat sceptical of his policy.

This was the small beginning of a long and rancorous quarrel between the governor and the general court. In 1719, it was now 1720, the former had incurred the censure of the ministry, by assenting to a bill for the imposition of duties upon English tonnage, and upon English manufactures: when a similar bill was sent up, this year, it was negatived in the council: a warm altercation ensued; and it was not till the next session, that the act passed without the offensive clauses. In the same session, the governor claimed the right of negativing a choice, which the house had made, of a speaker; and, when they refused to recognize the claim, he dissolved the court, and issued new writs of election. Nearly the same persons were re-elected; and the only effect of the measure, was, to make them still less disposed to accommodate Mr. Shute. They opposed him in every thing, whether it was right or wrong, insignificant or important. They neglected to vote him his salary, as was usual, at the beginning of the session; and not only postponed the business till the day of adjournment, but reduced the amount from six to five hundred pounds. The depredations of some eastern Indians made it necessary to call the represent-

atives together again, before the stated time. They immediately passed an act, which amounted to a declaration of war; and, when the governor accused them of usurping his prerogative, they docked off another hundred pounds from his salary. He laid before them instructions from the crown, to give him a fixed and adequate sum; they "desired the court might rise:" and it rose accordingly.

The governor opened the next assembly with recommending many wise measures; which were totally neglected by the court; and little else, indeed, was done, during the session, but to continue the emission of bank bills, and to drive the gold and silver from the country, by ordering that it should be passed at a higher rate than that which had been established by an act of parliament. The next general court very early appointed a committee to vindicate their predecessors from the aspersions of the governor. The committee justified the house; and their report was ordered to be printed. The court postponed the vote for the governor's salary; he laid by their list of appointments: they deputed a committee to inquire into the matter; he told them, he should take his own time for it; the house resolved, to make no grants or allowances; the governor made an angry speech; and the court was dissolved. A new legislature soon manifested the same temper with the old. In spite of the governor's protest, that the charter had placed the militia solely at his own disposal, they proceeded to make regulations for carrying on the Indian war; leaving his excellency no other power, than that of approving the measures, which might be adopted by a committee of their appointment. He embarked suddenly for England; and the representatives and council, though generally opposed on all other questions, were united in resolving to send after him instructions to their agent, to take the best measures for defending the interests of the colony against his representations.

These internal dissensions gave the Indians a good opportunity to make their inroads upon the frontiers. They were set on by the French in Canada; particularly by one father Ralle, a Jesuit missionary. Some troops were sent to capture this holy personage; but he received the intelligence in time to escape; and the party could only get possession of his papers; among which were letters of authorization from M. Vaudreuil the governor of Canada. War was now formally declared against the Indians; and, as it was abundantly evident that they were instigated by the French, a deputation was sent to M. Vaudreuil, in 1726, in order to remonstrate against a conduct so incompatible with the peace, which then subsisted between France and England. He first disclaimed all interference; but, when his letters to Ralle were produced, he could deny it no longer. He assured the deputation, that he would thenceforth exert himself to effectuate a peace; and a peace was accordingly soon after concluded at Boston.

Parliament, in the mean time, was condemning, question after question, the whole proceedings of the general court in the case of Mr. Shute. It was thought expedient to issue a new charter for "explaining" the old one, in the two points, which respected the powers of choosing a speaker, and of adjourning the court. The last was entirely "explained" away from the house; and the former was so modified, as to leave the governor his negative. Rather than have the whole subject again brought before parliament, which was the penalty of refusal, the general court concluded it was most advisable to adopt both of these alterations. Its attention was next turned to the loud complaints about the decay of trade and the scarcity of money. A bill passed both houses for issuing more notes; and when it was negatived by the lieutenant-governor, they agreed to postpone the consideration of salaries. The lieutenant had said, that his instructions would not let him assent to such bills, except they were for the charges of government; a bill for issuing sixty thousand pounds was, therefore, headed, "An act for defraying the necessary charges of government;" and the influence of an uncertain salary necessitated his excellency to give his assent.

Mr. William Burnet, the new governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had received express instructions from the king, to see that the general court settled upon him a fixed and certain salary. Soon after his arrival, the assembly voted seventeen hundred pounds for defraying the expenses of his voyage, and for supporting him in the discharge of his office. He said he could not assent to such a vote. They then voted, for the first purpose, three hundred pounds; which were accepted; and, for the last, fourteen hundred pounds; which were refused. The legislature asserted, that it was their privilege, as Englishmen, to raise and apply their own money; and, when the governor answered, that he would never accept such a grant as had been made, the council were for establishing a fixed salary,—but the representatives requested, that the court might rise. Mr. Burnet would not grant the request. It was again made; and again refused. The house then sent up a long message; in which they detailed their reasons for refusing to establish a fixed salary; and once more reiterated their wishes, that they "might not be kept sitting there," to the manifest prejudice of their constituents. The governor answered them promptly enough; but not at all to their satisfaction; and, after resolving to adhere to their old method of appropriating moneys, they drew up a statement of the controversy, and transmitted it to the several towns. Many spirited messages were exchanged in quick succession between his excellency and the house. The latter again repeated a request, that the court might rise: he told them they could not expect to have their own wishes gratified, when they paid so little attention to those of his majesty; and the altercation was waxing so high, that the council thought it best to interfere,—and to propose that some certain sum should be fixed upon, as a salary for the governor. The representatives voted three thousand pounds in their own money,—equal to about one thousand pounds sterling; but as the act contained no provision for the continuance of the same sum, Mr. Burnet refused his assent; and, apprehending, that the house was somewhat influenced by the people of Boston, who had unanimously voted against a fixed salary, he adjourned the court to the town of Salem. At Salem it met, on the 30th of October, 1728. The battle of messages recommenced as briskly as ever. The representatives appointed agents to plead their cause in England; the council would not concur in the act, because they had not been consulted; and the project must have failed for want of money, had not the people of Boston subscribed for the necessary sums. The agents soon transmitted a report of the board of trade; in which the conduct of the house was entirely disapproved. They were told, also, that, unless they fixed a salary, the parliament would;—"It is better," they answered, "that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves." Both parts of the administration went all this time without pay; for, as the representatives would vote no salaries, the governor would assent to no drafts upon the treasury. At length there was a recess between the 20th of December, 1728, and the 2d of April, 1729; when the court assembled at Salem; and, after several fruitless meetings, were adjourned to Cambridge. They met there, on the 21st of August; and, a few days after, Mr. Burnet died of a fever at Boston.

Mr. Belcher, his successor, came over, in the beginning of August, 1730, with a fresh packet of instructions, to insist upon a fixed salary. The king said it was the "last signification of the royal pleasure on this subject;" and he threatened to bring the whole history of the province before parliament, if it were not immediately complied with. The house voted one thousand pounds currency, to defray the charges of his excellency's voyage, and a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, to aid him in managing public affairs. The council added an amendment, to make the appropriation annual. The amendment was rejected. The council modified it, by confining the yearly allowance to the duration of Mr. Belcher's government. The representatives again refused their assent, and the resolution was dropped. The controversy continued for some time longer, but the governor was at length wearied out, and leave was in the end obtained of the king to let the legislature take its own way in the regulation of his salary.

The termination of this dispute was only the beginning of another. An unusual scarcity of money was complained of all over New England. The governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had been instructed to suffer the emission of no more bills in those colonies. Connecticut was employed in agriculture, and did not stand in need of much money. But the commerce of Rhode Island demanded an abundant circulating medium, and one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit were accordingly loaned to the inhabitants for twenty years. An association of merchants, in Boston, undertook to prevent the circulation of this money, by issuing, themselves, one hundred and ten thousand pounds of the same sort; but the bills of all the New England colonies soon became current; silver rose from nineteen to twenty-seven shillings the ounce, and the notes of the association entirely disappeared. Another company of eight hundred persons set on foot a plan for issuing one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in bills of credit, which should be lent on good security, at three per cent. interest, the principal, as in all these schemes, being redeemable by annual instalments of a certain per cent. The authors of the project began in season to secure the good opinion of the next general court, and so successful were they in the business, that the house was found to be chiefly composed of subscribers, and was for a long time distinguished by the name of the *Land Bank House*. Small traders, and small traders only, would accept the company's notes; but it continued to issue them without end, and the governor was finally obliged to petition parliament for an act to suppress the institution. Mr. Shirley superseded Mr. Belcher in 1740, and one of the first bills passed under his administration, declared that all contracts should be considered as payable in silver at six shillings and eight pence the ounce, or its equivalent in gold. Notes for so many ounces of silver were also issued, and made receivable in payment of debts, the debts being augmented as the notes should depreciate.

A long peace had enabled New York and New Jersey to adjust, in some measure, an unpleasant dispute about boundaries. It gave the former an opportunity, also, to take advantage of her geographical facilities for trading on the northern lakes, and in 1722, Mr. Burnet, the governor of that province and of New Jersey, greatly excited the jealousy of the French, by building a store-house at Oswego. M. Longueil, the governor of Canada, retaliated by launching two vessels on Lake Ontario, and sending materials to erect a trading-house, and to repair the fort at Niagara. The Seneca Indians were greatly incensed at this measure, and Mr. Burnet remonstrated against it; but M. Longueil proceeded to complete his fort, and the former could only get revenge by erecting, at his own expense, a like fort at Oswego. M. Beauharnois, the successor of M. Longueil, sent the commander a written summons to evacuate it. The summons was disregarded. He warmly remonstrated against the proceeding to Mr. Burnet. Mr. Burnet as warmly remonstrated against the proceeding at Niagara, and here the dispute ended for the present. It was not long afterward, that the French acquired the control over Lake Champlain, by seizing and fortifying Crown Point.

During the regency of the Duke d'Orleans, in France, and the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, in England, all the colonies to Virginia, inclusive, had little to distract their attention from their own private affairs, and could scarcely help becoming prosperous. Land was cheap, and subsistence easily obtained. Marriages, of course, were early and frequent, and population soon began to extend itself over the vacant parts of the country. Such a process is attended with no eclat, and perhaps there is nothing to relieve the monotony of a long and felicitous period, in the internal economy of the colonies, if we except the dispute in Virginia respecting ecclesiastical salaries.

In 1696, when the price of tobacco was sixteen shillings and eightpence per hundred, an act of the assembly, which was re-enacted and assented to by the king, in 1748, conferred upon each parish minister an annual stipend of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. In 1755, the crop was scanty, and the legislature, by another act, which was to continue in force ten months, and not to wait for the royal assent, provided that those who owed debts, in tobacco, might either pay them in the specific article or in money, at the rate of sixteen shillings and eight pence per hundred. Though the price was then from fifty to sixty shillings, the measure created no disturbance, and three years afterward, when it was surmised that the crop would again be short, the same expedient was resorted to. But the ministers now began to see its operation, and one of them, in a pamphlet, entitled *The Twopenny Act*, convinced the legislature that he understood precisely how they were defrauding his order of its just dues. He was attacked by two Colonels, whom he answered with *The Colonels Dismounted*, and the war of pamphlets soon grew so hot, that the printers of Virginia were afraid to continue it.

The subject was next taken up by the king in council, who declared that the act of 1758 was a mere usurpation, and could have no force. Backed by such authority, the ministers brought the question before a county court, and, after a formal argument, it was decided in their favor. By the laxity of practice, the subject was permitted to be once more discussed, and when all supposed that the first judgment could never be shaken, the unexpected eloquence of Mr. Patrick

Henry is said to have changed the opinion of the court. The clergy took their revenge in an angry pamphlet; and here the controversy seems to have terminated.

Carolina, in the mean time, was rapidly undergoing a revolution of government. In 1715, the colony had incurred considerable expenses, in a war with about six thousand Yamassee, Creek, and Apalachian Indians, who were met at a place called the Salt Catchers, by twelve hundred men, and so completely routed, that they were obliged to make a new settlement in Florida. The proprietors not only ordered the reduction of the paper money, which the assembly saw fit to issue, on account of this expedition, but when applied to for assistance by the agents of the colony, they declared their inability to protect it, unless his majesty would interpose. The assembly had also undertaken to make a barrier against the Indians, by offering the Yamassee territory to all persons who would come over and settle in it. Five hundred Irishmen accepted the offer, and had actually taken up the ground, when the proprietors ordered the law to be repealed, and the lands to be laid out in baronies for themselves. It had been the custom to elect all the representatives of the colony, in the single town of Charleston. The increase of population now rendered the practice extremely inconvenient; and the legislature had enacted, that for the future, each parish should assemble in its own church, and choose its own representatives. The proprietors ordered the act to be repealed; and Governor Johnson, son of the former governor of that name, had to use all his influence to keep the colonists from breaking into open rebellion, at this wanton and outrageous proceeding. But they were compelled to bear yet more insults. Some expeditions against a band of pirates, who had long infested the coast, necessitated the assembly, as they imagined, to issue another quantity of paper money; and the governor carried an additional bill for redeeming it in three years, by a tax upon land and negroes. But the tax was oppressive to the planters; and they had influence enough to obtain another act, for the emission of more bills. As soon as the proprietors heard of these transactions, they sent the governor instructions to approve of no legislative measures, until it had been laid before *them*. Another order soon after followed, to take off a duty which the colony had laid, of five per cent. on British manufactures; and as if these outrages were not sufficient, they deemed it meet to show another instance of their despotism, by giving an arrogant and abusive answer to a memorial, which the assembly had presented, against their right to revoke the laws of the province.

The rupture between Spain and Great Britain in 1719, afforded fresh opportunities for the prosecution of this dispute. The rumor of an expedition, fitting out at Havanna, for the invasion of South Carolina, induced Governor Johnson to attempt the reparation of the forts in the harbor of Charleston, by the voluntary aid of the inhabitants. A subscription was set on foot; and he placed a liberal sum opposite to his own name. The assembly disapproved of the measure; or rather asserted that the receipts from the duties would render it unnecessary. The governor wanted to know if the duties had not been taken off? They told him they intended to pay no attention to the repeals, which they had been forced to make. A warm altercation followed; and though nothing decisive took place, the representatives seem to have formed a determination to rid themselves of the proprietary government. Private meetings were held, to concert measures of resistance. The militia unanimously subscribed an instrument of association; and the people engaged to stand by each other, in the assertion of their rights and privileges. At the first meeting of the new assembly, all former repeals were repealed: the proprietors were declared to have forfeited their rights of government; and the honourable Robert Johnson was desired to accept the office of governor in the name of the king. A message from himself and the council requested a conference with the house; they would receive no message "from the governor, in concert with the gentlemen he was pleased to call his council." He sent them an expostulatory speech; they would take notice of no "paper, sent by the governor in conjuction with the gentlemen" he called his council; and they informed him, in a second address, that they intended to cast off the proprietary government, and to obey him no longer, unless he would consent to exercise his office, as vicegerent of the king. He proclaimed the dissolution of the assembly, and retired into the country. The proclamation was torn from the officer's hands; Colonel John Moore was elected chief magistrate; and the assembly agreed to inaugurate him, on the very day, which Mr. Johnson had set apart for the review of the militia. He had the review postponed; but, when he came to Charleston, on the appointed day, he found the militia paraded in the public square, in order to celebrate the proclamation of Mr. Moore. All his efforts to stop the proceedings were ineffectual. The assembly proclaimed their own governor; chose their own council; and went deliberately about the transaction of public affairs. The province was on their side; and their power was soon after corroborated and fixed, by the vigorous preparations, which they made to repel a contemplated attack from Havanna. Their agent in England obtained a decision in the council, that the proprietors had forfeited their charter; a *scire facias* issued against it: the proprietors surrendered their interests; and Mr. Francis Nicholson was soon after welcomed to the colony, as governor under the king. The security, which the province felt in the protection of the crown, was greatly increased by a treaty, which was soon after concluded with the Cherokee Indians. Security made the colonists industrious; and industry soon raised them sufficiently above their former circumstances, to arrest the depreciation of their paper currency; which had fallen about eighty-six per cent. below par. Increase of wealth made boundaries a matter of importance; and, in 1732, the province found it convenient to divide itself into North and South Carolina.

About the same time, the territory of Georgia was granted to twenty-one trustees, for the purpose of being parcelled out to such of the English poor as would consent to be carried over the Atlantic; and, early in 1733, Mr. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, arrived at Charleston with one hundred and sixty. He proceeded, soon afterwards, to the intended place of settlement; erected a small fort on the scite of Savanna; and obtained a cession of lands from the Creek tribe of Indians. The first company was followed by several others;—but the progress of the colony was greatly obstructed, by an attempt to put it under a feudal system. The lands were to be held in tail-mail by the tenure of knight-service; and to revert to the trustees, either if the male issue should become extinct,—or if the grounds were not enclosed and cultivated within eighteen years. To complete the policy, the importation of rum and of negroes was prohibited; and all commerce with the Indians was restricted to those, who could obtain a license. The natural consequences soon followed. A great many of the settlers emigrated to Carolina; where they could hold lands in fee simple; could trade freely with the West Indies; and be permitted to employ negro slaves in the cultivation of their lands. Those who staid behind, were perpetually complaining of their fetters: and, though Mr. Oglethorpe erected a battery, to command the mouth of the Savanna, and built forts at Augusta and Frederica, the colony needed civil privileges more than military defences, and their general concerns were soon in a ruinous condition. Under a different system, Carolina was so prosperous as to double her exports in ten years; while it was with the greatest difficulty, that the inhabitants of Georgia obtained a scanty subsistence.

When England and Spain began to prepare for war, in 1737, a British regiment of six hundred men was sent into Carolina; and Mr. Oglethorpe was appointed major-general of that province and of Georgia. The Spaniards fortified East Florida; and made a vain attempt to gain over the Indians, who were in alliance with the English. They succeeded better with the slaves; of whom enough were seduced to form a distinct regiment by themselves. Nor did the evil stop here. A large number of negroes assembled at Stono; forced open a warehouse of arms and ammunition; murdered all the white men whom they met; and compelled the black, willing or unwilling, to come under their standard. But it was a brief triumph. After the first impulse of rage was exhausted, the insurgents halted in an open field; and began their usual pastime of dancing. There happened to be a religious meeting in the neighborhood; and the congregation, armed as usual set upon the thoughtless rabble; killed great numbers on the spot; and so frightened the rest, that they never afterwards dreamed of insurrection. There were now about forty thousand slaves in Carolina; and the occurrence just mentioned had the good effect of making the colonists keep vigilant watch over their conduct, during the approach of the war between England and Spain.

When it actually broke out, in 1739, Admiral Vernon was detached to the West Indies, and General Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the Floridas. He immediately communicated his instructions to the assembly of South Carolina; they voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the service; a regiment of four hundred men was raised in Virginia and the Carolinas; a body of Indians enlisted; and Post-Captain Price promised his co-operation with four twenty-gun ships and two sloops of war. On the 9th of May, 1740, the general entered Florida, with four hundred men and a party of Indians from his own province. He was joined, at the mouth of St. John's River, by the Virginia and Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders; and was enabled, shortly after, to appear before St. Augustine, with about two thousand effective men. A reconnoitre of the place induced him to abandon his original design of taking it by storm. A regular investment was determined upon; and the troops were disposed in the most advantageous positions for beginning the approaches. The general himself undertook to bombard the town from the Island of Anastatia; but a few shots convinced him that a breach, at so great a distance, was impracticable. It was next resolved to attack the six half gallies then in the harbor, by one of the twenty-gun ships; but the bar was found to be so shallow that she could not get over it. In the mean time the Spaniards had received supplies and reinforcements; and a party of the besiegers was surprised and cut in pieces. Other misfortunes followed in quick succession. Captain Price withdrew his ships; the dispirited troops began to desert in large bodies; and General Oglethorpe was, at length, reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise. The colonies attributed the failure to the general; and the general laid it to the charge of the army. We think neither was to blame. The force was too small at the outset; and, before a part of it reached the place of rendezvous, the arrival of supplies had greatly and unexpectedly increased the strength of the enemy.

But, at any rate, the expenses entailed by the expedition, joined to the still greater calamity of seeing their capital reduced to ashes, determined the people of Carolina to raise no forces in future, except for their own defence; and, when an expedition of thirty ships and three thousand men sailed against Georgia, in 1742, they imagined it would not be for their own defence, to aid General Oglethorpe in preventing the enemy from getting possession of a province, which was so effectual a barrier to their own. About the end of June the enemy anchored off Simon's Bar; and General Oglethorpe found he had to oppose him with only seven hundred men,—consisting of the regiment he led against St. Augustine, and of a few Highlanders, rangers, and Indians. But the thickets and morasses of the country stood him in the place of many soldiers; and, retiring to Frederica, he resolved to act, as long as he could, upon the defensive. By an English prisoner, who had escaped from the Spaniards, he learned that the troops from Cuba, and those from St. Augustine, agreed so ill with each other, that they had taken up their encampments apart. One of these, the general thought he might venture to attack. He selected the flower of his little army; and, under the cover of the night, marched unobserved within two miles of the lines. The main body was halted; while he went forward, with a small party, to reconnoitre the encampment. He had, with great circumspection, approached very near it; when the whole enterprise was supposed to be defeated, by the treachery of a French soldier, who fired his musket, and ran over to the enemy. General Oglethorpe wrote a letter to the deserter; requesting him to tell the Spaniards how defenceless Frederica was; to urge an immediate attack; or, at any rate, to persuade them to remain at Simon's Fort three days longer; when his expected reinforcement of two thousand men and six ships of war would arrive. He particularly cautioned him against dropping even a hint about the contemplated attack of Admiral Vernon upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner, who had been taken in a skirmish, was bribed to deliver the letter into the deserter's own hands: but he, of course, delivered it into the hands of General Don Antonio Di Radondo. The latter was, at first, not a little perplexed, whether to consider it as a mere stratagem, or as a real and serious letter of instruction; but the appearance of some ships, which had been despatched with supplies by the assembly of South Carolina, appeared to put the seriousness of the paper beyond all doubt. The panic-struck army set fire to the fort, and hurried on board of their vessels; and thus a circumstance, which, at first, seemed to threaten the certain conquest of the province, served, in the hands of a skilful commander, as perhaps the only means of its preservation.

CHAPTER III.

War between France and England and their Colonies—Preparation for an Attack upon Louisbourg—The Attack—Surrender—D'Anville's Expedition—Abortive Attempt upon Nova Scotia—Upon Crown Point—Peace—Paper Money in Massachusetts—Discovery of Louisiana and Foundation of New Orleans—Situation of the English and French Colonies—Origin of the Rupture between them—Colonel Washington's Embassy—Project of *Union*—Plan of the first campaign—Capture of Nova Scotia—General Braddock's Defeat—Expedition against Crown Point—That against Niagara—Second Campaign—Capture of Oswego—Third Campaign—Disputes between Lord Loudon and Massachusetts—Fourth Campaign—Second Capture of Louisbourg—Unsuccessful attack upon Ticonderoga—Capture of Fort Frontignac—Of Du Quesne—Fifth Campaign—Capture of Quebec—Death of Wolfe—Attempt to retake Quebec—Surrender of New France—General Peace.

While France and England were engaged in actual war, under the pretence of supporting respectively the queen of Hungary and the elector of Bavaria, the colonies of the two nations preserved a sort of hostile peace; but as soon as the news reached Cape Breton, that the controversy had become open and avowed in Europe, Duvivier attacked and took the English fishing settlement at Canseau; and soon after made a similar, though unsuccessful, attempt, upon Annapolis. Governor Shirley immediately formed the design of taking Cape Breton. It was well situated for annoying the English Fisheries; and thirty millions of francs employed upon its fortifications, had made it the "Dunkirk of America." The governor requested the secrecy of the court, upon a project, which he was about to communicate. They readily promised it; and he surprised them with the proposal of sending four hundred men to take Louisbourg by storm. They condemned the undertaking as vastly too hazardous and expensive: but, unfortunately, or, perhaps, fortunately, one of the members happened to pray for blessings upon it, in the family devotions at his lodgings. The plan was soon known, all over Massachusetts; the people were generally in favour of it; and an influx of petitions, from every quarter induced the council to change their determination. They invited the co-operation of all the colonies as far as Pennsylvania; but none, except those of New England would furnish their quotas of troops. There was no military character of note in the country; and the command of the expedition was given to one Colonel Pepperel; who had little other qualification than that of being a rich merchant and a popular man. A general embargo was laid: more bills of credit were issued, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the crown "a variety of advice, (says Mr. Belknap,) was given from all quarters:" private property was impressed, and, by the 4th of April, 1745, three thousand two hundred and fifty troops from Massachusetts arrived safely at Canseau. The quota of three hundred and four, from New Hampshire, had landed four days before; that of five hundred and sixteen, from Connecticut, came in on the 25th of the same month; but the troops from Rhode Island did not arrive in time to be of any service to the expedition.

Governor Shirley had written to England for assistance, some time before the disclosure of his project to the general court; and a detachment from Admiral Warren's fleet in the West Indies, appeared off Canseau, the day before the arrival of the Massachusetts troops: the admiral himself soon followed, in the Superb, of sixty guns; and, every thing being now ready, the land forces embarked for Chapeaurouge; while the fleet, (in all, about one hundred sail,) manœuvred before Louisbourg. The landing was effected with little difficulty; and, in the course of the ensuing night, a party of four hundred men marched around to the northeast part of the harbour, and set fire to some warehouses of spirituous liquors and naval stores. The smoke was blown directly into the grand battery; and it did such signal execution, that, when thirteen of the party were returning, next day, they saw, with surprise and joy, that the flagstaff was bare, and the chimnies without smoke. An Indian was hired, for a bottle of rum, to crawl in at an embrasure, and open the gate; and, though a detachment of the enemy was then coming to retake the fort, the thirteen retained possession, till the arrival of a reinforcement from the main body.

Fourteen nights were the troops engaged in drawing the cannon over a morass to the place of encampment, a distance of about two miles; and, when the account of the expedition was sent to England, they were not a little indignant at seeing no mention of their having worked like oxen, with straps over their shoulders, and up to their knees in mud. As this expedition had been planned by a lawyer, and was to be executed by a merchant, at the head of husbandmen and mechanics, any thing like a regular siege was not to have been expected. The soldiers laughed at such words as *zig zag*, and *epaulement;* and thought, the most eligible mode of approaching was that of a straight line. In execution of this new principle of tactics, 400 men assaulted the island battery; were repulsed; and many of them taken prisoners. They all concurred in representing the besiegers as much more numerous than they were; though all was frolic in the rear of the army, the front did, indeed, look formidable; and the impression made by these reports and appearances, together with the intelligence, which was conveyed into town, that the supply ship, the Vigilant, of sixty-four guns, had been taken, induced Duchambon, the governor, to tender a capitulation. This was the only advantage gained over France, during the whole war; and, when accounts of it reached England, the crown made baronets of Pepperel and Shirley, and the parliament readily undertook to defray the expenses.

France and England now mutually resolved to make a complete conquest of each other's possessions in America; and, in the spring of 1746, circular letters were sent to the English colonies as far as Virginia, to have in readiness as many troops as each might be able to spare. The plan of the campaign, was, to sail against Quebec, with some ships of war and the New England troops; while those of the other colonies should be collected at Albany, and march against Crown Point and Montreal. The ships of war made seven vain attempts to leave England, and the first part of the scheme was necessarily abandoned. The colonists were diverted from the last, by a threatened attack of the enemy upon Annapolis; and, before they could despatch troops for the protection of that place, New England, in particular, was greatly alarmed by the intelligence, that a formidable armament, under the Duke D'Anville, had arrived in Nova Scotia. Every effort was made to put the country in a state of defence. The militia were joined to the troops already raised; and, for six weeks, all stood in hourly expectation of an attack; when some English prisoners, who had been set at liberty, brought the welcome news, that the French soldiers were in too much distress themselves to think of distressing others. The armament originally consisted of about forty ships of war, and about fifty-six transports; carrying 3000 troops, and 40,000 muskets for the Canadians and Indians. Many ships were lost and wrecked on the voyage; and a sweeping mortality prevailed on board of those, which had reached the place of destination. To increase their calamities, they learned, by an intercepted letter from Governor Shirley to the commander at Louisbourg, that their own squadron would probably be followed by an English fleet. The admiral shortly died: the vice-admiral killed himself: and, when M. Le Jonquiere undertook to lead the fleet against Annapolis, a violent storm dispersed the ships; and those, that did not suffer wreck, returned singly to France.

Governor Shirley now resumed the project of dislodging the French and Indians from Nova Scotia. The troops of Rhode Island and New Hampshire were prevented from joining the expedition; and the enemy was not only more numerous than those of Massachusetts, but had the advantage of being provided with snow-shoes. The English were beaten at Minas; and promised not to bear arms for one year, against the French in Nova Scotia. Governor Shirley next directed his attention to Crown Point. Massachusetts and New York engaged to furnish their quotas of troops: the winter was no obstacle to the governor's enthusiasm; and the enterprise was only prevented by the discreet resolution of Connecticut, to withhold her co-operation. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded in October, 1748; and New England deemed it but a poor return for the expenses which she had incurred, that an article of *status ante bellum* compelled her to relinquish Louisbourg. Massachusetts, in particular, had issued immense quantities of paper-money. Was there a call upon the treasury. Bills of credit must answer it. Was trade decaying? It could only be revived by bills of credit. Was there any disorder in the internal economy of the province? Bills of credit were the only remedy. And bills of credit were issued in such quantities, that they had sunk to *eleven* for *one;* when the arrival of the specie, which parliament had promised, was the means not only of staying the depreciation, but of destroying paper-money altogether. After some opposition, the general court passed an act for redeeming bills of credit, at their real value, or, in other words, for silver at fifty shillings the ounce. Not an evil, which had been predicted, was seen to attend the measure; and, on the contrary, it is said to have given commerce a very perceptible impulse for the better.

As the importance of America was daily increasing in the eyes of Europe, the question of boundaries between the colonies of different nations began to be discussed more frequently and in greater earnest. Spain had pretensions to the whole of Georgia; and England laid claim to a part of Florida. By the treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was, indeed, ceded to the English; but there was still room enough for controversy, in determining what were the boundaries of that country. The French asserted, that its eastern line was the Kennebec; the English made it embrace the whole territory south of the St. Lawrence; and the commissioners appointed by the two nations, under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were equally laborious and equally obstinate in maintaining their respective claims. Nor was this the only conflict. As if these two nations were fated to cross each other's path, in every thing, while the English colonies were advancing indefinitely from east to west, the French began to extend their own settlements transversely from north to south. In 1673, they explored the Mississippi as far as the 33d degree of north latitude; and some time afterwards, its mouth was discovered by one La Salle, a Norman, who subsequently obtained the patronage of the French court, in an attempt to make a settlement on its banks. He set sail with a few followers, in four small vessels; arrived 100 leagues west of the river; was soon assassinated by his own men; and they, in turn, were murdered, or dispersed, by the Spanish and Indians. Several other expeditions were undertaken, for the same purpose, but none were fortunate enough to land at the wished for place; and it was not till 1722, that a joint removal of these scattered settlements to New Orleans laid the foundation of a flourishing colony. The country was called Louisiana; and, as settlements now began to extend up the Mississippi, a plan was formed to unite them with Canada, by a concatenation of forts. England claimed the country to the South Sea: France was resolved to bound her by the Alleghany mountains; and, as usual, the controversy soon ended in a reciprocal determination of fighting it out.

There was a great disparity of numbers between the French and English colonies. Nova Scotia contained five thousand inhabitants; New Hampshire, thirty thousand; Massachusetts, two hundred and twenty thousand; Rhode Island, thirty five thousand: Connecticut, one hundred thousand: New York, one hundred thousand: the Jerseys, sixty thousand: Pennsylvania, including Delaware, two hundred and fifty thousand: Maryland, eighty-five thousand: Virginia, eighty-five thousand: the

Carolinas, seventy-five thousand: Georgia, six thousand:—in all, one million fifty-one thousand. Canada contained but forty-five thousand: Louisiana, but seven thousand:—total, fifty-two thousand. To compensate in part for this numerical inferiority, the French had the advantage of being guided by one and the same hand; whereas the English were divided into separate clans, and unaccustomed to act in concert. All the Indians, except the Five Nations, were on the side of France; and, what was of still greater service to her cause, the governors of Canada had all been military men; had employed the inhabitants in erecting fortifications to command Lake Champlain, and the River St. Lawrence; and were now proceeding to complete the chain, by extending the links along the other western lakes, and down the Mississippi.

The circumstance, which served to open the quarrel, was the alleged intrusion of the *Ohio Company;* an association of influential men from England and Virginia, who had obtained a grant of 600,000 acres of land, in order to drive a fur trade with the Indians. The governor of Canada wrote to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, that, unless these intruders were removed from the territory of his most Christian majesty, he should be under the necessity of seizing them. The threat was disregarded; and the traders were seized. A communication was immediately opened along French Creek and Alleghany River, between the Ohio and Fort Presqu'Ile; and troops stationed at convenient distances, were secured, by temporary works, against any attack of small arms. The Ohio company made loud complaints: Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie laid the subject before the assembly of Virginia; and despatched Major Washington, with a letter to the French commander; in which he was required to quit the dominions of his Britannic majesty. M. Legardeur de St. Pierre transmitted the letter to the governor of Canada; whose orders, he said, he should implicitly follow. Early in the spring of 1755, Major Washington, on the death of his colonel, took the command of a regiment, raised in Virginia, for the protection of the frontiers. He defeated a party of French and Indians, under Dijonville; and was proceeding to occupy the post, at the fork of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, when he was met, at the Little Meadows, by a superior force; and, after a gallant defence, was compelled to surrender. The French had already erected the strong fort of Du Quesne, on the ground of which he had intended to take possession.

The provincial governors received orders from the secretary of state, to repel force by force; and, if practicable, to form a *Union* among the several colonies. Delegates had already been appointed to meet at Albany, for the purpose of conferring with the Five Nations: and Governor Shirley recommended, that the subject of union should, also, be discussed at the convention. The commissioners from Massachusetts had ample powers to cooperate in the formation of a plan: those from Maryland were instructed to observe what others did; and those from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, had no instructions at all on the subject. As soon, however, as the friendship of the Indians was thought to be secured by a distribution of presents, the delegates appointed a committee, to devise some scheme for the proposed confederation; and the committee recommended the adoption of a government analagous to that of the individual colonies. There was to be a grand council, composed of deputies from the several provinces,—and a president-general, appointed by the crown, with the power of negativing the acts of the council. The Connecticut delegates alone dissented from this plan; because, as they said, it put too much power into the hands of the crown. It was rejected in England for the very opposite reason; and, in lieu of it, the minister proposed, that the several governors, with one or two of their counsellors, should meet and adopt such measures as the common safety might demand. But this scheme was defeated by a provision, that they might draw upon the British treasury for all necessary sums: which parliament would undertake to repay, by imposing a general tax upon the colonies. It was now resolved, therefore, to carry on the war with British troops; and leave the provincial legislatures to supply such reinforcements as each was willing or able to afford.

Early in 1755, General Braddock set sail from England, with a respectable body of troops; and about the same time, Admiral Boscawen was despatched to this country, in order to intercept a French armament, which was then fitting out for Canada. The provincial governors met General Braddock, in Virginia, on the 14th of April; and it was resolved to divide the campaign into three separate expeditions;—the first against Du Quesne, with the British, Virginia, and Maryland forces, under General Braddock;—the second against Fort Frontignac, with the Massachusetts regulars, under Governor Shirley,—the third against Crown Point, with New England and New-York troops, under General William Johnson, one of the New York council. Massachusetts, in the mean time, undertook, singly, to drive the French from Nova Scotia; and, on the 20th of May, three thousand troops were despatched for the purpose, under Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow. They arrived at Annapolis Royal, on the 28th; anchored, soon after, before Fort Lawrence, in Chenecto, with a fleet of forty sail: and, being joined by three hundred British troops, with some artillery, marched immediately against Beau Sejour. A block house, with a few cannon, and a breast-work, with a few troops behind it, opposed the passage of the Mussaguash; which, according to the French, was the western limit of Nova Scotia. The passage was forced, with the loss of one man; and entrenchments were immediately opened before Beau Sejour. The garrison surrendered on the fifth day: Fort Gaspereau soon followed the example; the appearance of three twenty-gun ships induced the enemy to set fire to his works at St. Johns; and thus, in the single month of June, with the loss of but three men, the English gained possession of Nova Scotia, according to their own definition of the term.

As soon as the convention of governors was dissolved, General Braddock proceeded to the post at Well's Creek, whence the army commenced its march about the middle of June. Their progress was very much retarded by the necessity of cutting a road; and, lest the enemy should have time to collect in great force, the general concluded to set forward with 1200 select men, while Colonel Dunbar should follow slowly in the rear, with the main body and the heavy baggage. Colonel Washington's regiment had been split into separate companies, and he had only joined the army as aid to the general. The roughness of the country prevented the advanced corps from reaching the Monongahela till the 8th of July. It was resolved to attack Du Quesne the very next day; and lieutenant-colonel Gage was sent in front with three hundred British regulars, while the general himself followed at some distance with the main body. He had been strongly cautioned by Colonel Washington to provide against an ambuscade, by sending forward some provincial companies to scour the woods; but he held the provincials and the enemy in equal contempt. The Monongahela was crossed the second time, about seven miles from Du Quesne; and the army was pressing forward in an open wood, through high and thick grass, when the front was suddenly thrown into disorder by a volley from small arms. The main body was formed three deep, and brought to its support: the commander-in-chief of the enemy fell; and a cessation of the fire led General Braddock to suppose that the assailants had fled; but he was soon attacked with redoubled fury. Concealed behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire; officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivors knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion; but the general, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat; and instead of withdrawing them beyond the reach of the enemy's muskets, where their ranks might easily have been formed anew, undertook to rally them on the very ground of attack, and in the midst of a most incessant and deadly fire. He persisted in these efforts until three horses had been shot under him, and every one of his officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded. The general at length fell, and the rout became universal.* The troops fled precipitately until they met the division under Dunbar, then forty miles in the rear. Sixty-four officers out of eighty-five, and about half of the privates were killed or wounded. General Braddock died in Dunbar's camp; and the whole army, which appears to have been panic struck, marched back to Philadelphia. The provincial troops, whom Braddock had so lightly esteemed, displayed during the battle the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians, and covered the retreat; and had they at first been permitted to engage the enemy in their own way, they would easily have defeated them.

The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, did not either of them succeed in attaining the object proposed. In that against Crown Point much delay was occasioned by the distracted councils of so many different governments; and it was not till the last of August, that General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. Meanwhile the French squadron had eluded Admiral Boscawen; and, as soon as it arrived at Quebec, Baron Dieskau, the commander, resolved to march against Oswego, with his own twelve hundred regulars, and about six hundred Canadians and Indians. The news of General Johnson's movement determined Dieskau to change his plan, and to lead his forces directly against the American camp. General Johnson called for reinforcements: eight hundred troops, raised as a corps of reserve by Massachusetts, were immediately ordered to his assistance: and the same colony undertook to raise an additional number of two thousand men. Colonel Williams was sent forward with one thousand men to amuse and reconnoitre the enemy. He met them four miles from the camp, offered battle, and was defeated.† Another detachment shared the same fate; and the French were now within one hundred and fifty yards of the camp, when a halt for a short time enabled the Americans to recover their alarm, and to

* Braddock was mortally wounded, and taken on sashes, at first, from the field, and then a litter was made for him, on which he was carried forty miles from the battle ground, where he expired on the evening of the fourth day after his defeat. Seven hundred of his men were killed, among whom were William Shirley, of the staff, and Colonel Sir Peter Halket. Among the wounded, were Robert Orme, Roger Morris, Sir John St. Clair and several others of the staff, and Lieutenant-Colonels Button and Gage. Braddock was a brave and excellent officer. His mistake was in not studying the character of the enemy. Franklin advised him to proceed with the utmost caution; but the proud general thought the adviser was a much better philosopher than soldier.

† Hendrick, a Mohawk chief, was killed in this battle. He was the son of a Mohegan chief, by a Mohawk woman. He married into a Mohawk family, and became distinguished among the six nations. His fame extended to Massachusetts, for the commissioners, in 1751, consulted him on the great question of instructing certain youths of his nation. He was friendly to the English; and in this battle with Dieskau, he commanded three hundred Mohawks. He was grave and sententious in council, and brave in fight. Some of his aphorisms are as wise as those of Solon. When it was proposed to send a detachment to meet the enemy, and the number being mentioned, he replied: "If they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." When it was proposed to send out the detachment in three parties, Hendrick took three sticks, and said, "Put them together, and you cannot break them; take them one by one, and you will break them easily." They followed the advice of the old warrior in this; and had they regarded the precautions he suggested, in scouring the field by a flank guard, Williams would not have fallen into the ambuscade. Hendrick is remembered among the friends of white men, who now and then have been found in the different ages of our history, among Indians.

make good use of their artillery through the fallen trees, behind which they were posted. Dieskau advanced to the charge; but he was so firmly received, that the Indians and militia gave way and fled: he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars; and, in the ardent pursuit which ensued, he was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner.* A scouting party had, in the mean time, taken the enemy's baggage; and when the retreating army came up, they attacked it so successfully from behind the trees, that the panic-struck soldiers dropped all their accoutrements, and fled in the utmost confusion for their posts on the lakes.† This victory revived the spirits of the colonists, depressed by the recent defeat of General Braddock, but the success was not improved in any proportion to their expectation. General Shirley, now the commander in chief, urged an attempt on Ticonderoga; but a council of war judging it unadvisable, Johnson employed the remainder of the campaign in fortifying his camp. On a meeting of Commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut, with the governor and council of New-York, in October, it was unanimously agreed, that the army under General Johnson should be discharged, excepting six hundred men, who should be engaged to garrison Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. The French still retained possession of Ticonderoga, and fortified it.

General Shirley,‡ who was to conduct the expedition against Niagara and Fort Frontignac, experienced such delays, that he did not reach Oswego until the 21st of August. On his arrival, he made all necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara; but, through the desertion of batteaumen, the scarcity of wagons on the Mohawk river, and the desertion of sledgemen at the great carrying place, the conveyance of provisions and stores was so much retarded, that nearly four weeks elapsed before he could commence any further operations; and from a continued succession of adverse circumstances, in a council of war called on the 26th of September, it was unanimously resolved to defer the expedition to the succeeding year; to leave Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and to build two additional forts for the security of the place; while the general should return with the rest of the army to Albany. Thus ended the campaign of 1755: it opened with the brightest prospects; immense preparations had been made, yet not one of the objects of the three principal expeditions had been attained; and by this failure the whole frontier was exposed to the ravages of the Indians, which were accompanied by their usual acts of barbarity.

The colonies, however, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions. General Shirley, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations had been confided, assembled a council of war at New-York to concert a plan for the ensuing year. The plan adopted by the council embraced expeditions against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and the despatching a body of troops by the way of the rivers Kennebeck and Chaudiere, to create alarm for the safety of Quebec. Major-General Winslow* was appointed to lead the expedition against Crown Point. He was a popular officer, and the colonists felt a deep interest in the expedition; but, for want of an established financial system, (their only taxes were upon lands and polls,) the requisite funds were raised with difficulty, and the recruiting service made very slow progress. Only seven thousand men assembled at the posts on Lake George. General Winslow declared, that, without more forces, he could not undertake the expedition; and it would probably have been abandoned, had he not been reinforced by the timely arrival of some British troops. They came over with General Abercrombie, who had superseded General Shirley, and who soon after gave place to the Earl of Loudon. These changes produced some unpleasant contests for priority of rank. General Winslow asserted frankly, that the provincials would never be commanded by British officers; and the Earl of Loudon seriously propounded the question, whether the colonial troops, with his majesty's arms in their hands, would refuse obedience to his majesty's commanders? He was answered in the affirmative; and when he understood that the New England troops in particular, had enlisted under the condition of being led by their own officers, he agreed to let those troops act separately.

While the English were adjusting these differences, and debating whether it would be expedient to attack Fort Niagara, or Fort Du Quesne, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, marched against Oswego with about five thousand French, Canadians, and Indians. His artillery played with such effect upon the fort, that it was soon declared untenable; and to avoid an assault, the garrison, who were sixteen hundred in number, and had stores for five months, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The fort had been an object of considerable jealousy to the Five Nations; and Montcalm made a wise use of his conquest by demolishing it in their presence. The English and American army was now thrown upon the defensive. Instead of attacking Ticonderoga, General Winslow was ordered to fortify his own camp: Major-General Webb, with fourteen hundred regulars, took post near Wood Creek; and Sir William Johnson, with one thousand militia, was stationed at the German Flats. The colonists were now called upon for reinforcements; and, as parliament had distributed among them one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds for the last year's expenses, they were enabled to answer the call with perhaps more promptitude than was anticipated. The recruits were on their way to the camp, when intelligence of the small-pox at Albany frightened them home again. The other provincials were equally alarmed; and all, except a New York regiment, were dismissed. Thus terminated the second campaign. The expedition up the Kennebeck had been abandoned; that against Niagara was not commenced; and not even a preparation had been made for that against Du Quesne.

At the commencement of the following year council was held at Boston, composed of Lord Loudon, and the governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia. At this council his lordship proposed that New England should raise four thousand men for the ensuing campaign; and that a proportionate number should be raised by New York and New Jersey. These requisitions were complied with; and in the spring his lordship found himself at the head of a very considerable army. Admiral Holbourn arriving in the beginning of July at Halifax with a powerful squadron, and a reinforcement of five thousand British troops, under George Viscount Howe, Lord Loudon sailed from New York with six thousand regulars, to join those troops at the place of their arrival. Instead of the complex operations undertaken in previous campaigns, his lordship limited his plan to a single object. Leaving the posts on the lakes strongly garrisoned, he resolved to direct his whole disposable force against Louisbourg; Halifax having been determined on as the place of rendezvous for the fleet and army destined for the expedition. Information was, however, soon received, that a French fleet had lately sailed from Brest; that Louisbourg was garrisoned by six thousand regulars, exclusive of provincials; and that it was also defended by seventeen line of battle ships, which were moored in the harbour. There being no hope of success against so formidable a force, the enterprise was deferred to the next year; the general and admiral on the last of August proceeded to New York; and the provincials were dismissed.

The Marquis de Montcalm, availing himself of the absence of the principal part of the British force, advanced with an army of nine thousand men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry. The garrison at this fort consisted of between two and three thousand regulars, and its fortifications were strong* and in very good order; and for the additional security of this important post, General Webb was stationed at Fort Edward with an army of four thousand men. The French commander, however, urged his approaches with such vigour, that within six days after the investment of the fort, Colonel Monro, the commandant, having in vain solicited succour from General Webb, found it necessary to surrender by capitulation. The garrison was to be allowed the honours of war, and to be protected against the Indians until within the reach of Fort Edward; but the next morning, a great number of Indians having been permitted to enter the lines, began to plunder; and meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and wounded whom they immediately massacred. Their appetite for carnage being excited, the defenceless troops were attacked with fiend-like fury. Munro in vain implored Montcalm to provide the stipulated guard, and the massacre proceeded. All was turbulence and horror. On every side savages were butcher-

* John Harmand Dieskau, baron, was a lieutenant-general in the French army. In 1755, he left Montreal with twelve hundred regulars, and six hundred Canadians and Indians. General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of Lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. Baron Dieskau, hearing of this movement of General Johnson, instead of proceeding to Albany, as was his original intention, resolved to attack the American camp. A reinforcement of eight hundred troops was sent to General Johnson's assistance; and Colonel Williams, with one thousand men, was ordered to reconnoitre the enemy. He met the enemy but was defeated, and left among the slain. The loss of the French was also considerable; M. St. Pierre, commander of the Indians, was mortally wounded. On the same day, the 8th of September, Baron Dieskau appeared in view of General Johnson's army, which was encamped on the banks of Lake George, defended on each side by a woody swamp. The Americans having recovered from the alarm which their first disaster had thrown them into, and being stationed behind some fallen trees, their superior situation enabled them to make good use of their artillery. Dieskau, encouraged by his previous success, advanced boldly to the charge; but his Indians, more accustomed to the tomahawk and scalping knife, than to the roar of cannon, fled in dismay. His auxiliary troops being so dispersed, he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars. In the pursuit which followed, he was himself wounded. A soldier, seeking for plunder, found Dieskau alone, deserted by his troops, leaning on the stump of a tree, unable to move from a wound in his leg. While he was searching for his watch, to deliver to him, the soldier supposing he was seeking for a pistol, poured a charge through his hips. He was conveyed to New York, where he was attended by Dr. Jones. He never entirely recovered from the wound, which gradually impaired his constitution, and he died in consequence of it, at Surene, in France, September 8th, 1767. He was unquestionably a general of military skill.

† General Phineas Lyman was second in command in this battle. He was a brave man, of far superior abilities to Johnson; and when the commander-in-chief was wounded, General Lyman took the command, and fought out the battle most gallantly. Lyman was a man of first rate talents and education, a lawyer, and a statesman. He sustained himself for five hours, on that day, and gave his orders like a veteran soldier; but Johnson never mentioned his name in his account of the battle, from a most despicable feeling of jealousy. Lyman continued for several campaigns to command the Connecticut troops, and won laurels in every situation. The close of his life was dark and sad but his honour was never tarnished.

‡ Shirley was a good lawyer, and a brave officer. He was a man of literary taste and acquirements. He published a tragedy, and some other dramatic works.

* Winslow was a grandson of the second governor of Plymouth, of that name. He was engaged as a captain in the expedition to Cuba, in 1740; as a major-general in the expeditions to Kennebeck, Nova Scotia, and Crown Point, in the Spanish wars. The bold stand he took in favour of the militia at that time, has been quoted as a precedent since, and endeared his name to every lover of military honour.

* This is a great mistake; the fort was built merely as a defence against Indians, and was entirely unfit for a siege, by a power who had the command of ordnance. The fort was not abandoned till the last shot they had was fired. The conduct of the brave and gallant Montcalm is inexplicable. Could not such a general, with so many regular troops, have restrained the Indians? His reputation was without stain until that hour. Some of the disarmed and wretched troops were compelled to make resistance, and wrenched the arms from their assailants, and defended themselves with desperation. There are blood-stained pages in history we could wish were not there. This is one of them.

ing and scalping their wretched victims. Their hideous yells, the groans of the dying, and the frantic shrieks of others shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages was permitted to rage without restraint until fifteen hundred were killed, or hurried captives into the wilderness. The day after this awful tragedy, Major Putnam was sent with his rangers to watch the motions of the enemy. When he came to the shore of the lake, their rear was hardly beyond the reach of musket shot. The prospect was horrible in the extreme; the fort demolished; the barracks and buildings yet burning; innumerable fragments of human carcasses still broiled in the decaying fires; and dead bodies, mangled with tomahawks and scalping knives, in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity, were every where scattered around. Who can forbear exclaiming with the poet,

"Man is to man the surest, sorest ill!"

Thus ended the third campaign* in America; happily forming the last series of disasters resulting from folly and mismanagement, rather than from want of means and military strength. The successes of the French left the colonies in a gloomy state. By the acquisition of Fort William Henry, they had obtained full possession of the lakes Champlain and George; and by the destruction of Oswego, they had acquired the dominion of those other lakes which connect the St. Lawrence with the waters of Mississippi. The first afforded the easiest admission from the northern colonies into Canada, or from Canada into those colonies; the last united Canada to Louisiana. By the continued possession of Fort Du Quesne, they preserved their ascendency over the Indians, and held undisturbed control of all the country west of the Alleghany mountains. The British nation was alarmed and indignant, and the king found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of a new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, who was raised by his talents from the humble post of ensign in the guards to the control of the destinies of a mighty empire; under his administration public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigour.† He was equally popular in both hemispheres; and so promptly did the governors of the northern colonies obey the requisitions of his circular letter of 1757, that by May, in the following year, Massachusetts, had seven thousand, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand troops, prepared to take the field. The zeal of Massachusetts was particularly ardent. The people of Boston supported taxes which took away two thirds of the income on real estate; one half of the effective men in the province were on some sort of military duty; and the transports for carrying the troops to Halifax were ready to sail in fourteen days from the time of their engagement. The mother country was not less active. While her fleets blockaded or captured the French armaments, she despatched Admiral Boscawen to Halifax with a formidable squadron of ships, and an army of twelve thousand men. Lord Loudoun was replaced by General Abercombie, who, early in the spring of 1758, was ready to enter upon the campaign at the head of fifty thousand men, the most powerful army ever seen in America.

Three points of attack were marked out for this campaign; the first, Louisbourg; the second, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, Fort Du Quesne. On the first expedition Admiral Boscawen sailed from Halifax on the 28th of May, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, and an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of General Amherst, and arrived before Louisbourg on the 2d of June. The garrison of that place, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, an officer of courage and experience, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia. The harbour being secured by five ships of the line, one fifty gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, it was found necessary to land at some distance from the town. This being effected, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, General Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to seize a post occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, from which the ships in the harbour, and the fortifications in the town, might be greatly annoyed. On the approach of that gallant officer, the post was abandoned by the enemy, and and several strong batteries were erected there by their opponents. Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town, and the siege was pressed with resolution and vigour, though with great caution. A very heavy cannonade being kept up against the town and the vessels in the harbour, a bomb was at length set on fire and blew up one of the largest ships, and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English admiral now sent six hundred men in boats into the harbour, to make an attempt on two ships of the line which still remained in the basin; one of which, being aground, was destroyed, and the other was towed off in triumph. This gallant exploit, putting the English in complete possession of the harbour, and several breaches being made practicable in the works, the place was deemed no longer defensible, and the governor offered to capitulate. It was required that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war. These humiliating terms, though at first rejected, were afterwards acceded to; and Louisbourg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, as also Island Royal, St. John's, and their dependencies, were placed in the hands of the English, who, without farther difficulty, took possession of the island of Cape Breton. The conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English ships; but the garrison, sea officers, sailors, and marines, amounting collectively to nearly six thousand men, were carried prisoners to England.

The armies destined to execute the plans against Ticonderoga and Fort Du Quesne were appointed to rendezvous respectively at Albany and Philadelphia. The first was commanded by General Abercrombie, and consisted of upwards of fifteen thousand men, attended by a formidable train of artillery. On the 5th of July, the general embarked his troops on Lake George, on board of one hundred and twenty-five whale boats, and nine hundred batteaux, and commenced operations against Ticonderoga. After debarkation at the landing place in a cove on the west side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, the British in the centre, and the provincials on the flanks. In this order they marched toward the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of the battalion only, posted in a logged camp, destroyed what was in their power, and made a precipitate retreat. While Abercrombie was continuing his march in the woods towards Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture, Lord

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* While the army was in winter quarters, a circumstance occurred, which exhibits the watchful jealousy the colonists ever exercised over their liberties. "The general court had provided barracks on Castle Island, for a regiment of Highlanders, which had been expected at Boston. Some recruiting officers soon afterwards arrived at Nova Scotia; and, protesting that their regiments would never be filled up if the men must be lodged in these barracks, they required the justices of the peace to furnish quarters, according to the act of parliament. The justices denied that the act of parliament extended to this country. Lord Loudoun wrote the court a letter, and asserted roundly that it did; that, moreover, he had 'used gentleness and patience' long enough; and that unless the requisitions were complied with in forty-eight hours from the receipt of this letter, he should be 'under the necessity' of ordering 'into Boston the three battalions from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more were wanting, he had two in the Jerseys at hand, besides those in Pennsylvania.' The general court now passed an act very similar to that of parliament, on the subject of recruits; but it did not fully answer Lord Loudoun's expectations, nor did he fail to let them know it in a second epistle. The answer of the general court was merely a reiteration of what we have so often heard from the same body. They asserted their rights as Englishmen; said they had conformed to the act of parliament as nearly as the case would admit; and declared that it was their misfortune, if a strict adherence to their duty should give offence to Lord Loudoun. He, in turn, applauded the zeal of the province in the service of his majesty, affected to rely on its compliance with his wishes, and countermanded his orders for the march of the troops. The general court sent his excellency a conciliatory message, in which they asserted that they were entirely dependent on parliament; that its acts were the rule of all their judicial proceedings; that its authority had never been questioned; and that if they had not made this avowal 'in times past, it was because there had been no occasion for it.' Judge Marshall seems to think that this language was sincere but Mr. Minot attributes it to the desire of the court to keep friends with parliament till they were reimbursed for the expenses which they had incurred during the war. The truth is probably between the two opinions."—Sandford's Hist. of the United States. p. 145, 146.

† "William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, one of the most able and successful ministers that England ever possessed, was born November 15, 1708, and was the son of Robert Pitt, Esq. of Boconnock, in Cornwall. His education he received at Eton, and at Trinity College, Oxford. His entrance into public life was as a cornet of horse; and in 1735, through the influence of the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, he was returned to parliament, as member for Old Sarum. He subsequently sat for Seaford, Aldborough, and Bath. As a senator, he soon rendered himself so obnoxious to Walpole, that the minister, with equal injustice and impolicy, deprived him of his commission. This unconstitutional act only enhanced his popularity, and sharpened his resentment. After having been ten years in opposition, he was, early in 1746, appointed joint vice-treasurer of Ireland; and, in the same year, treasurer and paymaster general of the army, and a privy counsellor. During his treasurership, he invariably refused to benefit by the large balances of money which necessarily remained in his hands. In 1755, he was dimissed; in 1756, he obtained a brief reinstatement in power, as secretary of state, and was again dismissed; but, in 1757, defeat and disgrace having fallen on the country, the unanimous voice of the people compelled the sovereign to place him at the head of the administration. Under his auspices, Britain was, during four years, triumphant in every quarter of the globe. Thwarted in his measures, after the accession of George III., he resigned, in October, 1761, an office which he could no longer hold with honour to himself, or advantage to the nation. A pension was granted to him, and his wife was created a baroness. On the downfall of the Rockingham administration, Pitt was appointed lord privy seal, and was raised to the peerage, with the title of Earl of Chatham. He acquired no glory as one of the new and ill-assorted ministry, and he withdrew from it in November, 1768. Though suffering severely from gout, he countinued to speak in parliament upon all important questions. The American war, in particular, he opposed with all his wonted vigour and talent. On the 8th of April, 1778, while rising to speak in the house of lords, he fell into a convulsive fit, and he expired on the 11th of the following May. He was interred, and a monument raised to him, in Westminster Abbey, at the public expense; and a perpetual annuity of 4000*l.* was granted to his heirs. Some short poems, and a volume of letters to his nephew, have appeared in print. The character of Lord Chatham is thus ably summed by Grattan: 'There was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through the universe.'"

In America, his name was held in the highest estimation. Every patriot did him honour. Country signs bore his semblance, or something the people thought like his noble features. In the town of Dedham, in Massachusetts, Nathaniel Ames, the father of the great orator, Fisher Ames, a physician, philosopher, and mathematician, erected a granite column to his memory, and surmounted it by a bust of the great friend of liberty. It was thrown down by time, and suffered to lie in neglect for many years; but it has since been renovated, and stands now a monument to departed genius and patriotism. "His eloquence formed an era in our language;" and the fire he breathed into the soul of freedom, has not, and we trust never will, be extinguished. Genius, united to letters and patriotism, can never die. We forgive his last act; it was one of feeling and of national pride. Lord Chatham aided the projectors of canals with his whole soul, while politicians thought he had better have been doing almost any thing else; but his sagacity has been proved by the wonderful advantages which have resulted to the nation from canals. Grattan should have added, that *he foresaw the resources of the nation, and commenced their developement;* if not so rhetorical, it would have been literally true; and even the beauty of prophecy is its fulfilment.

Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy which had been lost in the wood in retreating from Lake George, and immediately attacked and dispersed it, killing a considerable number, and taking one hundred and forty-eight prisoners. This success was, however, dearly purchased, by the loss of the gallant nobleman who fell in leading the attack.* The English army, without farther opposition took possession of a post within two miles of Ticonderoga. Abercrombie, having learned from the prisoners the strength of the enemy at that fortress, and from an engineer the condition of their works, resolved on an immediate storm, and made instant disposition for an assault. The troops having received orders to march up briskly, rush upon the enemy's fire, and reserve their own till they had passed a breastwork, marched to the assault with great intrepidity. Unlooked for impediments, however, occurred. In front of the breastwork, to a considerable distance, trees had been felled with their branches outward, many of which were sharpened to a point, by means of which the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed to a very galling fire. Finding it impracticable to pass the breastwork, which was eight or nine feet high, and much stronger than had been represented, General Abercrombie, after a contest of near four hours, ordered a retreat, and the next day resumed his former camp on the south side of Lake George. In this brave but ill-judged assault nearly two thousand of the assailants were killed and wounded, while the loss of the enemy, who were covered during the whole action, was inconsiderable. General Abercrombie immediately re-crossed Lake George, and entirely abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga.†

The campaign was not destined, however, to close with such ill success. Colonel Bradstreet proposed an expedition against Frontignac ; a fort which, by being placed on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario, was the key to the communication between Canada and Louisiana. It served also to keep the Indians in subjection, and was the general repository of stores for the enemy's western and southern posts. Late in the evening of the 25th of August, Colonel Bradstreet landed within a mile of the place, with three thousand men, eight pieces of cannon, and three mortars. The French had not anticipated an attack at this point, and the garrison consisted of only one hundred and ten men, with a few Indian auxiliaries. It was impossible to hold out long. Colonel Bradstreet posted his mortars so near the fort, that every shell took effect ; and the commander was very soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The booty consisted, of sixty pieces of cannon, great numbers of small arms, provisions, military stores, goods to a large amount, and nine armed vessels of from eight to eighteen guns. Colonel Bradstreet destroyed the fort and vessels, re-crossed the Ontario, and returned to the army.

Had it not been for this fortunate enterprise, the unaccountable delay in preparing the expedition against Du Quesne would probably have left that fort a third time in possession of the enemy. It was not until June that the commander, General Forbes, set out from Philadelphia ; it was September before Colonel Washington, with the Virginia regulars, was ordered to join the main body at Ray's Town ; and owing to the difficulties of cutting a new road, it was as late as November when the army appeared before Du Quesne. The garrison, deserted by the Indians, and without adequate means of defence, had escaped down the Ohio the evening before the arrival of the British, who had only to take possession, therefore, in the king's name. The fort was supplied with a new garrison, and the name changed to Pittsburgh. The Indians, as usual, joined the strongest side. A peace was concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes ; and the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were once more relieved from the terrors of fire and scalping knives.

The campaign of 1758 was highly honorable to the British arms, and the results of it very important. Of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important conquest. To the commanding talents of Pitt, and the confidence which they inspired, this change of fortune must be chiefly attributed ; and in no respect were these talents more strikingly displayed than in the choice of men to execute his plans. The advantages of this campaign had, however, been purchased by an expensive effort and corresponding exhaustion of provincial strength ; and when a circular letter from Mr. Pitt to the several governors induced the colonies to resolve upon making the most vigorous preparations for the next, they soon discovered that their resources were by no means commensurate with their zeal.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, it was resolved to signalize the year 1759 by the complete conquest of Canada. The plan of the campaign was, that three powerful armies should enter the French possessions by three different routes, and attack all their strong-holds at nearly the same time. At the head of one division of the army, Brigadier-General Wolfe, a young officer who had signalized himself at the siege of Louisbourg, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec, escorted by a strong fleet to co-operate with his troops. The central and main army, composed of British and provincials, was to be conducted against Ticonderoga and Crown Point by General Amherst, the new commander in chief, who, after making himself master of these places, was to proceed over Lake Champlain and by the way of the Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence, and descending that river, form a junction with General Wolfe before the walls of Quebec. The third army, to be composed principally of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, was to be commanded by General Prideaux, who was to lead this division first against Niagara, and after the reduction of that place, to embark on Lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal. It has been observed by a recent author, "Had the elements been laid, and the enemy spell-bound, the whole of this brilliant plan could not have helped succeeding." This sentence, however, betrays a very limited view of a plan that was well worthy of the mind of Pitt. In this arrangement immediate advantage was not sacrificed ; while the more remote results exhibited a prospect highly calculated to excite the ambition of the leaders, and to arouse all the energies of the troops. It is in thus affording motives which tend to bring physical force into most effective and persevering action, that intellectual superiority becomes manifest, confounding the calculations of ordinary minds.

Early in the winter, General Amherst commenced preparations for his part of the enterprise ; but it was not till the last of May that his troops were assembled at Albany ; and it was as late as the 22d of July, when he appeared before Ticonderoga. As the naval superiority of Great Britain had prevented France from sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were able to withstand so great a force as that of General Amherst. Ticonderoga was immediately abandoned ; the example was followed at Crown Point ; and the only way in which the enemy seemed to think of preserving their province was by retarding the English army with shows of resistance till the season of operation should be past, or, till by the gradual concentration of their forces, they should become numerous enough to make an effectual stand. From Crown Point they retreated to Ile-aux-Noix, where General Amherst understood there was a body of between three and four thousand men, and a fleet of several armed vessels. The English made great exertions to secure a naval superiority ; and had it not been for a succession of adverse storms upon the lake, they would most probably have accomplished the original design of forming a junction at Quebec, instead of being obliged to go into winter quarters at Crown Point. In prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, General Prideaux had embarked with an army on Lake Ontario ; and on the 6th of July landed without opposition within about three miles from the fort, which he invested in form. While directing the operations of the siege, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. That General, prosecuting with judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with an intrepidity that soon brought the besiegers within a hundred yards of the covered way. Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing a post which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighbouring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu'Isle, with which, and a party of Indians, they resolved, if possible to raise the siege. Apprised of their intentions to hazard a battle, General Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress ; placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks ; and, together with this preparation for an engagement, took effectual measures for securing his lines, and bridling the garrison. About nine in the morning of the 24th of July, the enemy appeared and the horrible sound of the war hoop from the hostile Indians, was the signal for battle. The French charged with great impetuosity, but were received with firmness ; and in less than an hour were completely routed. This battle decided the fate of Niagara. Sir William Johnson the next morning opened negociations with the French commandant ; and in a few hours a capitulation was signed. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men, were to march out with the honors of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to New-York ; and the women and children were to be carried to Montreal. The reduction of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The expedition against the capital of Canada was the most daring and important. Strong by nature, and still stronger by art, Quebec had obtained the appellation of the Gibraltar of America ; and every attempt against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished

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*George Howe, lord-viscount, was commander of five thousand British troops in America, and was the most popular of all the leaders of the British Armies, in the conflicts with France. When Abercrombie made his attack on Ticonderoga, he led the van-guard, and fell at the first fire. He was admired by all the provincials. Old Stark, the hero of Bennington, who knew him well, feared that he should not have been a true whig in the revolution, if Lord Howe had been alive. His death was mourned as a public calamity, and the Americans seemed to lose their spirit in his fall. The good people of Massachusetts caught the infection of grief from the soldiers, and erected a monument, by permission for their admired General, in Westminster Abbey, at their own expense, of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. It is still standing in Westminster Abbey.

† Major Rogers, with his rangers, was in this battle, and asked permission to scour the woods before the regular troops were led on ; but this was not granted. Major Robert Rogers was a native of Londonderry, or Dunbarton, in the state of New Hampshire. He was early known as a brave soldier, and was authorized by the British Government to raise five companies of rangers, as they were called. They were kept on the frontiers for winter as well as summer service, to watch the hostile Indians, who often, in the most inclement season, made attacks on the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers. This body of troops was taken from the boldest and hardiest of the yeomanry of the land. They were doubly armed, and carried with them snow-shoes and skates for service. They generally made their head-quarters at the southern extremity of Lake George. Their snow-shoes put them on an equality with their foes, and with their skates they had greatly the advantage of the Indians. Stark, Putnam, and several others, who were distinguished afterwards in the revolutionary war, were trained in this school. Some of the well authenticated exploits of this hardy band, seem like romance to us in the present day. All along the borders of Lake George, spots are shown where the rangers fought desperate battles, in the winter season, sometimes with more than twice their numbers. This corps fought from seventeen hundred and fifty-five to the fall of Quebec, in seventeen hundred and fifty-nine. They were put foremost in battle by Abercrombie and Amherst, and some of them were sent to assist Wolfe. Rogers states in his journal of these campaigns, that their packs were generally of twice the weight of those commonly carried by soldiers. Many of this band perished in their frontier campaigns. For some particulars in the life of this most singular man, see Allen's Biography.

reputation; and its capture must have appeared chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged rightly, however, that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful, and especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory. Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisbourg had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition, and gave him for assistants Brigadier Generals Moncton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent. Early in the season he sailed from Halifax with eight thousand troops, and near the last of June, landed the whole army on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope. In a letter to Mr. Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it far to the westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, on which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. At a short distance farther down is the Montmorency; and between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly entrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English. General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. The cannonade which was kept up, though it destroyed many houses, made but little impression on the works, which were too strong and too remote to be materially affected; their elevation, at the same time, placing them beyond the reach of the fleet. Convinced of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect batteries on the north side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable distance above Quebec is so bold and rocky as to render a landing in the face of an enemy impracticable. If an attempt were made below the town, the river Montmorency, passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the St. Charles would present a new, and perhaps an insuperable barrier. With every obstacle fully in view, Wolfe, heroically observing that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency and bring Montcalm to an engagement. In pursuance of this resolution, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal Americans, were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions, under Generals Townshend and Murray, prepared to cross it higher up. Wolfe's plan was to attack first a redoubt, close to the water's edge, apparently beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's entrenchments, in the belief that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would put it in his power to bring on a general engagement; or, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, that he could afterwards examine their situation with coolness, and advantageously regulate his future operations. On the approach of the British troops, the redoubt was evacuated, and the general, observing some confusion in the French camp, changed his original plan, and determined not to delay an attack. Orders were immediately despatched to the Generals Townshend and Murray to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river; and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach until they could be properly sustained. These troops, however, not waiting for support, rushed impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments; but they were received with so strong and steady a fire from the French musketry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter in the redoubt which the enemy had abandoned. Detained here awhile by a dreadful thunderstorm, they were still within reach of a severe fire from the French; and many gallant officers, exposing their persons in attempting to form the troops, were killed, the whole loss amounting to nearly five hundred men. The plan of attack being effectually disconcerted, the English General gave orders for repassing the river, and returning to the isle of Orleans.

Compelled to abandon the attack on that side, Wolfe deemed that advantage might result from attempting to destroy the French fleet, and by distracting the attention of Montcalm with continual descents upon the northern shore. General Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, made two vigorous but abortive attempts to land; and though more successful in the third, he did nothing more than burn a magazine of warlike stores. The enemy's fleet was effectually secured against attacks, either by land or by water, and the commander in chief was again obliged to submit to the mortification of recalling his troops. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Ile-aux-Noix. While Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of of his brethren in arms, he could not avoid contrasting their success with his own disastrous efforts. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and his extreme anxiety, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh: and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of this valiant commander, or induce him to abandon the attempt. In a council of his principal officers, called on this critical occasion, it was resolved, that all the future operations should be above the town. The camp at the isle of Orleans was accordingly abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part higher up the river. Montcalm, apprehending from this movement that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bouganville with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and prevent their landing.

Baffled and harrassed in all his previous assaults, General Wolfe seems to have determined to finish the enterprise by a single bold and desperate effort. The admiral sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops; and, during the night, a strong detachment in flat-bottomed boats fell silently down with the stream, to a point about a mile above the city. The beach was shelving, the bank high and precipitous, and the only path by which it could be scaled, was now defended by a captain's guard and a battery of four guns. Colonel Howe, with the van, soon clambered up the rocks, drove away the guard, and seized upon the battery. The army landed about an hour before day, and by daybreak was marshalled on the heights of Abraham.

Montcalm could not at first believe the intelligence; but, as soon as he was assured of its truth, he made all prudent haste to decide a battle which it was no longer possible to avoid. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles with the intention of attacking the English army. No sooner did Wolfe observe this movement, than he began to form his order of battle. His troops consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by General Moncton, and the left by General Murray. The right flank was covered, by the Louisbourg grenadiers, and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry. The form in which the French advanced indicating an intention to outflank the left of the English army, General Townshend was sent with the battalion of Amherst, and the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of the line, and they were formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals. The dispositions made by the French General were not less masterly. The right and left wings were composed about equally of European and colonial troops. The centre consisted of a column, formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, excellent marksmen, advancing in front, screened by surrounding thickets began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many British officers, but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English. About nine in the morning the main body of the French advanced briskly to the charge, and the action soon became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two Generals met each other where the battle was most severe. The English troops reserved their fire until the French had advanced within forty yards of their line, and then, by a general discharge made terrible havoc among their ranks. The fire of the English was vigorously maintained, and the enemy every where yielded to it. General Wolfe, who, exposed in the front of his battalions, had been wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he was pressing on at the head of his grenadiers with fixed bayonets, when a third ball pierced his breast.* The army, not disconcerted by his fall, continued the action under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who, receiving a ball through his body, soon yielded the command to General Townshend. Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalions, received a mortal wound about the same time; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British Grenadiers, pressed on with their bayonets. General Murray, briskly advancing with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army. The Highlanders, drawing their broadswords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and after having lost their first and second in command, the right and centre of the French were entirely driven from the field; and the left was following the example, when Bouganville appeared in the rear, with the fifteen hundred men who had been sent to oppose the landing of the English. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him; but he retired, and the British troops were left the undisputed masters of the field. The loss of the French was much greater than that of the English. The corps of French regulars was almost entirely annihilated. The killed and wounded of the English army did not amount to six hundred men. Although Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might possibly be relieved by Bougainville, or from Montreal, yet General Townsend had scarcely finished a road in the bank to get up his heavy artillery for a siege, when the inhabitants capitulated, on condition that during the war they might still enjoy their own civil

* On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of "They fly, they fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero "The French," answered his attendant. "Then," said he, "I die contented," and immediately expired. A death more full of military glory has seldom been recorded by the pen of the historian, or celebrated by the pencil of the painter. General Wolfe was only thirty three years of age. He possessed those military talents which, with the advantage of years and opportunity of action, "to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge the correctness of judgment perfected by experience," would have "placed him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation."—Montcalm was every way worthy to be a competitor of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer whom the French had ever employed in America. After he had received his mortal wound, he was carried into the city; and when informed that it was mortal, his reply was, "I am glad of it." On being told that he could survive but a few hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec."

and religious rights. A garrison of five thousand men was left under General Murray, and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. The main body of the French army, which, after the battle on the plains of Abraham, retired to Montreal, and which still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, had been reinforced by six thousand Canadian militia, and a body of Indians. With these forces M. de Levi, who had succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. He had hoped to carry the place by a coup de main during the winter; but, on reconnoitering, he found the outposts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he postponed the enterprise until spring. In the month of April, when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was so open as to admit a transportation by water, his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage, were embarked at Montreal, and fell down the river under convoy of six frigates; and M. de Levi, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the care of maintaining the English conquest had been entrusted, had taken every precaution to preserve it; but his troops had suffered so much by the extreme cold of the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of his garrison there were not at this time above three thousand men fit for service. With this small but valiant body he resolved to meet the enemy in the field; and on the 28th of April, marched out to the heights of Abraham, where, near Sillery, he attacked the French under M. de Levi, with great impetuosity. He was received with firmness; and after a fierce encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he called off his troops, and retired into the city. In this action the loss of the English was near a thousand men, and that of the French still greater. The French general lost no time in improving his victory. On the very evening of the battle he opened trenches before the town, but it was the 11th of May before he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the fortifications. By that time General Murray, who had been indefatigable in his exertions, had completed some outworks, and planted so numerous an artillery on his ramparts, that his fire was very superior to that of the besiegers, and in a manner silenced their batteries. A British fleet most opportunely arriving a few days after, M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and precipitately retired to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head quarters, and determined to make his last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

The English, on the other hand, were resolved upon the utter annihilation of the French power in Canada; and General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it, with an irresistible superiority of numbers. Almost on the same day, the armies from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain, were concentrated before Montreal: a capitulation was immediately signed; Detroit, Michilimackinac, and indeed, all New France, surrendered to the English. The French troops were to be carried home; and the Canadians to retain their civil and religious privileges.

The history of modern Europe, with whose destiny that of the colonies was closely interwoven, may be designated as the annals of an interminable war. Her sovereigns, ever having the oily words of peace on their lips, have seldom had recourse to the olive branch but as the signal of a truce, the duration of which should be coeval with the reinvigoration o military strength. It was thus with France on the present occasion. Equally unsuccessful on both continents, and exhausted by her strenuous and continued efforts, she was at length induced to make overtures of peace; and every thing seemed to be in a fair train for adjustment, when the treaty was suddenly broken off by an attempt of the court of Versailles to mingle the politics of Spain and of Germany with the disputes between France and Great Britain. A secret family compact between the Bourbons to support each other through evil and good, in peace and in war, had rendered Spain desirous of war, and induced France once more to try her fortune. As the interests of the two nations were now identified, it only remained for England to make a formal declaration of hostility against Spain. The colonies of New England being chiefly interested in the reduction of the West India Islands, furnished a considerable body of troops to carry on the war. A large fleet was dispatched from England; the land forces amounted to sixteen thousand; and before the end of the second year, Great Britain had taken the important city of Havana, the key of the Mexican Gulf, together with the French provinces of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Caribee Islands.

The progress of the British conquests, which threatened all the remaining colonial possessions of their opponents, was arrested by preliminary articles of peace, which, towards the close of 1762, were interchanged at Fontainbleau between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain. On the 10th of February, in the following year, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, and soon after ratified.*

* "The acquisitions of Great Britain, both from France and Spain, on the continent of North America, established by this treaty, whether they be considered in relation to the political or commercial interests of the parent country, or in relation to the entire interests of the American colonies, merits particular attention. Every article, therefore, which has respect to America, is subjoined in the words of the treaty.

By the second article, France renounces and guarantees to Great Britain all Nova Scotia or Acadia, and likewise Canada, the Isle of Cape Breton, and all other Islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence.

By the third article, it is stipulated that the French shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the island of Newfoundland, as specified in the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; and the French may also fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence, so as they do not exercise the same but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands in the said gulf. As to what relates to the fishery out of the said gulf, the French shall exercise the same, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coast of the isle of Cape Breton.

By the fourth article, Great Britain cedes to France, to serve as a shelter for the French fishermen, the islands of St Peter and Miquelon; and his most Christian Majesty absolutely engages not to fortify the said islands, nor to erect any other buildings thereon, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep only a guard of fifty men for the police.

By the sixth article it is stipulated, that the confines between the dominions of Great Britain and France, on the continent of North America, shall be irrevocably fixed, by a line drawn along the river Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and to this purpose the most Chistian King cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britanic Majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing that he possesses on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the navigation of the river shall be equally free to the subjects of Great Britain and France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and that part expressly which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth; and the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulation in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, inserted in the second article, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article; that is, that the French in Canada may freely profess the Roman Catholic religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit; that they may enjoy their civil rights, retire when they please, and may dispose of their estates to British subjects.

By the seventh article, it is stipulated that Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, and Martinico, in the West Indies, and of Belleisle, on the coast of France, with their fortresses; provided that the term of eighteen months be granted to his Britanic Majesty's subjects settled there, and in other places hereby restored to France, to settle their estates, recover their debts, and to transport themselves and effects, without being restrained on account of their religion, or any pretence, except for debts, or criminal prosecutions.

By the eighth article, France cedes to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favor of the inhabitants as are inserted in the second article for those of Canada; and the partition of the islands called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to England, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France in full right, the two crowns reciprocally guaranteeing to each other the partition so stipulated.

By the sixteenth article, it is stipulated, that his Britanic Majesty shall cause all the fortifications to be demolished, which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras and other places of the territory of Spain, in that part of the world. And his Catholic Majesty shall not, for the future, permit his Britanic Majesty, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away log-wood; and for this purpose they may build, without hinderance, and occupy, without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his said Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above stipulated.

By the seventeenth article, his Catholic Majesty desists from all pretensions which he may have formed to the right of fishing about the island of Newfoundland.

By the eighteenth article, it is stipulated, that the king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all that he has conquered in the Island of Cuba, with the fortress of Havana; and that fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by his Britanic Majesty's arms.

By the twentieth article, his Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right, to his Britanic Majesty, Florida, with the Fort of St. Augustine, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the southeast of the river Mississippi; and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, power, and possession, and all rights acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which the Catholic king and the crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries." Anderson, vol. iii. p. 339—433, where the preliminary articles of the treaty are inserted entire; and vol. iv. p. 1, 2, where the most material alterations or explanations of those articles, as settled by the definitive treaty, are inserted.—American Annals, vol ii. p. 113—115.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Colonies from the peace of Paris, 1763, to 1774.

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new scene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to one hundred and forty-

eight millions, for which an interest of nearly five millions was annually paid. While the British minister was digesting plans, for diminishing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the British colonies, from taxes laid by the parliament of the parent state. On the one hand it was urged, that the late war originated on account of the colonies; and that it was reasonable, more especially as it had terminated in a manner so favourable to their interest, they should contribute to defraying the expenses it had occasioned. Thus far both parties were agreed: but Great Britain contended, that her parliament, as the supreme power, was constitutionally vested with an authority to lay them on every part of the empire. This doctrine, plausible in itself, and conformable to the letter of the British constitution, when the whole dominions were represented in one assembly, was reprobated in the colonies, as contrary to the spirit of the same government, when the empire became so far extended, as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists believed, that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the subjects to grant, or withhold taxes; and in their having a share in enacting the laws, by which they were to be bound.

They conceived, that the superiority of the British constitution, to other forms of goverment, was, not that their supreme council was called parliament but that the people had a share in it, by appointing members, who constituted one of its constituent branches, and without whose concurrence, no law, binding on them, could be enacted. In the mother country, it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire, that the British parliament should have a right of taxation, over every part of the royal dominion. In the colonies, it was believed, that taxation and representation were inseparable; and that they could neither be free nor happy, if their property could be taken from them, without their consent. The common people in America reasoned on this subject, in a summary way: "I a British parliament," said they, "in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no control, can take from us any part of our property, by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please; and we have no security for any thing that remains, but a forbearance on their part, less likely to be exercised in our favour, as they lighten themselves of the burdens of government, in the same proportion that they impose them on us." They well knew, that communities of mankind, as well as individuals, have a strong propensity to impose on others, when they can do it with impunity; and especially when their is a prospect, that the imposition will be attended with advantage to themselves. The Americans, from that jealousy of their liberties, which their local situation nurtured, and which they inherited from their forefathers, viewed the exclusive right of laying taxes on themselves, free from extraneous influence, in the same light, as the British parliament views its peculiar privilege of raising money, independent of the crown. The parent state appeared, to the colonists, to stand in the same relation to their local legislatures, as the monarch of Great Britain to the British Parliament. His prerogative is limited by that palladium of the people's liberty, the exclusive privilege of granting their own money. While this right rests in the hands of the people, their liberties are secured.

In the same manner reasoned the colonists: "In order to be styled freemen, our local assemblies, elected by ourselves, must enjoy the exclusive privilege of imposing taxes upon us." They contended, that men settled in foreign parts, to better their condition, not to submit their liberties; to continue the equals, not to become the slaves of their less adventurous fellow-citizens; and that, by the novel doctrine of parliamentary power, they were degraded from being the subjects of a king, to the low condition of being subjects of subjects. They argued, that it was essentially involved in the idea of property, that the possessor had such a right therein, that it was a contradiction to suppose any other man, or body of men, possessed a right to take it from him, without his consent. Precedents in the history of England justified this mode of reasoning The love of property strengthened it; and it had a peculiar force on the minds of colonists, three thousand miles removed from the seat of government, and growing up to maturity, in a New World, where, from the extent of country, and the state of society, even the necessary restraints of civil government were impatiently borne. On the other hand, the people of Great Britain revolted against the claims of the colonists. Educated in habits of submission to parliamentary taxation, they conceived it to be the height of contumacy, for the colonists to refuse obedience to the power, which they had been taught to revere. Not adverting to the common interest, which existed between the people of Great Britain and their representatives, they believed, that the said community of interests was wanting. The pride of an opulent, conquering nation, aided this mode of reasoning. "What!" said they, "shall we, who have so lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our own colonists? Shall our subjects, educated by our care, and defended by our arms, presume to question the rights of parliament, to which we are obliged to submit?" Reflections of this kind, congenial to the natural vanity of the human heart, operated so extensively, that the people of Great Britain spoke of their colonies and of their colonists, as a kind of possession annexed to their persons. The love of power, and of property, on the one side of the Atlantic, were opposed by the same powerful passions on the other.

The disposition to tax the colonies was also strengthened, by exaggerated accounts of their wealth. It was said, "that the American planters lived in affluence, and with inconsiderable taxes; while the inhabitants of Great Britain were borne down, by such oppressive burdens, as to make a bare subsistence, a matter of extreme difficulty." The officers who had served in America, during the late war, contributed to this delusion. Their observations were founded on what they had seen in cities, and at a time, when large sums were spent by government, in support o fleets and armies, and when American commodities were in great demand. To treat with attention those who came to fight for them, and also to gratify their own pride, the colonists had made a parade of their riches, by frequently and sumptuously entertaining the gentlemen of the British army. These, judging from what they saw, without considering the general state of the country, concurred in representing the colonists as very able to contribute, largely, towards defraying the common expenses of the empire.

The charters, which were supposed to contain the principles on which the colonies were founded, became the subject of serious investigation on both sides. One clause was found to run through the whole of them, except that which had been granted to Mr. Penn. This was a declaration, "that the emigrants to America should enjoy the same privileges, as if they had remained, or had been born within the realm:" but such was the subtilty of disputants, that both parties construed this general principle so as to favour their respective opinions. The American patriots contended, that as English freeholders could not be taxed, but by representatives, in choosing whom they had a vote, neither could the colonists: but it was replied, that, if the colonists had remained in England, they must have been bound to pay the taxes imposed by parliament. It was therefore inferred, that, though taxed by that authority, they lost none of the rights of native Englishmen, residing at home. The partizans of the mother country could see nothing in charters, but security against taxes, by royal authority. The Americans, adhering to the spirit more than to the letter, viewed their characters as a shield against all taxes not imposed by representatives of their own choice. This construction they contended to be expressly recognised by the charter of Maryland. In that, king Charles bound both himself and his successors, not to assent to any bill subjecting the inhabitants to internal taxation, by external legislation.

The nature and extent of the connexion between Great Britain and America, was a great constitutional question, involving many interests and the general principles of civil liberty. To decide this, recourse was, in vain, had to parchment authorities made at a distant time; when neither the grantor, nor grantees, of American territory, had in contemplation any thing like the present state of the two countries.

Great and flourishing colonies, daily increasing in numbers, and already grown to the magnitude of a nation, planted at an immense distance, and governed by constitutions, resembling that of the country from which they sprung, were novelties in the history of the world. To combine colonies so circumstanced, in one uniform system of government with the parent state, required a great knowledge of mankind, and an extensive comprehension of things. It was an arduous business, far beyond the grasp of ordinary statesmen, whose minds were narrowed by the formalities of law, or the trammels of office. An original genius, unfettered with precedents, and exalted with just ideas of the rights of human nature, and the obligations of universal benevolence, might have struck out a middle line, which would have secured as much liberty to the colonies, and as great a degree of supremacy to the parent state, as their common good required; but the helm of Great Britain was not in such hands. The spirit of the British constitution, on the one hand, revolted at the idea, that the British parliament should exercise the same unlimited authority over the unrepresented colonies, which it exercised over the inhabitants of Great Britain. The colonists, on the other hand, did not claim a total exemption from its authority. They in general allowed the mother country a certain undefined prerogative over them, and acquiesced in the right of parliament, to make many acts, binding them in many subjects of internal policy, and regulating their trade. Where parliamentary supremacy ended, and at what point colonial independency began, was not ascertained. Happy, for the English empire, would it have been, had the question never been agitated; but much more so, had it been compromised by an amicable compact, without the horrors of a civil war.

The English colonies were originally established on the principles of a commercial monopoly. While England pursued trade, her commerce increased at least four-fold. The colonies took the manufactures of Great Britain, and paid for them with provisions, or raw materials. They united their arms in war, their commerce and their councils in peace, without nicely investigating the terms on which the connexion of the two countries depended.

A perfect calm in the political world is not long to be expected. The reciprocal happiness, both of Great Britain and of the colonies, was too great to be of long duration. The calamities of the war of 1755 had scarcely ended, when the germ of another war was planted, which soon grew up and produced deadly fruit.

At that time, sundry resolutions passed the British parliament, relative to the imposition of a stamp duty in America, which gave a general alarm. By them the right, the equity, the policy, and even the necessity of taxing the colonies, were formally avowed. These resolutions, being considered as the preface of a system of American revenue, were deemed an introduction to evils of much greater magnitude. They opened a prospect of oppression, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. They were nevertheless not immediately followed by any legislative act. Time, and an invitation, were given to the Americans, to suggest any other mode of taxation that might be equivalent in its produce to the stamp act: but they objected, not only to the mode, but the principle; and several of their assemblies, though in vain, petitioned against it. An American revenue was, in England, a very popular measure. The cry in favour of it was so strong, as to silence the voice of petitions to the contrary.—The equity of compelling the Americans to contribute to the common expenses of the empire, satisfied many who, without inquiring into the policy or

justice of taxing their unrepresented fellow subjects, readily assented to the measures adopted by the parliament for this purpose. The prospect of easing their own burdens, at the expense of the colonists, dazzled the eyes of gentlemen of landed interest, so as to keep out of their view the probable consequences of the innovation.

The omnipotence of parliament was so familiar a phrase, on both sides of the Atlantic, that few in America, and still fewer in Great Britain, were impressed, in the first instance, with any idea of the illegality of taxing the colonists.

Illumination on that subject was gradual. The resolutions in favor of an American stamp act, which passed in March, 1764, met with no opposition. In the course of the year which intervened between these resolutions, and the passing of a law grounded upon them, the subject was better understood, and constitutional objections against the measure, were urged by several, both in Great Britain and America. This astonished and chagrined the British ministry: but as the principle of taxing America had been, for some time, determined upon, they were unwilling to give it up. Impelled by partiality for a long cherished idea, Mr. Grenville, in March 1765, brought into the house of commons his long expected bill, for laying a stamp duty in America. By this, after passing through the usual forms, it was enacted, that the instruments of writing, in daily use among a commercial people, should be null and void, unless they were executed on stamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British parliament.

When the bill was brought in, Mr. Charles Townsend concluded a speech in its favour, with words to the following effect: "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under!" To which colonel Barre replied: "They planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelty of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth! and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hand of those that should have been their friends. They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members in this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them: men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them: men promoted to the highest seats of justice —some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, whilst its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, that same spirit of freedom, which actuated these people at first, will accompany them still: but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther. God knows, I do not, at this time, speak from any motives of party heat. I deliver the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you; having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated: but the subject is too delicate. I will say no more."

During the debate on the bill, the supporters of it insisted much on the colonies being virtually represented in the same manner as Leeds, Halifax, and some other towns were. A recurrence to this plea was a virtual acknowledgement, that there ought not to be taxation without representation. It was replied, that the connexion between the electors and non-electors of parliament, in Great Britain, was so interwoven, from both being equally liable to pay the same common tax, as to give some security of property to the latter: but with respect to taxes laid by the British parliament, and paid by the Americans, the situation of the parties was reversed. Instead of both parties bearing a proportionable share of the same common burden, what was laid on the one, was exactly so much taken off from the other.

The bill met with no opposition in the house of lords; and, on the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson; "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thomson answered: "I was apprehensive, that other lights would be the consequence;" and he foretold the opposition which shortly took place. On its being suggested from authority, that the stamp officers would not be sent from Great Britain, but selected from among the Americans, the colony agents were desired to point out proper persons for that purpose. They generally nominated their friends, which affords a presumptive proof, that they supposed the act would have gone down. In this opinion, they were far from being singular. That the colonists would be, ultimately, obliged to submit to the stamp act, was at first commonly believed, both in England and America. The framers of it, in particular, flattered themselves, that the confusion, which would arise upon the disuse of writings, and the insecurity of property, which would result from using any other than that required by law, would compel the colonies, however reluctant, to use the stamped paper, and consequently to pay the taxes imposed thereon. They, therefore, boasted that it was a law, which would execute itself. By the term of the stamp act, it was not to take effect till the first day of November; a period of more than seven months after its passing. This gave the colonists an opportunity of leisurely canvassing the new subject, and examining fully on every side. In the first part of this interval, struck with astonishment, they lay in silent consternation, and could not determine what course to pursue. By degrees they recovered their recollection. Virginia led the way in opposition to the stamp act. Mr. Patrick Henry, on the 29th of May, 1765, brought into the house of burgesses of that colony, the following resolutions, which were substantially adopted.

"Resolved, that the first adventurers, settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other, his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this, his majesty's said colony, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, that have at any time, been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, that, by two royal charters, granted by king James the first, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, of this his ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed, by their own assembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police; and that the same have never been forfeited, or yielded up: but have been constantly recognised by the king and people of Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, that the general assembly of this colony, together with his majesty, or his substitutes, have in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and imposts, upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt, to vest such power in any other person or persons, whatsoever, than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and hath a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American liberty.

"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law, or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the general assembly aforesaid.

"Resolved, that any person, who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain, that any person, or persons, other than the general assembly of this colony, have any right or power, to impose, or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty's colony.*"

Upon reading these resolutions, the boldness and novelty of them affected one of the members to such a degree, that he cried out, "treason! treason!" They were, nevertheless, well received by the people; and immediately forwarded to the other provinces. They circulated extensively, and gave a spring to the discontented. Till they appeared, most were of opinion, that the act would be quietly adopted. Murmurs, indeed, were common, but they seemed to be such, as would soon die away. The countenance of so respectable a colony, as Virginia, confirmed the wavering, and emboldened the timid. Opposition to the stamp act, from that period, assumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the press. Some well-judged publications set the rights of the colonists, in a plain, but strong point of view. The tongues and the pens of the well-informed citizens laboured in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism. The flame spread from breast to breast, till the conflagration became general. In this business, New England had a principal share. The inhabitants of that part of America, in particular, considered their obligations to the mother country, for past favours, to be very inconsiderable. They were fully informed, that their forefathers were driven, by persecution to the woods of America, and had there, without any expense to the parent state, effected a settlement on bare creation. Their resentment, for the invasion of their accustomed right of taxation, was not so much mitigated, by the recollection of late favours, as it was heightened by the tradition of grievous sufferings, to which their ancestors, by the rulers of England, had been subjected.

The heavy burdens, which the operation of the stamp act would have imposed on the colonists, together with the precedent it would establish of future exactions, furnished the American patriots with arguments, calculated as well to move the passions, as to convince the judgments of their fellow colonists. In great warmth they exclaimed: "If the parliament have a right to levy the stamp duties, they may, by the same authority, lay on us imposts, excises, and other taxes, without end, till their rapacity is satisfied, or our abilities are exhausted. We cannot, at future elections, displace these men, who so lavishly grant away our property. Their seats and their power are independent of us, and it will rest with their generosity, where to stop, in transferring the expenses of government from their own, to our shoulders."

It was fortunate for the liberties of America, that newspapers were the subject of a heavy stamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themselves on the side of liberty, nor are they less remarkable for their attention to the profits of their profession. A stamp duty, which openly invaded the first, and threatened a diminution of the last, provoked their united zealous

* Patrick Henry, whose eloquence was of the same family with the poetry of Shakspeare, introduced these resolutions, with an animated speech, which is unfortunately lost, or, perhaps, was never written. Tradition informs us, that, while he was pouring out his whole soul, in the brilliant extemporaneous effusions of the most ardent patriotism, he broke off abruptly, or was silenced by a call to order, in the middle of a sentence, which began as follows. "Caesar had his Brutus: Charles his Oliver; and if king George go on as he has begun he will find"—

opposition. They daily presented to the public original dissertations, tending to prove, that, if the stamp act were suffered to operate, the liberties of Americans were at an end, and their property virtually transferred to their trans-Atlantic fellow subjects. The writers among the Americans, seriously alarmed for the fate of their country, came forward with essays, to prove, that, agreeably to the British constitution, taxation and representation were inseparable; that the only constitutional mode of raising money from the colonists, was by acts of their own legislatures; that the crown possessed no farther power, than that of requisition; and that the parliamentary right of taxation was confined to the mother country, where it originated from the natural right of man, to do what he pleased with his own, transferred by consent from the electors of Great Britain, to those whom they chose to represent them in parliament. They also insisted much on the misapplication of public money, by the British ministry. Great pains were taken to inform the colonists of the large sums annually bestowed on pensioned favourites, and for the various purposes of bribery. Their passions were inflamed by high coloured representations of the hardship of being obliged to pay the earnings of their industry into a British treasury, well known to be a fund for corruption.

The writers on the American side were opposed by arguments, drawn from the unity of the empire; the necessity of one supreme head; the unlimited power of parliament; and the great numbers in the mother country, who, though legally disqualified from voting at elections, were, nevertheless, bound to pay the taxes imposed by the representatives of the nation. To these objections it was replied, that the very idea of subordination of parts, excluded the notion of simple undivided unity; that, as England was the head, she could not be the head and the members too; that, in all extensive empires, where the dead uniformity of servitude did not prevent, the subordinate parts had many local privileges and immunities; that, between these privileges and the supreme common authority, the line was extremely nice; and that, nevertheless, the supremacy of the head had an ample field of exercise, without arrogating to itself the disposal of the property of the unrepresented subordinate parts. To the assertion, that the power of parliament was unlimited, the colonists replied, that before it could constitutionally exercise that power, it must be constitutionally formed; and that, therefore, it must at least, in one of its branches, be constituted by the people, over whom it exercised unlimited power; that, with respect to Great Britain, it was so constituted; and with respect to America, it was not. They therefore inferred, that its power ought not to be the same over both countries. They argued also, that the delegation of the people was the source of power, in regard to taxation; and, as that delegation was wanting in America, they concluded the right of parliament, to grant away their property, could not exist; and that the defective representation in Great Britain, should be urged as an argument for taxing the Americans, without any representation at all, proved the encroaching nature of power. Instead of convincing the colonists of the propriety of their submission, it demonstrated the wisdom of their resistance; for, said they, "one invasion of natural right is made the justification of another, much more injurious and oppressive."

The advocates for parliamentary taxation, laid great stress on the rights supposed to have accrued to Great Britain, on the score of her having reared up and protected the English settlements in America, at great expense. It was, on the other hand, contended by the colonists, that, in all the wars which were common to both countries, they had taken their full share; but in all their own dangers, in all the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, which did not immediately concern Great Britain, they were left to themselves, and had to struggle through a hard infancy; and in particular, to defend themselves, without any aid from the parent state, against the numerous savages in their vicinity; that, when France had made war upon them, it was not on their own account, but as appendages to Great Britain; that, confining their trade for the exclusive benefit of the parent state, was an ample compensation for her protection, and a sufficient equivalent for their exemption from parliamentary taxation; and that the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of Great Britain were incorporated with their manufactures, and ultimately fell on the colonists, who were the consumers.

The advocates for the stamp act also contended, that, as the parliament was charged with the defence of the colonies, it ought to possess the means of defraying the expenses incurred thereby. The same argument had been used by king Charles the first, in support of ship-money; and it was now answered in the same manner as it was by the patriots of that day; "that the people, who were defended or protected, were the fittest to judge of and to provide the means of defraying the expenses incurred on that account." In the mean time, the minds of the Americans underwent a total transformation. Instead of their late peaceable and steady attachment to the British nation, they were daily advancing to the opposite extreme. The people, especially in the large cities, became riotous, insulted the persons, and destroyed the property of such as were known or supposed to be friendly to the stamp act. The mob were the visible agents in these disorderly proceedings; but they were encouraged by persons of rank and character.

As opportunities offered, the assemblies generally passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to lay taxes on their constituents. The people, in their town meetings, instructed their representatives to oppose the stamp act. For a specimen of the spirit and style of their instructions, see Appendix. No. I.

The expediency of calling a continental congress, to be composed of deputies from each of the provinces, had early occurred to the people of Massachusetts. The assembly of that province passed a resolution in favour of that measure, and fixed on New York as the place, and the second Tuesday of October, 1765, as the time, for holding the same. They sent circular letters to the speakers of the several assemblies, requesting their concurrence. This first advance towards continental union, was seconded in South Carolina, before it had been agreed to by any colony to the southward of New England. The example of this province had a considerable influence in recommending the measure to others, divided in their opinions as to its propriety.

The assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented, by their governors, from sending a deputation to this congress. Twenty-eight deputies from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New York: and, after mature deliberation, agreed on a declaration of their rights, and on a statement of their grievances. They asserted, in strong terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. They also concurred in a petition to the king, a memorial to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons. The colonies prevented from sending their representatives to this congress, forwarded petitions similar to those adopted by the deputies who attended.

While a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted, to oppose the stamp act, the first of November, on which it was to commence its operation, approached. At Boston, the day was ushered in by a funeral tolling of bells. Many shops and stores were shut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the stamp act, were carried about the streets in public derision, and then torn in pieces by the enraged populace. It was remarkable, that, though a large crowd was assembled, there was not the least violence or disorder.

At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the morning was ushered in with tolling all the bells in town. In the course of the day, notice was given to the friends of Liberty, to attend her funeral. A coffin, neatly ornamented, and inscribed with the word LIBERTY, in large letters, was carried to the grave. The funeral procession began from the state-house, attended with two unbraced drums. While the inhabitants who followed the coffin were in motion, minute guns were fired, and continued till the coffin arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration, in favour of the deceased, was pronounced. It was scarcely ended, before the coffin was taken up; it having been perceived that some remains of life were left: on which the inscription was immediately altered to "Liberty revived." The bells immediately exchanged their melancholy for a more joyful sound; and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or insult to any man's person or property.

The general aversion to the stamp act was, by similar methods, in a variety of places, demonstrated. It is remarkable that the proceedings of the populace, on these occasions, were carried on with decorum and regularity. They were not ebullitions of a thoughtless mob; but, for the most part, planned by leading men, of character and influence, who were friends to peace and order. These, knowing well that the bulk of mankind are more led by their senses, than by their reason, conducted the public exhibitions on that principle, with a view of making the stamp act, and its friends, both ridiculous and odious.

Though the stamp act was to have operated from the 1st of November, yet legal proceedings, in the courts, were carried on as before. Vessels entered and departed without stamped papers. The printers boldly printed and circulated their newspapers, and found a sufficient number of readers; though they used common paper, in defiance of the acts of parliament. In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on, as though no stamp act had existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to risk all consequences, rather than submit to use the paper required by law. While these matters were in agitation, the colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures, till the stamp act should be repealed. In this manner, British liberty was made to operate against British tyranny. Agreeably to the free constitution of Great Britain, the subject was at liberty to buy, or not to buy, as he pleased. By suspending their future purchases on the repeal of the stamp act, the colonists made it the interest of merchants and manufacturers, to solicit for that repeal. They had usually taken so great a proportion of British manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting, annually, to two or three millions sterling, threw some thousands, in the mother country, out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own interest, to advocate the measures wished for by America. The petitions from the colonies were seconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, and connected with their liberties, the latter also solicited from motives of immediate interest.

In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the colonists betook themselves to a variety of necessary domestic manufactures. In a little time, large quantities of common cloths were brought to market; and these, though dearer, and of a worse quality, were cheerfully preferred to similar articles, imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into resolutions to abstain from eating lambs. Foreign elegancies were laid aside. The women were as exemplary as the men, in various instances of self-denial. With great readiness they refused every article of decoration for their persons, and luxury for their tables. These restrictions, which the colonists had voluntarily imposed on themselves, were so well observed, that multitudes of artificers, in England, were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactories were, in a great measure, at a stand. An association was entered into, by many of the Sons of Liberty, the name given to those who were opposed to the stamp act, by which they agreed, "to march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper costs and expense, with their whole force, to the relief of those that should be in danger from the stamp act, or its promoters and abettors, or any

thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done, in opposition to its obtaining." This was subscribed by so many, in New York and New England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.

From the decided opposition to the stamp act, which had been adopted by the colonies, it became necessary for Great Britain to enforce, or to repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. The opposers of a repeal urged arguments, drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamours of the Americans, and the consequences of weakening parliamentary authority over the colonies. On the other hand, it was evident, from the determined opposition of the colonies, that it could not be enforced without a civil war, by which, in every event, the nation must be a loser. In the course of these discussions, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the house of commons, and gave extensive information on the state of American affairs, and the impolicy of the stamp act, which contributed much to remove predjudices, and to produce a disposition that was friendly to a repeal.

Some speakers of great weight, in both houses of parliament, denied their right of taxing the colonies. The most distinguished supporters of this opinion were Lord Cambden, in the house of peers, and Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons. The former, in strong language, said: "My position is this; I repeat it; I will maintain it to my last hour. Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him, without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury. Whoever does it, commits a robbery."

Mr. Pitt, with an original boldness of expression, justified the colonists, in opposing the stamp act. "You have no right," said he, "to tax America, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects, so lost to every sense of virtue as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; that the reasons for the repeal be assigned: that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the same time," said he, "let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever, that we may bind their trade; confine their manufactures; and exercise every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The approbation of this illustrious statesman, whose distinguished abilities had raised Great Britain to the highest pitch of renown, inspired the Americans with additional confidence in the rectitude of their claims of exemption from parliamentary taxation; and emboldened them to farther opposition, when, at a future day, as shall be hereafter related, the project of an American revenue was resumed. After much debating, two protests in the house of Lords, and passing an act, "for securing the dependence of America on Great Britain," the repeal of the stamp act was carried, in March, 1766. This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames displayed their colours; and houses were illuminated, all over the city. It was no sooner known in America, than the colonists rescinded their resolutions, and recommended their mercantile intercourse with the mother country. They presented their homespun clothes to the poor; and imported more largely than ever. The churches resounded with thanksgivings; and their public and private rejoicings knew no bounds. By letters, addresses, and other means, almost all the colonies showed unequivocal marks of acknowledgment and gratitude. So sudden a calm, after so violent a storm, is without a parallel in history. By the judicious sacrifice of one law, the parliament of Great Britain procured an acquiescence in all that remained.

There were enlightened patriots, fully impressed with an idea, that the immoderate joy of the colonists was disproportioned to the advantage they had gained.

The stamp act, though repealed, was not repealed on American principles. The preamble assigned as the reason thereof, "that the collecting the several duties and revenues, as by the said act was directed, would be attended with many inconveniences, and productive of consequences, dangerous to the commercial interests of these kingdoms." Though this reason was a good one in England, it was by no means satisfactory in America. At the same time that the stamp act was repealed, the absolute unlimited supremacy of parliament was, in words asserted. The opposers of the repeal contended for this as essential. The friends of that measure acquiesced in it, to strengthen their party, and make sure of their object. Many of both sides thought, that the dignity of Great Britain required something of the kind, to counterbalance the loss of authority, that might result from her yielding to the clamours of the colonists. The act for this purpose was called the declaratory act; and was, in principle, more hostile to American rights than the stamp act; for, it annulled those resolutions and acts of the provincial assemblies, in which they had asserted their right to exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives; and also enacted, "that the parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever,"

The majority of the Americans intoxicated with the advantage they had gained overlooked this statute, which, in one comprehensive sentence, not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity, They considered it as a salvo for the honour of parliament, in repealing an act, which had so lately received their sanction; and flattered themselves it would remain a dead letter; and that, although the right of taxation was in words retained, it would never be exercised. Unwilling to contend about paper claims of ideal supremacy, they returned to their habits of good humour with the parent state,

The repeal of the stamp act, in a relative connexion with all its circumstances and consequences, was the first direct step to American independence. The claims of the two countries were not only left undecided; but a foundation was laid for their extending, at a future period, to the impossibility of a compromise, Though, for the present, Great Britain receded from enforcing her claim of American revenue, a numerous party, adhering to that system, reserved themselves for more favouraable circumstances to enforce it; and, at the same time, the colonists, more enlightened on the subject, and more fully convinced of the rectitude of their claims, were encouraged to oppose it, under whatsoever form it should appear, or under whatsoever disguise it should cover itself.

Elevated with the advantage they had gained, from that day forward, instead of feeling themselves dependent on Great Britain, they conceived that, in respect to commerce, she was dependent on them, It inspired them with such high ideas of the importance of their trade, that they considered the mother country to be brought under greater obligations to them, for purchasing her manufactures, than they were to her for protection and the administration of civil government, The freemen of British America, impressed with the exalting sentiments of patriotism and of liberty, conceived it to be within their power, by future combinations, at any time to convulse, if not to bankrupt the nation, from which they sprung.

Opinions of this kind were strengthened by their local situation, favouring ideas, as extensive as the unexplored continent of which they were inhabitants. While the pride of Britons revolted at the thought, of their colonies refusing subjection to that parliament, which they obeyed; the Americans, with equal haughtiness, exclaimed: "Shall the petty island of Great Britain, scarce a speck on the map of the world, control the free citizens of the great continent of America?"

These high-sounding pretensions would have been harmless, or, at most, spent themselves in words, had not a ruinous policy, untaught by recent experience, called them into serious action. Though the stamp act was repealed, an American revenue was still a favourite object with many in Great Britain. The equity and the advantage of taxing the colonists, by parliamentary authority, were very apparent to their understandings; but the mode of effecting it, without hazarding the public tranquility, was not so obvious.

Mr. Charles Townsend, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, pawned his credit to accomplish what many so earnestly desired. He accordingly in 1767, brought into parliament a bill, for granting duties in the British colonies on glass, paper, painters' colours, and tea, which was afterwards enacted into a law. If the small duties, imposed on these articles, had preceded the stamp act, they migh have passed unobserved: but the late discussions occasioned by that act, had produced among the colonists, not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealousy of the designs of Great Britain.

The sentiments of the Americans, on this subject, bore a great resemblance to those of their British countrymen, of the preceding century, in the case of ship-money. The amount of that tax was very moderate, little exceeding twenty thousand pounds. It was distributed upon the people with equality, and expended for the honour and advantage of the kingdom; yet all these circumstances could not reconcile the people of England to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary. "By the same right," said they, "any other tax may be imposed." In like manner, the Americans considered these small duties, in the nature of an entering wedge, designed to make way for others, which would be greater and heavier. In a relative connexion with late acts of parliament, respecting domestic manufactures and foreign commerce, laws, for imposing taxes on British commodities exported to the colonies, formed a complete circle of oppression, from which there was no possibility of escaping.

The colonies had been, previously restrained from manufacturing certain articles, for their own consumption. Other acts confined them to the exclusive use of British merchandise. The addition of duties put them wholly in the power and discretion of Great Britain. "We are not," said they "permitted to import from any nation, other than our own parent state, and have been, in some cases, restrained by her from manufacturing for ourselves; and she claims a right to do so, in every instance, which is incompatible with her interest. To these restrictions we have hitherto submitted: but she now rises in her demands, and imposes duties on those commodities, the purchasing of which elsewhere, than at her market, her laws forbid, and the manufacturing of which for her own use, she may, any moment she pleases, restrain. If her right be valid, to lay a small tax, it is equally so to lay a large one; for, from the nature of the case, she must be guided exclusively by her own opinions of our ability, and of the propriety of the duties she may impose. Nothing is left for us to do, but to complain, and pay."

The colonists contended that there was no real difference, between the principle of these new duties and the stamp act. They were both designed to raise a revenue in America, and in the same manner. The payment of the duties, imposed by the stamp act, might have been eluded by the total disuse of stamped paper; and so might the payment of these duties, by the total disuse of those articles on which they were laid: but in neither case, without great difficulty. The colonists were, therefore, reduced to the hard alternative of being obliged, totally, to disuse articles of great utility in human life, or to pay a tax without their consent. The fire of opposition, which had been smothered by the repeal of the stamp act, burned afresh against the same principle of taxation, exhibited in its new form. Mr Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, on this occasion, presented to the public a series of letters, signed "a Farmer," proving the extreme danger which threatened the liberties of America, from their acquies

cence in a precedent, which might establish the claim of parliamentary taxation. They were written with great animation; and were read with uncommon avidity. Their reasoning was so convincing, that many of the candid and disinterested citizens of Great Britain acknowledged, that the American opposition to parliamentary taxation was justifiable. The enormous sums, which the stamp act would have collected, had thoroughly alarmed the colonists for their property.

It was now demonstrated by several writers, especially by the Pennsylvania Farmer, that a small tax, though more specious, was equally dangerous; as it established a precedent, which eventually annihilated American property. The declaratory act, which at first was the subject of but few comments, was now dilated upon, as a foundation for every species of oppression; and the small duties, lately imposed, were considered as the beginning of a train of much greater evils.

Had the colonists admitted the propriety of raising a parliamentary revenue among them, the erection of an American board of commissioners, for managing it, which was about this time instituted at Boston, would have been a convenience, rather than an injury; but united as they were in sentiments, of the contrariety of that measure to their natural and constitutional rights, they ill brooked the innovation. As it was coeval with the new duties, they considered it as a certain evidence, that the project of an extensive American revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp act, was still in contemplation. A dislike to British taxation naturally produced a dislike to a board, which was to be instrumental in that business; and occasioned many insults to its commissioners.

The revenue acts, of 1767, produced resolves, petitions, addresses, and remonstrances, similar to those, with which the colonists opposed the stamp act. It also gave rise to a second association, for suspending farther importations of British manufactures, till those offensive duties should be taken off. Uniformity, in these measures, was promoted by a circular letter from the assembly of Massachusetts, to the speakers of the other assemblies. This stated the petitions and representations, which they had forwarded against the late duties, and strongly pointed out the great difficulties, that must arise to themselves and their constituents, from the operation of acts of parliament, imposing duties on the unrepresented American colonies; and requesting a reciprocal free communication, on public affairs. Most of the provincial assemblies, as they had opportunities of deliberating on the subject, approved the proceedings of the Massachusetts assembly, and harmonised with them in the measures, which they had adopted. They stated their rights, in firm but decent language; and prayed for a repeal of the late acts, which they considered as infringements on their liberties.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the minister, who planned these duties, hoped, that they would be regarded as regulations of trade. He might also presume, that, as they amounted only to an inconsiderable sum, they would not give any alarm. The circular letter of the Massachusetts assembly, which laid the foundation for united petitions against them, gave therefore great offence. Lord Hillsborough, who had lately been appointed secretary of state, for the American department, wrote letters to the governors of the respective provinces, urging them to exert their influence, to prevent the assemblies from taking any notice of it; and he called on the Massachusetts assembly, to rescind their proceedings on that subject. This measure was both injudicious and irritating. To require a public body to rescind a resolution, for sending a letter, which was already sent, answered, and acted upon, was a bad specimen of the wisdom of the new minister. To call a vote, for sending a circular letter, to invite the assemblies of the neighbouring colonies to communicate together, in the pursuit of legal measures to obtain a redress of grievances, "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace," appeared to the colonists a very injudicious application of harsh epithets, to their constitutional right of petitioning. To threaten a new house of assembly with dissolution, in case of their not agreeing to rescind an act of a former assembly, which was not executory, but executed, clashed no less with the dictates of common sense, than the constitutional rights of British colonists. The proposition for rescinding was negatived, by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. The assembly was immediately dissolved, as had been threatened. This procedure of the new secretary was considered, by the colonists, as an attempt to suppress all communication of sentiments between them; and to prevent their united supplications from reaching the royal ear.

The bad humour, which, from successive irritation, already too much prevailed, was about this time wrought up to a high pitch of resentment and violence, on occasion of the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop Liberty, June 10th, 1768, for not having entered all the wines she had brought from Madeira. The popularity of her owner, the name of the sloop, and the general aversion to the board of commissioners, and parliamentary taxation, concurred to inflame the minds of the people. They used every means in their power to interrupt the officers in the execution of their business; and numbers swore that they would be revenged. Mr. Harrison, the collector, Mr. Hallowell, the comptroller, and Mr. Irwine, the inspector of imports and exports, were so roughly handled, as to bring their lives into danger. The windows of some of their houses were broken; and the boat of the collector was dragged through the town, and burned on the common. Such was the temper and disposition of many of the inhabitants, that the commissioners of the customs thought proper to retire on board the Romney man of war; and afterwards to Castle William.

The commissioners, from the first moment of their institution, had been an eye-sore to the people of Boston. This, though partly owing to their active zeal in detecting smugglers, principally arose from the association which existed in the minds of the inhabitants, between that board and an American revenue. The declaratory act of 1766, the revenue act of 1767, together with the pomp and expense of this board, so disproportionate to the small income of the present duties, conspired to convince not only the few who were benefitted by smuggling, but the great body of enlightened freemen, that farther and greater impositions of parliamentary taxes were intended. In proportion as this opinion gained ground, the inhabitants became more disrespectful to the executive officers of the revenue, and more disposed, in the frenzy of patriotism, to commit outrages on their persons and property. The constant bickering that existed between them and the inhabitants, together with the steady opposition given by the latter to the discharge of the official duties of the former, induced the commissioners and friends of an American revenue, to solicit the protection of a regular force, to be stationed at Boston. In compliance with their wishes, his majesty ordered two regiments, and some armed vessels, to repair thither, for supporting and assisting the officers of the customs in the execution of their duty. This restrained the active exertion of that turbulent spirit which, since the passing of the late revenue laws, had revived; but it added to its pre-existing causes.

When it was reported in Boston, that one or more regiments were ordered there, a meeting of the inhabitants was called, and a committee appointed to request the governor to issue precepts for convening a general assembly. He replied, "that he could not comply with this request till he had received his majesty's commands for that purpose." This answer being reported, it was voted, that the select-men of Boston should write to the select-men of other towns, to propose, that a convention of deputies from each, be held, to meet at Faneuil Hall, in Boston.

Ninety-six towns, and eight districts, agreed to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Boston, and appointed deputies to attend a convention; but the town of Hatfield refused its concurrence. When the deputies met, they conducted with moderation; disclaimed all legislative authority; advised the people to pay the greatest deference to government; and to wait patiently for a redress of their grievances, from his majesty's wisdom and moderation. Having stated to the world the causes of their meeting, and an account of their proceedings, they dissolved themselves, after a short session, and went home.

Within a day after the convention broke up, the expected regiments arrived, and were peaceably received. Hints had been thrown out by some, that they should not be permitted to come on shore. Preparations were made, by the captains of the men of war in the harbour, to fire on the town, in case opposition had been made to their landing; but the crisis for an appeal to arms was not yet arrived. It was hoped by some, that the folly and rage of the Bostonians would have led them to this rash measure, and thereby have afforded an opportunity for giving them some naval and military correction; but both prudence and policy induced them to adopt a more temperate line of conduct.

While the contention was kept alive, by the successive irritations, which have been mentioned, there was, particularly in Massachusetts, a species of warfare carried on between the royal governors, and the provincial assemblies. Each watched the other with all the jealousy, which strong distrust could inspire. The latter regarded the former as instruments of power, wishing to pay their court to the mother country, by curbing the spirit of American freedom; and the former kept a strict eye on the latter, lest they might smooth the way to independence, at which they were charged with aiming. Lieutenant governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, virtually challenged the assembly to a dispute, on the ground of the controversy between the two countries. This was accepted by the latter; and the subject discussed with all the subtilty of argument which the ingenuity of either party could suggest.

The war of words was not confined to the colonies. While the American assemblies passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to tax their constituents, the parliament, by resolves, asserted their unlimited supremacy in and over the colonies. While the former, in their public acts, disclaimed all views of independence, they were successively represented in parliamentary resolves, royal speeches, and addresses from lords and commons, as being in a state of disobedience to law and government; as having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution; and manifesting a disposition to throw off all subordination to Great Britain.

In February, 1769, both houses of parliament went one step beyond all that had preceded. They concurred in a joint address to his majesty, in which they expressed their satisfaction in the measures his majesty had pursued; gave the strongest assurances, that they would effectually support him in such farther measures, as might be found necessary, to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws, in Massachusetts Bay; beseeched him, "to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisons of treason committed within the government, since the 30th day of December, 1767; and to transmit the same, together with the names of persons, who were most active in the commision of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for inquiring of, hearing, and determining, the said offences, within the realm of Great Britain, pursuant to the provision of the statute of the thirty-fifth of King Henry the eighth." The latter part of this address, which proposed the bringing of delinquents from Massachusetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great Britain, for crimes committed in America, underwent many severe animadversions.

It was asserted to be totally inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution: for, in England, a man, charged with a crime, had a right to be tried in the country in which his offence was supposed

to have been committed. "Justice is regularly and impartially administered in our courts," said the colonists; "and yet, by direction of parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages which result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money."

The house of burgesses of Virginia met, soon after official accounts of the joint address of lords and commons, on this subject, reached America, and passed resolutions, asserting "their exclusive right to tax their constituents; their right to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances; the lawfulness of procuring the concurrence of the other colonies, in praying for the royal interposition, in favour of the violated rights of America; that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever, committed in that colony, ought to be before his majesty's courts, within the said colony; and that the seizing any person, residing in the said colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever, committed therein, and sending such person to places beyond the sea to be tried, was highly derogatory to the right of British subjects." The next day, lord Botetourt, the governor of Virginia, sent for the house of burgesses, and addressed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of burgesses, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you; and you are dissolved accordingly."

The assembly of North Carolina adopted resolutions similar to those of Virginia, for which Tryon, their governor, dissolved them. The members of the house of burgesses in Virginia, and of the assembly of North Carolina, after their dissolution, met as private gentlemen, chose their late speakers, moderators, and adopted resolutions against importing British goods. The non-importation agreement was, in this manner, forwarded by the very measures intended to curb the spirit of American freedom, from which it sprung.—Meetings of the associations were regularly held, in the various provinces. Committees were appointed to examine all vessels arriving from Britain. Censures were freely passed on such as refused to concur in these associations, and their names published in newspapers, as enemies to their country. The regular acts of the provincial assemblies were not so much respected and obeyed, as the decrees of these committees.

In Boston, lieutenant-governor Hutchinson endeavoured to promote a counter association; but without effect. The friends of importation objected, that, till parliament made provision for the punishment of the confederacies against importation, a counter association would answer no other purpose, than to expose the associators to popular rage.

The Bostonians, about this time, went one step farther. They re-shipped goods to Great Britain, instead of storing them as formerly. This was resolved upon, in a town meeting, on the information of an inhabitant, who communicated a letter he had lately received from a member of parliament, in which it was said, "that shipping back ten thousand pounds' worth of goods would do more, than storing a hundred thousand." This turned the scale, and procured a majority of votes for re-shipping. Not only in this, but in many other instances, the violence of the colonists were fostered by individuals in Great Britain. A number of these were in principle with the Americans, in denying the right of parliament, to tax them; but others were more influenced by a spirit of opposition to the ministerial majority, than by a regard to the constitutional liberties of either country.

The non-importation agreement had now lasted some time, and by degrees had become general. Several of the colonial assemblies had been dissolved, or prorogued, for asserting the rights of their constituents. The royal governors, and other friends to an American revenue, were chagrined. The colonists were irritated. Good men, both in England and America, deplored these untoward events, and beheld with concern an increasing ill humour between those, who were bound by interest and affection, to be friends to each other.

In consequence of the American non-importation agreement, founded in opposition to the duties of 1767, the manufacturers of Great Britain experienced a renewal of the distresses, which followed the adoption of similar resolutions, in the year 1765. The repeal of these duties was therefore solicited by the same influence, which had procured the repeal of the stamp act. The rulers of Great Britain acted without decision. Instead of persevering in their own system of coercion, or, indeed, in any one uniform system, they struck out a middle line, embarrassed with the consequences, both of severity and of lenity, and with, out the complete benefits of either. Soon after the spirited address to his majesty, last mentioned, had passed both houses of parliament, assurances were given for repealing all the duties, imposed in 1767, excepting that of three pence per pound on tea.

Anxious on the one hand to establish parliamentary supremacy, and on the other afraid to stem the torrent of opposition, they conceded enough to weaken the former, and yet not enough to satisfy the latter. Had Great Britain generously repealed the whole, and for ever relinquished all claim to the right or even the exercise of the right of taxation, the union of the two countries might have lasted for ages. Had she seriously determined to compel the submission of the colonies, nothing could have been more unfriendly to this design, than her repeated concessions to their reiterated associations. The declaratory act, and the reservation of the duty on tea, left the cause of contention between the two countries in full force; but the former was only a claim on paper, and the latter might be evaded, by refuseing to purchase any tea, on which the parliamentary tax was imposed. The colonists, therefore, conceiving that their commerce might be renewed, without establishing any precedent, injurious to their liberties, relaxed in their associations, in every particular, except tea, and immediately recommenced the importation of all other articles of merchandise. A political calm once more took place. The parent state might now have closed the dispute for ever, and honourably receded, without a formal relinquishment of her claims. Neither the reservation of the duty on tea, by the British parliament, nor the exceptions made by the colonists, of importing no tea, on which a duty was imposed, would, if they had been left to their own operation, have disturbed the returning harmony of the two countries.—Without fresh irritation, their wounds might have healed, and not a scar been left behind.

Unfortunately for the friends of union, so paltry a sum as three pence per pound on so insignificant an article as tea, in consequence of a combination between the British ministry and East India company, revived the dispute to the rending of the empire.

These two abortive attempts, to raise a parliamentary revenue in America, caused a fermentation in the minds of the colonists, and gave birth to many inquiries respecting their natural rights. Reflections and reasonings on this subject produced a high sense of liberty, and a general conviction, that there could be no security for their property, if they were to be taxed at the discretion of a British parliament in which they were unrepresented, and over which they had no control. A determination not only to oppose this new claim of taxation, but to keep a strict watch, lest it might be established in some disguised form, took possession of their minds.

It commonly happens, in the discussion of doubtful claims between states, that the ground of the original dispute insensibly changes. When the mind is employed in investigating one subject, others, associated with it, naturally present themselves. In the course of inquiries on the subject of parliamentary taxation, the restriction on the trade of the colonists, and the necessity that was imposed on them, to purchase British and other manufactures, loaded with their full proportion of all taxes, paid by those who made or sold them, became more generally known. While American writers were vindicating their country from the charge of contributing nothing to the common expenses of the empire, they were led to set off to their credit, the disadvantage of their being confined exclusively to purchase manufactures in Britain, They instituted calculations, by which they demonstrated, that the monopoly of their trade drew from them greater sums, for the support of government, than were usually paid by an equal number of their fellow-citizens of Great Britain; and that taxation, superadded to such a monopoly, would leave them in a state of perfect uncompensated slavery. The investigation of these subjects brought matters into view, which the friends of union ought to have kept out of sight. These circumstances, together with the extensive population of the eastern states, and their adventurous spirit of commerce, suggested to some bold spirits, that not only British taxation, but British navigation laws, were unfriendly to the interests of America. Speculations of this magnitude suited well with the extensive views of some capital merchants; but never would have roused the bulk of the people, had not new matter brought the dispute between the two countries to a point, in which every individual was interested.

On reviewing the conduct of the British ministry, respecting the colonies, much weakness, as well as folly, appears. For a succession of years, there was a steady pursuit of American revenue; but great inconsistency in the projects for obtaining it. In one moment, the parliament was for enforcing their laws; the next, for repealing them. Doing and undoing, menacing and submitting, straining and relaxing, followed each other, in alternate succession. The object of administration, though twice relinquished, as to any present efficacy, was invariably pursued; but without any unity of system.

On the 9th of May, 1769, the king, in his speech to parliament, highly applauded their hearty concurrence, in maintaining the execution of the laws, in every part of his dominions. Five days after this speech, lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia: "I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding informations to the contrary, from men, with factious and seditious views, that his majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament, to lay any farther taxes upon America, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that it is, at present, their intention to propose, the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." The governor was also informed, that "his majesty relied upon his prudence and fidelity, to make such an explanation of his majesty's measures, as would tend to remove prejudices, and to re-establish mutual confidence and affection, between the mother country and the colonies." In the exact spirit of his instructions, lord Botetourt addressed the Virginia assembly as follows: "It may possibly be objected, that, as his majesty's present administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo, what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform; and to that objection I can give but this answer: that it is my firm opinion, that the plan, I have stated to you, will certainly take place, and that it will never be departed from; and so determined am I for ever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power, with which I either am, or ever shall be, legally invested in order to obtain

and maintain for the continent of America, that satisfaction, which I have been authorised to promise this day, by the confidential servants of our gracious sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high, that he would rather part with his crown, than preserve it by deceit."

These assurances were received with transports of joy, by the Virginians. They viewed them as pledging his majesty for security, that the late design for raising a revenue in America was abandoned, and never more to be resumed. The assembly of Virginia, in answer to lord Botetourt, expressed themselves thus: "We are sure our most gracious sovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and justice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem your lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified by the royal word."

How far these solemn engagements with the Americans, were observed, subsequent events will demonstrate. In a perfect reliance on them, most of the colonies returned to their ancient habits of good humour, and flattered themselves that no future parliament would undertake to give or grant away their property.

From the royal and ministerial assurances given in favour of America, in the year 1769, and the subsequent repeal in 1770, of five-sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1767; together with the consequent renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great Britain and her colonies, many hoped, that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces, excepting Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favour that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony, which had begun, elsewhere to return. Stationing a military force among them was a fruitful source of uneasiness. The royal army had been brought thither with the avowed design of enforcing submission to the mother country. Speeches from the throne, and addresses from both houses of parliament, had taught them to look upon the inhabitants as a factious, turbulent people, who aimed at throwing off all subordination to Great Britain. They, on the other hand were accustomed to look upon the soldiery as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to dragoon them out of their liberties.

Reciprocal insults soured the tempers, and mutual injuries embittered the passions of the opposite parties. Some fiery spirits, who thought it an indignity to have troops quartered among them, were constantly exciting the townspeople to quarrel with the soldiers.

On the second of March, 1770, a fray took place near Mr. Gray's ropewalk, between a private soldier of the twenty-ninth regiment, and an inhabitant. The former was supported by his comrades, the latter by the rope-makers, till several on both sides were involved in the consequences. On the 5th, a more dreadful scene was presented. The soldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted and pelted by a mob, armed with clubs, sticks, and snow-balls covering stones. They were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the soldiers who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion. Such were the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townsmen from falling on the soldiers. Preston, the captain who commanded, and the party, who fired on the inhabitants, were committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The captain and six of the men were acquitted. Two were were brought in guilty of manslaughter. It appeared on the trial, that the soldiers were abused, insulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired. It was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners. These circumstances induced the jury to give a favourable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the counsel for the prisoners; and, also, on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions.

The events of that tragical night sunk deep in the minds of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity. Eloquent orators were successively employed, to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds. On these occasions the blessings of liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of a standing army, the rights of the colonies, and a variety of such topics, were presented to the public view, under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame.

The obstacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increased, by making the governor and judges, in Massachusetts, independent of the province. Formerly they had been paid by yearly grants from the assembly; but about this time provision was made for paying their salaries by the crown. This was resented as a dangerous innovation; as an infraction of their charter; and as destroying that balance of power, essential to free governments. That the crown should pay the salary of the chief justice, was represented by the assembly as a species of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determinations. They made it the foundation for impeaching Mr. Justice Oliver, before the governor; but he excepted to their proceedings as unconstitutional. The assembly, nevertheless, gained two points. They rendered the governor more odious to the inhabitants, and increased the public respect for themselves, as the counter part of the British house of commons, and as guardians of the rights of the people.

A personal animosity between governor Hutchinson and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province, after it had elsewhere visibly abated. This was worked up, in the year 1773, to a high pitch, by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written, in the course of the dispute, by governor Hutchinson, lieutenant governor Oliver, and other royal servants in Boston, to persons in power in England, which contained a very unfavourable representation of the state of public affairs, and tended to show the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of government, to secure the obedience of the province. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation and animosity which were excited on the receipt of them, had no bounds. The house of assembly agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, in which they charged their governor, and lieutenant governor, with being betrayers of the people they governed, and of giving private, partial, and false information. They also declared them enemies to the colonies, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. These charges were carried through by a majority of eighty-two to twelve.

The petition and remonstrance being transmitted to England, their merits were discussed before his majesty's privy council. After a hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin represented the province of Massachusetts, the governor and lieutenant governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburne, who defended the accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, inveighed against Dr. Franklin, in the severest language, as the fomenter of the disputes between the two countries.* It was no protection to this venerable sage, that, being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his duty to inform his constituents of letters, written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectability, and high literary character of the subject of Mr. Wedderburne's philippic, turned the attention of the public to the transaction. The insult offered to one of the public agents, and especially to one who was both the pride and ornament of his native country, sunk deep in the minds of the Americans. That a faithful servant, whom they loved, should be insulted for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts. Dr. Franklin was immediately dismissed from the office of deputy postmaster general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his transmission of these letters, that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings in favour of America. Two of his pieces, in particular, had lately attracted a large share of public attention, and had an extensive influence on both sides of the Atlantic The one purported to be an edict from the king of Prussia, for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one." In both of which he had exposed the claims of the mother country, and the proceedings of the British ministry, with the severity of poignant satire.

For ten years there had now been little intermission in the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies. Their respective claims had never been compromised on middle ground. The calm which followed the repeal of the stamp act, was in a few months disturbed by the revenue act of the year 1767. The tranquillity which followed the repeal of five-sixths of that act, in the year 1770, was nothing more than a truce. The reservation of the duty on tea, as an avowed evidence of the claims of Great Britain to tax her colonies, kept alive the jealousy of the colonists; while, at the same time, the stationing of an army in Massachusetts, the continuance of a board of commissioners in Boston, the constituting the governors and judges of that province independent of the people, were constant sources of irritation. The altercations which, at this period, were common between the royal governors and the provincial assemblies, together with numerous vindications of the claims of America, made the subject familiar to the colonists. The ground of the controversy was canvassed in every company. The more the Americans read, reasoned, and conversed on the subject, the more they were convinced of their right to the exclusive disposal of their property. This was followed by a determination to resist all encroachments on that palladium of liberty. They were as strongly convinced of their right, to refuse and resist parliamentary taxation, as the ruling powers of Great Britain of their right to demand and enforce their submission to it.

The claims of the two countries being thus irreconcilably opposed to each other, the partial calm, which followed the concession of parliament, in 1770, was liable to disturbance, from every incident. Under such circumstances, nothing less than the most guarded conduct, on both sides, could prevent a renewal of the controversy. Instead of following these prudential measures, which would have kept the ground of the dispute out of sight, an impolitic scheme was concerted, between the British ministry and the East India company, that placed the claims of Great Britain and her colonies in hostile array against each other.

In the year 1773, commenced a new era of the

* This charge is now known to be false. Dr. Franklin took every method in his power to prevent a rupture between Great Britain and America. His advice to his countrymen was, "to bear every thing for the present; as they were sure, in time, to outgrow all their grievances; and as it could not be in the power of the mother country to oppress them long." With that command of countenance, which is peculiar to great minds, he bore Wedderburne's abuse without any visible emotion; but that he felt, and remembered it, is visible from the following circumstances. About five years afterwards, when, as minister plenipotentiary of the United States, he signed a treaty of alliance on their behalf, with the king of France, he intentionally wore the same coat he had on when he was insulted by Wedderburne. See Dr. Priestly's Life. Vol. II. page 484.

American controversy. To understand this in its origin, it is necessary to recur to the period, when the solitary duty on tea was exempted, from the partial repeal of the revenue act of 1767. When the duties which had been laid on glass, paper, and painters' colours, were taken off, a respectable minority in parliament contended, that the duty on tea should also be removed. To this it was replied; "that, as the Americans denied the legality of taxing them a total repeal would be a virtual acquiescence in their claims; and that, in order to preserve the rights of the mother country, it was necessary to retain the preamble, and at least one of the taxed articles." It was rejoined, that a partial repeal would be a source of endless discontent; and that the tax on it would not defray the expenses of collecting it. The motion in favour of a total repeal was rejected by a great majority. As the parliament thought fit to retain the tax on tea, for an evidence of their right of taxation, the Americans in like manner, to be consistent with themselves in denying that right, discontinued the importation of that commodity. While there was no attempt to introduce tea into the colonies, against this declared sense of the inhabitants, these opposing claims were in no danger of collision. In that case, the mother country might have solaced herself, with her ideal rights, and the colonies, with their favourite opinion of a total exemption from parliamentary taxes, without disturbing the public peace. This mode of compromising the dispute, which seemed at first designed as a salvo for the honour and consistency of both parties, was, by the interference of the East India company, in combination with the British ministry, completely overset.

The expected revenue from tea failed, in consequence of the American association to import none on which a duty was charged. This proceeded as much from the spirit of gain, as of patriotism. The merchants found means of supplying their countrymen with tea, smuggled from countries to which the power of Britain did not extend. They doubtless conceived themselves to be supporting the rights of their country, by refusing to purchase tea from Britain; but they also reflected, that if they could bring the same commodity to market free of duty, their profits would be proportionably greater.

The love of gain was not peculiar to the American merchants. From the diminished exportation to the colonies, the warehouses of the British East India company had in them seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which a market could not be procured. The ministry and East India company, unwilling to lose, the one, the expected revenue from the sale of the tea in America, the other, the usual commercial profits, agreed on a measure by which they supposed both would be secured.

The East India company was, by law, authorized to export their tea free of duties, to all places whatsoever. By this regulation, tea, though loaded with an exceptionable duty, would come cheaper to the colonies, than before it had been made a source of revenue: for the duty taken off it, when exported from Great Britain, was greater than that to be paid on its importation into the colonies. Confident of success, in finding a market for their tea, thus reduced in its price, and also of collecting a duty on its importation and sale in the colonies, the East India company freighted several ships with teas, for the different colonies, and appointed agents for its disposal. This measure united several interests in opposition to its execution. The patriotism of the Americans was corroborated by several auxiliary aids, no ways connected with the cause of liberty.

The merchants in England were alarmed at the losses, that must accrue to themselves, from the exportations of the East India company, and from the sales going through the hands of consignees. Letters were written to colonial patriots, urging their opposition to the project.

The smugglers, who were both numerous and powerful, could not relish a scheme which, by underselling them, and taking a profitable branch of business out of their hands, threatened a diminution of their gains. The colonists were too suspicious of the designs of Great Britain to be imposed upon.

The cry of endangered liberty once more excited an alarm, from New Hampshire to Georgia. The first opposition to the execution of the scheme, adopted by the East India company, began with the American merchants. They saw a profitable branch of their trade likely to be lost, and the benefits of it to be transferred to the people in Great Britain. They felt for the wound, that would be inflicted on their country's claim of exemption from parliamentary taxation; but they felt, with equal sensibility, for the losses they would sustain, by the diversion of the streams of commerce, into unusual channels. Though the opposition originated in the selfishness of the merchants, it did not end there. The great body of the people, from principles of the purest patriotism, were brought over to second their wishes. They considered the whole scheme as calculated to seduce them into an acquiescence with the views of parliament, for raising an American revenue. Much pains were taken to enlighten the colonists on this subject, and to convince them of the imminent hazard to which their liberties were exposed.

The provincial patriots insisted largely on the persevering determination of the parent state, to establish her claim of taxation, by compelling the sale of tea in the colonies, against the solemn resolutions and declared sense of the inhabitants; and that, at a time, when the commercial intercourse of the two countries was renewed, and their ancient harmony fast returning. The proposed venders of the tea were represented as revenue officers, employed in the collection of an unconstitutional tax, imposed by Great Britain. The colonists contended, that, as the duty and the price of the commodity were inseparably blended, if the tea were sold, every purchaser would pay a tax imposed by the British parliament, as part of the purchase money. To obviate this evil, and to prevent the liberties of a great country from being sacrificed by inconsiderate purchasers, sundry town meetings were held in the capitals of the different provinces, and combinations were formed to obstruct the sales of the tea, sent by the East India company.

The resolutions adopted, by the inhabitants of Philadelphia, on the 18th of October, 1773, afford a good specimen of the whole. These were as follow:

"1. That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent; that the claim of parliament to tax America, is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

"2. That the duty, imposed by parliament upon tea landed in America, is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them, without their consent.

"3. That the express purpose, for which the tax is levied on the Americans, namely, for the support of government, administration of justice, and defence of his majesty's dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitary goverment and slavery.

"4. That a virtuous and steady opposition, to this ministerial plan of governing America, is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty; and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself, and to his posterity.

"5. That the resolution, lately entered into by the East India company, to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

"6. That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

"7. That whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance this attempt, or, in any wise, aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea sent, or to be sent out by the East India company, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to his country.

"8. That a committee be immediately chosen, to wait on those gentlemen, who, it is reported, are appointed by the East India company, to receive and sell said tea, and request them, from a regard to their own character, and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment."

As the time approached, when the arrival of the tea ships might be soon expected, such measures were adopted, as seemed most likely to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees, appointed by the East India company, were, in several places, compelled to relinquish their appointments; and no others could be found, hardy enough, to act in their stead. The pilots, in the river Delaware, were warned not to conduct any of the tea ships into their harbour. In New York, popular vengeance was denounced against all who would contribute, in any measure, to forward the views of the East India company. The captains of the New York and Philadelphia ships, being apprized of the resolution of the people, and fearing the consequence of landing a commodity, charged with an odious duty, in violation of their declared public sentiments, concluded to return directly to Great Britain, without making any entry at the custom house.

It was otherwise in Massachusetts. The tea ships, designed for the supply of Boston, were consigned to the sons, cousins, and particular friends of governor Hutchinson. When they were called upon to resign, they answered "that it was out of their power." The collector refused to give a clearance, unless the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles. The governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, unless properly qualified for the custom house. The governor likewise, requested admiral Montague to guard the passages out of the harbour; and gave orders to suffer no vessels, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. From a combination of these circumstances, the return of the tea vessels, from Boston, was rendered impossible. The inhabitants, then, had no option, but to prevent the landing of the tea; to suffer it to be landed, and depend on the unanimity of the people not to purchase it; to destroy the tea; or to suffer a deep laid scheme against their sacred liberties to take effect. The first would have required incessant watching, by night, as well as by day, for a period of time, the duration of which no one could compute. The second would have been visionary to childishness, by suspending the liberties of a growing country, on the self-denial and discretion of every tea-drinker in the province. They viewed the tea as the vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, and as inseparably associated with it. To avoid the one, they resolved to destroy the other. About seventeen persons, dressed as Indians, repaired to the tea ships, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and, without doing any other damage, discharged their contents into the water.

Thus, by the inflexibility of the governor, the issue of this business was different, at Boston, from what it was elsewhere. The whole cargoes of tea were returned from New York and Philadelphia. That which was sent to Charleston was landed and stored; but not offered for sale. Mr. Hutchinson had repeatedly urged government to be firm and persevering. He could not, therefore, consistent with his honour, depart from a line of conduct, he had so often and so strongly recommended to his superiors. He also believed, that the inhabitants would not dare to perfect their engagements; and flattered himself, that they would desist, when the critical moment arrived.

Admitting the rectitude of the American claims of exemption, from parliamentary taxation, the destruction of the tea, by the Bostonians, was warranted by the great law of self-preservation; for it was not possible for them, by any other means, to discharge the duty they owed to their country.

The event of this business was very different

from what had been expected in England. The colonists acted with so much union and system, that there was not a single chest, of any of the cargoes sent out by the East India company, sold for their benefit.

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings of the British Parliament, in consequence of the destruction of the tea, by the Bostonians. Boston port act, &c.

Intelligence of the events, which have been stated in the last chapter, was, on the 7th of March, 1774, communicated, in a message from the throne, to both houses of parliament. In this communication, the conduct of the colonists was represented, as not only obstructing the commerce of Great Britain, but as subversive of its constitution. The message was accompanied with a number of papers, containing copies and extracts of letters, from the several royal governors and others; from which it appeared, that the opposition to the sale of tea was not peculiar to Massachusetts; but common to all the colonies. These papers were accompanied with declarations, that nothing short of parliamentary influence could re-establish order, among the turbulent colonists; and that, therefore, decisive measures should be immediately adopted. If the right of levying taxes on the Americans were vested in the parent state, these inferences were well-founded; but if it were not, their conduct, in resisting an invasion of their rights, was justified, not only by many examples in the history of Britain, but by the spirit of the constitution of that country, which they were opposing.

By the destruction of the tea, the people of Boston had incurred the sanction of penal laws. Those in Great Britain, who wished for an opportunity to take vengeance on that town, commonly supposed by them to be the mother of sedition and rebellion, rejoiced, that her inhabitants had laid themselves open to castigation.

It was well known, that the throwing of the tea into the river did not originate with the persons, who were the immediate instruments of that act of violence; and that the whole had been concerted, at a public meeting, and was, in a qualified sense, the act of the town. The universal indignation, which was excited in Great Britain, against the people of Boston, pointed out to the ministry the suitableness of the present moment for humbling them. Though the ostensible ground of complaint was nothing more than a trespass on private property, committed by private persons; yet it was well known to be a part of a long digested plan of resistance to parliamentary taxation. Every measure, that might be pursued on the occasion, seemed to be big with the fate of the empire. To proceed in the usual forms of law, appeared to the rulers, in Great Britain, to be a departure from their dignity. It was urged by the ministry, that parliament, and parliament only, was capable of re-establishing tranquility among these turbulent people, and of bringing order out of confusion. To stifle all opposition from the merchants, the public papers were filled with writings, which stated the impossibility of carrying on a future trade to America, if this flagrant outrage on commerce should go unpunished.

It was in vain urged, by the minority, that no good could arise from coercion, unless the minds of the Americans were made easy on the subject of taxation. Equally vain was a motion for a retrospect into the conduct of the ministry, which had provoked their resistance.

The parliament confined themselves solely to the late misbehaviour of the Americans, without any inquiry into its provoking causes.

The violence of the Bostonians, in destroying an article of commerce, was largely insisted upon, without any indulgence for the jealous spirit of liberty, in the descendants of Englishmen.—The connexion between the tea, and the unconstitutional duty imposed thereon, was overlooked, and the public mind of Great Britain solely fixed on the obstruction given to commerce, by the turbulent colonists. The spirit raised against the Americans became as high, and as strong, as their most inveterate enemies desired. This was not confined to the common people; but took possession of legislators, whose unclouded minds ought to be exalted above the mists of prejudice or partiality. Such, when they consult on public affairs, should be free from the impulses of passion; for it rarely happens, that resolutions, adopted in anger, are founded in wisdom. The parliament of Great Britain, transported with indignation against the people of Boston, in a fit of rage resolved to take legislative vengeance on that devoted town.

Disregarding the forms of her own constitution, by which none are to be condemned unheard, or punished without a trial, a bill was finally passed, by which the port of Boston was virtually blocked up: for it was legally precluded from the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise. The minister, who proposed this measure, stated, in support of it, that the opposition, to the authority of parliament, had always originated in that colony, and had always been instigated by the seditious proceedings of the town of Boston; that it was, therefore necessary to make an example of that town, which, by an unparalleled outrage, had violated the freedom of commerce; and that Great Britain would be wanting in the protection she owed to her peaceable subjects, if she did not punish such an insult, in an exemplary manner.—He, therefore, proposed, that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea, which had been destroyed. He was farther of opinion, that making a pecuniary satisfaction, for the injury committed, would not alone be sufficient; but that, in addition thereto, security must be given in future, that trade might be safely carried on; property protected; laws obeyed; and duties paid. He urged, therefore, that it would be proper to take away from Boston, the privileges of a port, until his majesty should be satisfied, in these particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was so satisfied. Until this should happen, he proposed that the custom-house officers should be removed to Salem. The minister hoped, that this act would execute itself; or, at most, that a few frigates would secure its execution. He also hoped, that the prospect of advantage to the town of Salem, from its being made the seat of the custom-house, and from the occlusion of the port of Boston, would detach the inhabitants from the interest of the latter, and dispose them to support a measure, from which they had so much to expect. It was also presumed, that the other colonies would leave Boston to suffer the punishment due to her demerits. The abettors of parliamentary supremacy flattered themselves, that this decided conduct of Great Britain would, for ever extinguish all opposition of the refractory colonists to the claims of the mother country; and the apparent equity of obliging a delinquent town to make reparation, for an injury occasioned by the factious spirit of its inhabitants, silenced many of the friends of America. The consequences, resulting from this measure, were the reverse of what were wished by the first, and dreaded by the last.

By the operation of the Boston port act, the preceding situation of its inhabitants, and that of the East India company, was reversed. The former had more reason to complain of the disproportionate penalty, to which they were indiscriminately subjected, than the latter of that outrage on their property, for which punishment had been inflicted. Hitherto the East India company were the injured party; but, from the passing of this act, the balance of injury was on the opposite side. If wrongs received entitled the former to reparation, the latter had a much stronger title on the same ground. For the act of seventeen or eighteen individuals, as many thousands were involved in one general calamity.

Both parties viewed the case on a much larger scale than that of municipal law. The people of Boston alledged, in vindication of their conduct, that the tea was a weapon aimed at their liberties; and that the same principles of self-preservation, which justify the breaking of the assassin's sword, uplifted for destruction, equally authorized the destruction of that tea, which was the vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, subversive of their liberties. The parliament of Great Britain considered the act of the people of Boston, in destroying the tea, as an open defiance of that country. The demerit of the action, as an offence against property, was lost in the supposed superior demerit of treasonable intention, to emancipate themselves from a state of colonial dependence. The Americans conceived the case to be intimately connected with their liberties; the inhabitants of Great Britain, with their supremacy. The former considered it as a duty they owed their country, to make a common cause with the people of Boston; the latter thought themselves under equal obligations, to support the privileges of parliament.

On the third reading of the Boston port bill, a petition was presented by the lord mayor, in the name of several natives and inhabitants of North America, then residing in London. It was drawn with great force of language, and stated that, "the proceedings of parliament against Boston were repugnant to every principle of law and justice, and established a precedent, by which no man in America could enjoy a moment's security." The friends of parliamentary supremacy had long regretted the democratic constitutions of the provinces, as adverse to their schemes.—They saw, with concern, the steady opposition that was given to their measures, by the American legislatures. These constitutions were planned, when Great Britain neither feared nor cared for her colonies. Not suspecting that she was laying the foundation of future states, she granted charters that gave to the people so much of the powers of government, as enabled them to make, not only a formidable, but a regular, constitutional opposition to the country from which they sprung.

Long had her rulers wished for an opportunity to revoke these charters, and to new-model these governments.* The present moment seemed favourable to this design. The temper of the nation was high; and the resentment against the province of Massachusetts general and violent. The late outrages in Boston furnished a pretence for the attempt. An act of the British parliament speedily followed to the one for shutting up the port of Boston, entitled, An act for better regulating the government of Massachusetts. The object of this was to alter the charter of the province, in the following particulars.

The council, or second branch of the legislature, heretofore elected by the general court, was to be, from the first of August, 1774, appointed by the crown. The royal governor was also, by the same act, invested with the power of appointing and removing all judges of the inferior courts of common pleas, commissioners of oyer and terminer, the attorney general, provost marshal, justices, sheriffs, &c. The town meetings, which were sanctioned by the charter, were, with a few exceptions, expressly forbidden to be held, with-

* The three last kings of the Stuart line laboured hard, to annihilate the charters of the English colonies in America; and nothing but the revolution of 1688, in England, prevented the accomplishment of their designs. The four first sub-revolutionary sovereigns of England discontinued the attempt; but it was revived, in the reign of the fifth. This abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts was the entering wedge, and, if successful, would doubtless have been followed, by a prostration of the charters of the other provinces, to make room for a more courtly system, less dependent on the people. The American revolution saved the colonies, in the last case, as the English revolution had in the first:—so necessary are occasional revolutions, to bring governments back to first principles, and to teach rulers, that the people are the fountain of all legitimate power, and their happiness the object of all its delegations.

out the leave of the governor or lieutenant governor in writing, expressing the special business of said meeting, first had and obtained; and with a farther restriction, that no matter should be treated of at those meetings, except the election of public officers, and the business expressed in the leave given by the governor or lieutenant governor. Jurymen, who had been before elected by the freeholders and inhabitants of the several towns, were to be, by this new act, all summoned and returned, by the sheriffs of the respective counties. The whole executive government was taken out of the hands of the people; and the nomination of all the important officers vested in the king or his governor.

This act excited a greater alarm than the port act. The one affected only the metropolis; the other the whole province. The one had the appearance of being merited; as it was well known, that an act of violence had been committed by its inhabitants, under the sanction of a town meeting: but the other had no stronger justifying reason than that the proposed alterations were, in the opinion of the parliament, absolutely necessary, in order to the preservation of the peace and good order of the said province. In support of this bill, the minister who brought it in, alleged, that an executive power was wanting in the country. The very people, said he, who commit the riots, are the posse comitatus, in which the force of the civil power consists. He farther urged the futility of making laws, the execution of which, under the present form of government in Massachusetts, might be so easily evaded; and therefore contended for a necessity to alter the whole frame of their constitution, as far as related to its executive and judicial powers. In opposition, it was urged, that the taking away the civil constitution of a whole people, secured by a solemn charter, upon general charges of delinquencies and defects, was a stretch of power of the most arbitrary and dangerous nature.

By the English constitution, charters were sacred, revocable only by a due course of law, and on a conviction of misconduct. They were solemn compacts between the prince and the people and without the constitutional power of either party. The abettors of the British schemes reasoned in a summary way. Said they, "the colonies, particularly Massachusetts, by their circular letters, associations, and town meetings, have for years past, thwarted all the measures of government, and are meditating independency. This turbulent spirit of theirs is fostered by their constitution which invests them with too much power, to be consistent with their state of subordination. Let us therefore lay the axe at the root; new model their charter; and lop off those privileges which they have abused."

When the human mind is agitated with passion, it rarely discerns its own interest, and but faintly foresees consequences. Had the parliament stopped short with the Boston port act, the motive to union and to make a common cause with that metropolis, would have been feeble, perhaps ineffectual to have roused the other provinces; but the arbitrary mutilation of the important privileges contained in a solemn charter, without a trial, and without a hearing, by the will of parliament, convinced the most moderate, that the cause of Massachusetts was the cause of all the provinces.

It readily occurred to those who guided the helm of Great Britain, that riots would probably take place, in attempting the execution of the acts just mentioned. They also discerned, that such was the temper of the people, that trials for murders, committed in suppressing riots, if held in Massachusetts, would seldom terminate in favour of the parties, who were engaged on the side of government. To make their system complete, it was necessary to go one step farther, and to screen their active friends from the apprehended partiality of such trials. It was therefore provided by law, that if any person was indicted for murder, or for any capital offence, committed in aiding magistracy, that the government might send the person so indicted, to another colony, or to Great Britain to be tried. This law was the subject of severe comments. It was considered as an act of indemnity to those, who should embrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens. It was asked, how the relations of a murdered man could effectually prosecute, if they must go three thousand miles to attend that business. It was contended, that the act, by stopping the usual course of justice, would give rise to assassinations, and dark revenge among individuals; and encourage all kinds of lawless violence. The charge of partiality was retorted. For, said they, "if a party spirit, against the authority of Great Britain, would condemn an active officer, in Massachusetts, as a murderer, the same party spirit, for preserving the authority of Great Britain, would in that country, acquit a murderer as a spirited performer of his duty." The case of Captain Preston was also quoted, as a proof of the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts.

The same natives of America, who had petitioned against the Boston port bill, presented a second one against these two bills. With uncommon energy of language, they pointed out many constitutional objections against them; and concluded with fervently beseeching, "that the parliament would not by passing them, reduce their countrymen to an abject state of misery and humiliation or drive them to the last resource of despair." The lords of the minority entered also a protest against the passing of each of these bills.

It was fortunate for the people of Boston, and those who wished to promote a combination of the colonies against Great Britain, that these three several laws passed nearly at the same time.—They were presented in quick succession, either in the form of bills, or of acts, to the consideration of the inflamed Americans, and produced effects on their minds, infinitely greater than could have been expected from either, especially from the Boston port act alone.

When the fire of indignation, excited by the first, was burning intelligence of these other acts, operated like fuel, and made it flame out with increasing vehemence. The three laws were considered as forming a complete system of tyranny, from the operation of which, there was no chance of making a peaceable escape.

"By the first," said they, "the property of unoffending thousands is arbitrarily taken away, for the act of a few individuals. By the second, our chartered liberties are annihilated: and by the third, our lives may be destroyed with impunity. Property, liberty, and life, are all sacrificed on the altar of ministerial vengeance." This mode of reasoning was not peculiar to Massachusetts.—These three acts of parliament, contrary to the expectation of those who planned them, became a cement of a firm union among the colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. They now openly said, "Our charters and other rights and immunities, must depend on the pleasure of parliament." They were sensible that they had all concurred, more or less, in the same line of opposition, which had provoked these severe statutes against Massachusetts; and they believed, that vengeance, though delayed, was not remitted; and that the only favour, the least culpable could expect, was to be the last that would be devoured. The friends of the colonies contended, that these laws were in direct contradiction to the letter and the spirit of the British constitution. Their opposers could support them on no stronger grounds than those of political necessity and expedience. They acknowledged them to be contrary to the established mode of proceeding; but defended them, as tending ultimately to preserve the constitution, from the meditated independency of the colonies.

Such was the temper of the people in England that the acts hitherto passed were popular. A general opinion had gone forth in the mother country, that the people of Massachusetts, by their violent opposition to government, had drawn on themselves merited correction.

The parliament did not stop here; but proceeded one step farther, which inflamed their enemies in America, and lost them friends in Great Britain. The general clamour in the provinces was, that the proceedings in parliament was arbitrary and unconstitutional. Before they completed their memorable session, in the beginning of the year 1774, they passed an act rejecting the government of Quebec, which, in the opinion of their friends merited these appellations. By this act government of that province was made to extend southward to the Ohio, westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the boundary of the Hudson's Bay company. The principal object of the act was to form a legislative council, for all the affairs of the province, except taxation, which council should be appointed by the crown; the office to be held during pleasure; his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to be entitled to a place therein; to establish the French laws, and a trial without jury, in civil cases; and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal; and to secure, to the Roman Catholic clergy, except the regulars, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and their tythes, from all who were of their own religion. Not only the spirit, but the letter of this act were so contrary to the English constitution, that it diminished the popularity of the measures, which had been adopted against the Americans.

Among the more southern colonists, it was conceived, that its evident object was to make the inhabitants of Canada fit instruments, in the hands of power, to reduce them to a state of slavery.

They well remembered the embarrassments occasioned to them, in the late war between France and England, by the French inhabitants of Canada. They supposed, that the British administration, meant, at this time, to use these people in the same line of attack, for their subjugation. As Great Britain had new modelled the chartered government of Massachusetts, and claimed an authority to so do in every province, the colonists were apprehensive, that, in the plenitude of her power, she would impose on each of them, in their turn, a constitution, similar to the one projected for the province of Canada.

They foresaw, or thought they foresaw, the annihilation of their ancient assemblies, and their whole legislative business transferred to creatures of the crown. The legal parliamentary right to a maintenance, conferred on the clergy of the Roman Catholic religion, gave great offence to many in England; but the political consequences, expected to result from it, were most dreaded by the colonists.

They viewed the whole act as an evidence, that hostilities were intended against them, and as calculated to make Roman Catholics subservient to the purposes of military coercion.

The session of parliament, which passed these memorable acts, had stretched far into summer. As it drew near a close, the most sanguine expectations were indulged, that, from the resolution and great unanimity of parliament, on all American questions, the submission of the colonists would be immediate, and their future obedience and tranquility effectually secured. The triumphs, and congratulations, of the friends of the ministry were unusually great.

In passing the acts which have been just mentioned, dissentients in favour of America, were unusually few. The ministerial majority, believing that the refractory colonists depended chiefly on the countenance of their English abettors, were of opinion, that as soon as they received intelligence of the decrease of their friends, and of the decisive conduct of parliament, they would acquiesce in the will of Great Britain. The fame and grandeur of the nation were such, that it was never imagined, they would seriously dare to contend with so formidable a people. The late triumphs of Great Britain had made such an impression on her rulers, that they believed the Americans, on seeing the ancient spirit of the nation revive, would not risk a trial of prowess with those fleets and armies, which the combined forces of France and Spain were unable to resist. By an impious confidence in their superior strength, they precipitated the nation into rash measures, from the dire effects of which, the world may learn a useful lesson.

CHAPTER VI.

Proceedings of the colonies, in 1774, in consequence of the Boston port act.

The winter which followed the destruction of the tea in Boston, was fraught with anxiety to those of the colonists, who were given to reflection. Many conjectures were formed about the line of conduct Great Britain would probably adopt for the support of her dignity. The fears of the most timid were more than realized, by the news of the Boston port bill. This arrived on the 10th of May, 1774; and its operation was to commence the 1st of the next month. Various town meetings were called, to deliberate on the state of public affairs. On the 13th of May, the town of Boston passed the following vote:

"That it is the opinion of this town, that, if the other colonies come to a joint resolution, to stop all importation from Great Britain and the West Indies, till the act, for blocking up this harbour, be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America, and her liberties. On the other hand, if they continue their exports and imports, there is high reason to fear that fraud, power, and the most odious oppression, will rise triumphant over justice, right, social happiness, and freedom. And, moreover, that this vote be transmitted by the moderator, to all our sister colonies, in the name and behalf of this town."

Copies of this vote were transmitted to each of the colonies. The opposition to Great Britain had hitherto called forth the pens of the ingenious, and, in some instances, imposed the self-denial of non-importation agreements: but the bulk of the people had little to do with the dispute. The spirited conduct of the people of Boston, in destroying the tea, and the alarming precedents set by Great Britain, in consequence thereof, brought subjects into discussion, with which every peasant and day labourer was concerned.

The patriots who had hitherto guided the helm, knew well, that, if the other colonies did not support the people of Boston, they must be crushed; and it was equally obvious, that in their coercion a precedent, injurious to liberty, would be established. It was therefore the interest of Boston to draw in the other colonies. It was also the interest of the patriots, in all the colonies, to bring over the mass of the people, to adopt such efficient measures as were likely to extricate the inhabitants of Boston from the unhappy situation in which they were involved. To effect these purposes, much prudence as well as patriotism was necessary. The other provinces were but remotely affected by the fate of Massachusetts. They had no particular cause, on their own account, to oppose the government of Great Britain. That a people so circumstanced, should take part with a distressed neighbour, at the risk of incurring the resentment of the mother country, did not accord with the selfish maxims by which states, as well as individuals, are usually governed. The ruled are, for the most part, prone to suffer as long as evils are tolerable: and, in general, they must feel before they are roused to contend with their oppressors: but the Americans acted on a contrary principle.

They commenced an opposition to Great Britain, and ultimately engaged in a defensive war, on speculation. They were not so much moved by oppression, actually felt, as by a conviction that a foundation was laid, and a precedent about to be established, for future oppressions. To convince the bulk of the people, that they had an interest in foregoing a present good, and submitting to a present evil, in order to obtain a future greater good, and to avoid a future greater evil, was the task assigned to the colonial patriots. It called for the exertion of their utmost abilities. They effected it in a great measure by means of the press. Pamphlets, essays, addresses, and newspaper dissertations, were daily presented to the public, proving that Massachusetts was suffering in the common cause, and that interest and policy required the united exertions of all the colonies, in support of that much-injured province. It was inculcated on the people, that, if the ministerial schemes were suffered to take effect in Massachusetts, the other colonies must expect the loss of their charters, and that a new government would be imposed upon them, like that projected for Quebec. The king and parliament held no patronage in America sufficient to oppose this torrent. The few who ventured to write in their favour, found a difficulty in communicating their sentiments to the public. No pensions or preferments awaited their exertions. Neglect and contempt were their usual portion; but popularity, consequence, and fame, were the rewards of those who stepped forward in the cause of liberty. In order to interest the great body of the people, the few, who were at the helm, disclaimed any thing more decisive, than convening the inhabitants, and taking their sense on what was proper to be done. In the meantime, great pains were taken to prepare them for the adoption of vigorous measures.

The words whigs and tories, for want of better, were now introduced, as the distinguishing names of parties. By the former, were meant those who were for making a common cause with Boston, and supporting the colonies in their opposition to the claims of parliament. By the latter, those who were, at least, so far favourers of Great Britain, that they wished, either that no measures, or only palliative measures, should be adopted in opposition to her schemes.

These parties were so nearly balanced in New York, that nothing more was agreed to, at the first meeting of the inhabitants, than a recommendation to call a congress.

At Philadelphia, the patriots had a delicate part to act. The government of the colony being proprietary, a multitude of officers, connected with that interest, had much to fear from convulsions, and nothing to expect from a revolution. A still greater body of the people, called Quakers, denied the lawfulness of war; and therefore could not adopt such measures, for the support of Boston, as naturally tended to produce an event so adverse to their system of religion.

The citizens of Boston not only sent forward their public letter to the citizens of Philadelphia, but accompanied it with private communications, to individuals of known patriotism and influence, in which they stated the impossibility of their standing alone, against the torrent of ministerial vengeance, and the indispensible necessity, that the leading colony of Pennsylvania should afford them its support and countenance. The advocates in Philadelphia, for making a common cause with Boston, were fully sensible of the state of parties in Pennsylvania. They saw the dispute with Great Britain brought to a crisis, and a new scene opening, which required exertions different from any heretofore made. The success of these they well knew, depended on the wisdom, with which they were planned, and the union of the whole people, in carrying them into execution. They saw the propriety of proceeding with the greatest circumspection; and therefore resolved, at their first meeting, on nothing more than to call a general meeting of the inhabitants, on the next evening. At the second meeting, the patriots had so much moderation and policy, as to urge nothing decisive, contenting themselves with taking the sense of the inhabitants, simply on the propriety of sending an answer to the public letter from Boston. This was universally approved. The letter agreed upon was firm but temperate. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice on the present occasion; sympathized with the people of Boston in their distress; and observed that all lenient measures, for their relief, should be first tried. They said, that, if the making restitution for the tea destroyed, would put an end to the unhappy controversy, and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty, it could not admit of a doubt what part they should act; but that it was not the value of the tea; it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money, which was the matter in consideration; that it was the common cause of America; and, therefore, necessary, in their opinion, that a congress of deputies from the several colonies should be convened, to devise means for restoring harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, and preventing matters from coming to extremities. Till this could be brought about, they recommended firmness, prudence, and moderation to the immediate sufferers; assuring them, that the people of Pennsylvania would continue to evince a firm adherence to the cause of American liberty.

In order to awaken the attention of the people, a series of letters was published, well calculated to rouse them to a sense of their danger, and point out the fatal consequences of the late acts of parliament. Every newspaper teemed with dissertations in favour of liberty; and with debates of the members of parliament, especially with the speeches of the favourers of America, and the protests of the dissenting lords. The latter had a particular effect on the colonists, and were considered by them as proofs, that the late acts against Massachusetts were unconstitutional and arbitrary.

The minds of the people being thus prepared, the friends of liberty promoted a petition to the governor, for convening the assembly. They knew that this would not be granted, and that the refusal of it would smooth the way for calling the inhabitants together. The governor having refused to call the assembly, a general meeting of the inhabitants was requested. About eight thousand met, on the 18th of June, 1774 and adopted sundry spirited resolutions. In these they declared, that the Boston port act was unconstitutional; that it was expedient to convene a continental congress; to appoint a committee for the city and county of Philadelphia, to correspond with their sister colonies and the several counties of Pennsylvania; and to invest that commmittee with power to determine on the best mode for collecting the sense of the province, and appointing deputies to attend a general congress. Under the sanction of this last resolve, the committee appointed for that purpose, wrote a circular letter to all the counties of the province, requesting them to appoint deputies to a general meeting, proposed to be held on the 15th of July Part of this letter was in the following words:

"We would not offer such an affront to the well-known public spirit of Pennsylvania, as to question your zeal on the present occasion. Our very existence in the rank of freemen, and the security of all that ought to be dear to us, evidently depends on our conducting this great cause to its proper issue, by firmness, wisdom, and magnanimity. It is with pleasure we assure you, that all the colonies, from South Carolina to New Hampshire, are animated with one spirit, in the common cause, and consider this as the proper crisis, for having our differences, with the mother country, brought to some certain issue, and our liberties fixed upon a permanent foundation. This desirable end can only be accomplished by a free communication of sentiments, and a sincere and fervent regard for the interests of our common country."

The several counties readily complied with the request of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and appointed deputies; who met at the time appointed, and passed sundry resolves, in which they reprobated the late acts of parliament; expressed their sympathy with Boston, as suffering in the common cause; approved of holding a congress; and declared their willingness to make any sacrifices, that might be recommended by a congress, for securing their liberties.

Thus, without tumult, disorder, or divided counsels, the whole province of Pennsylvania was, by prudent management and temperate proceedings, brought into the opposition, with its whole weight and influence. This is the more remarkable, as it is probable, that, if the sentiments of individuals had been separately taken, there would have been a majority against involving themselves in the consequences of taking part with the destroyers of the tea, at Boston.

While these proceedings were carrying on in Pennsylvania, three of the most distinguished patriots of Philadelphia, under colour of an excursion of pleasure, made a tour throughout the province, in order to discover the real sentiments of the common people. They were well apprized of the consequences of taking the lead in a dispute, which every day became more and more serious, unless they could depend on being supported by the yeomanry of the country. By freely associating and conversing with many of every class and denomination, they found them unanimous in the fundamental principle of the American controversy, "that the parliament of Great Britain had no right to tax them." From their general determination on this subject, a favourable prognostic was formed, of a successful opposition to the claims of Great Britain.

In Virginia, the house of burgesses, on the 26th of May, 1774, resolved, that the first of June, the day on which the operation of the Boston port bill was to commence, should be set apart by the members, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer; "devoutly to implore the divine interposition, for averting the heavy calamities which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war; and to give them one heart and one mind, to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." On the publication of this resolution, the royal governor, the earl of Dunmore dissolved them. The members, notwithstanding their, dissolution, met in their private capacities, and signed an agreement, in which, among other things, they declared, "that an attack made on one of their sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack made on all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied."

In South Carolina the vote of the town of Boston, of the 13th of May, being presented to a number of the leading citizens of Charleston, it was unanimously agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants.

That this might be as general as possible, letters were sent to every parish and district in the province, and the people were invited to attend, either personally, or by their representatives, at a general meeting of the inhabitants. A large number assembled, in which were some, from almost every part of the province. The proceedings of the parliament against the province of Massachusetts were distinctly related to this convention.—Without one dissenting voice, they passed sundry resolutions, expressive of their rights and of their sympathy with the people of Boston. They also chose five delegates to represent them, in a continental congress, and invested them "with full powers, and authority, in behalf of them and their constituents, to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures as, in their opinion, and the opinion of the other members, would be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances."

The events of this time may be transmitted to posterity; but the agitation of the public mind can never be fully comprehended, by those who were not witnesses of it.

In the counties and towns of the several provinces, as well as in the cities, the people assembled and passed resolutions, expressive of their rights, and of their detestation of the late acts of parliament. These had an instantaneous effect on the minds of thousands. Not only the young and impetuous, but the aged and temperate, joined in pronouncing them to be unconstitutional and oppressive. They viewed them as deadly weapons aimed at the vitals of that liberty, which they adored; and as rendering abortive the generous pains taken by their forefathers, to procure for them in a new world, the quiet enjoyment of their rights. They were the subjects of their meditation when alone, and of their conversation when in company.

Within little more than a month, after the news of the Boston port bill reached America, it was communicated from state to state; and a flame kindled, in almost every breast, through the widely extended provinces.

In order to understand the mode by which this flame was spread; with such rapidity, over so great an extent of country, it is necessary to observe, that the several colonies were divided into counties, and these again sub-divided into districts, distinguished by the names of towns, townships, precincts, hundreds or parishes. In New England the sub-divisions, which are called towns, were, by law, bodies corporate; had their regular meetings; and might be occasionally convened by their proper officers. The advantages derived from these meetings, by uniting the whole body of the people, in the measures taken to oppose the stamp act, induced other provinces to follow the example. Accordingly, under the association which was formed to oppose the revenue act of 1767, committees were established, not only in the capitals of every province, but in most of the subordinate districts. Great Britain, without designing it, had, by her two preceding attempts at American revenue, taught her colonies, not only the advantages, but the means of union. The system of committees, which prevailed in 1765, and also in 1767, was revived in 1774. By them there was a quick transmission of intelligence, from the capital towns, through the subordinate districts, to the whole body of the people, and an union of counsels and measures was effected, among widely disseminated inhabitants.

It is perhaps impossible for human wisdom, to contrive any system more subservient to these purposes, than such a reciprocal exchange of intelligence, by committees. From the want of such a communication with each other, and consequently of union among themselves, many states have lost their liberties, and more have been unsuccessful in their attempts to regain them, after they were lost.

What the eloquence and talents of Demosthenes could not effect among the states of Greece, might have been effected by the simple device of committees of correspondence. The few have been enabled to keep the many in subjection, in every age from the want of union among the latter.—Several of the provinces of Spain complained of oppression, under Charles the fifth, and in transports of rage took arms against him; but they never consulted or communicated with each other. They resisted separately, and were therefore separately subdued.

The colonists sympathizing with their distressed brethren in Massachusetts, felt themselves called upon, to do something for their relief; but to determine what was most proper, did not so obviously occur. It was a natural idea, that, for harmonising their measures, a congress of deputies from each province should be convened. This early occurred to all; and, being agreed to, was the means of producing union and concert among inhabitants, removed several hundred miles from each other. In times less animated, various questions about the place and legality of their meeting, and about the extent of their power, would have produced a great diversity of sentiments; but on this occasion, by the special agency of Providence, there was the same universal bent of inclination, in the great body of the people. A sense of common danger extinguished selfish passions. The public attention was fixed on the great cause of liberty. Local attachments and partialities were sacrificed on the altar of patriotism.

There were not wanting moderate men, who would have been willing to pay for the tea destroyed, if that would have put an end to the controversy; for, it was not for the value of the tea, nor of the tax, but the right of giving and granting their money, that the colonists contended.—The act of parliament was so cautiously worded, as to prevent the opening of the port of Boston, even though the East India company had been reimbursed for all damages, "until it was made appear to his majesty in council, that peace and obedience to the laws were so far restored, in the town of Boston, that the trade of Great Britain might be safely carried on there, and his majesty's customs duly collected." The latter part of this limitation, "the due collection of his majesty's customs," was understood to comprehend submission to the late revenue laws. It was therefore inferred, that payment for the tea destroyed, would produce no certain relief, unless they were willing to give operation to the law, for raising a revenue on future importations of that commodity, and also to acquiesce in the late mutilation of their charter. As it was deliberately resolved, never to submit to either, the most lukewarm of well-informed patriots, possessing the public confidence, neither advised nor wished for the adoption of that measure. A few in Boston, who were known to be in the royal interest, proposed a resolution for that purpose; but they met with no support.—Of the many, who joined the British in the course of the war, there was scarcely an individual to be found in this early stage of the controversy, who advocated the right of parliamentary taxation.—There were doubtless many timid persons, who fearing the power of Britain, would rather have submitted to her encroachments, than risked the vengeance of her arms; but such, for the most part, suppressed their sentiments. Zeal for liberty being immediately rewarded with applause, the patriots had every inducement to come forward, and avow their principles; but there was something so unpopular in appearing to be influenced by timidity, interest, or excessive caution, when essential interests were attacked, that such persons shunned public notice, and sought the shade of retirement.

In the three first months, which followed the shutting up of the port of Boston, the inhabitants of the colonies in hundreds of small circles, as well as in their provincial assemblies and congresses, expressed their abhorrence of the late proceedings of the British parliament against Massachusetts; their concurrence in the proposed measure of appointing deputies for a general congress; and their willingness to do and suffer whatever should be judged conducive to the establishment of their liberties.

A patriotic flame, created and diffused by sympathy, was communicated to so many breasts, and reflected from such a variety of objects, as to become too intense to be resisted.

While the combination of the other colonies, to support Boston, was gaining strength, new matter of dissension daily took place in Massachusetts.—The resolution for shutting the port of Boston, was no sooner taken, than it was determined to order a military force to that town. General Gage, the commander in chief of the royal forces in North America was also sent thither, in the additional capacity of governor of Massachusetts.—He arrived at Boston on the third day after the inhabitants received the first intelligence of the Boston port bill. Though the people were irritated by that measure, and though their republican jealousy was hurt by the combination of the civil and military character in one person, yet the general was received with all the honours which had been usually paid to his predecessors. Soon after his arrival, two regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery, and some cannon were landed at Boston. These troops were by degrees reinforced, with others from Ireland, New York, Halifax and Quebec.

The governor announced that he had the king's particular command, for holding the general court at Salem, after the first of June. When that eventful day arrived, the act for shutting up the port of Boston commenced its operations. It was devoutly kept at Williamsburg, as a day of fasting and humiliation. In Philadelphia, it was solemnized with every manifestation of public calamity and grief. The inhabitants shut up their houses. After divine service, a stillness reigned over the city, which exhibited an appearance of the deepest distress.

In Boston, a new scene opened on the inhab-

tants. Hitherto, that town had been the seat of commerce and of plenty. The immense business, transacted therein, afforded a comfortable subsistence to many thousands. The necessary, the useful, and even some of the elegant arts were cultivated among them. The citizens were polite and hospitable. In this happy state they were sentenced on the short notice of twenty-one days, to a total deprivation of all means of subsisting.—The blow reached every person. The rents of the landholders either ceased, or were greatly diminished. The immense property, in stores and wharves, was rendered comparatively useless.—Labourers, artificers, and others, employed in the numerous occupations created by an extensive trade, partook of the general calamity. They who depended on a regular income, flowing from previous acquisitions of property, as well as they, who, with the sweat of their brow, earned their daily subsistence, were equally deprived of the means of support; and the chief difference between them was, that the distresses of the former were rendered more intolerable, by the recollection of past enjoyments. All these inconveniences and hardships were borne with a passive, but inflexible fortitude. Their determination to persist in the same line of conduct, which had been the occasion of their suffering, was unabated.

The authors and advisers of the resolution, for destroying the tea, were in the town, and still retained their popularity and influence. The execrations of the inhabitants fell not on them, but on the British parliament. Their countrymen acquitted them of all selfish designs, and believed that in their opposition to the measures of Great Britain, they were actuated by an honest zeal for constitutional liberty. The sufferers, in Boston, had the consolation of sympathy from the other colonists. Contributions were raised, in all quarters, for their relief. Letters and addresses came to them from corporate bodies, town meetings, and provincial conventions, applauding their conduct, and exhorting them to perseverance.

The people of Marblehead, who, by their proximity, were likely to reap advantage from the distresses of Boston, generously offered the merchants thereof, the use of their harbour, wharves, ware-houses, and also their personal attendance on the lading or unlading of their goods, free of all expense.

The inhabitants of Salem, in an address to Governor Gage, concluded with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce, of that convenient mart; and, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all the feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes, on the ruins of our suffering neighbours."

The Massachusetts general court met at Salem, according to adjournment, on the 7th of June.—Several of the popular leaders took, in a private way, the sense of the members, on what was proper to be done. Finding they were able to carry such measures, as the public exigencies required, they prepared resolves, and moved for their adoption; but before they went on the latter business, their door was shut.

One member, nevertheless, contrived means of sending information to Governor Gage of what was doing. His secretary was sent off, to dissolve the general court; but was refused admission. As he could obtain no entrance, he read the proclamation at the door, and immediately afterwards in council; and thus dissolved the general court. The house, while sitting with their doors shut, appointed five of the most respectable members as their committee, to meet committees from other provinces, that might be convened the 1st of September at Philadelphia; voted them seventy-five pounds sterling each; and recommended, to the several towns and districts, to raise the said sum by equitable proportions. By these means, the designs of the governor were disappointed. His situation in every respect was truly disagreeable. It was his duty to forward the execution of laws, which were universally execrated. Zeal for his master's service prompted him to endeavour, that they should be carried into full effect; but his progress was retarded by obstacles from every quarter. He had to transact his official business with a people, who possessed a high sense of liberty, and were uncommonly ingenious in evading disagreeable acts of parliament. It was a part of his duty, to prevent the calling of the town meetings, after the 1st of August, 1774. These meetings were nevertheless held. On his proposing to exert authority, for the dispersion of the people, he was told by the selectmen, that they had not offended against the act of parliament; for that only prohibited the calling of town meetings; and no such call had been made: a former constitutional meeting, before the 1st of August, having only adjourned themselves from time to time. Other evasions, equally founded on the letter of even the late obnoxious laws, were practised.

As the summer advanced, the people of Massachusetts received stronger proofs of support, from the neighbouring provinces. They were, therefore encouraged to farther opposition. The inhabitants of the colonies, at this time, with regard to political opinions, might be divided into three classes. Of these, one was for rushing precipitately into extremities. They were for immediately stopping all trade, and could not even brook the delay of waiting, till the proposed continental congress should meet. Another party, equally respectable, both as to character, property, and patriotism, was more moderate; but not less firm. These were averse to the adoption of any violent resolutions, till all others were ineffectually tried. They wished that a clear statement of their rights, claims, and grievances, should precede every other measure. A third class disapproved of what was generally going on: a few from principle, and a persuasion that they ought to submit to the mother country; some from the love of ease; others from self-interest; but the bulk from fear of the mischievous consequences likely to follow. All these latter classes, for the most part, lay still, while the friends of liberty acted with spirit. If they, or any of them, ventured to oppose popular measures, they were not supported, and therefore declined farther efforts. The resentment of the people was so strong against them, that they sought for peace by remaining quiet. The same indecision, that made them willing to submit to Great Britain, made them apparently acquiesce in popular measures which they disapproved. The spirited part of the community, being on the side of liberty, the patriots had the appearance of unanimity; though many either kept at a distance from public meetings, or voted against their own opinion, to secure themselves from resentment, and promote their present ease and interest.

Under the influence of those who were for the immediate adoption of efficacious measures, an agreement, by the name of the solemn league and covenant, was adopted by numbers. The subscribers of this bound themselves, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts restored to its chartered rights.

General Gage published a proclamation, in which he styled this solemn league and covenant, "an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination." And all magistrates were charged to apprehend, and secure for trial, such as should have any agency in publishing or subscribing the same, or any similar covenant. This proclamation had no other effect, than to exercise the pens of the lawyers, in showing that the association did not come within the description of legal treason; and that, therefore, the governor's proclamation was not warranted by the principles of the constitution.

The late law, for regulating the government of the province, arrived near the beginning of August, and was accompanied by a list of thirty-six new counsellors, appointed by the crown, and in a mode variant from that prescribed by the charter. Several of these, in the first instance, declined an acceptance of the appointment. Those, who accepted it, were every where declared to be enemies to their country. The new judges were rendered incapable of proceeding in their official duty. Upon opening the courts, the juries refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, either under them, or in conformity to the late regulations. In some places, the people assembled, and filled the court-houses, and avenues to them, in such a manner, that neither the judges, nor their officers, could obtain entrance: and, upon the sheriff's commanding them to make way to the court, they answered, "that they knew no court independent of the ancient laws of their country, and to none other would they submit."

In imitation of his royal master, Governor Gage issued a proclamation, "for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the prevention and punishing vice, profaneness, and immorality." In this proclamation, hypocrisy was inserted as one of the immoralities, against which the people were warned. This was considered by the inhabitants, who had often been ridiculed for their strict attention to the forms of religion, to be a studied insult, and as such was more resented than an actual injury.

The proceedings and apparent dispositions of the people together with the military preparations, which were daily made through the province, induced General Gage to fortify that neck of land, which joins Boston to the continent. He also seized upon the powder lodged in the arsenal at Charlestown.

This excited a most violent and universal ferment. Several thousand of the people assembled at Cambridge; and it was with difficulty, they were restrained from marching directly to Boston, to demand a delivery of the powder, with a resolution, in case of a refusal, to attack the troops.

The people, thus assembled, proceeded to Lieutenant Governor Oliver's house, and to the houses of several of the new counsellors, and obliged them to resign, and to declare, that they would no more act under the laws lately enacted. In the confusion of these transactions, a rumour went abroad, that the royal fleet and troops were firing upon the town of Boston. This was probably circulated by the popular leaders, on purpose to ascertain what aid they might expect from the country in case of extremities. The result exceeded their most sanguine expectations. In less than twenty-four hours there were upwards of thirty thousand men in arms marching towards the capital. Other risings of the people took place in different parts of the colony; and their violence was such, that in a short time the new counsellors, the commissioners of the customs, and all who had taken an active part in favour of Great Britain, were obliged to screen themselves in Boston. The new seat of government at Salem was abandoned; and all the officers connected with the revenue we obliged to consult their safety, by taking up their residence in a place, which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade.

About this time delegates from every town and district, in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town, had a meeting; at which they prefaced a number of spirited resolutions, containing a detail of the particulars of their intended opposition to the late acts of parliament, with a general declaration, "that no obedience was due from the province to either, or any part of the said acts, but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America." The resolves of this meeting were sent on to Philadelphia, for the information and opinion of the congress, which as shall hereafter be related, had met there about this time.

The people of Massachusetts rightly judged, that from the decision of Congress on these resolutions, they would be enabled to determine what

support they might expect. Notwithstanding present appearances, they feared that the other colonies, which were no more than remotely concerned, would not hazard the consequence of making a common cause with them, should subsequent events make it necessary to repel force by force. The decision of Congress exceeded their expectations. They "most thoroughly approved the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to wicked ministerial measures had been hitherto conducted in Massachusetts; and recommended to them perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, as expressed in the resolutions of the delegates, from the county of Suffolk." By this approbation and advice, the people of Massachusetts were encouraged to resistance, and the other colonies became bound to support them. The former more in need of a bridle than a spur, proceeded as they had begun; but with additional confidence.

Governor Gage had issued writs for holding a general assembly at Salem; but subsequent events, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, made him think it expedient to counteract the writs by a proclamation for suspending the meeting of the members. The legality of a proclamation for that purpose was denied: and, in defiance thereof, ninety of the newly-elected members met, at the time and place appointed. They soon afterwards resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord, about twenty miles from Charlestown. On their meeting there they chose Mr. Hancock president, and proceeded to business. One of their first acts was to appoint a committee to wait on the governor, with a remonstrance, in which they apologized for their meeting, from the distressed state of the colony; complained of their grievances: and, after stating their apprehensions, from the hostile preparations on Boston neck, concluded with an earnest request, "that he would desist from the construction of the fortress at the entrance into Boston, and restore that pass to its natural state."

The governor found some difficulty in giving them an answer, as they were not, in his opinion, a legal body: but the necessity of the times overruled his scruples. He replied, by expressing his indignation at the supposition, "that the lives, liberties, or property of any people, except enemies, could be in danger from English troops." He reminded them, that, while they complained of alterations, made in their charter, by acts of parliament, they were by their own acts subverting it altogether. He, therefore, warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings. The governor's admonitions were unavailing. The provincial congress appointed a committee, to draw up a plan, for the immediate defence of the province. It was resolved to enlist a number of the inhabitants, under the name of minute men, who were to be under obligations to turn out at a minute's warning. Jedediah Pribble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy, were elected general officers to command these minute men and the militia, in case they should be called out to action. A committee of safety, and a committee of supplies were appointed. These consisted of different persons, and were intended for different purposes. The first were invested with an authority to assemble the militia, when they thought proper, and were to recommend to the committee of supplies the purchase of such articles as the public exigencies required. The last were limited to the small sum of 15,627*l.* 15*s.* sterling, which was all the money at first voted, to oppose the power and riches of Great Britain. Under this authority, and with these means, the committee of safety and of supplies acting in concert, laid in a quantity of stores, partly at Worcester, and partly at Concord. The same congress met again, and soon afterwards resolved, to get in readiness twelve thousand men, to act on any given emergency; and that a fourth part of the militia should be enlisted as minute men, and receive pay. John Thomas and William Heath were appointed general officers. They also sent persons to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to inform them of the steps they had taken, and to request their co-operation in making up an army of twenty thousand men. Committees from these several colonies, met a committee from the provincial congress of Massachusetts, and settled their plans. The proper period for commencing opposition to General Gage's troops, was determined to be, whenever they marched out with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery. The aid of the clergy was called in upon this occasion; and a circular letter was addressed to each of the several ministers in the province, requesting their assistance, "in avoiding the dreadful slavery with which they were threatened."

As the winter approached, General Gage ordered barracks for his troops to be erected; but such was the superior influence of the popular leaders, that, on their recommendation, the workmen desisted from fulfilling the general's wishes, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown.

An application to New York was equally unsuccessful; and it was with difficulty that the troops could be furnished with winter lodgings. Similar obstructions were thrown in the way of getting winter covering for the soldiery. The merchants of New York, on being applied to, answered. "that they would never supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to the country." The inhabitants of Massachusetts encouraged the desertion of the soldiers; and acted systematically in preventing their obtaining any other supplies but necessary provisions. The farmers were discouraged from selling them straw, timber, boards, and such like articles of convenience. Straw, when purchased for their service, was frequently burnt. Vessels, with bricks intended for their use, were sunk; carts with wood were overturned; and the king's property was daily destroyed.

A proclamation had been issued by the king, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Britain, which reached America in the latter end of the year 1774. On receiving intelligence thereof, in Rhode Island, the people seized upon, and removed from the public battery, about forty pieces of cannon; and the assembly passed resolutions for obtaining arms and military stores by every means, and also for raising and arming the inhabitants. About this time, December 13th, a company of volunteers, headed by John Sullivan and John Langdon, beset his majesty's castle at Portsmouth. They stormed the fort, and secured and confined the garrison, till they broke open the powder house, and took the powder away. The powder being secured, the garrison was released from confinement.

Throughout this whole season, civil government, legislation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations were, in Massachusetts, to all appearance annihilated. The provincial congress exercised all the semblance of government which existed. From their coincidence with the prevailing disposition of the people, their resolutions had the weight and efficacy of the laws. Under the simple style of recommendation, they organized the militia, and made ordinances respecting public monies, and such farther regulations as were necessary for preserving order, and for defending themselves against the British troops.

In this crisis, it seemed to be the sense of the inhabitants of Massachusetts to wait events. They dreaded every evil that could flow from resistance, less than the operation of the late acts of parliament: but, at the same time, were averse to be the aggressors, in bringing on a civil war. They chose to submit to a suspension of regular government in preference to permitting the streams of justice to flow in the channel prescribed by the late acts of parliament, or to conducting them forcibly in the old one, sanctioned by their charter. From the extinction of the old, and the rejection of the new constitution, all regular government was, for several months, abolished. Some hundred thousands of people were in a state of nature, without legislation, magistrates, or executive officers. There was, nevertheless, a surprising degree of order. Men of the purest morals were among the most active opposers of Great Britain. While municipal laws ceased to operate, the laws of reason, morality, and religion, bound the people to each other as a social band, and preserved as great a degree of decorum as had at any time prevailed. Even those who were opposed to the proceedings of the populace, when they were prudent and moderate, for the most part enjoyed safety, both at home and abroad.

Though there were no civil, there was an abundance of military officers. These were chosen by the people; but exercised more authority than any who had been honoured with commissions from the governor. The inhabitants in every place devoted themselves to arms. Handling the musket, and training, were the fashionable amusements of the men; while the women, by their presence, encouraged them to proceed. The sound of drums and fifes were to be heard in all directions. The young and the old were fired with a martial spirit. On experiment, it was found, that to force on the inhabitants a form of government to which they were totally averse, was not within the fancied omnipotence of parliament.

During these transactions in Massachusetts, effectual measures had been taken, by the colonies, for convening a continental congress. Though there was no one entitled to lead in this business, yet, in consequence of the general impulse on the public mind, from a sense of common danger, not only the measure itself, but the time and place of meeting were, with surprising unanimity, agreed upon. The colonies, though formerly agitated with local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions, were led to assemble together in a general diet, and to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Within four months from the day, on which the first intelligence of the Boston port bill reached America, the deputies of eleven provinces had convened in Philadelphia; and in four days more, by the arrival of delegates from North Carolina, there was a complete representation of twelve colonies, containing three millions of people, disseminated over two hundred and sixty thousand square miles of territory. Some of the delegates were appointed by the constitutional assemblies. In other provinces where they were embarrassed by royal governors, the appointments were made in voluntary meetings of the people. Perhaps there never was a body of delegates, more faithful to the interests of their constituents, than the congress of 1774. The public voice, elevated none to a seat in that august assembly, but such as, in addition to considerable abilities, possessed that ascendency over the minds of their fellow citizens, which can neither be acquired by birth, nor purchased by wealth. The instructions given to these deputies were various; but, in general, they contained strong professions of loyalty, and of constitutional dependence on the mother country.—The framers of them acknowledged the prerogative of the crown, and disclaimed every wish of separation from the parent state. On the other hand, they were firm in declaring, that they were entitled to all the rights of British born subjects, and that the late acts respecting Massachusetts were unconstitutional and oppressive.

They particularly stated their grievances, and for the most part concurred, in authorizing their deputies to concert and agree to such measures, in behalf of their constituents, as, in their joint opinion, would be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances, ascertain American rights, on constitutional principles; and establish union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. Of the various instructions, on this occasion, those which were drawn up, by a convention of delegates, from every county in the province of Pennsylvania, and presented by them, in a body, to the constitutional assembly, were the most precise and determinate. By these it appears, that the Pennsylvanians were disposed to submit to the acts of navigation, as they then stood, and, also

to settle a certain annual revenue on his majesty, his heirs, and successors, subject to the control of parliament: and to satisfy all damages, done to the East India company, provided their grievances were redressed, and an amicable compact was settled, which, by establishing American rights, in the manner of a new magna charta, would have precluded future disputes.

Of the whole number of deputies, which formed the continental congress, of 1774, one half were lawyers. Gentlemen of that profession had acquired the confidence of the inhabitants, by their exertions in the common cause. The previous measures, in the respective provinces, had been planned and carried into effect, more by lawyers than by any other order of men. Professionally taught the rights of the people, they were among the foremost, to descry attacks made on their liberties. Bred in the habits of public speaking, they made a distinguished figure in the meetings of the people, and were particularly able to explain to them the tendency of the late acts of parliament.—Exerting their abilities and influence, in the cause of their country, they were rewarded with its confidence.

On the meeting of Congress, they chose Peyton Randolph their president, and Charles Thomson their secretary. They agreed, as one of the rules of their doing business, that no entry should be made on their journals of any propositions discussed before them, to which they did not finally assent.*

This august body, to which all the colonies looked up for wisdom and direction, had scarcely convened, when a dispute arose about the mode of conducting business, which alarmed the friends of union. It was contended by some, that the votes of the small provinces should not count as much as those of the larger ones. This was argued with some warmth: and inviduous comparisons were made between the extensive dominion of Virginia, and the small colonies of Delaware and Rhode Island. The impossibility of fixing the comparative weight of each province, from the want of proper materials, induced Congress to resolve, that each should have one equal vote. The mode of conducting business being settled, two committees were appointed: one, to state the rights of the colonies; the several instances in which these rights had been violated; and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them; the other, to examine and report the several statutes which affected the trade and manufactures of the colonies. The first committee were farther instructed, to confine themselves to the consideration of such rights, as had been infringed since the year 1763.

Congress, soon after their meeting, agreed upon a declaration of their rights, by which it was, among other things, declared, that the inhabitants of the English colonies, in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, were entitled to life, liberty, and property; and that they had never ceded, to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either, without their consent. That their ancestors, who first settled the colonies, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England, and by their migrating to America, they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, was a right, in the people, to participate in their legislative council; and that as, the English colonists were not, and could not be properly represented in the British parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation, in their several provincial legislatures, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign. They then ran the line, between the supremacy of parliament, and the independency of the colonial legislatures, by provisos and restrictions, expressed in the following words: "But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are, bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, excluding every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

This was the very hinge of the controversy.—The absolute, unlimited supremacy of the British parliament, both in legislation and taxation, was contended for on one side; while, on the other, no farther authority was conceded, than such a limited legislation, with regard to external commerce, as would combine the interests of the whole empire. In government, as well as in religion, there are mysteries, from the close investigation of which little advantage can be expected. From the unity of the empire, it was necessary that some acts should extend over the whole. From the local situation of the colonies, it was equally reasonable that their legislatures should, at least in some matters, be independent. Where the supremacy of the first ended, and the independency of the last began, was to the best informed a puzzling question. A different state of things would exist at this day, had the discussion of this doubtful point never been attempted.

Congress also resolved, that the colonists were entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage; that they were entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they had found to be applicable to their local circumstances, and also to the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by provincial laws; that they had a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; that the keeping a standing army in the colonies, without the consent of the legislature of the colony where the army was kept, was against law; that it was indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential, by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; and that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power, in several colonies, by a council, appointed during pleasure by the crown, was unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation. All of these liberties Congress, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, claimed, demanded, and insisted upon, as their indubitable rights, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their consent.

Congress then resolved, that sundry acts which had been passed in the reign of George the Third, were infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. The acts complained of, were as follow: the seven acts of 4 George III. ch. 15. and ch. 35—5 Geo III. ch. 25—6 Geo. III. ch. 52—7 Geo. III. ch. 41 and ch. 46—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which imposed duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extended the power of the admiralty courts, beyond their ancient limits, deprived the American subjects of trial by jury, and authorized the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might, otherwise, be liable to; requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he was allowed to defend his property.

Also, 12 Geo. III. ch. 24 entitled, "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subjects of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with committing any offence, described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm.

Also, the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice," &c.

Also, the act passed in the same session, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country had been conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers, in his majesty's service, in North America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of the colony, in which such army was kept, was against law.

Congress declared, that they could not submit to these grievous acts and measures. In hopes that their fellow-subjects in Great Britain would restore the colonies to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, they resolved, for the present, only to pursue the following peaceable measures:

1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.

2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America.

3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty.

By the association they bound themselves and their constituents, "from and after the 1st day of December next, not to import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandise, whatsoever; not to purchase any slave, imported after the said 1st day of December; not to purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and, from and after the 1st day of the next ensuing March, neither to purchase or use any East India tea whatever; that they would not, after the 10th day of the next September if their grievances were not previously redressed, export any commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe that the merchants should, as soon as possible, write to their correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatever; that, if any merchant here should ship any goods for America, in order to contravene the non-importation agreement, they would not afterwards have any commercial connexion with such merchant; that such as were owners of vessels, should give positive orders to their captains and masters, not to receive, on board their vessels, any

* This rule was adopted from policy. The firmness of two or three of the delegates was doubted by some of their more determined associates. It was apprehended, that these would bring forward some temporising scheme of accommodation, in hopes that it would operate in their favour, in case the country was conquered. The majority thought it more equal, that, in every event, all should stand or fall together, without separate subterfuges. Joseph Galloway brought forward such a scheme, which was rejected, and, of course, not entered on the journals; but he obtained a certificate of his having done so. After he had joined the British, in the low ebb of American affairs, which took place early in December, 1776, he produced those documents, to prove, that he had always been a true and loyal subject. The outlines of Galloway's schemes were a neutral government, to be instituted in America, for regulating all the common concerns of the colonies, and to be administered by a president-general, of royal appointment, with executive powers, and a negative on all proposed acts of legislation; together with a council, to be appointed by the provincial assemblies. The legislative body to be incorporated with the British parliament, so far that the assent of both should be requisite to the validity of all general acts and statutes, which were intended to operate over both countries.

goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement; that they would use their endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; that they would encourage frugality, economy and industry, and promote agriculture, arts and American manufactures; that they would discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation; that, on the death of relations or friends, they would wear no other mourning than a small piece of black crape or ribbon; that such, as were venders of goods, should not take any advantage of the scarcity, so as to raise their prices; that, if any person should import goods after the 1st day of December, and before the 1st day of February, then next ensuing, the same ought to be immediately re-shipped, or delivered up to a committee to be stored or sold; and that, in the last case, all the clear profits should be applied towards the relief of the inhabitants of Boston; that, if any goods should be imported after the 1st day of February, the next ensuing, they should be sent back without breaking any of the packages; that committees should be chosen in every county, city, and town, to observe the conduct of all persons touching the association, and to publish, in gazettes, the names of the violaters of it, as foes to the rights of British America; that the committees of correspondence, in the respective colonies, frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof; that all American manufactures should be sold at reasonable prices, and no advantages to be taken of a future scarcity of goods; and lastly, that they would have no dealings or intercourse whatever, with any province or colony of North America, which should not accede to, or should violate the aforesaid associations."

These several resolutions they bound themselves and their constituents, by the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love of their country, to observe till their grievances were redressed.

In their address to the people of Great Britain, they complimented them for having, at every hazard maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of man, and the blessings of liberty to their posterity, and requested them not to be surprised, that they, who were descendants from the same common ancestors, should refuse to surrender their rights, liberties, and constitution. They proceeded to state their rights and their grievances, and to vindicate themselves from the charges of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. They summed up their wishes in the following words: "Place us in the same situation in which we were, at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

In the memorial of Congress to the inhabitants of the British colonies, they recapitulated the proceedings of Great Britain against them, since the year 1763, in order to impress them with a belief that a deliberate system was formed for abridging their liberties. They then proceeded to state the measures they had adopted, to counteract this system, and gave the reasons which induced them to adopt the same. They encouraged them to submit to the inconveniences of non-importation and non-exportation, by desiring them, "to weigh, in the opposite balance, the endless miseries, they and their descendants must endure, from an established arbitrary power."—They concluded with informing them, "that the schemes agitated against the colonies, had been so conducted as to render it prudent to extend their views to mournful events, and to be, in all respects, prepared for every contingency."

In the petition of Congress to the king, they begged leave to lay their grievances before the throne. After a particular enumeration of these, they observed, that they wholly arose from a destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war. They assured his majesty, that they had made such provision for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, as had been judged just and suitable to their respective circumstances; and that, for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militia would be fully sufficient in time of peace; and, in case of war, they were ready and willing, when constitutionally required, to exert their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies, and raising forces. They said, "we ask but for peace, liberty and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative; nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain." They then solicited for a redress of their grievances, which they had enumerated; and, appealing to that Being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly professed, "that their councils had been influenced by no other motives, than a dread of impending destruction." They concluded with imploring his majesty, "for the honour of Almighty God, for his own glory, for the interests of his family, and for the safety of his kingdom and dominions, that as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he would not suffer the transcendent relation, formed by these ties, to be farther violated, by uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never could compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained."

The congress also addressed the French inhabitants of Canada; to whom they stated the right they had on becoming English subjects, to the benefits of the English constitution. They explained what these rights were; and pointed out the difference between the constitution imposed on them by act of parliament, and that to which, as British subjects, they were entitled. They introduced their countryman Montesquieu, as reprobating their parliamentary constitution, and exhorting them to join their fellow colonists, in support of their common rights. They earnestly invited them to join, with the other colonies, in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and to this end recommended, that they would choose delegates to represent them in Congress.

All these addresses were written with uncommon ability, Coming from the heart, they were calculated to move it. Inspired by a love of liberty, and roused by a sense of common danger, the patriots of that day spoke, wrote and acted, with an animation unknown in times of public tranquility: but it was not so much, on the probable effect of these addresses, that Congress founded their hopes of obtaining a redress of their grievances, as on the consequences which they expected from the operation of their non-importation, and non-exportation agreement. The success that had followed the adoption of measures, similar to the former, in two preceding instances, had encouraged the colonists to expect much from a repetition of it. They indulged in extravagant opinions of the importance of their trade to Great Britain. The measure of the non-exportation of their commodities was a new expedient; and, from that, even more was expected, than from the non importation agreement. They supposed, that it would produce such extensive distress among the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, and, especially among the inhabitants of the British West India Islands, as would induce their general co-operation, in procuring a redress of American grievances. Events proved that young nations, like young people, are prone to overrate their own importance.

Congress having finished all this important business, in less than eight weeks, dissolved themselves, on the 26th of October, after giving their opinion, "that another congress should be held on the 10th of May, next ensuing, at Philadelphia, unless the redress of their grievances should be previously obtained," and recommending, "to all the colonies to choose deputies as soon as possible, to be ready to attend at that time and place, should events make their meeting necessary."

On the publication of the proceedings of Congress, the people obtained that information which they desired. Zealous to do something for their country, they patiently waited for the decision of that body, to whose direction they had resigned themselves. Their determinations were no sooner known, than cheerfully obeyed. Though their power was only advisory, yet their recommendations were more generally and more effectually carried into execution, than the laws of the best regulated states. Every individual felt his liberties endangered, and was impressed with an idea, that his safety consisted in union. A common interest in warding off a common danger, proved a powerful incentive to the most implicit submission. Provincial congresses and subordinate committees were every where instituted. The resolutions of the continental congress were sanctioned with the universal approbation of these new representative bodies; and institutions were formed under their directions to carry them into effect.

The regular constitutional assemblies, also, gave their assent to the measures recommended. The assembly of New York was the only legislature, which withheld its approbation. Their metropolis had long been head quarters of the British army in the colonies; and many of their best families were connected with the people of influence in Great Britain. The unequal distribution of their land fostered an aristocratic spirit. From the operation of these and other causes, the party for royal government was both more numerous and respectable in New York, than in the other colonies.

The assembly of Pennsylvania, though composed of a majority of Quakers, or of those who were friendly to their interest, was the first legal body of representatives, that ratified unanimously the acts of the general congress. They not only voted their approbation of what that body had done, but appointed members to represent them in the new congress, proposed to be held on the 10th day of May next ensuing; and took sundry steps to put the province in a posture of defence.

To relieve the distresses of the people of Boston, liberal collections were made, throughout the colonies, and forwarded for the supply of their immediate necessities. Domestic manufactures were encouraged, that the wants of the inhabitants, from the non-importation agreement, might be diminished; and the greatest zeal was discovered by a large majority of the people, to comply with the determination of these new made representative bodies. In this manner, while the forms of the old government subsisted, a new and independent authority was virtually established. It was so universally the sense of the people, that the public good required a compliance with the recommendations of Congress, that any man who discovered an anxiety about the continuance of trade and business, was considered as a selfish individual; preferring private interest to the good of his country. Under the influence of these principles, the intemperate zeal of the populace transported them, frequently, so far beyond the limits of moderation, as to apply singular punishments to particular persons, who contravened the general sense of the community.

One of these was forcibly subjecting the obnoxious persons to a stream of cold water, discharged on them from a spout of a pump. Another and more serious one was, after smearing their bodies with tar, to roll them in feathers, and expose them, thus covered with tar and feathers, to the ridicule of spectators. A more common mode was to treat them with contempt and scorn, arising in particular cases, to such a height, as to abstain from all social intercourse with them Frequently their names were stuck up in public places, with the appellation of tories, traitors, cowards, enemies to the country, &c.

The British ministry were not less disappointed than mortified, at this unexpected combination of

the colonies. They had flattered themselves with a belief, that the malcontents in Boston were a small party, headed by a few factious men, and that the majority of the inhabitants would arrange themselves on the side of government, as soon as they found Great Britain determined to support her authority; and, should even Massachusetts take part with its offending capital, they could not believe that the other colonies would make a common cause, in supporting so intemperate a colony: but should even that expectation fail, they conceived that their association must be founded on principles so adverse to the interests and feelings of individuals, that it could not be of long duration. They were encouraged in these ill-founded opinions, by the recollection, that the colonies were frequently quarrelling about boundaries, clashing in interests, differing in policy, manners, customs, forms of government, and religion, and under the influence of a variety of local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions. They also remembered the obstacles, which prevented the colonies from acting together, in the execution of schemes, planned for their own defence, in the late war against the French and Indians. The failure of the expected co-operation of the colonies, in one uniform system, at that time, was not only urged by the British ministry, as a reason for parliamentary control over the whole, but flattered them with a delusive hope, that they never could be brought to combine their counsels and their arms. Perhaps the colonists apprehended more danger from British encroachments, on their liberties, than from French encroachment, on Indian territories, in their neighbourhood: or more probably, the time to part being come, the Governor of the Universe, by a secret influence on their minds, disposed them to union. From whatever cause it proceeded, it is certain, that a disposition to do, to suffer, and to accommodate, spread from breast to breast, and from colony to colony, beyond the reach of human calculation. It seemed as though one mind inspired the whole. The merchants put far behind them the gains of trade, and cheerfully submitted to a total stoppage of business, in obedience to the recommendations of men, invested with no legislative powers. The cultivators of the soil, with great unanimity, assented to the determination, that the hard-earned produce of their farms should remain unshipped, although, in case of a free exportation, many would have been eager to have purchased it from them, at advanced prices. The sons and daughters of ease renounced imported conveniences; and voluntarily engaged to eat, drink, and wear, only such articles as their country afforded. These sacrifices were made, not from the pressure of present distress, but on the generous principle of sympathy with an invaded sister colony, and the prudent policy of guarding against a precedent which might, on a future day, operate against their liberties.

This season of universal distress exhibited a striking proof, how practicable it is for mankind to sacrifice ease, pleasure, and interest, when the mind is strongly excited by its passions. In the midst of their sufferings, cheerfulness appeared in the face of all the people. They counted every thing cheap in comparison with liberty, and readily gave up whatever tended to endanger it. A noble strain of generosity and mutual support was generally excited. A great and powerful diffusion of public spirit took place. The animation of the times raised the actors in these scenes above themselves, and excited them to deeds of self-denial, which the interested prudence of calmer seasons can scarcely credit.

CHAPTER VI.

Transactions in Great Britain in consequence of the proceedings of Congress, in 1774.

Some time before the proceedings of Congress reached England, it was justly apprehended, that a non importation agreement would be one of the measures they would adopt. The ministry, apprehending that this event, by distressing the trading and manufacturing towns, might influence votes against the court, in the election of a new parliament, which was of course to come on in the succeeding year, suddenly dissolved the parliament, and immediately ordered a new one to be chosen. It was their design to have the whole business of elections over, before the inconveniences of a non-importation agreement could be felt. The nation was thus surprised into an election, without knowing that the late American acts had driven the colonies into a firm combination, to support, and make a common cause with, the people of Massachusetts. A new parliament was returned; which met in thirty-four days after the proceedings of Congress were first published in Philadelphia, and before they were known in Great Britain. This, for the most part, consisted, either of the former members, or of those who held similar sentiments.

On the 30th of November, the king, in his speech to his new parliament, informed them, "that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws, unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in his other colonies; that unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdom, by unlawful combinations; and that he had taken such measures, and given such orders, as he judged most proper and effectual, for carrying into execution the laws, which were passed in the last session of the late parliament, relative to the province of Massachusetts."

An address, proposed in the house of commons, in answer to this speech, produced a warm debate. The minister was reminded of the great effects, he had predicted from the late American acts: "They were to humble that whole continent, without farther trouble; and the punishment of Boston was to strike so universal a panic in all the colonies, that it would be totally abandoned, and, instead of obtaining relief, a dread of the same fate would awe the other provinces, to a most respectful submission." An address, re-echoing the royal speech was, nevertheless, carried by a great majority. A similar address was carried, after a spirited debate, in the upper house: but the lords Richmond, Portland, Rockingham, Stamford, Stanhope, Torrington, Ponsonby, Wycombe, and Camden entered a protest against it, which concluded with these remarkable words: "Whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity which lead others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons, who have disapproved of measures so injurious in their past effects, and future tendency, and who are not in haste, without inquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations, which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Soon after the meeting of the new parliament, the proceedings of the congress reached Great Britain. The first impression, made by them, was in favour of America. Administration seemed to be staggered; and their opposers triumphed, in the eventual truth of their prediction, that an universal confederacy, to resist great Britain, would be the consequence of the late American acts. The secretary of state, after a day's perusal, during which a council was held, said that the petition of Congress, to the king, was a decent and proper one. He also cheerfully undertook to present it; and afterwards reported, that his majesty was pleased very graciously to receive it; and to promise to lay it before his two houses of parliament. From these favourable circumstances, the sanguine friends of America concluded, that it was intended to make the petition a foundation of a change of measures; but these hopes were of short duration.

The partizans of administration placed so much confidence in the efficacy of the measures, they had lately taken, to bring the Americans to obedience, that they regarded the boldest resolutions of Congress, as the idle clamours of an unruly multitude, which proper exertions on the part of Great Britain would speedily silence. So much had been asserted and contradicted by both parties, that the bulk of the people could form no certain opinion on the subject.

The parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays, without coming to any decision on American affairs. As soon as they met, in January, 1775, a number of papers, containing information, were laid before them. These were mostly letters from governors, and other servants of his majesty, which detailed the opposition of the colonists, in language calculated to give a bad impression of their past conduct, and an alarming one of their future intentions.

It was a circumstance unfavourable to the lovers of peace, that the rulers of Great Britain received almost the whole of their American intelligence from those, who had an interest in deceiving them. Governors, judges, revenue officers and other royal servants, being both appointed and paid by Great Britain, fancied that zeal, for the interest of that country, would be the most likely way to insure their farther promotion. They were therefore, in their official despatches to government, often tempted to abuse the colonists, with a view of magnifying their own watchfulness, and recommending themselves to Great Britain. The plain, simple language of truth was not acceptable to courtly ears. Ministers received and caressed those and those only, whose representations coincided with their own views and wishes They, who contended that, by the spirit of the English constitution, British subjects, residing on one side of the Atlantic, were entitled to equal privileges, with those who resided on the other, were unnoticed; while the abettors of ministerial measures were heard with attention.

In this hour of national infatuation, lord Chatham, after a long retirement, resumed his seat in the house of lords, and exerted his unrivalled eloquence, in sundry attempts to dissuade his countrymen from attempting to subdue the Americans by force of arms. The native dignity of his superior genius and the recollection of his important services entitled him to distinguished notice. His language, voice, and gesture, were calculated to force conviction on his hearers. Though venerable for his age he spoke with the fire of youth. He introduced himself with some general observations on the importance of the American quarrel. He enlarged on the dangerous events that were coming on the nation, in consequence of the present dispute. He arraigned the conduct of ministers, with great severity; reprobated their whole system of American politics; and moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech him, to despatch orders to General Gage, to remove his majesty's forces from the town of Boston. His lordship supported this motion in a pathetic animated speech; but it was rejected by a great majority. From this and other circumstances, it soon became evident, that the Americans could expect no more favour from the new parliament, than they had experienced from the late one. A majority in both houses were against them, and resolved to compel them to obedience: but a respectable minority in their favour was strongly seconded by petitions, from the merchants and manufacturers, throughout the kingdom, and particularly from those of London and Bristol. As these were well apprised of the consequences, that must follow from the prosecution of coercive measures, and deeply interested in the event, they made uncommon exertions to prevent their adoption. They pointed out the various evils, that would result from them, and warned their countrymen of the danger to which their commercial interests were exposed.

When the petition from the merchants of London was read in the house of commons, it was moved to refer it to the committee appointed to take into consideration the American papers; but

t was moved by way of amendment, on the ministerial side, that it should be referred to a separate committee, to meet on the 27th, the day succeeding that appointed for the consideration of American papers. This, though a dishonourable evasion, was carried by a majority of more than two to one.

A similar fate attended the petitions from Bristol, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Woolverhampton, Dudley, and some other places. These, on their being presented, were in like manner consigned to, what the opposition humourously termed the committee of oblivion.

About the same time, a petition was offered from Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, stating that they were authorized by Congress to present their petition to the king, which his majesty had referred to that house; that they were enabled to throw great light on the subject; and praying to be heard at the bar in support of the said petition. The friends of the ministry alleged, that as Congress was not a legal body, nothing could be received from them. It was in vain replied, that the congress, however illegal as to other purposes, was sufficiently legal for presenting a petition; that, as it was signed by the individual members of Congress, it might be received as a petition from individuals; that the signers were persons of great influence in America; and that it was the right of all subjects to have their petitions heard.

In the course of the debate on lord Chatham's motion, for addressing his majesty to withdraw his troops from Boston, it had been observed, by some lords in administration, that it was common and easy to censure their measures; but those who did so proposed nothing better. Lord Chatham answered, that he should not be one of those idle censurers; that he had thought long and closely upon the subject: and purposed soon to lay before their lordships the result of his meditations, in a plan for healing the differences between Great Britain and the colonies, and for restoring peace to the empire. When he had matured his plan, he introduced it into the house, in the form of a bill, for settling the troubles in America. In this he proposed, that the colonists should make a full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the legislature, and the superintending power of the British parliament. The bill did not absolutely decide on the right of taxation; but partly, as a matter of grace, and partly as a compromise, declared and enacted, "that no tax, or other charge, should be levied in America, except by common consent in their provincial assemblies." It asserted the right of the king, to send a legal army to any part of his dominions at all times; but declared, "that no military force could ever be lawfully employed, to violate or destroy the just rights of the people." It also legalized the holding a congress, in the ensuing May, for the double purpose, "of recognizing the supreme legislative authority, and superintending power of parliament over the colonies; and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs, and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt." On these conditions the bill proposed, "to restrain the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits; and suspended, for a limited time, those acts which had been complained of by Congress." It proposed to place the judges, in America, on the same footing, as to the holding of their salaries and offices, with those in England; and secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, granted by their several charters and constitutions. His lordship introduced this plan with a speech, in which he explained, and supported every part of it. When he sat down, lord Dartmouth rose, and said "it contains matter of such magnitude as to require consideration; and therefore hoped, that the noble earl did not expect their lordships to decide upon it, by an immediate vote; but would be willing it should lie on the table for consideration." Lord Chatham answered, "that he expected no more:" but lord Sandwich rose, and, in a petulant speech, opposed its being received at all, and gave his opinion, "that it ought immediately to be rejected, with the contempt it deserved; that he could not believe it to be the production of any British peer; that it appeared to him rather the work of some American;" and, turning his face towards Dr. Franklin, who was leaning on the bar, said, "he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up; one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known." This turned the eyes of many lords on the insulted American, who with that self-command, which is peculiar to great minds, kept his countenance unmoved. Several other lords of the administration gave their sentiments, also, for rejecting lord Chatham's conciliatory bill; urging that it not only gave a sanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congress already held, but legalized their future meeting. They enlarged on the rebellious temper, and hostile disposition of the Americans; and said, "that, though the duty on tea was the pretence, the restrictions on their commerce, and the hopes of throwing them off, were the real motives of their disobedience; and that to concede now, would be to give up the point for ever."

The dukes of Richmond and Manchester, lord Camden, lord Lyttleton, and others were for receiving lord Chatham's conciliatory bill; some from approbation of its principles; but others only from a regard to the character and dignity of the house.

Lord Dartmouth, who, from indecision, rarely had any will or judgment of his own, and who, with dispositions for the best measures, could be easily prevailed upon to join in support of the worst, finding the opposition from his coadjutors in administration unexpectedly strong, turned round, and gave his voice with them for immediately rejecting the plan. Lord Chatham, in reply to lord Sandwich, declared, "the bill proposed by him to be entirely his own; but he made no scruple to declare, that, if he were the first minister of the country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person, so perfectly acquainted with the whole of the American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected upon (Dr. Franklin;) one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with the Boyles and Newtons, who was an honour not only to the English nation but to human nature."

The plan proposed by lord Chatham was rejected, by a majority of sixty-four to thirty-two; and without being admitted to lie on the table. That a bill on so important a subject, offered by one of the first men of the age, and who, as prime minister of the nation, had, but a few years before, taken up Great Britain, when in a low despondency, and conducted her to victory and glory, through a war with two of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, should be rejected without any consideration, or even a second reading, was not only a breach of decency, but a departure from that propriety of conduct which should mark the proceedings of a branch of the national legislature. It could not but strike every thinking American, that such legislators, influenced by passion, prejudice, and party spirit, many of whom were totally ignorant of the subject, and who would not give themselves an opportunity, by a second reading, or farther consideration, to inform themselves better were very unfit to exercise unlimited supremacy over three millions of virtuous, sensible people, inhabiting the other side of the globe.

On the day after the rejection of lord Chatham's bill, a petition was presented to the house of commons, from the planters of the sugar colonies, residing in Great Britain, and the merchants of London, trading to the colonies. In this they stated that the British property in the West India islands amounted to upwards of thirty millions; that a farther property of many millions was employed in the commerce, created by the said islands; and that the profits and produce of these immense capitals, which ultimately centered in Great Britain, would be deranged and endangered by the continuance of the American troubles. The petitioners were admitted to a hearing; when Mr. Glover, as their agent, ably demonstrated the folly and danger of persevering in the contest; but without any effect. The immediate coercion of the colonies was resolved upon; and the ministry would not suffer themselves to be diverted from its execution. They were confident of success, if they could once bring the controversy to the decision of arms. They expected more from conquest, than they could promise themselves by negociation or compromise. The free constitutions of the colonies, and their rapid progress in population, were beheld with a jealous eye, as the natural means of independence. They conceived the most effectual method, of retaining them long, would be to reduce them soon. They hoped to be able to extinguish remonstrance and debate, by such a speedy and decisive conquest, as would give them an opportunity to new-model the colonial constitutions, on such principles as would prevent future altercations, on the subject of their chartered rights. Every representation, that tended to retard or obstruct the coercion of the colonies, was therefore considered as tending only to prolong the controversy. Confident of victory, and believing that nothing short of it would restore the peace of the empire, the ministry turned a deaf ear to all petitions and representations. They even presumed, that the petitioners, when they found Great Britain determined on war, would assist in carrying it on with vigour, in order to expedite the settlement of the dispute. They took it for granted, that when, the petitioning towns were convinced, that a renewal of the commercial intercourse, between the two countries, would be sooner obtained by going on, than turning back, the same interest, which led them at first to petition, would lead them afterwards to support coercive measures, as the most effectual and shortest way of securing commerce from all future interruptions.

The determination of ministers, to persevere, was also forwarded by hopes of the defection of New York from her sister colonies. They flattered themselves, that, when one link of the continental chain gave way it would be easy to make an impression on the disjointed extremities.

Every attempt to close the breach, which had been opened by the former parliament, having failed, and the ministry having made up their minds, on the mode of proceeding with the colonists, their proposed plan was briefly unfolded. This was to send a greater force to America, and to bring in a temporary act, to prohibit all the foreign trade of the New England colonies, till they should make proper submissions and acknowledgments. An address to his majesty was, at the same time, moved, "to beseech him to take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."

Truly critical was the moment to the union of the empire. A new parliament might, without the charge of inconsistency, have repealed acts, passed by a former one, which had been found inconvenient on experiment; but pride and passion, under the specious names of national dignity and zeal for the supremacy of parliament, induced the adoption of measures, for immediately compelling the submission of the colonies.

The repeal of a few acts of parliament would, at this time, have satisfied America. Though she had been extending her claims, yet she was still willing that Great Britain should monopolize her trade, and that the parliament should regulate it for the common benefit of the empire. Nor was she disposed to abridge his majesty of any of his usual prerogatives. This authority was sufficient for the mother country, to retain the colonists, in a profitable state of subordination, and yet not so much as to be inconsistent with their claims, or the security of their most important interests. Britain viewed the matter in a different light. To recede, at this time would be to acknowledge,

that the ministry had hitherto been in the wrong; a concession rarely made by private persons, and more rarely by men in public stations. The leading members in parliament, not distinguishing the opposition of freemen to unconstitutional innovation, from the turbulence of licentious mobs breaking over the bounds of law and constitution, supposed that to redress grievances was to renounce sovereignty. This inference, in some degree, resulted from the broad basis, which they had assigned to the claims of the mother country. If, as was contended, on the part of Great Britain, they had a right to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever, and the power of parliament over them were absolu and unlimited, they were precluded from rescin ng any act of theirs, however oppressive, when demanded as a matter of right. They were too highly impressed with ideas of their unlimited authority, to repeal any of their laws, on the principle, that they had not a constitutional power to enact them, and too unwise to adopt the same measure on the ground of political expediency. Unfortunately for both countries, two opinions were generally held, neither of which was, perhaps, true in its utmost extent, and one of which was most assuredly false. The ministry and parliament of England proceeded on the idea, that the claims of the colonists amounted to absolute independence, and that a fixed resolution to renounce the sovereignty of Great Britain was concealed under the specious pretext of a redress of grievances. The Americans, on the other hand, were equally confident, that the mother country not only harboured designs unfriendly to their interests, but seriously intended to introduce arbitrary government. Jealousies of each other were reciprocally indulged, to the destruction of all confidence, and to the final dismemberment of the empire.

In discussing the measures proposed by the minister, for the coercion of the colonies, the whole ground of the American controversy was traversed. The comparative merits of concession and coercion were placed in every point of view. Some of the minority, in both houses of parliament, pointed out the dangers that would attend a war with America; the likelihood of the interference of other powers; and the probability of losing, and the impossibility of gaining any thing more than was already possessed. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry asserted, that the Americans had been long aiming at independence; that they were magnifying pretended grievances, to cover a premeditated revolt; that it was the business and duty of Englishmen, at every hazard, to prevent its completion, and bring them back to a remembrance that their present greatness was owing to the mother country; and that even their existence had been purchased at an immense expense of British blood and treasure. They acknowledged the danger to be great; but said "it must be encountered; that every day's delay increased the evil; and that it would be base and cowardly to shift off, for the present, an unavoidable contest, which must fall with accumulated weight on the heads of their posterity." The danger of foreign interference was denied. It was contended, that an appearance of vigorous measures, with a farther reinforcement of troops at Boston, would be sufficient to quell the disturbances. It was also urged, that the friends of government were both strong and numerous, and only waited for proper support, and favourable circumstances, to declare themselves.

After long and warm debates, and one or two protests, the ministerial plans were carried by great majorities. In consequence thereof, on the 9th of February, 1775, a joint address, from both lords and commons was pesented to his majesty, in which, "they returned thanks for the communication of the papers, relative to the state of the British colonies in America; gave it as their opinion that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts; besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; and begged, in the most solemn manner, to assure his majesty, that it was their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by his majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of his majesty, and of the two houses of parliament."

The lords, Richmond, Craven, Archer, Abergavenny, Rockingham, Wycombe, Courtenay, Torrington, Ponsonby, Cholmondely, Abingdon, Rutland, Camden, Effingham, Stanhope, Scarborough, Fitzwilliam, and Tankerville, protested against this address, "as founded on no proper parliamentary information, being introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it; as following the rejection of every mode of conciliation; as holding out no substantial offer of redress of grievances; and as promising support to those ministers, who had inflamed America, and grossly misconducted the affairs of Great Britain."

By the address against which this protest was entered, the parliament of Great Britain passed the Rubicon. In former periods, it might be alleged, that the claims of the colonies were undefined, and that their unanimous resolution to defend them was unknown; but after a free representation from twelve provinces had stated their rights, and pledged themselves to each other to support them, and their determinations were known, a resolution that a rebellion actually existed, and that at the hazard of their lives and properties, they would stand by his majesty, against all rebellious attempts, was a virtual declaration of war. Both parties were now bound, in consequence of their own acts, to submit the controversy to a decision of arms. Issue was joined, by the approbation Congress had given to the Suffolk resolves, and by this subsequent joint address of both houses of parliament to his majesty. It is probable that neither party, in the beginning, intended to go thus far; but by the inscrutable operations of Providence, each was permitted to adopt such measures as not only rent the empire, but involved them both, with their own consent, in all the calamities of a long and bloody war. The answer from the throne, to the joint addresses of parliament, contained assurances of taking the most speedy and effectual measures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws, and authority of the supreme legislature. This answer was accompanied with a message to the commons, in which they were informed, that some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary. An augmentation of four thousand three hundred and eighty-three men to the land forces, and of two thousand seamen to be employed for the ensuing year, was accordingly asked for, and carried without difficulty. With the first, it was stated, that the force at Boston would be ten thousand men, a number supposed to be sufficient for enforcing the laws. Other schemes, in addition to a military force, were thought advisable for promoting the projected coercion of the colonies. With this view a punishment was proposed, so universal in its operation, that it was expected the inhabitants of the New England colonies, to obtain a riddance of its heavy pressure, would interest themselves in procuring a general submission to parliament. Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill "to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut, and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time." The motion for this bill was supported, by declaring, that, as the Americans had refused to trade with the mother country, they ought not to be permitted to trade with any other. It was known that the New England colonies carried on a circuitous trade and fishery, on the banks of Newfoundland to a great extent. To cut them off from this resource, they were legislatively forbidden to fish, or to carry on foreign trade. It was presumed, that the wants of a large body of people, deprived of employment, would create a clamour in favour of reconciliation.

The British ministry expected to excite the same temper in the unemployed New England men, that Congress meant to raise by the non-importation agreement, among the British merchants and manufacturers. The motion for this bill, brought into view the whole of the American controversy. The opposers of it said, that its cruelty exceeded the examples of hostile rigour with avowed enemies; for that, in the most dangerous wars, the fishing craft was universally spared.—They desired the proposer of the bill to recollect, that he had often spoken of the multitude of friends he had in those provinces, and that now he confounded the innocent with the guilty; friends with enemies; and involved his own partizans in one common ruin with his opposers. They alleged farther, that the bill would operate against the people of Great Britain: as the people of New England were in debt to them, and had no other means of paying that debt, but through the fishery, and the circuitous trade depending on it. It was observed, that the fishermen, being cut off from employment, must turn soldiers; and that, therefore, while they were provoking the Americans to resistance, by one set of acts, they were furnishing them with the means of recruiting an army by another.

The favourers of the bill denied the charge of severity, alleging that the colonists could not complain of any distress the bill might bring on them, as they not only deserved it, but had set the example; and that they had entered into unlawful combinations to ruin the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. It was said, that, if any foreign power had offered a similar insult or injury, the whole nation would have demanded satisfaction. They contended that it was a bill of humanity and mercy; for, said they, the colonists have incurred all the penalties of rebellion, and are liable to the severest military execution. Instead of inflicting the extent of what they deserved, the bill only proposes to bring them to their senses, by restricting their trade. They urged farther, that the measure was necessary; for, said they, "the Americans have frequently imposed on us, by threatening to withdraw their trade, hoping through mercantile influence to bend the legislature to their demands; that this was the third time, they had thrown the commerce of Great Britain into a state of confusion; and that both colonies and commerce were better lost, than preserved on such terms." They added farther, that they must either relinquish their connexion with America, or fix it on such a basis, as would prevent a return of these evils. They admitted the bill to be coercive; but said, "that the coercion, which put the speediest end to the dispute, was eventually the most merciful."

In the progress of the bill, a petition from the merchants and traders of London, who were interested in the American commerce, was presented against it. They were heard by their agent, Mr. David Barclay; and a variety of witnesses were examined before the house. In the course of their evidence it appeared, that, in the year 1764, the four provinces of New England employed, in their several fisheries, no less than forty-five thousand eight hundred and eighty ton of shipping, and six thousand and two men; and that the produce of their fisheries that year, in foreign markets amounted to 322,220*l*. 16*s*. sterling. It also appeared, that the fisheries had very much increased since that time; that all the materials used in them, except salt, and the timber of which the vessels were built, were purchased from Great Britain; and that the net proceeds of the whole were remitted thither. All this information was disregarded. After much opposition in both houses, and a protest in the house of lords, the bill was, by a great majority, finally ratified. So intent were the ministry and parliament on the coer

cion of the colonists, that every other interest was sacrificed to its accomplishment. They conceived the question between the two countries to be, simply, whether they should abandon their claims, and at once give up all the advantages arising from sovereignty and commerce, or resort to violent measures for their security.

Since the year 1769, when a secretary of state, officially disclaimed all views of an American revenue, little mention had been made of that subject; but the decided majority, who voted with the ministry on this occasion, emboldened lord North once more to present it to the view of his countrymen. He, therefore, brought into parliament, a scheme, which had the double recommendation of holding forth the semblance of conciliation, and the prospect of an easement of British taxes, by a productive revenue from the colonies. This resolution passed on the 20th of February, and was as follows:

"Resolved, that, when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court, of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion for the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision, also, for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty, and the two houses of parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively."

This was introduced by the minister, in a long speech, in which he asserted, that it would be an infallible touchstone to try the Americans. "If," said he, "their opposition be only founded on the principles which they pretend, they must agree with this proposition; but if they have designs in contemplation, different from those they avow, their refusal will convict them of duplicity." The opposition to the minister's motion originated among those who had supported him in previous questions. They objected to the proposal, that, in effect, it was an acknowledgment of something grievous in the idea of taxing America by parliament; and that it was, therefore, a departure from their own principles. They contended, that it was improper to make concessions to rebels, with arms in their hands; or to enter into any measures for a settlement with the Americans, in which they did not, as a preliminary, acknowledge the supremacy of parliament. The minister was likely to be deserted by some of his partizans, till others explained the consistency of the scheme with their former declarations. It was said, "what shall parliament lose by acceding to this resolution?—Not the right of taxing America: for this is most expressly reserved. Not the profitable exercise of this right; for it proposes to enforce the only essential part of taxation, by compelling the Americans to raise not only what they, but what we, think reasonable. We are not going to war for trifles, and a vain point of honour; but for substantial revenue." The minister farther declared, that he did not expect his proposition to be generally relished by the Americans. But, said he, if it do no good in the colonies, it will do good here. It will unite the people of England, by holding out to them a distinct object of revenue. He added farther, as it tends to unite England, it is likely to disunite America; for if only one province accept the offer their confederacy, which only makes them formidable, will be broken.

The opposers of ministry attacked the proposition, with the combined force of wit and argument. They animadverted on the inconsistency of holding forth the same resolution as a measure of concession, and as an assertion of authority. They remarked, that, hitherto, it had been constantly denied, that they had any contest about an American revenue; and that the whole had been a dispute about obedience to trade-laws, and the general legislative authority of parliament; but now ministers suddenly changed their language, and proposed to interest the nation, and console the manufacturers, and animate the soldiery, by persuading them, that it is not a contest for empty honour, but for the acquisition of a substantial revenue. It was said, that the Americans would be as effectually taxed, without their consent by being compelled to pay a gross sum, as by an aggregate of small duties to the same amount; and that this scheme of taxation exceeded, in oppression, any that the rapacity of mankind had hitherto devised. In other cases, a specific sum was demanded; and the people might reasonably presume that the remainder was their own: but here they were wholly in the dark, as to the extent of the demand.

This proposition, however, for conciliation, though disrelished by many of the friends of ministry, was carried, on a division of two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight. On its transmission to the colonies, it did not produce the effects of disunion expected from it. It was unanimously rejected.

Other plans for conciliation with the colonies, founded on principles very different from those which were the basis of lord North's conciliatory motion, were brought forward, in the house of commons; but without receiving its approbation. The most remarkable of these was proposed by Mr. Edmund Burke, in a speech, which, for strength of argument, extent of information, and sublimity of language, would bear a comparison with the most finished performance that ancient or modern times have produced. In his introduction to this admirable speech, he examined and explained the natural and accidental circumstances of the colonies, with respect to situation, resources, number, population, commerce, fisheries, and agriculture; and from these considerations showed their importance. He then inquired into their unconquerable spirit of freedom; which he traced to its original sources. From these circumstances, he inferred the line of policy which should be pursued with regard to America. He showed that all proper plans of government must be adapted to the feelings, established habits, and received opinions of the people. On these principles, Mr. Burke reprobated all plans of governing the colonies by force; and proposed, as the ground-work of his plan, that the colonists should be admitted to an interest in the constitution. He then went into an historical detail of the manner, in which the British privileges had been extended to Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham; the state of confusion before that event; and the happy consequences which followed it.—He contended, that a communication, to the members, of an interest in the constitution, was the great ruling principle of British government. He, therefore, proposed to go back to the old policy for governing the colonies. He was for a parliamentary acknowledgment of the legal competency of the colonial assemblies, for the support of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war. He maintained the futility of parliamentary taxation, as a method of supply. He stated, that much had been given in the old way of colonial grant; that, from the year 1748 to 1763, the journals of the house of commons repeatedly acknowledged, that the colonies not only gave, but gave to satiety; and that, from time to time, in which parliamentary imposition had superceded the free gifts of the provinces, there was much discontent, and little revenue. He, therefore, moved six resolutions, affirmatory of these facts; and grounded on them resolutions, for repealing the acts complained of by the Americans, trusting to the liberality of their future voluntary contributions. This plan of conciliation, which promised immediate peace to the whole empire, and a lasting obedience of the colonies, though recommended by the charms of the most persuasive eloquence, and supported by the most convincing arguments, was by a great majority rejected.

Mr. D. Hartley, not discouraged by the negative, which had been given to Mr. Burke's scheme, came forward with another for the same purpose. This proposed, that a letter of requisition should be sent to the colonies, by the secretary of state, on a motion from the house, for a contribution to the expenses of the whole empire. He meant to leave, to the provincial assemblies, the right to judge of the expedience, amount and application of the grant. In confidence that the colonies would give freely, when called on, in this constitutiona way, he moved, to suspend the acts complained of by the Americans. This was also rejected.

Another plan was, digested in private, by Dr Franklin, on the part of the Americans, and Dr. Fothergill and David Barcley, on behalf of the British ministry. There appeared a disposition to concede something considerable on both sides; but the whole came to nothing in consequence of an inflexible determination to refuse a repeal of the act of parliament for altering the chartered government of Massachusetts. Dr. Franklin agreed, that the tea destroyed should be paid for; the British ministers, that the Boston port act should be repealed; but the latter contended, "that the late Massachusetts acts, being real amendments of their constitution, must, for that reason, be continued, as well as to be a standing example of the power of parliament." On the other hand, it was declared by Dr. Franklin, "that, while the parliament claimed and exercised a power of internal legislation for the colonies, and of altering American constitutions at pleasure, there could be no agreement; as that would render the Americans unsafe in every privilege they enjoyed, and would leave them nothing in which they could be secure."

This obstinate adherence to support parliament, in a power of altering the laws and charters of the provinces, particularly to enforce their late laws for new-modelling the chartered constitution of Massachusetts, was the fatal rock, by dashing on which the empire broke in twain; for every other point, in dispute between the two countries, seemed in a fair way for an amicable compromise.

The fishery bill was speedily followed by another, for restraining the trade and commerce of the colonies and provinces of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. The reasons assigned for this were the same with those offered for the other. These provinces had adopted the continental association. The British minister thought it proper, that, as they had voluntarily interdicted themselves from trade with Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, they should be restrained from it with all other parts of the world. He contended, that the inhabitants of the colonies might render this act a dead letter, by relinquishing their own resolutions, as then they would meet with no restraint in carrying on trade in its ancient legal channel. It is remarkable, that three of the associated colonies, viz. New York, Delaware, and North Carolina, were omitted in this restraining bill. Whatever might be the view of the British ministry for this discrimination, it was considered in the colonies as calculated to promote disunion among them. It is certain, that the colonists, exempted from its operation, might have reaped a golden harvest from the exemption in their favour, had they been disposed to avail themselves of it; but such was the temper of the times, that a renunciation of immediate advantage in favour of the public was fashionable. The selfish passions, which, in seasons of peace, are too often the cause of quarrels, were hushed by the pressure of common danger.

The exempted colonies spurned the proffered favour, and submitted to the restraints imposed on their less favoured neighbours, so as to be equal sharers of their fate. The indulgence granted to

address. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, preserved peace and good order among themselves, successfully engaged the other colonies to make a common cause with them, and counteracted General Gage so effectually as to prevent his doing any thing for his royal master, while by patience and moderation they screened themselves from censure. Though resolved to bear as long as prudence and policy dictated, they were all the time preparing for the last extremity. They were furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition, and training their militia.

Provisions were also collected and stored in different places, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage, though zealous for his royal master's interest, discovered a prevailing desire of a peaceable accommodation. He wished to prevent hostilities by depriving the inhabitants of the means necessary for carrying them on. With this view he determined to destroy the stores which he knew were collected for the support of a provincial army. Wishing to accomplish this without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect it by surprise, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night, April 18th, 1775, 800 grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the Common, landed at Phipp's farm, and marched for Concord, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith. Neither the secrecy with which this expedition was planned, the privacy with which the troops marched out, nor an order that no one inhabitant should leave Boston, were sufficient to prevent intelligence from being sent to the country militia, of what was going forward. About two in the morning 130 of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them, but intelligence respecting the regulars being uncertain, they were dismissed, with orders to appear again at beat of drum. They collected a second time, to the number of 70, between four and five o'clock in the morning, of the 19th, and the British regulars soon after made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up them and called out: "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body; on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence; but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green. A few more were shot after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment proceeded to Concord, and executed their commission. They disabled two 24 pounders, threw 500lb of ball into wells, and staved about sixty barrels of flour. Mr. John Butterick, of Concord, major of a minute regiment, not knowing what had passed at Lexington, ordered his men not to give the first fire, that they might not be the aggressors. Upon his approaching near the regulars, they fired, and killed Captain Isaac Davis, and one private of the provincial minute men. The fire was returned, and a skirmish ensued. The king's troops having done their business, began their retreat towards Boston. This was conducted with expedition, for the adjacent inhabitants had assembled in arms, and began to attack them in every direction. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed, both by those who pressed on their rear, and others who pouring in from all sides, fired from behind stone walls and such like coverts, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of 900 men, under lord Piercy, which had been sent out by General Gage to support Lieutenant Colonel Smith. This reinforcement having two pieces of cannon, awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance: but they continued a constant, though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. The close firing from behind the walls by good marksmen, put the regular troops into no small confusion: but they nevertheless kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute men. A little after sunset the regulars reached Bunker's-hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed the Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston.

There never were more than 400 provincials engaged at one time, and often not so many. As some tired and gave out, others came up and took their places. There was scarcely any discipline observed among them. Officers and privates fired when they were ready, or saw a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities by crossing fields and fences, and to act as flanking parties against the king's troops, who kept to the main road.

The regulars had sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the provincials fifty were killed, and thirty-eight wounded and missing.

As arms were to decide the controversy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the first blood was drawn in New England. The inhabitants of that country are so connected with each other by descent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of a single individual interested the whole, and made them consider it as a common cause. The blood of those who were killed at Lexington and Concord proved the firm cement of an extensive union.

To prevent the people within Boston from co-operating with their countrymen without, in case of an assault, which was now daily expected, General Gage agreed with a committee of the town, that upon the inhabitants lodging their arms in Faneuil-hall, or any other convenient place, under the care of the selectmen, all such inhabitants as were inclined, might depart from the town, with their families and effects. In five days after the ratification of this agreement, the inhabitants lodged 1778 musquets, 634 pistols, 273 bayonets and 38 blunderbusses. The agreement was well observed in the beginning; but after a short time obstructions were thrown in the way of its final completion, on the plea that persons who went from Boston to bring in the goods of those who chose to continue within the town, were not properly treated. Congress remonstrated on the infraction of the agreement, but without effect. The general on a farther consideration of these consequences of moving the whigs out of Boston, evaded it in a manner not consistent with good faith. He was in some measure compelled to adopt this dishonourable measure, from the clamour of the tories, who alleged that none but enemies to the British government were disposed to remove, and that when they were all safe with their families and effects the town would be set set on fire. To prevent the provincials from obtaining supplies which they much wanted, a quibble was made on the meaning of the word *effects* which was construed by the general as not including merchandise. By this construction, unwarranted by every rule of genuine interpretation, many who quitted the town were deprived of their usual resources for support. Passports were not universally refused, but were given out very slowly: and the business was so conducted that families were divided; wives were separated from their husbands; children from their parent; and the aged and infirm from their relations and friends. The general dicovered a disinclination to part with the women and children, thinking that, on their account, the provincials would be restrained from making an assault on the town. The selectmen gave repeated assurances that the inhabitants had delivered up their arms; but, as a cover for violating the agreement, General Gage issued a proclamation, in which he asserted that he had a full proof to the contrary. A few might have secreted some favourite arms; but nearly all the training arms were delivered up. On this flimsy pretence the general sacrificed his honour to policy and the clamours of the tories. Contrary to good faith, he detained many, though fairly entitled by agreement to go out: and when he admitted the departure of others, he would not allow them to remove their families and effects.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of the Lexington battle, despatched an account of it to Great Britain, accompanied with many depositions, to prove that the British troops were the aggressors. They also made an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they say: "These have not yet detached us from our royal sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and though hardly dealt with, as we have been, are still ready with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, crown and dignity. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." From the commencement of hostilities, the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies took a new direction.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, being forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts, but the adjacent colonies, grasped their arms and marched to oppose them. The colonies were in such a state of irritability, that the least shock in any part was, by a powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt throughout the whole. The Americans who fell were revered by their countrymen, as martyrs who had died in the cause of liberty. Resentment against the British burned more strongly than ever. Martial rage took possession of the breasts of thousands. Combinations were formed, and associations subscribed, binding the inhabitants to one another by the sacred ties of honour, religion, and love of country, to do whatever their public bodies directed for the preservation of their liberties. Hitherto the Americans had no regular army. From principles of policy they cautiously avoided that measure, lest they might subject themselves to the charge of being aggressors. All their military regulations were carried on by their militia, and under the old established laws of the land. For the defence of the colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, enrolled in companies, and taught the use of arms. The laws for this purpose had never been better observed than for some months previous to the Lexington battle. These military arrangements, which had been previously adopted for defending the colonies from hostile French and Indians, were on this occasion turned against the troops of the parent state. Forts, magazines, and arsenals, by the constitution of the country, were in the keeping of his majesty. Immediately after the Lexington battle, these were for the most part taken possession of throughout the colonies, by parties of the provincial militia. Ticonderoga, in which was a small royal garrison, was surprised and taken by adventurers from different states. Public money which had been collected in consequence of previous grants, was also seized for common services. Before the commmencement of hostilities, these measures would have been condemned by the moderate even among the Americans: but that event justified a bolder line of opposition than had been adopted. Sundry citizens having been put to death by British troops, self preservation dictated measures which, if adopted under other circumstances, would have disunited the colonists. One of the most important of this kind was the raising an army. Men of warm tempers whose courage exceeded their prudence, had for months urged the necessity of raising troops; but they were restrained by the more moderate, who wished that the colonies might avoid extremities, or at least that they might not lead in bringing them on. The provincial congress of Massachusetts being in session at the time the battle of Lexington was fought, voted that "an army of 30,000 men be immediately raised: that 13,600 be of their own province; and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island." In consequence of this vote, the

and knowledge to direct its operations. The disposition of the finances of the country, and the most effectual mode of drawing forth its resources, were subjects with which scarce any of the inhabitants were acquainted. Arms and ammunition were almost wholly deficient; and though the country abounded with the materials of which they are manufactured, yet there was neither time nor artists enough to supply an army with the means of defence. The country was destitute both of fortifications and engineers. Amidst so many discouragements, there were some flattering circumstances. The war could not be carried on by Great Britain, but at a great disadvantage, and at immense expense. It was easy for ministers, at St. James's, to plan campaigns: but hard was the fate of the officer, from whom the execution, of them, in the woods of America, was expected. The country was so extensive, and abounded so much with defiles, that, by evacuating and retreating, the Americans, though they could not conquer, yet might save themselves from being conquered. The authors of the acts of Parliament, for restraining the trade of the colonies, were most excellent recruiting officers for Congress. They imposed a necessity on thousands to become soldiers. All other business being suspended, the whole resources of the country were applied in supporting an army. Though the colonists were without discipline, they possessed native valour. Though they had neither gold nor silver, they possessed a mine, in the enthusiasm of their people. Paper, for upwards of two years, produced to them more solid advantages, than Spain derived from her superabounding precious metals. Though they had no ships to protect their trade or their towns, they had simplicity enough to live without the former, and enthusiasm enough to risk the latter; rather than submit to the power of Britain. They believed their cause to be just, and that heaven approved their exertions in defence of their rights. Zeal originating from such motives, supplied the place of discipline; and inspired a confidence and military ardour, which overleaped all difficulties.

Resistance being resolved upon by the Americans, the pulpit, the press, the bench and the bar, severally laboured to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New England were a numerous, learned and respectable body, who had a great ascendancy over the minds of their hearers.—They connected religion and patriotism; and in their sermons and prayers, represented the cause of America, as the cause of heaven. The synod of New York and Philadelphia also sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended such sentiments and conduct, as were suitable to their situation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers; and, next to them, had the greatest hand in animating their countrymen.—Gentlemen, of the bench and of the bar, denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the colonists. A distinction founded on law, between the king and his ministry, was introduced. The former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of treason was charged on the latter, for using the royal name, to varnish their own unconstitutional measures. The phrase of a ministerial war became common; and was used, as a medium for reconciling resistance with allegiance.

Coeval with the resolutions for organizing an army, was one appointing the 20th day of July, 1775, a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer to Almighty God; "to bless their rightful sovereign king George; and to inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of his subjects; that the British nation might be influenced, to regard the things that belonged to her peace, before they were hid from her eyes; that the colonies might be ever under the care and protection of a kind providence, and be prospered in all their interests: that America might soon behold a gracious interposition of heaven, for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded right, a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honourable to both."* The forces which had been collected in Massachusetts, were stationed in convenient places, for guarding the country, from farther excursions of the regulars from Boston. Breastworks were also erected in different places, for the same purpose. While both parties were attempting to carry off stock from the several islands, with, which the bay of Boston is agreeably diversified, sundry skirmishes took place. These were of real service to the Americans. They habituated them to danger; and, perhaps, much of the courage of old soldiers, is derived from an experimental conviction, that the chance of escaping unhurt from engagements, is much greater than young recruits suppose.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain, arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, whose behaviour in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, arrived about the same time. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more decision: but before he proceeded to extremities, he conceived it due to ancient forms, to issue a proclamation, holding forth to the inhabitants the alternative of peace or war. He therefore offered pardon, in the king's name, to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties: excepting only from the benefit of that pardon, "Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature, to admit of any other consideration, than that of condign punishment." He also proclaimed, that not only the persons above-named and excepted, but also, all their adherents, associates, and correspondents, should be deemed guilty of treason and rebellion; and treated accordingly. By this proclamation, it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, martial law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established." It was supposed that this proclamation was a prelude to hostilities; and preparations were accordingly made by the Americans. A considerable height, by the name of Bunker's hill, just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence, to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore issued, by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of a thousand men should intrench upon this height. By some mistake, Breed's hill, high and large like the other, but situated nearer Boston, was marked out for the intrenchments, instead of Bunker's hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's hill; and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence, that they were not heard by the British, on board their vessels, though very near. These having derived their first information of what was going on, from the sight of the works, nearly completed, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness; and, though they were only young soldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a small breast-work extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston, General Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached Major General Howe and Brig General Pigot, with the flower of his army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business These troops landed at Moreton's point, and formed after landing; but remained in that position, till they were reinforced by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines making in the whole nearly 3000 men. While the troops, who first landed, were waiting for this reinforcement, the provincials for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two paralell lines, at a small distance from each other; and filled the space between with hay, which, having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown. These were not given, because they were fired upon from the houses in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a short time, this ancient town, consisting of about 500 buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting house formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders, with a magnificent but awful spectacle. In Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the king's troops, as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honour of British troops, beat high in the breasts of many: while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on slowly; which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general reserved themselves, till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods; but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords: but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire, till their adversaries were near; and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were again successful; though the soldiers discovered a great aversion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began so far to fail, that they were not able to keep up the same brisk fire. The British then brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastworks from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled; the soldiers in their rear were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances, a retreat from it was ordered: but the provincials delayed and made resistance with their discharged muskets, as if they had been clubs, so long, that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt, before it was given up to them.

While these operations were going on at the breast-work and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials reserved their fire, till their adversaries were near; and then poured it upon the light infantry, with such an incessant stream, and in a direction so true, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the king's

* Since the fast of the Ninevites, recorded in sacred writ, perhaps there has not been one, which was more generally kept, with suitable dispositions, than that of July 20, 1775. It was no formal service. The whole body of the people felt the importance, the weight and the danger of the unequal contest, in which they were about to engage; that every thing dear to them was at stake; and that a divine blessing only could carry them through it successfully. This blessing they implored with their whole souls, poured forth in ardent supplications, issuing from hearts deeply penetrated with a sense of their unworthiness, their dependence and danger, and at the same time, impressed with an humble confidence, in the mercies and goodness of that Being, who had planted and preserved them hitherto, amid many dangers, in the wilderness of a new world.

troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, exposed them to new dangers; for, it could not be effected, but by marching over Charlestown neck; every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The incessant fire kept up across this neck, prevented any considerable reinforcement from joining their countrymen who were engaged; but the few who fell on their retreat, over the same ground, proved that the apprehensions of those provincial officers, who declined passing over to succour their companions, were without any solid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged, amounted only o 1500. It was apprehended that the conquerors would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to American head quarters at Cambridge; but they advanced no farther than Bunker's hill. There they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same, on Prospect hill, in front of them. Both were guarding against an attack; and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans; and the great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. Their have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater destruction of men, than in this short engagement. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to 1054. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed and 70 more were wounded. The battle of Quebec, in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers, as this affair of a slight intrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were rifle men: but, they were all good marksmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amusements of sportsmen. The dexterity which, by long habit, they had acquired in hitting beast, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the destruction of British officers. From their fall, much confusion was expected. They were therefore particularly singled out. Most of those, who were near the person of General Howe, were either killed or wounded: but the general, though he greatly exposed himself, was unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three-fourths of their men. Of one company, not more than five, and of another, not more than fourteen escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such, as wiped away the reproach of cowardice, which had been cast on them, by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers, merited and obtained great applause: but, the provincials were justly entitled o a large portion of the fame, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary, to dislodge them from lines, which were the work only of a single night.

The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine; their wounded and missing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren. To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesmen. A regard to the liberty of his country only, induced him to oppose the measures of government. He aimed not at a separation from, but a coalition with the mother country. He took an active part in defence of his country; not that he might be applauded, and rewarded for a patriotic spirit; but, because he was, in the best sense of the word, a real patriot. Having no interested or personal views to answer, the friends of liberty confided in his integrity. The soundness of his jud ment, and his abilities as a public speaker, enabled him to make a distinguished figure in public councils: but, his intrepidity and active zeal, induced his countrymen to place him in the military line. Within four days after he was appointed a major general, he fell a noble sacrifice to a cause, which he had espoused from the purest principles. Like Hampden he lived, and like Hampden he died; universally beloved, and universally regretted. His many virtues were celebrated in an elegant eulogium, written by Dr. Rush, in language, equal to the illustrious subject.

The burning of Charlestown, though a place of great trade, did not discourage the provincials. It excited resentment and execration; but not any disposition to submit. Such was the high-toned state of the public mind, and so great the indifference of property, when put in competition with liberty, that military conflagrations, though they distressed and impoverished, had no tendency to subdue the colonists. They might answer in the old world: but were not calculated for the new, where the war was undertaken, not for a change of masters, but for securing essential rights. The action at Breed's-hill or Bunker's hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important consequences. It taught the British so much respect for the Americans, intrenched behind works, that their subsequent operations were retarded with a caution, that wasted away a whole campaign, to very little purpose. It added to the confidence the Americans began to have in their own abilities; but inferences, very injurious to the future interests of America, were drawn from the good conduct of the new troops, on the memorable day. It inspired some of the leading members of Congress, with such high ideas of what might be done by militia, or men engaged for a short term of enlistment, that it was long before they assented to the establishment of a permanent army. Not distinguishing the continued exertions of an army, through a series of years, from the gallant efforts of the yeomanry of the country, led directly to action, they were slow in admitting the necessity of permanent troops. They conceived the country might be defended, by the occasional exertions of her sons, without the expense and danger of an army, engaged for the war. In the progress of hostilities, as will appear in the sequel, the militia lost much of their first ardour; while leading men in the councils of America, trusting to its continuance, neglected the proper time of recruiting, for a series of years. From the want of perseverance in the militia, and the want of a disciplined standing army, the cause for which arms were at first taken up, was more than once brought to the brink of destruction.

CHAPTER IX.

The second Congress meets; organizes a regular Continental Army: makes sundry public addresses: petitions the King, &c. Transactions in Massachusetts.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress, previous to its dissolution, on the 26th of October, 1774, recommended to the colonies, to choose members for another; to meet on the 10th of May, 1775; unless the redress of grievances was previously obtained. A circular letter had been addressed by lord Dartmouth, to the several colonial governors, requesting their interference, to prevent the meeting of this second congress; but ministerial requisitions had lost their influence. Delegates were elected, not only for the twelve colonies, that were before represented, but also for the parish of St. John's, in Georgia; and, in July following, for the whole province. The time of the meeting of this second congress, was fixed at so distant a day, that an opportunity might be afforded for obtaining information of the plans adopted by the British parliament in the winter of 1774, 1775. Had these been favourable, the delegates would either not have met, or dispersed after a short session: but as the resolution was then fixed, to compel the submission of the colonies, and hostilities had already commenced the meeting of Congress, on the tenth of May, which was at first eventual, became fixed.

On their meeting, they chose Peyton Randolph, for their president, and Charles Thompson, for their secretary. On the next day Mr. Hancock laid before them a variety of depositions, proving, that the king's troops were the aggressors, in the late battle at Lexington, together with sundry papers relative to the great events, which had lately taken place in Massachusetts. Whereupon Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America. They proceeded in the same line of moderation and firmness, which marked the acts of their predecessors in the past year.

The city and county of New York, having applied to Congress, for advice how they should conduct themselves with regard to the troops they expected to land there; they were advised, "to act on the defensive, so long as might be consistent with their safety; to permit the troops to remain in the barracks, so long as they behaved peaceably: but not to suffer fortifications to be erected, or any steps to be taken for cutting off the communication between the town and country." Congress also resolved: "That exportation to all parts of British America, which had not adopted their association, should immediately cease;" and that, "no provision of any kind, or other necessaries, be furnished to the British fisheries, on the American coasts;" and, "that no bill of exchange, draft, or order, of any officer in the British army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received or negotiated, or any money supplied them, by any person in America; that no provisions or necessaries of any kind, be furnished or supplied, to or for the use of the British army or navy, in the colony of Massachusetts Bay; that no vessel employed in transporting British troops to America, or from one part of North America, to another, or warlike stores or provisions for said troops, be freighted or furnished with provisions or any necessaries." These resolutions may be considered as the counterpart of the British acts for restraining the commerce, and prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies. They were calculated to bring distress on the British islands, in the West Indies; whose chief dependence for subsistence, was on the importation of provisions from the American continent. They also occasioned new difficulties in the support of the British army and fisheries. The colonists were so much indebted to Great Britain, that government bills for the most part found among them a ready market. A war in the colonies was therefore made subservient to commerce, by increasing the sources of remittance. This enabled the mother country, in a great degree, to supply her troops without shipping money out of the kingdom. From the operation of these resolutions, advantages of this nature were not only cut off, but the supply of the British army was rendered both precarious and expensive. In consequence of the interdiction of the American fisheries, great profits were expected, by British adventurers, in that line. Such frequently found it most convenient to obtain supplies in America, for carrying on their fisheries: but, as Great Britain had deprived the colonists of all benefits from that quarter, they now, in their turn, interdicted all supplies from being furnished to British fishermen. To obviate this unexpected embarrassment, several of the vessels employed in this business, were obliged to return home to bring out provisions, for their associates. These restrictive resolutions were not so much the effect of resentment, as of policy. The colonists conceived that by distressing the British commerce, they would increase the number of those who would interest themselves in their behalf.

The new congress had convened but a few days, when their venerable president, Peyton Randolph, was under the necessity of returning home. On his departure, John Hancock, who had lately been proscribed, by General Gage, was unanimously chosen his successor. The objects of deliberation, presented to this new congress, were, u pos

sible, more important than those which, in the preceding year, had engaged the attention of their predecessors. The colonists had now experienced the inefficacy of those measures, from which relief had been formerly obtained. They found a new parliament disposed to run all risks in compelling their submission. They also understood, that administration was united against them, and its members firmly established in their places. Hostilities were commenced. Reinforcements had arrived; and more were daily expected. Added to this, they had information, that their adversaries had taken measures to secure the friendship and co-operation of the Indians and Canadians.

The coercion of the colonists being resolved upon, and their conquest supposed to be inevitable, the British ministry judged, that it would be for the interest of both countries, to proceed in that vigorous course, which promised the speediest attainment of their object. They hoped, by pressing the colonists on all quarters, to intimidate opposition, and ultimately to lessen the effusion of human blood.

In this awful crisis, Congress had only a choice of difficulties. The New England states had already organized an army, and blockaded General Gage. To desert them would have been contrary to plighted faith, and to sound policy: to support them, would make the war general, and involve all the provinces in one general promiscuous state of hostility. The resolution of the people in favour of the latter was fixed; and only wanted public sanction for its operation. Congress therefore resolved: "that for the express purpose of defending and securing the colonies and preserving them in safety, against all attempts to carry the late acts of parliament into execution by force of arms, they be immediately put in a state of defence: but, as they wished for a restoration of the harmony, formerly subsisting between the mother country and the colonies, to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty." To resist, and to petition, were coeval resolutions. As freemen, they could not tamely submit: but as loyal subjects, wishing for peace as far as was compatible with their rights, they once more in the character of petitioners, humbly stated their grievances, to the common father of the empire. To dissuade the Canadians from co-operating with the British, they again addressed them: representing the pernicious tendency of the Quebec act, and apologizing for their taking Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, as measures which were dictated by the great law of self-preservation.

About the same time, Congress took measures for warding of the danger, that threatened their frontier inhabitants from the Indians. Commissioners to treat with them, were appointed: and a supply of goods for their use was ordered. A talk was also prepared by Congress, and transmitted to them, in which the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies was explained in a familiar Indian style. They were told, that they had no concern in the family quarrel; and were urged by the ties of ancient friendship, and a common birth place, to remain at home; keep their hatchet buried deep; and to join neither party.

The novel situation of Massachusetts, made it necessary for the ruling powers of that province, to ask the advice of Congress, on a very interesting subject: "the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government." For many months they had been kept together, in tolerable peace and order, by the force of ancient habits; under the simple style of recommendation and advice from popular bodies, invested with no legislative authority. But, as war now raged in their borders, and a numerous army was actually raised, some more efficient form of government became necessary. At this early day, it neither comported with the wishes, nor the designs of the colonists, to erect forms of government independent of Great Britain. Congress, therefore, recommended only such regulations, as were immediately necessary: and these were conformed, as near as possible, to the spirit and substance of the charter; and were only to last, till a governor, of his majesty's appointment, would consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

On the same principles of necessity, another assumption of new powers became unavoidable. The great intercourse that daily took place throughout the colonies, pointed out the propriety of establishing a general post-office. This was accordingly done; and Dr. Franklin who, had by royal authority, been dismissed from a similar employment about three years before, was appointed by his country, the head of the new department.

While Congress was making arrangements for their proposed continental army, it was thought expedient, once more to address the inhabitants of Great Britain and to publish to the world a declaration setting forth their reasons for taking up arms: to address the speaker and gentlemen of the assembly of Jamaica, and the inhabitants of Ireland; and also to prefer a second humble petition to the king. In their address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, they again vindicated themselves, from the charge of aiming at independency; professed their willingness to submit to the several acts of trade and navigation, which were passed before the year 1763; recapitulated their reasons for rejecting lord North's conciliatory motion; stated the hardships they suffered, from the operations of the royal army in Boston; and insinuated the danger that the inhabitants of Britain would be in, of losing their freedom, in case their American brethren were subdued.

In their declaration, setting forth their causes and necessity of their taking up arms, they enumerated the injuries they had received, and the methods taken by the British ministry to compel their submission; and then said: "we are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." They asserted "that foreign assistance was undoubtedly attainable.' This was not founded on any private information, but was an opinion derived from their knowledge of the principles of policy, by which states usually regulate their conduct towards each other.

In their address to the speaker and gentlemen of the assembly of Jamaica, they dilated on the arbitrary systems of the British ministry; and informed them, that in order to obtain a redress of their grievances, they had appealed to the justice, humanity, and interest, of Great Britain. They stated, that to make their schemes of non-importation and non-exportation, produce the desired effects, they were obliged to extend them to the islands. "From that necessity, and from that alone, said they, our conduct has proceeded." They concluded with saying: "the peculiar situation of your island forbids your assistance; but we have your good wishes. From the good wishes of the friends of liberty and mankind, we shall always derive consolation."

In their address to the people of Ireland, they recapitulated their grievances; stated their humble petitions, and the neglect with which they had been treated. "In defence of our persons and properties under actual violations," said they, "we have taken up arms. When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the agressors, they shall cease on our part also."

These several addresses were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the colonies. But their petition to the king, which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favour of the American cause, than any other of their productions. This was in a great measure carried through Congress by Mr. Dickinson. Several members, judging from the violence with which parliament proceeded against the colonies, were of opinion, that farther petitions were nugatory: but this, worthy citizen, a friend to both countries, and devoted to a reconciliation on constitutional principles, urged the expediency and policy of trying, once more, the effect of an humble, decent, and firm petition to the common head of the empire. The high opinion that was conceived of his patriotism and abilities, induced the members to assent to the measure, though they generally conceived it to be labour lost. The petition agreed upon, was the work of Mr. Dickinson's pen. In this among other things, it was stated: "That, notwithstanding their sufferings, they had retained too high a regard for the kingdom, from which they derived their origin, to request such a reconciliation, as might, in any manner, be inconsistent with her dignity and welfare. Attached to his majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire; connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite society; and deploring every event that tended, in any degree, to weaken them, they not only most fervently desired the former harmony, between her and the colonies, to be restored, but that a concord might be established between them, upon so firm a basis, as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations, in both countries. They, therefore, besought, that his majesty would be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." By this last clause, Congress meant, that the mother country should propose a plan for establishing by compact, something like Magna Charta, for the colonies. They did not aim at a total exemption from the control of parliament; nor were they unwilling to contribute in their own way, to the expenses of government: but they feared the horrors of war less than submission to unlimited parliamentary supremacy. They desired an amicable compact, in which doubtful, undefined points should be ascertained, so as to secure that proportion of authority and liberty, which would be for the general good of the whole empire. They fancied themselves in the condition of the barons at Runnymede; with this difference, that, in addition to opposing the king, they had also to oppose the parliament. This difference was more nominal than real; for, in the latter case, the king and parliament stood precisely in the same relation to the people of America, which subsisted in the former, between the king and people of England. In both, popular leaders were contending with the sovereign, for the privileges of subjects.

This well-meant petition was presented on September 1st, 1775, by Mr. Penn, and Mr. Lee; and, on the 4th, lord Dartmouth informed them, "that to it, no answer would be given." This slight contributed, not a little, to the union and perseverance of the colonists. When pressed by the calamities of war, a doubt would sometimes arise, in the minds of scrupulous persons, that they had been too hasty in their opposition to the protecting, parent state. To such, it was usual to present the second petition of Congress to the king; observing thereon, that all the blood, and all the guilt of the war, must be charged on British, and not the American counsels. Though the colonists were accused, in a speech from the throne, as meaning only "to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to their king, while they were preparing for a general revolt; and that their rebellious war was manifestly carried on, for the purpose of establishing an independent empire:" yet, at that time, and for months after a redress of grievances was their ultimate aim. Conscious of this intention, and assenting, in the sincerity of their souls, to the submissive language of their petition, they illy brooked the contempt, with which their joint supplication was treated; and still worse, that they should be charged from the throne, with studied duplicity.

Nothing contributes more to the success of

revolutions, than moderation. Intemperate zealots overshoot their object, and soon spend their force; while the calm and dispassionate persevere to the end. The bulk of the people, in civil commotions, are influenced to a choice of sides, by the general complexion of the measures adopted by the respective parties. When these appear to be dictated by justice and prudence, and to be uninfluenced by passion, ambition, or avarice, they are disposed to favour them. Such was the effect of this second petition, through a long and trying war, in which, men of serious reflection were often called upon to examine the rectitude of their conduct.

Though the refusal of an answer, to this renewed application of Congress to the king, was censured by numbers in Great Britain, as well as in the colonies; yet, the partizans of the ministry varnished the measure, as proper and expedient. They contended, that the petition, as it contained no offers of submission, was unavailing, as a ground work of negociation. Nothing was farther from the thoughts of Congress, than such concessions as were expected in Great Britain. They conceived themselves more sinned against than sinning. They claimed a redress of grievances, as a matter of right: but were persuaded, that concessions, for this purpose, were acts of justice, and not of humiliation; and therefore, could not be disgraceful to those by whom they were made. To prevent future altercations, they wished for an amicable compact, to ascertain the extent of parliamentary supremacy. The mother country wished for absolute submission to her authority; the colonists, for a repeal of every act, that imposed taxes, or that interfered in their internal legislation. The ministry of England, being determined not to repeal these acts, and the congress equally determined not to submit to them; the claims of the two countries were so wide from each other as to afford no reasonable ground to expect a compromise. It was, therefore, concluded, that any notice taken of the petition would only afford an opportunity for the colonies to prepare themselves for the last extremity.

A military opposition to the armies of Great Britain, being resolved upon by the colonies, it became an object of consequence to fix on a proper person to conduct that opposition. Many of the colonists had titles of high rank in the militia, and several had seen something of real service, in the late war between France and England: but there was no individual of such superior military experience, as to entitle him to a decided pre-eminence; or even to qualify him, on that ground, to contend, on equal terms, with the British masters of the art of war. In elevating one man, by the free voice of an invaded country, to the command of thousands of his equal fellow citizens, no consideration was regarded but the interest of the community. To bind the uninvaded provinces more closely to the common cause, policy directed the views of Congress to the south.

Among the southern colonies, Virginia, for numbers, wealth, and influence, stood pre-eminent. To attach so respectable a colony to the aid of Massachusetts, by selecting from it a commander in chief, was not less warranted by the great military genius of one of its distinguished citizens, than dictated by sound policy. George Washington was, by an unanimous vote, appointed commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the colonies. It was a fortunate circumstance attending his election, that it was accompanied with no competition, and followed by no envy. That same general impulse on the public mind, which led the colonists to agree in many other particulars, pointed to him as the most proper person for presiding over the military arrangements of America. Not only Congress, but the inhabitants, in the east and the west, in the north and the south, as well before as at the time of embodying a continental army, were in a great degree unanimous in his favour.

General Washington was born on the 22d of February, 1732. His education favoured the production o a solid mind, and a vigorous body. Mountain air, abundant exercise in the open country, the wholesome toils of the chase, and the delightful scenes of rural life, expanded his limbs to an unusual, graceful and well proportioned size. His youth was spent in the acquisition of useful knowledge, and in pursuits, tending to the improvement of his fortune, or the benefit of his country. Fitted more for active, than for speculative life, he devoted the greater portion of his time to the atter: but this was amply compensated by his being frequently in such situations, as called forth the powers of his mind, and strengthened them by repeated exercise. Early in life, in obedience to his country's call, he entered the military line, and began his career of fame, in opposing that power, in concert with whose troops, he acquired his last and most distinguished honours. He was aid-de-camp to General Braddock in 1755; when that unfortunate officer was killed. He was eminently serviceable in covering the retreat, and saving the remains of the routed army. For three years after the defeat of Braddock, George Washington was commander in chief of the forces of Virginia, against the incursions of the French and Indians, from the Ohio. He continued in service, till the reduction of Fort Duquesne, 1758, gave peace to the frontiers of his native colony, Virginia. Soon after that event, he retired to his estate, Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac, and with great industry and success pursued the arts of peaceful life.

When the proceedings of the British parliament alarmed the colonists with apprehensions, that a blow was levelled at their liberties, he again came forward into public view, and was appointed a delegate to the congress, which met in September, 1774. Possessed of a large proportion of common sense and directed by a sound judgment, he was better fitted for the exalted station to which he was called, than many others, who, to a greater brilliancy o parts, frequently add the eccentricity of original genius. Engaged in the busy scenes of life, he knew human nature, and the most proper method of accomplishing proposed objects. His passions were subdued and kept in subjection to reason. His soul, superior to party spirit, to prejudice, and illiberal views, moved according to the impulses it received from an honest heart, a good understanding, common sense and a sound judgment. He was habituated to view things on every side to consider them in all relations, and to trace the possible and probable consequences of proposed measures. Much addicted to close thinking, his mind was constantly employed. By frequent exercise, his understanding and judgment expanded, so as to be able to discern truth, and to know what was proper to be done, in the most difficult conjectures.

Soon after General Washington was appointed commander in chief, four major generals, one adjutant general, with the rank of a brigadier, and eight brigadier generals, were appointed, in subordination to him; who were as follows.

Maj. Generals.	Brig. Generals.
1st, Artemas Ward.	1st, Seth Pomeroy.
2d, Charles Lee.	2d, Richard Montgomery.
3d, Philip Schuyler.	3d, David Wooster.
4th, Israel Putnam.	4th. William Heath.
	5th, Joseph Spencer.
Adjt. General,	6th, John Thomas.
Horatio Gates.	7th, John Sullivan.
	8th, Nath. Greene.

General Washington replied, to the president of Congress, announcing his appointment, in the following words:

Mr. President,

"Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me, in this appointment, yet, I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However as the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks, for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

A special commission was drawn up, and presented to him, and at the same time, a unanimous resolution was adopted by Congress: "that they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, with their lives and fortunes, in the cause of American liberty." Instructions were also given him for his government, by which, after reciting various particulars, he was directed "to destroy or make prisoners, of all persons who now are, or who hereafter shall appear in arms against the good people of the colonies." The whole was summed up in authorising him, "to order and dispose of the army under his command, as might be most advantageous for obtaining the end, for which it had been raised; making it his special care, in discharge of the great trust committed to him, that the liberties of America received no detriment." About the same time, twelve companies of riflemen were ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The men, to the amount of 1430, were procured, and forwarded with great expedition. They had to march from 4 to 700 miles; and yet, the whole business was completed, and they joined the American army at Cambridge, in less than two months, from the day on which the first resolution for raising them was agreed to.

Coeval with the resolution for raising an army, was another for emitting a sum, not exceeding two million of dollars, in bills of credit, for the defence of America; and the colonies were pledged for their redemption. This sum was increased from time to time by farther emissions. The colonies, having neither money nor revenue at their command, were forced to adopt this expedient; the only one which was in their power for supporting an army. No one delegate opposed the measure. So great had been the credit of the former emissions of paper, in the greater part of the colonies, that every few at that time foresaw or apprehended the consequences of unfunded paper emissions: but had all the consequences which resulted from this measure, in the course of the war, been foreseen, it must, notwithstanding, have been adopted; for it was a less evil, that there should be a general wreck of property, than that the essential rights and liberties of a growing country should be lost. A happy ignorance of future events, combined with the ardour of the times, prevented many reflections on this subject, and gave credit and circulation to these bills of credit.

General Washington, soon after his appointment to the command of the American army, set out for the camp, at Cambridge. On his way thither, he was treated with the highest honours, in every place through which he passed. Large detachments of volunteers, composed of private gentlemen, turned out to escort him.

On his arrival at Cambridge, July 3d, 1775, he was received with the joyful acclamations of the American army. At the head of his troops, he published a declaration, previously drawn up by Congress, in the nature of a manifesto, setting forth the reasons for taking up arms. In this, after enumerating various grievances of the colonies, and vindicating them from a premeditated design, of establishing independent states, it was added: "In our own native land, in defence of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it: for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the industry of our forefathers, and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall

lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed, shall be removed, and not before."

When General Washington joined the American army, he found the British intrenched on Bunker's hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. They had also a battery on Copse's hill, and were strongly fortified on the neck. The Americans were intrenched at Winter hill, Prospect hill, and Roxbury communicating with one another by small posts over a distance of ten miles. There were also parties stationed in several towns, along the sea coast. They had neither engineers to plan suitable works, nor sufficient tools for their erection.

In the American camp, was collected a large body of men: but without those conveniences, which ancient establishments have introduced for the comfort of regular armies. Instead of tents, sails, (now rendered useless by the obstructions of commerce,) were applied for their covering: but, even of them, there was not a sufficiency. The American soldiers, having joined the camp, in all that variety of clothing, which they used in their daily labour, were without uniformity of dress. To abolish provincial distinctions, the hunting shirt was introduced. They were also without those heads of departments, in the line of commissaries, or quartermasters, which are necessary for the regular and economical supply of armies. Individuals, brought to camp their own provisions, on their own horses. In some parts committees of supplies, were appointed, who purchased necessaries at public expense, sent them on to camp, and distributed them to such as were in want, without any regularity or system. The country afforded provisions; and nothing more was wanting, than proper systems for their collection, and distribution. Other articles, though equally necessary, were almost wholly deficient; and could not be procured, but with difficulty. On the 4th of August, the whole stock of powder in the American camp, and in the public magazines, of the four New England provinces, would make little more than nine rounds a man. The continental army remained in this destitute condition, for a fortnight or more. This was generally known among themselves, and was also communicated to the British, by a deserter: but they, suspecting a plot, would not believe it. A supply of a few tons was sent on to them from the committee of Elizabethtown: but this was done privately, lest the adjacent inhabitants, who were equally destitute, should stop it for their own use. The public rulers in Massachusetts issued a recommendation to the inhabitants, not to fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark; in order that they might husband their little stock, for the more necessary purposes of shooting men. A supply of several thousand pounds weight of powder, was soon after obtained from Africa, in exchange for New England rum. This was managed with so much address, that every ounce for sale in the British Forts on the African coasts, was purchased up, and brought off for the use of the Americans.

Embarrassments, from various quarters, occurred in the formation of a continental army. The appointment of general officers, made by Congress, was not satisfactory. Enterprising leaders had come forward, with their followers, on the commencement of hostilities, without scrupulous attention to rank. When these were all blended together, it was impossible to assign to every officer the station which his services merited, or his vanity demanded. Materials for a good army were collected. The husbandmen who flew to arms, were active, zealous, and of unquestionable courage: but to introduce discipline and subordination, among freemen who were habituated to think for themselves, was an arduous labour.

The want of system and of union under proper heads, pervaded every department. From the circumstance, that the persons employed in providing necessaries for the army were unconnected with each other, much waste and unnecessary delays were occasioned. The troops of the different colonies came into service, under variant establishments. Some were enlisted with the express condition of choosing their officers. The rations furnished by the local legislatures, varied both as to quantity, quality, and price. To form one uniform mass of these discordant materials, and to subject the licentiousness of independent freemen to the control of military discipline, was a delicate and difficult business.

The continental army, put under the command of General Washington, amounted to 14,500 men. These had been so judiciously stationed around Boston as to confine the British to the town, and to exclude them from the forage and provisions, which the adjacent country and islands in Boston bay afforded. This force was thrown into three grand divisions. General Ward commanded the right wing, at Roxbury. General Lee, the left, at Prospect hill; and the centre was commanded by General Washington. In arraying the army, the military skill of Adjutant General Gates was of great service. Method and punctuality were introduced. The officers and privates were taught to know their respective places, and to have the mechanism and movements, as well as the name of an army.

When some effectual pains had been taken to discipline the army, it was found that the term, for which enlistments had taken place, was on the point o expiring. The troops from Connecticut and Rhode Island, were engaged only, till the 1st day of December, 1775; and no part of the army longer than the 1st day of January, 1776. Such mistaken apprehensions respecting the future conduct of Great Britain prevailed, that many thought the assumption of a determined spirit of resistance, would lead to a redress of all grievances.

The Massachusetts assembly and the continental congress, both resolved in November, to fit out armed vessels, to cruise on the American coast, for the purpose of intercepting warlike stores and supplies, designed for the use of the British army. The object was at first limited; but as the prospect of accommodation vanished, it was extended to all British property afloat, on the high seas. The Americans were diffident of their ability to do any thing on the water, in opposition to the greatest naval power in the world; but from a combination of circumstances, their first attempts were successful.

The Lee privateer, Captain Manly, took the brig Nancy, an ordnance ship, from Woolwich, containing a large brass mortar, several pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of arms and ammunition; with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps, and artillery. Had Congress sent an order for supplies, they could not have made out a list of articles, more suitable to their situation, than those, thus providentially thrown into their hands.

In about nine days after, three ships, with various stores, for the British army, and a brig from Antigua, with rum, were taken by Captain Manly. Before five days more had elapsed, several other store ships were captured. By these means, the distresses of the British troops, in Boston, were increased, and supplies, or the continental army, were procured. Naval captures, being unexpected, were matter of triumph to the Americans, and of surprise to the British. The latter scarcely believed, that the former would oppose them by land, with a regular army: but never suspected, that a people so unfurnished as they were, with many things necessary for arming vessels, would presume to attempt any thing on the seas. A spirit of enterprise, invigorated by patriotic zeal, prompted the hardy New-England-men to undertake the hazardous business; and their success encouraged them to proceed. Before the close of the year, Congress determined to build five vessels of 32 guns, five of 28, and three of 24. About this time, an event took place, which would have disposed a less determined people to desist from provoking the vengeance of the British navy. This was the burning of Falmouth, in the northern part of Massachusetts. Captain Moet, in the Canceaux, of sixteen guns, on the 18th of October, 1775, destroyed 139 houses, and 278 stores, and other buildings in that town.*

This spread an alarm on the coast, but produced no disposition to submit. Many moved from the sea ports, with their families and effects; but no solicitations were preferred to obtain British protection.

In a few days after the burning of Falmouth, the old south meeting house, in Boston, was taken into possession by the British: and destined for a riding school, and the service of the light dragoons. These proceedings produced, in the minds of the colonists, a more determined spirit of resistance, and a more general aversion to Great Britain.

CHAPTER X.

Ticonderoga taken; Canada invaded, and evacuated.

It early occurred to many, that if the sword decided the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies, the possession of Ticonderoga would be essential to the security of the latter. Situated on a promontory, formed at the junction of the waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain; it is the key of all communication between New York and Canada. Messrs. Deane, Wooster, Parsons, Stephens and others, of Connecticut, planned a scheme to obtain possession of this valuable post. Having procured a loan of 1800 dollars of public money, and provided a sufficient quantity of powder and ball, they set off for Bennington, to obtain the co-operation of Colonel Allen, of that place. Two hundred and seventy men, mostly of that brave and hardy people, who are called green mountain boys, were speedily collected at Castleton; which was fixed on as the place of rendezvous. At this place, Colonel Arnold, who, though attended only with a servant, was prosecuting the same object, unexpectedly joined them. He had been early chosen captain of a volunteer company, by the inhabitants of New Haven, among whom he resided. As soon as he received news of the Lexington battle, he marched off with his company for the vicinity of Boston, and arrived there, though 150 miles distant, in a few days. Immediately after his arrival, he waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and informed them that that there were, at Ticonderoga, many pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of valuable stores: and that the fort was in a ruinous condition, and garrisoned only by about forty men. They appointed him a colonel, and commissioned

* Captain Moet had been frequently at Falmouth, and was there hospitably entertained. After hostilities had commenced, but before serious war was contemplated, he landed as formerly; but not as an enemy. Brigadier Thompson, under no orders of government, took him prisoner. The inhabitants interposed; and, from motives of justice and policy, urged and accomplished his unconditional discharge. The affront rankled in the heart of the captain. He soon after returned with a small naval, force, and gave notice, that he was under orders to reduce the town to ashes, and that he should begin the business at sun rise, the next morning. No resistance was made. The inhabitants employed themselves, during the night, in removing their effects. The next morning, the town was in flames. Moet's armed naval force lay all day before it, and, without cessation, threw shells, carcasses, and hot shot into it till its destruction was completed. This being done, Captain Moet, with his fleet, drew off. Thus the pride of the province of Maine was laid desolate, in one day; and 139 families, who, 24 hours before, lived in ease and comfort, were reduced to want, and had no shelter from the autumnal storms, and approaching winter. Falmouth had formerly been twice sacked by Indians, and some of its inhabitants had been killed by them; but no act of theirs, was to be compared to this conflagration. The Indians scalped women and children to obtain a bounty. They robbed houses, for the sake of plunder; but Captain Moet, without the hope of gain, and without provocation, destroyed the subsistence and blasted the hopes of a whole community. A new town, like the phœnix, has arisen from the ashes of the old, and is now in flourishing circumstances. See Sullivan's History of the District of Maine, page 205 208.

him to raise 400 men, and to take Ticonderoga. The leaders of the party which had previously rendezvoused at Castleton, admitted Colonel Arnold to join them. It was agreed that Colonel Allen should be the commander in chief of the expedition, and that Colonel Arnold should be his assistant. They proceeded without delay, and arrived, in the night, at lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold crossed over with 83 men, and landed near the garrison. They contended who should go in first: but it was at last agreed, that they should both go in together. They advanced abreast, and entered the fort at the dawning of day. A sentry snapped his piece at one of them, and then retreated, through the covered way, to the parade. The Americans followed, and immediately drew up. The commander, surprised in his bed, was called upon to surrender the fort. He asked, by what authority? Colonel Allen replied: "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the continental congress."

No resistance was made; and the fort, with 100 pieces of cannon, other valuable stores, and 48 prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans. The boats had been sent back, for the remainder of the men: but the business was done before they got over. Col. Seth Warner was sent off with a party to take possession of Crown-Point, where a sergeant and twelve men performed garrison duty. This was speedily effected.

The next object, calling for the attention of the Americans, was to obtain the command of lake Champlain: but, to accomplish this, it was necessary for them to get possession of a sloop of war, lying at St. John's, at the northern extremity of the lake. With the view of capturing this sloop, it was agreed to man and arm a schooner, lying at South Bay; that Arnold should command her, and that Allen should command some batteaux on the same expedition. A favourable wind carried the schooner ahead of the batteaux, and Colonel Arnold got immediate possession of the sloop by surprise. The wind again favouring him, he returned, with his prize, to Ticonderoga, and rejoined Colonel Allen. The latter soon went home; and the former, with a number of men, agreed to remain there in garrison. In this rapid manner, the possession of Ticonderoga, and the command of lake Champlain, was obtained, without any loss, by a few determined men. Intelligence of these events was in a few days, communicated to Congress, which met, for the first time, at ten o'clock of the same day, in the morning of which, Ticonderoga was taken. They rejoiced in the spirit of enterprise, displayed by their countrymen: but feared the charge of being aggressors, or of doing any thing to widen the breach between Great Britain and the colonies; for an accomodation was, at that time, their unanimous wish. They therefore recommended to the committees of the cities and counties of New York and Albany, to cause the cannon and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of lake George, and to take an exact inventory of them: "in order that they might be safely returned, when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, should render it prudent, and consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation."

Colonel Arnold having begun his military career with a series of successes, was urged by his native impetuosity to project more extensive operations. He, on the 13th of June, wrote a letter to Congress, strongly urging an expedition into Canada, and offering with 2000 men to reduce the whole province. In his ardent zeal to oppose Great Britain, he had advised the adoption of offensive war, even before Congress had organized an army, or appointed a single military officer. His importunity was at last successful, as shall hereafter be related: but not till two months had elapsed, subsequent to his first proposition of conducting an expedition against Canada. Such was the increasing fervour of the public mind in 1775, that what, in the early part of the year, was deemed violent and dangerous, was in its progress pronounced both moderate and expedient.

Sir Guy Carleton, the king's governor in Canada no sooner heard that the Americans had surprised Ticonderoga, and Crown-Point, and obtained the command of lake Champlain, than he planned a scheme for their recovery. Having only a few regular troops under his command, he endeavoured to induce the Canadians and Indians, to co-operate with him; but they both declined. He established martial law, that he might compel the inhabitants to take arms. They declared themselves ready to defend the province; but refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities on their neighbours. Colonel Johnson had, on the same occasion, repeated conferences with the Indians, and endeavoured to influence them to take up the hatchet; but they steadily refused. In order to gain their co-operation, he invited them to feast on a Bostonian, and to drink his blood. This, in the Indian style, meant no more than to partake of a roasted ox and a pipe of wine, at a public entertainment; which was given to induce their co-operation with the British troops. The colonial patriots affected to understand it in its literal sense. It furnished in their mode of explication, a convenient handle for operating on the passions of the people.

These exertions in Canada, which were principally made with a view to recover Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and the command of lake Champlain, induced Congress to believe that a formidable invasion of their northwestern frontier was intended, from that quarter. The evident tendency of the Quebec act favoured this opinion. Believing it to be the fixed purpose of the British ministry, to attack the united colonies on that side, they conceived that they would be inexcusable if they neglected the proper means of warding off so terrible a blow. They were also sensible that the only praticable plan to effect this purpose, was to make a vigorous attack upon Canada, while it was unable to resist the unexpected impression. Their success at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, had already paved the way for this bold enterprise, and had broken down the fences which guarded the entrance into that province. On the other hand, they were sensible that by taking this step, they changed at once the whole nature of the war. From defensive it became offensive; and subjected them to the imputation of being the agressors.—They were well aware that several who had espoused their cause in Britain, would probably be offended at this measure; and charge them with heightening the mischiefs occasioned by the dispute. They knew that the principles of resistance, as far as they had hitherto acted upon them, were abetted by a considerable party in Great Britain; and that to forfeit their good opinion, might be of great disservice. Considerations of this kind made them weigh well the important step, before they ventured upon it. They, on the other hand, reflected that the eloquence of the minority in parliament, and the petitions and remonstrances of the merchants in Great Britain, had produced no solid advantages in their favour; and that they had no chance of relief, but from the smiles of heaven on their own endeavours. The danger was pressing. War was not only inevitable, but already begun. To wait till they were attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very instant when their utmost exertions would be requisite, perhaps insufficient, to protect their cities and sea coast, against an invasion from Britain, would be the summit of folly. The laws of war and of nations justified the forestalling of an enemy. The colonists maintained that to prevent known hostile intentions, was a matter of self-defence. They were also sensible they had already gone such lengths, as could only be vindicated by arms; and that, if a certain degree of success did not attend their resistance, they would be at the mercy of an irritated government, and their moderation in the single instance of Canada, would be an unavailing plea for indulgence. They were also encouraged to proceed, by certain information, that the French inhabitants of Canada, except the noblesse and the clergy, were as much discontented with their present system of government as the British settlers. It seemed therefore probable, that they would consider the provincials, rather as friends, than as enemies. The invasion of that province was therefore determined upon, if found practicable, and not disagreeable to the Canadians.

Congress had committed the management of their military arrangements, in this northern department, to Generals Schuyler and Montgomery. While the former remained at Albany, to attend an Indian treaty, the latter was sent forward to Ticonderoga, with a body of troops from New York and New England. About this time, General Schuyler addressed the inhabitants, informing them, "that the only views of Congress were to restore to them those rights, which every subject of the British Empire, of whatever religious sentiments he may be, is entitled to; and that, in the execution of these trusts, he had received the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty, and sacredly to guard their property." The Americans, about 1000 in number, effected a landing at St. John's; which, being the first British post in Canada, lies only 115 miles to the northward of Ticonderoga. The British picquets were driven into the fort. The environs was then reconnoitered, and the fortifications were found to be much stronger than had been suspected. This induced the calling of a council of war, which recommended a retreat to Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's, to throw a boom across the channel, and to erect works for its defence. Soon after this event, a bad state of health induced General Schuyler to retire to Ticonderoga; and the command devolved on General Montgomery.

This enterprising officer, in a few days, returned to the vicinity of St. John's, and opened a battery against it. Ammunition was so scarce, that the siege could not be carried on, with any prospect of speedy success. The general detached a small body of troops, to attempt the reduction of fort Chamblee, only six miles distant. Success attended this enterprize. By its surrender, six tons of gunpowder were obtained, which enabled the general to prosecute the siege of St. John's with vigour. The garrison, though straitened for provisions, persevered in defending themselves with unabating fortitude. While General Montgomery was prosecuting this siege, the governor of the province collected, at Montreal, about 800 men, chiefly militia and Indians. He endeavoured to cross the river St. Lawrence, with this force, and to land at Longuiel, intending to proceed thence to attack the besiegers: but Colonel Warner, with 300 green mountain boys, and a four pounder, prevented the execution of the design. The governor's party was suffered to come near the shore; but was then fired upon, with such effect as to make them retire, after sustaining great loss.

An account of this affair being communicated to the garrison in St. John's, Major Preston, the commanding officer, surrendered, on receiving honourable terms of capitulation. About 500 regulars and 100 Canadians became prisoners to the provincials. They also acquired 39 pieces of cannon, seven mortars, two howitzers, and about 800 stand of arms. Among the cannon were many brass field pieces; an article of which the Americans were nearly destitute.

While the siege of St. John's was pending, Colonel Allen, who was returning with about 86 men from a tour on which he had been sent by his general, was captured by the British near Montreal. Though he had surrendered in action, with arms in his hands, under a verbal capitulation that he should receive good treatment, he was loaded with irons, and in that condition sent to England.*

*Colonel Allen, after his exchange, published an interesting narrative of his captivity. The crime alleged against him was his taking Ticonderoga: and it was intended that he should be tried for this, as an act of rebellion. From his narrative, it appears that the irons placed on him were uncommonly heavy, and so fasten

After the reduction of St. John's, General Montgomery proceeded towards Montreal. The few British forces there, unable to stand their ground, repaired for safety on board their shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river; but they were prevented. General Prescot, who was on board with several officers, and about 120 privates, having no chance of escape submitted to be prisoners on terms of capitulation. Eleven sail of vessels, with all their contents, consisting of ammunition, provisions, and intrenching tools, became the property of the provincials. Governor Carleton was about this time conveyed in a boat with muffled paddles, by a secret way to the Three Rivers, and thence to Quebec in a few days.

When Montreal was evacuated by the troops, the inhabitants applied to General Montgomery for a capitulation. He informed them as they were defenceless, they could not expect such a concession: but, he engaged, upon his honour, to maintain the individuals and religious communities of the city, in the peaceable enjoyment of their property, and the free exercise of their religion. In all his transactions, he spoke, wrote, and acted with dignity and propriety; and treated the inhabitants with liberality and politeness.

Montreal which at this time surrendered to the provincials, carried on an extensive trade, and contained many of those articles, which from the operation of the resolutions of Congress, could not be imported into any of the united colonies. From these stores, the American soldiers, who had hitherto suffered from the want of suitable clothing, obtained a plentiful supply.

General Montgomery, after leaving some troops in Montreal, and sending detachments into different parts of the province, advanced towards the capital. His little army arrived with expedition before Quebec. Success had hitherto crowned every attempt of General Montgomery; but his situation was nevertheless very embarrassing. Much to be pitied is the officer, who, having been bred to arms, in the strict dicipline of regular armies, is afterwards called to command men, who carry with them the spirit of freedom into the field. The greater part of the Americans, officers, as well as soldiers, having never seen any service, were ignorant of their duty, and feebly impressed with the military ideas of union, subordination and discipline. The army was continental in name and pay; but in no other respect. Not only the troops of different colonies conceived themselves independent of each other; but, in some instances, the different regiments of the same colony were backward to submit to the orders of officers in a higher grade of another line. They were soon tired of a military life. Novelty and the first impulse of passion had led them to camp; but, the approaching cold season, together with the fatigues and dangers incident to war induced a general wish to relinquish the service. Though, by the terms of their enlistment, they were to be discharged in a few weeks, they could not brook an absence from their homes, for that short space of time. The ideas of liberty and independence, which roused the colonists to oppose the claims of Great Britain, operated against that implicit obedience, which is necessary to a well regulated army.

Even in European states, where long habits have established submission to superiors, as a primary duty of the common people, the difficulty of governing recruits, when first led to the field from the civil occupations, is great: to exercise discipline over freemen, accustomed to act only from the impulse of their own minds, required not only a knowledge of human nature, but an accommodating spirit, and a degree of patience, which are rarely found among officers of regular armies. The troops under the immediate command of General Montgomery, were, from their usual habits, averse to the ideas of subordination, and had suddenly passed from domestic ease, to the numberless wants and distresses, which are incident to marches through strange and desert countries. Every difficulty was increased by the short term, for which they were enlisted. To secure the affections of the Canadians, it was necessary for the American general to restrain the appetites, and control the licentiousness of his soldiery; while the appearance of military harshness was dangerous, lest their good will might be forfeited. In this choice of difficulties, the genius of Montgomery surmounted many obstacles. During his short, but glorious career, he conducted with so much prudence, as to make it doubtful, whether we ought to admire most, the goodness of the man, or the address of the general.

About the same time that Canada was invaded in the usual route from New York, a considerable detachment, from the American army at Cambridge, was conducted into that royal province, by a new and unexpected passage. Colonel Arnold, who successfully conducted this bold undertaking, thereby acquired the name of the American Hannibal. He was detached, with a thousand men, from Cambridge, to penetrate into Canada, by ascending the river Kennebeck, and descending by the Chaudiere, to the river St. Lawrence. Great were the difficulties these troops had to encounter, in marching by an unexplored route, three hundred miles, through an uninhabited country. In ascending the Kennebeck, they were constantly obliged to work upwards, against an impetuous current. They were often compelled, by cataracts or other impediments, to land, and to haul their batteaux up rapid streams, and over falls of rivers. Nor was their march by land more eligible, than this passage by water. They had deep swamps, thick woods, difficult mountains, and craggy precipices alternately to encounter. At some places, they had to cut their way, for miles together, through forests so embarrassed, that their progress was only four or five miles a day. The constant fatigue caused many to fall sick. One third of the number which set out, was from want of necessaries, obliged to return; the others proceeded with unabated fortitude and constancy. Provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, cartouch boxes, breeches, and shoes. When they were an hundred miles from any habitation, or prospect of a supply, their whole store was divided, which yielded four pints of flour to each man. After they had baked and eaten their last morsel, they had thirty miles to travel, before they could expect any farther supply. The men bore up under these complicated distresses, with the greatest fortitude.* They gloried in the hope of completing a march, which would rival the fame of similar expeditions undertaken by the heroes of antiquity. Having spent thirty-one days, in traversing a hideous wilderness, without ever seeing any thing human, they at length reached the inhabited parts of Canada. They were there well received, and supplied with every thing necessary for their comfort. The Canadians were struck with amazement, when they saw this armed force emerging from the wilderness. It had never entered their conceptions, that it was possible for human beings to traverse such immense wilds. The most pointed instructions had been given to this corps, to conciliate the affections of the Canadians. It was particularly enjoined upon them, if the son of lord Chatham, then an officer in one of the British regiments in that province, should fall into their hands, to treat him with all possible attention, in return for the great exertions of his farther, in behalf of American liberty. A manifesto, subscribed by General Washington, which had been sent from Cambridge with this, detachment was circulated among the inhabitants of Canada. In this, they were invited to arrange themselves under the standard of general liberty; and were informed that the American army was sent, not to plunder but to protect them.

While General Montgomery lay at Montreal, Colonel Arnold arrived at Point Levy, opposite to Quebec. Such was the consternation of the garrison and inhabitants, at his unexpected appearance, that had not the river intervened, an immediate attack, in the first surprise and confusion, might have been successful. The bold enterprise of one American army, marching through the wilderness, at a time when success was crowning every undertaking of another, invading in a different direction, struck terror into the breast of those Canadians, who were unfriendly to the designs of Congress. The embarrassments of the garrison were increased by the absence of Sir Guy Carleton. That gallant officer on hearing of Montgomery's invasion, prepared to oppose him in the extremes of the province. While he was collecting a force to attack invaders in one direction, a different corps, emerging out of the depths of an unexplored wilderness, suddenly appeared from another. In a few days Colonel Arnold crossed the river St. Lawrence; but his chance of succeeding by a coup de main, was in that short space greatly diminished. The critical moment was past. The panic occasioned by his first appearance had abated, and solid preparations for the defence of the town were adopted. The inhabitants, both English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence. Alarmed for their property, they were at their own request, embodied for its security. The sailors were taken from the shipping in the harbour, and put to the batteries on shore. As Colonel Arnold had no artillery, after parading some days on the heights near Quebec, he drew off his troops, intending nothing more until the arrival of Montgomery, than to cut off supplies from entering the garrison.

So favourable were the prospects of the united

ed, that he could not lie down otherwise than on his back. A chest was his seat by day and his bed by night. In letters to the British general Prescot, he urged his claim to better treatment, on the ground of his humanity and politeness to all the prisoners he had taken; but no answer ever came to his hands. After he had been sent in irons as a state prisoner to England, he was sent back as a prisoner of war to America. On his return, when the fleet, on board of which he was confined, rendezvoused at the Cove of Cork, he received from the kindness of the inhabitants of that city, a plentiful supply for all his wants; but their benevolence was intercepted by Captain Symonds, of the British navy, who swore that "the damned American rebels should not be so feasted by the damned rebels of Ireland." After much bad usage in a circuitous voyage he was landed at Halifax, sick with the scurvy, and there put in prison. Thence he was sent to New York, and for a few months was admitted to his parole; but in August, 1777, on pretence of breaking it, was confined in the provost jail. During his residence there, he was witness of the most horrid scenes of oppression and cruelty, to the American prisoners; and declares, that, from his own knowledge, he had no doubt, that upwards of 2000 of them perished with hunger, cold, and sickness, occasioned by the filth of the places in which they were confined, and the scanty unwholesome provisions, with which they were served. He farther states, that till the defeat of the Hessians at Trenton, in December, 1776, the conquest of the country was considered as certain; that the forfeiture of estates, and the execution of the leaders of the rebellion, were spoken of, as events near at hand; and that the severe treatment of the prisoners was founded on the idea, that every thing short of immediate execution, was better than they as rebels, had a right to expect; that the most ungenerous and cruel methods, by starvation, and otherwise, were adopted to compel their enlistment into the British service; that many submitted to death, in preference to that mode of obtaining a release; that the halter and the gallows were, in the early periods of the war, often presented to his own view, as the consequence of his obstinacy and rebellion; but, afterwards, high command, and a large tract of the conquered country was offered him on condition he would join the British. To the last he replied: "that he viewed their offer, of conquered United States' land, to be similar to that which the devil offered to Jesus Christ; to give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him, when at the same time, the poor devil had not one foot of land upon earth." A review of this narrative naturally excites speculations on the numerous executions, and extensive confiscations which, probably, would have been the consequence of the failure of the revolution, and ought to excite gratitude in the breast of every American, that these ruinous measures were prevented, by the final success of their arms. Colonel Allen was confined in the provost jail, of New York, till May, 1778, when he was exchanged; and, to the great joy of his country restored to activity in its service.

* Aaron Burr, afterwards vice-president of the United States, was one of his party. He was then about twenty years old, and had broken off from his legal studies that he might serve on his expedition.

colonies at this period, that General Montgomery set on foot a regiment of Canadians, to be in the pay of Congress. James Livingston, a native of New York who had long resided in Canada, was appointed to the command thereof; and several recruits were engaged for the term of twelve months. The inhabitants, on both sides of the river St. Lawrence, were very friendly. Expresses in the employ of the Americans, went without molestation, backwards and forwards, between Montreal and Quebec. Many individuals performed signal services, in favour of the invading army Among a considerable number, Mr. Price stands conspicuous, who advanced 5000*l* in specie, for their use.

Various causes had contributed to attach the inhabitants of Canada, especially those of the inferior classes to the interest of Congress, and to alienate their affections from the government of Great Britain. The contest was for liberty; and there is something in that sound captivating to the mind of man, in a state of original simplicity. It was for the colonies; and Canada was also a colony. The objects of the war were therefore supposed to be for their common advantage. The form of government, lately imposed on them by act of parliament, was far from being so free, as the constitutions of the other colonies, and was in many respects particularly oppressive. The common people had no representative share in enacting the laws, by which they were to be governed; and were subjected to the arbitrary will of persons, over whom they had no control. Distinctions so degrading were not unobserved by the native Canadians: but were more obvious to those who had known the privileges enjoyed in the neighbouring provinces. Several individuals, educated in New England and New York, with the high ideas of liberty, inspired by their free constitutions, had, in the interval between the peace of Paris, 1763, and the commencement of the American war, migrated into Canada. Such sensibly felt the difference between the governments they had left, and the arbitrary constitution imposed on them; and, both from principle and affection, earnestly persuaded the Canadians to make a common cause with the united colonies.

Though motives of this kind induced the peasantry of the country to espouse the interest of Congress, yet sundry individuals, and some whole orders of men, threw the weight of their influence into the opposite scale. The legal privileges which the Roman catholic clergy enjoyed, made them averse to a change, lest they should be endangered, by a more intimate connexion with their protestant neighbours. They used their supposed influence in the next world, as an engine to operate on the movements of the present. They refused absolution to such of their flocks as abetted the Americans. This interdiction of the joys of heaven, by those who were supposed to hold the keys of it, operated powerfully on the opinions and practices of the superstitious multitude. The seigneurs had immunities unknown in the other colonies. Such is the fondness for power in every human breast, that revolutions are rarely favoured by any order of men, who have reason to apprehend that their future situation, in case of a change, will be less pre-eminent than before.

The sagacious General Montgomery, no less a man of the world than an officer, discovered great address in accommodating himself to these clashing interests. Though he knew the part the popish clergy had acted, in opposition to him, yet he conducted towards them, as if totally ignorant of the matter; and treated them and their religion with great respect and attention. As far as he was authorised to promise, he engaged that their ecclesiastical property should be secured, and the free exercise of their religion continued. To all, he held forth the flattering idea of calling a convention of representatives, freely chosen, to institute, by its own will, such a form of government as they approved. While the great mind of this illustrious man, was meditating schemes of liberty and happiness, a military force was collecting and training to oppose him, which in a short time put a period to his valuable life.

At the time the Americans were before Montreal, General Carleton, as has been related, escaped through their hands, and got safe to Quebec. His presence was itself a garrison. The confidence reposed in his talents inspired the men under his command, to make the most determined resistance. Soon after his arrival, he issued a proclamation, setting forth: "That all persons liable to do militia duty, and residing in Quebec, who refused to arm in conjunction with the royal army, should, in four days, quit Quebec, with their families, and withdraw from the limits of the district, by the first of December, on pain of being treated afterwards as spies or rebels." All who were unwilling to co-operate with the British army, being thus disposed of, the remaining inhabitants, though unused to arms, became, in a little time, so far acquainted with them, as to be very useful in defending the town. They supported fatigues, and submitted to command, with a patience and cheerfulness, that could not be exceeded by men familiarized to the hardships and subordination of a military life.

General Montgomery, having effected at Point aux Trembles a junction with Colonel Arnold, commenced the siege of Quebec. Upon his arrival before the town, he wrote a letter to the British governor, recommending an immediate surrender, to prevent the dreadful consequences of a storm. Though the flag which conveyed this letter was fired upon, and all communication refused, General Montgomery found other means to convey a letter of the same tenor into the garrison: but the firmness of the governor could not be moved, either by threats or dangers. The Americans soon after commenced a bombardment with five small mortars; but with very little effect. In a few days General Montgomery opened a six gun battery, at the distance of seven hundred yards from the walls; but his metal was too light to make any impression.

The news of General Montgomery's success in Canada had filled the colonies with expectations, that the conquest of Quebec would soon add fresh lustre to his already brilliant fame. He knew well the consequences of popular disappointment, and was of opinion that unless something decisive was immediately done, the benefit of his previous acquisitions would, in a great degree, be lost to the American cause. On both accounts, he was strongly impelled to make every exertion, for satisfying the expectations and promoting the interest of a people, who had honoured him with so great a share of their confidence. The government of Great Britain, in the extensive province of Canada, was at that time reduced to the single town of Quebec. The astonished world saw peaceable colonists, suddenly transformed into soldiers, and these marching through unexplored wildernesses, and extending themselves by conquests, in the first moment after they had assumed the profession of arms.

Towards the end of the year, the tide of fortune began to turn. Dissensions broke out between Colonel Arnold and some of his officers, threatening the annihilation of discipline. The continental currency had no circulation in Canada, and all the hard money furnished for the expedition was nearly expended. Difficulties of every kind were daily increasing. The extremities of fatigue were constantly to be encountered. The American general had not a sufficient number of men to make the proper reliefs, in the daily labours they underwent; and that inconsiderable number, worn down with toil, was constantly exposed to the severities of a Canada winter. The period for which a great part of his men had enlisted, being on the point of expiration, he apprehended that they who were entitled to it, would insist on their discharge. On the other hand, he saw no prospect of staggering the resolution of the garrison. They were well supplied with every thing necessary for their defence, and were daily acquiring additional firmness. The extremity of winter was fast approaching.

From these combined circumstances, General Montgomery was impressed with a conviction, that the siege should either be raised, or brought to a summary termination. To storm the place, was the only feasible method of effecting the latter purpose. But this was an undertaking, in which success was but barely possible. Great minds are seldom exact calculators of danger. Nor do they minutely attend to the difficulties which obstruct the attainment of their objects. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, has ever had an influence in the success or failure of military enterprises. Some of the greatest achievements, of that kind, have owed their success to a noble contempt of common forms,

The upper part of Quebec was surrounded with very strong works, and the access from the lower town was excessively difficult, from its almost perpendicular steepness. General Montgomery, from a native intrepidity, and an ardent thirst for glory overlooked all these dangers; and resolved at once, either to carry the place or perish in the attempt. Trusting much to his good fortune; confiding in the bravery of his troops, and their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead; and depending somewhat on the extensiveness of the works, he determined to attempt the town by escalade.

The garrison of Quebec at this time consisted of about 1520 men, of which 800 were militia, and 450 were seamen belonging to the king's frigates, or merchant ships in the harbour. The rest were marines, regulars, or Colonel Maclean's new-raised emigrants. The American army consisted of about 800 men. Some had been left at Montreal and near a third of Arnold's detachment, as has been related, had returned to Cambridge.

General Montgomery, having divided this little force into four detachments, ordered two feints to be made against the upper town; one by Colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's gate; and the other by Major Brown against Cape Diamond; reserving to himself and Colonel Arnold the two principal attacks, against the lower town. At five o'clock in the morning General Montgomery, advanced against the lower town. He passed the first barrier, and was just opening to attack the second, when he was killed, together with Captain John M'Pherson, Captain Cheesman, and some others. This so dispirited the men, that Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, thought proper to draw them off In the mean time Colonel Arnold, at the head of about 350 men, passed through St. Roques, and approached near a two gun battery, without being discovered. This he attacked, and, though it was well defended, carried it; but with considerable loss. In this attack, Colonel Arnold received a wound, which made it necessary to carry him off the field of battle. His party nevertheless continued the assault, and pushing on, made themselves masters of a second barrier. These brave men sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours; but finding themselves hemmed in, and without hopes either of success, relief or retreat they yielded to numbers, and the advantageous situation of their adversaries.

The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 100, and 300 were taken prisoners. Among the slain were Captain Kendricks, Lieutenant Humphries, and Lieutenant Cooper. The behaviour of the provincial troops was such, as might have silenced those who had reproached them, for being deficient in courage. The most experienced veterans could not have exceeded the firmness they displayed in their last attack. The issue of this assault relieved the garrison of Quebec, from all apprehensions for its safety.

The provincials were so much weakened, as to be scarcely equal to their own defence. However Colonel Arnold had the boldness to encamp within three miles of the town, and had the address, even with his reduced numbers, to impede the conveyance of refreshments and provisions into the gar-

rison. His situation was extremely difficult. He was at an immense distance from those parts, whence effectual assistance could be expected. On his first entrance into the province, he had experienced much kind treatment from the inhabitants. The Canadians, besides being fickle in their resolutions are apt to be biased by success. Their disposition to aid the Americans, became daily more precarious. It was even difficult to keep the provincial troops from returning to their respective homes. Their sufferings were great. While their adversaries were comfortably housed in Quebec, they were exposed in the open air, to the extreme rigour of the season. The severity of a Canada winter was far beyond any thing with which they were acquainted. The snow lay about four feet deep on a level.

This deliverance of Quebec may be considered as a proof, how much may be done by one man, for the preservation of a country. It also proves, that soldiers may in a short time be formed out of the mass of citizens.

The conflict being over, the ill will which had subsisted, during the siege, between the royal and provincial troops, gave way to sentiments of humanity. The Americans, who surrendered, were treated with kindness. Ample provision was made for their wounded, and no unnecessary severity was shown to any. Few men have ever fallen in battle so much regretted by both sides as General Montgomery. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle; and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune, and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war, instituted for the defence of the community, of which he was an adopted member. His well known character, was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America, he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that illustrious assembly, displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise, and lamenting his fate. Those in particular, who had been his fellow soldiers in the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth, while he reprobated the cause for which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric, by saying: "Curse on his virtues they have undone his country."

Though the invasion of Canada was finally unsuccessful, yet the advantages which the Americans gained in the months of September and October, gave fresh spirits to their army and people. The boldness of the enterprise might have taught Great Britain the folly of persisting in the design of subjugating America. But instead of preserving the union, and restoring the peace of the empire, by repealing a few of her laws, she, from mistaken dignity, resolved on a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

The tide of good fortune, which, in the autumn of 1775, flowed in upon General Montgomery, induced Congress to reinforce the army under his command. Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal having surrendered, a fair prospect opened of expelling the British from Canada, and of annexing that province to the united colonies While they were in imagination anticipating these events, the army in which they confided was defeated, and the general whom they so highly esteemed slain.

The intelligence transmitted from General Montgomery, previous to his assault on Quebec, encouraged Congress to resolve that nine batalions should be kept up and maintained in Canada. The repulse of their army, though discouraging, did not extinguish the ardour of the Americans. It was no sooner known at head quarters in Cambridge, than General Washington convened a council of war, by which it was resolved: "That as no troops could be spared from Cambridge, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire should be requested to raise three regiments, and forward them to Canada. Congress also resolved to forward the reinforcements previously voted, and to raise four battalions in New York, for the defence of that colony, and to garrison Crown Point, and the several posts to the southward of that fortress. That the army might be supplied with blankets for this winter expedition, a committee was appointed to procure from householders, such as could be spared from their families. To obtain a supply of hard money, for the use of the army in Canada, proper persons were employed to exchange paper money for specie. Such was the enthusiasm of the times, that many thousand Mexican dollars were frequently exchanged at par, by individuals, for the paper bills of Congress. It was also resolved, to raise a corps of artillery for this service, and to take into the pay of the colonies, one thousand Canadians, in addition to Colonel Livingston's regiment. Moses Hazen, a native of Massachusetts, who had resided many years in Canada, was appointed to the command of this new corps.

Congress addressed a letter to the Canadians, in which they observed: "Such is the lot of human nature, that the best causes are subject to vicissitudes: but generous souls, enlightened and warmed with the fire of liberty, become more resolute as difficulties increase." They stated to them, "that eight battalions were raising to proceed to their province, and, that it more force were necessary, it should be sent." They requested them to seize, with eagerness, the favourable opportunity then offered to co-operate in the present glorious enterprise; and advised them to establish associations in their different parishes; to elect deputies for forming a provincial assembly, and for representing them in Congress.

The cause of the Americans had received such powerful aid from many patriotic publications in their gazettes, and from the fervent exhortations of popular preachers, connecting the cause of liberty with the animating principles of religion, that it was determined to employ these two powerful instruments of revolutions, printing and preaching, to operate on the minds of the Canadian. A complete apparatus for printing, together with a printer and a clergyman, were therefore sent into Canada.

Congress also appointed Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Carrol, the two first of whom were members of their body, and the last a respectable gentlemen of the Roman Catholic persuasion, to proceed to Canada with the view of gaining over the people of that colony to the cause of America; and authorized them to promise, on behalf of the united colonies, that Canada should be received into their association on equal terms; and also that the inhabitants thereof should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the peaceable possession of all their ecclesiastical property.

The desire of effecting something decisive in Canada, before the approaching spring would permit relief to ascend the river St. Lawrence, added to the enthusiasm of the day, encountered difficulties, which, in less animated times, would be reckoned insurmountable. Arthur St. Clair, who was appointed colonel of one of the Pennsylvania regiments, received his recruiting orders on the 10th of January; and, notwithstanding the shortness of the period, his regiment was not only raised, but six companies of it had, in this extremely cold season, completed their march from Pennsylvania to Canada, a distance of several hundred miles; and, on the eleventh of April following joined the American army before Quebec.

Though Congress and the states made great exertions to support the war in Canada, yet from the fall of Montgomery their interest in that colony daily declined. The reduction of Quebec was an object to which their resources were inadequate. Their unsuccessful assault on Quebec made an impression both on the Canadians and Indians unfavourable to their views. A woman, infected with the small-pox, had either been sent out, or voluntarily came out of Quebec, and, by mixing with the American soldiers, propagated that scourge of the new world, to the great diminution of the effective force of their army. The soldiers inoculated themselves, though their officers issued positive orders to the contrary. By the first of May, so many new troops had arrived, that the American army, in name, amounted to 3000: but from the prevalence of the small-pox, there were only 900 fit for duty. The increasing number of invalids retarded military operations, while the opposite party was buoyed up, with the expectation that the advancing season would soon bring them relief. To these causes of the declining interest of Congress, it must be added that the affections of the Canadians were alienated. They had many, and well-founded complaints against the American soldiers. Unrestrained by the terror of the civil law, and refusing obedience to a military code, the hope of impunity, and the love of plunder led many of the invading army to practices not less disgraceful to themselves, than injurious to the cause in which they had taken arms. Not only the common soldiers, but the officers of the American army deviated in their intercourse with the Canadians, from the maxims of sound policy. Several of them, having been lately taken from obscure life, were giddy with their exaltation. Far from home, they were unawed by those checks, which commonly restrain the ferocity of man.

The reduction of Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal, together with the exposed situation of Quebec, being known in England, measures were without delay adopted by the British ministry, to introduce into Canada, as soon as possible, a force sufficient for the double purpose of recovering what they had lost, and of prosecuting offensive operations from that quarter against the revolted colonies. The van of this force made good its passage, very early in May, through the ice, up the river St. Lawrence. The expectation of their coming had for some time damped the hopes of the besiegers, and had induced them to think of a retreat. The day before the first of the British reinforcements arrived, the measure was resolved upon by a council of war, and arrangements were made for carrying it into execution.

Governor Carleton was too great a proficient in the art of war, to delay seizing the advantages which the consternation of the besiegers, and the arrival of a reinforcement, afforded. A small detachment of soldiers and marines from the ships, which had just ascended the river St. Lawrence, being landed, and joined to the garrison in Quebec, he marched out at their head to attack the Americans. On his approach, he found every thing in confusion. The late besiegers, abandoning their artillery and military stores, had in great precipitation retreated. In this manner, at the expiration of five months, the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec was raised. The fortitude and perseverance of the garrison reflected honour on both officers and privates.

The reputation acquired by General Carleton in his military character, for bravery and judiciously defending the province committed to his care, was exceeded by the superior applause merited from his exercise of the virtues of humanity and generosity. Among the numerous sick in the American hospitals, several incapable of being moved were left behind. The victorious general proved himself worthy of success, by the treatment of these unfortunate men: he not only fed and clothed them, but permitted then when recovered to return home. Apprehending that fear might make some conceal themselves in the woods, rather than, by applying for relief, make themselves known he removed their doubts by a proclamation, in which he engaged: "that as soon as their health was restored, they should have free liberty of returning to their respective provinces." This humane line of conduct was more injurious to the

views of the leaders in the American councils, than the severity practised by other British commanders. The truly politic, as well as humane General Carleton dismissed these prisoners after liberally supplying their wants, with a recommendation, "to go home, mind their farms, and keep themselves and their neighbours from all participation in the unhappy war."

The small force which arrived at Quebec early in May, was followed by several British regiments, together with the Brunswick troops, in such a rapid succession, that in a few weeks the whole was estimated at 13,000 men.

The Americans retreated forty-five miles before they stopped. After a short halt, they proceeded to the Sorrel, at which place, they threw up some slight works for their safety. They were there joined by some battalions coming to reinforce them. About this time General Thomas, the commander in chief in Canada, was seized with the small-pox, and died; having forbidden his men to inoculate, he conformed to his own rule, and refused to avail himself of that precaution. On his death, the command devolved at first on General Arnold, and afterwards on General Sullivan. It soon became evident, that the Americans must abandon the whole province of Canada.

From a desire to do something which might counterbalance, in the minds of the Canadians, the unfavourable impression which this farther retreat would communicate, General Thomson projected an attack upon the British post at the Three Rivers. This lies about half way between Quebec and Montreal, and is so called from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged through three mouths into the St. Lawrence.

A plan of operations was agreed upon, in which it was determined to make the attack, in four different places, at the same time; and very early in the morning, in the hope of surprising the enemy. Much resolution was discovered in its execution: but the concurrence of too many circumstances was necessary to ensure success. The expectation of simultaneous operations failed; the chance of a surprise was lost. The assailants were repulsed and driven some miles through a deep swamp. General Thomson and Colonel Irvine, with 200 men, were taken prisoners, and about 25 were killed. The loss of the British was inconsiderable.

The British forces having arrived, and a considerable body of them having rendezvoused at the Three Rivers, a serious pursuit of the American army commenced. Had sir Guy Carleton taken no pains to cut off their retreat, and at once attacked their post, or rather their fortified camp at Sorel, it would probably have fallen into his hands: but either the bold, though unsuccessful attack at the Three Rivers had taught them to respect them, or he wished to reduce them without bloodshed. In the pursuit he made three divisions of his army, and arranged them so as to embrace the whole American encampment, and to command it in every part. The retreat was delayed so long that the Americans evacuated Sorel, only about two hours before one division of the British made its appearance.

While the Americans were retreating, they were daily assailed by the remonstrances of the inhabitants of Canada, who had either joined or befriended them. Great numbers of Canadians had taken a decided part in their favour, rendered them essential services, and thereby incurred the heavy penalties annexed to the crime of supporting rebellion. These, though Congress had assured them but a few months before, "that they would never abandon them to the fury of their common enemies," were, from the necessity of the case, left exposed to the resentment of their provincial rulers. Several of them, with tears in their eyes, expostulated with the retreating army, and, bewailing their hard fate, prayed for support. The only relief the Americans could offer, was an assurance of continued protection if they retreated with them; but this was a hard alternative, to men who had wives, children and immoveable effects. They generally concluded, that it was the least of two evils, to cast themselves on the mercy of that government, against which they had offended.

The distresses of the retreating army were great. The British were close on their rear, and threatening them with destruction. The unfurnished state of the colonies in point of ordnance, imposed a necessity of preserving their cannon. The men were obliged to drag their loaded batteaux up the rapids by mere strength, and when they were to the waist in water. The retreating army was also encumbered with great numbers labouring under the small pox, and other diseases. Two regiments, at one time, had not a single man in health. Another had only six, and a fourth only forty, and two more were in nearly the same condition.

To retreat in face of an enemy is at all times hazardous: but, on this occasion, it was attended with an unusual proportion of embarrassments.—General Sullivan, who conducted the retreat, nevertheless, acted with so much judgment and propriety, that the baggage and public stores were saved and the numerous sick brought off. The American army reached Crown Point on the first of July, and at that place made their first stand.

A short time before the Americans evacuated the province of Canada, General Arnold convened the merchants of Montreal, and proposed to them to furnish a quantity of specified articles for the use of the army in the service of Congress. While they were deliberating on the subject, he placed sentinels at their shop doors, and made such arrangements, that what was at first only a request, operated as a command. A great quantity of goods were taken on pretence that they were wanted for the use of the American army, but in their number were many articles only serviceable to women, and to persons in civil life. His nephew soon after opened a store in Albany, and publicly disposed of goods which had been procured at Montreal.

The possession of Canada so eminently favoured the plans of defence adoptod by Congress, that the province was evacuated with great reluctance. The Americans were not only mortified at the disappointment of their favourite scheme, of annexing it as a fourteenth link in the chain of their confederacy: but apprehended the most serious consequences from the ascendency of the British power in that quarter. Anxious to preserve a footing there, they had persevered for a long time, in stemming the tide of unfavourable events.

General Gates was appointed to command in Canada, June 17th, 1776: but on coming to the knowledge of the late events in that province, he concluded to stop short within the limits of New York. The scene was henceforth reversed. Instead of meditating the recommencement of offensive operations, that army, which had lately excited so much terror in Canada, was called upon to be prepared for repelling an invasion threatened from that province.

The attention of the Americans being exclusively fixed on plans of defence, their general officers, commanding in the northern department, were convened to deliberate on the place and means, most suitable for that purpose. To form a judgment on this subject, a recollection of the events of the late war, between France and England, was of advantage. The same ground was to be fought over, and the same posts to be again contended for. On the confines of lake George and lake Champlain, two inland seas, which stretch almost from the sources of Hudson's river to the St. Lawrence, are situated the famous posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. These are of primary necessity to any power which contends for the possession of the adjacent country; for they afford the most convenient stand either for its annoyance or defence. In the opinion of some American officers, Crown Point, to which the army on the evacuation of Canada had retreated, was the most proper place for erecting works of defence; but it was otherwise determined, by the council convened on this occasion. It was also by their advice resolved to move lower down, and to make the principal work on the strong ground east of Ticonderoga, and especially by every means to endeavour to maintain a naval superiority on lake Champlain. In conformity to these resolutions, General Gates, with about 12,000 men, which collected in the course of the summer, was fixed in command at Ticonderoga, and a fleet was constructed at Skenesborough. This was carried on with so much rapidity, that in a short time there were afloat, in lake Champlain, one sloop, three schooners, and six gondolas, carrying in the whole 58 guns, 86 swivels, and 440 men. Six other vessels were also nearly ready for launching at the same time. The fleet was put under the command of Arnold, and he was instructed to proceed beyond Crown Point, down lake Champlain to the Split Rock: but most peremptorily restrained from advancing any farther; for security against an apprehended invasion was the ultimate end of the armament.

The expulsion of the American invaders from Canada, was only a part of the British designs in that quarter. They urged the pursuit no farther than St. John's: but indulged in a hope of being soon in a condition for passing the lakes, and penetrating through the country to Albany, so as to form a communication with New York. The objects they had in view were great, and the obstacles in the way of their accomplishment equally so. Before they could advance with any prospect of success, a fleet, superior to that of the Americans on the lakes, was to be constructed. The materials of some large vessels were, for this purpose, brought from England: but their transportation, and the labour necessary to put them together, required both time and patience. The spirit of the British commanders rose in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. Nevertheless, it was late in the month of October, before their fleet was prepared to face the American naval force, on lake Champlain. The former consisted of the ship Inflexible, mounting 18 twelve pounders, which was so expeditiously constructed, that she sailed from St. John's 28 days after laying her keel; one schooner mounting 14, and another 12 six pounders; a flat bottomed radeau, carrying six 24 and six 12 pounders, besides howitzers, and a gondola with seven 9 pounders. There were also twenty smaller vessels, with brass field pieces, from 9 to 24 pounders, or with howitzers. Some long boats were furnished in the same manner. An equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Besides these vessels of war, there was a vast number destined for the transportation of the army, its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions. The whole was put under the command of Captain Pringle. The naval force of the Americans, from the deficiency of means, was far short of what was brought against them. Their principal armed vessel was a schooner, which mounted only 12 six and four pounders; and their whole fleet, in addition to this, consisted of only fifteen vessels of inferior force.

No one step could be taken towards accomplishing the designs of the British, on the northern frontiers of New York, till they had the command of lake Champlain. With this view, their fleet proceeded up the lake, and engaged the Americans. The wind was so unfavourable to the British, that their ship Inflexible, and some other vessels of force, could not be brought into action. This lessened the inequality between the contending fleets so much, that the principal damage sustained by the Americans, was the loss of a schooner and gondola. At the approach of night, the action was discontinued. The vanquished took the advantage which the darkness afforded, to make their escape. This was effected by General Arnold, with great judgment and ability. By the next morning, the whole fleet under his command was out of sight. The British pursued with all the sail they could crowd. The wind having become more favourable, they overtook the American and brought them to action near Crown

PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

Point. A smart engagement ensued, and was well supported on both sides, for about two hours. Some of the American vessels which were most ahead escaped to Ticonderoga. Two gallies and five gondolas remained and resisted an unequal force, with a spirit approaching to desperation. One of the gallies struck and was taken. General Arnold, though he knew that to escape was impossible, and to resist unavailing, yet, instead of surrendering, determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor his vessels a reinforcement to the British. The spirited resolution was executed with a judgment, equal to the boldness with which it had been adopted. He ran the Congress galley, on board which he was, together with the five gondolas, on shore, in such a position as enabled him to land his men and blow up the vessels. In the execution of this perilous enterprise, he paid a romantic attention to a point of honour. He did not quit his own galley till she was in flames, lest the British should board her and strike his flag. The result of this action, though unfavourable to the Americans, raised the reputation of General Arnold, higher than ever. In addition to the fame of a brave soldier, he acquired that of an able sea officer.

The American naval force being nearly destroyed, the British had undisputed possession of lake Champlain. On this event, a few continental troops which had been at Crown Point, retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. General Carleton took possession of the ground from which they had retreated, and was there soon joined by his army. He sent out several reconnoitering parties, and at one time pushed forward a strong detachment on both sides of the lake, which approached near to Ticonderoga. Some British vessels appeared at the same time within cannon shot of the American works at that place. It is probable he had it in contemplation, if circumstances favoured, to reduce the post; and that the apparent strength of the works restrained him from making the attempt, and induced his return to Canada.

Such was the termination of the northern campaign, in 1776. Though after the surrender of Montreal, evacuations, defeats and retreats had almost interruptedly been the lot of the Americans, yet, with respect to the great object of defence on the one side, and of conquest on the other, a whole campaign was gained to them and lost to their adversaries.

The British had cleared Canada of its invaders and destroyed the American fleet on the lakes; yet, from impediments thrown in their way, they failed in their ulterior designs. The delays, contrived by General Gates, retarded the British, for so great a part of the summer, that, by the time they had reached Ticonderoga, their retreat, on account of the approaching winter became immediately necessary. On the part of the Americans, some men and a few armed vessels were lost; but time was gained; their army saved: and the frontier of the adjacent states secured from a projected invasion. On the part of the British, the object of a campaign, in which 13,000 men were employed, and nearly a million of money expended was rendered in a great measure abortive.

CHAPTER XI.

Transactions in Virginia; the Carolinas; Georgia; the general state of public affairs, in the colonies in 1775. Transactions in Massachusetts; evacuation of Boston, 1776.

It has already been mentioned that the colonists, from the rising of Congress, in October, 1774, and particularly after the Lexington battle were attentive to the training of their militia, and making the necessary preparations for their defence.

The effects of their arrangement, for this purpose varied with circumstances.

Where there were no royal troops, and where ordinary prudence was observed, the public peace was undisturbed. In other cases, the intemperate zeal of governors, and the imprudent warmth of the people, anticipated the calamities of war. Virginia, though there was not a single British soldier within its limit, was, by the indiscretion of its governor, lord Dunmore, involved for several months in difficulties, little short of those to which the inhabitants of Massachusetts were subjected, His lordship was very unfit to be at the helm, in this tempestuous season. His passions predominated over his understanding, and precipitated him into measures injurious both to the people whom he governed, and to the interest of his royal master. The Virginians, from the earliest stage of the controversy, had been in the foremost line of the opposition to the claims of Great Britain; but, at the same time, treated lord Dunmore with the attention that was due to his station. In common with the other provinces, they had taken effectual measures to prepare their militia, for the purposes of defence.

While they were pursuing this object, his lordship engaged a party, belonging to a royal vessel in James's river, to convey some public powder from a magazine in Williamsburgh, on board their ship. The value or quantity of the powder was inconsiderable; but the circumstances attending its removal begat suspicions, that lord Dunmore meant to deprive the inhabitants of the means of defence. They were, therefore, alarmed, and assembled with arms to demand its restitution.

By the interposition of the mayor and corporation of Williamsburgh, extremities were prevented. Reports were soon afterwards spread, that a second attempt to rob the magazine was intended. The inhabitants again took arms and instituted nightly patroles, with a determined resolution to protect it. The governor was irritated at these commotions, and in the warmth of his temper, threatened to set up the royal standard, enfranchise the negroes, and arm them against their masters. This irritated, but did not intimidate. Several public meetings were held in the different counties, in all of which, the removal of the powder from the magazine, and the governor's threats, were entirely condemned. Some of the gentlemen of Hanover, and the neighbouring counties, assembled in arms, under the conduct of Mr. Patrick Henry, and marched towards Williamsburg. with an avowed design to obtain restitution of the powder, and to take measures for securing the public treasury. This ended in a negotiation, by which it was agreed, that payment for the powder, by the receiver general of the colony, should be accepted in lieu of restitution: and, that, upon the engagement of the inhabitants of Williamsburg to guard both the treasury and the magazine, the armed parties should return to their habitations.

The alarm of this affair induced lord Dunmore to send his lady and family on board the Fowey man of war, in James's river. About the same time, his lordship, with the assistance of a detachment of marines, fortified his palace, and surrounded it with artillery. He soon after issued a proclamation in which Mr. Henry and his associates were charged with rebellious practices; and the existing commotions were attributed to a desire in the people, of changing the established form of government. Several meetings were held in the neighbouring counties, in which, the conduct of Henry and his associates was applauded; and resolutions were adopted, that, at every risk, he and they should be indemnified. About this time, copies of some letters from governor Dunmore, to the minister of the American department, were made public. These, in the opinion of the Virginians, contained unfair and unjust representations of facts, and also of their temper and disposition. Many severe things were said on both sides, and fame, as usual magnified or misrepresented whatever was said or done. One distrust begat another. Every thing tended to produce a spirit of discontent, and the fever of the public mind daily increased.

In this state of disorder, the governor convened the general assembly. The leading motive, for this unexpected measure, was to procure their approbation and acceptance of the terms of the conciliatory motion, agreed to in parliament, on the 20th of the preceding February. His lordship introduced this to their consideration, in a long and plausible speech. In a few days, they presented their address in answer; in which, among other grounds of rejection, they stated, that "the proposed plan only changed the form of oppression, without lessening its burden;" but, they referred the papers for a final determination, to Congress. For themselves they declared: "We have exhausted every mode of application, which our invention could suggest, as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old We have wearied our king with supplication; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."

The assembly, among their first acts, appointed a committee to inquire into the causes of the late disturbances; and particularly to examine the state of the magazines they found most of the remaining powder buried; the muskets deprived of their locks; and spring guns planted in the magazine

These discoveries irritated the people, and occasioned intemperate expressions of resentment. Lord Dunmore quitted the palace privately, and retired on board the Fowey man of war, which then lay near York Town. He left a message for the house of burgesses, acquainting them, "that he thought it prudent to retire to a place of safety, having reason to believe that he was in constant danger of falling a sacrifice to popular fury. He, nevertheless, hoped that they would proceed in the great business before them; and he engaged to render the communication between him and the house, as easy and as safe as possible. He assured them that he would attend, as heretofore, to the duties of his office; and that he was well disposed to restore that harmony which had been unhappily interrupted."

This message produced a joint address from the council and house of burgesses; in which, they epresented his lordship's fears to be groundless and declared their willingness to concur in any measure he would propose for the security of himself and family; and concluded, by entreating his return to the palace. Lord Dunmore, in reply, justified his apprehensions of danger, from the threats which had been repeatedly thrown out He charged the house of burgesses with countenancing the violent proceedings of the people, and with a design to usurp the executive power, and subvert the constitution. This produced a reply fraught with recrimination and defensive arguments. Every incident afforded fresh room for altercation. There was a continued intercourse by addresses, messages, and answers, between the house of burgesses and the Fowey; but little of the public business was completed. His lordship was still acknowledged as the lawful governor of the province: but did not think proper to set his foot on shore, in the country over which his functions were to be exercised.

At length, when the necessary bills were ready for ratification, the council and burgesses jointly entreated the governor's presence, to give his assent to them and finish the session. After several messages and answers, lord Dunmore peremptorily refused to meet the assembly at the capitol, their usual place for deliberation: but said, he would be ready to receive them on the next Monday at his present residence on board the Fowey, for the purpose of giving his assent to such bills as he should approve of. Upon receiving this answer, the house of burgesses passed resolutions, in which they declared, that the message, requiring them to attend the governor on board of a ship of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges; that they had reason to fear a dangerous attack was meditated against the colony; and it was, therefore their opinion, that they should prepare for the pre

servation of their rights and liberties. After strongly professing loyalty to the king, and amity to the mother country, they broke up their session.

The royal government in Virginia, from that day, July 10th, 1775, ceased Soon afterwards, a convention of delegates was appointed to supply the place of the assembly. As these had unlimited confidence reposed in them, they became at once possessed of undefined discretionary powers, both legislative and executive. They exercised this authority, for the security of their constituents. They raised and embodied an armed force, and took measures for putting the colony in a state of defence. They published a justification of their conduct, and set forth the necessity of the measures they had adopted. They concluded with professions of loyalty, and declared, that though they were determined at every hazard to maintain their rights and privileges, it was also their fixed resolution to disband such forces as were raised for the defence of the colony, whenever their danger was removed.

The headstrong passions of lord Dunmore precipitated him into farther follies. With the aid of the loyalists, run away negroes, and some frigates that were on the station, he established a marine force. By degrees he equipped, and armed a number of vessels, of different kinds and sizes, in one of which he constantly resided, except when he went on shore, in a hostile manner. This force was calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any essential service. Obnoxious persons were seized and taken on board. Negroes were carried off; plantations ravaged; and houses burnt. These proceedings occasioned the sending of some detachments, of the newly-raised provincial forces, to protect the coasts. This produced a predatory war, from which neither honour nor benefit could be acquired, and in which, every supply from the shore was purchased at the risk of blood. The forces under his lordship attempted to burn Hampton: but the crews of the royal vessels employed in that business, though they had begun to cannonade it, were so annoyed by riflemen from the shore, that they were obliged to quit their station. In a few days after this repulse, Nov 7th, 1775, a proclamation was issued by the governor dated on board the ship William, off Norfolk, declaring that, as the civil law was at present insufficient to punish treason and traitors, martial law should take place, and be executed throught the colony; and requiring all persons capable of bearing arms, to repair to his majesty's standard, or to be considered as traitors. He also declared all indented servants, negroes and others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his majesty's forces, to be free.

Among the circumstances which induced the rulers of Great Britain to count on an easy conquest of America, the great number of slaves had a considerable weight. On the sea coast of five of the most southern provinces the number of slaves exceeded that of freemen. It was supposed that the proffer of freedom would detach them from their masters' interest, and bind them by strong ties to support the royal standard. Perhaps, under favourable circumstances, these expectations would in some degree, have been realized; but lord Dunmore's indiscretion deprived his royal master of this resource. Six months had elapsed since his lordship first threatened its adoption. The negroes had in a great measure ceased to believe and the inhabitants to fear. It excited less surprise, and produced less effect, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. The country was now in a tolerable state of defence, and the force for protecting the negroes, in case they had closed with his lordship's offer, was far short of what would have been necessary for their security.

The injury, done the royal cause by the bare proposal of the scheme, far outweighed any advantage that resulted from it. The colonists were struck with horror, and filled with detestation of a government, which was exercised in loosening the bands of society, and destroying domestic security. The union and vigour, which were given to their opposition, was great, while the additional force, acquired by his lordship, was considerable. It nevertheless produced some effect in Norfolk and the adjoining country, where his lordship was joined by several hundreds, both whites and blacks. The governor, having once more got footing on the main, amused himself with hopes of acquiring the glory of reducing one part of the province by means of the other. The provincials had now an object, against which they might direct their arms. An expedition was therefore concerted against the force which had taken post at Norfolk.

To protect his adherents, lord Dunmore constructed a fort at the great bridge, on the Norfolk side and furnished it with artillery. The provincials also fortified themselves, near to the same place with a narrow causeway in their front. In this state, both parties continued quiet for some days. The royalists commenced an attack. Captain Fordyce, at the head of about 60 British grenadiers, passed the causeway, and boldly marched up to the provincial intrenchments with fixed bayonets. They were exposed, without cover, to the fire of the provincials in front, and enfiladed by another part of their works. The brave captain and several of his men fell. The lieutenant, with others, was taken; and all who survived were wounded. The slaves in this engagement were more prejudicial to their British employers than to the provincials. Captain Fordyce was interred by the victors, with military honour. The English prisoners were treated with kindness; but the Americans, who had joined the king's standard, experienced the resentment of their countrymen.

The royal forces on the ensuing night, evacuated their post at the great bridge; lord Dunmore shortly afterwards abandoned Norfolk, and retired with his people on board his ships. Many of the tories, a name which was given to those who adhered to the royal interest, sought the same asylum, for themselves and moveable effects. The provincials took possession of Norfolk; and the fleet, with its new incumbrances, removed to a greater distance. The people on board, cut off from all peaceable intercourse with the shore, were distressed for provisions and necessaries of every kind. This occasioned sundry unimportant contests, between the provincial forces and the armed ships and boats. At length on the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was sent on shore, to put the question, whether they would supply his majesty's ships with provisions?

An answer was returned in the negative. It was then determined to destroy the town. This was carried into effect; and Jan. 1, 1776, Norfolk was reduced to ashes. The whole loss was estimated at 300,000l. sterling. The provincials, to deprive the ships of every source of supply, destroyed the houses and plantations near the water, and obliged the people to move their cattle, provisions, and effects, further into the country.

Lord Dunmore, with his fleet, continued for several months on the coast and in the rivers of Virginia. His unhappy followers suffered a complication of distresses. The scarcity of water and provisions, the closeness and filth of the small vessels produced diseases which were fatal to many, especially to the negroes. Though his whole force was trifling when compared with the resources of Virginia; yet the want of suitable armed vessels made its expulsion impracticable The experience of that day evinced the inadequacy of land forces, for the defence of a maritime country; and the extensive mischief which may be done, by even an inconsiderable marine, when unopposed in its own way. The want of a navy was both seen and felt. Some arrangements to procure one were therefore made. Either the expectation of an attack from this quarter, or the sufferings of the crews on board, induced his lordship, in the summer of 1776, to burn the least valuable of his vessels, and to send the remainder, amounting to 30 or 40 sail, to Florida, Bermuda, and the West Indies. The hopes which lord Dunmore had entertained of subduing Virginia, by the co-operation of the negroes, terminated with this movement. The unhappy Africans, who had engaged in it, are said to have almost universally perished.

While these transactions were carrying on, an other scheme, in which lord Dunmore was a party in like manner miscarried. It was in contemplation to raise a considerable force at the back of the colonies, particularly in Virginia, and the Carolinas. Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania, was the framer of the design. He had gained the approbation of lord Dunmore, and had been sent to him by General Gage at Boston, and from him he received a commission to act as colonel commandant. It was intended that the British garrisons at Detroit, and some other remote spots, with their artillery and ammunition, should be subservient to this design. Connelly also hoped for the aid of the Canadians and Indians. He was authorized to grant commissions, and to have the supreme direction of the new forces. As soon as they were in readiness he was to penetrate through Virginia, and to meet lord Dunmore near Alexandria, on the river Potomac. Connelly was taken up on suspicion, by one of the committees in Maryland, while on his way to the scene of action. The papers found in his possession betrayed the whole. Among these, were a general sketch of the plan, and a letter from lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs. He was imprisoned, and the papers published. So many fortunate escapes induced a belief among serious Americans, that their cause was favoured by heaven. The various projects which were devised, and put in operation against them, pointed out the increasing necessity of union: while the havoc made on their coasts, the proffer of freedom to their slaves, and the encouragement proposed to Indians, for making war on their frontier inhabitants, quickened their resentment against Great Britain.

North Carolina was more fortunate than Virginia. The governors of both were perhaps equally zealous for the royal interest, and the people of both equally attached to the cause of America: but the former escaped with a smaller portion of public calamity. Several regulations were at this time adopted by most of the provinces. Councils of safety, committees, and conventions, were common substitutes for regular government. Similar plans for raising, arming and supporting troops, and for training the militia, were, from north to south, generally adopted, In like manner, royal governors, throughout the provinces, were exerting themselves in attaching the people to the schemes of Great Britain. Governor Martin, of North Carolina, was particularly zealous in his business. He fortified and armed his palace at Newbern, that it might answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. While he was thus employed, such commotions were excited among the people, that he thought it expedient to retire on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river.—The people found powder and various military stores, which had been buried in his garden and yard

Governor Martin, though he had abandoned his usual place of residence, continued his exertions for reducing North Carolina to obedience. He particularly addressed himself to the regulators and Highland emigrants. The former had acquired this name from attempting to regulate the administration of justice, in the remote settlements, in a summary manner, subversive of the public peace. They had suffered the consequences of opposing royal government, and, from obvious principles of human nature, were disposed to support the authority, whose power to punish they had recently experienced. The Highland emigrants had been only a short time in America, and were yet more under the influence of European ideas, than those which their new situation was calculated to inspire.

Governor Martin sent commissions among these people, for raising and commanding regiments

and he granted one to Mr. M'Donald, to act as their general. He also sent them a proclamation commanding all persons, on their allegiance, to repair to the royal standard. This was erected by General M'Donald, about the middle of February. Upon the first intelligence of their assembling, Brigadier General Moore, with some provincial troops and militia, and some pieces of cannon, marched to oppose them. He took possession of Rock-fish bridge, and threw up some works. He had not been there many days, when M'Donald approached; and sent a letter to Moore, enclosing the governor's proclamation and advising him and his party to join the king's standard; and adding, that in case of a refusal, they must be treated as enemies. To this Moore replied, that he and his officers considered themselves as engaged in a cause, the most glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of mankind; and in his turn offered, that if M'Donald's party laid down their arms, they should be received as friends; but, otherwise they must expect consequences, similar to those which they threatened. Soon after this, General M'Donald, with his adherents, pushed on to join Governor Martin: but Colonels Lillington and Caswell, with about 1000 militia men, took possession of Moore's creek bridge, which lay in their way, and raised a small breast work to secure themselves.

On the next morning, the Highland emigrants attacked the militia posted at the bridge; but M'Cleod, the second in command, and some more of their officers being killed at the first onset, they fled with precipitation. General M'Donald was taken prisoner, and the whole of the party broken and dispersed. The overthrow produced consequences very injurious to the British interest. A royal fleet and army was expected on the coast. A junction formed between them and the Highland emigrants, in the interior country, might have made a sensible impression on the province. From an eagerness to do something, the insurgents prematurely took arms, and being crushed before the arrival of proper support, their spirits were so entirely broken, that no future effort could be expected from them.

While the war raged only in Massachusetts, each province conducted as if it expected to be the next attacked. Georgia, though a majority of its inhabitants were at first against the measures, yet, about the middle of this year, joined the other colonies. Having not concurred in the petitions from Congress to the king, they petitioned by themselves; and stated their rights and grievances, in firm and decided language. They also adopted the continental association, and sent on their deputies to Congress.

In South Carolina, there was an eagerness to be prepared for defence, which was not surpassed in any of the provinces. Regiments were raised; forts were built; the militia trained; and every necessary preparation made for that purpose. Lord William Campbell, the royal governor, endeavoured to form a party for the support of government, and was in some degree successful. Distrusting his personal safety on shore, about the middle of September, he took up his residence on board an armed vessel, then in the harbour.

The royal government still existed in name and form; but the real power, which the people obeyed, was exercised by a provincial congress, a council of safety, and subordinate committees. To conciliate the friendship of the Indians, the popular leaders sent a small supply of powder into their country. They who were opposed to Congress, embodied, and robbed the wagons which were employed in its transportation. To inflame the minds of their adherents, they propagated a report that the powder was intended to be given to the Indians, for the purpose of massacreing the friends of royal government. The inhabitants took arms, some to support royal government, but more to support the American measures.

The royalists acted feebly, and were easily overpowered. They were disheartened by the superior numbers that opposed them. They every where gave way, and were obliged either to fly or feign submission. Solicitations had been made about this time for royal forces to awe the southern provinces; but without effect, till the proper season was over. One scheme for this purpose was frustrated by a single device. Private intelligence had been received of an express being sent from sir James Wright, governor of Georgia, to General Gage. By him, the necessity of ordering a part of the royal army to the southward was fully stated. The express was waylaid, and compelled by two gentlemen to deliver his letters. One to General Gage was kept back, and another one forwarded in its room. The seal and hand-writing were so exactly imitated that the deception was not suspected. The forged letter was received and acted upon. It is stated the degree of peace and tranquility to be such as induced an opinion, that there was no necessity of sending royal troops to the southward.

While these states were thus left to themselves, they had time and opportunity to prepare for extremities; and, in the mean time, the friends of royal government were severally crushed. A series of disasters followed the royal cause in the year 1775. General Gage's army was cooped up in Boston, and rendered useless. In the southern states, where a small force would have made an impression, the royal governors were unsupported. Much was done to irritate the colonists, and to cement their union; but very little, either in the way of conquest and concession, to subdue their spirits or conciliate their affections.

In this year the people of America generally took the side of the colonies. Every art was made use of, by the popular leaders, to attach the inhabitants to their cause; nor were the votaries of the royal interest inactive: but little impression was made by the latter, except among the uninformed. The great mass of the wealth, learning, and influence, in all the southern colonies, and in most of the northern, was in favour of the American cause. Some aged persons were exceptions to the contrary. Attached to ancient habits, and enjoying the fruits of their industry, they were slow in approving new measures, subversive of the former, and endangering the latter. A few, who had basked in the sunshine of court favour, were restrained by honour, principle, and interest, from forsaking the fountain of their enjoyments. Some feared the power of Britain, and others doubted the perseverance of America; but a great majority resolved to hazard every thing, in preference to a tame submission. In the beginning of the year 1776, the colonists were farmers, merchants, and mechanics: but in its close, they had assumed the profession of soldiers. So sudden a transformation of so numerous, and so dispersed a people, is without a parallel.

This year was also remarkable for the general termination of royal government. This was effected without any violence to its executive officers. The new system was not so much forcibly imposed, or designedly adopted, as introduced through necessity, and the imperceptible agency of a common danger, operating uniformly on the mind of the public. The royal governors, for the most part voluntarily abdicated their governments, and retired on board ships of war. They assigned for reason that they apprehended personal danger; but this, in every instance, was unfounded. Perhaps, these representatives of royalty thought, that as they were constitutionally necessary to the administration of justice, the horrors of anarchy would deter the people from prosecuting their opposition. If they acted from this principle, they were mistaken. Their withdrawing from the exercise of their official duties both furnished an apology, and induced a necessity for organizing a system of government, independent of royal authority. By encouraging opposition to the popular measures, they involved their friends in distress. The unsuccessful insurrections, which they fomented, being improperly timed, and unsupported, were easily overthrown; and actually strengthened the popular government, which they meant to destroy.

As the year 1775 drew near to a close, the friends of Congress were embarrassed with a new difficulty. The army was temporary, and only engaged to serve out the year. The object, for which they had taken up arms, was not obtained. Every reason, which had previously induced the provinces to embody a military force, still existed and with increasing weight. It was therefore resolved to form a new army. The same flattering hopes were indulged, that an army for the ensuing year would answer every purpose. A committee of Congress, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Harrison, repaired to head quarters at Cambridge: and there, in conjunction with General Washington, made arrangements for organizing an army for the year 1776. It was presumed that the spirit, which had hitherto operated on the yeomanry of the country, would induce most of the same individuals to engage for another twelvemonth; but, on experiment, it was found that much of their military ardour had already evaporated. The first impulse of passion, and the novelty of the scene, had brought many to the field, who had great objections against continuing in the military line.—They found, that to be soldiers, required sacrifices, of which, when they assumed that character, they had no idea. So unacquainted were the bulk of the people with the mode of carrying on modern war, that some of them flew to arms, with the delusive expectation of settling the whole dispute, by a few decisive and immediate engagements. Experience soon taught them, that to risk life in open fighting was but a part of a soldier's duty. Several of the inferior officers retired; the men frequently refused to enlist, unless they were allowed to choose their officers. Others would not engage unless they were indulged with furloughs. Fifty would apply together for leave of absence; indulgence threatened less ruinous consequences than a refusal would probably have produced. On the whole, enlistments went on slowly. Though the recruits for the new army had not arrived; yet, the Connecticut troops, whose time expired on the first of December could not be persuaded to continue in service. On their way home, several of them were stopped by the country people, and compelled to return. When every thing seemed to be exposed, by the departure of so great a part of the late army, the militia were called on for a temporary aid. A new difficulty obstructed, as well the recruiting of the army, as the coming in of the militia. Sundry persons, infected with the small-pox, were sent out of Boston and landed at Point Shirley. Such was the dread of that disease, that the British army scarcely excited equal terror. So many difficulties retarded the recruiting service, that on the last day of the year, 1775, the whole American army amounted to no more than 9650 men. Of the remarkable events, with which the subsequent important year was replete, it was not the least, that, within musket shot of twenty British regiments, one army was disbanded and another enlisted.

All this time the British troops at Boston were suffering the inconvenience of a blockade. From the 19th of April, they were cut off from those refreshments which their situation required. Their supplies from Britain did not reach the coast, for a long time after they were expected. Several were taken by the American cruisers, and others were lost at sea. This was in particular the fate of many of their coal ships. The want of fuel was particularly felt, in a climate where the winter is both severe and tedious. They relieved themselves, in part, from their sufferings on this account, by the timber of houses, which they pulled down and burnt. Vessels were despatched to the West Indies to procure provisions: but the islands were so straitened, that they could afford little assistance. Armed ships and transports were ordered to Georgia, with an intent to procure rice; but the people of that province, with the aid of a party from South Carolina, so effectually opposed them, that of eleven vessels, only two got off safe with

their cargoes. It was not till the stock of the garrison was nearly exhausted, that the transports from England entered the port of Boston, and relieved the distresses of the garrison.

While the troops within the lines were apprehensive of suffering from want of provisions, the troops without were equally uneasy for want of employment. Used to labour and motion on their farms, they could not brook the inactivity and confinement of a camp life. Fiery spirits declaimed in favour of an assault. They preferred a bold spirit of enterprise, to that passive fortitude, which bears up under present evils, while it waits for favourable junctures. To be in readiness for an attempt of this kind, a council of war recommended to call in 7280 militia men, from New Hampshire or Connecticut. This number, added to the regular army before Boston, would have made an operating force of about 17,000 men.

The provincials laboured under great inconveniences from the want of arms and ammunition.—Very early in the contest, the king of Great Britain, by proclamation, forbade the exportation of warlike stores to the colonies. Great exertions had been made to manufacture saltpetre and gunpowder: but the supply was slow and inadequate. A secret committee of Congress had been appointed, with ample power to lay in a stock of this necessary article. Some swift sailing vessels had been despatched to the coast of Africa, to purchase what could be procured in that distant region. A party from Charleston forcibly took about 17,000 lbs. of powder, from a vessel near the bar of St. Augustine. Some time after, Commodore Hopkins stripped Providence, one of the Bahama islands, of a quantity of artillery and stores; but the whole, procured from all these quarters, was far short of a sufficiency. In order to supply the new army before Boston, with the necessary means of defence, an application was made to Massachusetts for arms: but, on examination, it was found that their public stores afforded only 200. Orders were issued to purchase firelocks from private persons: but few had any to sell, and fewer would part with them. In the month of February, there were 2000 of the American infantry, who were destitute of arms. Powder was equally scarce, and yet daily applications were made for dividends of the small quantity which was on hand, for the defence of various parts threatened with invasion. The eastern colonies presented an unusual sight. A powerful enemy safely entrenched in their first city, while a fleet was ready to transport them to any part of the coast. A numerous body of husbandmen was resolutely bent on opposition; but without the necessary arms and ammunition for self-defence. The eyes of all were fixed on General Washington; and it was unreasonably expected, that he would, by a bold exertion, free the town of Boston from the British troops. The dangerous situation of public affairs led him to conceal the real scarcity of arms and ammunition; and, with that magnanimity which is characteristic of great minds, to suffer his character to be assailed, rather than vindicate himself, by exposing his many wants. There were not wanting persons, who, judging from the superior numbers of men in the American army, boldly asserted, that, if the commander in chief were not desirous of prolonging his importance at the head of an army, he might, by a vigorous exertion, gain possession of Boston. Such suggestions were reported and believed by several, while they were uncontradicted by the general, who chose to risk his fame, rather than expose his army and his country.

Agreeably to the request of the council of war, about 7000 of the militia had rendezvoused in February. General Washington stated to his officers, that the troops in camp, together with the reinforcements which had been called for, and were daily coming in, would amount nearly to 17,000 men; that he had not powder sufficient for a bombardment; and asked their advice, whether, as reinforcements might be daily expected to the enemy, it would not be prudent before that event took place, to make an assault on the British lines. The proposition was negatived: but it was recommended to take possession of Dorchester heights. To conceal this design, and to divert the attention of the garrison, a bombardment of the town from other directions commenced, and was carried on for three days, with as much briskness as a deficient stock of powder would admit. In this first essay, three of the mortars were broken, either from a defect in their construction, or, more probably, from ignorance of the proper mode of using them.

The night of the 4th of March was fixed upon for taking possession of Dorchester heights. A covering party of about 800 men led the way. These were followed by the carts, with the intrenching tools, 1200 of a working party, commanded by General Thomas. In the rear, there were more than two hundred carts, loaded with fascines, and hay in bundles. While the cannon were playing in other parts, the greatest silence was kept by this working party. The active zeal of the industrious provincials completed lines of defence, by morning, which astonished the garrison. The difference between Dorchester heights on the evening of the 4th, and the morning of the 5th, seemed to realize the tales of romance. The admiral informed General Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, he would not be able to keep one of his majesty's ships in the harbour. It was therefore determined in a council of war, to attempt to dislodge them. An engagement was hourly expected. It was intended by General Washington, in that case, to force his way into Boston with 4000 men, who were to have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge river. The militia had come forward with great alertness each bringing three days' provision, in expectation of an immediate assault. The men were in high spirits, and impatiently waiting for the appeal.

They were reminded, that it was the 5th of March, and were called upon to avenge the death of their countrymen killed on that day. The many eminences in and near Boston, which overlooked the ground on which it was expected that the contending parties would engage, were crowded with numerous spectators; but General Howe did not intend to attack until the next day. In the night, a most violent storm, and, towards morning, a heavy flood of rain, came on. A carnage was thus providentially prevented, that would probably have equalled, if not exceeded, the fatal 17th of June at Bunker's Hill. In this situation, it was agreed by the British, in council of war, to evacuate the town as soon as possible.

In a few days after, a flag came out of Boston, with a paper signed by four selectmen, informing, "that they had applied to General Robertson, who, on an application to General Howe, was authorised to assure them, that he had no intention of burning the town, unless the troops under his command were molested, during their embarcation, or at their departure, by the armed force without." When this paper was presented to General Washington, he replied, "that as it was an unauthenticated paper, and without an address, and not obligatory on General Howe, he could take no notice of it;" but at the same time intimated his good wishes for the security of the town.

A proclamation was issued by General Howe, ordering all woollen and linen goods to be delivered to Crean Brush, Esq. Shops were opened and stripped of their goods. A licentious plundering took place. Much was carried off, and more was wantonly destroyed. These irregularities were forbidden in orders, and the guilty threatened with death; but, nevertheless, great mischief was committed.

The British, amounting to more than 7000 men evacuated Boston, March 17th, 1776; leaving their barracks standing; a number of pieces of cannon spiked; four large iron sea mortars; and stores to the value of 30,000*l*. They demolished the castle, and knocked off the trunions of the cannon. Various incidents caused a delay of nine days after the evacuation, before they left Nantasket road.

This embarcation was attended with many circumstances of distress and embarrassment. On the departure of the royal army from Boston, a great number of the inhabitants, attached to their sovereign, and afraid of public resentment, chose to abandon their country. From the great multitude about to depart, there was no possibility of procuring purchasers for their furniture; neither was there a sufficiency of vessels for its convenient transportation. Mutual jealousy subsisted between the army and navy: each charging the other as the cause of their common distress. The army was full of discontent. Reinforcements, though long promised, had not arrived. Both officers and soldiers, thought themselves neglected. Five months had elapsed since they had received any advice of their destination. Wants and inconveniences increased their ill humour. Their intended voyage to Halifax subjected them to great dangers. The coast at all times hazardous, was imminently so at that tempestuous equinoctial season. They had reason to fear, that they would be blown off to the West Indies, and without a sufficient stock of provisions. They were also going to a barren country. To add to their difficulties, this dangerous voyage, when completed, was directly so much out of their way. Their business lay to the southward; and they were going northward. Under all these difficulties, and with all these gloomy propect, the fleet steered for Halifax. Contrary to appearances, the voyage thither was both short and prosperous. They remained there some time, waiting for reinforcements and instructions from England.

When the royal fleet and army departed from Boston, several ships were left behind, for the protection of vessels coming from England; but the American privateers were so alert, that they nevertheless made many prizes. Some of the vessels which they captured, were laden with arms and warlike stores. Some transports, with troops on board, were also taken. These had run into the harbour, not knowing that the place was evacuated. The boats employed in the embarkation of the British troops, had scarce completed their business, when General Washington, with his army, marched into Boston, He was received with marks of approbation more flattering than the pomps of a triumph. The inhabitants, released from the severities of a garrison life, and from the various indignities to which they were subjected, hailed him as their deliverer. The evacuation of Boston had been previously determined upon, by the British ministry, from principles of political expediency. Being resolved to carry on the war, for purposes affecting all the colonies, they conceived a central position to be preferable to Boston. Policy of this kind had induced the adoption of the measure; but the American works on Roxbury expedited its execution

CHAPTER XII.

The Proceedings of Parliament, against the Colonies 1775-6; Operations in South Carolina, New York, and New Jersey.

The operations, carried on against the united colonies, in the year 1775, were adapted to cases of criminal combination, among subjects not in arms. The military arrangements for that year, were therefore made on the idea of a trifling addition to a peace establishment. It was either not known, that a majority of the Americans had determined to resist the power of Great Britain, rather than submit to the coercive laws, or it was not believed that they had spirit sufficient to act in conformity to that determination. The propensity in human nature, to believe that to be true, which is wished to be so, had deceived the royal servants in America, and the British ministry in England, so far as to induce their general belief, that a determined spirit on the part of government, and a few thousand troops to support that determination would easily compose the troubles

in America. Their military operations, in the year 1775, were therefore calculated on the small scale of strengthening the civil power, and not on the large one of resisting an organized army. Though it had been declared by parliament in February, 1775, that a rebellion existed in Massachusetts, yet it was not believed that the colonists would dare to abet their opposition by an armed force.

The resistance made by the militia at Lexington, the consequent military arrangements adopted, first by Massachusetts, and afterwards by Congress, together with the defence of Bunker's hill, all conspired to prove that the Americans were far from being contemptible adversaries. The nation, finding itself, by a fatal progression of the unhappy dispute, involved in a civil war, was roused to recollection. Though several corporate bodies, and sundry distinguished individuals in Great Britain were opposed to coercive measures, yet there was a majority for proceeding. The pride of the nation was interested in humbling the colonists, who had dared to resist the power which had lately triumphed over the combined force of France and Spain. The prospect of freeing their own estates from a part of the heavy taxes charged thereon, induced numbers of the landed gentlemen in Great Britain to support the same measures. They conceived the coercion of the colonies to be the most direct mode of securing their contribution towards sinking the national debt. Influenced by these opinions, they not only justified the adoption of rigorous measures, but cheerfully consented to present additional taxes, with the same spirit which induces litigants in private life, to advance money for forwarding a lawsuit, from the termination of which great profits are expected.

Lord North, the prime minister of England, finding himself supported by so many powerful interests, was encouraged to proceed. He had already subdued a powerful party in the city of London, and triumphed over the East India company. The submission of the colonies was only wanting to complete the glory of his administration. Previous success emboldened him to attempt the arduous business. He flattered himself, that the accomplishment of it would not only restore peace to the empire, but give a brilliancy to his name, far exceeding that of any of his predecessors.

Such was the temper of a great part of the nation, and such the ambitious views of its prime minister; when the parliament was convened, on the 24th of October, 1775. In the speech from the throne, great complaints were made of the leaders in the colonies, who were said, by their misrepresentations, to have infused into the minds of the deluded multitude, opinions repugnant to their constitutional subordination; and afterwards to have proceeded to the commencement of hostilities, and the usurpation of the whole powers of government. His majesty also charged his subjects in America, with "meaning only to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, while they were preparing for a general revolt." And he farther asserted, "that the rebellious war now levied by them was become more general, and manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire; and that it had become the part of wisdom, and, in its effects, of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders, by the most decisive exertions."

Information was also given, that "the most friendly offers of foreign assistance had been received; and that his majesty's electoral troops were sent to the garrison of Gibraltar, and Port Mahon, in order that a large number of the established forces of the kingdom might be applied to the maintenance of its authority." The severity of these assertions was mitigated by the declaration, "that when the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom this force should be directed, would become sensible of their error, his majesty would be ready to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy;" and "that to prevent inconveniences, he should give authority to certain persons on the spot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities to such as should be disposed to return to their allegiance." The sentiments expressed in this speech, and the heavy charges therein laid against the colonists, were re-echoed in addresses to the king from both houses of parliament, but not without a spirited protest in the house of lords. In this, nineteen dissenting members asserted the American war to be "unjust and impolitic in its principles, and fatal in its consequences." They also declared, that they could not consent to an address, "which might deceive his majesty and the public into a belief of the confidence of their house in the present ministers, who had disgraced parliament; deceived the nation; lost the colonies; and involved them in a civil war against their clearest interests, and, upon the most unjustifiable grounds, wantonly spilling the blood of thousands of their fellow subjects."

The sanction of parliament being obtained for a vigorous prosecution of the American war, estimates for the public service were agreed to, on the idea of operating against the colonies, as an hostile armed foreign power. To this end, it was voted to employ 28,000 seamen, and 55,000 land forces; and authority was given to engage foreign mercenaries. No ministry had, in any preceding war, exerted themselves more to prosecute military operations against alien enemies, than the present, to make the ensuing campaign decisive of the dispute, between the mother country and the colonies. One legislative act was still wanting, to give full efficacy to the intended prosecution of hostilities. This was brought into parliament, in a bill interdicting all trade and intercourse with the thirteen united colonies, Nov. 20th, 1775. By it, all property of Americans, whether of ships or goods on the high seas, or in harbour, was declared "to be forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war." It farther enacted, "that the masters, crews and other persons found on board captured American vessels, should be entered on board his majesty's vessels of war, and there considered to be in his majesty's service, to all intents and purposes, as if they had entered of their own accord." This bill also authorised the crown to appoint commissioners, who, over and above granting pardons to individuals, were empowered to "inquire into general and particular grievances, and to determine whether any colony, or part of a colony, had returned to that state of obedience, which might entitle it to be received within the king's peace and protection." In that case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, "the restrictions of the proposed law were to cease."

It was said in favour of this bill, "that as the Americans were already in a state of war, it became necessary that hostilities should be carried on against them, as was usual against alien enemies; that the more vigorously and extensively military operations were prosecuted, the sooner would peace and order be restored; that as the commissioners went out with the sword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other, it was in the power of the colonists to prevent the infliction of any real or apparent severities, in the proposed statute."

In opposition, it was said, "that treating the Americans as a foreign nation, was chalking out the way for their independence." One member observed, that as the indiscriminate rapine of property authorised by the bill, would oblige the colonists to coalesce as one man, its title ought to be: "A bill for carrying more effectually into execution the resolves of Congress." The clause, for vesting the property of the seizures in the captors, was reprobated as tending to extinguish in the breasts of seamen the principles of patriotism; of national pride and glory; and to substitute in their room, habits of cruelty, of piracy and robbery. But of all parts of this bill, none was so severely condemned as that clause, by which persons, taken on board the American vessels, were indiscriminately compelled to serve as common sailors in British ships of war. This was said to be "a refinement of tyranny worse than death." It was also said, "that no man could be despoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the same time obliged to serve as a citizen; and that compelling captives to bear arms, against their families, kindred, friends and country, and, after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren, was unexampled, except among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human society.

To all these high charges the ministry replied, "that the measure was an act of grace and favour; for," said they, "the crews of American vessels, instead of being put to death, the legal punishment of their demerits, as traitors and rebels, are by this law to be rated on the king's books, and treated as if they were on the same footing with a great body of his most useful and faithful subjects." It was also said, "that their pay and emoluments, in the service of their lawful sovereign, would be a compensation for all scruples that might arise from the supposed violation of their principles."

In the progress of the debates on this bill, lord Mansfield declared, "that the questions of original right and wrong were no longer to be considered; that they were engaged in a war, and must use their utmost efforts to obtain the ends proposed by it; that they must either fight or be pursued; and that the justice of the cause must give way to the present situation." Perhaps no speech, in or out of parliament, operated more extensively on the irritated minds of the colonists than this one.

The great abilities and profound legal knowledge of lord Mansfield, were both known and admired in America. That this illustrious oracle of law should declare from the seat of legislation, "that the justice of the cause was no longer to be regarded," excited the astonishment, and cemented the union of the colonists. A number of lords, as usual, entered a spirited protest against the bill; but it was carried by a great majority in both houses of parliament, and, Dec. 21, 1775, received the royal assent.

This law arrived in the colonies in March, 1776. The effects resulting from it were such as had been predicted by its opposers. It not only united the colonies in resisting Great Britain, but produced a favourable opinion of independence in the minds of thousands, who previously reprobated that measure. It was considered from New Hampshire to Georgia, as a legal discharge from allegiance to their native sovereign. What was wanting to produce a decided majority of the party for breaking off all connexion with Great Britain, was speedily obtained from the irritation excited, by the hiring of foreign troops to fight against the colonists. This measure was nearly coincident with the ratification of the prohibitory law just mentioned; and intelligence of both arrived in the colonies about the same time.

The treaties, which had been lately concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, for hiring their troops to the king of Great Britain, to be employed in the American service, being laid before the house of commons, a motion was made thereon for referring them to the committee of supply. This occasioned a very interesting debate, on the propriety of employing foreign troops against the Americans. The measure was supported on the necessity of prosecuting the war, and the impracticability of raising a sufficient number of domestic levies. It was also urged, "that foreign troops, inspired with the military maxims, and ideas of implicit submission, would be less apt to be biased by that false lenity, which native soldiers might indulge, at the expense of national interest." It was asked: "are we to sit still and suffer an unprovoked rebellion to terminate in the formation of an independent hostile empire!" "Are we to suffer our colonies, the object of great national expense, and of two bloody wars, to be lost for ever to us; and given away to strangers, from a scruple of employing foreign troops to preserve our just rights over colonies for which we have paid so dear a purchase? As the Americans, by refusing the obedience and taxes of subjects, deny themselves to be a part of the British empire, and make themselves foreigners,

they cannot complain that foreigners are employed against them."

On the other side, the measure was severely condemned. The necessity of the war was denied, and the nation was represented as disgraced by applying to the petty princes of Germany, for succour against her own rebellious subjects. The tendency of the example, to induce the Americans to form alliances with foreign powers, was strongly urged. It was said, "hitherto the colonists have ventured to commit themselves singly in this arduous contest, without having recourse to foreign aid; but it is not to be doubted, that in future they will think themselves fully justified, both by our example, and the laws of self-preservation, to engage foreigners to assist them in opposing those mercenaries, whom we are about to transport for their destruction. Nor is it doubtful, that in case of their application, European powers of a rank far superior to that of those petty princes to whom we have so abjectly sued for aid, will consider themselves to be equally entitled to interfere in the quarrel between us and our colonies."

The supposition of the Americans, receiving aid from France or Spain, was, on this and several other occasions, ridiculed, on the idea that these powers would not dare to set to their own colonies the dangerous example of encouraging those of Great Britain, in opposing their sovereign. It was also supposed, that they would be influenced by considerations of future danger to their American possessions, from the establishment of an independent empire in their vicinity.

In this session of parliament, between the 26th of October, 1775, and the 23d of May 1776, the ultimate plan for reducing the colonies was completely fixed. The Americans were declared out of the royal protection; and 16,000 foreign mercenaries employed by national authority, to effect their subjugation. These measures induced Congress, in the following summer, to declare themselves independent, and to seek for foreign aid: events which shall be hereafter more fully explained.

Parliamentary sanction, for carrying on the war against the colonists, as against alien enemies, being obtained, it became necessary to fix on a commander of the royal forces to be employed on this occasion. This, as a matter of right, was, in the first instance, offered to General Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia; as being the first on the list of general officers To the surprise of the minister, that respectable veteran readily accepted the command, on condition of his being properly supported. A numerous, well-appointed army, and a powerful fleet were promised him; to which he replied: "I will undertake the business without a man, or a ship of war, provided you will authorise me to assure the colonists on my arrival among them, that you will do them justice." He added farther: "I know the people of America well, and am satisfied, that his majesty has not in any part of his dominions, more obedient, or more loyal subjects. You may secure their obedience by doing them justice: but you will never subdue them by force of arms."* These opinions, so favourable to the Americans, proved General Oglethorpe to be an improper person for the purpose intended by the British ministry. He was therefore passed over, and the command given to Sir William Howe.

It was resolved to open the campaign, with such a powerful force, as "would look down all opposition, and effectuate submission without bloodshed;" and to direct its operations to the accomplishment of three objects. The first was the relief of Quebec, and the recovery of Canada; which also included a subsequent invasion of the north-western frontiers of the adjacent provinces. The second was, a strong impression on some of the southern colonies. The third and principal, was to take possession of New York, with a force sufficiently powerful to keep possession of Hudson's river, and form a line of communication with the royal army in Canada, or to overrun the adjacent country.

The partial success of the first part of this plan, has been, in the preceding chapter, explained. The execution of the second part was committed to General Clinton, and sir Peter Parker. The former, with a small force, having called at New York, and also visited in Virginia lord Dunmore, the late royal governor of that colony, and finding that nothing could be done at either place, proceeded to Cape Fear river. At that place, he issued a proclamation from on board the Pallas transport, offering free pardon to all such as should lay down their arms, excepting Cornelius Harnett, and Robert Howe: but the recent defeat of the regulators and Highlanders, restrained even their friends from paying any attention to this act of grace.

At Cape Fear, a junction was formed between sir Henry Clinton and sir Peter Parker; the latter of whom had sailed with his squadron directly from Europe. They concluded to attempt the reduction of Charleston, as being, of all places within the line of their instructions, the objects at which they could strike, with the greatest prospect of advantage. They had 2,800 land forces, which, they hoped, with the co-operation of their shipping, would be fully sufficient.

For some months past, every exertion had been made to put the colony of South Carolina, and especially its capital, Charleston, in a respectable posture of defence. In subserviency to this view, works had been erected on Sullivan's Island, which is situated so near the channel leading up to the town, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels approaching it.

On the 28th of June, 1775, sir Peter Parker attacked the fort on that island with two fifty gun ships, the Bristol and Experiment; four frigates, the Active, Acteon, Solebay, and Syren, each of 28 guns; the Sphynx of 20 guns, the Friendship armed vessel of 22 guns; Ranger sloop and Thunderbomb, each of 8 guns. On the fort were mounted 26 cannon, 26, 18 and 9 pounders. The attack commenced between ten and eleven in the forenoon, and was continued for upwards of ten hours. The garrison, consisting of 374 regulars and a few militia under the command of Colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. They fired deliberately; for the most part took aim, and seldom missed their object. The ships were torn almost to pieces; and the killed and wounded on board exceeded 200 men. The loss of the garrison was only ten men killed, and 22 wounded. The fort, being built of palmetto, was little damaged. The shot which struck it were ineffectually buried in its soft wood.

General Clinton, had, some time before the engagement, landed with a number of troops on Long Island: and it was expected that he would have co-operated with Sir Peter Parker, by crossing over the narrow passage, which divides the two islands, and attacking the fort in its unfinished rear; but the extreme danger, to which he must unavoidably have exposed his men, induced him to decline the perilous attempt.

Colonel Thompson, with 7 or 800 men, was stationed at the east end of Sullivan's island, to oppose their crossing. No serious attempt was made to land, either from the fleet, or the detachment commanded by sir Henry Clinton. The firing ceased in the evening, and the ships slipped their cables. Before morning, they had retired about two miles from the island. Within a few days more, the troops re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New York. The thanks of Congress were given to General Lee, who had been sent on by Congress to take the command in Carolina; and also to Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their good conduct on this memorable day. In compliment to the commanding officer, the fort was from this time called Fort Moultrie.

During this engagement, the inhabitants stood with arms in their hands, at their respective posts, prepared to receive the enemy wherever they might land; impressed with high ideas of British prowess and bravery, they were apprehensive that the fort would be either silenced or passed, and that they should be called to immediate action. They were cantoned in the various landing places near Charleston, and their resolution was fixed to meet the invaders at the water's edge, and dispute every inch of ground, trusting the event to heaven.

By the repulse of this armament, the southern states obtained a respite from the calamities of war, for two years and a half. The defeat the British met with at Charleston, seemed in some measure to counterbalance the unfavourable impression, made by their subsequent successes, to the northward. Throughout the whole summer, and till the close of the year, Congress had little else than the victory on Sullivan's island, to console them under the various evacuations, retreats, and defeats, to which, as shall hereafter be related, their armies were obliged to submit, in every other part of the union. The event of the expedition contributed greatly to establish the cause, which it was intended to overset. In opposition to the bold assertions of some, and the desponding fears of others, experience proved that America might effectually resist a British fleet and army. Those who, from interested motives, abetted the royal government, ashamed of their opposition to the struggles of an infant people for their dearest rights, retired into obscurity.

The effects of this victory, in animating the Americans, were much greater than could be warranted by the circumstances of the action. As it was the first attack made by the British navy, its unsuccessful issue inspired a confidence, which a more exact knowledge of military calculations would have corrected. The circumstance of its happening in the early part of the war, and in one of the weaker provinces, were happily instrumental in dispelling the gloom which overshadowed the minds of many of the colonists, on hearing of the powerful fleets and numerous armies which were coming against them.

The command of the force, which was designed to operate against New York in this campaign, was given to admiral lord Howe, and his brother sir William, officers who, as well from their personal characters, as the known bravery of their family, stood high in the confidence of the British nation. To this service, was allotted a very powerful army, consisting of about 30,000 men. This force was far superior to any thing that America had hitherto seen. The troops were amply provided with artillery, military stores, and warlike materials of every kind; and were supported by a numerous fleet. The admiral and general, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies.

General Howe, having in vain waited two months at Halifax, for his brother, and the expected reinforcements from England, impatient of farther delays, sailed from that harbour, with the force which he had previously commanded in Boston, and directing his course towards New York, arrived in the latter end of June, off Sandy Hook. Admiral lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, arrived at Halifax, soon after his brother's departure. Without dropping anchor, he followed and joined him near Staten Island. The British general, on his approach, found every part of New York island, and the most exposed parts of Long Island, fortified and well defended by artillery. About fifty British transports anchored near Staten Island, which had not been so much the object of attention. The inhabitants thereof, either from fear, policy, or affection, expressed great joy on the arrival of the royal forces General Howe were there met by Tryon, late governor of the province, and by several of the loyalists, who had taken refuge with him, in an armed vessel. He was also joined by about sixty persons from New Jersey; and 200 of the inhabitants of Staten Island were embodied, as a royal militia. From these appearances, great hopes were indulged that as soon as the army was in a condition to penetrate into the country, and protect the loyal

* This anecdote was communicated to the author by Henry Laurens, Esq. who received it from general Oglethorpe.

.sts, such numbers would flock to their standard, as would facilitate the attainment of the object of the campaign.

On the fourth day after the British transports appeared off Sandy Hook, Congress, though fully informed of the numbers and appointments of the force about to be employed against the colonies, ratified their famous declaration of independence. This was publicly read to the American army, and received by them with unfeigned acclamations of joy. Though it was well known that Great Britain had employed a force of 55,000 men, to war upon the new formed states, and that the continental army was not nearly equal to half that number, and only engaged for a few months, and that Congress was without any assurance of foreign aid; yet both the American officers and privates gave every evidence of their hearty approbation of the decree, which severed the colonies from Great Britain, and submitted to the decision of the sword, whether they should be free states or conquered provinces. "Now," said they, "we know the ground on which we stand. Now we are a nation. No more shall the opprobrious term of rebel, with any appearance of justice, be applied to us. Should the fortune of war throw us into the hands of our enemies, we may expect the treatment of prisoners, and not the punishment of rebels. The prize for which we contend is of such magnitude, that we may freely risk our lives to obtain it."

It had early occurred to General Washington, that the possession of New York would be with the British a favourite object. Its central situation, and contiguity to the ocean, enabled them to carry, with facility, the war to any part of the sea coast. The possession of it was rendered still more valuable, by the ease with which it could be maintained. Surrounded on all sides by water, it was defensible by a small number of British ships, against adversaries, whose whole navy consisted only of a few frigates. Hudson's river, being navigable for ships of the largest size to a great distance, afforded an opportunity of severing the eastern from the more southern states, and of preventing almost any communication between them.

From these well-known advantages, it was presumed by the Americans, that the British would make great exertions to effect the reduction of New York. General Lee, while the British were yet in possession of the capital of Massachusetts, had been detached from Cambridge, to put Long Island and New York into a posture of defence. As the departure of the British from Boston became more certain, the probability of their instantly going to New York increased the necessity of collecting a force for its safety. It had been therefore agreed in a council of war, that five regiments, together with a rifle battalion, should march without delay to New York; and that the states of New York and New Jersey should be requested to furnish, the former two thousand, and the latter one thousand men, for its immediate defence. General Washington soon followed, and early in April fixed his head quarters in that city. A new distribution of the American army took place. Part was left in Massachusetts. Between two and three thousand were ordered to Canada; but the greater part rendezvoused at New York.

Eperience had taught the Americans the difficulty of attacking an army, after it had effected a lodgment. They therefore made strenuous exertions to prevent the British from enjoying the advantages in New York, which had resulted from their having been permitted to land and fortify themselves in Boston. The sudden commencement of hostilities in Massachusetts, together with the previous undisturbed landing of the royal army, allowed no time for deliberating on a system of war. A change of circumstances indicated the propriety of fixing on a plan, for conducting the defence of the new formed states. On this occasion, General Washington, after much thought, determined on a war of posts. This mode of conducting military operations gave confidence to the Americans, and it both retarded and alarmed their adversaries. The soldiers in the Americans army were new levies, and had not yet learned to stand uncovered before the instruments of death. Habituating them to the sound of fire arms, while they were sheltered from danger, was one step towards inspiring them with a portion of mechanical courage. The British remembered Bunker's hill, and had no small reverence for even slight fortifications, when defended by freemen. With views of this kind, works were erected in and about New York, on Long Island, and the heights of Harlem. These, besides batteries, were field redoubts, formed of earth, with a parapet and ditch. The former were sometimes fraised, and the latter palisadoed; but they were in no instance formed to sustain a siege. Slight as they were, the campaign was nearly wasted away, before they were so far reduced, as to permit the royal army to penetrate into the country.

The war having taken a more important turn than in the preceding year had been foreseen, Congress at the opening of the campaign, found themselves destitute of a force sufficient for their defence. They, therefore, in June, determined on a plan to reinforce their continental army, by bringing into the field, a new species of troops, that would be more permanent than the common militia, and yet more easily raised than regulars. With this view they instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps, between regular soldiers and militia. Ten thousand men were called for from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to be in constant service to the first day of the ensuing December. Congress at the same time called for 13,800 of the common militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, and New Jersey. The men, for forming the flying camp, were generally procured; but there were great deficiencies of the militia; and many of those who obeyed their country's call, so far as to turn out, manifested a reluctance to submit to the necessary discipline.

The difficulty of providing the troops with arms, while before Boston, was exceeded by the superior difficulty of supplying them in their new position. By the returns of the garrison at fort Montgomery, in the Highlands, in April, it appeared that there were 208 privates, and only 41 muskets fit for use. In the garrison at fort Constitution, there were 136 men, and only 68 muskets fit for use. Flints were also much wanted. Lead would have been equally deficient, had not a supply for the musquetry been obtained by stripping dwelling houses.

The uncertainty of the place where the British would commence their operations, added much to the embarrassment of General Washington. Not only each colony, but each sea-port town, supposed itself to be the object of the British, and was ardent in its supplications to the commander in chief, for his peculiar attention. The people of Massachusetts were strongly impressed with an idea, that the evacuation of Boston was only a feint, and that the British army would soon return. They were for that reason very desirous, that the continental troops should not be withdrawn from their state. The inhabitants of Rhode Island urged, in a long petition, that their maritime situation exposed them to uncommon danger, while their great exertions in fitting out armed vessels, had deprived them of many of their citizens. They therefore prayed for a body of continental soldiers, to be stationed for their constant and peculiar defence. So various were the applications for troops, so numerous the calls for arms, that a decided conduct became necessary to prevent the feeble American force, and the deficient stock of public arms, from being divided and subdivided, so as to be unequal to the proper defence of any one place.

In this crisis of particular danger, the people of New York acted with spirit. Though they knew they were to receive the first impressions of the British army, yet their convention resolved, "that all persons, residing within the state of New York, and claiming protection from its laws, owed it allegiance; and that any person owing it allegiance, and levying war against the state, or being an adherent to the king of Great Britain, should be deemed guilty of treason, and suffer death." They also resolved, "that one fourth of the militia of West Chester, Dutchess, and Orange counties, should be forthwith drawn out for the defence of the liberties, property, wives and children of the good people of the state; to be continued in service to the last day of December:" and, "that as the inhabitants of King's county had determined not to oppose the enemy, a committee should be appointed to inquire into the authenticity of these reports, and to disarm and secure the disaffected; to remove or destroy the stock of grain, and, if necessary, to lay the whole country waste."

The two royal commissioners, Admiral and General Howe, thought proper, before they commenced their military operations, to try what might be done in their civil capacity, towards effecting a re-union between Great Britain and the colonies. It was one of the first acts of lord Howe, to send on shore, a circular letter, to several of the royal governors in America, informing them of the late act of parliament, "for restoring peace to the colonies, and granting pardon to such as should deserve mercy;" and desiring them to publish a declaration which accompanied the same. In this, he informed the colonists of the power with which his brother and he were intrusted; of granting general or particular pardons to all those, who, though they had deviated from their allegiance, were willing to return to their duty:" and of declaring, "any colony, province, county or town, port, district or place, to be in the peace of his majesty."* Congress, impressed with a belief, that

* With these circular letters to the governors, lord Howe sent a private one to Dr. Franklin: to which a most interesting answer was returned, worthy of everlasting remembrance. The letter and answer were as follow:

Lord Howe to Dr. Franklin.

"I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have sent, to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

"You will learn the nature of my mission from the official despatches, which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies, which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable in the objects of the king's paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies: but, if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament that this is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you, personally, of the regard with which I am," &c.

Dr. Franklin answered—

"I received safe the letters your lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

"The official despatches, to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament; 'offers of pardon upon submission;' which I am sorry to find, as it must give your lordship pain, to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

"Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burned our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country, that we once held so dear; but were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you, I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured. You can never confide again in those, as fellow subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom; to whom you know you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour to break our spirit, by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power our growing strength and prosperity.

the proposals of the commissioners, instead of disuniting the people, would have a contrary effect, ordered them to be speedily published in the several American newspapers. Had a redress of grievances been at this late hour offered, though the honour of the states was involved in supporting their late declaration of independence, yet the love of peace, and the bias of great numbers to their parent state, would in all probability, have made a powerful party for rescinding the act of separation, and for re-uniting with Great Britain: but, when it appeared that the power of the royal commissioners was little more than to grant pardons, Congress appealed to the good sense of the people, for the necessity of adhering to the act of independence. The resolution for publishing the circular letter, and the declaration of the royal commissioners, assigned as a reason thereof, "that the good people of the United States may be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remain suspended by a hope, founded either in the justice or moderation of their late king, may now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties."

About the same time, flags were sent ashore by lord Howe, with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq. which he refused to receive, as not being addressed to him with the title due to his rank. In his letter to Congress, on this subject, he wrote as follows: "I would not, on any occasion, sacrifice essentials to punctilio: but, in this instance, I deemed it a duty to my country and appointment, to insist on that respect, which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waived." Congress applauded his conduct in a public resolution, and at the same time directed that no letter or message should be received, on any occasion whatever, from the enemy, by the commander in chief, or others the commanders of the American army, but such as were directed to them in the characters they severally sustained.

Some time after, Adjutant General Patterson was sent to New York, by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. On an interview with the adjutant general, Washington declared that he would decline receiving any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station. A long conference ensued, in which the adjutant general observed, that "the commissioners were armed with great powers, and would be very happy in effecting an accommodation." He received for answer, "that from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon; that they who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon." Soon after this interview, a letter from Howe, respecting prisoners, which was properly addressed to Washington, was received.

While the British, by their manifestoes and declarations, were endeavouring to separate those who preferred a reconciliation with Great Britain, from those who were the friends of independence; Congress, by a similar policy, was attempting to detach the foreigners, who had come with the royal troops, from the service of his Britanic majesty. Before hostilities had commenced, the following resolution was adopted and circulated among those on whom it was intended to operate: "Resolved, that these states will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and shall chose to become members of any of these states; and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions, and be invested with the rights, privileges, and immunities of natives, as established by the laws of these states: and moreover, that this congress will provide for every such person, fifty acres of unappropriated lands, in some of these states, to be held by him and his heirs, as absolute property."

The numbers which were prepared to oppose the British, when they should disembark, made them for some time cautious of proceeding to their projected land operations: but the superiority of their navy enabled them to go by water whithersoever they pleased.

A British forty gun ship, with some smaller vessels, sailed up the North river, without receiving any damage of consequence, though fired upon from the batteries of New York, Paulus-Hook, Red-Bank, and Governor's Island. An attempt was made, with two fire ships, to destroy the British vessels in the North River: but without effecting any thing more than the burning of a tender. They were also attacked with row gallies, with little effect. After some time, the Phœnix and Rose men of war came down the river, and joined the fleet. Every effort of the Americans, from their batteries on land, as well as their exertions on the water, proved ineffectual. The British ships passed with less loss than was generally expected: but, nevertheless, the damage they received was such as deterred them from frequently repeating the experiment. In two or three instances, they ascended North river, and in one or two East river; but those which sailed up the former speedily returned; and by their return, a free communication was opened through the upper part of the state.

The American army, in and near New York, amounted to 17225 men. These were mostly new troops, and were divided, in many small and unconnected posts, some of which were fifteen miles removed from others. The British force before New York was increasing, by frequent successive arrival from Halifax, South Carolina, Florida, the West Indies and Europe: but so many unforseen delays had taken place, that the month of August was far advanced, before they were in a condition to open the campaign.

When all things were ready, the British commanders resolved to make their first attempt on Long Island. This was preferred to New York, as it abounded with those supplies which their forces required.

The British landed without opposition, between two small towns, Utrecht, and Gravesend. The American works protected a small peninsula, having Wallabout bay to the left, and stretching over to Red Hook on the right; the East river being in the rear. General Sullivan, with a strong force was encamped within these works at Brooklyn. From the east side of the narrows, runs a ridge of hills covered with thick wood, about five or six miles in length, which terminates near Jamaica. There were three passes through these hills; one near the narrows, a second on the Flatbush road and a third on the Bedford road; and they are all defensible. The Americans had 800 men on each of these roads; and Colonel Miles was placed with his battalion of riflemen, to guard the road from the south of the hills, to Jamaica and to watch the motions of the British.

General de Heister, with his Hessians, took post at Flatbush, in the evening, August 26, 1776. In the following night, the greater part of the British army, commanded by General Clinton, marched to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and to turn the left of the Americans. He arrived about two hours before day, with half a mile of this road. One of his parties fell in with a patrol of American officers, and took them all prisoners, which prevented the early transmission of intelligence. Upon the first appearance of day, General Clinton advanced, and took possession of the heights over which the road passed. General Grant, which the left wing, advanced along the coast by the west road, near the narrows; but this was intended chiefly as a feint.

The guard which was stationed at this road, fled without making any resistance. A few of them were afterwards rallied, and lord Stirling advanced with 1500 men, and took possession of a hill, about two miles from the American camp, and in front of General Grant.

An attack was made very early in the morning, August 27, 1776, by the Hessians from Flatbush, under General de Heister, and by General Grant on the coast, and was well supported for a considerable time on both sides. The Americans, who opposed General de Heister, were first informed of the approach of General Clinton, who had come round on their left. They immmediately began to retreat to their camp, but were intercepted by the right wing under General Clinton, who got into the rear of their left, and attacked them with his light infantry and dragoons, while returning to their lines. They were driven back till they were met by the Hessians. They were thus alternately chased and intercepted, between General de Heister and General Clinton. Some of their regiments, nevertheless, found their way to the camp. The Americans under lord Stirling, consisting of Colonel Miles's two batalions, Colonel Atlee's, Colonel Smallwood's, and Colonel Hatche's regiments, who were engaged with General Grant, fought with great resolution for about six hours. They were unimformed of their movements made by General Clinton, till some of the troops under his command had traversed the whole extent of the country in their rear. Their retreat thus was

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"Your lordship mentions the 'king's paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonists.' If, by peace, be here meant a peace, to be entered into by distinct states, now at war, and his majesty has given your lordship powers to treat with us, of such a peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable before we enter into foreign alliances: but I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though by punishing those American governors, who have fomented the discord; rebuilding our burnt towns; and repairing, as far as possible, the mischiefs done us, she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength to be derived from a friendship with us; yet, I know too well her aboundick pride and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest, as a warlike nation, her lust of dominion, as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, none of them legitimate causes of war, will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and continually goad her on, in these ruinous distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the croisades formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

"I have not the vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know that it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed till the event shall verify it.

"Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking, that fine and noble porcelain vase, the British empire; for, I knew, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their share of the strength and value that existed in the whole, and that a perfect reunion of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wetted my cheek, when at your good sister's, in London, you once gave me expectation that a reconciliation might take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation, under that groundless and malevolent treatment, was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men, in that country, and among the rest some share in the regard of lord Howe.

"The well-founded esteem, and permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your lordship, make it painful to me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as described in your letter, is, 'the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels. To me, it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise: and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

"I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation: and, I believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command and return to a more honourable private station.

"With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be" &c.

rcepted; but several, notwithstanding, broke ough and got into the woods. Many threw mselves into the marsh, some were drowned, others perished in the mud: a considerable nber escaped to their lines.

The king's troops displayed great valour through- the whole day. The variety of the ground oc- ioned a succession of small engagements, pur- ts and slaughter, which lasted for many hours. tish discipline, in every instance, triumphed r the native valour of raw troops, who had ne- been in action, and whose officers were unac- uinted with the stratagems of war.

The loss of the British and Hessians was about 0. The killed, wounded and prisoners of the ericans, including those who were drowned, or ished in the woods or mud, considerably ex- ded a thousand. Among the prisoners of the er were two of their general officers, Sulli- n and lord Sterling; 3 colonels, 4 lieutenant co- els, 3 majors, 18 captains, 43 lieutenants, and ensigns. Smallwood's regiment, the officers which were of the best families in the state of yland, sustained a loss of 259 men. The Bri- after their victory were so impetuous, that it s with difficulty they could be restrained from acking the American lines.

n the time of, and subsequent to, the engage- nt, General Washington drew over to Long Is- d the greatest part of his army. After he had lected his principal force there, it was his wish d hope, that Sir William Howe would attempt storm the works on the Island. These, though ufficient to stand a regular siege, were strong ough to resist a coup de main. The remem- ance of Bunker's-hill, and a desire to spare his n, restrained the British General, from making assault. On the contrary he made demonstra- ns of proceeding by siege, and broke ground him three hundred yards to the left, at Put- n's redoubt. Though General Washington wish- for an assault, yet being certain that his works uld be untenable, when the British batteries ould be fully opened, he called a council of war, consult on the measures proper to be taken. It s then determined, that the objects in view were no degree proportioned to the dangers, to which, a continuation on the island, they would be ex- sed. Conformably to this opinion, dispositions re made for an immediate retreat. This com- nced soon after it was dark, from two points, e upper and lower ferries on the East river. Gen. Dougal regulated the embarkation at one, and olonel Knox at the other.

The intention of evacuating the island had en so prudently concealed from the Americans, at they knew not whither they were going, but pposed to attack the enemy. The field artillery, ts, baggage, and about 9000 men, were con- yed to the city of New York, over the East river, re than a mile wide, in less than 13 hours, and thout the knowledge of the British, though not 0 yards distant. Providence, in a remarkable nner, favoured the retreat. For some time er the Americans began it, the state of the tide, d a strong northeast wind made it impossible for em to make use of their sail boats: and their ole number of row boats were insufficient for mpleting the business, in the course of the night: t about eleven o'clock, the wind died away, and n after sprang up at south-east, and blew fresh, ich rendered the sail boats of use, and at the ne time made the passage from the Island to the y, direct, easy and expeditious.

Towards morning, an extreme thick fog came , which hovered over Long Island; and, by con- aling the Americans, enabled them to complete ir retreat without interruption, though the day d begun to dawn some time before it was finish- . By a mistake in the transmission of orders, e Americ n lines were evacuated for about three arters of an hour before the last embarkation ok place: but the British, though so near that ir working parties could be distinctly heard, be- g enveloped in the fog, knew nothing of the mat- . The lines were repossessed, and held till six clock in the morning.

When every thing except some heavy cannon was removed, Gen. Mifflin, who commanded the rear guard, left the lines and under the cover of the fog got off safe. In about half an hour, the fog cleared away, and the British entered the works which had been just relinquished. Had the wind not shifted, the half of the American army could not have crossed; and even as it was, if the fog had not concealed their rear, it must have been discovered, and could hardly have escaped. General Sullivan, who was taken prisoner on Long Island, was immediately sent on parole, with the following verbal message from lord Howe to congress: "that though he could not at present treat with them in that character, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider as private gentlemen; that he, with his brother, the General, had full power to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both; that he wished a compact might be settled, at a time when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say it was compelled to enter into such agreement; that were they disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted; and that if upon conference they found any probable ground of accommodation, the authority of congress would be afterwards acknowledged to render the treaty complete."

Three days after this message was received, General Sullivan was requested to inform lord Howe: "that congress, being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body, to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress, for that purpose, on behalf of America, and what that authority is; and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same." They elected Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, their committee for this purpose.

In a few days they met lord Howe, on Staten Island, and were received with great politeness. On their return they made a report of their conference, which they summed up by saying; it did not appear to your committee that his lordship's commission contained any other authority than that expressed in the act of parliament; namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace, on submission. For, as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, after all, might, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of; we apprehend any expectation, from the effect of such a power, would have been too uncertain and precarious, to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence." Lord Howe had ended the conference on his part, by expressing his regard for America, and the extreme pain he would suffer in being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded. Dr. Franklin thanked him for his regards, and assured him that the Americans would show their gratitude, by endeavoring to lessen as much as possible, all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities, in taking good care of themselves.

The committee in every respect, maintained the dignity of congress. Their conduct and sentiments were such as became their character. The friends to independence rejoiced that nothing resulted from this interview, that might disunite the people. Congress, trusting to the good sense of their countrymen, ordered the whole to be printed for their information. All the states would have then rejoiced at less beneficial terms than they obtained about seven years after: but Great Britain counted on the certainty of their absolute conquest, or unconditional submission. Her offers, therefore, comported so little with the feelings of America, that they neither caused demur nor disunion, among the new formed states.

The unsuccessful termination of the action on the 27th led to consequences more seriously alarming to the Americans, than the loss of their men. The army was universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies. Their example infected the regular regiments. The loose footing on which the militia came to camp, made it hazardous to exercise over them that discipline, without which, any army is a mob. To restrain one part of an army, while another claimed and exercised the right of doing as they pleased, was no less impracticable than absurd.

A council of war recommended to act on the defensive, and not to risk the army for the sake of New York. To retreat, subjected the commander in chief to reflections painful to bear, and yet impolitic to refute. To stand his ground, and, by suffering himself to be surrounded, to hazard the fate of America on one decisive engagement, was contrary to every rational plan of defending the wide-extended states committed to his care. A middle line, between abandoning and defending, was therefore for a short time adopted. The public stores were removed to Dobbs's ferry, about twenty-six miles from New York. Twelve thousand men were ordered to the northern extremity of New York island, and 4,500 to remain for the defence of the city; while the remainder occupied the intermediate space, with orders, either to support the city, or Kingsbridge, as exigencies might require.

Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked. This made it necessary to erect works for the defence of a variety of places, as well as of New York. Though every thing was abandoned, when the crisis came that either the city must be relinquished, or the army risked for its defence; yet from the delays occasioned by the redoubts and other works, which had been erected on the idea of making the defence of the states a war of posts, a whole campaign was lost to the British, and saved to the Americans. The year began with hopes that Great Britain would recede from her demands, and therefore every plan of defence was on a temporary system. The declaration of independence, which the violence of Great Britain forced the colonies to adopt in July, though neither foreseen nor intended at the commencement of the year, pointed out the necessity of organizing an army, on new terms, correspondent to the enlarged objects for which they had resolved to contend. Congress accordingly determined to raise 88 battalions, to serve during the war.

Under these circumstances, to wear away the campaign, with as little misfortune as possible, and thereby to gain time for raising a permanent army against the next year, was to the Americans a matter of the last importance. Though the commander in chief abandoned those works, which had engrossed much time and attention, yet the advantage resulting from the delays they occasioned far overbalanced the expense incurred by their erection.

The same short sighted politicians, who had before censured General Washington, for his cautious conduct, in not storming the British lines at Boston, renewed their clamours against him, for adopting this evacuating and retreating system. Supported by a consciousness of his own integrity, and by a full conviction that those measures were best calculated for securing the independence of America, he, for the good of his country, voluntarily subjected his fame to be overshadowed by a temporary cloud.

General Howe, having prepared every thing for a descent on New York island, began to land his men under cover of ships of war, between Kepp's bay and Turtle bay. A breast work had been erected in the vicinity, and a party stationed in it

o oppose the British, in case of their attempting to land. But on the first appearance of danger, they ran off in confusion. The commander in chief came up and in vain attempted to rally them. Though the British in sight did not exceed sixty, he could not, either by example, intreaty, or authority, prevail on a superior force to stand their ground, and face that inconsiderable number.

On the day after this shameful flight of part of the American army, a skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and Highlanders, commanded by Brigadier Leslie, and some detachments from the American army, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and Major Leitch, of Virginia. The colonel was killed, and the major badly wounded. Their men behaved with great bravery, and fairly beat their adversaries from the field. Most of these were the same men, who had disgraced themselves the day before, by running away. Struck with a sense of shame for their late misbehaviour, they had offered themselves as volunteers, and requested the commander in chief to give them an oportunity to retrieve their honour. Their good conduct, at this second engagement, proved an antidote to the poison of their example on the preceding day. It demonstrated that the Americans only wanted resolution and good officers to be on a footing with the British; and inspired them with hopes, that a little more experience would enable them to assume not only the name and garb, but the spirit and firmness of soldiers.

The Americans, having evacuated the city of New York, a brigade of the British army marched into it. They had been only a few days in possession, when a dreadful fire broke out and consumed about a thousand houses. Dry weather, and a brisk wind, spread the flames to such an extent, that, had it not been for great exertions of the troops and sailors, the whole city must have shared the same fate. After the Americans had evacuated New York, they retired to the north end of the island on which that city is erected. In about four weeks, General Howe began to execute a plan for cutting off General Washington's communication with the eastern states, and enclosing him so as to compel a general engagement on the island. With this view, the greater part of the royal army passed through Hellgate, entered the sound, and landed on Throg's neck, in Westchester county.

Two days after they made this movement, General Lee arrived from his late successful command to the southward. He found that there was a prevailing disposition among the officers in the American army for remaining on New York island. A council of war was called, in which General Lee gave such convincing reasons for quitting it, that they resolved immediately to withdraw the bulk of the army. He also pressed the expediency of evacuating fort Washington; but in this he was opposed by General Greene, who argued that the possession of that post would divert a large body of the enemy, from joining their main force, and, in conjunction with fort Lee, would be of great use in covering the transportation of provisions and stores up the North river, for the service of the American troops. He added farther, that the garrison could be brought off at any time, by boats from the Jersey side of the river. His opinion prevailed. Though the system of evacuating and retreating was in general adopted, an exception was made in favour of fort Washington, and 3000 men were assigned for its defence.

The royal army, after a halt of six days, at Throg's neck, advanced near to New Rochelle. On their march they sustained a considerable loss by a party of Americans whom General Lee posted behind a wall. After three days, General Howe moved the right and centre of his army, two miles to the northward of New Rochelle; on the road to the White Plains: there he received a large reinforcement.

General Washington, while retreating from New York island, was careful to make a front towards the British, from East Chester, almost to White Plains, in order to secure the march of those who were behind, and to defend the removal of the sick, the cannon, and stores of his army. In this manner his troops made a line of small detached and entrenched camps, on the several heights and strong grounds from Valentine's hill, on the right, to the vicinity of the White Plains, on the left.

The royal army moved in two columns, and took a position with the Bronx in front; upon which the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains behind intrenchments. A general action was hourly expected, and a considerable one took place, in which several hundreds fell. The Americans were commanded by General M'Dougal, and the British by General Leslie. While they were engaged, the American baggage was moved off in full view of the British army. Soon after this, General Washington changed his front, his left wing stood fast, and his right fell back to some hills. In this position, which was an admirable one in a military point of view, he both desired and expected an action; but General Howe declined it, and drew off his forces towards Dobbs's ferry. The Americans afterwards retired to North Castle.

General Washington, with a part of his army, crossed the North river, and took post in the neighbourhood of fort Lee. A force of about 7500 men, was left at North Castle, under General Lee.

The Americans having retired, Sir William Howe determined to improve the opportunity of their absence, for the reduction of fort Washington. This, the only post the Americans then held on New-York island, was under the command of Colonel Magaw. The royal army made four attacks upon it. The first on the north side, was led on by General Kniphausen. The second on the east by General Matthews, supported by lord Cornwallis. The third was under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Stirling, and the fourth was commanded by lord Percy. The troops under Kniphausen, when advancing to the fort, had to pass through a thick wood, which was occupied by Colonel Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and suffered very much from their well-directed fire.

During the attack, a body of the British light infantry advanced against a party of the Americans, who were annoying them from behind rocks and trees, and obliged them to disperse. Lord Percy carried an advance work on his side; and Lieutenant Colonel Sterling forced his way up a steep height, and took 170 prisoners. Their outworks being carried, the Americans left their lines, and crowded into the fort. Colonel Rahl, who led the right column of Kniphausen's attack, pushed forward, and lodged his column within a hundred yards of the fort, and was there soon joined by the left column; the garrison surrendered on terms of capitulation, by which the men were to be considered as prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side arms. The number of prisoners amounted to 2700. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, was about 1200. Shortly after fort Washington had surrendered, lord Cornwallis, with a considerable force, passed over to attack fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore.

The garrison was saved by an immediate evacuation, but at the expense of their artillery and stores. General Washington, about this time, retreated to Newark. Having abundant reason, from the posture of affairs, to count on the necessity of a farther retreat, he asked Colonel Reed; "should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us?" The Colonel replied, if the lower counties be subdued, and give up, the back counties will do the same. The General replied: "we must retire to Augusta county in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety. We must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war; and, if overpowered, we must cross the Allegany mountain."

While a tide of success was flowing in upon General Howe, he and his brother, as royal commissioners, issued a proclamation, in which they commanded all persons assembled in arms against his majesty's government to disband: and all general or provincial congresses to desist from their treasonable actings, and to relinquish their usurped power." They also declared, "that every person who within sixty days should appear before the governor, lieutenant governor, or commander in chief of any of his majesty's colonies, or before the general or commanding officer of his majesty's forces, and claim the benefit of the proclamation; and testify his obedience to the laws, by subscribing a certain declaration, should obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons by him committed, and of all forfeitures and penalties for the same."

The term of time for which the American soldiers had engaged to serve, ended in November or December; with no other exception, than that of two companies of artillery, belonging to the state of New York, which were engaged for the war. The army had been organized at the close of the preceding year, on the fallacious idea, that an accommodation would take place within a twelvemonth. Even the flying camp, though instituted after the prospect of that event had vanished, was enlisted only to the first of December, from a presumption that the campaign would terminate by that time.

When it was expected that the conquerors would retire to winter quarters, they commenced a new plan of operations more alarming than all their previous conquests. The reduction of fort Washington, the evacuation of fort Lee, and the diminution of the American army, by the departure of those whose term of service had expired encouraged the British, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the badness of the roads, to pursue the remaining inconsiderable continental force, with the prospect of annihilating it. By this turn of affairs, the interior country was surprised into confusion, and found an enemy within its bowels, without a sufficient army to oppose it. To retreat was the only expedient left. This having commenced, lord Cornwallis followed, and was close in the rear of General Washington, as he retreated successively to Newark, to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the one army, pulling down bridges, was often within sight, and shot of the van of the other, building them up.

This retreat into, and through New Jersey, was attended with almost every circumstance that could occasion embarrassment and depression of spirits. It commenced in a few days after the Americans had lost 2700 men in fort Washington. In fourteen days after that event, the whole flying camp claimed their discharge. This was followed by the almost daily departure of others, whose engagements terminated nearly about the same time. A farther disappointment happened to General Washington. Gates had been ordered by congress to send two regiments from Ticonderoga, to reinforce his army. Two Jersey regiments were put under the command of General St. Clair, and forwarded in obedience to this order: but the period for which they were enlisted was expired, and the moment they entered their own state, they went off to a man. A few officers, without a single private, of these two regiments, were all that General St. Clair brought to the aid of the retreating American army. The few, who remained with General Washington, were in a most forlorn condition. They consisted mostly of the troops which had garrisoned fort Lee, and had been compelled to abandon that post so suddenly, that they commenced their retreat without tents or blankets, and without any utensils to dress their provisions. In this situation they performed a march of about ninety miles, and had the address to prolong it to the space of nineteen days.

As the retreating Americans, marched through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them; while numbers were daily flocking to the royal army, to make their peace, and obtain protection. They saw on the one side a numerous

well-appointed, and full-clad army, dazzling their eyes with the elegance of uniformity; on the other, a few poor fellows, who, from their shabby clothing, were called ragmuffins, fleeing for their safety. Not only the common people changed sides in this gloomy state of public affairs; but some of the leading men in New Jersey and Pennsylvania adopted the same expedient. Among these Mr. Galloway, and the family of the Allens in Philadelphia, were most distinguished. The former, and one of the latter, had been members of Congress. In this hour of adversity, they came within the British lines, and surrendered themselves to the conquerors, alleging in justification of their conduct, that though they had joined with their countrymen, in seeking for a redress of grievances in a constitutional way, they had never approved of the measures lately adopted, and were in particular, at all times averse to independence.

On the day General Washington retreated over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island, without any loss, and at the same time blocked up Commodore Hopkins' squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquishing its General; the people giving up the cause; some of their leaders going over to the enemy; and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprise, General Lee was taken prisoner at Baskenbridge, by Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt. This caused a depression of spirits among the Americans, far exceeding any real injury done to their essential interests. He had been repeatedly ordered to come forward with his division, and join General Washington; but these orders were not obeyed. This circumstance, and the dangerous crisis of public affairs, together with his being alone, at some distance from the troops which he commanded, begat suspicions that he chose to fall into the hands of the British. Though these apprehensions were without foundation, they produced the same extensive mischief, as if they had been realities. The Americans had reposed extravagant confidence in his military talents, and experience of regular European war. Merely to have lost such an idol of the states, at any time, would have been distressful; but losing him under circumstances, which favoured an opinion that, despairing of the American cause, he chose to be taken prisoner, was to many an extinguishment of every hope.

By the advance of the British into New Jersey, the neighbourhood of Philadelphia became the seat of war. This prevented that undisturbed attention to public business which the deliberations of Congress required. They therefore adjourned themselves to meet in eight days at Baltimore, resolving at the same time, "that General Washington should be possessed of full powers to order and direct all things, relative to the department, and the operations of war."

The activity of the British at the close of the campaign, seemed in some measure to compensate for their tardiness in the beginning of it.

Hitherto they had succeeded in every scheme. They marched up and down the Jersey side of the Delaware, and through the country without any molestation. All opposition to the re-establishment of royal government seemed to be on the point of expiring. The Americans had thus far acted without system, or rather feebly executed what had been injudiciously adopted. Though the war was changed from its first ground, a redress of grievances, to a struggle for sovereignty, yet some considerable time elapsed, before arrangements conformable to this new system, were adopted; and a much longer, before they were carried into execution.

With the year 1776, a retreating, half-naked army was to be dismissed, and the prospect of a new one was both distant and uncertain. The recently assumed independence of the states, was apparently on the verge of dissolution. It was supposed by many, that the record of their existence would have been no more than, that "a fickle people, impatient of the restraints of regular government, had in a fit of passion, abolished that of Great Britain, and established in its room, free constitutions of their own; but these new establishments, from want of wisdom in their rulers, or of spirit in their people, were no sooner formed than annihilated. The leading men in their respective governments, and the principal members of Congress, for by this name the insurgents distinguished their supreme council, were hanged, and their estates confiscated. Washington, the gallant leader of their military establishments, worthy of a better fate, deserted by his army, abandoned by his country, rushing on the thickest battalions of the foe, provoked a friendly British bayonet to deliver him from an ignominious death."

To human wisdom it appeared probable, that such a paragraph would have closed some small section in the history of England, treating of the American troubles. There is in human affairs an ultimate point of elevation or depression, beyond which they neither grow better nor worse; but turn back in a contrary course.

In proportion as difficulties increased, Congress redoubled its exertions to oppose them. They addressed the states in animated language, calculated to remove their despondency, renew their hopes, and confirm their resolutions.

They, at the same time, despatched gentlemen of character and influence, to excite the militia to take the field. General Mifflin was, on this occasion, particularly useful. He exerted his great abilities, in arousing his fellow citizens, by animated and affectionate addresses, to turn out in defence of their endangered liberties.

Congress also recommended to each of the United States, "to appoint a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, to implore of Almighty God the forgiveness of their many sins, and to beg the countenance and assistance of his providence, in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war."

In the dangerous situation, in which every thing dear to the friends of independence was reduced, congress transferred extraordinary powers to General Washington, by a resolution expressed in the following words:

"The unjust, but determined purpose of the British court, to enslave these free states, obvious through every delusive insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right execution of military power; and the vigorous, decisive conduct of these being impossible to distant, numerous, and deliberative bodies; this Congress, having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigour, and uprightness of General Washington, do hereby—

"Resolve that General Washington shall be, and he is hereby vested with full, ample, and complete powers, to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip 3000 light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers; to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of Brigadier General; and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the states of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them: that the foregoing powers be vested in General Washington, for, and during the term of six months, from the date thereof, unless sooner determined by Congress."

In this hour of extremity, the attention of Congress was employed in devising plans to save the states from sinking under the heavy calamities which were bearing them down. It is remarkable, that, neither in the present condition, though trying and severe, nor in any other since the declaration of independence, was Congress influenced either by force, distress, artifice, or persuasion, to entertain the most distant idea of purchasing peace, by returning to the condition of British subjects. So low were they reduced in the latter end of 1776, that some members distrustful of their ability to resist the power of Great Britain, proposed to authorise their commissioners at the court of France, (whose appointment shall be hereafter explained,) to transfer to that country the same monopoly of their trade, which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed. On examination, it was found, that concessions of this kind would destroy the force of many arguments heretofore used in favour of independence, and probably disunite their citizens.

It was next proposed to offer a monopoly of certain enumerated articles of produce. To this the variant interests of the different states were so directly opposed, as to occasion a speedy and decided negative. Some proposed offering to France, a league offensive and defensive, in case she would heartily support American independence: but this was also rejected. The more enlightened members of Congress argued: "though the friendship of small states might be purchased that of France could not." They alleged, that if she would risk a war with Great Britain, by openly espousing their cause, it would not be so much from the prospect of direct advantages, as from a natural desire to lessen the overgrown power of a dangerous rival. It was therefore supposed, that the only inducement, likely to influence France to an interference, was an assurance that the United States were determined to persevere in refusing a return to their former allegiance. Instead of listening to the terms of the royal commissioners, or to any founded on the idea of their resuming the character of British subjects, it was therefore again resolved, to abide by their declared independence, and proffered freedom of trade to every foreign nation; trusting the event to providence, and risking all consequences. Copies of these resolutions were sent to the principal courts of Europe, and proper persons were appointed to solicit their friendship to the new-formed states. These despatches fell into the hands of the British, and were by them published. This was the very thing wished for by Congress. They well knew that an apprehension of their making up all differences with Great Britain was the principal objection to the interference of foreign courts, in what was represented to be no more than a domestic quarrel. A resolution adopted in the deepest distress and the worst of times, that Congress would listen to no terms of re-union with their parent state, convinced those who wished for the dismemberment of the British empire, that it was sound policy to interfere, so far as would prevent the conquest of the United States.

These judicious determinations in the cabinet were accompanied with vigorous exertions in the field. In this crisis of danger 1500 of the Pennsylvania militia embodied, to reinforce the continental army. The merchant, the farmer, the tradesman, and the labourer, cheerfully relinquished the conveniences of home, to perform the duties of private soldiers, in the severity of a winter campaign. Though most of them were accustomed to the habits of a city life, they slept in tents, barns, and sometimes in the open air, during the cold months of December and January There were, nevertheless, only two instances of sickness, and only one of death, in that large body of men, in the course of six weeks. The delay, so judiciously contrived on the retreat through Jersey, afforded time for these volunteer reinforcements to join General Washington. The number of troops under his command at that time, fluctuated between two and three thousand. To

turn round and face a victorious and numerous foe, with this inconsiderable force, was risking much: but the urgency of the case required that something should be attempted. The recruiting business, for the proposed new continental army, was at a stand, while the British were driving the Americans before them. The present regular soldiers could, as a matter of right, in less than a week, claim their discharge, and scarce a single recruit offered to supply their place. Under these circumstances, the bold resolution was formed, of recrossing into the state of Jersey, and attacking that part of the enemy which was posted at Trenton.

When the Americans retreated over the Delaware, the boats in the vicinity were moved out of the way of their pursuers; this arrested their progress: but the British commanders, in the security of conquest, cantoned their army in Burlington, Bordenton, Trenton, and other towns of New Jersey, in daily expectation of being enabled to cross into Pennsylvania, by means of ice, which is generally formed about that time.

Of all events, none seemed to them more improbable, than that their late retreating, half-naked enemies, should, in this extreme cold season, face about and commence offensive operations. They indulged themselves in a degree of careless inattention to the possibility of a surprise, which, in the vicinity of an enemy, however contemptible, can never be justified. It has been said that Colonel Rahl, the commanding officer in Trenton, being under some apprehension for that frontier post, applied to General Grant for a reinforcement, and that General returned for answer: "Tell the colonel, he is very safe. I will undertake to keep the peace in New Jersey, with a corporal's guard."

In the evening of Christmas day General Washington made arrangements for re-crossing the Delaware in three divisions; at M'Konkey's ferry; at Trenton ferry; and at or near Bordenton. The troops which were to have crossed at the two last places, were commanded by Generals Ewing and Cadwalade, who made every exertion to get over: but the quantity of ice was so great, that they could not effect their purpose. The main body which was commanded by General Washington, crossed at M'Konkey's ferry: but the ice in the river retarded its passage so long, that it was three o'clock in the morning, before the artillery could be gotten over. On landing in Jersey, it was formed into two divisions, commanded by Generals Sullivan and Green, who had under their command Brigadiers lord Stirling, Mercer and St. Clair. One of the divisions were ordered to proceed on the lower, or river road, the other on the upper, or Pennington road. Colonel Stark, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town which is beyond the bridge. The divisions having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered, immediately on forcing the out guards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though they marched different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post, within three minutes of each other. The out guards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back; but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body, being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton: but were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding themselves surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted was 23 officers and 886 men. Between 30 and 40 of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rahl was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans, were wounded. Two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death. The detachment in Trenton consisted of the regiments of Rahl, Losberg, and Knipliausen, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, and a troop of British light horse. All these were killed or captured, except about 600, who escaped by the road leading to Bordenton.

The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington, therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to recross into Pennsylvania with his prisoners.

The effects of this successful enterprise were speedily felt in recruiting the American army. About 1400 regular soldiers, whose time of service was on the point of expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, on a promised gratuity of ten paper dollars to each. Men of influence were sent to different parts of the country to rouse the militia. The rapine and impolitic conduct of the British operated more forcibly on the inhabitants, to expel them from the state, than either patriotism, or persuasion to prevent their overrunning it.

The Hessian prisoners taken on the 26th being secured, General Washington re-crossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. The detachments, which had been distributed over New Jersey, previous to the capture of the Hessians, immediately after that event, assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick, under lord Cornwallis. From this position, Jan. 2d. 1776, they proceeded towards Trenton in great force, hoping by a vigorous onset to repair the injury their cause had sustained by the late defeat. Truly delicate was the situation of the feeble American army. To retreat was to hazard the city of Philadelphia, and to destroy every ray of hope which had begun to dawn from their late success. To risk an action, with a superior force in front, and a river in rear, was dangerous in the extreme. To get round the advanced party of the British, and, by pushing forwards, to attack in their rear, was deemed preferable to either. The British, on their advance from Princeton, about 4 P. M. attacked a body of Americans posted with four field pieces, a little to the northward of Trenton, and compelled them to retreat. The pursuing British, being checked, at the bridge over Sanpink creek, which runs through that town, by some field pieces, posted on the opposite banks of that rivulet, fell back so far as to be out of reach of the cannon, and kindled their fires.

The Americans were drawn up on the other side of the creek, and in that position remained till night, cannonading the enemy and receiving their fire. In this critical hour, two armies, on which the success or failure of the American revolution materially depended, were crowded into the small village of Trenton, and only separated by a creek, in many places fordable. The British, believing they had all the advantages they could wish for, and that they could use them when they pleased, discontinued all farther operations, and kept themselves in readiness to make the attack next morning. Sir William Erskine is reported to have advised an immediate attack, or at least to place a strong guard at a bridge over Sanpink creek, which lay in the route the Americans took to Princeton; giving for a reason that, otherwise, Washington, if a good general, would make a move to the left of the royal army, and attack the post at Princeton in the rear.

The next morning presented a scene as brilliant on the one side, as it was unexpected on the other. Soon after it became dark, General Washington ordered all his baggage to be silently removed, and having left guards for the purpose of deception, marched with his whole force, by a circuitous route, to Princeton. This manœuvre was determined upon in a council of war, from a conviction that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat, and at the same time the hazard of an action in a bad position; and that it was the most likely way to preserve the city of Philadelphia, from falling into the hands of the British. General Washington also presumed, that from an eagerness to efface the impressions, made by the late capture of the Hessians at Trenton, the British commanders had pushed forward their principal force, and that of course the remainder in the rear at Princeton was not more than equal to his own. The event verified this conjecture. The more effectually to disguise the departure of the Americans from Trenton, fires were lighted up in front of their camp. These not only gave appearance of going to rest, but, as flame cannot be seen through, concealed from the British what was transacting behind them. In this relative position they were a pillar of fire to the one army, and a pillar of a cloud to the other.

Providence favoured this movement of the Americans. The weather had been for some time so warm and moist, that the ground was soft, and the roads so deep as to be scarcely passable: but the wind suddenly changed to the north-west, and the ground in a short time was frozen so hard, that when the Americans took up their line of march, they were no more retarded, than if they had been upon a solid pavement.

General Washington reached Princeton early in the morning, January 3, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party, which was on their way to Trenton, descried his troops when they were two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their unsuspecting fellow soldiers in their rear. These consisted of the 17th the 40th, and 55th regiment of British infantry, some of the royal artillery with two field pieces, and three troops of light dragoons. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, while on their line of march, was briskly charged by a party of the British, and gave way in disorder. The moment was critical. General Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British; with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand, and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either.

A party of the British fled into the college, and were there attacked with field pieces which were fired into it. The seat of the muses became for some time the scene of action. The party, which had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from the American field pieces, came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

In the course of the engagement sixty of the British were killed, a greater number wounded and about 300 of them taken prisoners. The rest made their escape, some by pushing on towards Trenton, others by returning towards Brunswick. The Americans lost only a few: but Colonels Haslet and Potter, and Captain Neal of the artillery, were among the slain. General Mercer received three bayonet wounds, of which he died in a short time. He was a Scotchman by birth: but from principle and affection had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country, with a zeal equal to that of any of its native sons. In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in the public esteem.

While they were fighting at Princeton, the British in Trenton were under arms, and on the point of making an assault on the evacuated camp of the Americans. With so much address had the movement to Princeton been conducted, that though from the critical situation of the two armies every ear may be supposed to have been open, and every watchfulness to have been employed, yet General Washington moved completely off the ground, with his whole force, stores, baggage and artillery, unknown to, and unsuspected by his adversaries. The British in Trenton, were so entirely deceived, that when they heard the report of the artillery at Princeton, though it was in the depth of winter, they supposed it to be thunder.

That part of the royal army, which, having escaped from Princeton, retreated towards New Brunswick, was pursued for three or four miles. Another party which had advanced as far as Maidenhead, on their way to Trenton, hearing the frequent discharge of fire arms in their rear wheeled round and marched to the aid of the

companions. The Americans, by destroying bridges, retarded these, though close in their rear so long as to gain time for themselves to move off, in good order, to Pluckemin.

So great was the consternation of the British at these unexpected movements, that they instantly evacuated both Trenton and Princeton, and retreated with their whole force to New Brunswick. The American militia collected, and, forming themselves into parties, waylaid their enemies, and cut them off whensoever an opportunity presented. In a few days they overran the Jerseys. General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown, and took near 100 prisoners. Newark was abandoned: and the late conquerers were forced to leave Woodbridge. The royal troops were confined to Amboy and Brunswick, which held a water communication with New York. Thus, in the short space of a month, that part of Jersey, which lies between New Brunswick and Delaware, was both overrun by the British, and recovered by the Americans. The retreat of the continental army, the timid policy of the Jersey farmers, who chose rather to secure their property by submission, than defend it by resistance, made the British believe their work was done, and that little else remained, but to reap a harvest of plunder as the reward of their labours. Unrestrained by the terrors of civil law, uncontrolled by the severity of discipline, and elated with their success, the soldiers of the royal army, and particularly the Hessians, gave full scope to the selfish and ferocious passions of human nature. A conquered country and submitting inhabitants presented easy plunder, equal to their unbounded rapacity. Infants, children, old men and women, were stripped of their blankets and clothing. Furniture was burnt or otherwise destroyed. Domestic animals were carried off, and the people robbed of their necessary household provisions. The rapes and brutalities committed on women, and even on very young girls, would shock the ears of modesty if particularly recited. These violences were perpetrated on inhabitants who had remained in their houses, and received printed protections, signed by order of the commander in chief. It was in vain that they produced these protections as a safeguard. The Hessians could not read them; and the British soldiers thought they were entitled to a share of the booty, equally with their foreign associates.

Such, in all ages, has been the complexion of the bulk of armies, that immediate and severe punishments are indispensibly necessary, to keep them from flagrant enormities. That discipline, without which an army is a band of armed plunderers, was, as far as respected the inhabitants, either neglected, or but feebly administered in the royal army. The soldiers finding they might take with impunity what they pleased, were more strongly urged by avarice, than checked by policy or fear. Had every citizen been secured in his rights, protected in his property, and paid for his supplies, the consequences might have been fatal to the hopes of those who were attached to independence. What the warm recommendations of Congress, and the ardent applications of General Washington could not effect, took place of its own accord, in consequence of the plunderings and devastations of the royal army.

The whole country became instantly hostile to the invaders. Sufferers of all parties rose, as one man, to revenge their personal injuries. Those, who, from age or infirmities were incapable of bearing arms, kept a strict watch on the movements of the royal army, and, from time to time, communicated information to their countrymen in arms. Those who lately declined all military opposition, though called upon by the sacred tie of honour pledged to each other on the declaration of independence, cheerfully embodied, when they found submission to be unavailing for the security of their estates. This was not done originally in consequence of the victories of Trenton and Princeton. In the very moment of these actions, or before the news of them had circulated, sundry individuals, unknowing of General Washington's movements, were concerting private insurrections, to revenge themselves on the plunderers. The dispute originated about property, or in other words, about the right of taxation. From the same source, at this time, it received a new and forcible impulse. The farmer, who could not trace the consequences of British taxation, nor of American independence, felt the injuries he sustained from the depredation of licentious troops. The militia of New Jersey, who had hitherto behaved most shamefully, from this time forward redeemed their character, and, throughout a tedious war, performed services with a spirit and discipline, in many respects, equal to that of regular soldiers.

The victories of Trenton and Princeton seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead, to the desponding friends of independence. A melancholy gloom had, in the first twenty-five days of December, overspread the United States; but, from the memorable era of the 26th of the same month, their prospects began to brighten. The recruiting service, which for some time had been at a stand, was successfully renewed: and hopes were soon indulged, that the commander in chief would be enabled to take the field in the spring, with a permanent regular force. General Washington retired to Morristown, that he might afford shelter to his suffering army. The American militia had sundry successful skirmishes with detachments of their adversaries. Within four days after the affair at Princeton, between forty and fifty Waldeckers were killed, wounded, or taken, at Springfield, by an equal number of the same New Jersey militia, which, but a month before, suffered the British to overrun their country without opposition. This enterprise was conducted by Colonel Spencer, whose gallantry, on the occasion, was rewarded with the command of a regiment.

During the winter movements, which have been just related, the soldiers of both armies underwent great hardships; but the Americans suffered by far the greatest. Many of them were without shoes, though marching over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that each step was marked with blood. There was scarcely a tent in the whole army. The city of Philadelphia had been twice laid under contribution, to provide them with blankets. Officers had been appointed to examine every house, and, after leaving a scanty covering for the family, to bring off the rest, for the use of the troops in the field; but, notwithstanding these exertions, the quantity procured was far short of decency, much less of comfort.

The officers and soldiers of the American army were about this time inoculated in their cantonment at Morristown. As very few of them had ever had the small pox, the inoculation was nearly universal. The disorder had previously spread among them in the natural way, and proved mortal to many; but after inoculation was introduced, though whole regiments were inoculated in a day, there was little or no mortality from the small pox; and the disorder was so slight, that, from the beginning to the end of it, there was not a single day in which they could not, and, if called upon, would not have turned out and fought the British. To induce the inhabitants to accommodate officers and soldiers in their houses, while under the small pox, they and their families were inoculated gratis by the military surgeons. Thus, in a short time, the whole army, and the inhabitants in and near Morristown, were subjected to the small pox, and with very little inconvenience to either.

Three months, which followed the actions of Trenton and Princeton, passed away without any important military enterprise on either side. Maj. Gen. Putnam was directed to take post at Princeton, and cover the country in the vicinity. He had only a few hundred troops, though he was no more than eighteen miles distant from the strong garrison of the British at Brunswick. At one period he had fewer men for duty, than he had miles of frontier to guard. The situation of General Washington at Morristown was not more eligible. His force was trifling, when compared with that of the British; but the enemy, and his own countrymen, believed the contrary. Their deception was cherished, and artfully continued by the specious parade of a considerable army. The American officers took their station in positions of difficult access, and kept up a constant communication with each other. This secured them from insult and surprise. While they covered the country, they harassed the foraging parties of the British, and often attacked them with success. Of a variety of these, the two following are selected as most worthy of notice. General Dickinson, with four hundred Jersey militia, and fifty of the Pennsylvania riflemen, crossed Millstone river, near Somerset court-house, and attacked a large foraging party of the British, with so much spirit, that they abandoned their convoy and fled. Nine of them were taken prisoners. Forty wagons, and upwards of one hundred horses, with a considerable booty, fell into the hands of the general. While the British were loading their wagons, a single man began to fire on them from the woods. He was soon joined by more of his neighbours, who could not patiently see their property carried away. After the foragers had been annoyed for some time by these unseen marksmen, they fancied, on the appearance of General Dickinson, that they were attacked by a superior force, and began a precipitate flight.

In about a month after the affair at Somerset court-house, Colonel Nelson, of Brunswick, with a detachment of 150 militia men, surprised and captured at Lawrence's Neck, a major and fifty-nine privates of the refugees, who were in British pay.

Throughout the campaign of 1776, an uncommon degree of sickness raged in the American army. Husbandmen, transferred at once from the conveniences of domestic life, to the hardships of a field encampment, could not accommodate themselves to the sudden change. The southern troops sickened from the want of salt provisions. Linen shirts were generally worn, in contact with the skin. The salutary influence of flannel, in preventing the diseases of camps, was either unknown or disregarded. The discipline of the army was too feeble to enforce those regulations which experience has proved to be indispensably necessary, for preserving the health of large bodies of men collected together. Cleanliness was also too much neglected. On the 8th of August, the whole American army before New York, consisting of 17,225 men; but of that number only 10,514 were fit for duty. The numerous sick suffered much from the want of necessaries. Hurry and confusion added much to their distresses. There was besides a real want of the requisites for their relief.

A proper hospital establishment was beyond the abilities of Congress, especially as the previous arrangements were not entered upon till the campaign had begun. Many, perhaps some thousands, of the American army, were swept off in a few months by sickness. The country every where presented the melancholy sight of soldiers suffering poverty and disease, without the aid of medicine or attendance. Those who survived gave such accounts of the sufferings of the sick, as greatly discouraged the recruiting service. A rage for plundering, under the pretence of taking tory property, infected many of the common soldiery, and even some of the officers. The army had been formed on such principles, in some of the states, that commissions were, in several instances, bestowed on persons who had no pretensions to the character of gentlemen. Several of the officers were chosen by their own men; and they often preferred those from whom they expected the greatest indulgences. In other cases, the choice of the men was in favour of those who had consented to throw their pay into a joint stock with the privates, from which officers and men drew equal shares.

The army, consisting mostly of new recruits and inexperienced officers, and being only engaged for a twelvemonth, was very deficient in that mechanism and discipline, which time and expe-

rience bestowed on veteran troops. General Washington was unremitting in his representations to Congress, favouring such alterations as promised permanency, order, and discipline in the army: but his judicious opinions on these subjects were slowly adopted. The sentiments of liberty which then generally prevailed, made some distinguished members of Congress so distrustful of the future power and probable designs of a permanent domestic army, that they had well nigh sacrificed their country to their jealousies.

The unbounded freedom of the savage, who roams the woods, must be restrained, when he becomes a citizen of orderly government; and, from the necessity of the case, must be much more so, when he submits to be a soldier. The individuals, composing the army of America, could not at once pass over from the full enjoyment of civil liberty to the discipline of a camp, nor could the leading men in Congress for some time be persuaded to adopt energetic establishments. "God forbid," would such say, "that the citizens should be so far lost in the soldiers of our army, that they should give over longing for the enjoyments of domestic happiness. Let frequent furloughs be granted, rather than the endearments of wives and children should cease to allure the individuals of our army from camps to farms." The amiableness of this principle veiled the error of the sentiment. The minds of the civil leaders in the councils of America were daily occupied, in contemplating the rights of human nature, and investigating arguments on the principles of general liberty, to justify their own opposition to Great Britain.—Warmed with these ideas, they trusted too much to the virtue of their countrymen, and were backward to enforce that subordination and order in their army, which, though it intrenches on civil liberty, produces effects in the military line unequalled by the effusions of patriotism, or the exertions of undisciplined valour.

The experience of two campaigns evinced the folly of trusting the defence of the country to militia, or to levies raised only for a few months, and had induced a resolution for recruiting an army for the war. The good effects of this measure will appear in the sequel.

The campaign of 1776 did not end till it had been protracted into the first month of the year 1777. The British had counted on the complete and speedy reduction of their late colonies; but they found the work more difficult of execution, than was supposed. They wholly failed in their designs on the southern states. In Canada, they recovered what, in the preceding year, they had lost; drove the Americans out of their borders, and destroyed their fleet on the lakes; but they failed in making their intended impression on the northwestern frontier of the states. They obtained possession of Rhode Island: but the acquisition was of little service; perhaps was of detriment. For nearly three years, several thousand men stationed thereon, for its security, were lost to every purpose of active co-operation with the royal forces in the field, and the possession of it secured no equivalent advantages. The British completely succeeded against the city of New York, and the adjacent country; but when they pursued their victories into New Jersey, and subdivided their army, the recoiling Americans soon recovered the greatest part of what they had lost.

Sir William Howe, after having nearly reached Philadelphia, was confined to limits so narrow, that the fee simple of all he commanded would not reimburse the expense incurred by its conquest.

The war, on the part of the Americans, was but barely begun. Hitherto they had engaged with temporary forces, for a redress of grievances: but towards the close of this year they made arrangements for raising a permanent army, to contend with Great Britain for the sovereignty of the country. To have thus far stood their ground, with their new levies, was a matter of great importance. To them delay was victory; and not to be conquered was to conquer.

HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Of Independence, State Constitutions, and the Confederation.

If it be lawful for individuals to relinquish their native soil, and pursue their own happiness in other regions, and under other political associations, the settlers of New England were always so far independent, as to owe no obedience to their parent state, but such as resulted from their voluntary assent. What, for several centuries after the christian era, would have been called the institution of a new government, was by modern refinement denominated only an extension of the old, in the form of a dependent colony. Though the prevailing ecclesiastical and political creeds tended to degrade the condition of the settlers of New England, yet there was always a party there which believed in their natural right to independence.—They recurred to first principles, and argued, that, as they received from government nothing more than a charter, founded on idle claims of sovereignty, they owed it no other obedience than what was derived from express, or implied contract. It was not till the 18th century had more than half elapsed, that it occurred to any number of the colonists, that they had an interest in being detached from Great Britain. Their attention was first turned to this subject, by the British claim of taxation. This opened a melancholy prospect, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. The Boston port act, and the other acts, passed in 1774 and 1775, which have been already the subject of comment, progressively weakened the attachment of the colonists, to the birth place of their forefathers. The commencement of hostilities on the 19th of April, 1775, exhibited the parent state in an odious point of view, and abated the original dread of separating from it. But nevertheless, at that time, and for a twelvemonth after, a majority of the colonists wished for no more than to be re-established as subjects, in their ancient rights.

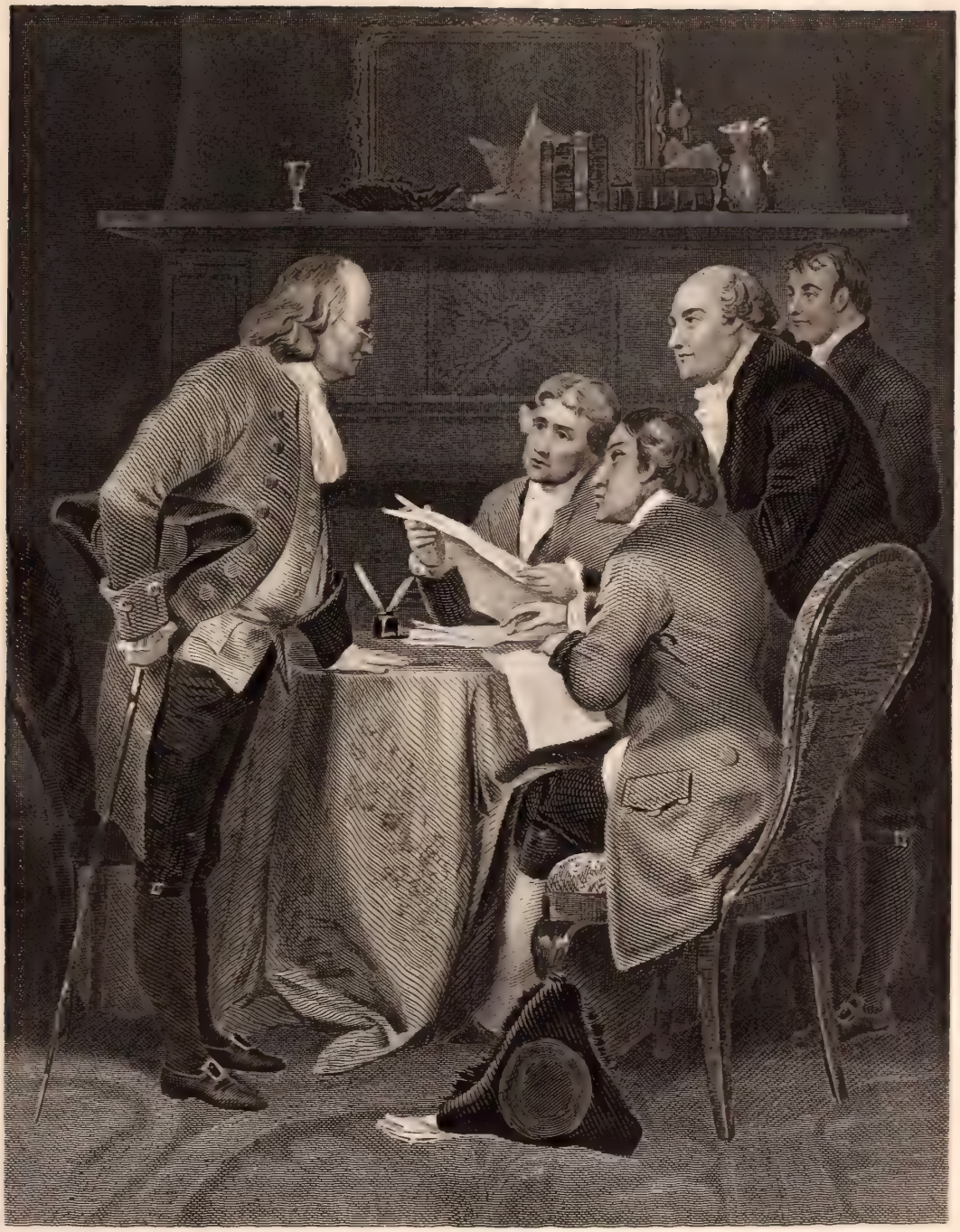
In 1776, the colonists began to take other ground, and contend that it was for their interest to be forever separated from Great Britain. In favour of this opinion, it was said, that, in case of their continuing subjects, the mother country, though she redressed their grievances, might at pleasure repeat similar oppressions; that she ought not to be trusted, having twice resumed the exercise of taxation, after it had been apparently relinquished.—The favourers of separation also urged, that Great Britain was jealous of their increasing numbers, and rising greatness; that she would not exercise government for their benefit, but for her own; and that the only permanent security for American happiness was, to deny her the power of interfering with their government or commerce. To effect this purpose, they were of opinion, that it was necessary to cut the knot, which connected the two countries, by a public renunciation of all political connexions between them.

The Americans about this time began to be influenced by new views. The military arrangements of the preceding year; their unexpected union, and prevailing enthusiasm, expanded the minds of their leaders, and elevated the sentiments of the people. Decisive measures, which would have been lately reprobated, now met with approbation.

The favourers of subordination under the former constitution urged the advantages of a supreme head, to control the disputes of interfering colonies, and also the benefits which flowed from union: that independence was untried ground, and should not be entered upon, but in the last extremity.

They flattered themselves that Great Britain was so fully convinced of the determined spirit of America, that if the present controversy were compromised, she would not, at any future period, resume an injurious exercise of her supremacy. They were therefore for proceeding no farther than to defend themselves in the character of subjects, trusting that ere long the present hostile measures would be relinquished, and the harmony of the two countries re-established. The favourers of this system were embarrassed, and all their arguments weakened, by the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes of coercion. A probable hope of a speedy repeal of a few acts of parliament would have greatly increased the number of those who were advocates for reconciliation: but the certainty of intelligence to the contrary, gave additional force to the arguments of the opposite party. Though new weight was daily thrown into the scale, in which the advantages of independence weighed, yet it did not preponderate till about that time in 1776, when intelligence reached the colonists of the act of parliament passed in December, 1775, for throwing them out of British protection, and of hiring foreign troops to assist in affecting their conquest. Respecting the first it was said, "that protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and that the refusal of the first was a legal ground of justification for withholding the last." They considered themselves to be thereby discharged from their allegiance, and that to declare themselves independent, was no more than to announce to the world the real political state in which Great Britain had placed them.

This act proved that the colonists might constitutionally declare themselves independent; but the hiring of foreign troops to make war upon them, demonstrated the necessity of their doing it immediately. They reasoned that if Great Britain called in the aid of strangers to crush them, they must seek similar relief for their own preservation. They well knew that this could not be expected while they were in arms against their acknowledged sovereign. They had therefore only a choice of difficulties, and must either seek foreign aid as



independent states, or continue in the awkward and hazardous situation of subjects, carrying on war from their own resources, both against their king, and such mercenaries as he chose to employ for their subjugation. Necessity, not choice, forced them on the decision. Submission without obtaining a redress of their grievances was advocated by none who possessed the public confidence. Some of the popular leaders may have secretly wished for independence from the beginning of the controversy; but their number was small, and their sentiments were not generally known.

While the public mind was balancing on this eventful subject, several writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Among these, Thomas Paine, in a pamphlet under the signature of Common Sense, held the most distinguished rank. The style, manner, and language of this performance were calculated to interest the passions, and to rouse all the active powers of human nature. With the view of operating on the sentiments of a religious people, scripture was pressed into his service; and the powers, and even the name of a king, were rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous colonists, who had read and studied the history of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government, instituted by heaven itself, and the oppressions to which they were subjected in consequence of their lusting after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for prepossessing the colonists in favour of republican institutions, and prejudicing them against kingly government. Hereditary succession was turned into ridicule. The absurdity of subjecting a great continent to a small island, on the other side of the globe, was represented in such striking language, as to interest the honour and pride of the colonists, in renouncing the government of Great Britain. The necessity, the advantages, and practicability of independence were forcibly demonstrated.

Nothing could be better timed than this performance. It was addressed to freemen, who had just received convincing proof, that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and seriously designed to compel their unconditional submission to her unlimited power. It found the colonists most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer any thing that promised their establishment. In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced surprising effects. Many thousands were convinced, and were led to approve and long for a separation from the mother country. Though that measure, a few months before, was not only foreign from their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current suddenly became so strong in its favour, that it bore down all opposition. The multitude was hurried down the stream: but some worthy men could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea of an eternal separation from a country, to which they had long been bound by the most endearing ties. They saw the sword drawn; but could not tell when it would be sheathed. They feared that the dispersed individuals of the several colonies would not be brought to coalesce under an efficient government, and that after much anarchy some future Cæsar would grasp their liberties, and confirm himself in a throne of despotism. They doubted the perseverance of their countrymen in effecting their independence, and were also apprehensive that, in case of success, their future condition would be less happy than their past.

Some respectable individuals, whose principles were pure, but whose souls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, shrunk back from the bold measures proposed by their more adventurous countrymen. To submit without an appeal to heaven, though secretly wished for by some, was not the avowed sentiment of any; but to persevere in petitioning and resisting was the system of some misguided, honest men. The favourers of this opinion were generally wanting in that decision which grasps at great objects, and influenced by that timid policy, which does its work by halves. Most of them dreaded the power of Britain. A few, on the score of interest or an expectancy of favours from the royal government, refused to concur with the general voice. Some of the natives of the parent state, who, having lately settled in the colonies, had not yet exchanged European for American ideas, together with a few others, conscientiously opposed the measures of Congress: but the great bulk of the people, and especially of the spirited and independent part of the community, came with surprising unanimity into the project of independence.

The eagerness for independence resulted more from feeling than reasoning. The advantages of an unfettered trade, the prospect of honours and emoluments in administering a new goverment, were of themselves insufficient motives for adopting this bold measure. But what was wanting from considerations of this kind, was made up by the perseverence of Great Britain, in her schemes of coercion and conquest. The determined resolution of the mother country to subdue the colonists, together with the plans she adopted for accomplishing that purpose, and their equally determined resolution to appeal to heaven rather than submit, made a declaration of independence as necessary in 1776, as was the non-importation agreement of 1774, or the assumption of arms in 1775. The last naturally resulted from the first. The revolution was not forced on the people by ambitious leaders grasping at supreme power; but every measure of it was forced on Congress, by the necessity of the case, and the voice of the people. The change of the public mind of America, respecting connexion with Great Britain, is without a parallel. In the short space of two years, nearly three millions of people passed over from the love and duty of loyal subjects, to the hatred and resentment of enemies.

The motion for declaring the colonies free and independent, was first made in Congress, June 7, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. He was warranted in making this motion by the particular instructions of his immediate constituents, and also by the general voice of the people of all the states. When the time for taking the subject under consideration arrived, much knowledge, ingenuity and eloquence were displayed on both sides of the question. The debates were continued for some time, and with great animation. In these John Adams and John Dickinson took leading and opposite parts. The former began one of his speeches, by an invocation of the god of eloquence, to assist him in defending the claims, and enforcing the duty of his countrymen. He strongly urged the immediate dissolution of all political connexion of the colonies with Great Britain, from the voice of the people, from the necessity of the measure in order to obtain foreign assistance, from a regard to consistency, and from the prospects of glory and happiness, which opened beyond the war, to a free and independent people. Mr. Dickinson replied to this speech. He began by observing, that the member from Massachusetts, Mr. Adams, had introduced his defence of the declaration of independence by invoking a heathen god; but that he should begin his objections to it, by solemnly invoking the Governor of the universe, so to influence the minds of the members of Congress, that if the proposed measure were for the benefit of America, nothing which he should say against it might make the least impression. He then urged that the present time was improper for the declaration of independence; that the war might be conducted with equal vigour without it; that it would divide the Americans, and unite the people of Great Britain against them. He then proposed that some assurance should be obtained of assistance from a foreign power, before they renounced their connexion with Great Britain; and that the declaration of independence should be the condition to be offered for this assistance. He likewise stated the disputes that existed between several of the colonies, and proposed that some measures for the settlement of them should be determined upon, before they lost sight of that tribunal, which had hitherto been the umpire of all their differences.

After a full discussion, the measure of declaring the colonies free and independent was approved, July 4th, by nearly an unanimous vote. The anniversary of the day, on which this great event took place, has ever since been consecrated by the Americans to religious gratitude, and social pleasures. It is considered by them as the birth-day of their freedom.

The act of the united colonies, for separating themselves from the government of Great Britain, and declaring their independence, was expressed in the following words:

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations: all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accomodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together Legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected: whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states: for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

"For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country; to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

"NEW HAMPSHIRE,	Josiah Bartlett,
	William Whipple,
	Matthew Thornton.
"MASSACHUSETTS BAY,	Samuel Adams,
	John Adams.
"MASSACHUSETTS,	Robert Treat Paine,
	Elbridge Gerry.
"RHODE ISLAND, &c.	Stephen Hopkins,
	William Ellery.
"CONNECTICUT,	Roger Sherman,
	Samuel Huntington,
	William Williams,
	Oliver Wolcott.
"NEW YORK,	William Floyd,
	Philip Livingston,
	Francis Lewis,
	Lewis Morris.
"NEW JERSEY,	Richard Stockton,
	John Witherspoon,
	Francis Hopkinson,
	John Hart,
	Abraham Clark.
"PENNSYLVANIA,	Robert Morris,
	Benjamin Rush,
	Benjamin Franklin,
	John Morton,
	George Clymer,
	James Smith,
	George Taylor,
	James Wilson,
	George Ross.
"DELAWARE,	Cæsar Rodney,
	Thomas M'Kean,
	George Read.
"MARYLAND,	Samuel Chase,
	William Paca,
	Thomas Stone,
	Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
"VIRGINIA,	George Wythe,
	Richard Henry Lee,
	Thomas Jefferson,
	Benjamin Harrison,
	Thomas Nelson, junr.
	Francis Lightfoot Lee,
	Carter Braxton.
"NORTH CAROLINA,	William Hooper,
	Joseph Hewes,
	John Penn.
"SOUTH CAROLINA,	Edward Rutledge,
	Thomas Heyward, junr.
	Thomas Lynch, junr.
	Arthur Middleton.
"GEORGIA,	Button Gwinnett,
	Lyman Hall,
	George Walton."

From the promulgation of this declaration, every thing assumed a new form. The Americans no longer appeared in the character of subjects in arms against their sovereign, but as an independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. The propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point, whether the late British colonies should be conquered provinces, or free and independent states.

The declaration of independence was read publicly in all the states, and was welcomed with many demonstrations of joy. The people were encouraged by it to bear up under the calamities of war, and viewed the evils they suffered, only as the thorn that ever accompanies the rose. The army received it with particular satisfaction. As far as it had validity, so far it secured them from suffering as rebels, and held out to their view an object, the attainment of which would be an adequate recompense for the toils and dangers of war. They were animated by the consideration that they were no longer to risk their lives for the trifling purpose of procuring the repeal of a few oppressive acts of parliament; but for a new organization of government, that would for ever put it out of the power of Great Britain to oppress them. The flattering prospects of an extensive commerce, freed from British restrictions, and the honours and emoluments of offices in independent states, now began to glitter before the eyes of the colonists, and reconciled them to the difficulties of their situation. What was supposed in Great Britain to be their primary object, had only a secondary influence. While they were charged with aiming at independence from the impulse of avarice and ambition, they were ardently wishing for a reconciliation. But, after they had been compelled to adopt that measure, those powerful principles of human actions opposed its retraction, and stimulated to its support. That separation which the colonist at first dreaded as an evil, they soon gloried in as a national blessing. While the rulers of Great Britain urged their people to a vigorous prosecution of the American war, on the idea that the colonists were aiming at independence, they imposed on them a necessity of adopting that very measure, and actually effected its accomplishment. By repeatedly charging the Americans with aiming at the erection of a new government, and by proceeding on that idea to subdue them, predictions, which were originally false, eventually became true. When the declaration of independence reached Great Britain, the partizans of ministry triumphed in their sagacity. "The measure," said they," we have long foreseen, is now come to pass." They inverted the natural order of things. Without reflecting that their own policy had forced a revolution contrary to the original design of the colonists, the declaration of independence, was held out to the people of Great Britian as a justification of those previous violences, which were its efficient cause.

The act of Congress, for dissevering the colonies from their parent state, was the subject of many animadversions.

The colonists were said to have been precipitate in adopting a measure, from which there was no honourable ground of retreating. They replied that, for eleven years, they had been incessantly petitioning the throne for a redress of their grievances: since the year 1765, a continental Congress had, at three sundry times, stated their claims, and prayed for their constitutional rights; that each assembly of the thirteen colonies had also, in its separate capacity, concurred in the same measure; that from the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes for their coercion, they had no alternative, but a mean submission, or a vigorous resistance; and that, as she was about to invade their coasts with a large body of mercenaries, they were compelled to declare themselves independent, that they might be put into an immediate capacity of soliciting foreign aid.

The virulence, of those who had been in opposition to the claims of the colonists, was increased by their bold act, in breaking off all subordination to the parent state. "Great Britain," said they, "has founded colonies at great expense, has in-

Fac-similes of the Signatures to the Declaration of Independence July 4 1776.

John Penn John Hancock John Hart
Wm Floyd Wm Paca
Geo Read Wm Hooper Sam Adams
Step Hopkins Thos Nelson Geo Clymer
Charles Carroll of Carrollton Elbridge Gerry
Tho M. Kean Roger Sherman Sam Huntington
Wm Whipple Thomas Lynch Junr
Geo Taylor Josiah Bartlett Benj Franklin
Wm Williams Richd Stockton
John Morton
Oliver Wolcott Jno Witherspoon Geo Ross
Thos Stone Samuel Chase Robt Treat Paine
George Wythe Matthew Thornton
Franis Lewis Th Jefferson Benjd Harrison
Lewis Morris Abra Clark Phil Livingston
Casar Rodney
Arthur Middleton Fras Hopkinson
Geo Walton Carter Braxton James Wilson
Richard Henry Lee Thos Heyward Junr
Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt Morris
Lyman Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
Francis Lightfoot Lee
William Ellery Edward Rutledge Jas Smith

Department of State 19th April 1819. I Certify that this is a CORRECT Copy of the original Declaration of Independence deposited at this Department, and that I have compared all the signatures with those of the original and have found them EXACT IMITATIONS: John Quincy Adams

curred a load of debts by wars on their account; has protected their commerce, and raised them to all the consequence they possess; and now, in the insolence of adult years, rather than pay their proportion of the common expenses of government, they ungratefully renounce all connexion with the nurse of their youth, and the protectress of their riper years." The Americans acknowledged that much was due to Great Britain, for the protection which her navy procured to the coasts and the commerce of the colonies; but contended that much was paid by the latter, in consequence of the restrictions imposed on their commerce by the former. "The charge of ingratitude would have been just," said they, "had allegiance been renounced while protection was given; but when the navy, which formerly secured the commerce and seaport towns of America, began to distress the former, and burn the latter, the previous obligations to obey, or be grateful, were no longer in force."

That the colonists paid nothing, and would not pay to the support of government, was confidently asserted: and no credit was given for the sums indirectly levied upon them, in consequence of their being confined to the consumption of British manufactures. By such ill-founded observations, were the people of Great Britain inflamed against their fellow subjects in America. The latter were represented as an ungrateful people, refusing to bear any part of the expenses of a protecting government, or to pay their proportion of a heavy debt, said to be incurred on their account.

Many of the inhabitants of Great Britain, deceived in matters of fact, considered their American brethren as deserving the severity of military coercion. So strongly were the two countries riveted together, that if the whole truth had been known to the people of both, their separation would have been scarcely possible. Any feasible plan, by which subjection to Great Britain could have been reconciled with American safety, would, at any time previous to 1776, have met the approbation of the colonists. But while the lust of power and of gain, blinded the rulers of Great Britain, misstated facts, and uncandid representations brought over the people to second the infatuation. A few honest men, properly authorised, might have devised measures of compromise, which under the influence of truth, humility, and moderation, would have prevented a dismemberment of the empire; but these virtues ceased to influence, and falsehood, haughtiness and blind zeal usurped their places.

Had Great Britain, even after the declaration of independence, adopted the magnanimous resolution of declaring her colonies free and independent states, interest would have prompted them to form such a connexion as would have secured to the mother country the advantages of their commerce, without the expense or trouble of their governments. But misguided politics continued the fatal system of coercion and conquest. Several, on both sides of the Atlantic, have called the declaration of independence, "a bold, and accidentally, a lucky speculation;" but subsequent events proved that it was a wise measure. It is acknowledged, that it detached some timid friends from supporting the Americans in their opposition to Great Britain; but it increased the vigour and union of those, who possessed more fortitude and perseverance. Without it, the colonists would have had no object adequate to the dangers, to which they exposed themselves, in continuing to contend with Great Britain. If the interference of France were necessary to give success to the resistance of the Americans, the declaration of independence was also necessary: for the French expressly founded the propriety of their treaty with Congress on the circumstance, "that they found the United States in possession of independence."

All political connexion between Great Britain and her colonies being dissolved, the institution of new forms of government became unavoidable. The necessity of this was so urgent that Congress, before the declaration of independence, had recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United States, to adopt such governments as should, in their opinion, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents.

During more than twelve months, the colonists had been held together by the force of ancient habits, and by laws under the simple style of recommendations. The impropriety of proceeding in courts of justice by the authority of a sovereign, against whom the colonies were in arms, was self-evident. The impossibility of governing, for any length of time, three millions of people, by the ties of honour, without the authority of law, was equally apparent. The rejection of British sovereignty therefore drew after it the necessity of fixing on some other principle of government. The genius of the Americans, their republican habits and sentiments, naturally led them to substitute the majesty of the people, in lieu of discarded royalty. The kingly office was dropped; but in most of the subordinate departments of government, ancient forms and names are retained. Such a portion of power had at all times been exercised by the people and their representatives, that the change of sovereignty was hardly perceptible, and the revolution took place without violence or convulsion. Popular elections elevated private citizens to the same offices, which formerly had been conferred by royal appointment. The people felt an uninterrupted continuation of the blessings of law and government under old names, though derived from a new sovereignty, and were scarcely sensible of any change in their political constitution. The checks and balances, which restrained the popular assemblies under the royal government were partly dropped, and partly retained, by substituting something of the same kind. The temper of the people would not permit that any one man however exalted by office, or distinguished by abilities, should have a negative on the declared sense of a majority of their representatives; but the experience of all ages had taught them the danger of lodging all power in one body of men.

A second branch of legislature, consisting of a few select persons, under the name of senate, or council, was therefore constituted in eleven of the thirteen states, and their concurrence made necessary to give the validity of law to the acts of a more numerous branch of popular representatives.

New York and Massachusetts went one step farther. The former constituted a council of revision, consisting of the Governor and the heads of the judicial departments, on whose objections to any proposed law a reconsideration became necessary; unless it was confirmed by two thirds of both houses, it could have no operation. A similar power was given to the Governor of Massachusetts.

Georgia and Pennsylvania were the only states whose legislatures consisted of only one branch.* Though many in these states, and a majority in all the others, saw and acknowledged the propriety of a compounded legislature, yet the mode of creating two branches, out of a homogeneous mass of people, was a matter of difficulty. No distinction of ranks existed in the colonies, and none were entitled to any rights, but such as were common to all. Some possessed more wealth than others; but riches and ability were not always associated. Ten of the eleven states, whose legislatures consisted of two branches, ordained that the members of both should be elected by the people. This rather made two co-ordinate houses of representatives, than a check on a single one, by the moderation of a select few.

Maryland adopted a singular plan for constituting an independent senate. By her constitution the members of that body were elected for five years, while the members of the house of delegates held their seats only for one. The number of senators was only fifteen, and they were all elected indiscriminately from the inhabitants of any part of the state, excepting that nine of them were to be residents on the west, and six on the east side of the Chesapeake bay. They were elected not immediately by the people, but by electors, two from each county, appointed by the inhabitants for that sole purpose. By these regulations the senate of Maryland consisted of men of influence, integrity and abilities, and such as were a real and beneficial check on the hasty proceedings of a more numerous branch of popular representatives. The laws of that state were well digested, and its interest steadily pursued with peculiar unity of system, while elsewhere it too often happened, in the fluctuation of public assemblies, and where the legislative department was not sufficiently checked, that passion and party predominated over principles and public good.

Pennsylvania instead of a legislative council or senate, adopted the expedient of publishing bills after the second reading, for the information of the inhabitants. This had its advantages and disadvantages. It prevented the precipitate adoption of new regulations, and gave an opportunity of ascertaining the sense of the people on those laws by which they were to be bound: but it carried the spirit of discussion into every corner, and disturbed the peace and harmony of neighbourhoods. By making the business of government the duty of every man, it drew off the attention of many from the steady pursuit of their respective businesses.

The state of Pennsylvania also adopted another institution peculiar to itself, under the denomination of a council of censors.* These were to be chosen once every seven years, and were authorised to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved; whether the legislative and executive branch of government, had performed their duty, or assumed to themselves, or excercised other or greater powers, than those to which they were constitutionally entitled; to inquire whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected, and in what manner the public monies had been disposed of, and whether, the laws had been duly executed. However excellent this institution may appear in theory, it is doubtful whether in practice it answered any valuable end. It most certainly opened a door for discord, and furnished abundant matter for periodical altercation. Either from the disposition of its inhabitants, its form of government, or some other cause, the people of Pennsylvania have constantly been in a state of fermentation. The end of one public controversy has been the beginning of another. From the collision of parties, the minds of the citizens were sharpened, and their active powers improved: but internal harmony has been unknown. They who were out of place, so narrowly watched those who were in, that nothing injurious to the public could be easily effected: but from the fluctuation of power, and the total want of permanent system, nothing great or lasting could with safety be undertaken, or prosecuted to effect. Under all these disadvantages, the state flourished, and, from the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, acquired an unrivalled ascendency in arts and manufactures. This must in a great measure be ascribed to the influence of the habits of order and industry that had long prevailed.

The Americans agreed in appointing a supreme executive head to each state, with the title either of governor or president. They also agreed in deriving the whole powers of government, either mediately or immediately, from the people. In the eastern states, and in New York, their governors, were elected by the inhabitants, in their respective towns or counties, and in the other states by the legislatures;† but in no case was the smallest title of power exercised from hereditary right. New York was the only state which invested its governor with executive authority without a council.‡ Such was the extreme jealousy of power

* Altered by subsequent conventions; both states have now a senate.

* Abolished by a subsequent convention.

† Pennsylvania has since adopted the popular mode of electing a governor.

‡ Several states have since abolished councils as part of the executive.

which pervaded the American states, that they did not think proper to trust the man of their choice with the power of executing their own determinations, without obliging him in many cases to take the advice of such counsellors as they thought proper to nominate. The disadvantages of this institution far outweighed its advantages. Had the governors succeeded by hereditary right, a counsel would have been often necessary to supply the real want of abilities, but when an individual had been selected by the people, as the fittest person for discharging the duties of this high department, to fetter him with a council was either to lessen his capacity of doing good, or to furnish him with a screen for doing evil. It destroyed the secrecy, vigour and despatch, which the executive power ought to possess; and, by making governmental acts the acts of a body, diminished individual responsibility. In some states it greatly enhanced the expenses of government, and in all retarded its operations, without any equivalent advantages.

New York in another particular, displayed political sagacity, superior to her neighbours. This was in her council of appointment, consisting of one senator from each of her four great election districts, authorised to designate proper persons for filling vacancies in the executive departments of government. Large bodies are far from being the most proper depositories of the power of appointing to offices. The assiduous attention of candidates is too apt to bias the voice of individuals in popular assemblies. Besides, in such appointments, the responsibility for the conduct of the officer is in a great measure annihilated. The concurrence of a select few in the nomination of one seems a more eligible mode, for securing a proper choice, than appointments made either by one, or by a numerous body. In the former case, there would be danger of favouritism; in the latter, that modest unassuming merit would be overlooked, in favour of the forward and obsequious.

A rotation of public officers made a part of most of the American constitutions. Frequent elections were required by all: but several refined still farther, and deprived the electors of the power of continuing the same office in the same hands, after a specified length of time. Young politicians suddenly called from the ordinary walks of life, to make laws and institute forms of government, turned their attention to the histories of ancient republics, and the writings of speculative men on the subject of government. This led them into many errors, and occasioned them to adopt sundry opinions, unsuitable to the state of society in America, and contrary to the genius of real republicanism.

The principle of rotation was carried so far, that in some of the states, public officers in the several departments scarcely knew their official duty, till they were obliged to retire and give place to others as ignorant as they had been on their first appointment. If offices had been instituted for the benefit of the holders, the policy of diffusing those benefits would have been proper: but instituted as they were for the convenience of the public, the end was marred by such frequent changes. By confining the objects of choice, it diminished the privileges of electors, and frequently deprived them of the liberty of choosing the man who, from previous experience, was of all men the most suitable. The favourers of this system of rotation contended for it, as likely to prevent a perpetuity of office and power in the same individual or family, and as a security against hereditary honours. To this it was replied, that free, fair and frequent elections were the most natural and proper securities, for the liberties of the people. It produced a more general diffusion of political knowledge but made more smatterers than adepts in the science of government.

As a farther security for the continuance of republican principles in the American constitutions, they agreed in prohibiting all hereditary honours and distinction of ranks.

It was one of the peculiarities of these new forms of government, that all religious establishments were abolished. Some retained a constitutional distinction between Christians and others, with respect to elegibility to office: but the idea of supporting one denomination at the expense of others, or of raising any one sect of Christians to a legal preeminence, was universally reprobated. The alliance between church and state was completely broken, and each was left to support itself independent of the other.

The far-famed social compact between the people and their rulers, did not apply to the United States. The sovereignty was in the people. In their sovereign capacity, by their representatives, they agreed on forms of government for their own security, and deputed certain individuals as their agents to serve them in public stations, agreeably to constitutions which they prescribed for their conduct.

The world has not hitherto exhibited so fair an opportunity for promoting social happiness. It is hoped for the honour of human nature, that the result will prove the fallacy of those theories, which suppose that mankind are incapable of self-government. The ancients, not knowing the doctrine of representation, were apt in their public meetings to run into confusion; but in America this mode of taking the sense of the people, is so well understood, and so completely reduced to system, that its most populous states are often peaceably convened in an assembly of deputies, not too large for orderly deliberations, and yet representing the whole in equal proportions. These popular branches of legislature are miniature pictures of the community, and, from the mode of their election, are likely to be influenced by the same interest and feelings with the people whom they represent. As a farther security for their fidelity, they are bound by every law they make for their constituents. The assemblage of these circumstances gives as great a security that laws will be made, and government administered, for the good of the people, as can be expected from the imperfection of human institutions.

In this short view of the formation and establishment of the American constitutions we behold our species in a new situation. In no age before, and in no other country, did man ever possess an election of the kind of government, under which he would choose to live. The constituent parts of the ancient free governments were thrown together by accident. The freedom of modern European governments was, for the most part, obtained by the concessions, or liberality of monarchs or military leaders. In America alone, reason and liberty concurred in the formation of constitutions. It is true, from the infancy of political knowledge in the United States, there were many defects in their forms of government: but in one thing they were all perfect. They left to the peopl the power of altering and amending them, whenever they pleased. In this happy peculiarity they placed the science of politics on a footing with the other sciences, by opening it to improvements from experience, and the discoveries of future ages. By means of this power of amending American constitutions, the friends of mankind have fondly hoped that oppression will one day be no more; and that political evil will at least be prevented or restrained with as much certainty, by a proper combination or separation of power, as natural evil is lessened or prevented, by the application of the knowledge or ingenuity of man to domestic purposes. No part of the history of ancient or modern Europe can furnish a single fact that militates against this opinion; since, in none of its governments, have the principles of equal representation and checks been applied, for the preservation of freedom. On these two pivots are suspended the liberties of most of the states. Where they are wanting, there can be no security for liberty: where they exist, they render any farther security unnecessary.

From history the citizens of the United States had been taught, that the maxims, adopted by the rulers of the earth, that society was instituted for the sake of the governors; and that the interests of the many were to be postponed to the convenience of the privileged few, had filled the world with bloodshed and wickedness; while experience had proved, that it is the invariable and natural character of power, whether intrusted or assumed, to exceed its proper limits, and, if unrestrained, to divide the world into masters and slaves. They therefore began upon the opposite maxims, that society was instituted, not for the governors, but the governed; that the interest of the few, should in all cases, give way to that of the many; that exclusive and hereditary privileges were useless and dangerous institutions in society; and that entrusted authorities should be liable to frequent and periodical recalls. With them the sovereignty of the people was more than a mere theory. The characteristic of that sovereignty was displayed by their authority in written constitutions.

The rejection of British sovereignty not only involved a necessity of erecting independent constitutions, but of cementing the whole United States by some common bond of union. The act of independence did not hold out to the world thirteen sovereign states, but a common sovereignty of the whole in their united capacity. It therefore became necessary to run the line of distinction, betwen the local legislatures, and the assembly of states in Congress. A committee was appointed for digesting articles of confederation, between the states or united colonies, as they were then called, at the time the propriety of declaring independence was under debate, and some weeks previously to the adoption of that measure: but the plan was not for sixteen months after so far digested, as to be ready for communication to the states. Nor was it finally ratified by the accession of all the states, till nearly three years more had elapsed. In discussing its articles, many difficult questions occurred. One was, to ascertain the ratio of contributions from each state. Two principles presented themselves: numbers of people, and the value of lands. The last was preferred, as being the truest barometer of the wealth of nations; but from an apprehended impracticability of carrying it into effect, it was soon relinquished, and recurrence had to the former. That the states should be represented in proportion to their importance, was contended by those who had extensive territory: but those, who were confined to small dimensions, replied, that the states confederated as individuals in a state of nature, and should therefore have equal votes. The large states yielded the point, and consented that each state should have an equal suffrage.

It was not easy to define the power of the state legislatures, so as to prevent a clashing between their jurisdiction, and that of the general government. It was thought proper, that the former should be abridged of the power of forming any other confederation or alliance; of laying on any impost or duties that might intefere with treaties made by Congress, of keeping up any vessels of war, or granting letters of marque or reprisal. The powers of Congress were also defined. Of these the principal were as follow: To have the sole and exclusive right of determining on peace or war; of sending or receiving ambassadors; of entering into treaties and alliances; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; to be the last resort on appeal, in disputes between two or more states; to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the alloy and value of coin; of fixing the standard of weights and measures; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians; establishing and regulating post offices; to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States; to build and equip a Navy; to agree upon the number of land forces; and to make requisitions from each state for its quota of men, in proportion to the number of its white inhabitants.

No coercive power was given to the genera government, nor was it invested with any legislative power over individuals, but only over states in their corporate capacity. A power to regulate

trade, or to raise a revenue from it, though both were essential to the welfare of the union, made no part of this first federal system. To remedy this and all other defects, a door was left open for introducing further provisions, suited to future circumstances.

The articles of confederation were proposed at a time when the citizens of America were young in the science of politics, and when a commanding sense of duty, enforced by the pressure of a common danger, precluded the necessity of a power of compulsion. The enthusiasm of the day gave such credit and currency to paper emissions, as made the raising of supplies an easy matter. The system of federal government was, therefore, more calculated for what men then were, under those circumstances, than for the languid years of peace, when selfishness usurped the place of public spirit and when credit no longer assisted, in providing for the exigencies of government.

The experience of a few years, after the termination of the war, proved, as will appear in its proper place, that a radical change of the whole system was necessary to the good government of the United States.

CHAPTER II.

The Campaign of 1777, in the Middle States.

Soon after the declaration of independence, the authority of Congress was obtained for raising an army, that would be more permanent than the temporary levies, which they had previously brought into the field. It was at first proposed to recruit for the indefinite term of the war; but it being found on experiment, that the habits of the people were averse to engagements for such an uncertain period of service, the recruiting officers were instructed to offer the alternatives of enlisting either for the war, or for three years. Those who engaged on the first condition, were promised a hundred acres of land, in addition to their pay and bounty. The troops raised by Congress, for the service of the United States, were called continentals. Though in September, 1776, it had been resolved to raise 88 battalions, and in December following, authority was given to General Washington to raise 16 more, yet very little progress had been made in the recruiting business, till after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. So much time was necessarily consumed, before these new recruits joined the commander in chief, that his whole force, at Morristown and the several outposts, for some time did not exceed 1500 men.—Yet these 1500 kept many thousands of the British closely pent up in Brunswick. Almost every party, that was sent out by the latter, was successfully opposed by the former, and the adjacent country preserved in a great degree of tranquility.

It was matter of astonishment, that the British suffered the dangerous interval, between the disbanding of one army and the raising of another, to pass away, without doing something of consequence, against the remaining shadow of an armed force. Hitherto, there had been a deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men; but in the spring a vessel of 24 guns arrived from France, at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, with upwards of 11,000 stand of arms, and 1000 barrels of powder. Ten thousand stand of arms arrived about the same time, in another part of the United States.

Before the royal army took the field, in prosecution of the main business of the campaign, two enterprises for the destruction of American stores were undertaken. The first was conducted by Colonel Bird; the second by Major General Tryon. The former landed 23d March with about 500 men at Peekskill, near 50 miles from New York. General Washington had repeatedly cautioned the commissaries, not to suffer large quantities of provisions to be near the water: but his prudent advice had not been regarded. The few Americans, who were stationed as a guard at Peekskill, on the approach of Colonel Bird, fired the principal store-houses, and retired to a good position, two or three miles distant. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.

Major General Tryon, with a detachment of 2000 men, embarked at New York, 26th April and passing through the Sound, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. They advanced through the country without interruption, and arrived in about twenty hours at Danbury. On their approach, the few continentals who were in the town withdrew from it. The British began to burn and destroy: but abstained from injuring the property of such as were reputed tories. Eighteen houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of grain, 1700 tents, and some other articles, were lost to the Americans. Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily collected a few hundred of the inhabitants, made arrangements for interrupting the march of the royal detachment: but the arms of those who came forward on this emergency were injured by excessive rains, and the men were worn down with a march of thirty miles in the course of a day. Such dispositions were nevertheless made, and such posts were taken, as enabled them to annoy the invaders when returning to their ships. General Arnold, with about 500 men, by a rapid movement, reached Ridge-field in their front, barricadoed the road, kept up a brisk fire upon them, and sustained their attack, till they had made a lodgment on a ledge of rocks on his left. After the British had gained this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at General Arnold, not more than thirty yards distant. His horse was killed; but he escaped. While he was extricating himself from his horse, a soldier advanced to run him through with a bayonet: but he shot him dead with his pistol, and afterwards got off safe. The Americans, in several detached parties, harassed the rear of the British, and from various stands kept up a scattering fire upon them, till they reached their shipping.

The British accomplished the object of the expedition: but it cost them dearly. They had, by computation, two or three hundred men killed, wounded, and taken. The loss of the Americans was about twenty killed, and forty wounded.—Among the former was Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of character and influence. Colonel Lamb was among the latter. General Wooster, though seventy years old, behaved with the vigour and spirit of youth. While gloriously defending the liberties of his country he received a mortal wound. Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory, as an acknowledgment of his merit and services. They also resolved, that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to Gen. Arnold, in their name, as a token of their approbation of his gallant conduct.

Not long after the excursion to Danbury, Colonel Meigs, an enterprising American officer on the 24th of May transported a detachment of about 170 Americans, in whale boats, over the Sound, which separates Long Island from Connecticut; burned twelve brigs and sloops, belonging to the British; destroyed a large quantity of forage and other articles, collected for their use in Sag-harbour, on that Island; killed six of their soldiers, and brought off ninety prisoners, without having a single man either killed or wounded. The Colonel and his party returned to Guilford in twenty-five hours from the time of their departure, having in that short space not only compleated the object of their expedition, but traversed by land and water, a space not less than ninety miles. Congress ordered an elegant sword to be qresented to Colonel Meigs, for his good conduct in this expedition.

As the season advanced, the American army, in New Jersey, was reinforced by the successive arrivals of recruits; but nevertheless, at the opening of the campaign, it amounted only to 7,272 men,

Great pains had been taken to recruit the British army with American levies. A commission of Brigadier General had been conferred on Oliver Delancy, a loyalist of great influence in New York, and he was authorised to raise three battalions.—Every effort had been made, to raise the men, both within and without the British lines, and also from among the American prisoners: but with all these exertions, only 597 were procured. Courtland Skinner, a loyalist well known in Jersey, was also appointed a brigadier, and authorised to raise five battalions. Great efforts were made to procure recruits for his command: but their whole number amounted only to 517.

Towards the latter end of May, General Washington quitted his winter encampment at Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. Soon after this movement, the British marched from Brunswick, and extended their van as far as Somerset court-house; but in a few days returned to their former station. This sudden change was owing to the unexpected opposition which seemed to be collecting from all quarters; for the Jersey militia turned out in a very spirited manner, to oppose them. The same army had lately marched through New Jersey, without being fired upon; and even small parties of them had safely patrolled the country, at a distance from their camp; but experience having proved that British protections were no security for property, the inhabitants generally resolved to try the effects of resistance, in preference to a second submission. A fortunate mistake gave them an opportunity of assembling in great force on this emergency. Signals had been agreed on, and beacons erected on high places, with the view of communicating, over the country, instantaneous intelligence of the approach of the British. A few hours before the royal army began their march, the signal of alarm, on the foundation of a false report, had been hoisted.—The farmers, with arms in their hands, ran to the place of rendezvous, from considerable distances. They had set out at least twelve hours before the British, and on their appearance were collected in formidable numbers. Whether Sir William Howe intended to force his way through the country to the Delaware, and afterwards to Philadelphia, or to attack the American army, is uncertain; but whatever was his design, he suddenly relinquished it, and fell back to Brunswick. The British army, on their retreat, burned and destroyed the farm houses on the road; nor did they spare the buildings dedicated to the worship of the Deity.

Sir William Howe, after his retreat to Brunswick, endeavoured to provoke General Washington to an engagement; and left no manœuvre untried, that was calculated to induce him to quit his position. At one time, he appeared as if he intended to push on, without regarding the army opposed to him. At another, he accurately examined the situation of the American encampment, hoping that some unguarded part might be found, on which an attack might be made, that would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. Gen. Washington knew the full value of his situation. He had too much penetration to lose it from the circumvention of military manœuvres, and too much temper to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprised that it was not the interest of his country, to commit its fortune to a single action.

Sir William Howe suddenly relinquished his position in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British were pursued by a considerable detachment of the American army, and General Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the support of his advanced parties. The British general, on the 24th June, marched his army back from Amboy, with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground: but he was disappointed. General Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous position, as compensated for the inferiority of his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling a general engage-

ment on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt passing the Delaware, while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear. He therefore returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten Island, resolving to prosecute the objects of the campaign by another route.

During the period of these movements, the real designs of General Howe were involved in obscurity. Though the season for military operations was advanced as far as the month of July, yet his determinate object could not be ascertained.—Nothing on his part had hitherto taken place, but alternately advancing and retreating. Washington's embarrassment on this account was increased, by intelligence that Burgoyne was coming in great force towards New York from Canada. Apprehending that Sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North River, and that his movements which looked southwardly were feints, the American general detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of his army. Successive advices of the advance of Burgoyne favoured the idea, that a junction of the two royal armies near Albany was intended. Some movements were therefore made by Washington towards Peekskill, and on the other side towards Trenton; while the main army was encamped near the Clove, in readiness to march either to the north or south, as the movements of Sir William Howe might require. At length, the main body of the royal army, consisting of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, with a regiment of light horse, a loyal provincial corps, called the queen's rangers, and a powerful artillery, amounting in the whole to about 16,000 men, departed from Sandy-hook, and were reported to teer southwardly.

About the time of this embarcation, a letter from SirWilliam Howe to General Burgoyne was intercepted. This contained intelligence, that the British troops were destined to New Hampshire. The intended deception was so superficially veiled, that, in conjunction with the intelligence of the British embarcation, it produced a contrary effect. Within one hour after the reception of the intercepted letter, Washington gave orders to his army to move to the southward; but he was nevertheless so much impressed with a conviction, that it was the true interest of Howe to move towards Burgoyne, that he ordered the American army to halt for some time, at the river Delaware, suspecting that the movement of the royal army to the southward was a feint, calculated to draw him farther from the North River. The British fleet, having sailed from Sandy-hook, was a week at sea before it reached Cape Henlopen. At this time and place, for reasons that do not obviously occur, General Howe gave up the idea of approaching Philadelphia, by ascending the Delaware, and resolved on a circuitous route by the way of the Chesapeake. Perhaps he counted on being joined by large reinforcements, from the numerous tories in Maryland or Delaware, or perhaps he feared the obstructions which the Pennsylvanians had planted in the Delaware. If these were his reasons, he was mistaken in both. From the tories he received no advantage: and from the obstructions in the river, his ships could have received no detriment, if he had landed his troops at Newcastle, which was 14 miles nearer Philadelphia, than the head of Chesapeake bay.

The British, after they had left the Capes of the Delaware, had a tedious and uncomfortable passage, being twenty days before they entered the Capes of Virginia. They ascended the bay, with a favourable wind, and on the 25th of August landed at Turkey-point. The circumstance of the British putting out to sea, after they had looked into the Delaware, added to the apprehension before entertained, that the whole was a feint calculated to draw the American army farther from the North River, so as to prevent their being at hand to oppose a junction between Howe and Burgoyne. Washington therefore fell back to such a middle station, as would enable him, either speedily to return to the North River, or advance to the relief of Philadelphia. The British fleet, after leaving the Capes of the Delaware, was not heard of for nearly three weeks; except that it had once or twice been seen near the coast steering southwardly. A council of officers convened, 21st of August, at Neshaminy, near Philadelphia, unanimously gave it as their opinion, that Charleston, in South Carolina, was most probably their object, and that it would be impossible for the army to march thither in season for its relief. It was therefore concluded, to try to repair the loss of Charleston, which was considered as unavoidable, either by attempting something on New York island, or, by uniting with the northern army, to give more effectual opposition to Burgoyne. A small change of position, conformably to this new system, took place. The day before the above resolution was adopted the British fleet entered the Chesapeake. Intelligence thereof in a few days reached the American army, and dispelled that mist of uncertainty, in which General Howe's movements had heretofore been enveloped. The American troops were put in motion to meet the British army. Their numbers on paper amounted to 14,000; but their real effective force, on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much exceed 8000 men. Every appearance of confidence was assumed by them as they passed through Philadelphia, that the citizens might be intimidated from joining the British.—About the same time numbers of the principal inhabitants of that city, being suspected of disaffection to the American cause, were taken into custody and sent to Virginia.

Soon after Sir William Howe had landed his troops in Maryland, he put forth a declaration, in which he informed the inhabitants, that he had issued the strictest orders to the troops, "for the preservation of regularity and good discipline, and that the most exemplary punishment would be inflicted upon those who should dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons of any of his majesty's well disposed subjects." He seemed to be fully apprised of the consequences, which had resulted from the indiscriminate plunderings of his army in New Jersey, and determined to adopt a more polite line of conduct. Whatever his lordship's intentions might have been, they were by no means seconded by his troops.

The royal army set out from the eastern heads of the Chesapeake, September 3d, with a spirit which promised to compensate for the various delays, that had hitherto wasted the campaign.—Their tents and baggage were left behind, and they trusted their future accommodation to such quarters as their arms might procure. They advanced with boldness, till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then posted near Newport. Washington soon changed his position, and took post on the high ground near Chadd's ford, on the Brandywine creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest of the Americans to try their strength in an engagement.—Their regular troops were not only greatly inferior in discipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more substantial than their wishes, imposed a species of necessity on the American General, to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to risk an action for the security of Philadelphia. Instead of this, had he taken the ridge of high mountains on his right, the British must have respected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country.—By this policy the campaign might have been wasted away in a manner fatal to the invaders; but the majority of the American people were so impatient of delays, and had such an overweening conceit of the numbers and prowess of their army, that they could not comprehend the wisdom and policy of manœuvres, to shun a general engagement.

On this occasion necessity dictated, that a sacrifice should be made on the altar of public opinion. A general action was therefore hazarded on the 11th of September. This took place at Chadd's ford, on the Brandywine; a small stream which empties itself into Christiana creek, near its conflux with the river Delaware.

The royal army advanced at day break in two columns, commanded by lieutenant general Kniphausen, and lord Cornwallis. The first took the direct road to Chadd's ford, and made a show of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans. At the same time, the other column moved up on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, crossed both its branches, and then marched down on its east side, with the view of turning the right wing of their adversaries. This they affected, and compelled them to retreat with great loss.

General Kniphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of crossing the ford, but did not attempt it until lord Cornwallis, having crossed above, and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced his attack. Kniphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans soon became general, and was continued to Chester.

The final issue of battles often depends on small circumstances, which human prudence cannot control. One of these occurred here, and prevented General Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which his troops were actually in motion. This was, to cross the Brandywine, and attack Kniphausen, while General Sullivan and lord Stirling should keep Earl Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, Washington received intelligence which he was obliged to credit, that the column of lord Cornwallis had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Kniphausen.—This prevented the execution of a plan, which, if carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day.

The killed and wounded, in the royal army, were near six hundred. The loss of the Americans was twice that number. In the list of their wounded were two general officers, the Marquis de la Fayette* and General Woodford.

*As we intend to scatter through this work some biographical notices of those distinguished men who took an active part in the revolutionary war, and who assisted in the councils of our nation, we shall here introduce the great and good La Fayette, from the pen of that eminent statesman and scholar, John Quincy Adams.—The oration was delivered before the congress of the United States, on the 31st of December, 1834, at their request, and exhibits the finest view, that either country has produced, of the patriot and warrior of both hemispheres, whose name is given to immortality on every hour that flies:—Ed.

ORATION.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

If the authority by which I am now called to address you is one of the highest honours that could be conferred upon a citizen of this Union by his countrymen, I cannot dissemble to myself that it embraces at the same time one of the most arduous duties that could be imposed. Grateful to you for the honour conferred upon me by your invitation, a sentiment of irrepressible and fearful diffidence absorbs every faculty of my soul in contemplating the magnitude, the difficulties, and the delicacy of the task which it has been your pleasure to assign to me.

I am to speak to the North American states and people, assembled here in the persons of their honoured and confidential lawgivers and representatives. I am to speak to them, by their own appointment, upon the life and character of a man whose life was, for nearly threescore years, the his-

tory of the civilized world; of a man, of whose character, to say that it is indissolubly identified with the revolution of our independence, is little more than to mark the features of his childhood; of a man, the personified image of self-circumscribed liberty. Nor can it escape the most superficial observation, that, in speaking to the fathers of the land upon the life and character of LAFAYETTE, I cannot forbear to touch upon topics which are yet deeply convulsing the world, both of opinion and of action. I am to walk between burning ploughshares; to tread upon fires which have not yet even collected cinders to cover them.

If, in addressing their countrymen upon their most important interests, the Orators of Antiquity were accustomed to begin by supplication to their gods that nothing unsuitable to be said or unworthy to be heard might escape from their lips, how much more forcible is my obligation to invoke the favour of Him "who touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire," not only to extinguish in the mind every conception unadapted to the grandeur and sublimity of the theme, but to draw from the bosom of the deepest conviction thoughts congenial to the merits which it is the duty of the discourse to unfold, and words not unworthy of the dignity of the auditory before whom I appear.

In order to form a just estimate of the life and character of Lafayette, it may be necessary to advert, not only to the circumstances connected with his birth, education, and lineage, but to the political condition of his country and Great Britain, her national rival and adversary, at the time of his birth, and during his years of childhood.

On the sixth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the hereditary Monarch of the British Islands was a native of Germany. A rude, illiterate old soldier of the wars for the Spanish succession; little versed even in the language of the nation over which he ruled; educated to the maxims and principles of the feudal law; of openly licentious life, and of moral character far from creditable; he styled himself, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King; but there was another and real king of France, no better, perhaps worse, than himself, and with whom he was then at war. This was Louis, the fifteenth of the name, great grandson of his immediate predecessor, Louis the Fourteenth, sometimes denominated the Great. These two kings held their thrones, by the law of hereditary succession, variously modified, in France by the Roman Catholics, and in Britain by Protestant reformed christianity.

They were at war, chiefly for conflicting claims to the possession of the western wilderness of North America; a prize, the capabilities of which are now unfolding themselves with a grandeur and magnificence unexampled in the history of the world; but of which, if the nominal possession had remained in either of the two princes, who were staking their kingdoms upon the issue of the strife, the buffalo and the beaver, with their hunter, the Indian savage, would, at this day, have been as they then were, the only inhabitants.

In this war, GEORGE WASHINGTON, then at the age of twenty-four, was on the side of the British German King, a youthful, but heroic combatant; and, in the same war, the father of Lafayette was on the opposite side, exposing his life in the heart of Germany, for the cause of the King of France.

On that day, the sixth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven was born GILBERT MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE, at the Castle of Chavaniac, in Auvergne, and a few months after his birth his father fell in battle at Minden.

Let us here observe the influence of political institutions over the destinies and the characters of men. George the Second was a German Prince; he had been made king of the British Islands by the accident of his birth: that is to say, because his great grandmother had been the daughter of James the First: that great grandmother had been married to the King of Bohemia, and her youngest daughter had been married to the Elector of Hanover. George the Second's father was her son, and, when James the Second had been expelled from his throne and his country by the indignation of his people, revolted against his tyranny, and when his two daughters, who succeeded him, had died without issue, George the First, the son of the Electress of Hanover, became King of Great Britain, by the settlement of an act of parliament, blending together the principle of hereditary succession with that of Reformed Protestant christianity, and the rites of the Church of England.

The throne of France was occupied by virtue of the same principle of hereditary succession, differently modified, and blended with the christianity of the church of Rome. From this line of succession all females were inflexibly excluded.—Louis the Fifteenth, at the age of six years, had become the absolute sovereign of France, because he was the great grandson of his immediate predecessor. He was of the third generation in descent from the preceding king, and, by the law of primogeniture engrafted upon that of lineal succession, did, by the death of his ancestor, forthwith succeed, though in childhood, to an absolute throne, in preference to numerous descendants from that same ancestor, then in the full vigor of manhood.

The first reflection that must occur to a rational being, in contemplating these two results of the principle of hereditary succession, as resorted to for designating the rulers of nations, is, that two persons more unfit to occupy the thrones of Britain and of France, at the time of their respective accessions, could scarcely have been found upon the face of the Globe; George the Second, a foreigner, the son and grandson of foreigners, born beyond the seas, educated in uncongenial manners, ignorant of the constitution, of the laws, even of the language of the people over whom he was to rule: and Louis the Fifteenth, an infant, incapable of discerning his right hand from his left. Yet, strange as it may sound to the ear of unsophisticated reason, the British nation were wedded to the belief that this act of settlement, fixing their crown upon the heads of this succession of total strangers, was the brightest and most glorious exemplification of their national freedom; and not less strange, if aught in the imperfection of human reason could seem strange, was that deep conviction of the French people, at the same period, that *their* chief glory and happiness consisted in the vehemence of their affection for their king, because he was descended in an unbroken male line of genealogy from St. Louis.

One of the fruits of this line of hereditary succession, modified by sectarian principles of religion, was to make the peace and war, the happiness or misery of the people of the British empire, dependent upon the fortunes of the Electorate of Hanover; the personal domain of their imported king. This was a result calamitous alike to the people of Hanover, of Britain, and of France; but it was one of the two causes of that dreadful war then waging between them; and as the cause, so was this a principle theatre of that disastrous war. It was at Minden, in the heart of the Electorate of Hanover, that the father of Lafayette fell, and left him an orphan, a victim to that war, and to the principle of hereditary succession from which it emanated.

Thus, then, it was on the 6th of September, 1757, the day when Lafayette was born. The kings of France and Britain were seated upon their thrones by virtue of the principle of hereditary succession, variously modified and blended with different forms of religious faith, and they were waging war against each other, and exhausting the blood and treasure of their people for causes in which neither of the nations had any beneficial or lawful interest.

In this war the father of Lafayette fell in the cause of his king, but not of his country. He was an officer of an invading army, the instrument of his sovereign's wanton ambition and lust of conquest. The people of the Electorate of Hanover had done no wrong to him or to his country. When his son came to an age capable of understanding the irreparable loss that he had suffered, and to reflect upon the cause of his father's fate, there was no drop of consolation mingled in the cup from the consideration that he had died for his country. And when the youthful mind was awakened to meditation upon the rights of mankind, the principles of freedom, and theories of government, it cannot be difficult to perceive, in the illustrations of his own family records, the source of that aversion to hereditary rule, perhaps the most distinguishing feature of his political opinions, and to which he adhered through all the vicissitudes of his life.

In the same war, and at the same time, George Washington was armed, a loyal subject, in support of his king; but to him that was also the cause of his country. His commission was not in the army of George the Second, but issued under the authority of the colony of Virginia, the province in which he received his birth. On the borders of that province, the war in its most horrid forms was waged; not a war of mercy, and of courtesy, like that of the civilized embattled legions of Europe; but war to the knife; the war of Indian savages, terrible to man, but more terrible to the tender sex, and most terrible to helpless infancy. In defence of his country against the ravages of such a war, Washington, in the dawn of manhood, had drawn his sword, as if Providence, with deliberate purpose, had sanctified for him the practice of war, all-detestable and unhallowed as it is, that he might, in a cause, virtuous and exalted by its motive and its end, be trained and fitted in a congenial school to march in aftertimes the leader of heroes in the war of his country's independence.

At the time of the birth of Lafayette, this war, which was to make him a fatherless child, and in which Washington was laying broad and deep, in the defence and protection of his native land, the foundations of his unrivalled renown, was but in its early stage. It was to continue five years longer, and was to close with the total extinguishment of the colonial dominion of France on the continent of North America. The deep humiliation of France, and the triumphant ascendancy on this continent of her rival, were the first results of this great national conflict. The complete expulsion of France from North America seemed to the superficial vision of men to fix the British power over these extensive regions, on foundations immovable as the everlasting hills.

Let us pass in imagination a period of only twenty years, and alight upon the borders of the river Brandywine. Washington is commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States of America; war is again raging in the heart of his native land; hostile armies of one and the same name, blood, and language, are arrayed for battle on the banks of the stream; and Philadelphia, where the United States are in Congress assembled, and whence their decree of independence has gone forth, is the destined prize to the conflict of the day. Who is that tall, slender youth, of foreign air and aspect, scarcely emerged from the years of boyhood, and fresh from the walls of a college; fighting, a volunteer, at the side of Washington, bleeding, unconsciously to himself, and rallying his men to secure the retreat of the scattered American ranks? It is GILBERT MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE; the son of the victim of Minden; and he is bleeding in the cause of North American independence and of freedom.

We pause one moment to enquire what was this cause of North American independence, and what were the motives and inducements to the youthful stranger to devote himself, his life, and fortune to it.

The people of the British colonies in North America, after a controversy of ten years' duration with their sovereign beyond the seas, upon an attempt by him and his parliament to tax them without their consent, had been constrained by necessity to declare themselves independent; to dissolve the tie of their allegiance to him; to renounce their right to its protection, and to assume their station among the independent civilized nations of the earth. This had been done with a deliberation and solemnity unexampled in the his-

tory of the world; done in the midst of a civil war, differing in character from any of those which for centuries before had desolated Europe. The war had risen upon a question between the rights of the people and the powers of their government. The discussions, in the progress of the controversy, had opened to the contemplations of men the first foundations of civil society and of government. The war of Independence began by litigation upon a petty stamp on paper, and a tax of three pence a pound on tea; but these broke up the fountains of the great deep, and the deluge ensued. Had the British parliament the right to tax the people of the colonies in another hemisphere, not represented in the imperial legislature? They affirmed they had: the people of the colonies insisted they had not. There were ten years of pleading before they came to an issue; and all the legitimate sources of power, and all the primitive elements of freedom were scrutinized, debated, analyzed, and elucidated, before the lighting of the torch of Ate, and her cry of havoc upon letting slip the dogs of war.

When the day of conflict came, the issue of the contest was necessarily changed. The people of the colonies had maintained the contest on the principle of resisting the invasion of chartered rights; first by argument and remonstrance, and, finally, by appeal to the sword. But with the war came the necessary exercise of sovereign powers. The Declaration of Independence justified itself as the only possible remedy for insufferable wrongs. It seated itself upon the first foundations of the law of nature, and the incontestable doctrine of human rights. There was no longer any question of the constitutional powers of the British parliament, or of violated colonial charters. Thenceforward the American nation supported its existence by war; and the British nation by war, was contending for conquest. As, between the two parties, the single question at issue was Independence; but in the confederate existence of the North American Union, liberty; not only their own liberty, but the vital principle of liberty to the whole race of civilized man, was involved.

It was at this stage of the conflict, and immediately after the Declaration of Independence, that it drew the attention, and called into action the moral sensibilities and the intellectual faculties of Lafayette, then in the nineteenth year of his age.

The war was revolutionary. It began by the dissolution of the British government in the colonies; the people of which were by that operation, left without any government whatever. They were then at one and the same time maintaining their independent national existence by war, and forming new social compacts for their own government thenceforward. The construction of civil society; the extent and the limitations of organized power; the establishment of a system of government combining the greatest enlargement of individual liberty with the most perfect preservation of public order, were the continual occupations of every mind. The consequences of this state of things to the history of mankind, and especially of Europe, were foreseen by none. Europe saw nothing but the war; a people struggling for liberty, and against oppression; and the people in every part of Europe sympathized with the people of the American colonies.

With their governments it was not so. The people of the American colonies were insurgents; all governments abhor insurrection; they were revolted colonists. The great maritime powers of Europe had colonies of their own, to which the example of resistence against oppression might be contagious. The American colonies were stigmatized in all the official acts of British government as rebels; and rebellion to the governing part of mankind is as the sin of witchcraft. The governments of Europe, therefore, were, at heart, on the side of the British government in this war, and the people of Europe were on the side of the American people.

Lafayette, by his position, and condition in life, was one of those who, governed by the ordinary impulses which influence and control the conduct of men, would have sided in sentiment with the British or royal cause.

Lafayette was born a subject of the most absolute and most splendid monarchy of Europe, and in the highest rank of her proud and chivalrous nobility. He had been educated at a college of the University of Paris, founded by the royal munificence of Louis the Fourteenth, or of his minister, Cardinal Richelieu. Left an orphan in early childhood, with the inheritance of a princely fortune, he had been married, at sixteen years of age, to a daughter of the house of Noailles, the most distinguished family of the kingdom, scarcely deemed in public consideration inferior to that which wore the crown. He came into active life, at the change from boy to man, a husband and a father, in the full enjoyment of every thing that avarice could covet, with a certain prospect before him of all that ambition could crave. Happy in his domestic affections, incapable from the benignity of his nature, of envy, hatred, or revenge, a life of "ignoble ease and indolent repose" seemed to be that which nature and fortune had combined to prepare before him. To men of ordinary mould this condition would have led to a life of luxurious apathy and sensual indulgence. Such was the life into which, from the operation of the same causes, Louis the Fifteenth had sunk, with his household and court, while Lafayette was rising to manhood, surrounded by the contamination of their example, Had his natural endowments been even of the higher and nobler order of such as adhere to virtue, even in the lap of prosperity, and in the bosom of temptation, he might have lived and died a pattern of the nobility of France, to be classed, in aftertimes, with the Turennes and the Montausiers of the age of Louis the Fourteenth, or with the Villars or the Lamoignons of the age immediately preceding his own.

But as, in the firmament of heaven that rolls over our heads, there is, among the stars of the first magnitude, one so pre-eminent in splendour, as, in the opinion of astronomers, to constitute a class by itself; so, in the fourteen hundred years of the French monarchy, among the multitudes of great and mighty men which it has evolved, the name of Lafayette stands unrivalled in the solitude of glory.

In entering upon the threshold of life, a career was to open before him. He had the option of the court and the camp. An office was tendered to him in the household of the king's brother, the count de Provence, since successively a royal exile and a reinstated king. The servitude and inaction of a court had no charms for him; he preferred a commission in the army, and, at the time of the declaration of independence, was a captain of dragoons in garrison at Metz.

There, at an entertainment given by his relative, the Marechal de Broglie, the commandant of the place, to the duke of Gloucester, brother to the British king, and then a transient traveller through that part of France, he learns, as an incident of intelligence received that morning by the English prince from London, that the congress of rebels, at Philadelphia, had issued a declaration of independence. A conversation ensues upon the causes which have contributed to produce this event, and upon the consequences which may be expected to flow from it. The imagination of Lafayette has caught across the Atlantic tide the spark emitted from the declaration of independence; his heart has kindled at the shock, and before he slumbers upon his pillow, he has resolved to devote his life and fortune to the cause.

You have before you the cause and the man.—The self-devotion of Lafayette was twofold. First, to the people, maintaining a bold and seemingly desperate struggle against oppression, and for national existence. Secondly, and chiefly, to the principles of their declaration, which then first unfurled before his eyes the consecrated standard of human rights. So that standard, without an instant of hesitation, he repaired. Where it would lead him, it is scarcely probable that he himself then foresaw. It was then identical with the stars and stripes of the American Union, floating to the breeze from the hall of independence, at Phjladelphia. Nor sordid avarice, nor vulgar ambition, could point his footsteps to the pathway leading to that banner. To the love of ease or pleasure nothing could be more repulsive. Something may be allowed to the beatings of the youthful breast, which make ambition virtue, and something to the spirit of military adventure, imbibed from his profession, and of which he felt in common with many others. France, Germany, Poland, furnished to the armies of this union, in our revolutionary struggle no inconsiderable number of officers of high rank and distinguished merit. The name of Pulaski and de Kalb are numbered among the martyrs of our freedom, and their ashes repose in our soil side by side with the canonized bones of Warren and of Montgomery. To the virtues of Lafayette, a more protracted career and happier earthly destinies were reserved. To the moral principle of political action, the sacrifices of no other man were comparable to his. Youth, health, fortune; the favour of his king; the enjoyment of ease and pleasure; even the choicest blessings of domestic felicity; he gave them all for toil and danger in a distant land, and an almost hopeless cause; but it was the cause of justice, and of the rights of human kind.

The resolve is firmly fixed, and it now remains to be carried into execution. On the 7th of December, 1776, Silas Deane, then a secret agent of the American Congress at Paris, stipulates with the Marquis de Lafayette that he shall receive a commission, to date from that day, of major general in the army of the United States; and the Marquis stipulates, in return, to depart when and how Mr. Deane shall judge proper, to serve the United States with all possible zeal, without pay or emolument, reserving to himself only the liberty of returning to Europe if his family or his king should recall him.

Neither his family nor his king were willing that he should depart; nor had Mr. Deane the power, either to conclude this contract, or to furnish the means of his conveyance to America. Difficulties rise up before him only to be dispersed, and obstacles thicken only to be surmounted. The day after the signature of the contract, Mr. Deane's agency is superseded by the arrival of Doctor Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee as his colleagues in commission; nor did they think themselves authorized to confirm his engagements, Lafayette is not to be discouraged. The commissioners extenuate nothing of the unpromising condition of their cause. Mr. Deane avows his inability to furnish him with a passage to the United States. "The more desperate the cause," says Lafayette, "the greater need has it of my services; and if Mr. Deane has no vessel for my passage, I shall purchase one myself, and will traverse the ocean with a selected company of my own."

Other impediments arise. His design becomes known to the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, who remonstrates to the French government against it. At his instance, orders are issued for the detention of the vessel purchased by the Marquis, and fitted out at Bordeaux, and for the arrest of his person. To elude the first of these orders the vessel is removed from Bordeaux to the neighbouring port of passage, within the dominion of Spain. The order for his arrest is executed; but, by stratagem and disguise, he escapes from the custody of those who have him in charge, and before a second order can reach him he is safe on the ocean wave, bound to the land of independence and of freedom.

It has been necessary to clear out the vessel for an island for the West Indies; but, once at sea he avails himself of his right as owner of the ship, and compels his captain to steer for the shores of emancipated North America. He lands with his companions, on the 25th of April, 1777, in South Carolina, not far from Charleston, and finds a most cordial reception and hospitable welcome in the house of Major Huger.

Every detail of this adventurous expedition, full of incidents, combining with the simplicity of historical truth all the interest of romance, is so well known, and so familiar to the memory of all who hear me, that I pass them over without farther notice.

From Charleston he proceeded to Philadelphia, where the Congress of the revolution were in session, and where he offered his services in the cause. Here, again, he was met with difficulties, which, to men of ordinary minds, would have been insurmountable. Mr. Deane's contracts were so numerous, and for offices of rank so high, that it was impossible they should be ratified by the Congress. He had stipulated for the appointment of other Major Generals; and, in the same contract with that of Lafayette, for eleven other officers, from the rank of a Colonel to that of Lieutenant. To introduce these officers, strangers, scarcely one of whom could speak the language of the country, into the American army, to take rank and precedence over the native citizens whose ardent patriotism had pointed them to the standard of their country, could not, without great injustice, nor without exciting the most fatal dissensions, have been done; and this answer was necessarily given as well to Lafayette as to the other officers who had accompanied him from Europe. His reply was an offer to serve as a volunteer, and without pay. Magnanimity, thus disinterested, could not be resisted, nor could the sense of it be worthily manifested by a mere acceptance of the offer. On the 31st of July, 1777, therefore, the following resolution and preamble are recorded upon the journals of Congress:

"Whereas, the Marquis de Lafayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connexions, and, at his own expense, come over to offer his service to the United States, without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause:

"Resolved, That his services be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family, and connexions, he have the rank and commission of Major General in the army of the United States."

He had the rank and commission, but no command as a Major General. With this, all personal ambition was gratified; and whatever services he might perform, he could attain no higher rank in the American army. The discontents of officers already in the service, at being superseded in command by a stripling foreigner, were disarmed; nor was the prudence of Congress, perhaps, without its influence in withholding a command, which, but for a judgment premature "beyond the slow advance of years," might have hazarded something of the sacred cause itself, by confidence too hastily bestowed.

The day after the date of his commission, he was introduced to Washington commander-in-chief of the armies of the confederation. It was the critical period of the campaign of 1777. The British army commanded by lord Howe, was advancing from the head of Elk, to which they had been transported by sea from New York, upon Philadelphia. Washington by a counteracting movement had been approaching from his line of defence, in the Jerseys, toward the city, and arrived there on the 1st of August. It was a meeting of congenial souls. At the close of it, Washington gave the youthful stranger an invitation to make the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief his home: that he should establish himself there at his own time, and consider himself at all times one of his family. It was natural that, in giving this invitation, he should remark the contrast of the situation in which it would place him, with that of ease, and comfort, and luxurious enjoyment, which he had left, at the splendid court of Louis the Sixteenth, and of his beautiful and accomplished, but ill-fated queen, then at the very summit of all which constitutes the common estimate of felicity. How deep and solemn was this contrast! No native American had undergone the trial of the same alternative. None of them, save Lafayette, had brought the same tribute, of his life, his fortune, and his honour, to a cause of a country foreign to his own. To Lafayette the soil of freedom was his country. His post of honour was the post of danger. His fireside was the field of battle. He accepted with joy the invitation of Washington, and repaired forthwith to the camp. The bond of indissoluble friendship; the friendship of heroes, was sealed from the first hour of their meeting, to last throughout their lives, and to live in the memory of mankind for ever.

It was, perhaps, at the suggestion of the American commissioners in France, that this invitation was given by Washington. In a letter from them, of the 25th of May, 1777, to the committee of foreign affairs, they announce that the Marquis had departed for the United States in a ship of his own, accompanied by some officers of distinction, in order to serve in our armies. They observe that he is exceedingly beloved, and that every body's good wishes attend him. They cannot but hope that he will meet with such a reception as will make the country and his expedition agreeable to him. They further say that those who censure it as imprudent in him, do nevertheless applaud his spirit; and they are satisfied that civilities and respect shown to him will be serviceable to our cause in France, as pleasing not only to his powerful relations and to the court, but to the whole French nation. They finally add, that he had left a beautiful young wife, and for her sake, particularly, they hoped that his bravery and ardent desire to distinguish himself would be a little restrained by the general's [Washington's] prudence so as not to permit his being hazarded much, but upon some important occasion.

The head-quarters of Washington, serving as a volunteer, with the rank and commission of a Major General without command, was precisely the station adapted to the development of his character, to his own honour, and that of the army, and to the prudent management of the country's cause. To him it was at once a severe school of experience, and a rigorous test of merit. But it was not the place to restrain him from exposure to danger. The time at which he joined the camp was one of pre-eminent peril. The British government, and the commander in chief of the British forces, had imagined that the possession of Philadelphia, combined with that of the line along the Hudson river, from the Canadian frontier to the city of New York, would be fatal to the American cause. By the capture of Burgoyne and his army, that portion of the project sustained a total defeat. The final issue of the war was indeed sealed with the capitulation of the 17th of October, 1777, at Saratoga; sealed, not with the subjugation, but with the independence of the North American union.

In the southern campaign the British commander was more successful. The fall of Philadelphia was the result of the battle of Brandywine, on the 11th of September. This was the first action in which Lafayette was engaged, and the first lesson of his practical military school was a lesson of misfortune. In the attempt to rally the American troops in their retreat, he received a musket ball in the leg. He was scarcely conscious of the wound till made sensible of it by the loss of blood, and even then ceased not his exertions in the field till he had secured and covered the retreat.

This casualty confined him for some time to his bed at Philadelphia, and afterwards detained him some days at Bethlehem; but within six weeks he rejoined the head-quarters of Washington, near Whitemarsh. He soon became anxious to obtain a command equal to his rank, and, in the short space of time that he had been with the commander-in-chief, had so thoroughly obtained his confidence as to secure an earnest solicitation from him to Congress in his favour. In a letter to Congress, of the 1st of November, 1777, he says; "The Marquis de Lafayette is extremely solicitous of having a command equal to his rank. I do not know in what light Congress will view the matter but it appears to me, from a consideration of his illustrious and important connexions, the attachment which he has manifested for our cause, and the consequences which his return in disgust might produce, that it will be advisable to gratify him in his wishes; and the more so, as several gentlemen from France, who came over under some assurances, have gone back disappointed in their expectations. His conduct with respect to them stands in a favourable point of view; having interested himself to remove their uneasiness, and urged the impropriety of their making any unfavourable representations upon their arrival home; and in all his letters he has placed our affairs in the best situation he could. Besides, he is sensible, discreet in his manners; has made great proficiency in our language; and, from the disposition he discovered at the battle of Brandywine, possesses a large share of bravery and military ardour."

Perhaps one of the highest encomiums ever pronounced of a man in public life, is that of a historian eminent for his profound acquaintance with mankind, who, in painting a great character by a single line, says that he was just equal to all the duties of the highest offices which he attained, and never above them. There are in some men qualities which dazzle and consume to little or no valuable purpose. They seldom belong to the great benefactors of mankind. They were not the qualities of Washington, or of Lafayette. The testimonial offered by the American commander to his young friend, after a probation of several months, and after the severe test of the disastrous day of Brandywine, was precisely adapted to the man in whose favour it was given, and to the object which it was to accomplish. What earnestness of purpose! what sincerity of conviction! what energetic simplicity of expression! what thorough delineation of character! The merits of Lafayette, to the eye of Washington, are the candour and generosity of his disposition; the indefatigable industry of application, which in the course of a few months, has already given him the mastery of a foreign language; good sense, discretion of manners, an attribute not only unusual in early years, but doubly rare in alliance with that enthusiam so signally marked by his self-devotion to the American cause; and, to crown all the rest, the bravery and military ardour so brilliantly manifested at the Brandywine. Here is no random praise; no unmeaning panegyric. This cluster of qualities, all plain and simple, but so seldom found in union together, so generally incompatible with one another, these are the properties eminently trustworthy, in the judgment of Washington; and these are the properties which his discernment has found in Lafayette, and which urge him thus earnestly to advise the gratification of his wish by the assignment of a command equal to the rank which had been granted to his zeal and his illustrious name.

The recommendation of Washington had its immediate effect; and on the first of December, 1777, it was resolved by Congress, that he should be informed it was highly agreeable to Congress, that the Marquis de Lafayette should be appointed to the command of a division in the continental army.

He received accordingly such an appointment, and a plan was organized in Congress for a second invasion of Canada, at the head of which he was placed. This expedition, originally projected without consultation with the commander-in-chief, might be connected with the temporary dissatisfaction in the community and in Congress, at the ill success of his endeavours to defend Philadelphia, which rival and unfriendly partisans were too ready to compare with the splendid termination, by the capture of Burgoyne and his army, of the northern campaign, under the command of General Gates. To foreclose all suspicion of a participation in these views, Lafayette proceeded to the seat of Congress, and, accepting the importu

charge which it was proposed to assign to him, obtained at his particular request that he should be considered as an officer detached from the army of Washington, and to remain under his orders. He then repaired in person to Albany, to take command of the troops who were to assemble at that place, in order to cross the lakes on the ice, and attack Montreal; but on arriving at Albany, he found none of the promised preparations in readiness; they were never effected. Congress some time after relinquished the design, and the Marquis was ordered to rejoin the army of Washington.

In the succeeding month of May, his military talent was displayed by the masterly retreat effected in the presence of an overwhelming superiority of the enemy's force from the position at Barren Hill.

He was soon after distinguished at the battle of Monmouth; and in September, 1778, a resolution of Congress declared their high sense of his services, not only in the field, but in his exertions to conciliate and heal dissensions between the officers of the French fleet under the command of Count d'Estaing and some of the native officers of our army. These dissentions had arisen in the first moments of co-operation in the service, and had threatened pernicious consequences.

In the month of April, 1776, the combined wisdom of the Count de Vergennes and of Mr. Turgot, the Prime Minister, and the financier of Louis the Sixteenth, had brought him to the conclusion that the event the most desirable to France, with regard to the controversy between Great Britain and her American colonies, was that the insurrection should be suppressed. This judgment, evincing only the total absence of all moral considerations, in the estimate, by these eminent statesmen, of what was desirable to France, had undergone a great change by the close of the year 1777. The Declaration of Independence had changed the question between the parties. The popular feeling of France was all on the side of the Americans. The daring and romantic movement of Lafayette, in defiance of the government itself, then highly favoured by public opinion, was followed by universal admiration. The spontaneous spirit of the people gradually spread itself even over the rank corruption of the court; a suspicious and deceptive neutrality succeeded to an ostensible exclusion of the insurgents from the ports of France, till the capitulation of Burgoyne satisfied the casuists of international law at Versailles that the suppression of the insurrection was no longer the most desirable of events; but that the United States were, de facto, sovereign and independent; and that France might conclude a treaty of commerce with them, without giving just cause of offence to the step-mother country. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of commerce between France and the United States was concluded, and with it, on the same day, a treaty of eventual defensive alliance, to take effect only in the event of Great Britain's resenting, by war against France, the consummation of the commercial treaty. The war immediately ensued, and in the summer of 1778, a French fleet under the command of Count d'Estaing was sent to co-operate with the forces of the United States for the maintenance of their independence.

By these events the position of the Marquis de Lafayette was essentially changed. It became necessary for him to reinstate himself in the good graces of his sovereign, offended at his absenting himself from his country without permission, but gratified with the distinction which he had acquired by gallant deeds in a service now become that of France herself. At the close of the campaign of 1778, with the approbation of his friend and patron, the commander-in-chief, he addressed a letter to the president of Congress, representing his then present circumstances with the confidence of affection and gratitude, observing that the sentiments which bound him to his country could never be more properly spoken of than in the presence of men who had done so much for their own. "As long," continued he, "as I thought I could dispose of myself, I made it my pride and pleasure to fight under American colours, in defence of a cause which I dare more particularly call ours, because I had the good fortune of bleeding for her. Now, sir, that France is involved in a war, I am urged, by a sense of my duty, as well as by the love of my country, to present myself before the king, and know in what manner he judges proper to employ my services. The most agreeable of all will always be such as may enable me to serve the common cause among those whose friendship I had the happiness to obtain, and whose fortune I had the honour to follow in less smiling times. That reason, and others, which I leave to the feelings of Congress, engage me to beg from them the liberty of going home for the next winter.

"As long as there were any hopes of an active campaign, I did not think of leaving the field; now that I see a very peaceable and undisturbed moment, I take this opportunity of waiting on congress."

In the remainder of the letter he solicited that, in the event of his request being granted, he might be considered as a soldier on furlough, heartily wishing to regain his colours and his esteemed and beloved fellow-soldiers. And he closes with a tender of any services which he might be enabled to render to the American cause in his own country.

On the receipt of this letter, accompanied by one from General Washington, recommending to congress, in terms most honourable to the Marquis, a compliance with his request, that body immediately passed resolutions granting him an unlimited leave of absence, with permission to return to the United States at his own most convenient time; that the president of Congress should write him a letter returning him the thanks of Congress for that disinterested zeal which had led him to America, and for the services he had rendered to the United States by the exertion of his courage and abilities on many signal occasions; and that the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles should be directed to cause an elegant sword, with proper devices, to be made, and presented to him in the name of the United States. These resolutions were communicated to him in a letter expressive of the sensibility congenial to them, from the president of Congress, Henry Laurens.

He embarked in January, 1779, in the frigate Alliance, at Boston, and, on the succeeding 12th day of February, presented himself at Versailles. Twelve months had already elapsed since the conclusion of the treaties of commerce and of eventual alliance between France and the United States. They had, during the greater part of that time, been deeply engaged in a war with a common cause against great Britain, and it was the cause in which Lafayette had been shedding his blood: yet, instead of receiving him with open arms, as the pride and ornament of his country, a cold and hollow-hearted order was issued to him not to present himself at court, but to consider himself under arrest, with permission to receive visits only from his relations. This ostensible mark of the royal displeasure was to last eight days, and Lafayette manifested his sense of it only by a letter to the Count de Vergennes, inquiring whether the interdiction upon him to receive visits was to be considered as extending to that of Doctor Franklin.—The sentiment of universal admiration which had followed him at his first departure, greatly increased by his splendid career of service during the two years of his absence, indemnified, him for the indignity of the courtly rebuke.

He remained in France through the year 1779, and returned to the scene of action early in the ensuing year. He continued in the French service, and was appointed to command the king's own regiment of dragoons, stationed during the year in various parts of the kingdom, and holding an incessant correspondence with the minister of foreign affairs and of war, urging the employment of a land and naval force in the aid of the American cause. "the Marquis de Lafayette," says Doctor Franklin, in a letter of the 4th of March, 1780, to the president of Congress, "who, during his residence in France, has been extremely zealous in supporting our cause on all occasions, returns again to fight for it. He is infinitely esteemed and beloved here, and I am persuaded will do every thing in his power to merit a continuance of the same affection from America."

Immediately after his arrival in the United States, it was, on the 17th of May, 1780, resolved in Congress, that they consider his return to America to resume his command as a fresh proof of the disinterested zeal and persevering attachment which have justly recommended him to the public confidence and applause, and that they received with pleasure a tender of the farther services of so gallant and meritorious an officer.

From this time until the termination of the campaign of 1781, by the surrender of lord Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, his service was of incessant activity, always signalized by military talents unsurpassed, and by a spirit never to be subdued. At the time of the treason of Arnold, Lafayette was accompanying his commander-in-chief to an important conference and consultation with the French General, Rochambeau; and then, as in every stage of the war, it seemed as if the position which he occupied, his personal character, his individual relations with Washington, with the officers of both the allied armies, and with the armies themselves, had been specially ordered to promote and secure that harmony and mutual good understanding indispensable to the ultimate success of the common cause. His position, too, as a foreigner by birth, a European, a volunteer in the American service, and a person of high rank in his native country, pointed him out as peculiarly suited to the painful duty of deciding upon the character of the crime, and upon the fate of the British officer, the accomplice and victim of the detested traitor, Arnold.

In the early part of the campaign of 1781 when Cornwallis, with an overwhelming force, was spreading ruin and devastation over the southern portion of the union, we find Lafayette, with means altogether inadequate, charged with the defence of the territory of Virginia. Always equal to the emergencies in which circumstances placed him, his expedients for encountering and surmounting the obstacles which they cast in his way are invariably stamped with the peculiarities of his character. The troops placed under his command for the defence of Virginia, were chiefly taken from the eastern regiments, unseasoned to the climate to the south, and prejudiced against it as unfavourable to the health of the natives of the more rigorous regions of the north. Desertions became frequent, till they threatened the very dissolution of the corps. Instead of resorting to military execution to retain his men, he appeals to the sympathies of honour. He states, in general orders, the great danger and difficulty of the enterprise upon which he is about to embark; represents the only possibility by which it can promise success, the faithful adherence of the soldiers to their chief, and his confidence that they will not abandon him. He then adds, that if, however, any individual of the detachment was unwilling to follow him, a passport to return to his home should be forthwith granted him upon his application. It is to a cause like that of American independence that resources like this are congenial. After these general orders, nothing more was heard of desertion. The very cripples of the army preferred paying for their own transportation, to follow the corps, rather than to ask for the dismission which had been made so easily accessible to all.

But how shall the deficiencies of the military chest be supplied? The want of money was heavily pressing upon the service in every direction. Where are the sinews of war? How are the troops to march without shoes, linen, clothing of all descriptions, and other necessaries of life? Lafayette

has found them all. From the patriotic merchants of Baltimore he obtains, on the pledge of his own personal credit, a loan of money adequate to the purchase of the materials; and from the fair hands of the daughters of the monumental city, even then worthy to be so called, he obtains the toil of making up the needed garments.

The details of the campaign, from its unpromising outset, when Cornwallis, the British commander, exulted in anticipation that the boy could not escape him till the storming of the twin redoubts, in emulation of gallantry by the valiant Frenchmen of Viomesnil, and the American fellow-soldiers of Lafayette, led him to victory at Yorktown, must be left to the recording pen of history. Both redoubts were carried at the point of the sword, and Cornwallis with averted face surrendered his sword to Washington.

This was the last vital struggle of the war, which, however, lingered through another year rather of negotiation than of action. Immediately after the capitulation at Yorktown, Lafayette asked and obtained again a leave of absence to visit his family and his country, and with this closed his military service in the field during the revolutionary war. But it was not for the individual enjoyment of his renown that he returned to France. The resolutions of Congress accompanying that which gave him a discretionary leave of absence, while honorary in the highest degree to him, were equally marked by a grant of virtual credentials for negotiation, and by the trust of confidential powers, together with a letter of the warmest commendation of the gallant soldier to the favour of his king. The ensuing year was consumed in preparations for a formidable combined French and Spanish expedition against the British Islands in the West Indies, and particularly the Island of Jamaica; thence to recoil upon New York, and to pursue the offensive war into Canada. The fleet destined for this gigantic undertaking was already assembled at Cadiz; and Lafayette, appointed the chief of the staff, was there ready to embark upon this perilous adventure, when, on the 30th of November, 1782, the preliminary treaties of peace were concluded between his Britannic majesty on one part, and the allied powers of France, Spain, and the United States of America, on the other. The first intelligence of this event received by the American Congress was in the communication of a letter from Lafayette.

The war of American Independence is closed. The people of the North American confederation are in union, sovereign and independent. Lafayette, at twenty-five years of age, has lived the life of a patriarch, and illustrated the career of a hero. Had his days upon earth been then numbered, and had he then slept with his fathers, illustrious as for centuries their names had been, his name, to the end of time, would have transcended them all. Fortunate youth! fortunate beyond even the measure of his companions in arms with whom he had achieved the glorious consummation of American independence. His fame was all his own; not cheaply earned; not ignobly won. His fellow-soldiers had been the champions and defenders of their country. They reaped for themselves, for their wives, their children, their posterity to the latest time, the rewards of their dangers and their toils. Lafayette had watched, and laboured, and fought, and bled, not for himself, not for his family, not, in the first instance, even for his country. In the legendary tales of chivalry we read of tournaments at which a foreign and unknown knight, suddenly presents himself, armed in complete steel, and with the vizor down, enters the ring to contend with the assembled flower of knighthood for the prize of honour, to be awarded by the hand of beauty; bears it in triumph away, and disappears from the astonished multitude of competitors and spectators of the feats of arms. But where in the rolls of history, where, in the fictions of romance, where, but in the life of Lafayette, has been seen the noble stranger, flying with the tribute of his name, his rank, his affluence, his ease, his domestic bliss, his treasure, his blood, to the relief of a suffering and distant land, in the hour of her deepest calamity; baring his bosom to her foes; and not at the transient pageantry of a tournament, but for a succession of five years sharing all the vicissitudes of her fortunes; always eager to appear at the post of danger; tempering the glow of youthful ardour with the cold caution of a veteran commander; bold and daring in action; prompt in execution; rapid in pursuit; fertile in expedients; unattainable in retreat; often exposed, but never surprised, never disconcerted; eluding his enemy when within his fancied grasp; bearing upon him with irresistible sway when of force to cope with him in the conflict of arms? And what is this but the diary of Lafayette, from the day of his rallying the scattered fugitives of the Brandywine, insensible of the blood flowing from his wound, to the storming of the redoubt at Yorktown?

Henceforth, as a public man, Lafayette is to be considered as a Frenchman, always active and ardent to serve the United States, but no longer in their service as an officer. So transcendent had been his merits in the common cause, that, to reward them, the rule of progressive advancement in the armies of France was set aside for him. He received from the minister of war, a notification that from the day of his retirement from the service of the United States as a Major General, at the close of the war, he should hold the same rank in the armies of France, to date from the day of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis.

Henceforth he is a Frenchman, destined to perform in the history of his country a part, as peculiarly his own, and not less glorious than that which he had performed in the war of independence. A short period of profound peace followed the great triumph of freedom. The desire of Lafayette once more to see the land of his adoption and the associates of his glory, the fellow-soldiers who had become to him as brothers, and the friend and patron of his youth, who had become to him as a father; sympathizing with their desire once more to see him; to see in their prosperity him who had first come to them in their affliction, induced him, in the year 1784, to pay a visit to the United States.

On the 4th of August, of that year, he landed at New-York, and, in the space of five months from that time, visited his venerable friend at Mount Vernon, where he was then living in retirement, and traversed ten states of the union, receiving every where, from their legislative assemblies, from the municipal bodies of the cities and towns through which he passed, from the officers of the army his late associates, now restored to the virtues and occupations of private life, and even from the recent emigrants from Ireland who had come to adopt for their country the self-emancipated land, addresses of gratulation and of joy, the effusions of hearts grateful in the enjoyment of the blessings for the possession of which they had been so largely indebted to his exertions; and, finally, from the United States of America in Congress assembled at Trenton.

On the 9th of December it was resolved by that body that a committee, to consist of one member from each state, should be appointed to receive, and in the name of Congress take leave of the Marquis. That they should be instructed to assure him that Congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they had frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions, and which the recent marks of his attention to their commercial and other interests had perfectly confirmed. "That, as his uniform and unceasing attachment to this country has resembled that of a patriotic citizen, the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honour and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him."

And it was farther resolved, that a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, to be signed by his excellency the president of Congress, expressive of the high sense which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favour and patronage of his majesty.

The first of these resolutions was, on the next day carried into execution. At a solemn interview with the committee of Congress, received in their hall, and addressed by the chairman of their committee, John Jay, the purport of these resolutions were communicated to him. He replied in terms of fervent sensibility for the kindness manifested personally to himself; and, with allusions to the situation, the prospects, and the duties of the people of this country, he pointed out the great interests which he believed it indispensible to their welfare that they should cultivate and cherish. In the following memorable sentences the ultimate objects of his solicitude are disclosed in a tone deeply solemn and impressive:

"May this immense temple of freedom," said he, "ever stand, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind! and may these happy United States attain that complete splendour and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders."

Fellow-citizens! Ages have passed away since these words were spoken; but ages are the years of the existence of nations. The founders of this immense temple of freedom have all departed, save here and there a solitary exception, even while I speak, at the point of taking wing. The prayer of Lafayette is not yet consummated.—Ages upon ages are still to pass away before it can have its full accomplishment; and, for its full accomplishment, his spirit, hovering over our heads, in more than echoes talks around these walls. It repeats the prayer, which from his lips fifty years ago was at once a parting blessing and a prophecy; for, were it possible for the whole human race, now breathing the breath of life, to be assembled within this hall, your orator would, in your name, and in that of your constituents, appeal to them to testify for your fathers of the last generation, that, so far as has depended upon them, the blessing of Lafayette has been prophecy Yes! this immense temple of freedom still stands, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, and a sanctuary for the rights of mankind.—Yes! with the smiles of a benignant providence, the splendour and prosperity of these happy United States have illustrated the blessings of their government, and, we may humbly hope, have rejoiced the departed souls of its founders. For the past your fathers and you have been responsible. The charge of the future devolves upon you and upon your children. The vestal fire of freedom is in your custody. May the souls of its departed founders never be called to witness its extinction by neglect, nor a soil upon the purity of its keepers!

With this valedictory, Lafayette took, as he and those who heard him then believed, a final leave of the people of the United States. He returned to France, and arrived at Paris on the 25th of January, 1785.

He continued to take a deep interest in the concerns of the United States, and exerted his influence with the French government to obtain reductions of duties favourable to their commerce and fisheries. In the summer of 1786, he visited several of the German courts, and attended the last great review by Frederic the Second of his veteran army; a review unusually splendid, and specially remarkable by the attendance of many of the most distinguished military commanders of Europe. In the same year the legislature of Virginia manifested the continued recollection of his services rendered to the people of that commonwealth, by a complimentary token of gratitude not less honourable than it was unusual. They resolved that two busts of Lafayette, to be executed by the celebrated sculptor, Houdon, should be

procured at their expense; that one of them should be placed in their own legislative hall, and the other presented, in their name, to the municipal authorities of the city of Paris. It was accordingly presented by Mr. Jefferson, then minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, and, by the permission of Louis the Sixteenth, was accepted, and, with appropriate solemnity placed in one of the halls of the Hotel de Ville of the metropolis of France.

We have gone through one stage of the life of Lafayette; we are now to see him acting upon another theatre; in a cause still essentially the same, but in the application of its principles to his own country.

The immediately originating question which occasioned the French revolution, was the same with that from which the American revolution had sprung: taxation of the people without their consent. For nearly two centuries the kings of France had been accustomed to levy taxes upon the people by royal ordinances. But it was necessary that these ordinances should be registered in the parliaments or judicial tribunals; and these parliaments claimed the right of remonstrating against them, and sometimes refused the registry of them itself. The members of the parliaments held their offices by purchase, but were appointed by the King, and were subject to banishment or imprisonment, at his pleasure. Louis the Fifteenth, towards the close of his reign, had abolished the parliaments, but they had been restored at the accession of his successor.

The finances of the kingdom were in extreme disorder. The minister, or comptroller general de Calonne, after attempting various projects for obtaining the supplies, the amount and need of which he was with lavish hand daily increasing, bethought himself, at last, of calling for the counsel of others. He prevailed upon the king to convoke, not the states general, but an assembly of notables. There was something ridiculous in the very name by which this meeting was called; but it consisted of a selection from all the grandees and dignitaries of the kingdom. The two brothers of the king; all the princes of the blood; archbishops and bishops, dukes and peers; the chancellor and presiding members of the parliaments; distinguished members of the noblesse, and the mayors and chief magistrates of a few of the principal cities of the kingdom, constituted this assembly. It was a representation of every interest but that of the people. They were appointed by the king; were members of the highest aristocracy, and were assembled with the design that their deliberations should be confined exclusively to the subjects submitted to their consideration by the minister. These were certain plans devised by him for replenishing the insolvent treasury, by assessments upon the privileged classes, the very princes, nobles, ecclesiastics, and magistrates exclusively represented in the assembly itself.

Of this meeting, the Marquis de Lafayette was a member. It was held in February, 1787, and terminated in the overthrow and banishment of the minister by whom it had been convened. In the fiscal concerns which absorbed the care and attention of others, Lafayette took comparatively little interest. His views were more comprehensive.

The assembly consisted of one hundred and thirty-seven persons, and divided itself into several sections or bureaux, each presided by a prince of the blood. Lafayette was allotted to the division under the presidency of the Count d'Artois, the younger brother of the king, and since known as Charles the Tenth. The propositions made by Lafayette were

1. The suppression of lettres de cachet, and the abolition of all arbitrary imprisonment.

2 The establishment of religious toleration, and the restoration of the protestants to their civil rights.

3 The convocation of a national assembly, representing the people of France; personal liberty religious liberty; and a representative assembly of the people. These were his demands.

The first and second of them produced, perhaps, at the time, no deep impression upon the assembly, nor upon the public. Arbitrary imprisonment, and the religious persecution of the protestants had become universally odious. They were worn-out instruments, even in the hands of those who wielded them. There was none to defend them.

But the demand for a national assembly startled the prince at the head of the Bureau. What! said the Count d'Artois, do you ask the states general? Yes, sir, was the answer of Lafayette, and for something yet better. You desire, then, replied the prince, that I should take in writing, and report to the king, that the motion to convoke the states general has been made by the Marquis de Lafayette? "Yes, sir;" and the name of Lafayette was accordingly reported to the king.

The assembly of notables was dissolved.—De Colonne was displaced and banished, and his successor undertook to raise the needed funds, by the authority of royal edicts. The war of litigation with the parliaments recommenced, which terminated only with a positive promise that the states general should be convoked.

From that time a total revolution of government in France was in progress. It has been a solemn, a sublime often a most painful, and yet in the contemplation of great results, a refreshing and cheering contemplation. I cannot follow it in its overwhelming multitude of details, even as connected with the life and character of Lafayette. A second assembly of notables succeeded the first; and then an assembly of the states general, first to deliberate in separate orders of clergy, nobility, and third estate; but, finally constituting itself a national assembly, and forming a constitution of limited monarchy, with an hereditary royal executive, and a legislature in a single assembly representing the people.

Lafayette was a member of the states general first assembled. Their meeting was signalized by a struggle between the several orders of which they were composed, which resulted in breaking them all down into one national assembly.

The convocation of the states general had, in one respect, operated, in the progress of the French revolution, like the declaration of independence in that of North America. It had changed the question in controversy. It was, on the part of the king of France, a concession that he had no lawful power to tax the people without their consent. The states general, therefore, met with this admission already conceded by the king. In the American conflict the British government never yielded the concession. They undertook to maintain their supposed right of arbitrary taxation by force; and then the people of the colonies renounced all community of government, not only with the king and parliament, but with the British nation. They reconstructed the fabric of government for themselves, and held the people of Britain as foreigners; friends in peace; enemies in war.

The concession by Louis the Sixteenth, implied in the convocation of the states general, was a virtual surrender of absolute power; an acknowledgment that, as exercised by himself and his predecessors, it had been usurped. It was, in substance, an abdication of his crown. There was no power which he exercised as king of France, the lawfulness of which was not contestable on the same principle which denied him the right of taxation. When the assembly of the states general met at Versailles, in May, 1780, there was but a shadow of the royal authority left. They felt the power of the nation was in their hands, and they were not sparing in the use of it. The representatives of the third estate, double in numbers to those of the clergy and the nobility, constituted themselves a national assembly, and, as signal for the demolition of all privileged orders refused to deliberate in separate chambers, and thus compelled the representatives of the clergy and nobility to merge their separate existence in the general mass of the popular representation.

Thus the edifice of society was to be reconstructed in France as it had been in America.—The king made a feeble attempt to overawe the assembly, by calling regiments of troops to Versailles, and surrounding with them the hall of their meeting. But there was defection in the army itself, and even the person of the king soon ceased to be at his own disposal. On the 11th of July, 1789, in the midst of the fermentation which had succeeded the fall of the monarchy, and while the assembly was surrounded by armed soldiers, Lafayette presented to them his declaration of rights; the first declaration of human rights ever proclaimed in Europe. It was adopted, and became the basis of that which the assembly promulgated with their constitution.

It was in this hemisphere, and in our own country, that all its principles had been imbibed. At the very moment when the declaration was presented, the convulsive struggle between the expiring monarchy and the new born but portentous anarchy of the Parisian populace was taking place. The royal palace and the hall of assembly were surrounded with troops, and insurrection was kindling at Paris. In the midst of the popular commotion, a deputation of sixty members, with Lafayette at their head, was sent from the assembly to tranquillize the people of Paris, and that incident was the occasion of the institution of the national guard throughout the realm, and of the appointment, with the approbation of the king, of Lafayette as their general commander-in-chief.

This event, without vacating his seat in the assembly, connected him at once with the military and the popular movement of the revolution. The national guard was the armed militia of the whole kingdom, embodied for the preservation of order, and the protection of persons and property, as well as for the establishment of the liberties of the people. In his double capacity of commander general of this force, and of a representative in the constituent assembly, his career, for a period of more than three years, was beset with the most imminent dangers, and with difficulties beyond all human power to surmount.

The ancient monarchy of France had crumbled into ruins. A national assembly, formed by an irregular representation of clergy, nobles, and third estate, after melting at the fire of a revolution into one body, had transformed itself into a constituent assembly representing the people, had assumed the exercise of all the powers of government, extorted from the hands of the king, and undertaken to form a constitution for the French nation, founded at once upon the theory of human rights, and upon the preservation of a royal hereditary crown upon the head of Louis the Sixteenth. Lafayette sincerely believed that such a system would not be absolutely incompatible with the nature of things. An hereditary monarchy, surrounded by popular institutions, presented itself to his imagination as a practicable form of government; nor is it certain that even to his last days he ever abandoned this persuasion. The element of hereditary monarchy in this constitution was indeed not congenial with it. The prototype from which the whole fabric had been drawn, had no such element in its composition. A feeling of generosity, of compassion, of commiseration with the unfortunate prince then upon the throne, who had been his sovereign, and for his ill-fated family, mingled itself, perhaps unconsciously to himself, with his well-reasoned faith in the abstract principles of a republican creed. The total abolition of the monarchical feature undoubtedly belonged to his theory, but the family of Bourbon had still a strong hold on the affections of the French people; history had not made up a record favourable to the establishment of elective kings; a strong executive head was absolutely necessary to curb the impetuosities of the people of France: and the same doctrine which played upon the fancy, and crept upon the kind-hearted benevolence of Lafayette was adopted by a large majority of

the national assembly, sanctioned by the suffrages of its most intelligent, virtuous, and patriotic members, and was finally embodied in that royal democracy, the result of their labours, sent forth to the world, under the guaranty of numberless oaths, as the constitution of France for all after-time.

But, during the same period, after the first meeting of the states general, and while they were in actual conflict with the expiring energies of the crown, and with the exclusive privileges of the clergy and nobility, another portentous power had arisen, and entered with terrific activity into the controversies of the time. This was the power of popular insurrection, organized by voluntary associations of clubs, and impelled to action by the municipal authorities of the city of Paris.

The first movements of the people in the state of insurrection took place on the 12th of July, 1789, and issued in the destruction of the Bastille, and in the murder of its governor, and of several other persons, hung up at lamp-posts, or torn to pieces by the frenzied multitude, without form of trial, and without shadow of guilt.

The Bastille had long been odious as the place of confinement of persons arrested by arbitrary orders for offences against the government, and its destruction was hailed by most of the friends of liberty throughout the world as an act of patriotism and magnanimity on the part of the people.— The brutal ferocity of the murders was overlooked or palliated in the glory of the achievement of razing to its foundations the execrated citadel of despotism. But, as the summary justice of insurrection can manifest itself only by destruction, the example once set, became a precedent for a series of years, for scenes so atrocious, and for butcheries so merciless and horrible, that memory revolts at the task of recalling them to the mind.

It would be impossible, within the compass of this discourse, to follow the details of the French revolution to the final dethronement of Louis the Sixteenth, and the extinction of the constitutional monarchy of France, on the 10th of August 1792. During that period, the two distinct powers were in continual operation; sometimes in concert with each other, sometimes at irreconcilable opposition. Of these powers, one was the people of France, represented by the Parisian populace in insurrection; the other was the people of France, represented successively by the constituent assembly, which formed the constitution of 1791, and by the legislative assembly, elected to carry it into execution.

The movements of the insurgent power were occasionally convulsive and cruel, without mitigation or mercy. Guided by secret springs; prompted by vindictive and sanguinary ambition, directed by hands unseen to objects of individual aggrandizement, its agency fell like the thunderbolt, and swept like the whirlwind.

The proceedings of the assemblies were deliberative and intellectual. They began by grasping at the whole power of the monarchy, and they finished by sinking under the dictation of the Parisian populace. The constituent assembly numbered among its members many individuals of great ability, and of pure principles, but they were overawed and domineered by that other representation of the people of France, which, through the instrumentality of the jacobin club, and the municipality of Paris, disconcerted the wisdom of the wise, and scattered to the winds the counsels of the prudent. It was impossible that, under the perturbations of such a controlling power, a constitution suited to the character and circumstances of the nation should be formed.

Through the whole of this period, the part performed by Lafayette was without parallel in history. The annals of the human race exhibit no other instance of a position comparable for its unintermitted perils, its deep responsibilities, and its providential issues, with that which he occupied as commande general of the national guard, and as a leading member of the constituent assembly. In the numerous insurrections of the people, he saved the lives of multitudes devoted as victims, and always at the most imminent hazard of his own. On the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, he saved the lives of Louis the Sixteenth, and of his queen. He escaped, time after time, the daggers sharpened by princely conspiracy on one hand, and by popular frenzy on the other. He witnessed, too, without being able to prevent it, the butchery of Foulen before his eyes, and the reeking heart of Berthier, torn from his lifeless trunk, was held up in exulting triumph before him. On this occasion, and on another, he threw up his commission as commander of the national guards; but who could have succeeded him, even with equal power to restrain these volcanic excesses? At the earnest solicitation of those who well knew that his place could never be supplied, he resumed and continued in the command until the solemn proclamation of the constitution, upon which he definitively laid it down, and retired to private life upon his estate in Auvergne.

As a member of the constituent assembly, it is not in the detailed organization of the government which they prepared, that his spirit and co-operation is to be traced. It is in the principles which he proposed and infused into the system. As, at the first assembly of notables, his voice had been raised for the abolition of arbitrary imprisonment, for the extinction of religious intolerance, and for the representation of the people, so, in the national assembly, besides the declaration of rights, which formed the basis of the constitution itself, he made or supported the motions for the establishment of trial by jury, for the gradual emancipation of slaves, for the freedom of the press, for the abolition of all titles of nobility, and for the declaration of equality of all the citizens, and the suppression of all the privileged orders, without exception of the princes of the royal family. Thus, while as a legislator he was spreading the principles of universal liberty over the whole surface of the state, as commander-in-chief of the armed force of the nation, he was controlling, repressing, and mitigating, as far as it could be effected by human power, the excesses of the people.

The constitution was at length proclaimed, and the constituent national assembly was dissolved. In advance of this event, the sublime spectacle of the federation was exhibited on the 14th of July, 1790, the first anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille. There was an ingenious and fanciful association of ideas in the selection of that day. The Bastille was a state prison, a massive structure, which had stood four hundred years, every stone of which was saturated with sighs and tears, and echoed the groans of four centuries of oppression. It was the very type and emblem of the despotism which had so long weighed upon France. Demolished from its summit to its foundation at the first shout of freedom from the people, what day could be more appropriate than its anniversary for the day of solemn consecration of the new fabric of government, founded upon the rights of man?

I shall not describe the magnificent and melancholy pageant of that day. It has been done by abler hands, and in a style which could only be weakened and diluted by repetition.* The religious solemnity of the mass was performed by a prelate, then eminent among the members of the assembly and the dignitaries of the land; still eminent, after surviving the whole circle of subsequent revolutions. No longer a father of the church, but among the most distinguished laymen and most celebrated statesmen of France, his was the voice to invoke the blessing of heaven upon this new constitution for his liberated country; and he, and Louis the Sixteenth, and Lafayette, and thirty thousand delegates from all the confederated national guards of the kingdom, in the presence of Almighty God, and of five hundred thousand of their countrymen, took the oath of fidelity of the nation, to the constitution, and all save the monarch himself, to the king. His corresponding oath was, of fidelity to discharge the duties of his high office, and to the people.

Alas! and was it all false and hollow! had these oaths no more substance than the breath that ushered them to the winds? It was impossible to look back upon the short and turbulent existence of this royal democracy, to mark the frequent paroxysms of popular frenzy by which it was assailed, and the catastrophe by which it perished, and to believe that the vows of all who swore to support it were sincere. But, as well might the sculptor of a block of marble, after exhausting his genius and his art in giving it a beautiful human form, call God to witness that it shall perform all the functions of animal life, as the constituent assembly of France could pledge the faith of its members that their royal democracy should work as a permanent organized form of government.— The declaration of rights contained all the principles essential to freedom. The frame of government was radically and irreparably defective. The hereditary royal executive was itself an inconsistency with the declaration of rights. The legislative power, all concentrated in a single assembly, was an incongruity still more glaring. These were both departures from the system of organization which Lafayette had witnessed in the American constitutions: neither of them was approved by Lafayette. In deference to the prevailing opinions and prejudices of the times, he acquiesced in them, and he was destined to incur the most imminent hazards of his life, and to make the sacrifice of all that gives value to life itself, in faithful adherence to that constitution which he had sworn to support.

Shortly after his resignation, as commander general of the national guards, the friends of liberty and order presented him as a candidate for election as mayor of Paris; but he had a competitor in the person of Pethion, more suited to the party, pursuing with inexorable rancour the abolition of the monarchy and the destruction of the king; and, what may seem scarcely credible, the remnant of the party which still adhered to the king, the king himself, and, above all, the queen, favoured the election of the jacobin Pethion, in preference to that of Lafayette. They were, too fatally for themselves, successful.

From the first meeting of the legislative assembly, under the constitution of 1791, the destruction of the king and of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic, by means of the popular passions and of popular violence, were the deliberate purposes of its leading members. The spirit with which the revolution had been pursued, from the time of the destruction of the Bastille, had caused the emigration of great numbers of the nobility and clergy; and, among them, of the two brothers of Louis the Sixteenth, and of several other princes of his blood. They had applied to all the other great monarchies of Europe for assistance to uphold or restore the crumbling monarchy of France. The French reformers themselves, in the heat of their political fanaticism, avowed, without disguise, the design to revolutionize all Europe, and had emissaries in every country, openly or secretly preaching the doctrine of insurrection against all established governments. Louis the Sixteenth, and his queen, an Austrian princess, sister to the Emperor Leopold, were in secret negociation with the Austrian government for the rescue of the king and royal family of France from the dangers with which they were so incessantly beset. In the Electorate of Treves, a part of the Germanic empire, the emigrants from France were assembling, with indications of a design to enter France in hostile array, to effect a counter-revolution; and the brothers of the king, assuming a position at Coblentz, on the borders of their country, were holding councils, the object of which was to march in arms to Paris, to release the king from captivity, and to restore the ancient monarchy to the dominion of absolute power.

* In the Address to the young men of Boston, by Edward Everett.

The king, who, even before his forced acceptance of the constitution of 1791, had made an unsuccessful attempt to escape from his palace prison, was, in April, 1792, reduced to the humiliating necessity of declaring war against the very sovereigns who were arming their nations to rescue him from his revolted subjects. Three armies, each of fifty thousand men, were levied to meet the emergencies of this war, and were placed under the command of Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette. As he passed through Paris to go and take the command of his army, he appeared before the legislative assembly, the president of which, in addressing him, said that the nation would oppose to their enemies the constitution and Lafayette.

But the enemies to the constitution were within the walls. At this distance of time, when most of the men, and many of the passions of those days, have passed away, when the French revolution, and its results, should be regarded with the searching eye of philosophical speculation, as lessons of experience to after ages, may it even now be permitted to remark how much the virtues and the crimes of men, in times of political convulsion, are modified and characterized by the circumstances in which they are placed? The great actors of the tremendous scenes of revolution in those times were men educated in schools of high civilization, and in the humane and benevolent precepts of the christian religion. A small portion of them were vicious and depraved; but the great majority were wound up to madness by that war of conflicting interests and absorbing passions, enkindled by a great convulsion of the social system. It has been said by a great master of human nature—

> "In peace, there's nothing so becomes a man
> "As modest stillness and humility;
> "But when the blast of war blows in your ears,
> "Then imitate the action of the tiger."

Too faithfully did the people of France, and the leaders of their factions, in that war of all the political elements, obey that injunction. Who, that lived in that day, can remember? who, since born, can read, or bear to be told, the horrors of the 20th of June, the 10th of August, the 2d and 3d of September, 1792, of the 31st of May, 1793, and of a multitude of others, during which, in dreadful succession, the murderers of one day were the victims of the next, until that, when the insurgent populace themselves were shot down by thousands, in the very streets of Paris, by the military legions of the convention, and the rising fortune and genius of Napoleon Bonaparte? Who can remember, or read, or hear, of all this, without shuddering at the sight of man, his fellow-creature, in the drunkenness of political frenzy, degrading himself beneath the condition of the cannibal savage? beneath even the condition of the wild beast of the desert? and who, but with a feeling of deep mortification, can reflect, that the rational and immortal being, to the race of which he himself belongs, should, even in his most palmy state of intellectual cultivation, be capable of this self-transformation to brutality?

In this dissolution of all the moral elements which regulate the conduct of men in their social condition; in this monstrous, and scarcely conceivable spectacle of a king, at the head of a mighty nation, in secret league with the enemies against whom he has proclaimed himself at war, and of a legislature conspiring to destroy the king and constitution to which they have sworn allegiance and support, Lafayette alone is seen to preserve his fidelity to the king, to the constitution, and to his country,

> "Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
> "His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal."

On the 16th of June, 1792, four days before the first violation of the palace of the Tuilleries by the populace of Paris, at the instigation of the jacobins, Lafayette, in a letter to the legislative assembly, had denounced the jacobin club, and called upon the assembly to suppress them. He afterwards repaired to Paris in person, presented himself at the bar of the assembly, repeated his denunciation of the club, and took measures for suppressing their meetings by force. He proposed also to the king himself to furnish him with means of withdrawing with his family to Compeigne, where he would have been out of the reach of that ferocious and blood-thirsty multitude. The Assembly, by a great majority of votes, sustained the principles of his letter, but the king declined his proffered assistance to enable him to withdraw from Paris; and of those upon whom he called to march with him, and shut up the hall where the jacobins held their meetings, not more than thirteen persons presented themselves at the appointed time.

He returned to his army, and became thenceforth the special object of jacobin resentment and revenge. On the 8th of August, on a preliminary measure to the intended insurrection of the 10th, the question was taken, after several days of debate, upon a formal motion that he should be put in accusation and tried. The last remnant of freedom in that assembly was then seen by the vote upon nominal appeal, or yeas and nays, in which four hundred and forty-six votes were for rejecting the charge, and only two hundred and twenty-four for sustaining it. Two days after, the Tuilleries were stormed by popular insurrection. The unfortunate king was compelled to seek refuge, with his family, in the hall of the legislative assembly, and escaped from being torn to pieces by an infuriated multitude, only to pass from his palace to the prison, in his way to the scaffold.

This revolution thus accomplished, annihilated the constitution, the government, and the cause for which Lafayette had contended. The people of France, by their acquiescence, a great portion of them by direct approval, confirmed and sanctioned the abolition of the monarchy. The armies and their commanders took the same victorious side: not a show of resistance was made to the revolutionary torrent, not an arm was lifted to restore the fallen monarch to his throne, nor even to rescue or protect his person from the fury of his inexorable foes. Lafayette himself would have marched to Paris with his army, for the defence of the constitution, but in this disposition he was not seconded by his troops. After ascertaining that the effort would be vain, and after arresting at Sedan the members of the deputation from the legislative assembly, sent, after their own subjugation, to arrest him, he determined, as the only expedient left him to save his honour and his principles, to withdraw both from the army and the country; to pass into a neutral territory, and thence into these United States, the country of his early adoption and his fond partiality, where he was sure of finding a safe asylum, and of meeting a cordial welcome.

But his destiny had reserved him for other and severer trials. We have seen him struggling for the support of principles, against the violence of raging factions, and the fickleness of the multitude; we are now to behold him in the hands of the hereditary rulers of mankind, and to witness the nature of their tender mercies to him.

It was in the neutral territory of Liege that he, together with his companions, Latour Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, and Alexander Lameth, was taken by the Austrians, and transferred to Prussian guards. Under the circumstances of the case, he could not, by the principles of the laws of nations, be treated even as a prisoner of war. He was treated as a prisoner of state. Prisoners of state in the monarchies of Europe are always presumed guilty, and are treated as if entitled as little to mercy as to justice. Lafayette was immured in dungeons, first at Wesel, then at Magdeburg, and, finally, at Olmutz, in Moravia. By what right? By none known among men. By what authority? That has never been avowed. For what cause? None has ever been assigned. Taken by Austrian soldiers upon a neutral territory, handed over to Prussian jailors; and, when Frederic William of Prussia abandoned his Austrian ally, and made his separate peace with republican France, he retransferred his illustrious prisoner to the Austrians, from whom he had received him, that he might be deprived of the blessing of regaining his liberty, even from the hands of peace. Five years was the duration of this imprisonment, aggravated by every indignity that could make oppression bitter. That it was intended as imprisonment for life, was not only freely avowed, but significantly made known to him by his jailors; and while, with affected precaution, the means of terminating his sufferings by his own act were removed from him, the barbarity of ill usage, of unwholesome food, and of pestiferious atmosphere, was applied with inexorable rigour, as if to abridge the days which, at the same time, were rendered as far as possible insupportable to himself.

Neither the generous sympathies of the gallant soldier, General Fitzpatrick, in the British house of commons, nor the personal solicitation of Washington, president of the United States, speaking with the voice of a grateful nation, nor the persuasive accents of domestic and conjugal affection, imploring the monarch of Austria for the release of Lafayette could avail. The unsophisticated feeling of generous nature in the hearts of men, at this outrage upon justice and humanity, was manifested in another form. Two individuals, private citizens, one, of the United States of America, Francis Huger, the other, a native of the Electorate of Hanover, Doctor Erick Bollmann, undertook, at imminent hazard of their lives, to supply means for his escape from prison, and their personal aid to its accomplishment. Their design was formed with great address, pursued with untiring perseverance, and executed with undaunted intrepidity. It was frustrated by accidents beyond the control of human sagacity.

To his persecutions, however, the hand of a wise and just Providence had, in its own time, and in its own way, prepared a termination. The hands of the Emperor Francis, tied by mysterious and invisible bands against the indulgence of mercy to the tears of a more than heroic wife, were loosened by the more prevailing eloquence, or, rather, were severed by the conquering sword of Napoleon Bonaparte, acting under instructions from the executive directory, then swaying the destinies of France.

Lafayette and his fellow-sufferers were still under the sentence of proscription issued by the faction which had destroyed the constitution of 1791, and murdered the ill-fated Louis and his queen.—But revolution had followed upon revolution since the downfall of the monarchy, on the 10th of August, 1792. The federative republicans of the Gironde had been butchered by the jacobin republicans of the mountain. The mountain had been subjected by the municipality of Paris, and the sections of Paris, by the reorganization of parties in the national convention, and with aid from the armies. Brissot and his federal associates, Danton and his party, Robespierre and his subaltern demons, had successively perished, each by the measure applied to themselves which they had meted out to others; and as no experiment of political empiricism was to be omitted in the medley of the French revolutions, the hereditary executive, with a single legislative assembly, was succeeded by a constitution with a legislature in two branches, and a five-headed executive, eligible, annually one-fifth, by their concurrent votes, and bearing the name of a directory. This was the government at whose instance Lafayette was finally liberated from the dungeon of Olmutz.

But, while this directory were shaking to their deepest foundations all the monarchies of Europe; while thay were stripping Austria, the most potent of them all, piecemeal of her territories; while they were imposing upon her the most humiliating conditions of peace, and bursting open her dungeons to restore their illustrious countryman to the light of day and the blessing of a personal freedom, they were themselves exploding by internal combustion, divided into two factions, each conspiring the destruction of the other. Lafayette received his freedom, only to see the two members of the directory, who had taken the warmest interest in effecting his liberation, outlawed and proscribed by their colleagues: one of them, Carnot, a fugitive from his country, lurking in banish-

ment to escape pursuit; and the other Barthelemy, deported, with fifty members of the legislative assembly, without form of trial, or even of legal process, to the pestilential climate of Guiana. All this was done with the approbation, expressed in the most unqualified terms, of Napoleon, and with co-operation of his army. Upon being informed of the success of this Pride's purge, he wrote to the directory that he had with him one hundred thousand men, upon whom they might rely to cause to be respected all the measures that they should take to establish liberty upon solid foundations.

Two years afterwards, another revolution, directly accomplished by Napoleon himself, demolished the directory, the constitution of the two councils, and the solid liberty, to the support of which the hundred thousand men had been pledged, and introduced another constitution, with Bonaparte himself for its executive head, as the first of three consuls, for five years.

In the interval between these two revolutions, Lafayette resided for about two years, first in the Danish territory of Holstein, and, afterwards, at Utrecht, in the Batavian republic. Neither of them had been effected by means or in a manner which could possibly meet his approbation. But the consular government commenced with broad professions of republican principles, on the faith of which he returned to France, and for a series of years resided in privacy and retirement upon his estate of La Grange. Here, in the cultivation of his farm, and the enjoyment of domestic felicity, embittered only by the loss, in 1807, of that angel upon earth, the partner of all the vicissitudes of his life, he employed his time, and witnessed the upward flight and downward fall of the soldier and sport of fortune, Napoleon Bonaparte. He had soon perceived the hollowness of the consular professions of pure republican principles, and withheld himself from all participation in the government. In 1802, he was elected a member of the general council of the department of Upper Loire, and, in declining the appointment, took occasion to present a review of his preceding life, and a pledge of his perseverance in the principles which he had previously sustained. "Far," said he, "from the scene of public affairs, and devoting myself at last to the repose of private live, my ardent wishes are, that external peace should soon prove the fruit of those miracles of glory which are even now surpassing the prodigies of the preceding campaigns, and that internal peace should be consolidated upon the essential and invariable foundations of true liberty. Happy that twenty-three years of vicissitudes in my fortune, and of constancy to my principles, authorize me to repeat, that, if a nation, to recover its rights, needs only the will, they can only be preserved by inflexible fidelity to its obligation."

When the first consulate for five years was invented as one of the steps of the ladder of Napoleon's ambition, he suffered Sieyes, the member of the directory whom he had used as an instrument for casting off that worse than worthless institution, to prepare another constitution, of which he took as much as suited his purpose, and consigned the rest to oblivion. One of the wheels of this new political engine was a conservative senate, forming the peerage to sustain the executive head. This body it was the interest and the policy of Napoleon to conciliate, and he filled it with men, who, through all the previous stages of the revolution, had acquired and maintained the highest respectability of character. Lafayette was urged with great earnestness, by Napoleon himself, to take a seat in this senate; but, after several conferences with the first consul, in which he ascertained the extent of his designs, he peremptorily declined. His answer to the minister of war tempered his refusal with a generous and delicate compliment, alluding at the same time to the position which the consistency of his character made it his duty to occupy. To the first consul himself, in terms equally candid and explicit, he said, that, from the direction which public affairs were taking, what he already saw, and what it was easy to foresee, it did not seem suitable to his character to enter into an order of things contrary to his principles, and in which he would have to contend without success, as without public utility, against a man to whom he was indebted for great obligations."

Not long afterwards, when all republican principle was so utterly prostrated, that he was summoned to vote on the question whether the citizen Napoleon Bonaparte should be consul for life, Lafayette added to his vote the following comment: "I cannot vote for such a magistracy until the public liberty shall have been sufficiently guarantied; and in that event I vote for Napoleon Bonaparte."

He wrote at the same time to the first consul a letter explanatory of his vote, which no republican will now read without recognizing the image of inordinate and triumphant ambition cowering under the rebuke of disinterested virtue.

"The 18th of Brumaire, (said this letter) saved France; and I felt myself recalled by the liberal professions to which you had attached your honour. Since then we have seen in the consular power that reparatory dictatorship which, under the auspices of your genius, has achieved so much; yet not so much as will be the restoration of liberty. It is impossible that you, General, the first of that order of men who, to compare and seat themselves, take in the compass of all ages, that you should wish such a revolution; so many victories, so much blood, so many calamities and prodigies, should have for the world and for you no other result than arbitrary government. The French people have too well known their rights ultimately to forget them; but perhaps they are now better prepared, than in the time of their effervescence, to recover them usefully; and you, by the force of your character, and of the public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, of your position, of your fortune, may, by the re-establishment of liberty, surmount every danger, and relieve every anxiety. I have, then, no other than patriotic and personal motives for wishing you this last addition to your glory; a permanent magistracy; but it is due to the principles, the engagements, and the actions of my whole life, to wait, before giving my vote, until liberty shall have been settled upon foundations worthy of the nation and of you. I hope, general, that you will here find, as heretofore, that with the perseverance of my political opinions are united sincere good wishes personally to you, and a profound sentiment of my obligations to you."

The writer of this letter, and he to whom it was addressed, have, each in his appropriate sphere, been instruments of transcendent power, in the hands of Providence, to shape the ends of its wisdom in the wonderful story of the French revolution. In contemplating the part which each of them had acted upon that great theatre of human destiny, before the date of the letter, how strange was at that moment the relative position of the two individuals to each other, and to the world! Lafayette was the founder of the great movement then in progress for the establishment of freedom in France, and in the European world; but his agency had been all intellectual and moral. He had asserted and proclaimed the principles. He had never violated, never betrayed them. Napoleon, a military adventurer, had vapoured in proclamations, and had the froth of jacobinism upon his lips; but his soul was at the point of his sword. The revolution was to Lafayette the cause of human kind; to Napoleon it was a mere ladder of ambition.

Yet, at the time when this letter was written, Lafayette after a series of immense sacrifices and unparalleled sufferings, was a private citizen, called to account to the world for declining to vote for placing Napoleon at the head of the French nation, with arbitrary and indefinite power for life; and Napoleon, amid professions of unbounded devotion to liberty, was, in the face of mankind, ascending the steps of an hereditary imperial and royal throne. Such was their relative position then; what is it now? Has history a lesson for mankind more instructive than the contrast and the parallel of their fortunes and their fate? Time and chance, and the finger of Providence, which, in every deviation from the path of justice, reserves or opens to itself an avenue of return, has brought each of these mighty men to a close of life, congenial to the character with which he travelled over its scenes. The consul for life, the hereditary emperor and king, expires a captive on a barren rock in the wilderness of a distant ocean; separated from his imperial wife; separated from his son, who survives him only to pine away his existence, and die at the moment of manhood, in the condition of an Austrian prince. The apostle of liberty survives, again to come forward, the ever-consistent champion of her cause, and, finally, to close his career in peace, a republican, without reproach in death, as he had been without fear throughout life.

But Napoleon was to be the artificer of his own fortunes, prosperous and adverse. He was rising by the sword; by the sword he was destined to fall. The counsels of wisdom and of virtue fell forceless upon his ear, or sunk into his heart only to kindle resentment and hatred. He sought no farther personal intercourse with Lafayette; and denied common justice to his son, who had entered and distinguished himself in the army of Italy, and from whom he withheld the promotion justly due to his services.

The career of glory, of fame, and of power, of which the consulate for life was but the first step, was of ten years' continuance, till it had reached its zenith; till the astonished eyes of mankind beheld the charity scholar of Brienne, emperor, king, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, banqueting at Dresden, surrounded by a circle of tributary crowned heads, among whom was seen that very Francis of Austria, the keeper, in his castle of Olmutz, of the republican Lafayette. And upon that day of the banqueting at Dresden, the star of Napoleon culminated from the equator. Thenceforward it was to descend with motion far more rapid than when rising, till it sank in endless night. Through that long period, Lafayette remained in retirement at La Grange. Silent amidst the deafening shouts of victory from Marengo, and Jena, and Austerlitz, and Friedland, and Wagram, and Borodino; silent at the conflagration of Moscow; at the passage of the Beresina; at the irretrievable discomfiture of Leipzig; at the capitulation at the gates of Paris, and at the first restoration of the Bourbons, under the auspices of the inveterate enemies of France; as little could Lafayette participate in the measures of that restoration, as in the usurpations of Napoleon. Louis the Eighteenth was quartered upon the French nation as the soldiers of the victorious armies were quartered upon the inhabitants of Paris. Yet Louis the Eighteenth, who held his crown as the gift of the conquerors of France, the most humiliating of the conditions imposed upon the vanquished nation, affected to hold it by divine right, and to grant, as a special favour, a charter, or constitution, founded on the avowed principle that all the liberties of the nation were no more than gratuitous donations of the king.

These pretensions, with a corresponding course of policy pursued by the reinstated government of the Bourbons, and the disregard of the national feelings and interests of France, with which Europe was re-modelled at the Congress of Vienna, opened the way for the return of Napoleon from Elba, within a year from the time when he had been relegated there. He landed as a solitary adventurer, and the nation rallied round him with rapture. He came with promises to the nation of freedom as well as of independence. The allies of Vienna proclaimed against him a war of extermination, and re-invaded France with armies exceeding in numbers a million of men. Lafayette had been courted by Napoleon upon his return. He was again urged to take a seat in the house of peers, but peremptorily declined, from aversion to

its hereditary character. He had refused to resume his title of nobility, and protested against the constitution of the empire, and the additional act entailing the imperial hereditary crown upon the family of Napoleon. But he offered himself as a candidate for election as a member of the popular represen.ative chamber of the legislature, and was unanimously chosen by the electoral college of his department to that station.

The battle of Waterloo was the last desperate struggle of Napoleon to recover his fallen fortunes, and its issue fixed his destiny forever. He escaped almost alone from the field, and returned a fugitive to Paris, projecting to dissolve by armed force the legislative assembly, and, assuming a dictatorial power, to levy a new army, and try the desperate chances of another battle. This purpose was defeated by the energy and promptitude of Lafayette At his instance the assembly adopted three resolutions, one of which declared them in permanent session, and denounced any attempt to dissolve them as a crime of high treason.——

After a feeble and fruitless attempt of Napoleon, through his brother Lucien, to obtain from the assembly itself a temporary dictatorial power, he abdicated the imperial crown in favour of his infant son; but his abdication could not relieve France from the deplorable condition to which he had reduced her. France, from the day of the battle of Waterloo, was at the mercy of the allied monarchs; and, as the last act of their revenge, they gave her again to the Bourbons. France was constrained to receive them. It was at the point of the bayonet, and resistance was of no avail. The legislative assembly appointed a provisional council of government, and commissioners, of whom Lafayette was one, to negociate with the allied armies then rapidly advancing upon Paris

The allies manifested no disposition to negotiate. They closed the doors of their hall upon the representatives of the people of France. They reseated Louis the Eighteenth upon his throne. Against these measures Lafayette and the members of the assembly had no means of resistance left, save a fearless protest, to be remembered when the day of freedom should return.

From the time of this second restoration until his death, Lafayette who had declined accepting a seat in the hereditary chamber of peers, and inflexibly refused to resume his title of nobility, though the charter of Louis the Eighteenth had restored them all, was almost constantly a member of the chamber of deputies, the popular branch of the legislature. More than once, however, the influence of the court was successful in defeating his election. At one of these intervals, he employed the leisure afforded him in revisiting the United States.

Forty years had elapsed since he had visited and taken leave of them, at the close of the revolutionary war. The greater part of the generation for and with whom he had fought his first fields, had passed away. Of the two millions of souls to whose rescue from oppression he had crossed the ocean in 1777, not one in ten survived. But their places were supplied by more than five times their numbers, their descendants and successors. The sentiment of gratitude and affection for Lafayette, far from declining with the lapse of time, quickened in spirit as it advanced in years, and seemed to multiply with the increasing numbers of the people. The nation had never ceased to sympathize with his fortunes, and, in every vicissitude of his life, had manifested the deepest interest in his welfare. He had occasionally expressed his intention to visit once more the scene of his early achievements, and the country which had requited his services by a just estimate of their value. In February, 1824, a solemn legislative act, unanimously passed by both houses of Congress, and approved by the president of the United States, charged the chief magistrate of the nation with the duty of communicating to him the assurances of grateful and affectionate attachment still cherished for him by the government and people of the United States, and of tendering to him a national ship with suitable accommodation, for his conveyance to this country.

Ten years have passed away since the occurrence of that event. Since then, the increase of population within the borders of our union exceeds, in numbers, the whole mass of that infant community to whose liberties he had devoted, in early youth, his life and fortune. His companions and fellow soldiers of the war of independence, of whom a scanty remnant still existed to join in the universal shout of welcome with which he landed upon our shores, have been since, in the ordinary course of nature, dropping away: pass but a few short years more, and not an individual of that generation with which he toiled and bled in the cause of human kind, upon his first appearance on the field of human action, will be left. The gallant officer, and distinguished representative of the people, at whose motion, upon this floor, the invitation of the nation was given—the chief magistrate by whom, in compliance with the will of the legislature, it was tendered—the surviving presidents of the United States, and their venerable compeer signers of the declaration of independence, who received him to the arms of private friendship, while mingling their voices in the chorus of public exultation and joy, are no longer here to shed the tear of sorrow upon his departure from this earthly scene. They all preceded him in the translation to another, and, we trust, a happier world. The active, energetic manhood of the nation, of whose infancy he had been the protector and benefactor, and who, by the protracted festivities of more than a year of jubilee, manifested to him their sense of the obligations for which they were indebted to him, are already descending into the vale of years. The children of the public schools, who thronged in double files to pass in review before him to catch a glimpse of his countenance, and a smile from his eye, are now among the men and women of the land, rearing another generation to envy their parents the joy which they can never share, of having seen and contributed to the glorious and triumphant reception of Lafayette.

Upon his return to France, Lafayette was received with a welcome by his countrymen scarcely less enthusiastic than that with which he had been greeted in this country. From his landing at Havre till he arrived at his residence at La Grange, it was again one triumphal march, rendered but the more striking by the interruptions and obstacles of an envious and jealous government. Threats were not even spared of arresting him as a criminal, and holding him responsible for the spontaneous and irrepressible feelings manifested by the people in his favour. He was, very soon after his return, again elected a member of the chamber of deputies, and thenceforward, in that honourable and independent station, was the soul of that steadfast and inflexible party which never ceased to defend, and was ultimately destined to vindicate the liberties of France.

The government of the Bourbons, from the time of their restoration, was a perpetual struggle to return to the Saturnian times of absolute power. For them the sun and moon had stood still, not, as in the miracle of ancient story, for about a whole day, but for more than a whole century. Reseated upon their thrones, not, as the Stuarts had been in the seventeenth century, by the voluntary act of the same people which had expelled them, but by the arms of foreign kings and hostile armies, instead of aiming, by the liberality of their government, and by improving the condition of their people, to make them forget the humiliation of the yoke imposed upon them, they laboured with unyielding tenacity to make it more galling. They disarmed the national guards; they cramped and crippled the right of suffrage in elections; they perverted and travestied the institution of juries; they fettered the freedom of the press, and in their external policy lent themselves, willing instruments to crush the liberties of Spain and Italy. The spirit of the nation was curbed but not subdued. The principles of freedom proclaimed in the declaration of rights of 1789 had taken too deep root to be extirpated. Charles the Tenth, by a gradual introduction into his councils of the most inveterate adherents to the anti revolutionary government, was preparing the way for the annihilation of the charter and of the legislative representation of the people. In proportion as this plan approached to its maturity, the resistance of the nation to its accomplishment acquired consistency and organization. The time had been, when, by the restrictions upon the right of suffrage, and the control of the press, and even of the freedom of debate in the legislature, the opposition in the chamber of deputies had dwindled down to not more than thirty members. But, under a rapid succession of incompetent and unpopular administrations, the majority of the house of deputies had passed from the side of the court to that of the people. In August, 1829, the king, confiding in his imaginary strength, reorganized his ministry by the appointment of men whose reputation was itself a pledge of the violent and desperate designs in contemplation. At the first meeting of the legislative assembly, an address to the king, signed by two hundred and twenty-one out of four hundred members, declared to him, in respectful terms, that a concurrence of sentiments between his ministers and the nation was indispensible to the happiness of the people under his government, and that this concurrence did not exist. He replied, that his determination was immovable, and dissolved the assembly. A new election was held; and so odious throughout the nation were the measures of the court, that, of the two hundred and twenty-one members who had signed the address against the ministers, more than two hundred were re-elected. The opposition had also gained an accession of numbers in the remaining part of the deputations, and it was apparent that, upon the meeting of the assembly, the court party could not be sustained.

At this crisis, Charles the Tenth, as if resolved to leave himself not the shadow of a pretext to complain of his expulsion from the throne, in defiance of the charter, to the observance of which he had solemnly sworn, issued, at one and the same time, four ordinances; the first of which suspended the liberty of the press, and prohibited the publication of all the daily newspapers and other periodical journals, but by license, revokable at pleasure, and renewable every three months; the second annulled the elections of deputies, which had just taken place; the third changed the mode of election prescribed by law, and reduced nearly by one-half the numbers of the house of deputies to be elected; and the fourth commanded the new elections to be held, and fixed a day for the meeting of the assembly to be so constituted.

These ordinances were the immediate occasion of the last revolution of the three days, terminating in the final expulsion of Charles the Tenth from the throne, and of himself and his family from the territory of France. This was effected by an insurrection of the people of Paris, which burst forth, by spontaneous and unpremeditated movement, on the very day of the promulgation of the four ordinances. The first of these, the suppression of all the daily newspapers, seemed as if studiously devised to provoke instantaneous resistance, and the conflict of physical force. Had Charles the Tenth issued a decree to shut up all the bakehouses of Paris, it could not have been more fatal to his authority. The conductors of the proscribed journals, by mutual engagement among themselves, determined to consider the ordinance as unlawful, null, and void; and this was to all classes of the people the signal of resistance. The publishers of two of the journals, summoned immediately before the judicial tribunal, were justified in their resistance by the sentence of the court, pronouncing the ordinance null and void. A marshal of France receives the commands of the king to disperse, by force of arms, the population of Paris; but the spontaneous resurrection of the national guard organizes at once an army to defend the liberties of the nation. Lafayette is again called from his retreat at La Grange, and, by the unanimous voice of the people, confirmed by such

deputies of the legislative assembly as were able to meet for common consultation at that trying emergency, is again placed at the head of the national guard as their commander-in-chief. He assumed the command on the second day of the conflict, and on the third Charles the Tenth had ceased to reign. He formally abdicated the crown, and his son, the duke d'Angouleme, renounced his pretensions to the succession. But, humble imitators of Napoleon, even in submitting to their own degradation, they clung to the last gasp of hereditary sway, by transmitting all their claim of dominion to the orphan child of the duke de Berri.

At an early stage of the revolution of 1789, Lafayette had declared it as a principle that insurrection against tyrants was the most sacred of duties. He had borrowed this sentiment, perhaps, from the motto of Jefferson—"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." The principle itself is as sound as its enunciation is daring. Like all general maxims, it is susceptible of very dangerous abuses: the test of its truth is exclusively in the correctness of its application. As forming a part of the political creed of Lafayette, it has not been severely criticised; nor can it be denied that, in the experience of the French revolutions, the cases in which popular insurrection has been resorted to, for the extinction of existing authority, have been so frequent, so unjustifiable in their causes, so atrocious in their execution, so destructive to liberty in their consequences, that the friends of freedom, who know that she can exist only under the supremacy of the law, have sometimes felt themselves constrained to shrink from the developement of abstract truth, in the dread of the danger with which she is surrounded.

In the revolution of the three days of 1830, it was the steady, calm, but inflexible adherence of Lafayette to this maxim which decided the fate of the Bourbons. After the struggles of the people had commenced, and even while liberty and power were grappling with each other for life or death, the deputies elect to the legislative assembly, then at Paris, held several meetings at the house of their colleague, Laffitte, and elsewhere, at which the question of resistance against the ordinances was warmly debated, and aversion to that resistance by force was the sentiment predominant in the minds of a majority of the members. The hearts of some of the most ardent patriots quailed within them at the thought of another overthrow of the monarchy. All the horrible recollections of the reign of terror, the massacre of the prisons in September, the butcheries of the guillotine from year to year, the headless trunks of Brissot, and Danton, and Robespierre and last, not least, the iron crown and sceptre of Napoleon himself, rose in hideous succession before them, and haunted their imaginations. They detested the ordinances, but hoped that, by negotiation and remonstrance with the recreant king, it might yet be possible to obtain the revocation of them, and the substitution of a more liberal ministry. This deliberation was not concluded till Lafayette appeared among them. From that moment the die was cast. They had till then no military leader. Louis Philippe of Orleans, had not then been seen among them.

In all the changes of government in France, from the first assembly of notables, to that day, there never had been an act of authority presenting a case for the fair and just application of the duty of resistance against oppression, so clear, so unquestionable, so flagrant as this. The violations of the charter were so gross and palpable, that the most determined royalist could not deny them. The mask had been laid aside. The sword of despotism had been drawn, and the scabbard cast away. A king, openly forsworn, had forfeited every claim to allegiance; and the only resource of the nation against him was resistance by force. This was the opinion of Lafayette, and he declared himself ready to take the command of the National Guard, should the wish of the people, already declared thus to place him at the head of this spontaneous movement, be confirmed by his colleagues of the legislative assembly. The appointment was accordingly conferred upon him, and the second day afterwards Charles the Tenth and his family were fugitives to a foreign land.

France was without a government. She might then have constituted herself a republic, and such was, undoubtedly, the aspiration of a very large portion of her population. But with another, and yet larger portion of her people, the name of republic was identified with the memory of Robespierre. It was held in execration; there was imminent danger, if not absolute certainty, that the attempt to organize a republic would have been the signal for a new civil war. The name of a republic, too, was hateful to all the neighbours of France; to the confederacy of emperors and kings, which had twice replaced the Bourbons upon the throne, and who might be propitiated under the disappointment and mortification of the result, by the retention of the name of king, and the substitution of the semblance of a Bourbon for the reality.

The people of France, like the Cardinal de Retz, more than two centuries before, wanted a descendant from Henry the Fourth, who could speak the language of the Parisian populace, and who had known what it was to be a plebeian. They found him in the person of Louis Philippe, of Orleans. Lafayette himself was compelled to compromise with his principles, purely and simply republican, and to accept him, first as lieutenant general of the kingdom, and then as hereditary king. There was, perhaps, in this determination, besides the motives which operated upon others, a consideration of disinterested delicacy, which could be applicable only to himself. If the republic should be claimed, he knew that the chief magistracy could be delegated only to himself. It must have been a chief magistracy for life, which at his age, could only have been for a short term of years. Independent of the extreme dangers and difficulties to himself, to his family, and to his country, in which the position which he would have occupied might have involved them, the inquiry could not escape his forecast, who upon his demise, could be his successor? and what must be the position occupied by him? If, at that moment, he had but spoken the word, he might have closed his career with a crown upon his head, and with a withering blast upon his name to the end of time.

With the duke of Orleans himself, he used no concealment or disguise. When the crown was offered to that prince, and he looked to Lafayette for consultation, "you know (said he) that I am of the American school, and partial to the constitution of the United States." So, it seems, was Louis Philippe. "I think with you," said he. "It is impossible to pass two years in the United States, without being convinced that their government is the best in the world. But do you think it suited to our present circumstances and condition?" No, replied Lafayette. "They require a monarchy surrounded by popular institutions." So thought also, Louis Philippe; and he accepted the crown under the conditions upon which it was tendered to him.

Lafayette retained the command of the national guard so long as it was essential to the settlement of the new and old things, on the basis of order and of freedom; so long as it was essential to control the stormy and excited passions of the Parisian people; so long as was necessary to save the ministers of the guilty but fallen monarch from the rash and revengeful resentments of their conquerors. When this was accomplished, and the people had been preserved from the calamity of shedding in peace the blood of war, he once more resigned his command, retired in privacy to La Grange and resumed his post as a deputy in the legislative assembly, which he continued to hold till the close of life.

His station there was still at the head of the phalanx, supporters of liberal principles and of constitutional freedom. In Spain, in Portugal, in Italy, and, above all, in Poland, the cause of liberty has been struggling against the hand of power, and to the last hour of his life, they found in Lafayette a never-failing friend and patron.

In his last illness, the standing which he held in the hearts of mankind was attested by the formal resolution of the house of deputies, sent to make inquiries concerning his condition; and, dying, as he did, full of years and of glory, never, in the history of mankind, has a private individual departed more universally lamented by the whole generation of men whom he has left behind.

Such, legislators of the North American Confederate Union, was the life of Gilbert Motier de Lafayette, and the record of his life is the delineation of his character. Consider him as one human being of one thousand millions, his cotemporaries on the surface of the terraqueous globe.—Among that thousand millions seek for an object of comparison with him; assume for the standard of comparison all the virtues which exalt the character of man above that of the brute creation; take the ideal man, little lower than the angels; mark the qualities of the mind and heart which entitle him to this station of pre-eminence in the scale of created beings, and inquire who, that lived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the christian æra, combined in himself so many of those qualities, so little alloyed with those which belong to that earthly vesture of decay in which the immortal spirit is enclosed, as Lafayette.

Pronounce him one of the first men of his age, and you have yet not done him justice. Try him by that test to which he sought in vain to stimulate the vulgar and selfish spirit of Napoleon; class him among the men who, to compare and seat themselves, must take in the compass of all ages; turn back your eyes upon the records of time; summon from the creation of the world to this day the mighty dead of every age and every clime; and where, among the race of merely mortal men, shall one be found, who, as the benefactor of his kind, shall claim to take precedence of Lafayette?

There have doubtless been, in all ages, men, whose discoveries or inventions, in the world of matter or of mind, have opened new avenues to the dominion of man over the material creation; have increased his means or his faculties of enjoyment; have raised him in nearer approximation to that higher and happier condition, the object of his hopes and aspirations in his present state of existence.

Lafayette discovered no new principles of politics or of morals. He invented nothing in science. He disclosed no new phenomenon in the laws of nature. Born and educated in the highest order of feudal nobility, under the most absolute monarchy of Europe, in possession of an affluent fortune, and master of himself and of all his capabilities at the moment of attaining manhood, the principle of republican justice and of social equality took possession of his heart and mind, as if by inspiration from above. He devoted himself, his life, his fortune, his hereditary honours, his towering ambition, his splendid hopes, all to the cause of liberty. He came to another hemisphere to defend her. He became one of the most effective champions of our Independence; but, that once achieved, he returned to his own country, and thenceforward took no part in the controversies which have divided us. In the events of our revolution, and in the forms of policy which we have adopted for the establishment and perpetuation of our freedom, Lafayette found the most perfect form of government. He wished to add nothing to it. He would gladly have abstracted nothing from it. Instead of the imaginary republic of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, he took a practical existing model, in actual operation here, and never attempted or wished more than to apply it faithfully to his own country.

It was not given to Moses to enter the promised land; but he saw it from the summit of Pisgah.—It was not given to Lafayette to witness the consummation of his wishes in the establishment of a republic, and the extinction of all hereditary rule in France, His principles were in advance of the age and hemisphere in which he lived. A Bourbon still reigns on the throne of France, and it is

not for us to scrutinize the title by which he reigns. The principles of elective and hereditary power, blended in reluctant union in his person, like the red and white roses of York and Lancaster, may postpone to aftertime the last conflict to which they must ultimately come. The life of the patriarch was not long enough for the development of his whole political system. Its final accomplishment is in the womb of time.

The anticipation of this event is the more certain, from the consideration that all the principles for which Lafayette contended were practical. He never indulged himself in wild and fanciful speculations. The principle of hereditary power was, in his opinion, the bane of all republican liberty in Europe. Unable to extinguish it in the revolution of 1830, so far as concerned the chief magistracy of the nation, Lafayette had the satisfaction of seeing it abolished with reference to the peerage. An hereditary crown, stript of the support which it may derive from an hereditary peerage, however compatible with Asiatic despotism, is an anomaly in the history of the christian world, and in the theory of free government. There is no argument producible against the existence of an hereditary peerage, but applies with aggravated weight against the transmission, from sire to son, of an hereditary crown. The prejudices and passions of the people of France rejected the principle of inherited power, in every station of public trust excepting the first and highest of them all; but there they clung to it, as did the Israelites of old to the savory deities of Egypt.

This is not the time or the place for a disquisition upon the comparative merits, as a system of government, of a republic, and a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions. Upon this subject there is among us no diversity of opinion; and if it should take the people of France another half century of internal and external war, of dazzling and delusive glories; of unparalleled triumphs, humiliating reverses, and bitter disappointments, to settle it to their satisfaction, the ultimate result can only bring them to the point where we have stood from the day of the declaration of independence; to the point where Lafayette would have brought them, and to which he looked as a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Then, too, and then only, will be the time when the character of Lafayette will be appreciated at its true value throughout the civilized world.—When the principle of hereditary dominion shall be extinguished in all the institutions of France; when government shall no longer be considered as property transmissible from sire to son, but as a trust committed for a limited time, and then to return to the people whence it came; as a burdensome duty to be discharged, and not as a reward to be abused; when a claim, any claim, to political power by inheritance shall, in the estimation of the whole French people, be held as it now is by the whole people of the North American union; then will be the time for contemplating the character of Lafayette, not merely in the events of his life, but, in the full development of his intellectual conceptions, of his fervent aspirations, of the labours and perils and sacrifices of his long and eventful career upon earth; and thenceforward, till the hour when the trump of the archangel shall sound to announce that time shall be no more, the name of Lafayette shall stand enrolled upon the annals of our race, high on the list of the pure and disinterested benefactors of mankind.

Lafayette* was a French nobleman of high rank, who, animated with the love of liberty, had left his native country, and offered his services to Congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans, with the most disinterested and generous ardour. Having determined to join them, he communicated his intentions to the American commissioners at Paris. They justly conceived, that a person of so much importance would be of service to their cause, and encouraged his design. Before he had embarked from France, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced to 2000 men, were fleeing through Jersey, before a British force of 30,000. Under these circumstances, the American commissioners at Paris thought it but honest to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprise. It was in vain that they acted so candid a part. His zeal, to serve a distressed country, was not abated by her misfortunes. Having embarked in a vessel, which he purchased for the purpose, he arrived at Charleston, early in 1777, and soon after joined the American army. Congress resolved, that, "in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions, he should have the rank of major general in their army." Independent of the risk he ran as an American officer, he hazarded his large fortune in consequence of the laws of France, and also the confinement of his person, in case of capture when on his way to the United States, without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation; for his court had forbidden his proceeding to America, and had despatched orders to have him confined in the West Indies if found in that quarter.

This gallant nobleman, who, under all these disadvantages, had demonstrated his good will to the United States, received a wound in his leg at the battle of Brandywine; but he nevertheless continued in the field, and exerted himself both by word and example in rallying the Americans. Other foreigners of distinction also shared in the engagement. Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, the same who a few years before carried off king Stanislaus from his capital, though surrounded with a numerous body of guards, and a Russian army, fought with the Americans at Brandywine. He was a thunderbolt of war, and always sought for the post of danger as the post of honour. Soon after this engagement, Congress appointed him commander of horse, with the rank of brigadier.

Howe persevered in his scheme of gaining the right flank of the Americans. This was no less steadily pursued on the one side, than avoided on the other. Washington came forward in a few days with a resolution of risking another action. He accordingly advanced as far as the Warren tavern, on the Lancaster road. Near that place, on the 18th September, both armies were on the point of engaging, with their whole force: but were prevented by a most violent storm of rain, which continued for a whole day and night. When the rain ceased, the Americans found that their ammunition was entirely ruined. Before a proper supply was procured, the British marched from their position near the White Horse tavern, down towards the Swedes' ford. The Americans again took post in their front; but the British, instead of urging an action, began to march up towards Reading. To save the stores which had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down with a succession of severe duties. There was in his army above a thousand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition.

About this time, the Americans sustained a considerable loss by a night attack, conducted by General Grey, on a detachment of their troops, which was encamped near the Paoli tavern. The outposts and pickets were forced without noise, about one o'clock in the morning of the 20th of September. The men, when they turned out, unfortunately paraded in the light of their fires. This directed the British how and where to proceed. They rushed in upon them, and put about 300 to death, in a silent manner, by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet. The enterprise was conducted with so much address, that the loss of the assailants did not exceed eight.

Congress, which after a short residence at Baltimore, had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a second time to consult their safety by flight.—They retired at first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown.

The bulk of the British army being left in Germantown, Sir William Howe, with a small part, made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, on the 26th of September, and was received with the hearty welcome of numerous citizens, who, either from conscience, cowardice, interest, or principle, had hitherto separated themselves from the class of active whigs.

The possession of the largest city in the United States, together with the dispersion of that grand council which had heretofore conducted their public affairs, were reckoned by the short-sighted as decisive of their fate. The submission of countries after the conquest of their capital, had often been a thing of course: but in the great contest for the sovereignty of the United States, the question did not rest with a ruler, or a body of rulers: nor was it to be determined by the possession or loss of any particular place. It was the public mind, the sentiments and opinions of the yeomanry of the country which were to decide. Though Philadelphia had become the residence of the British army, yet as long as the majority of the people of the United States were opposed to their government, the country was unsubdued. Indeed it was presumed by the more discerning politicians, that the luxuries of a great city would so far enervate the British troops, as to indispose them for those active exertions to which they were prompted, while inconveniently encamped in the open country.

To take off the impression the British successes might make in France, to the prejudice of America, Dr. Franklin gave them an ingenious turn, by observing, "that instead of saying Sir William Howe had taken Philadelphia, it would be more proper to say, Philadelphia had taken Sir William Howe."

One of the first objects of the British, after they had gotten possession, was to erect batteries to command the river, and to protect the city from any assault by water. The British shipping were prevented from ascending the Delaware, by obstructions hereafter to be described, which were fixed near Mud-Island. Philadelphia though possessed by the British army, was exposed to danger from the American vessels in the river. The American frigate Delaware of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and, being seconded with some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade upon the batteries, tower; but upon the falling of the tide, she ran aground. Being briskly fired upon from the town, while in this condition, she was compelled to surrender. The other American vessels, not able to resist the fire from the batteries, after losing one of their number, retired.

General Washington having been reinforced by 2500 men from Peckskill and Virginia; and having been informed, that General Howe had detached a considerable part of his force, for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived the design of attacking the British post at Germantown. Their line of encampment crossed the town at right angles near its centre. The left wing extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted chasseurs. The queen's American rangers and a battalion of light infantry were in front of the right. The 40th regiment, with another battalion of light-infantry, were posted on the Chesnut-hill road, three quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia with four batalions of grenadiers.

A few of the general officers of the American army, whose advice was requested on the occasion, unanimously recommended an attack; and it was agreed that it should be made in different places, to produce the greater confusion, and to prevent the several parts of the British forces from affording support to each other. From an apprehension, that the Americans, through the want of discipline, would not persevere in a long attack, it was resolved that it should be sudden and vigorous: and if unsuccessful to be followed by an expeditious retreat. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chesnut-hill, while General Armstrong with the Pennsyl-

*See page 112.

vania militia should fall down the Manatawny road and gain the left and rear of the British. The divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by M'Dougal's brigade, were to enter by the lime-kiln road. The militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Furman, were to march by the old York road, and to fall upon the rear of their right.

Lord Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigade, were to form a corps of reserve. The Americans began their attack about sunrise, on the 4th of October, on the 40th regiment, and a battalion of light infantry. These two corps, being obliged to retreat, were pursued into the village. On their retreat, Lieutenant Colonel Musgrove, with six companies, took post in Chew's strong stone house, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim of never leaving a fort possessed by an enemy in the rear, it was resolved to attack the party in the house.

In the mean time General Greene got up with his column, and attacked the right wing. Colonel Mathews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed several, and took 110 prisoners; but from the darkness of the day, lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged; and, having separated from it, was taken prisoner, with his whole regiment: and the prisoners, whom he had previously taken, were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division were stopped by the halt of the party before Chew's house. Near one half of the American army remained for some time at that place inactive. In the mean time, General Grey led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked with vigour. A sharp contest followed. Two British regiments attacked at the same time on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up the 40th regiment to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene's column.

The morning was foggy. This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary as gave the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprise. From these causes, the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants were speedily reversed. The Americans left the fields hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of light horse, and joined in the pursuit. This was continued for some miles. The loss of the royal army, including the wounded and prisoners, was about 500. Among their slain were Brigadier General Agnew, and Lieutenant Colonel Bird. The loss of the Americans, including 400 prisoners, was about 1000. Among their slain were General Nash and his aid-de-camp Major Witherspoon.

Soon after this battle the British left Germantown, and turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and their shipping.

Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted for the security of Philadelphia on the water side. Thirteen gallies, two floating batteries, two zebecks, one brig, one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire ships and rafts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. The Americans also had built a fort on Mud-Island, to which they gave the name of Fort Mifflin, and erected thereon a considerable battery. This island is admirably situated for the erection of works to annoy shipping on their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, about seven miles below Philadelphia. No vessels of burden can come up but by the main ship channel, which passes close to Mud-Island, and is very narrow for more than a mile below. Opposite to Fort Mifflin there is a height, called Red-Bank. This overlooks not only the river, but the neighbouring country. On this eminence, a respectable battery was erected. Between these two fortresses, which are half a mile distant from each other, the American naval armament, for the defence of the river Delaware, made its harbour of retreat. Two ranges of chevaux-de-frise were also sunk in the channel. These consisted of large pieces of timber, strongly framed together, in the manner usual for making the foundation of wharves, in deep water. Several large points of bearded iron projecting down the river, were annexed to the upper parts of the chevaux-de-frise, and the whole was sunk with stones, so as to be about four feet under water at low tide. Their prodigious weight and strength could not fail to effect the destruction of any vessel which came upon them. Thirty of these machines were sunk about three hundred yards below fort Mifflin, so as to stretch in a diagonal line across the channel.

The only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort, and that was secured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but in a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected on a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport. And opposite to this, another range of chevaux-de-frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side. There was also a temporary battery of two heavy cannon, at the mouth of Mantua creek, about half way from Red-Bank to Billingsport.

The British were well apprised, that, without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve, to open the navigation of that river. To this end lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round, from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy-Island to Newcastle.

Early in October, a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On its approach the place was evacuated. As the season advanced, more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the general and the admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud-Island. At the same time, Count Donop with 2000 men, having crossed into New Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red-Bank, which was defended by about 400 men, under the command of Colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which the count advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it. It had therefore become necessary to run a line through the middle and evacuate one part of it. That part was easily carried by the assailants, on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe and well-directed fire on them by which they were compelled to retire. They suffered not only in the assault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about 400. Count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved, to present Colonel Greene with a sword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack, made about the same time on Fort Mifflin, by men of war and frigates, was not more successful than the assault on Red-Bank. The Augusta of 64 guns, and the Merlin, two of the vessels which were engaged in it, got around. The former was fired, and blew up. The latter was evacuated.

Though the first attempts of the British, for opening the navigation of the Delaware, were unsuccesstul, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The chevaux-de-frise, having been sunk some considerable time, the current of the water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels. In consequence thereof, the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore was so deepened as to admit vessels of considerable draught of water. Through this passage, the Vigilant, a large ship, cut down so as to draw but little water, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the works on Mud-Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable. Lieutenant Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September, to the 11th of November, being wounded was removed to the main. Within five days after his removal, Major Thayer, who as a volunteer had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to evacuate it. This event did not take place till the works were entirely beat down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near, that she threw grenades into the fort, and killed the men uncovered in the platform. The troops, who had so bravely defended Fort Mifflin, made a safe retreat to Red-Bank. Congress voted swords to be given to lieutenant colonel Smith and commodore Hazlewood for their gallant defence of the Delaware.

Within three days after Mud-Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red-Bank, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a large force prepared to assault it. Some of the American gallies and armed vessels, escaped by keeping close in with the Jersey shore, to places of security above Philadelphia; but seventeen of them were abandoned by their crews, and fired. Thus the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. This event was to them very desirable. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of fifteen miles at some risk, and a certain great expense. The long protracted defence of the Delaware, deranged the plans of the British, for the remainder of the campaign, and consequently saved the adjacent country.

About this time, the chair of Congress became vacant, by the departure of Mr. Hancock, after he had discharged the duties of that office to great acceptance, two years and five months. Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was unanimously elected his successor on the 1st of November. He had been in England for some years, antecedent to the hostile determinations of parliament against the colonies; but finding the dispute growing serious, he conceived that honour and duty called him to take part with his native country. He had been warmly solicited to stay in England; and offers were made him not only to secure, but to double his American estate, in case of his continuing to reside there: but these were refused. To a particular friend in London, dissuading him from coming out to America, he replied on the 9th of November 1774, when at Falmouth, on the point of embarking, "I shall never forget your friendly attention to my interest; but I dare not return. Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go resolved still to labour for peace; at the same time determined in the last event to stand or fall with my country."

When Sir William Howe was succeeding in every enterprise in Pennsylvania, intelligence arrived, as shall be related in the next chapter, that General Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered prisoners of war to the Americans."

General Washington soon afterwards received a considerable reinforcement from the northern army which had accomplished this great event. With this increased force, he took a position at and near Whitemarsh. The royal army, having succeeded in removing the obstructions in the river Delaware, were ready for new enterprises. Sir William Howe, on the 4th of December, marched out of Philadelphia with almost his whole force, expecting to bring on a general engagement. The next morning he appeared on Chestnuthill in front of, and about three miles distant from, the right wing of the Americans. On the day following, the British changed their ground, and moved to the right. Two days after, they moved still farther to the right, and exhibited every appearance of an intention to attack the American encampment. Some skirmishes took place, and a general action was hourly expected; but instead thereof, on the morning of the next day, December 9th, after various marches and countermarches, the British filed off from the right, by two or three different routes, in full march for Philadelphia.

The position of General Washington, in a military point of view, was admirable. He was so sensible of the advantages of it, that the manœuvres of Sir William Howe for some days could not allure him from it. In consequence of the reinforcement lately received, he had not in any preceding period of the campaign been in an equal condition for a general engagement. Though he evidently wished to be attacked, yet he would not relinquish a position, from which he hoped to repair the misfortunes of the campaign He could not believe, that General Howe with a victorious army, and that lately reinforced with four thousand men from New York, should come out of Philadelphia, only to return thither again. He therefore presumed, that to avoid the disgrace of such a movement, the British commander would from a sense of military honour, be compelled to attack him, though under great disadvantages.—When he found him cautious of engaging, and inclining to his left, a daring design was formed which would have been executed, had the British either continued in their position, or moved a little farther to the left of the American army. This was to have attempted in the night to surprise Philadelphia. The necessary preparations for this purpose were made; but the retreat of the British prevented its execution.

Soon after these events, General Smallwood with a considerable force, was posted at Wilmington, on the banks of the Delaware; and Washington, with the main army, retired to winter quarters at Valley forge, 16 miles from Philadelphia.—This position was preferred to distant and more comfortable villages, as being calculated to give the most extensive security to the country. The American army might have been tracked, by the blood of their feet, in marching without shoes or stockings over the hard frozen ground, between Whitemarsh and Valley Forge. Some hundreds of them were without blankets. Under these circumstances, they had to sit down in a wood, in the latter end of December, and to build huts for their accommodation. This mode of procuring winter quarters, if not entirely novel, has been rarely, if ever practised in modern war. The cheerfulness with which the general and his army submitted to spend a severe winter, in such circumstances, rather than leave the country exposed, by retiring farther, demonstrated as well their patriotism as their fixed resolution to suffer every inconvenience, in preference to submission.

Thus ended the campaign of 1777. Though Sir William Howe's army had been crowned with the most brilliant success, having gained two considerable victories, and been equally triumphant in many smaller actions, yet the whole amount of this tide of good fortune was no more than a good winter lodging for his troops in Philadelphia whilst the men under his command possessed no more of the adjacent country, than what they immediately commanded with their arms. The Congress, it is true, was compelled to leave the first seat of their deliberations: and the greatest city in the United States changed a number of its whig inhabitants for a numerous royal army; but it is as true that the minds of the Americans were, if possible, more hostile to the claims of Great Britain than ever, and their army had gained as much by discipline and experience, as compensated for its diminution by defeats.

The events of this campaign were adverse to the sanguine hopes, which had been entertained of a speedy conquest of the revolted colonies. Repeated proofs had been given, that though Washington was very forward to engage when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to a action against his consent. By this mode of conducting the defence of the new formed states, two campaigns had been wasted away, and the work which was originally allotted for one, was still unfinished.

A few [illegible] miscellaneous transactions will close this chapter. Lieutenant Colonel Barton, of a militia regiment of the state of Rhode Island, accompanied by about forty volunteers, passed by night, on the 9th of July, from Warwick neck to Rhode Island, surprised General Prescott in his quarters, and brought him and one of his aids safe off to the continent. Though they had a passage of ten miles by water, they eluded the ships of war and guard boats, which lay all round the Island. The enterprize was conducted with so much silence and address, that there was no alarm among the British, till the colonel and his party had nearly reached the continent with their prize. Congress soon after resolved, that an elegant sword should be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Barton, as a testimonial of their sense of his gallant behaviour.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress, in the latter end of November, 1775, authorized the capture of vessels, laden with stores or reinforcements for their enemies. On the 23d of March, 1776, they extended this permission so far, as to authorize their inhabitants to fit out armed vessels, to cruise on the enemies of the United colonies. The Americans henceforth devoted themselves to privateering, and were very successful. In the course of the year, they made many valuable captures, particularly of homeward bound West Indiamen. The particulars cannot be enumerated; but good judges have calculated, that within nine months after Congress authorized privateering, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store ships, exceeded a million sterling. They found no difficulty in selling their prizes. The ports of France were open to them, both in Europe and in the West Indies. In the latter they were sold without any disguise; but in the former a greater regard was paid to appearances. Open sales were not permitted in the harbours of France at particular times; but even then they were made at the entrance, or offing.

In the French West India Islands, the inhabitants not only purchased prizes, brought in by the American cruisers, but fitted out privateers under American colours and commissions, and made captures of British vessels. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, was stationed as the agent of Congress, at Martinico: and he took an early and active part in arming privateers in St. Pierre, to annoy and cruise against British property. The favourable disposition of the inhabitants furnished him with an opportunity, which he successfully improved, not only to distress the British commerce, but to sow the seeds of discord between the French and English. The American privateers also found countenance in some of the ports of Spain; but not so readily nor so universally as in those of France. The British took many of the American vessels. Such of them, as were laden with provisions, proved a seasonable relief to their West India Islands, which otherwise would have suffered from the want of those supplies, that before the war had been usually procured from the neighbouring continent.

The American privateers, in the year 1777, increased in numbers and boldness. They insulted the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, in a manner that had never before been attempted. Such was their spirit of adventure, that it became necessary to appoint a convoy for the protection of the linen ships from Dublin and Newry. The General Mifflin privateer, after making repeated captures, arrived at Brest, and saluted the French admiral. This was returned in form, as to the vessel of an independent power. Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, at the court of Versailles, irritated at the countenance given to the Americans, threatened to return immediately to London, unless satisfaction were given, and different measures was adopted by France. An order was issued in consequence of his application, requiring all American vessels to leave the ports of his most christian majesty: but though the order was positive, so many evasions were practised, and the execution of it was so relaxed, that it produced no permanent discouragement of the beneficial intercourse.

CHAPTER III.

The Northern Campaign of 1777.

To effect a free communication between New-York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes, were principal objects with the British, in the campaign of 1777. The Americans presuming on this had been early attentive to their security in that quarter. They had resolved to construct a fort on Mount Independence, an eminence adjoining the strait on which Ticonderoga stands, and nearly opposite to that fortress. They had also resolved, to obstruct the navigation of the strait by caissoons, to be sunk in the water, and joined so as to serve at the same time for a bridge, between the fortifications on the east and west sides of it; that, to prevent the British from drawing their small craft over land into Lake George, the passage of that lake should be obstructed; that Fort Schuyler, the same which had formerly been called Fort Stanwix, should be strengthened, and other fortifications erected near the Mohawk river. Requisitions were made, by the commanding officer in the department, for 13,600 men, as necessary for the security of this district. The adjacent states were urged to fill up their recruits, and in all respects to be in readiness for an active campaign.

The British ministry were very sanguine in their calculations, on the consequences of forming a line of communication between New York and Canada. They considered the NewEngland people the soul of the confederacy, and promised themselves much by severing them from all free communication with the neighbouring states. They hoped, when this was accomplished, to be able to surround them so effectually with fleets, armies, and Indian allies, as to compel their submission. Animated with these expectations, they left nothing undone, which bid fair for insuring the success of their plans.

The regular troops, British and German, allotted to this service, were upwards of 7000. As artillery is considered to be particularly useful in an American war, where numerous inhabitants are to be driven out of woods and fastnesses, this part of the service was particularly attended to. The brass train sent out was perhaps the finest, and the most excellently supplied, both as to officers and men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of an equal force. In addition to the regulars, it was supposed that the Canadians and the loyalists, in the neighbouring states, would add large reinforcements, well calculated for the peculiar nature of the service. Arms and accoutrements, were accordingly provided to supply them. Several nations of savages had also been induced to take up the hatchet, as allies to his Britannic majesty. Not only the humanity, but the policy of employing them was questioned in Great Britain. The opposers of it contended that Indians were capricious, inconstant, and intractable; their rapacity insatiate, and their actions cruel and barbarous. At the same time, their services were represented uncertain, and their engagements without the least claim to confidence. On the other hand, the zeal of British ministers for reducing the revolted colonies was so violent, as to make them, in their excessive wrath, forget that their adversaries were men. They contended, that in their circumstances every appearance of lenity, by inciting to disobedience, and thereby increasing the objects of punishment, was eventually cruelty. In their opinion, partial severity was general mercy, and the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion was to envelope its abettors in such complicated distress, as by rendering their situation intolerable, would make them willing to accept the proffered blessings of peace and security. The sentiments of those who were for employing Indians against the Americans prevailed. Presents were liberally distributed among them. Induced by these, and also by their innate thirst for war and plunder, they poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that their numbers threatened to be an incumbrance.

The Prayer at Valley Forge

The vast force destined for this service was put under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, an officer whose abilities were well known, and whose spirit of enterprise and thirst for military fame could not be exceeded. He was supported by Major General Philips of the artillery, who had established a solid reputation by his good conduct during the late war in Germany, and by Major General Reidesel, and Brigadier General Speech, of the German troops, together with the British Generals Frazer, Powel and Hamilton, all officers of distinguished merit,

The British had also undisputed possession of the navigation of Lake Champlain. Their marine force thereon, with which in the preceding campaign they had destroyed the American shipping on the lakes, was not only entire, but unopposed.

A considerable force was left in Canada for its internal security; and Sir Guy Carleton's military command was restricted to the limits of that province. Though the British ministry attributed the preservation of Canada to his abilities in 1775 and 1776, yet, by their arrangements for the year 1777. he was only called upon to act a secondary part, in subserviency to the grand expedition committed to General Burgoyne. His behaviour on this occasion was conformable to the greatness of his mind. Instead of thwarting or retarding a service which was ,virtually taken out of his hands, he applied himself to support and forward it in all its parts, with the same diligence as if the arrangement had been entirely his own, and committed to himself for execution.

The plan of the British, for their projected irruption into the north-western frontier of New York, consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne with the main body was to advance by the way of lake Champlain, with positive orders, as has been said, to force his way to Albany, or at least so far as to effect a junction with the royal army from New York. A detachment was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as far as lake Ontario, and, from that quarter, to penetrate towards Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river. This was put under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, and consisted of about two hundred British troops, a regiment of New York loyalists, raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages. Lieutenant General Burgoyne arrived in Quebec on the 6th of May,and exerted all diligence to prosecute in due time the objects of the expedition. He proceeded up lake Champlain, and landed near Crown-Point. At this place he met the Indians, 20th June, gave them a war feast, and made a speech to them. This was well calculated to excite them to take part with the royal army; but at the same time to repress their barbarity. He pointedly forbade them to shed blood when not opposed in arms, and commanded that aged men, women, and children, and prisoners should be held sacred from the knife and the hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict. A reward was promised for prisoners, and a severe inquiry threatened for scalps; though permission was granted to take them from those who were previously killed in fair opposition. These restrictions were not sufficient to restrain their barbarities.—The Indians having decidedly taken part with the British army, General Burgoyne issued a proclamation, calculated to spread terror among the inhabitants. The numbers of his Indian associates were magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey described in high sounding words. The force of the British armies and fleets, prepared to crush every part of the revolted colonies, was also displayed in pompous language. Encouragement and employment were promised to those who should assist in the re-establishment of legal government, and security held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations. All the calamities of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who should persevere in a military opposition to the royal forces.

General Burgoyne advanced with his army, on the 30th of June, to Crown Point. At this place he issued orders, of which the following words are a part: "The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The services required on this expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which no difficulty, nor labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." From Crown-Point, the royal army proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. On their approach, they advanced with equal caution and order on both sides the lake, while their naval force kept in its centre. Within a few days, they had surrounded three-fourths of the American works, at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; and had also advanced a work on Sugar-hill, so far towards completion, that in twenty-four hours it would have been ready to open. In these circumstances, General St. Clair, the commanding officer, resolved to evacuate the post; but conceiving it prudent to take the sentiments of the general officers, he called a council of war on the occasion. It was represented to this council, that their whole numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works; that, as the whole must be on constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the necessary fatigue for any length of time; and that, as the place would be completely invested on all sides within a day, nothing but an immediate evacuation of the posts could save their troops. The situation of General St. Clair was eminently embarrassing. Such was the confidence of the States in the fancied strength of this post, and in the supposed superiority of force for its defence,that to retreat without risking an action could not fail of drawing on him the execration of the multitude. To stand still, and, by suffering himself to be surrounded, to risk his whole army for a single post, was contrary to the true interests of the States. In this trying situation, with the unanimous approbation of a council of his general officers, he adopted the heroic resolution of sacrificing personal reputation to save his army.

The assumption of confident appearances, by the garrison, had induced their adversaries, to proceed with caution. While from this cause they were awed into respect, the evacuation was completed with so much secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores were saved, and the whole would have been embarked, had not a violent gale of wind prevented the boats from reaching their station.

The works, abandoned by the Americans, were chiefly the old French lines constructed in the late war between France and England, which had been repaired the year before, and were in good order. New works were began on the mount; but there was neither time nor strength of hands to complete them. A great deal of timber had been felled between the east creek and the foot of the mount, to retard the approaches of the British. All the redoubts on the low ground were abandoned, for want of men to occupy them. These works, together with ninety-three pieces of ordnance, and a large collection of provisions, fell into the hands of the British.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga, July 6, was the subject of a severe scrutiny. Congress recalled their general officers in the northern department, and ordered an inquiry into their conduct. They also nominated two gentlemen of eminence in the law, to assist the judge advocate in prosecuting that inquiry, and appointed a committee of their own body to collect evidence in support of the charges, which were on this occasion brought against them, General St. Clair, from the necessity of the case, submitted to this innovation in the mode of conducting courts martial; but in behalf of the army protested against its being drawn into precedent. Charges, of no less magnitude than cowardice, incapacity and treachery, were brought forward in court against him, and believed by many. The public mind, sore with the loss of Ticonderoga, and apprehensive of general distress, sought to ease itself by throwing blame upon the general. When the situation of the army permitted an inquiry into his conduct, he was honourably acquitted. In the course of his trial, it was made to appear, that, though 13,600 men had been early called for, as necessary to defend the northern posts, yet, on the approach of General Burgoyne, the whole force collected to oppose him was only 2546 continentals, and 900 militia, badly supplied and worse armed. From the insufficiency of their numbers, they could not possess themselves of Sugar-hill, nor of Mount-Hope, though the former commanded the works, both of Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence, and the latter was of great importance for communication with lake George, and had been fortified the year before with that view. To the question which had been repeatedly asked; "why was the evacuation, if really necessary, delayed till the Americans were so nearly surrounded, as to occasion the loss of such valuable stores?" it was answered; that "from various circumstances it was impossible for General St. Clair to get early information of the numbers opposed to him. The savages, whom the British kept in front, deterred small reconnoitering parties from approaching so near as to make any discoveries of their numbers. Large parties, from the nature of the ground, could not have been supported without risking a general action. From the combined operation of these circumstances, the numbers of the approaching royal army were effectually concealed from the garrison, till the van of their force appeared in full view before it."

The retreating army embarked as much of their baggage and stores as they had any prospect of saving, and despatched it under convoy of five armed gallies to Skenesborough. Their main body took its route towards the same place by way of Castleton. The British were no sooner apprized of the retreat of the Americans than they pursued them. General Frazer, at the head of the light troops, advanced on their main body. Major General Reidesel was also ordered, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, to march in the same direction. General Burgoyne in person conducted the pursuit by water. The obstructions to the navigation, not having been completed, were soon cut through. The two frigates the Royal George and the Inflexible, together with the gun boats, having effected their passage, pursued with so much rapidity, that in the course of a day the gun boats came up with and attacked the American gallies, near Skenesborough Falls. On the approach of the frigates, all opposition ceased. Two of the gallies were taken, and three blown up. The Americans set fire to their works, mills, and batteaux. They were now left in the woods, destitute of provisions. In this forlorn situation, they made their escape up Wood-creek to fort Anne. Brigadier Frazer pursued the retreating Americans, and on the 7th July, came up with and attacked them. They made a gallant resistance, but, after sustaining considerable loss, were obliged to give way.

Lieutenant Colonel Hall, with the 9th British regiment, was detached from Skenesborough by General Burgoyne, to take post near fort Anne. An engagement ensued between this regiment and a few Americans; but the latter, after a conflict of two hours, fired the fort, and retreated to fort Edward. The destruction of the gallies and batteaux of the Americans at Skenesborough, and the defeat of their rear, obliged General St. Clair, in order to avoid being between two fires, to change the route of his main body, and to turn off from Castleton to the left. After a fatiguing and distressing march of seven days, he joined General Schuyler at fort Edward. Their combined forces inclusive of the militia, not exceeding in the whole 4,400 men, were, on the approach of General Burgoyne, compelled to retire farther into the country, bordering on Albany.

Such was the rapid torrent of success, which, in this period of the campaign, swept away all opposition from before the royal army. The officers and men were highly elated with their good fortune. They considered their toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be within their grasp; and the conquest of the adjacent provinces reduced to a

certainty. In Great Britain, intelligence of the progress of Burgoyne diffused a general joy. As to the Americans, the loss of reputation, which they sustained in the opinion of their European admirers, was greater than their loss of posts, artillery and troops. They were stigmatized as wanting resolution. Their unqualified subjugation, or unconditional submission was considered near at hand. An opinion was diffused, that the war in effect was over, or that the farther resistance of the colonists, would serve only to make the terms of their submission more humiliating. The terror which the loss of Ticonderoga spread throughout the New England states was great; but nevertheless no disposition to purchase safety by submission, appeared in any quarter. They did not sink under the apprehension of danger, but acted with vigour and firmness.

The royal army, after these successes, continued for some days in Skenesborough, waiting for their tents, baggage and provision. In the meantime, General Burgoyne put forth a proclamation, in which he called on the inhabitants of the adjacent towns, to send a deputation of ten or more persons, from their respective townships, to meet Colonel Skene at Castleton, on the 15th of July. The troops were at the same time busily employed in opening a road, and clearing a creek, to favour their advance, and to open a passage for the conveyance of their stores. A party of the royal army, which had been left behind at Ticonderoga, was equally industrious in carrying gun boats, provisions, vessels, and batteaux over land into Lake George. An immensity of labour in every quarter was necessary; but animated as they were with past successes and future hopes, they disregarded toil and danger.

From Skenesborough, Gen. Burgoyne directed his course across the country to Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. Though the distance in a right line from one to the other is but a few miles, yet such is the impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficultiesthrown inhis way, that nearly as many days were consumed as the distance passed over in a direct line would have measured in miles. The Americans under the direction of Gen. Schuyler, had cut large trees on both sides of the road, so that they fell across it with their branches interwoven. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that they had no less than forty bridges to construct, one of which was a log-work over a morass, two miles in extent. This difficult march might have been avoided, had General Burgoyne fallen back from Skenesborough to Ticonderoga, and thence proceeded by Lake George; but he declined this route, from an apprehension that a retrograde motion on his part would abate the panic of the enemy. He had also a suspicion that some delay might be occasioned by the American garrison at Fort George; as in case of his taking that route, they might safely continue to resist to the last extremity, having open in their rear a place of retreat. On the other hand it was presumed, that as soon as they knew that the royal army was marching in a direction which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would consult their safety by a seasonable evacuation. In addition to these reasons, he had the advice and persuasion of Colonel Skene. That gentleman had been recommended to him as a person proper to be consulted. His land was so situated, that the opening of a road between Fort Edward and Skenesborough, would greatly enhance its value. This circumstance might have made him more urgent in his recommendations of that route, especially since, being the shortest, it bid fair for uniting the royal interest with private convenience.

The opinion formed by General Burgoyne of the effect of his direct movement from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, on the American garrison, was verified by the event; for being apprehensive of having their retreat cut off, they abandoned their fort, and burnt their vessels. The navigation of Lake George being thereby left free, provisions and ammunition were brought forward from Fort George, to the first navigable parts of Hudson's River. This is a distance of 15 miles, and the roads of difficult passage. The intricate combination of land and water carriage, together with the insufficient means of transportation, and excessive rains, caused such delays, that, at the end of fifteen days, there were not more than four days' provision brought forward, nor above ten batteaux in the river. The difficulties of this conveyance, as well as of the march through the wilderness from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, were encountered and overcome by the royal army, with a spirit and alacrity which could not be exceeded. At length, on the 30th of July, after incredible fatigue and labour, General Burgoyne, and an army under his command reached Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. Their exultation, on accomplishing, what for a long time had been the object of their hopes, was unusually great.

While the British were retarded in their advance by the combined difficulties of nature and art, events took place, which proved the wisdom and propriety of the retreat from Ticonderoga.—The army, saved by that means, was between the inhabitants and General Burgoyne. This abated the panic of the people, and became a centre of rendezvous for them to repair to. On the other hand, had they stood their ground at Ticonderoga, they must, in the ordinary course of events, either have been cut to pieces, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In either case, as General St. Clair represented in his elegant defence; "Fear and dismay would have siezed on the inhabitants from the false opinion that had been formed of the strength of these posts; wringing grief, and moping melancholy, would have filled the habitations of those whose dearest connexions were in that army; and a lawless host of ruffians, set loose from every social principle, would have roamed at large through the defenceless country, while bands of savages would have carried havoc, devastation and terror before them. Great part of the State of New York must have submitted to the conqueror, and in it he would have found the means to prosecute his success. He would have been able effectually to have co-operated with General Howe, and would probably soon have been in the same country with him; that country where the illustrious Washington, with an inferior force, made so glorious a stand, but who must have been obliged to retire, if both armies had come upon him at once; or he might have been forced to a general and decisive action, in unfavourable circumstances, whereby the hopes, the now well-founded hopes of America, of liberty, peace and safety might have been cut off for ever." Such, it was apprehended, would have been the consequences, if the American northern army had not retreated from their post at Ticonderoga. Very different events took place.

In a few days after the evacuation, General Schuyler issued a proclamation, calling to the minds of the inhabitants the late barbarities and desolations of the royal army in Jersey; warning them that they would be dealt with as traitors, if they joined the British, and requiring them with their arms to repair to the American standard.—Numerous parties were also employed in bringing off public stores, and in felling trees, and throwing obstructions in the way of the advancing royal army. At first, an universal panic intimidated the inhabitants; but they soon recovered. The laws of self-preservation operated in their full force, and diffused a general activity through the adjacent states. The formalities of convening, drafting and officering the militia were in many instances, dispensed with, Hundreds siezed their firelocks, and marched on the general call, without waiting for the orders of their immediate commanders.—The inhabitants had no means of security, but to abandon their habitations, and take up arms.—Every individual saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier. The terror excited by the Indians, instead of disposing the inhabitants to court British protection, had a contrary effect.

The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, suffered from their indiscriminate barbarities. Among other instances, the murder of Miss M'Crea excited an universal horror. This young lady, in the innocence of youth, and the bloom of beauty; the daughter of a steady loyalist, and engaged to be married to a British officer, was, on the very day of her intended nuptials, massacred by the savage auxiliaries, attached to the British army.* Occasion was thereby given to inflame the populace, and to blacken the royal cause.—The cruelties of the Indians, and the cause in which they were engaged, were associated together, and presented in one view to the alarmed inhabitants. They, whose interest it was to draw forth the militia in support of American independence, strongly expressed their execrations of the army, which submitted to accept of Indian aid and loudly condemned that government which could call such auxiliaries as were calculated not to subdue, but to exterminate a people whom they affected to reclaim as subjects. Their cruel mode of warfare, putting to death, as well the smiling infant and the defenceless female, as the resisting armed man, excited an universal spirit of resistance. In conjunction with other circumstances, it impressed on the minds of the inhabitants a general conviction that a vigorous determined opposition was the only alternative for the preservation of their property, their children and their wives. Could they have indulged the hope of security and protection while they remained peaceably at their homes, they would have found many excuses for declining to assume the profession of soldiers; but when they contrasted the dangers of a manly resistance, with those of a passive inaction, they chose the former, as the least of two unavoidable evils.

All the feeble aid, which the royal army received from their Indian auxiliaries, was infinitely overbalanced by the odium it brought on their cause, and by that determined spirit of opposition which the dread of their savage cruelties excited. While danger was remote, the pressing calls of Congress, and of the general officers, for the inhabitants to be in readiness to oppose a distant foe, were unavailing, or tardily executed: but no sooner had they recovered from the first impression of the general panic, than they turned out with unexampled alacrity. The owners of the soil came forward with that ardour, which the love of dear connexions and of property inspires. An army was speedily poured forth from the woods and mountains. When they who had begun the retreat were nearly wasted away, the spirit of the country immediately supplied their place, with a much more formidable force. In addition to these incitements, it was early conjectured, that the royal army, by pushing forward, would be so entangled as not to be able to advance or retreat on equal terms. Men of abilities and of eloquence, influenced with this expectation, harangued the inhabitants in their several towns, and set forth in high colouring the cruelties of the savage auxiliaries of Great Britain, and the fair prospects of capturing the whole force of their enemies. From the combined influence of these causes, the American army soon amounted to upwards of 13,000 men.

While Burgoyne was forcing his way down towards Albany, St. Leger was co-operating with him in the Mohawk country. He had ascended the River St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, and commenced the siege of Fort Schuyler. On the

* This, though true, was not premeditated barbarity.—The circumstances were as follow: Mr. Jones, her lover, from an anxiety for her safety, engaged some Indians to remove her from among the Americans, and promised to reward the person who should bring her safe to him, with a barrel of rum. Two of the Indians, who had conveyed her some distance, on the way to her intended husband, disputed, which of them should present her to Mr. Jones. Both were anxious for the reward. One of them killed her with his tomahawk, to prevent the other from receiving it. Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up the murderer, and threatened to put him to death. His life was only spared, upon the Indians agreeing to terms, which the general thought would be more efficacious than an execution, in preventing similar mischiefs.

approach of this detachment of the royal army, on the 3d of August, General Herkimer collected about 800 of the whig militia of the parts adjacent, for the relief of the garrison.

St. Leger, aware of the consequences of being attacked in his trenches, detached Sir John Johnson, with some tories and Indians, to lie in ambush, and intercept the advancing militia. The stratagem took effect. The general and his militia were surprised on the 6th of August; but several of the Indians were nevertheless killed by their fire. A scene of confusion followed. Some of Herkimer's men ran off; but others posted themselves behind logs, and continued to fight with bravery and success. The loss on the side of the Americans was 160 killed, besides the wounded. Among the former was their gallant leader, General Herkimer. Several of their killed and wounded were principal inhabitants of that part of the country. Colonel St. Leger availed himself of the terror excited on this occasion, and endeavoured by strong representations of Indian barbarity, to intimidate the garrison into an immediate surrender. He sent verbal and written messages, "demanding the surrender of the fort, and stating the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as their friends under General Herkimer were entirely cut off, and as General Burgoyne had forced his way through the country, and was daily receiving the submission of the inhabitants." He represented "the pains he had taken to soften the Indians, and to obtain engagements from them, that in case of an immediate surrender every man in the garrison should be spared; and particularly enlarged on the circumstance, "that the Indians were determined in case of their meeting with further opposition, to massacre not only the garrison, but every man, woman or child in the Mohawk country." Colonel Gansevort, who commanded the fort, replied, "that being by the United States entrusted with the charge of the garrison, he was determined to defend it to the last extremity, against all enemies whatever, without any concern for the consequences of doing his duty."

It being resolved, maugre the threats of Indian barbarities, to defend the fort, Lieutenant Colonel Willet undertook, in conjunction with Lieutenant Stockwell, to give information to their fellow-citizens, of the state of the garrison. These two adventurous officers passed by night through the besiegers' works, and, at the hazard of falling into the hands of savages, and suffering from them the severity of torture, made their way for fifty miles through dangers and difficulties, in order to procure relief for their besieged associates. In the meantime, the British carried on their operations with such industry, that in less than three weeks they had advanced within 150 yards of the fort.

The brave garrison, in its hour of danger, was not forgotten. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, had been previously detached by General Schuyler for their relief, and was then near at hand. Tost Schuyler, who had been taken up by the Americans, on suspicion of being a spy, was promised his life and his estate, on consideration that he should go on and alarm the Indians, with such representations of the numbers marching against them, as would occasion their retreat. He immediately proceeded to the camp of the Indians, and, being able to converse in their own language, informed them that vast numbers of hostile Americans were near at hand. They were thoroughly frightened, and determined to go off. St. Leger used every art to retain them; but nothing could change their determination. It is the characteristic of these people on a reverse of fortune, to betray irresolution, and a total want of that constancy, which is necessary to struggle with difficulties. They had found the fort stronger and better defended than was expected. They had lost several head men in their engagement with General Herkimer, and had gotten no plunder. These circumstances, added to the certainty of the approach of a reinforcement to their adversaries, which they believed to be much greater than it really was, made them quite intractable. Part of them instantly decamped, and the remainder threatened to follow, if the British did not immediately retreat. This measure was adopted, and, on the 22d of August, the siege was raised. From the disorder, occasioned by the precipitancy of the Indians, the tents and much of the artillery and stores of the besiegers, fell into the hands of the garrison. The discontented savages, exasperated by their ill fortune, are said, on their retreat, to have robbed their British associates of their baggage and provisions.

While the fate of Fort Schuyler was in suspense, it occurred to General Burgoyne, on hearing of its being besieged, that a sudden and rapid movement forward would be of the utmost consequence. As the principal force of his adversaries was in front between him and Albany, he hoped by advancing on them, to reduce them to the necessity of fighting, or of retreating out of his way to New England. Had they, to avoid an attack, retreated up the Mohawk River, they would, in case of St. Leger's success, have put themselves between two fires. Had they retreated to Albany, it was supposed their situation would have been worse, as a co-operation from New York was expected. Besides, in case of that movement, an opportunity would have been given for a junction of Burgoyne and St. Leger. To have retired from the scene of action by filing off for New England, seemed to be the only opening left for their escape. With such views, General Burgoyne promised himself great advantages, from advancing rapidly towards Albany. The principal objection, against this project, was the difficulty of furnishing provisions to his troops. To keep up a communication with Fort George, so as to obtain from that garrison, regular supplies, at a distance daily increasing, was wholly impracticable. The advantages, which were expected from the proposed measure, were too dazzling to be easily relinquished. Though the impossibility of drawing provisions from the stores in their rear was known and acknowledged, yet a hope was indulged that they might be elsewhere obtained. A plan was therefore formed to open resources from the plentiful farms of Vermont. Every day's account, and particularly the information of Colonel Skene, induced Burgoyne to believe, that one description of the inhabitants in that country were panic struck, and that another, and by far the most numerous, were friends to the British interest, and only wanted the appearance of a protecting power to show themselves. Relying on this intelligence, he detached 500 men, 100 Indians, and two field pieces, which he supposed would be fully sufficient for the expedition. The command of this force was given to Lieutenant Colonel Baum; and it was supposed that with it he would be enabled to seize upon a magazine of supplies which the Americans had collected at Bennington, and which was only guarded by militia. It was also intended to try the temper of the inhabitants, and to mount the dragoons.

Lieutenant Colonel Baum was instructed to keep the regular force posted, while the light troops felt their way; and to avoid all danger of being surrounded, or of having his retreat cut off. But he proceeded with less caution than his perilous situation required. Confiding in the numbers and promised aid of those who were depended upon as friends, he presumed too much. On approaching the place of his destination, he found the American militia stronger than had been supposed. He therefore took post in the vicinity, entrenched his party, and despatched an express to General Burgoyne, with an account of his situation. Colonel Breyman was detached to reinforce him. Though every exertion was made to push forward this reinforcement, yet from the impracticable face of the country and defective means of transportation, thirty-two hours elapsed before they had marched twenty-four miles.

General Starke, who commanded the American militia at Bennington, attacked Colonel Baum, before the junction of the two royal detachments could be effected. On this occasion, about 800 undisciplined militia, without bayonets, or a single piece of artillery, attacked and routed 500 regular troops, advantageously posted behind intrenchments, furnished with the best arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery. The field pieces were taken from the party commanded by Colonel Baum, and the greatest part of his detachment was either killed or captured.

[Major General, JOHN STARKE, the son of Archibald S., a native of Glasgow, who married in Ireland, was born at Londonderry, N. H., Aug. 28, 1728. In 1736 his farther removed to Derryfield, now Manchester on the Merrimac. While on a hunting expedition he was taken prisoner by the St, Francis Indians, in 1752, but was soon redeemed at an expense of 103 dollars, paid by Mr. Wheelwright of Boston. To raise this money he repaired on another hunting expedition to the Androscoggin. He afterwards served in a company of rangers with Rogers, being made a captain in 1756. On hearing of the battle of Lexington he repaired to Cambridge, and, recieving a colonel's commission, enlisted in the same day 800 men. He fought in the battle of Breed's hill, June 17, 1775, his regiment forming the left of the line, and repulsing three times by their deadly fire the veteran Welsh fusileers, who had fought at Minden. His only defence was a rail fence, covered with hay, to resemble a breastwork. In May 1776 he proceeded from New York to Canada. In the attack on Trenton he commanded the van of the right wing. He was also engaged in the battle of Princeton. Displeased at being neglected in a list of promotions, he resigned his commission in March 1777 and retired to his farm. In order to impede the progress of Burgoyne, he proposed to the council of New Hampshire to raise a body of troops, and fall upon his rear. In the battle of Bennington, so called, though fought six miles north west from B., in the borders of New York, Saturday Aug. 10, 1777, he defeated Colonel Baum, killing 207 and making 750 prisoners. The place was near Van Schaack's mills, (denominated by Burgoyne Stantcoick mills,) on a branch of the Hoosuck called by Dr. Holmes Walloon creek; by others Walloomsack, and Wallomschaick, and Looms-chork. This event awakened confidence, and led to the capture of Burgoyne. Of those who fought in this battle, the names of T. Allen, J. Orr, and others are recorded in this volume. In Sept. he enlisted a new and larger force and joined Gates. In 1778 and 1779 he served in Rhode Island, and in 1780 in New Jersey. In 1781 he had the command of the northern department at Saratoga. At the close of the war he bid adieu to public employments. In 1818 Congress voted him a pension of 60 dollars per month. He died May 8, 1822, aged, 93. He was buried on a small hill near the Merrimac; a granite obelisk has the inscription—"Maj. Gen. Stark." A memoir of his life was published, annexed to reminiscences of the French war, 12. 1831.—Allen's Biog.]

Colonel Breyman arrived on the same ground, and on the same day; but not till the action was over. Instead of meeting his friends, as he expected, he found himself briskly attacked. This was begun by Colonel Warner, who, with his continental regiment, having been sent for at Manchester, came opportunely at this time, and was well supported by Starke's militia, which had just defeated the party commanded by Colonel Baum. Breyman's troops, though fatigued with their preceding march, behaved with great resolution; but were at length compelled to abandon their artillery, and retreat.

In these two actions, the Americans took four brass field pieces, twelve brass drums, 250 dragoon swords, 4 ammunition wagons, and about 700 prisoners. Their loss, inclusive of the wounded, was about 100 men.

Congress resolved, "that their thanks be presented to General Starke, of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over, the enemy, in their lines at Benington, and also, that Brigadier Starke be

appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States."* Never were thanks more deservedly bestowed. The overthrow of these detachments was the first link in a grand chain of events, which finally drew down ruin on the whole royal army. The confidence with which the Americans were inspired, on finding themselves able to defeat regular troops, produced surprising effects. It animated their exertions, and filled them with expectation of farther successes.

That military pride which is the soul of an army, was nurtured by the captured artillery, and other trophies of victory. In proportion to the elevation of the Americans, was the depression of their adversaries. Accustomed to success, as they had been in the preceding part of the campaign, they felt unusual mortification from this unexpected check. Though it did not diminish their courage, it abated their confidence. It is not easy to enumerate all the disastrous consequences which resulted to the royal army, from the failure of their expedition to Bennington. These were so extensive, that their loss of men was the least considerable. It deranged every plan for pushing the advantages which had been previously obtained. Among other embarrassments, it reduced General Burgoyne to the alternative of halting, till he brought forward supplies from fort George, or of advancing without them at the risk of being starved. The former being adopted, the royal army was detained from August 16th, to September 13th. This unavoidable delay gave time and opportunity for the Americans to collect in great numbers.

The defeat of Lieutenant Colonel Baum, was the first event which for a long time, had taken place, in favour of the American northern army. From December, 1775, it had experienced one misfortune treading on the heels of another, and defeat succeeding defeat. Every movement had been either retreating or evacuating. The subsequent transactions present a remarkable contrast. Fortune, which, previous to the battle of Bennington, had not for a moment quitted the British standard, seemed after that event, totally to desert it, and go over to the opposite party.

After the evacuation of Ticonderoga the Americans had fallen back from one place to another, till they at last fixed at Vanshaic's Island. Soon after this retreating system was adopted, Congress recalled their general officers, and put General Gates at the head of their northern army. His arrival, on the 19th of August, gave fresh vigour to the exertions of the inhabitants. The militia, flushed with their recent victory at Bennington, collected in great numbers to his standard. They soon began to be animated with a hope of capturing the whole British army. A spirit of adventure burst forth in many different points of direction. While General Burgoyne was urging his preparations for advancing towards Albany, an enterprise was undertaken by General Lincoln to recover Ticonderoga, and the other posts in the rear of the royal army. He detached Colonel Brown with 500 men to the landing at lake George. The colonel conducted his operations with so much address, that on the 13th September, he surprised all the out-posts between the landing at the north end of lake George, and the body of the fortress at Ticonderoga. He also took Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, 200 batteaux, several gun boats, and an armed sloop, together with 200 prisoners, and at the same time released 100 Americans. His own loss was trifling.

Colonels Brown and Johnson, the latter of whom had been detached with 500 men, to attempt Mount Independence, on examination found that the reduction of either that post or of Ticonderoga was beyond their ability. When the necessary stores, for thirty days subsistence, were brought forward, from lake George, General Burgoyne gave up all communication with the magazines in his rear, and, on the 13th and 14th, crossed Hudson's river, This movement was the subject of much discussion. Some charged it on the impetuosity of the general, and alleged that it was premature, before he was sure of aid from the royal forces posted in New York; but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his superiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North river, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat; and, in conjunction with subsequent events, made the total ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable.

Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side, and in four days encamped on the heights, about two miles from Gates's camp; which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans, elated with their success at Bennington and fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. The attack began a little before mid-day, September 19th, between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders on both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half; but after a short pause, it became general, and continued for three hours without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed to be determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove, and were driven by each other. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every side. Several of the Americans placed themselves in high trees, and, as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence. The British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon. At length, night put an end to the effusion of blood.

The British lost upwards of 500 men, including their killed, wounded and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost 319. Thirty-six out of forty-eight British matrosses were killed or wounded. The 62d British regiment, which was 500 strong, when it left Canada, was reduced to 60 men, and 4 or 5 officers.

This hard-fought battle decided nothing; and little else than honour was gained by either army: but nevertheless it was followed by important consequences. Of these, one was the diminution of the zeal and alacrity of the Indians in the British army. The dangerous service, in which they were engaged, was by no means suited to their habits of war. They were disappointed of the plunder they expected, and saw nothing before them but hardships and danger. Fidelity and honour were too feeble motives in the minds of savages, to retain them in such an unproductive service. By deserting in the season when their aid would have been most useful, they furnished a second instance of the impolicy of depending upon them. Very little more perseverance was exhibited by the Canadians, and other British provincials. They also abandoned the British standard, when they found, that, instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they had a numerous and resolute force opposed to them. These desertions were not the only disappointments which General Burgoyne experienced. From the commencement of the expedition, he had promised himself a strong reinforcement from that part of the British army, which was stationed at New York. He depended on its being able to force its way to Albany, and to join him there, or in the vicinity. This co-operation, though attempted, failed in the execution, while the expectation of it contributed to involve him in some difficulties, to which he would not otherwise have been exposed.

General Burgoyne, on the 21st of September, received intelligence in cypher, that Sir Henry Clinton, who then commanded in New York, intended to make a diversion in his favour by attacking the fortresses which the Americans had erected on Hudson's river, to obstruct the intercourse between New York and Albany. In answer to this communication, he despatched to Sir Henry Clinton some trusty persons, with a full account of his situation, and with instructions to press the immediate execution of the proposed co-operation; and to assure him, that he was enabled in point of provisions, and fixed in his resolution, to hold his present position till the 12th of October, in the hopes of favourable events. The reasonable expectation of a diversion from New York, founded on this intelligence, made it disgraceful to retreat, and at the same time improper to urge offensive operations. In this posture of affairs, a delay of two or three weeks, in expectation of the promised co-operation from New York, became necessary.

In the meantime, the provisions of the royal army were lessening, and the animation and numbers of the American army increasing. The New England people were fully sensible, that their all was at stake, and at the same time sanguine, that, by vigorous exertions, Burgoyne would be so entangled, that his surrender would be unavoidable. Every moment made the situation of the British more critical. From the uncertainty of receiving further supplies, General Burgoyne on the 1st of October lessened the soldiers' provisions. The 12th of October, the term till which the royal army had agreed to wait for aid from New York, was fast approaching, and no intelligence of the expected co-operation had arrived. In this alarming situation, it was thought proper to make a movement to the left of the Americans. The body of troops employed for this purpose, consisted of 1500 chosen men, and was commanded by Generals Burgoyne, Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer. As they advanced, they were checked by a sudden and impetuous attack, on the 7th of October: but Major Ackland, at the head of the British Grenadiers, sustained it with great firmness.

The Americans extended their attack along the whole front of the German troops, who were posted on the right of the grenadiers; and they also marched a large body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold enterprise, the British light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, were directed to form a second line, and to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. In the mean time, the Americans pushed forward a fresh and strong reinforcement, to renew the action on Burgoyne's left. That part of his army was obliged to give way; but the light infantry, and 24th regiment, by a quick movement came to its succour, and saved it from total ruin.

The British lines being exposed to great danger, the troops which were nearest to them returned for their defence. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, pushed for the works, possessed by lord Balcarras, at the head of the British light infantry; but the brigade, having an abbatis to cross, and many other obstructions to surmount, was compelled to retire. Arnold left his brigade, and came to Jackson's regiment, which he ordered instantly to advance, and attack the lines and redoubt in their front, which were defended by Lieutenant Colonel Breyman at the head of the German grenadiers. The assailants pushed on with rapidity, and carried the works. Arnold was one of the first who entered them. Lieutenant Colonel Breyman was killed. The troops commanded by him retired firing. They gained their tents about 30 or 40 yards from their works; but on finding that the assault was general, they gave one fire, after which some retreated to the British camp, but oth

* In an arrangement of general officers, made by Congress in the preceding year, a junior officer had been promoted while Starke was neglected. He had written to Congress on this subject, and his letters were laid on the table. He quitted the army, and retired to his farm: but on the approach of Burgoyne, accepted a brigadier's commission and a separate command from New Hampshire. As their officer he achieved this victory, and transmitted an official account of it to the executive of that state. Congress, hearing of it, inquired, why they were misinformed on the subject? Starke answered, that his correspondence with their body was closed, as they had not attended to his last letters. They took the hint, and promoted him. Starke was too much of a patriot to relinquish his services, though his military talents were hurt, and Congress were too wise to stand on etiquette, when their country's interest was at stake.

ers threw down their arms. The night put an end to the action.

[Major General Benedict Arnold, in the American army, and infamous for deserting the cause of his country, is supposed to have been a descendant of Benedict Arnold, governor of Rhode Island, who succeeded Roger Williams in that office in 1657. He was bred an apothecary with a Dr. Lathrop, who was so pleased with him, as to give him £500 sterling. From 1763 to 1767 he combined the business of a druggist with that of a bookseller, at New Haven, Con. Being captain of a volunteer company, after hearing of the battle of Lexington he immediately marched with his company for the American head quarters, and reached Cambridge, April 29, 1775. He waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety and informed them of the defenceless state of Ticonderoga. The committee appointed him a colonel, and commissioned him to raise four hundred men, and to take that fortress. He proceeded directly to Vermont, and when he arrived at Castleton was attended by one servant only. Here he joined Col. Allen, and on May 10th the fortress was taken.

In the fall of 1775 he was sent by the commander in chief to penetrate through the wilderness of the District of Maine into Canada. He commenced his march Sept. 16, with about one thousand men, consisting of New England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen. One division, that of Col. Enos, was obliged to return from Dead river from the want of provisions; had it proceeded the whole party might have perished. The greatest hardships were endured and the most appalling difficulties surmounted in this expedition, of which Major Meigs kept a journal, and Mr. Henry also published an account. The army was in the wilderness, between fort Western at Augusta and the first settlements on the Chaudiere n Canada, about 5 weeks. In the want of provisions Capt. Dearborn's dog was killed, and eaten, even the feet and skin, with good appetite. As the army arrived at the first settlements, Nov. 4th, the intelligence necessarily reached Quebec in one or two days; but a week or fortnight before this, Gov. Cramahe had been apprised of the approach of this army. Arnold had imprudently sent a letter to Schuyler, enclosed to a friend in Quebec, by an Indian, dated Oct. 13, and he was himself convinced, from the preparations made for his reception, that the Indian had betrayed him. Nov. 5th the troops arrived at St. Mary's, 10 or 12 miles from Quebec, and remained there 3 or 4 days. Nov. 9th or 10th they advanced to Point Levi, opposite Quebec. Forty birch canoes having been collected, it was still found necessary to delay crossing the river for 3 nights on the account of a high wind. On the 14th the wind moderated; but this delay was very favourable to the city, for on the 13th Col. M'Lean, an active officer, arrived with 80 men to strengthen the garrison, which already consisted of more than a thousand men, so as to render an assault hopeless. Indeed Arnold himself placed his chief dependence on the co-operation of Montgomery.

On the 14th of Nov. he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night; and, ascending the precipice, which Wolfe had climbed before him, formed his small corps on the height near the plains of Abraham. With only about seven hundred men, one third of whose muskets had been rendered useless in the march through the wilderness, success could not be expected. It is surprising, that the garrison, consisting, Nov. 14th, of 1126 men, did not march out and destroy the small force of Arnold. After parading some days on the heigths near the town, and sending 2 flags to summon the inhabitants, he retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there waited the arrival of Montgomery, who joined him on the first of December. The city was immediately besieged, but the best measures had been taken for its defence. The able Gen. Carleton had entered the city with 60 men Nov. 20th. On the morning of the last day of the year an assault was made on the one side of the Lower town by Montgomery, who was killed. At the same time Col. Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifteen men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity along the St. Charles through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape shot and musketry, as he approached the first barrier he received a musket ball in the left leg, which shattered the bone. He was compelled to retire on foot, dragging 'one leg after him,' near a mile to the hospital, having lost 60 men killed and wounded, and three hundred prisoners. Although the attack was unsuccessful, the blockade of Quebec was continued till May 1776, when the army, which was in no condition to risk an assault was removed to a more defensible position. Arnold was compelled to relinquish one post after another, till the 18th of June, when he quitted Canada. After this period he exhibited great bravery in the command of the American fleet on Lake Champlain.

In August 1777 he relieved fort Schuyler under the command of Colonel Gansevoort, which was invested by Colonel St. Leger with an army of from fifteen to eighteen hundred men. In the battle near Stillwater, Sept. 19th, he conducted himself with his usual intrepidity, being engaged incessantly for four hours. In the action of October 7th, after the British had been driven into the lines, Arnold pressed forward and under a tremendous fire assaulted the works throughout their whole extent from right to left. The intrenchments were at length forced, and with a few men he actually entered the works; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, he found it necessary to withdraw, and, as it was now almost dark, to desist from the attack. Being rendered unfit for active service in consequence of his wound, after the recovery of Philadelphia he was appointed to the command of the American garrison. When he entered the city, he made the house of Gov. Penn, the best house in the city, his head quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived far beyond his income. He had wasted the plunder, which he had seized at Montreal in his retreat from Canada; and at Philadelphia he was determined to make new acquisitions. He laid his hands on every thing in the city, which could be considered as the property of those, who were unfriendly to the cause of his country. He was charged with oppression, extortion, and enormous charges upon the public in his accounts, and with applying the public money and property to his own private use. Such was his conduct, that he drew upon himself the odium of the inhabitants not only of the city, but of the province in general. He was engaged in trading speculations and had shares in several privateers, but, was unsuccessful. From the judgment of the commissioners, who had been appointed to inspect his accounts, and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands, he appealed to Congress, and they appointed a committee of their own body to examine and settle the business. The committee confirmed the report of the commissioners, and thought they had allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand. By these disappointments he became irritated and he gave full scope to his resentment. His invectives against Congress were not less violent, than those, which he had before threwn out against the commissioners. He was however soon obliged to abide the judgment of a court martial upon the charges, exhibited against him by the executive of Pennsylvania, and he was subjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from Washington. His trial commenced in June 1778, but such were the delays occasioned by the movements of the army, that it was not concluded until January 26th, 1779. The sentence of a reprimand was approved by Congress, and was soon afterwards carried into execution.

Such was the humiliation, to which General Arnold was reduced in consequence of yielding to the temptations of pride and vanity, and indulging himself in the pleasures of a sumptuous table and expensive equipage. From this time his proud spirit revolted from the cause of America. He turned his eyes to West Point as an acquisition which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his former friends. He addressed himself to the delegation of New York, in which state his reputation was peculiarly high and a member of Congress from this state recommended him to Washington for the service, which he desired. The same application to the commander-in-chief was made not long afterwards through Gen. Schuyler. Washington observed, that as there was a prospect of an active campaign he should be gratified with the aid of Arnold in the field; but intimated at the same time, that he should receive the appointment requested, if it should be more pleasing to him. Arnold, without discovering much solicitude, repaired to camp in the beginning of August, and renewed in person the solicitations, which had been before indirectly made. He was now offered the command of the left wing of the army, which was advancing against New York; but he declined it under the pretext, that in consequence of his wounds, he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. Without a suspicion of his patriotism he was invested with the command of West Point. Previously to his soliciting this station, he had in a letter to Colonel Beverly Robinson signified his change of principles and his wish to restore himself to the favour of his prince by some signal proof of his repentance. This letter opened to him a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, the object of which was to concert the means of putting the important post, which he commanded, into the possession of the British general. His plan, it is believed, was to have drawn the greater part of his army without the works under the pretext of fighting the enemy in the defiles, and to have left unguarded a designated pass, through which the assailants might securely approach and surprise the fortress. His troops he intended to place, so that they would be compelled to surrender, or be cut in pieces. But just as his scheme was ripe for execution the wise Disposer of events, who so often and so remarkably interposed in favour of the American cause, blasted his designs.

Maj. Andre, after his detection, apprized Arnold of his danger, and the traitor found opportunity to escape on board the Vulture, Sept. 25, 1780, a few hours before the return of Washington, who had been absent on a journey to Hartford Con. On the very day of his escape Arnold wrote a letter to Washington, declaring, that the love of his country had governed him in his late conduct, and requesting him to protect Mrs. Arnold. She was conveyed to her husband at New York, and his clothes and baggage, for which he had written, were transmitted to him. During the exertions, which were made to rescue Andre from the destruction, which threatened him, Arnold had the hardihood to interpose. He appealed to the humanity of the commander in chief, and then sought to intimidate him by stating the situation of many of the principal characters of South Carolina, who had forfeited their lives, but had hitherto been spared through the clemency of the British general. This clemency, he said, could no longer in justice be extended to them, should Major Andre suffer.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the British service; which rank he preserved throughout the war. Yet he must have been held in contempt and detestation by the generous and honourable. It was impossible for men of this description, even when acting with him, to forget that he was a traitor; first the slave of his rage, then purchased with gold, and finally secured by the blood of one of the most accomplished officers in the British army. One would suppose, that his mind could not have been much at ease; but he had proceeded so far in vice, that perhaps his reflections gave him but little trouble. "I am mistaken," says Washington in a private letter, "if at this time Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some

traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hackneyed in crime, so lost to all sense of honour and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse."

Arnold found it necessary to make some exertions to secure the attachment of his new friends. With the hope of alluring many of the discontented to his standard, he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavoured to justify his conduct. He had encountered the dangers of the field, he said, from apprehension, that the rights of his country were in danger. He had acquiesced in the declaration of independence, though he thought it precipitate. But the rejection of the overtures, made by Great Britain in 1778, and the French alliance had opened his eyes to the ambitious views of those, who would sacrifice the happiness of their country to their own aggrandizement, and had made him a confirmed loyalist. He artfully mingled assertions, that the principal members of Congress held the people in sovereign contempt. This was followed in about a fortnight by a proclamation, addressed "to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interest of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress or of France." To induce the American officers and soldiers to desert the cause, which they had embraced, he represented, that the corps of cavalry and infantry, which he was authorized to raise, would be upon the same footing with other troops in the British service; that he should with pleasure advance those, whose valour he might witness; that the private men, who joined him, should receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment at the full value for horses, arms, and accoutrements. His object was the peace, liberty, and safety of America. "You are promised liberty," he exclaims, "but is there a individual in the enjoyment of it, saving your oppressors? Who among you dare speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny, which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you to the field of battle, and is deluging your country with your blood?" "What," he exclaims again, "is America now, but a land of widows orphans, and beggars? As to you, who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you at this day want evidence, that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their private uses? In either case you surely can no longer continue in their service with honour or advantage. Yet you have hitherto been their supporters in that cruelty, which with equal indifference to yours as well as to the labour and blood of others, is devouring a country, that from the moment you quit their colours will be redeemed from their tyranny." These proclamations did not produce the effect designed, and in all the hardships, sufferings, and irritations of the war, Arnold remains the solitary instance of an American officer, who abandoned the side first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms.

He was soon despatched by Sir Henry Clinton to make a diversion in Virginia. With about 1700 men he arrived in the Chesapeake in Jan. 1781, and being supported by such a naval force, as was suited to the nature of the service; he committed extensive ravages on the river and along the unprotected coasts. It is said, that while on this expedition Arnold inquired of an American captain, whom he had taken prisoner, what the Americans would do with him, if he should fall into their hands. The officer replied that they would cut off his lame leg and bury it with the honours of war, and hang the remainder of his body in gibbits. After his recall from Virginia he conducted an expedition against his native state, Connecticut. He took fort Trumbull Sept. 6th with inconsiderable loss. On the other side of the harbour Lieut. Col. Eyre, who commanded another detachment made an assault on fort Griswold, and with the greatest difficulty entered the works. An officer of the conquering troops, asked, who commanded? "I did," answered Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now," and presented him his sword, which was instantly plunged into his own bosom. A merciless slaughter commenced upon the brave garrison, who had ceased to resist, until the greater part were either killed or wounded. After burning the town and the stores, which were in it, and thus thickening the laurels, with which his brow was adorned, Arnold returned to New York in 8 days.

From the conclusion of the war to his death General Arnold resided chiefly in England. In 1786 he was at St. John's, New Brunswick, engaged in trade and navigation, and again in 1790. For some cause he became very unpopular in 1792 or 1793, was hung in effigy, and the mayor found it necessary to read the riot act, and a company of troops was called to quell the mob. Repairing to the West Indies in 1794, a French fleet anchored at the same Island; he became alarmed lest he should be detained by the American allies and past the fleet concealed on a raft of lumber. He died in Gloucester place, London, June 14, 1801. He married Margaret, the daughter of Edward Shippen of Philadelphia, chief justice, and a loyalist. General Green, it is said, was his rival.—She combined fascinating manners with strength of mind. She died at London Aug. 24, 1804, aged 43. His sons were men of property in Canada in 1829. His character presents little to be commended. His daring courage may indeed excite admiration; but it was a courage without reflection and without principle. He fought bravely for his country and he bled in her cause; but his country owed him no returns of gratitude, for his subsequent conduct proved, that he had no honest regard to her interests, but was governed by selfish considerations. His progress from self-indulgence to treason was easy and rapid. He was vain and luxurious, and to gratify his giddy desires he must resort to meanness, dishonesty, and extortion. These vices brought with them disgrace; and the contempt, into which he fell, awakened a spirit of revenge, and left him to the unrestrained influence of his cupidity and passion. Thus from the high fame, to which his bravery had elevated him, he descended into infamy. Thus too he furnished new evidence of the infatuation of the human mind in attaching such value to the reputation of a soldier, which may be obtained, while the heart is unsound and every moral sentiment is entirely depraved.—Allen's Biog. Dic.]

This day was fatal to many brave men. The British officers suffered more than their common proportion. Among their slain, General Frazer, on account of his distinguished merit, was the subject of particular regret. Sir James Clark, Burgoyne's aid-de-camp, was mortally wounded. The general himself had a narrow escape: a shot passed through his hat and another through his waistcoat. Majors Williams and Ackland were taken: the latter wounded.

The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. General Arnold, to whose impetuosity they were much indebted for the success of the day, was among their wounded. They took more than 200 prisoners, besides 9 pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade, with all their equipage.

The royal troops were under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of another action; but nothing more than skirmishes took place. At this time, General Lincoln, who reconnoitering, recieved a dangerous wound; an event which was greatly regretted, as he possessed much of the esteem and confidence of the American army.

The position of the British army, after the action of the 7th, was so dangerous, that an immediate and total change became necessary. This hazardous measure was executed without loss or disorder. The British camp, with all its appurtenances, was removed in the course of a single night. The American general now saw a fair prospect of overcoming the army opposed to him, without exposing his own to the dangers of another battle. His measures were therefore principally calculated to cut off their retreat, and prevent their receiving any farther supplies.

While General Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the British commander in New York. For this purpose, October 5th, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition up Hudson's river. This consisted of about 3000 men, and was accompanied by a suitable naval force. After making many feints, he landed at Stony Point, marched over the mountains to fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, commanded by Governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance: but as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. When it began to grow dark on the 6th, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither side was great. Governor Clinton, General James Clinton, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed.

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North river: but instead of pushing forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans destroyed fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates, and some other vessels. General Tryon at the same time destroyed a settlement called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, besides many stores. Sir James Wallace with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan with a detachment of land forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. General Vaughan on the 13th October so completely burned Esopus, a fine flourishing village, that a single house was not left standing, though on his approach, the Americans had left the town without making any resistance. Charity would lead us to suppose that these devastations were designed to answer military purposes. Their authors might have hoped to divert the attention of General Gates, and thus indirectly relieve General Burgoyne; but if this were intended, the artifice did not take effect.

The preservation of property was with the Americans only a secondary object. The capturing of Burgoyne promised such important consequences, that they would not suffer any other consideration to interfere with it. General Gates did not make a single movement that lessened the probability of effecting his grand purpose. He wrote an expostulary letter to Vaughan, part of which was in the following terms; "Is it thus your king's generals think to make converts to the royal cause! It is no less surprising than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master have a quite contrary effect. Their cruelty establishes the glorious act of independence upon the broad basis of the resentment of the people." Whether policy or revenge led to this devastation of property is uncertain; but it cannot admit of a doubt, that it was far from being the most effectual method of relieving Burgoyne.

The passage of the North river was made so practicable by the advantages gained on the 6th of October, that Sir Henry Clinton, with his whole force, amounting to 3000 men, might not only have reached Albany, but General Gates's encampment, before the 12th, the day till which Burgoyne had agreed to wait for aid from New York. While the British were doing mischief to individuals, without serving the cause of their royal master, they might, by pushing forward, about 136 miles in six days, have brought Gates's army between two fires, at least twenty-four hours before Burgoyne's necessity compelled his submission to articles of capitulation. Why they neglected this opportunity of relieving their suffering brethren, about 36 miles to the northward of Albany, when they were only about 100 miles below it, has never yet been satisfactorily explained

Gates posted 1400 men on the heights opposite the fords of Saratoga, and 2000 more in the rear, to prevent a retreat to fort Edward, and 1500 at a ford higher up. Burgoyne, receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded that Gates, meant to turn his right. This, if effected, would have entirely enclosed him. To avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. His hospital, with the sick and wounded, were necessarily left behind; but they were recommended to the humanity of General Gates, and received from him every indulgence their situation required. When General Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had posted a considerable force on the opposite heights, to impede his passage at that ford.

[Major General HORATIO GATES, a major general in the army of the United States, was a native of England. In early life he entered the British army, and laid the foundations of his future military excellence. He was aid to Gen. Monkton at the capture of Martinico; and after the peace of Aix la Chappelle he was among the first troops, which landed at Halifax under General Cornwallis. He was with Braddock at the time of his defeat in 1675; and was shot through the body. When peace was concluded, he purchased an estate in Virginia, where he resided until the commencement of the American war in 1775, when he was appointed by Congress adjutant general, with the rank of brigadier general. He accompanied Washington to Cambridge, when he went to take command of the army in that place. In June 1776 Gates was appointed to the command of the army of Canada. He was superseded by General Schuyler in May 1777, but in August following he took the place of the officer in the northern department. The success, which attended his arms to the capture of Burgoyne in October, filled America with joy. Congress passed a vote of thanks and ordered a medal of gold to be presented to him by the president. His conduct towards his conquered enemy was marked by a delicacy, which does him the highest honour. He did not permit his own troops to witness the mortification of the British in depositing their arms. After Gen. Lincoln was taken prisoner, he was appointed June 13, 1780 to the command of the southern department. Aug. 16, he was defeated by Cornwallis at Camden. He was superseded Dec. 3, by Gen. Greene; but was in 1782 restored to his command.

After the peace he retired to his farm in Berkeley county, Virginia, where he remained until the year 1790, when he went to reside at New York, having first emancipated his slaves, and made a pecuniary provision for such as were not able to provide for themselves. Some of them would not leave him but continued in his family. On his arrival at New York the freedom of the city was presented to him. In 1800 he accepted a seat in the legislature, but he retained it no longer, than he conceived his services might be useful to the cause of liberty, which he never abandoned. His political opinions did not separate him from many respectable citizens, whose views differed widely from his own. He died April 10, 1806, aged 77. His widow died Nov. 20, 1810. A few weeks before his death he wrote to his friend, Dr. Mitchill, then at Washington, on some business, and closed his letter, dated Feb. 27, 1806, with the following words:—"I am very weak, and have evident signs of an approaching dissolution. But I have lived long enough, since I have lived to see a mighty people animated with a spirit to be free, and governed by transcendent abilities and honour." He retained his faculties to the last. He took pleasure in professing his attachment to religion and his firm belief in the doctrines of christianity. The will, which was made not long before his death, exhibited the humility of his faith. In an article, dictated by himself he expressed a sense of his own unworthiness, and his reliance, solely on the intercession and sufferings of the Redeemer. In another paragraph he directed, that his body should be privately buried, which was accordingly done. General Gates was a whig in England and a republican in America. He was a scholar, well versed in history and the Latin classics. While he was just hospitable, and generous, and possessed a feeling heart, his manners and deportment yet indicated his military character.—

Allen's Biog. Dic.]

To prepare the way for a retreat to lake George, Burgoyne ordered a detachment of artificers, with a strong escort of British and provincials, to repair the bridges, and open the road leading thither. Part of the escort was withdrawn on other duty; and the remainder, on a slight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans, ran away. The workmen, thus left without support, were unable to effect the business on which they had been sent. The only practicable route of retreat, which now remained, was by a night march to fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with intelligence, that the Americans were intrenched opposite to those fords on the Hudson's river, over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the high ground between fort Edward and fort George. They had at the same time parties down the whole shore, and posts so near as to observe every motion of the royal army. Their position extended nearly round the British, and was by the nature of the ground in a great measure secured from attacks. The royal army could not stand its ground where it was, from the want of the means necessary for subsistence; nor could it advance towards Albany, without attacking a force greatly superior in number; nor could it retreat without making good its way over a river, in the face of a strong party, advantageously posted on the opposite side. In case of either attempt, the Americans were so near as to discover every movement; and by means of their bridge could bring their whole force to operate.

Truly distressing was the condition of the royal army. Abandoned in the most critical moment by their Indian allies, unsupported by their brethren in New York, weakened by the timidity and desertion of the Canadians, worn down by a series of incessant efforts, and greatly reduced in their numbers by repeated battles, they were invested by an army nearly three times their number, without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions. A continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and rifle and grape shot fell in many parts of their lines. They nevertheless retained a great share of fortitude.

In the meantime, the American army was hourly increasing. Volunteers came in from all quarters, eager to share in the glory of destroying or capturing those whom they considered as their most dangerous enemies. The 12th of October at length arrived. The day was spent in anxious expectation of its producing something of consequence. But as no prospect of assistance appeared, and their provisions were nearly expended, the hope of receiving any, in due time for their relief, could not be farther indulged. General Burgoyne thought proper in the evening, to take an account of the provisions left. It was found on inquiry, that they would amount to no more than a scanty subsistence for three days. In this state of distress, a council of war was called, and it was made so general, as to comprehend both the field officers and the captains. Their unanimous opinion was, that their present situation justified a capitulation on honourable terms. A messenger was therefore despatched to begin this business. General Gates in the first instance demanded, that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed, that the British should ground their arms: but General Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmissible in every extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarters."

After various messages, a convention was settled, by which it was substantially stipulated as follows: "The troops under General Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order. The army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest route, and to be quartered in or near to Boston. The troops to be provided with provisions by General Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and no baggage to be molested or searched. The officers not to be separated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of Lieutenant General Burgoyne's army, to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada; to be conducted to the first British post on lake George: to be supplied with provisions as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest. Passports to be granted to three officers, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their side arms."

Such were the embarrassments of the royal army, incapable of subsisting where it was, or of making its way to a better situation, that these terms were rather more favourable than they had a right to expect. On the other hand, it would not have been prudent for the American general at the head of an army, which, though numerous, consisted mostly of militia or new levies, to have provoked the despair of even an inferior number of brave, disciplined, regular troops. General Gates rightly judged, that the best way to secure his advantages was to use them with moderation. Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy, with which this business was conducted, reflected honour on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld, that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers, of both armies, met at General Gates's quarters, and for a while seemed to forget, in social and convivial pleasures, that they had been enemies. The conduct of General Burgoyne in this interview with General Gates was truly dignified; and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most, the magnanimity of the victorious, or the fortitude of the vanquished general.

The British troops partook liberally of the plenty that reigned in the American army. It was the more acceptable to them, as they were destitute of bread and flour, and had only as much meat left, as was sufficient for a day's subsistence.

By the convention which has been mentioned, 5790 men were surrendered prisoners. The sick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4689. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about 10,000.—The stores, which the Americans acquired, were considerable. The captured artillery consisted of 35 brass field pieces. There were also 4657 muskets, and a variety of other useful and much wanted articles, which fell into their hands. The continentals in General Gates's army were nine thousand and ninety-three, the militia four thousand one hundred and twenty-nine; but of the former two thousand one hundred and three were sick, or on

furlough, and five hundred and sixty-two of the latter were in the same situation. The number of the militia was constantly fluctuating.

The general exultation of the Americans, on receiving the agreeable intelligence of the convention of Saratoga, disarmed them of much of their resentment. The burnings and devastations which had taken place were sufficient to have inflamed their minds: but private feelings were in a great measure absorbed by the consideration of the many advantages, which the capture of so large an army promised to the new-formed states.

In a short time after the convention was signed, General Gates moved forward to stop the devastations of the British on the North river; but on hearing of the fate of Burgoyne, Vaughan and Wallace, retired to New York.

About the same time, the British, who had been left in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon, and, abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada. The whole country, after experiencing for several months, the confusions of war, was in a moment restored to perfect tranquility.

Great was the grief and dejection of Britain, on receiving the intelligence of the fate of Burgoyne. The expedition committed to him had been undertaken with the most confident hopes of success. The quality of the troops he commanded was such, that from their bravery, directed by his zeal, talents and courage it was presumed that all the northern parts of the United States would be subdued before the end of the campaign. The good fortune, which for some time followed him, justified these expectations: but the catastrophe proved the folly of planning distant expeditions, and of projecting remote conquests.

The consequences of these great events vibrated round the world. The capture of Burgoyne was the hinge on which the revolution turned. While it encouraged the perseverance of the Americans, by well-grounded hopes of final success, it increased the embarrassment of that ministry, which had so ineffectually laboured to compel their submission. Opposition to their measures gathered new strength, and formed a stumbling block in the road to conquest. This prevented Great Britain from acting with that collected force, which an union of sentiments and councils would have enabled her to exert. Hitherto the best informed Americans had doubts of success in establishing their independence: but henceforward their language was: "That whatever might be the event of their present struggle, they were for ever lost to Great Britain." Nor were they deceived. The eclat of capturing a large army, of British and German regular troops, soon procured them powerful friends in Europe.

Immediately after the surrender, Burgoyne's troops were marched to the vicinity of Boston. On their arrival, they were quartered in the barracks on Winter and Prospect hills. The general court of Massachusetts passed proper resolutions for procuring suitable accommodations for the prisoners; but from the general unwillingness of the people to oblige them, and from the feebleness of that authority which the republican rulers had at that time over the property of their fellow citizens, it was impossible to provide immediately for so large a number of officers and soldiers, in such a manner as their convenience required, or as from the articles of convention they might reasonably expect. The officers remonstrated to General Burgoyne, that six or seven of them were crowded together in one room, without any regard to their respective ranks, in violation of the seventh article of the convention. Burgoyne, on the 14th of November, forwarded this account to Gates, and added, "the public faith is broken." This letter, being laid before Congress, gave an alarm. It corroborated an apprehension, previously entertained, that the captured troops, on their embarcation, would make a junction with the British garrisons in America. The declaration of the general, that "the public faith was broken," while in the power of Congress, was considered by them as destroying the security which they before had in his personal honour; for in every event he might adduce his previous notice to justify his future conduct. They therefore resolved; "That the embarcation of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be postponed, till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress."

Burgoyne explained the intention and construction of the passage objected to in his letter, and pledged himself, that his officers would join with him in signing any instrument that might be thought necessary for confirming the convention; but Congress would no recede from their resolution. They alleged, that 't had been often asserted by their adversaries, that faith was not to be kept with rebels;' and that therefore they would be deficient in attention to the interests of their constituents, if they did not require an authentic ratification of the convention by national authority, before they parted with the captured troops. They urged farther, that by the law of nations, a compact, broken in one article, was no longer binding in any other. They made a distinction between the suspension and abrogation of the convention, and alleged, that ground to suspect an intention to violate it was a justifying reason for suspending its execution on their part, till it was properly ratified. The desired ratification, if Great Britain was seriously disposed to that measure, might have been obtained in a few months, and Congress uniformly declared themselves willing to carry it into full effect, as soon as they were secured of its observance, by proper authority on the other side.

About eight months afterwards, certain royal commissioners, whose official functions shall be hereafter explained, made a requisition respecting these troops; offered to ratify the convention; and required permission for their embarcation. On inquiry it was found, that they had no authority to do any thing in the matter, which would be obligatory on Great Britain. Congress therefore resolved, "that no ratification of the convention, which may be tendered in consequence of powers, which only reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it, to the future approbation or disapprobation of the parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by Congress."

Till the capture of Burgoyne, the powers of Europe were only spectators of the war, between Great Britain and her late colonies, but, soon after that event, they were drawn in to be parties. In every period of the controversy, the claims of the Americans were patronized by sundry respectable foreigners. The letters, addresses, and other public acts of Congress were admired by many who had no personal interest in the contest. Liberty is so evidently the undoubted right of mankind, that even they who never possessed it, feel the propriety of contending for it; and whenever a people take up arms, either to defend or to recover it, they are sure of meeting with encouragement or good wishes from the friends of humanity in every part of the world.

From the operation of these principles, the Americans had the esteem and good wishes of multitudes in all parts of Europe. They were reputed to be ill used, and were represented as a resolute and brave people, determined to resist oppression. Being both pitied and applauded, generous and sympathetic sentiments were excited in their favour. These circumstances would have operated in every case; but in the present, the cause of the Americans was patronised from additional motives. An universal jealousy prevailed against Great Britain. Her navy had long tyrannised over the nations of Europe, and demanded, as a matter of right, that the ships of all other powers should strike their sails to her as mistress of the ocean. From her eagerness to prevent supplies going to her rebellious colonists, as she called the Americans, the vessels of foreign powers had for some time past been subjected to searches and other interruptions, when steering towards America, in a manner that could not but be impatiently borne by independent nations. That pride and insolence which brought on the American war, had long disgusted her neighbours, and made them rejoice at her misfortunes, and especially at the prospect of dismembering her overgrown empire.

CHAPTER IV.

The Alliance between France and the United States. The Campaign of 1778.

Soon after intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne's army reached Europe, the court of France concluded at Paris, treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States. The circumstances, which led to this great event, deserve to be particularly unfolded. The colonists having taken up arms, uninfluenced by the enemies of Great Britain, conducted their opposition for several months after they had raised troops, and emitted money, without any reference to foreign powers. They knew it to be the interest of Europe, to promote a separation between Great Britain and her colonies; but as they began the contest with no other view than to obtain a redress of grievances, they neither wished, in the first period of their opposition to involve Great Britain in a war, nor to procure aid to themselves by paying court to her enemies. The policy of Great Britain, in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms, was the first event which made it necessary for them to seek foreign connexions. At the time she was urging military preparations to compel their submission, she forbade the exportation of arms, and solicited the commercial powers of Europe to co-operate with her by adopting a similar prohibition. To frustrate the views of Great Britain, Congress, besides recommending the domestic manufacture of the materials for military stores, appointed a secret committee, with powers to procure on their account arms and ammunition, and also employed agents in foreign countries for the same purpose. The evident advantage, which France might derive from the continuance of the disputes and the countenance which individuals of that country daily gave to the Americans, encouraged Congress to send a political and commercial agent to that kingdom, with instructions to solicit its friendship, and to procure military stores. Silas Deane, being chosen for this purpose, sailed for France early in 1776, and was soon after his arrival at Paris instructed to sound Count de Vergennes, the French minister for foreign affairs, on the subject of the American controversy. As the public mind, for reasons which have been mentioned closed against Great Britain, it opened towards other nations.

On the 11th of June, Congress appointed a committee, to prepare a plan of a treaty to be proposed to foreign powers. The discussion of this novel subject engaged their attention till the latter end of September. While Congress was deliberating thereon, Mr. Deane was soliciting a supply of arms, ammunition, and soldier's clothing for their service a sufficiency for lading three vessels was soon procured. What agency the government of France had in furnishing those supplies, or whether they were sold, or given as presents, are questions which have often been asked, but not satisfactorily answered; for the business was so conducted that the transaction might be made to assume a variety of complexions, as circumstances might render expedient.

It was most evidently the interest of France to encourage the Americans, in their opposition to Great Britain; and it was true policy to do this by degrees, and in a private manner, lest Great Britain might take the alarm. Individuals are sometimes influenced by considerations of friendship and generosity; but interest is the pole star by which nations are universally governed. It is certain that Great Britain was amused with declarations of the most pacific dispositions on the part of France, at the time the Americans were liberally supplied with the means of defence; and it is equally certain, that this was the true line of policy

for promoting that dismemberment of the British empire, which France had an interest in accomplishing.

Congress knew, that a diminution of the overgrown power of Britain, could not but be desirable to France. Sore with the loss of her possessions on the continent of North America, by the peace of Paris in 1763, and also by the capture of many thousands of her sailors in 1755, antecedent to a declaration of war, she must have been something more than human, not to have rejoiced at an opportunity of depressing an ancient and formidable rival. Besides the increasing naval superiority of Great Britain, her vast resources, not only in her ancient dominions, but in colonies growing daily in numbers and wealth, added to the haughtiness of her flag, made her the object both of terror and envy. It was the interest of Congress to apply to the court of France, and it was the interest of France to listen to their application.

Congress, having agreed on the plan of the treaty, which they intended to propose to his Most Christian Majesty proceeded to elect commissioners to solicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson were chosen. The latter declining to serve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been serviceable to his country, in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was resolved, that no member should be at liberty to divulge any thing more of these transactions than "that Congress had taken such steps as they judged necessary for obtaining foreign alliances." The secret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgement in France, of ten thousand pounds sterling, subject to the order of these commissioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the business, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in possession of a greater proportion of foreign fame, than any other native of America. By the dint of superior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the highest eminence among men of learning, and in many instances extended the empire of science. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and with equal ease investigated the mysteries of philosophy, and the labyrinths of politics. His fame as a philosopher had reached as far as human nature is polished or refined. His philanthropy knew no bounds. The prosperity and happiness of the human race were objects which at all times had attracted his attention. Disgusted with Great Britain, and glowing with the most ardent love for the liberties of his oppressed native country, he left London, where he had resided some years in the character of agent for several of the colonies, early in 1775; returned to Philadelphia; and immediately afterwards was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of Congress. After his appointment, to solicit the interests of the United States in France, he sailed for that country on the 27th of October, 1776. He was no sooner landed, 13th of December, than universally caressed. His fame had smoothed the way for his reception in a public character.

[Benjamin Franklin, a philosopher and statesman, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 17, 1706. His father, who was a native of England, was a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler in that town. At the age of eight years, he was sent to a grammar school, but at the age of ten, his father required his services to assist him in his business. Two years afterwards, he was bound an apprentice to his brother, who was a printer. In this employment he made great proficiency, and having a taste for books, he devoted much of his leisure time to reading. So eager was he in the pursuit of knowledge, that he frequently passed the greater part of the night in his studies. He became expert in the Socratic mode of reasoning by asking questions, and thus he sometimes embarrassed persons of understanding superior to his own. In 1721, his brother began to print the New England Courant, which was the third newspaper published in America. The two preceding papers were the Boston News Letter and Boston Gazette. Young Franklin wrote a number of essays for the Courant which were so well received, as to encourage him to continue his literary labours. To improve his style, he resolved to imitate Addison's Spectator. The method which he took, was to make a summary of a paper, after he had read it, and in a few days, when he had forgotten the expressions of the author, to endeavour to restore it to its original form. By this means he was taught his errors, and perceived the necessity of being more fully acquainted with the synonimous words of the language. He was much assisted also in acquiring a facility and variety of expression by writing poetry.

At this early period the perusal of Shaftsbury and Collins made him completely a sceptic, and he was fond of disputing upon the subject of religion. This circustance caused him to be regarded by pious men with abhorrence; and on this account, as well as on account of the ill-treatment which he received from his brother, he determined to leave Boston. His departure was facilitated by the possession of his indenture, which his brother had given him about the year 1723, not from friendship, but because the general court had prohibited him from publishing the New England Courant, and in order that it might be conducted under the name of Benjamin Franklin. He privately went on board a sloop, and soon arrived at New York. Finding no employment here, he pursued his way to Philadelphia, and entered the city without a friend, and with only a dollar in his pocket. Purchasing some rolls at a baker's shop, he put one under each arm, and eating a third, walked through several streets in search of a lodging. There were at this time two printers in Philadelphia, Mr. Andrew Bradford, and Mr. Keimer, by the latter of whom he was employed. Sir William Keith, the governor, having been informed that Franklin was a young man of promising talents, invited him to his house, and treated him in the most friendly manner. He advised him to enter into business for himself, and, to accomplish this object, to make a visit to London, in order that he might purchase the necessary articles for a printing office. Receiving the promise of assistance, Franklin prepared himself for the voyage, and on applying for letters of recommendation, previously to sailing, he was told, that they would be sent on board. When the letter bag was opened, there was no packet for Franklin; and he now discovered, that the governor was one of those men, who love to oblige every body, and who substitute the most liberal professions and offers in the place of active, substantial kindness. Arriving in London in 1724, he was obliged to seek employment as a journeyman printer. He lived so economically, that he saved a great part of his wages. Instead of drinking six pints of beer in a day, like some of his fellow labourers, he drank only water, and he persuaded some of them to renounce the extravagance of eating bread and cheese for breakfast, and to procure a cheap soup. As his principles at this time were very loose, his zeal to enlighten the world induced him to publish his dissertation on liberty and necessity, in which he contended that virtue and vice were nothing more than vain distinctions. This work procured him the acquaintance of Mandeville, and others of the licentious class.

He returned to Philadelphia in October, 1726, as a clerk to Mr. Denham, a merchant, but the death of that gentleman in the following year, induced him to return to Mr. Keimer, in the capacity of foreman in his office. He was very useful to his employer, for he gave him assistance as a letter founder. He engraved various ornaments, and made printer's ink. He soon began business in partnership with Mr. Meredith, but in 1729, he dissolved the connexion with him. Having purchased of Keimer a paper, which had been conducted in a wretched manner, he now conducted it in a style which attracted much attention. At this time, though destitute of those religious principles, which give stability and elevation to virtue he yet had discernment enough to be convinced, that truth, probity, and sincerity, would promote his interest, and be useful to him in the world, and he resolved to respect them in his conduct. The expenses of his establishment in business, notwithstanding his industry and economy, brought him into embarrassments, from which he was relieved by the generous assistance of William Coleman and Robert Grace. In addition to his other employments, he now opened a small stationer's shop. But the claims of business did not extinguish his taste for literature and science. He formed a club, which he called "The Junto," composed of the most intelligent of his acquaintance. Questions of morality, politics, philosophy, were discussed every Friday evening, and the institution was continued almost forty years. As books were frequently quoted in the club, and as the members had brought their books together for mutual advantage, he was led to form the plan of a public library, which was carried into effect in 1731, and became the foundation of that noble institution, the present library company of Philadelphia. In 1732, he began to publish Poor Richard's Almanac, which was enriched with maxims of frugality, temperance, industry, and integrity. So great was its reputation, that he sold ten thousand annually, and it was continued by him about twenty-five years. The maxims were collected in the last almanac in the form of an address called the Way to Wealth, which has appeared in various publications. In 1736, he was appointed clerk of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, and in 1737, postmaster of Philadelphia. The first fire company was formed by him in 1738. When the frontier of Pennsylvania were endangered in 1744, and an ineffectual attempt was made to procure a militia law, he proposed a voluntary association for the defence of the province, and in a short time obtained ten thousand names. In 1747, he was chosen a member of the assembly, and continued in this station ten years. In all important discussions, his presence was considered as indispensable. He seldom spoke, and never exhibited any oratory; but by a single observation he sometimes determined the fate of a question. In the long controversies with the proprietaries or their governors, he took the most active part, and displayed a firm spirit of liberty.

He was now engaged for a number of years in a course of electrical experiments, of which he published an account. His great discovery was the identity of the electric fluid and lightning. This discovery he made in the summer of 1752. To the upright stick of a kite, he attached an iron point; the string was of hemp, excepting the part which he held in his hand, which was of silk; and a key was fastened where the hempen string terminated. With this apparatus, on the approach of a thunder storm, he raised his kite. A cloud passed over it, and no signs of electricity appearing, he began to despair; but observing the loose fibres of his string to move suddenly toward an erect position, he presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. The success of this experiment completely established his theory. The practical use of this discovery in securing houses from lightning by pointed conductors, is well known in America and Europe. In 1753, he was appointed deputy postmaster general of the British colonies, and in the same year, the academy of Philadelphia, projected by him, was established. In 1754, he was one of the commissioners, who attended the congress at Albany, to devise the best means of defending the country against the French. He drew up a plan of union for defence and general government, which was adopted by the congress. It was however rejected by the board of trade in England, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people: and it was rejected by the assemblies of the colonies, because it gave too much power to the president general. After the defeat of Braddock he was appointed colonel of a regiment, and he repaired to the frontiers, and built a fort.

Higher employments, however, at length called him from his country, which he was destined to

serve more effectually as its agent in England, whither he was sent in 1757. The stamp act, by which the British ministry wished to familiarize the Americans to pay taxes to the mother country, revived that love of liberty which had led their forefathers to a country at that time a desert; and the colonies formed a Congress, the first idea of which had been communicated to them by Dr. Franklin, at the conferences at Albany, in 1754. The war that was just terminated, and the exertions made by them to support it, had given them a conviction of their strength; they opposed this measure, and the minister gave way, but he reserved the means of renewing the attempt. Once cautioned, however, they remained on their guard; liberty, cherished by their alarms, took deeper root; and the rapid circulation of ideas by means of newspapers, for the introduction of which, they were indebted to the printer of Philadelphia, united them together to resist every fresh enterprise. In the year 1766, this printer, called to the bar of the house of commons, underwent that famous interrogatory, which placed the name of Franklin as high in politics, as in natural philosophy. From that time he defended the cause of America, with a firmness and moderation becoming a great man, pointing out to the ministry all the errors they committed, and the consequences they would produce, till the period when, the tax on tea meeting the same opposition as the stamp act had done, England blindly fancied herself capable of subjecting, by force, three million of men determined to be free, at a distance of one thousand leagues.

In 1796, he visited Holland and Germany, and received the greatest marks of attention from men of science. In his passage through Holland, he learned from the waterman, the effect which the diminution of the quantity of water in canals has in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England, he was led to make a number of experiments, all of which tended to confirm the observation.

In the following year, he travelled into France, where he met with no less favourable reception than he had experienced in Germany. He was introduced to a number of literary characters, and to the king, Louis XV.

He returned to America, and arrived in Philadelphia in the beginning of May, 1775, and was received with all those marks of esteem and affection, which his eminent services merited. The day after his arrival he was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of Congress.

Almost immediately on his arrival from England, he wrote letters to some of his friends in that country, in a strain fitted to inspire lofty ideas of the virtue, resolution, and resources of the colonies. "All America," said he to Dr. Priestley, "is exasperated, and more firmly united than ever. Great frugality and great industry are become fashionable here. Britain, I conclude, has lost her colonies for ever. She is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall ever detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire, and pestilence. If you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country. You will have heard, before this reaches you, of the defeat of a great body of your troops by the country people at Lexington, of the action at Bunker's hill, &c. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers, that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign. During the same time, sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these data, the mathematical head of our dear good friend, Dr. Price, will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. Tell him, as he sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous."

It was in this varied tone of exultation, resentment, and defiance, that he privately comunicated with Europe. The strain of the papers respecting the British government and nation, which he prepared for Congress, was deemed by his colleagues too indignant and vituperative; to such a pitch were his feelings excited by the injuries and sufferings of his country, and so anxious was he that the strongest impetus should be given to the national spirit. His anger and his abhorrence were real; they endured without abatement during the whole continuance of the system which provoked them; they wore a complexion which rendered it impossible to mistake them for the offspring of personal pique or constitutional irritability; they had a vindictive power, a corrosive energy, proportioned to the weight of his character, and the dignity of the sentiments from which they sprung.

It was in this year that Dr. Franklin addressed that memorable and laconic epistle to his old friend and companion, Mr. Strahan, then king's printer, and member of the British parliament, of which the following is a correct copy, and of which a fac-simile is given in the last and most correct addition of his works:

Philadelphia, July 5, 1775.

Mr. Strahan,

You are a member of parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction.—You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our people.—Look upon your hands!—They are stained with the blood of your relations! You and I were long friends!—You are now my enemy, and I am, Yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin was appointed by Congress, jointly with Mr. Harrison and Mr. Lynch, a committee to visit the American camp at Cambridge, and, in conjunction with the commander in chief, (General Washington,) to endeavour to convince the troops, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, of the necessity of their continuing in the field, and persevering in the cause of their country.

He was afterwards sent on a mission to Canada, to endeavour to unite that country to the common cause of liberty. But the Canadians could not be prevailed upon to oppose the measures of the British government.

It was directed that a printing apparatus, and hands competent to print in French and English, should accompany this mission. Two papers were written and circulated very extensively through Canada; but it was not until after the experiment had been tried, that it was found not more than one person in five hundred could read. Dr. Franklin was accustomed to make the best of every occurrence, and suggested, that if it were intended to send another mission, it should be a mission composed of schoolmasters.

He was, in 1776, appointed a committee, with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to inquire into the powers with which lord Howe was invested in regard to the adjustment of our differences with Great Britain. When his lordship expressed his concern at being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded, Dr. Franklin assured him, that the Americans, out of reciprocal regard, would endeavour to lessen, as much as possible, the pain which he might feel on their account, by taking the utmost care of themselves. In the discussion of the great question of independence, he was decidedly in favour of the measure.

In July, 1776, he was called to add to his federal duties, those of president of a convention held at Philadelphia, for the purpose of giving a new constitution to the state of Pennsylvania,. The unbounded confidence reposed in his sagacity and wisdom, induced the convention to adopt his favourite theory of a plural executive and single legislature, which the experience of modern times has justly brought into disrepute. It may be said to be the only instance in which he cherished a speculation that experiment would not confirm.

Franklin early conjectured that it would become necessary for America to apply to some foreign power for asssistance. To prepare the way for this step, and ascertain the probability of its success, he had, towards the close of 1775, opened, under the sanction of Congress, a correspondence with Holland, which he managed with admirable judgment, as may be perceived by his letter to Mr. Dumas, of Amsterdam of December, 1776, contained in the fifth volume of the American edition of his works. When at the end of 1776, our affairs had assumed so threatening an aspect, the hopes of Congress were naturally turned to Europe, and to France particularly, the inveterate and most powerful rival of England. Every eye rested on Franklin as a providential instrument for sustaining the American cause abroad; and though he had repeatedly signified from London, his determination to revisit Europe no more, yet, having consecrated himself anew to the pursuit of national independence, he accepted without hesitation, in his seventy-first year, the appointment of commissioner plenipotentiary to the court of France.

He wished, partly with a view to protect his person, in case of capture on the voyage across the Atlantic, to carry with him propositions for peace with England, and submitted to the secret committee of Congress, a series of articles, which his grandson has published. We are especially struck with that one of them which asks the cession to the United States, of Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, &c.; and the explanation annexed to the article by this long sighted statesman, is not a little remarkable. "It is worth our while to offer such a sum —— for the countries to be ceded, since the vacant lands will in time sell for a great part of what we shall give, if not more; and if we are to obtain them by conquest, after perhaps a long war, they will probably cost us more than that sum. It is absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security; and though the sum may seem large to the present generation, in less than half the term of years allowed for their payment, it will be to the whole United States a mere trifle." Who does not, on reading this passage, recollect with gratitude, and feel disposed to honour as a master-stroke, the purchase of Louisiana, accomplished by Franklin's successor in the mission to France!

In the month of October, 1776, our philosopher set sail on this eventful mission, having first deposited in the hands of Congress, all the money he could raise, between three and four thousand pounds, as a demonstration of his confidence in their cause, and an incentive for those who might be able to assist it in the same way. His passage to France was short, but extremely boisterous During some part of the month of December, he remained at the country seat of an opulent friend of America, in the neighbourhood of Nantz, in order to recover from the fatigues of the voyage, and to ascertain the posture of American affairs at Paris, before he approached that capital. With his usual sound discretion he forebore to assume, at the moment, any public character, that he might not embarrass the court which it was his province to conciliate, nor subject the mission to the hazard of a disgraceful repulse.

From the civilities with which he was lo aded by the gentry of Nantz, and the surrounding country, and the lively satisfaction with which they appeared to view his supposed errand, he drew auguries that animated him in the discharge of his first duties at Paris. The reception given to him and his colleagues, by M. de Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs, at the private audience to which they were admitted, towards the end of December, was of a nature to strengthen his patriotic hopes, and eminently to gratify his personal feelings. The particular policy of the French cabinet did not admit, at this period, of a formal recognition of the American commissioners. Franklin abstained from pressing a measure for which circumstances were not ripe, but urged, without delay, in an argumentative memorial, the prayer of Congress for substantial succours.

History presents no other case in which the interests of a people abroad derived so much essential, direct aid from the auspices of an individual; there is no other instance of a concurrence of qualities in a national missionary, so full and opportune. Foreign assistance had become, as it was thought, indispensable for the rescue of the colonies: France was the only sufficient auxilary; and by her intervention, and the influences of her capital, alone, could any countenance or supplies be expected from any other European power. Her court, though naturally anxious for the dismemberment of the British empire, shrunk from the risks of a war; and could be prevented from stagnating in irresolution only by a strong current of public opinion: Her people, already touched by the causes and motives of the colonial struggle, required, however, some striking, immediate circumstance, to be excited to a clamorous sympathy. It was from Paris, that the impulse necessary to foster and fructify this useful enthusiasm was to be received, as well by the whole European continent, as by the mass of the French nation. At the time when Franklin appeared in Paris, the men of letters and of science possessed a remarkable ascendancy over all movement and judgment: they gave the tone to general opinion, and contributed to decide ministerial policy. Fashion, too, had no inconsiderable share in moulding public sentiment, and regulating events; and at this epoch, beyond any other, it was determined, and liable to be kindled into passion, by anamalous, or fanciful external appearances, however trivial in themselves, and moral associations of an elevated or romantic cast.

Observing the prediliction of the people of France for the American cause, the rapid diffusion of a lively sympathy over the whole continent, the devotion of the literary and fashionable circles of Paris to his oujects, the diligent preparations for war made daily in France, and the frozen mein of all the continental powers towards Great Britain, Franklin did not allow himself to be discouraged by the reserve of the court of Versailles; and, in order to counteract its natural effect, and that of other adverse appearances upon the resolution of his countrymen, he emphatically detailed those circumstances in his correspondence with America; adding, at the same time, accounts of the domestic embarrassments, and growing despair of the enemy.

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached France in October, 1777, and produced there an explosion of public opinion, he seized upon the auspicious crisis, to make his decisive effort, by urging the most persuasive motives for a formal recognition and alliance. The epoch of the treaty concluded with the court of Versailles, on the 6th of February, 1778, is one of the most splendid in his dazzling career.

In conjunction with Mr. John Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, he signed the provisional articles of peace, Nov. 30, 1782, and the definitive treaty, September 30, 1783. While he was in France, he was appointed one of the commissioners to examine Mesmer's animal magnetism. In 1784, being desirous of returning to his native country, he requested that an ambassador might be appointed in his place, and on the arrival of his successor, Mr. Jefferson, he immediately sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived in September, 1785. He was received with universal applause, and was soon appointed president of the supreme executive council. In 1787, he was a delegate to the grand convention, which formed the constitution of the United States. In this convention he had differed in some points from the majority, but when the articles were ultimately decreed, he said to his colleagues, "We ought to have but one opinion; the good of our country requires that the resolution should be unanimous;" and he signed.

On the 17th of April, 1790, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, he expired, in the city of Philadelphia; encountering this last solemn conflict, with the same philosophical tranquility and pious resignation to the will of heaven, which had distinguished him through all the various events of his life.

He was interred on the 21st of April, and Congress ordered a general mourning for him throughout America, of one month. In France, the expression of public grief was scarcely less enthusiastic. There the event was solemnized, under the direction of the municipality of Paris, by funeral orations, and the national assembly, his death being announced in a very eloquent, and pathetic discourse, decreed, that each of the members should wear mourning for three days, "in commemoration of the event;" and that a letter of condolence, for the irreparable loss they had sustained, should be directed to the American congress. Honours extremely glorious to his memory, and such, it has been remarked, as were never before paid by any public body of one nation, to the citizen of another.

He lies buried in the north-west corner of Christ church-yard; distinguished from the surrounding dead, by the humility of his sepulchre. He is covered by a small marble slab, on a level with the surface of the earth; and bearing the single inscription of his name, with that of his wife. A monument sufficiently corresponding to the plainness of his manners, little suitable to the splendour of his virtues.

He had two children, a son and a daughter, and several grand-children, who survived him. The son, who had been governor of New Jersey, under the British government, adhered, during the revolution, to the royal party, and spent the remainder of his life in England. The daughter married Mr. Bache, of Philadelphia, whose descendants yet reside in that city.

Franklin enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, a healthy constitution, and excelled in exercises of strength and activity. In stature, he was above the middle size, manly, athletic, and well proportioned. His countenance, as it is represented in his portrait, is distinguished by an air of serenity and satisfaction; the natural consequences of a vigorous temperament, of strength of mind, and conscious integrity: It is also marked, in visible characters, by deep thought and inflexible resolution.

The whole life of Franklin, his meditations and his labours, have all been directed to public utility; but the grand object that he had always in view, did not shut his heart against private friendship; he loved his family, and his friends, and was extremely beneficent. In society he was sententious, but not fluent; a listener rather than a talker; an informing rather than a pleasing companion: impatient of interruption, he often mentioned the custom of the Indians, who always remain silent some time before they give an answer to a question, which they have heard attentively; unlike some of the politest societies in Europe, where a sentence can scarcely be finished without interruption. In the midst of his greatest occupations for the liberty of his country, he had some physical experiments always near him in his closet; and the sciences, which he rather discovered than studied, afforded him a continual source of pleasure. He made various bequests and donations to cities, public bodies, and individuals.

The following epitaph was written by Dr. Franklin, for himself, when he was only twenty-three years of age, as appears by the original (with various corrections) found among his papers, and from which this is a faithful copy.

"The body of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
PRINTER,
(Like the cover of an old book.
Its contents torn out,
And stript of its lettering and gilding,)
Lies here, food for worms:
But the work shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more,
In a new, and more elegant edition,
Revised and corrected
by
THE AUTHOR."

Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendezvoused at Paris, on the 28th opened their business in a private audience with count de Vergennes. The congress could not have applied to the court of France under more favourable circumstances. The throne was filled by a prince in the flower of his age, and animated with the desire of rendering his reign illustrious. Count de Vergennes was not less remarkable for extensive political knowledge, than for true greatness of mind. He had grown old in the habits of government, and was convinced that conquests are neither the surest nor the shortest way to substantial fame. He knew full well that no success in war, however brilliant, could so effectually promote the security of France, as the emancipation of the colonies of her ancient rival. He had the superior wisdom to discern, that there were no present advantages to be obtained by unequal terms, that would compensate for those lasting benefits which were likely to flow from a kind and generous beginning. Instead of grasping at too much, or taking any advantages of the humble situation of the invaded colonies, he aimed at nothing more than, by kind and generous terms to a distressed country, to perpetuate the separation which had already taken place between the component parts of an empire, from the union of which his sovereign had much to fear.

Truly difficult was the line of conduct, which the real interest of the nation required of the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty. A haughty reserve would have discouraged the Americans. An open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies might have alarmed the rulers of Great Britain, and disposed them to a compromise with their colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle line, as preferable to either, was therefore pursued. Whilst the French government (1777) prohibited, threatened, and even punished the Americans; private persons encouraged, supplied, and supported them. Prudence, as well as policy required, that France should not be over-hasty, in openly espousing their cause. She was by no means fit for war. From the state of her navy, and the condition of her foreign trade, she was vulnerable on every side. Her trading people dreaded the thoughts of a war with Great Britain, as they would thereby be exposed to great losses. These considerations were strengthened from another quarter. The peace of Europe was supposed to be unstable, from a prevailing belief, that the speedy death of the elector of Bavaria was an event extremely probable. But the principal reason which induced a delay, was an opinion that the dispute between the mother country and the colonies would be compromised. Within the thirteen years immediately preceding, twice had the contested claims of the two countries brought matters to the verge of extremity. Twice had the guardian genius of both interposed, and reunited them in the bonds of love and affection. It was feared by the sagacious ministry of France, that the present rupture would terminate in the same manner. These wise observers of human nature apprehended, that their too early interference would favour a reconciliation, and that the reconciled parties would direct their united force against the French, as the disturbers of thir domestic tranquility. It had not yet entered into the hearts of the French nation, that it was possible for the British American colonists, to join with their ancient enemies against their late friends.

At this period, Congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great Britain. To subserve this design, they resolved that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorised to arm and fit for war in the French ports, any number of vessels, not exceeding six, at the expense of the United States, to war upon British property; provided they were satisfied this measure would not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect: and in the year 1777, marine officers, with Ameri-

can commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly; but they nevertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometimes punished by authority, to please the English; but they were oftener caressed from another quarter, to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United States were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the American commissioners were urging the ministers of his most Christian Majesty to accept the treaty proposed by Congress. They received assurances of the good wishes of the court of France; but were from time to time informed, that the important transactions required farther consideration, and were enjoined to observe the most profound secrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1776, till December 1777. Private encouragement and public discountenance were alternated; but both varied according to the complexion of news from America. The defeat on Long Island, the reduction of New York, and the train of disastrous events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, sunk the credit of the Americans very low, and abated much of the national ardour for their support. Their subsequent successes at Trenton and Princeton effaced these impressions, and rekindled active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixed these wavering politics. The success of the Americans, in the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground. Their enmity had proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendship became desirable to France. Having helped themselves, they found it less difficult to obtain help from others. The same interest, which hitherto had directed the court of France to a temporising policy, now required decisive conduct. Previous delay had favoured the dismemberment of the empire: but farther procrastination bid fair to promote at least such a federal alliance of the disjointed parts of the British empire, as would be no less hostile to the interests of France, than a re-union of its several parts. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France very early in December, 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to press for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under consideration for the preceding twelve months. The capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French, that the opposition of the Americans to Great Britain was not the work of a few men who had gotten power in their hands, but of the great body of the people; and was likely to be finally successful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and publicly to espouse their cause.

The commissioners of Congress on the 16th December, 1777, were informed by Mr. Gerard, one of the secretaries of the king's council of state "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them; that in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their situation, to obtain terms which otherwise, it would not be convenient for them to agree to; that his Most Christian Majesty desired the treaty once made should be durable, and their amity to subsist forever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an interest in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended, that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new formed states would be willing to agree to, if they had been long since established, and in the fullness of strength and power, and such as they should approve when that time should come; that his most christian majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence; that in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war; yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account. Nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their sakes, since besides his real good will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished, by the separation of the colonies from its government. The only condition he should require, and rely on, would be, that the United States, in no peace to be made, should give up their independence and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previously to the 16th of December, 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war, and to have established an alliance with the United States, that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Mr. Gerard, his most christian majesty Louis the 16th, on the 6th of February, 1778, entered into treaties of amity, commerce, and alliance with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. By the latter of these, that illustrious monarch became the guarantee of their sovereignty, independence and commerce. On a review of the conduct of the French ministry, to the Americans, the former appear to have acted uniformly from a wise regard to national interest. Any line of conduct, different from that which they adopted, might have overset the measures which they wished to establish. Had they pretended to act from disinterested principles of generosity to the distressed, the known selfishness of human nature would have contradicted the extravagant pretension. By avowing the real motive of their conduct, they furnished such a proof of candour as begat confidence.

The terms of reciprocity, on which they contracted with the United States, were no less recommended by wise policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great Britain to close the war when she pleased, with all the advantages for future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This judicious measure made the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe; for the question then was, whether the trade of the United States should, by the subversion of their independence, be again monopolised by Great Britain, or, by the establishment of it, laid open on equal terms to all the world.

In national events, the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general, and expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled: but as great a tribute is due to the statesman, who, from a more elevated station, determines on measures in which the general safety and welfare of empires are involved. This glory, in a particular manner, belongs to the count de Vergennes, who, as his Most Christian Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, conducted the conferences which terminated in these treaties. While the ministers of his Britannic Majesty were pleasing themselves with the flattering idea of permanent peace in Europe, they were not less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance, which had taken place between his Most Christian Majesty and the United States. This event, though often foretold, was disbelieved. The zeal of the British ministry to reduce the colonies, blinded them to danger from every other quarter. Forgetting that interest governs public bodies, perhaps more than private persons, they supposed that feebler motives would out-weigh its all-commanding influence. Intent on carrying into execution the object of their wishes, they fancied that, because France and Spain had colonies of their own, they would refrain from aiding or abetting the revolted British colonies, from the fear of establishing a precedent which at a future day might operate against themselves. Transported with indignation against their late fellow subjects, they were so infatuated with the American war, as to suppose that trifling evils, both distant and uncertain would induce the court of France to neglect an opportunity of securing great and immediate advantages.

How far this interference of the court of France can be justified by the laws of nations, it is not the province of history to decide. Measures of this kind are not determined by abstract reasoning. The present feelings of a nation, and the probable consequences of loss or gain, influence more than the decisions of speculative men. Suffice it to mention, that the French exculpated themselves from the heavy charges brought against them, by this summary mode of reasoning: "We have found," said they, "the late colonies of Great Britain in actual possession of independence, and in the exercise of the prerogatives of sovereignty. It is not our business to inquire, whether they had, or had not, sufficient reason to withdraw themselves from the government of Great Britain, and to erect an independent one of their own. We are to conduct towards nations, agreeably to the political state in which we find them, without investigating how they acquired it. Observing them to be independent in fact, we were bound to suppose they were so of right, and had the same liberty to make treaties with them, as with any other sovereign power," They also alleged, that Great Britain could not complain of their interference, since she had set them the example only a few years before, in supporting the Corsicans in opposition to the court of France. They had besides many well-founded complaints against the British, whose armed vessels had for months past harassed their commerce, on the idea of preventing an illicit trade with the revolted colonies.

The marquis de la Fayette, whose letters to France had a considerable share in preparing the nation to patronise the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an effusion of tears, he embraced General Washington, exclaiming, "the king my master has acknowledged your independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its establishment." The heart-felt joy, which spread from breast to breast, exceeded description. The several brigades assembled by order of the commander in chief. Their chaplains offered up public thanks to Almighty God, and delivered discourses suitable to the occasion. A feu-de-joie was fired, and, on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with huzzas. "Long live the king of France," poured forth from the breast of every private in the army. The Americans, having in their own strength for three years weathered the storms of war, fancied the port of peace to be in full view. Replete with the sanguine hopes of vigorous youth, they presumed that Britain, whose northern army had been reduced by their sole exertions, would not continue the unequal contest with the combined force of France and America. Overvaluing their own importance and undervaluing the resources of their adversaries, they were tempted to indulge a dangerous confidence. That they might not be lulled into carelessness, Congress made an animated address to them, in which, after reviewing the leading features of the war, they informed them: "They must yet expect a severe conflict; that though foreign alliances secured their independence, they could not secure their country from devastation."

The alliance between France and America had not been concluded three days, before it was known to the British ministry; and in less than five weeks more, March 13th, it was officially communicated to the court of London, in a rescript, delivered by the French ambassador, to lord Weymouth. In this new situation of affairs, there were some in Great Britain who advocated the measure of peace with America, on the footing of independence; but the point of honour, which had before precipitated the nation into the war, predominated over the voice of prudence and interest. The king and parliament of Great Britain resolved to punish the French nation for treating with their subjects, which they termed "an unprovoked aggression on the honour of the crown, and essential interests of the kingdom." And at the same time, a vain hope was indulged, that the alliance

between France and the United States, which was supposed to have originated in passion, might be dissolved. The national prejudices against the French, had been so instilled into the minds of Englishmen, and of their American descendants, that it was supposed practicable, by negotiations and concessions, to detach the United States from their new alliance, and re-unite them to the parent state.

Eleven days after the treaty between France and America had been concluded, 17th February, the British minister introduced into the house of commons a project for conciliation, founded on the idea of obtaining a re-union of the new states with Great Britain. This consisted of two bills, with the following titles: "A bill for declaring the intention of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies, provinces and plantations in North America;" and a bill "to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers, to treat, consult and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North America." These bills were hurried through both houses of parliament, and before they passed into acts, were copied and sent across the Atlantic, to lord and General Howe. On their arrival in America, they were sent by a flag to congress at Yorktown. When they were received, 21st April, congress was uninformed of the treaty which their commissioners had lately concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year, they had not received one line of information from them on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time been received; but all the letters therein were taken out, before it was put on board the vessel which brought it from France, and blank papers put in their stead. A committee of Congress was appointed to examine these bills, and report on them. Their report was brought in the following day, and was unanimously adopted. By it they rejected the proposals of Great Britain.

The vigorous and firm language in which Congress expressed their rejection of these offers considered in connexion with the circumstance of their being wholly ignorant of the late treaty with France, exhibits the glowing serenity of fortitude. While the royal commissioners were industriously circulating these bills in a partial and secret manner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them from the common people, Congress trusting to the good sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith printed for the public information. Having directed the affairs of their country with an honest reference to its welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people knowing and judging for themselves. They submitted the whole to the public. Their report, after some general remarks, on the bill, concluded as follows:

"From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the said bills were intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now, by the blessing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favourable issue; that they are the sequel of that insiduous plan, which, from the days of the stamp act, down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed; and that, as in other cases, so in this, although circumstances may force them at times to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination, which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

"Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous contest upon principles of common interest, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities, and by mutual good offices and affection, so the great cause for which they contend, and in which all mankind are interested must derive its success from the continuance of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of these United States.

"And farther, your committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that these United States cannot, with propriety, hold any conference with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states.

"And inasmuch as it appears to be the design of the enemies of these states to lull them into a fatal security; to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the several states be called upon to use the most strenuous exertions, to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon as possible, and that all the militia of the said states be held in readiness to act, as occasion may require."

The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by royal commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Governor Johnstone, lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden, appointed on this business, attempted to open a negociation, on the subject. They requested General Washington, on the 9th of June, to furnish a passport for their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to Congress; but this was refused, and the refusal was unanimously approved by Congress. They then forwarded, in the usual channel of communication, a letter addressed, "To his Excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and other the members of Congress," in which they communicated a copy of their commission, and of the acts of parliament, on which it was founded; and they offered to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following among other purposes:—

To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land;

To restore free intercourse; to revive mutual affection; and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire;

To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require:

To agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general Congress, or particular assemblies;

To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation;

To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed;

In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state; to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment: and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.

A decided negative having been already given, previous to the arrival of the British commissioners, to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence of the treaty with France having in the mean time arrived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation. President Laurens, therefore, by order of Congress, on the 27th of June, returned the following answer:

"I have received the letter from your excellencies, of the 9th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these states; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

"The acts of the British parliment, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissable

"I am farther directed to inform your excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

Though Congress could not, consistently with national honour, enter on a discussion of the terms proposed by the British commissioners, yet some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among these Gouverneur Morris and William Henry Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the decisive measures adopted by their countrymen.

As the British plan for conciliation was wholly founded on the idea of the states returning to their allegiance, it was no sooner known than rejected In addition to the sacred ties of plighted faith and national engagements, the leaders in Congress and the legislative assemblies in America had tasted the sweets of power, and were in full possession of its blessings, with a fair prospect of retaining them without any foreign control: The war, having originated on the part of Great Britain from a lust of power, had in its progress compelled the Americans in self-defence to assume and exercise its highest prerogatives. The passions of human nature, which induced the former to claim power, perated no less forcibly with the latter, against the relinquishment of it. After the colonies had declared themselves independent states, had repeatedly pledged their honour to abide by that declaration, had under the smiles of heaven maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid, after the greatest monarch in Europe had entered into a treaty with them, and guaranteed their independence: after all this to expect popular leaders, in the enjoyment of power, voluntarily to retire from the helm of government, to the languid indifference of private life, and while they violated national faith, at the same time to depress their country from the rank of sovereign states to that of dependent provinces, was not more repugnant to universal experience, than to the governing principles of the human heart.

The high-spirited ardour of citizens in the youthful vigour of honour and dignity, did not so much as inquire, whether greater political happiness might be expected from closing with the proposals of Great Britain, or by adhering to their new allies. Honour forbade any balancing on the subject; nor were its dictates disobeyed. Though peace was desirable, and the offers of Great Britain so liberal, that, if proposed in due time, they would have been acceptable; yet for the Americans, after they had declared themselves independent, and at their own solicitation obtained the aid of France, to desert their new allies, and leave them exposed to British resentment, incurred on their account, would have argued a total want of honour and gratitude. The folly of Great Britain, in expecting such conduct from virtuous freemen, could only be exceeded by the baseness of America, had her citizens realised that expectation.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure originated in an opinion that the congress was sup-

ported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well disposed to re-unite with Great Britain. The latter of these assertions was true, till a certain period of the contest: but that period was elapsed. With their new situation, new opinions and attachments had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the style and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent Americans citizens saw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subjects. The narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed in England towards France, no longer existed among the Americans. The British commissioners unapprised of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States, by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. Presuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered themselves that, by perseverance, an impression favourable to Great Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negociation with Congress in a letter of the 11th of July. As they had been informed, in answer to their preceding letter of the 10th of June, that an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing of their fleets and armies, must precede an entrance on the consideration of a treaty of peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been complied with, it was resolved by Congress that no answer should be given to their reiterated application.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, Governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent, by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of Congress, and other Americans of influence. He in particular addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens was in these words;

"Dear Sir,

"I beg to transfer to my friend Dr. Ferguson, the private civilites which my friends Mr. Manning, and Mr Oswald, request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

"If you should follow the example of Britain, in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope, from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out."

The following answer was immmediately written:

"*York Town, June* 14, 1778.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday, I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shown that gentleman every degree of respect and attention, that times and circumstances admit of.

"It is, sir, for Great Britain to determine, whether her commissioners shall return unheard by the representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

"You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end; terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that, from the rage of war, the good people of these states shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, sir, as my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence

"Congress in no hour have been haughty; but to suppose that their minds are less firm at the present, than they were when destitute of all foreign aid, and even without expectation of an alliance; when upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their house of worship, and in presence of God, they resolved, "to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these states," would be irrational.

"At a proper time, sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these states agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration can influence Congress to consent, that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me intreat you, my dear sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not, with very great personal respect and esteem,

"Sir, your most obedient,
"And most humble servant,
"HENRY LAURENS.

"The honourable Geo. Johnstone, Esq.
"Philadelphia."

In a letter to Joseph Reed, of April the 11th, Governor Johnstone said, "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind." On the 16th of June, he wrote to Robert Morris: "I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such transactions there is risk. And, I think, that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those, who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the president have a right to every favour, that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastations of war."

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, on the 21st June, that it had been intended by Governor Johnstone, to offer him, that in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a re-union of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies, within his majesty's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied: "I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress on the 9th July, ordered all letters, received by members of Congress from any of the British commissioner, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, Congress resolved; "that the same cannot but be considered, as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of Congress, to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esquire; especially to negociate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons, was expressed expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was signed by the president, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New York. This was answered by Governor Johnstone, by an angry publication, in which he denied, or explained away what had been alleged against him. Lord Carlisle, sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden denied having any knowledge of the matter charged on Governor Johnstone.

The commissioners, failing in their attempts to negociate with Congress, had no resource left, but to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct, counter to that of their representatives. To this purpose they published a manifesto and proclamation addressed to Congress, the assemblies, and all others, the free inhabitants of the colonies, in which they observed; "The policy as well as the benevolence of Great Britain have so far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become a source of mutual advantage; but when that country professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy, or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the British colonies shall become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

Congress, upon being informed of the design of the commissioners to circulate these papers, declared that the agents, employed to distribute the manifestos and proclamation of the commissioners, were not entitled to protection from a flag. They also recommended to the several states to secure and keep them in close custody: but that they might not appear to hood-wink their constituents, they ordered the manifestos and proclamation to be printed in the newspapers. The proposals of the commissioners were not more favourably received by the people than they had been by Congress. In some places, the flags containing them were not received, but ordered instantly to depart; in others, they were received and forwarded to Congress, as the only proper tribunal to take cognizance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

To deter the British from executing their threats of laying waste the country, Congress, on the 30th of October, published to the world a resolution and manifesto, in which they concluded with these words:

"We, therefore, the Congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that, if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence we declare, that, as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger and revenge, so, through every possible change of fortune, we will adhere to this our determination."

This was the last effort of Great Britain, in the way of negociation, to regain her colonies. It originated in folly and ignorance of the real state of affairs in America. She had begun with wrong measures, and had now got into wrong time. Her concessions, on this occasion, were an implied justification of the resistance of the colonists. By offering to concede all that they at first asked for, she virtually acknowledged herself to have been the aggressor in an unjust war. Nothing could be more favourable to the cementing of the friendship of the new allies, than this unsuccessful negociation. The states had an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their engagements, and France abundant reason to believe that, by preventing their being conquered, her favourite scheme of lessening the power of Great Britain, would be secured beyond the reach of accident

CHAPTER V.

The Campaign of 1778.

After the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army retired to winter quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley Forge. The former enjoyed (1778) all the conveniences which an opulent city afforded, while the latter, not half clothed, and more than once on the point of starving, were enduring the severity of a cold winter in a hutted camp. It was well for them, that the British made no attempt to disturb them, while in this destitute condition.

The winter and spring passed away without any more remarkable events in either army, than a few successful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroying property. In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordenton, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.

Soon afterwards, an excursion from Newport was made by 500 British and Hessians, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. These, having landed in the night of the 25th of May, marched next morning in two bodies, the one for Warren, the other for Kickemuit river. They destroyed about 70 flat bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar and plank. They also set fire to the meeting house at Warren, and seven dwelling houses. At Bristol, they burned the church and 22 houses. Several other houses were plundered; and women were stripped of their shoe-buckles, gold rings and handkerchiefs.

A French squadron, consisting of 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates, commanded by Count D'Estaign, sailed from Toulon for America, soon after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States and the king of France. After a passage of 87 days, the count arrived July 9th, at the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great Britain, forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement; but knew nothing of the matter. It had an unfriendly influence on their proposed negociations; but it was indispensably necessary, for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans besieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either, would have been scarcely possible.

The royal army, on the 18th of June, passed over the Delaware into New-Jersey. Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached General Maxwell's brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia, for obstructing their progress. The British were incumbered with an enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army, having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached under Colonel Morgan, to reinforce General Maxwell. Washington halted his troops when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers, in the American army, seventeen in number, being asked by the commander in chief: "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?" fifteen of them answered in the negative; but recommended a detachment of 1500 men, to be immediately sent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under General Scott.

When Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, he determined, instead of keeping the direct course towards Staten Island, to draw towards the sea coast, and to push on towards Sandy Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence that Sir Henry was proceeding in that direction, towards Monmouth court-house, despatched 1000 men under General Wayne, and sent the Marquis de la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who, having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command; but he declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance, for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light infantry and chasseurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front.

General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent General Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole; and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning, orders were sent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander in chief ordered Colonel Stewart's and lieutenant colonel Ramsay's battalions to form on a piece of ground, which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked, if he would command on that ground; to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy: to which he replied, "your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition.

[Charles Lee, a major general in the army of the United States, was born in Wales and was the son of John Lee, a colonel in the British service. He entered the army at a very early age; but though he possessed a military spirit, he was ardent in the pursuit of knowledge. He acquired a competent skill in Greek and Latin, while his fondness for travelling made him acquainted with the Italian, Spanish, German, and French languages. In 1756 he came to America, and was engaged in the attack upon Ticonderoga in July 1758, when Abercrombie was defeated. In 1762 he bore a colonel's commission, and served under Burgoyne in Portugal, where he much distinguished himself. Not long afterwards he entered into the Polish service. Though he was absent when the stamp act passed, he yet by his letters zealously supported the cause of America. In the years 1771, 1772, and 1773 he rambled over all Europe. During this excursion he was engaged with an officer in Italy in an affair of honour, and he murdered his antagonist, escaping himself with the loss of two fingers. Having lost the favour of the ministry and the hopes of promotion in consequence of his political sentiments, he came to America in Nov. 1773. He travelled through the country, animating the colonies to resistance. In 1774 he was induced by the persuasion of his friend, General Gates, to purchase a valuable tract of land of two or three thousand acres in Berkeley county, Virginia. Here he resided till the following year, when he resigned a commission, which he held in the British service, and accepted a commission from Congress, appointing him major general. He accompanied Washington to the camp at Cambridge, where he arrived, July 2, 1775, and was received with every mark of respect. In the beginning of the following year he was despatched to New York to prevent the British from obtaining possession of the city and the Hudson. This trust he executed with great wisdom and energy. He disarmed all suspicious persons on Long Island, and drew up a test to be offered to every one, whose attachment to the American cause was doubted. His bold measures carried terror wherever he appeared. He seems to have been very fond of this application of a test, for in a letter to the president of Congress he informs him, that he had taken the liberty at Newport to administer to a number of the tories a very strong oath, one article of which was, that they should take arms in defence of their country, if called upon by Congress, and he recommends, that this measure should be adopted in reference to all the tories in America. Those fanatics, who might refuse to take it he thought should be carried into the interior. Being sent into the southern colonies, as commander of all the forces, which should there be raised, he diffused an ardour among the soldiers, which was attended by the most salutary consequences. In Oct. by the direction of Congress he repaired to the northern army. As he was marching from the Hudson through New Jersey to form a junction with Washington in Pennsylvania, he quitted his camp in Morris county to reconnoitre. In this employment he went to the distance of three miles from the camp and entered a house for breakfast. A British colonel became acquainted with his situation by intercepting a countryman, charged with a letter from him, and was enabled to take him prisoner. He was instantly mounted on a horse without his cloak and hat, and carried safely to New York. He was detained till April or May 1778, when he was exchanged for General Prescott, taken at Newport. He was very soon engaged in the battle of Monmouth. Being detached by the commander in chief to make an attack upon the rear of the enemy, Washington was pressing forward to support him June 28th, when to his astonishment he found him retreating without having made a single effort to maintain his ground. Meeting him in these circumstances, without any previous notice of his plans, Washington addressed him in terms of some warmth. Lee, being ordered to check the enemy, conducted himself with his usual bravery, and, when forced from the ground on which he had been placed, brought off his troops in good order. But his haughty temper could not brook the indignity, which he believed to have been offered him on the field of battle, and he addressed a letter to Washington, requiring reparation for the injury. He was on the 30th arrested for disobedience of orders, for misbehaviour before the enemy, and for disrespect to the commander in chief. Of these charges he was found guilty by a court martial, at which lord Stirling presided, and he was sentenced to be suspended for one year. He defended himself with his accustomed ability, and his retreat seems to be justified from the circumstance of his having advanced upon an enemy, whose strength was much greater, than was apprehended, and from his being in a situation with a morass in his rear, which would preclude him from a retreat, if the British should have proved victorious But his disrespectful letters to the commander in chief it is not easy to justify. His suspension gave general satisfaction to the army, for he was suspected of aiming himself at the supreme command. After the result of his trial was confirmed by Congress in January 1780, he retired to his estate in Berkley county, where he lived in a style peculiar to himself. Glass windows and plaster would have been extravagances in his house. Though he had for his companions a few select authors and his dogs; yet, as he found his situation too solitary and irksome, he sold his farm in the fall of 1782, that in a different abode he might enjoy the conversation of mankind. He went to Philadelphia and took lodgings in an inn. After being three or four days in the city he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life Oct 2, 1782. The last words, which he uttered, were "stand by me, my brave grenadiers."

In his person General Lee was rather above the middle size, and his remarkable aquiline nose rendered his face somewhat disagreeable. He was master of a most genteel address, but was rude in his manners and excessively negligent in his appearance and behaviour. His appetite was so whimsical, that he was every where a most troublesome guest. Two or three dogs usually

followed him wherever he went. As an officer he was brave and able, and did much towards disciplining the American army. With vigorous powers of mind and a brilliant fancy he was a correct and elegant classical scholar, and he both wrote and spoke his native language with propriety, force, and beauty. His temper was severe. The history of his life, is little else than the history of disputes, quarrels, and duels in every part of the world. He was vindictive, avaricious, immoral, impious, and profane. His principles, as would be expected from his character, were most abandoned, and he ridiculed every tenet of religion. He published about the year 1760 a pamphlet on the importance of retaining Canada. After his death, memoirs of his life, with his essays and letters, were published, 12mo. 1792. Lee's memoirs.]

A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and the two battalions which General Washington had halted. These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the British received gave time to make a disposition of the left wing, and second line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed by lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing; which, with the cooperation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of lord Stirling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success; for Greene with artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well-directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way, They retired and took the position, which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered General Poor to move round upon their right and General Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach, before it was dark. These remained on the ground, which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning; and the main body lay on their arms in the field, to be ready for supporting them.

General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day; but these hopes were frustrated. The British troops marched away in the night, in such silence that General Poor, though very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them, 4 officers, and about 40 privates, all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed. The British, June 30, pursued their march without farther interruption, and soon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North river. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about 350. Lieut. Colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit was universally lamented. Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and Major Dickenson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The emotions of the mind, added to fatigue in a very hot day, brought on such a fatal suppression of the vital powers, that some of the Americans, and 59 of the British were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable, that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action; but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were:

1st. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

3dly. For disrespect to the commander-in-chief in two letters.

After a tedious hearing before a court martial, Lee was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of one year: but the second charge was softened by the court martial who in their award only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and in some few instances, a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this sentence. They argued, "that by the tenor of Lee's orders it was submitted to his discretion, whether to attack or not; and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment: that at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds; that the propriety of an attack, considering the superiority of the British Cavalry, and the openness of the ground, was very questionable; and that, though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance, it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by the main body, which was some miles in the rear." "If," said they, "Lee's judgment were against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpose, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure." They also contended, that a suspension from command was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, if really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges though there was a diversity of opinion relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander-in-chief. The Americans had formerly idolized General Lee; but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and without any foundation pronounced him treacherous, or deficient in courage. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White Plains, a few miles beyond Kings-bridge; and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position, from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn: and then the Americans retired to Middle Brook in Jersey, where they built themselves huts in the same manner as they had done at Valley Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, Congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, 6th, August, they were called upon, to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. The person appointed to this office was M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negociations, antecedent to the treaty. The arrival and reception of a minister from France, made a strong impression on the minds of the Americans. They felt the weight and importance, to which they were risen among nations. That the same spot which in less than a century, had been the residence of savages, should become the theatre on which, the representatives of a new, free, and civilized nation, gave a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary, from one of the oldest and most powerful kingdoms of Europe, afforded ample materials for philosophic contemplation. That in less than three years from the day, on which an answer was refused by Great Britain to the united supplications of the colonists, praying for peace, liberty and safety, they should, as an independent people, be honoured with the residence of a minister from the court of France, exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine Americans. The patriots of the new world revolved in their minds these transactions, with heart-felt, satisfaction; while the devout were led to admire that Providence, which had, in so short a space, stationed the United States among the powers of the earth, and clothed them in robes of sovereignty.

The British had barely completed the removal of their fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia, to the harbour and city of New York, when they received intelligence, that a French fleet was on the coast of America. This was commanded by Count D'Estaign, and consisted of twelve ships of the line and three frigates. Among the former, one carried 90 guns, another, 80, and six 74 guns each. Their first object was the surprise of lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware; but they arrived too late. In naval history, there are few more narrow escapes, than that of the British fleet, on this occasion. It consisted only of six 64 gun ships, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long on service, and were in a bad condition. Their force, when compared with that of the French fleet, was so greatly inferior, that had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware, in 75 days from its leaving Toulon, their capture, in the ordinary course of events, would have been inevitable. This was prevented by the various hindrances which retarded D'Estaign in his voyage to the term of 87 days; in the last eleven of which lord Howe's fleet not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbour of New York. D'Estaign, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued, and, July 11th, appeared off Sandy Hook. American pilots of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went on board his fleet. Among them were persons, whose circumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots.

The sight of the French fleet roused all the active passions of their adversaries. Transported with indignation against the French, for interfering in what they called a domestic quarrel, the British displayed a spirit of zeal and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thousand volunteers were despatched from their transports to man their fleet. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New York, took their stations at the guns with the common sailors. Others put to sea in light vessels, to watch the motions of their enemies. The officers and privates of the British army contended, with so much eagerness, to serve on board the men of war as marines, that it became necessary to decide the point of honour by lot.

The French fleet came to anchor, and continued without the Hook for eleven days. During this time, the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about 20 vessels under English colours. On the 22d, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment to the British. They supposed that Count D'Estaign would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. Every thing with them was at stake. Nothing less than destruction or victory would have ended the contest. If the first had been their lot, the vast fleet of transports and victuallers, and the army, must have fallen. The pilots on board the French fleet, declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships thereof over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaign, on that account, and by the advice of General Washington, left the Hook and sailed for Newport. By his departure the British fleet had a second escape; for had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of Admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. That officer had been sent out to relieve lord Howe, who had solicited to be recalled; and the fleet under his command had been sent to reinforce that which

had been previously on the coast of America. Admiral Byron's squadron had met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. It now arrived, scattered, broken, dismasted, or otherwise damaged. Within eight days after the departure of the French fleet, the Renown, the Raisonnable, the Centurion, and the Cornwall arrived singly at Sandy Hook.

The next attempt of Count D'Estaign was against Rhode Island, of which the British had been in possession since December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, in which it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness of the people to co-operate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thousands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts was under the command of General Hancock. The royal troops on the island, having lately been reinforced, were about 6000. Sullivan's force was about 10.000. Lord Howe followed Count D'Estaign, and came within sight of Rhode Island, the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport. The British fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior in effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of lord Howe, the French admiral put out to sea with his whole force to engage him. While the two commanders were exerting their naval skill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a strong gale of wind came on, which greatly damaged the ships on both sides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French ships were dismasted. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Estaign's own ship, after losing all her masts and rudder, was attacked by the Renown of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Dawson. The same evening, the Preston of 50 guns, fell in with the Tonnant of 80 guns: with only her mainmast standing, and attacked her with spirit: but night put an end to the engagement. Six sail of the French squadron came up in the night, which saved the disabled ships from any farther attack. There was no ship or vessel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries; yet enough to make it necessary to return to New-York, for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor, on the 20th of August, near to Rhode Island; but sailed on the 22d, to Boston. Before they sailed, General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette went on board the Languedoc, to consult on measures proper to be pursued. They urged D'Estaign to return with his fleet into the harbour; but his principal officers were opposed to the measure, and protested against it. He had been instructed to go to Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers insisted on his ceasing to prosecute the expedition against Rhode Island, that he might conform to the orders of their common superiors.

Upon the return of General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette, and their reporting the determination of Count D'Estaign, a protest was drawn up and sent to him, which was signed by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, J. Glover, Ezekiel Cornel, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lovell, Jon. Fitconnel. They protested against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his most Christian Majesty, and the interests of his nation, destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations. Had D'Estaign prosecuted his original plan within the harbour, either before or immediately after the pursuit of lord Howe, the reduction of the British post on Rhode Island would have been probable; but his departure in the first instance to engage the British fleet, and in the second from Rhode Island to Boston, frustrated the whole. Perhaps Count D'Estaign hoped by something brilliant to efface the impressions made by his late failure at New York. Or he might have thought it imprudent to stake his whole fleet, within an harbour possessed by his enemies.

After his ships had suffered both from battle and the storm, the letter of his instructions, the importunity of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ships speedily refitted, might have weighed with him to sail directly for Boston. Whatever were the reasons which induced him to adopt that measured, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied. They complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of the most effective co-operation; that depending thereon, they had risked their lives on an island where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger; that in this situation, they were first deserted, and afterwards totally abandoned, at a time, when, by persevering in the original plan, they had well-grounded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds, that the regular army which remained, was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. In these embarrassing circumstances, General Sullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability. He began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th, and retreated from his lines on the night of the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north of the island, fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The Marquis de la Lafayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this Count d'Estaign would not consent; but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and co-operate with the American land forces against Rhode Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order; but he had not been five hours at the north end of the Island, when his troops was fired upon by the British, who had pursued them, on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made by two parties and on two roads; to one was opposed Colonel Henry B. Livingston; to the other John Laurens, aid-de-camp to General Washington, and each of them had a command of light troops. In the first instance these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way; but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced, they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near 1200 Americans were engaged. The loss on each side was between two and three hundred.

Lord Howe's fleet, with sir Henry Clinton and about 4000 troops on board, being seen off the coast, General Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode Island. As the sentries of both armies were within 400 yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the show of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night, and nearly completed by twelve o'clock. Towards the last of it, the Marquis de Lafayette returned from Boston. He had rode thither from Rhode Island, a distance of 70 miles, in seven hours, and returned in six and a half. Anxious to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being absent on the day before. He was in time to bring off the picquets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army. This he did in excellent order. Not a man was left behind, nor was the smallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Laurens displayed on this occasion, were excelled by his republican magnanimity, in declining a military commision, which was conferred on him, by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission, of lieutenant colonel, in testimony of the sense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island, on the 29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to Congress a letter, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honour which they were pleased to confer him, and the satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues, in the family of the commander in chief. That having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear, to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore intreated Congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of lieutenant colonel and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour."

With the abortive expedition to Rhode Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign projected by the allies of Congress for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages; but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of Count D'Estaign. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans; yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds, that his most Christian Majesty was seriously disposed to support them. The good will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans; and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents.—Some censured Count D'Estaign; but while they attempted to console themselves by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operation.

Sir Henry Clinton, finding that the Americans had left Rhode Island, returned to New York; but directed General Grey to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, where several American privateers resorted. On reaching the place of their destination, the general's party landed, and in a few hours destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They also burnt magazines, wharves, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling houses. The building burned in Bedford, were estimated to be worth £20,000 sterling. The other articles destroyed were worth much more, The royal troops proceeded to Martha's Vineyard. There they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, 300 oxen, and 2000 sheep, which was complied with.

A similar expedition, under the command of Captain Ferguson, was about the same time undertaken against Little Egg-Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some salt-works. Several of the vessels got off; but all that were found were destroyed. Previous to the embarcation of the British from Egg-Harbour for New York, Captain Ferguson with 250 men, surprised and put to death about 50 of a party of the Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

The loss sustained by the British in these several excursions was trifling; but the advantage was considerable, from the supplies they procured, and the check which was given to the American privateers.

One of the most disastrous events, which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the surprise and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Tappan. The officer who commanded the party which surprised them, was Major General Grey. He acquired the name of the "No flint General," from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets that they might be confined to the use of their bay-

onets. A party of militia, which had been stationed on the road, by which the British advanced, quitted their posts, without giving any notice to Colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address, that they cut off a sergeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded old Tappan without being discovered. They then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment, while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprised dragoons sued for quarters. Unmoved by their supplications, their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated thrusts, while objects could be found in which any signs of life appeared. A few escaped; and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored in a course of time, to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded but not dangerously. He lost in killed, wounded and taken, 67 privates out of 104. About 40 were made prisoners. These were indebted, for their lives, to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be observed, may apologise in some degree with men of a certain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be maintained that the laws of war require that quarters should be given in similar assaults; but the lovers of mankind must ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where it can be done with safety. The perpetrators of such actions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined society. As far as their example avails, it tends to arrest the growing humanity of modern times, and to revive the barbarism of Gothic ages. On these principles, the massacre of Colonel Baylor's regiment was the subject of much complaint. The particulars of it were ascertained, by the oaths of sundry credible witnesses, taken before Governor Livingston, of Jersey; and the whole was submitted to the judgment of the public.

In the summer of this year, an expedition was undertaken against East Florida. This was resolved upon, with the double view of protecting the state of Georgia from depredation, and of causing a diversion. General Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about 2000 men, a few hundred of whom were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the states of South Carolina and Georgia. They proceeded as far as St. Mary's river, and without any opposition of consequence. At this place the British had erected a fort, which in compliment to Tonyn, governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of General Howe, they destroyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, retreated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fatal to the Americans, than any opposition they experienced from their enemies. Sickness and death raged to such a degree, than an immediate retreat became necessary; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one-fourth of their whole number.

The royal commissioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to resume the character of British subjects, and the successive plans of co-operation between the new allies having also failed, a solemn pause ensued. It would seem as if the commissioners indulged a hope, that the citizens of the United States, on finding a disappointment of their expectations from the French, would re-consider and accept the offers of Great Britain. Full time was given, both for the circulation of their manifesto, and for observing its effects on the public mind: but no overtures were made to them from any quarter. The year was drawing near to a close, before any interesting expedition was undertaken. With this new era, a new system was introduced.

Hitherto the conquest of the states had been attempted by proceeding from north to south but that order was henceforth inverted, and the southern states became the principal theatre, on which the British commenced their offensive operations. Georgia, being one of the weakest states in the union, and at the same time abounding in provisions, was marked out as the first object of renewed warfare. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, embarked from New York for Savannah, 27th November, with a force of about 2000 men, under the convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker. To make more sure of success in the enterprise, Major General Prevost, who commanded the royal forces in East Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia. The fleet that sailed from New York, in about three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing place, a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light infantry moved forward along this causeway. On their advance, they received a heavy fire from a small party under Captain Smith, posted for the purpose of impeding their passage. Captain Cameron was killed; but the British made their way good, and compelled Captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army, consisting of about 600 continentals, and a few hundred militia, between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass in front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome, before the Americans could be dislodged. While Colonel Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro, of a private path through the swamp, on the right of the Americans which lay in such a situation, that the British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, was directed to avail himself of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans, and attack their rear. As soon as it was supposed that sir James Baird had cleared his passage, the British in front of the Americans, were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution; their victory was complete. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort, with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South Carolina.

Agreeably to instructions, General Prevost had marched from East Florida, about the same time that the embarcation took place from New York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and success of Colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been issued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition that with their arms they would support royal government.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell acted with great policy, in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the re-establishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. Georgia, soon after the reduction of its capital, exhibited a singular spectacle. It was the only state of the Union, in which, after the declaration of independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The moderation and prudence of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell were more successful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders.

The errors of the first years of the war, forced on Congress same useful reforms, in the year 1778. The insufficiency of the provision made for the support of the officers of their army had induced many resignations. From a conviction of the justice and policy of making commissions valuable and from respect to the warm, but disinterested recommendations of General Washington, Congress resolved: "that half-pay should be allowed to their officers, for the term of seven years, after the expiration of their service." This was, afterwards, extended to the end of their lives: and finally, that was commuted for full pay, for five years. Resignations were afterwards rare; and the states reaped the benefit of experienced officers continuing in service, till the war was ended.

A system of more regular discipline was introduced into the American army, by the industry, abilities, and judicious regulations of Baron de Steuben, a most excellent disciplinarian, who had served under the king of Prussia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers, to discharge the directing and purveying business of the military hospitals, which had been before united in the same hands. Dr. Rush was principally instrumental in effecting this beneficial alteration. Some regulations, which had been adopted for limiting the prices of commodities, being found not only impracticable, but injurious, were abolished.

The Randolph, an American frigate of 36 guns and three hundred and five men, commanded by Captain Biddle, having sailed on a cruise from Charleston, fell in with the Yarmouth, of 64 guns, and engaged her in the night. In about a quarter of an hour, the Randolph blew up. Four men only were saved, upon a piece of her wreck. These had subsisted four days on nothing but rain water, which they sucked from a piece of blanket. On the 5th day, Captain Vincent of the Yarmouth, though in chase of a ship, on discovering them, suspended the chase, and took them on board. Captain Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful officer.

[Nicholas Biddle, captain in the American navy, during the revolutionary war, was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. Among the brave men who perished in the glorious struggle for the independence of America, Captain Biddle holds a distinguished rank. His services, and the high expectations raised by his military genius and gallantry, have left a strong impression of his merit, and a profound regret that his early fate should have disappointed, so soon, the hopes of his country.

Very early in life he manifested a partiality for the sea, and before the age of fourteen he had made a voyage to Quebec. In the following year, 1765, he sailed from Philadelphia to Jamaica, and the Bay of Honduras. The vessel left the bay in the latter end of December, 1765, bound to Antigua, and on the second day of January, in a heavy gale of wind, she was cast away on a shoal, called the Northern Triangles. After remaining two nights and a day upon the wreck, the crew took to their yawl, the long-boat having been lost, and with great difficulty and hazard, landed on one of the small uninhabited islands, about three leagues distant from the reef upon which they struck. Here they staid a few days. Some provisions were procured from the wreck, and their boat was

refitted. As it was too small to carry them all off, they drew lots to determine who should remain, and young Biddle was among the number. He, and his three companions, suffered extreme hardships for want of provisions and good water; and, although various efforts were made for their relief, it was nearly two months before they succeeded.

Such a scene of dangers and suffering in the commencement of his career, would have discouraged a youth of ordinary enterprise and perseverance. On him it produced no such effect. The coolness and promptitude with which he acted, in the midst of perils that alarmed the oldest seamen, gave a sure presage of the force of his character, and after he had returned home, he made several European voyages, in which he acquired a thorough knowledge of seamanship.

In the year 1770, when a war between Great Britain and Spain was expected, in consequence of the dispute relative to Falkland's Island, he went to London, in order to enter the British navy. He took with him letters of recommendation from Thomas Willing, Esq. to his brother-in-law, Capt. Sterling, on board of whose ship he served for some time as a midshipman. The dispute with Spain being accommodated, he intended to leave the navy, but was persuaded by Captain Sterling to remain in the service, promising that he would use all his interest to get him promoted, His ardent mind, however, could not rest satisfied with the inactivity of his situation, which he was impatient to change for one more suited to his disposition.

In the year 1773, a voyage of discovery was undertaken, at the request of the Royal Society in order to ascertain how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole, to advance the discovery of the north-west passage into the south seas, and to make such astronomical observations as might prove serviceable to navigation.

Two vessels the Race Horse and Carcase, were fitted out for the expedition, the command of which was given to Captain Phipps, afterwards lord Mulgrave. The peculiar dangers to which such an undertaking was exposed, induced the government to take extraordinary precautions in fitting out and preparing the vessels, and selecting the crews, and a positive order was issued that no boys should be received on board.

To the bold and enterprising spirit of young Biddle, such an expedition had great attractions. Extremely anxious to join it, he endeavoured to procure Captain Sterling's permission for that purpose, but he was unwilling to part with him, and would not consent to let him go. The temptation was, however, irresistable. He resolved to go and laying aside his uniform, he entered on board the Carcase before the mast. When he first went on board he was observed by a seaman who had known him before, and was very much attached to him. The honest fellow, thinking that he must have been degraded and turned before the mast in disgrace, was greatly affected at seeing him, but was equally surprised and pleased when he learned the true cause of the young officer's disguise, and he kept his secret, as he was requested to do. Impelled by the same spirit, young Horatio, afterwards lord Nelson, had solicited and obtained permission to enter on board the same vessel. These youthful adventurers are both said to have been appointed cockswains, a station always assigned to the most active and trusty seamen. The particulars of this expedition are well known to the public. These intrepid navigators penetrated as far as the latitude of eighty-one degrees and thirty-nine minutes, and they were, at one time, enclosed with mountains of ice, and their vessels rendered almost immoveable for five days at the hazard of instant destruction. Captain Biddle kept a journal of his voyage, which was afterwards lost with him.

The commencement of the revolution gave a new turn to his pursuits, and he repaired without delay to the standard of his country. When a rupture between England and America appeared inevitable, he returned to Philadelphia, and soon after his arrival, he was appointed to the command of the Camden galley, fitted for the defence of the Delaware. He found this too inactive a service, and when the fleet was preparing, under Commodore Hopkins, for an expedition against New Providence, he applied for a command in the fleet, and was immediately appointed commander of the Andrew Doria, a brig of 14 guns and 130 men. Paul Jones, who was then a lieutenant, and was going on the expedition, was distinguished by Captain Biddle, and introduced to his friends as an officer of merit.

Before he sailed from the capes of Delaware, an incident occurred, which marked his personal intrepidity. Hearing that two deserters from his vessel were at Lewistown in prison, an officer was sent on shore for them, but he returned with information that the two men, with some others, had armed themselves barricadoed the door, and swore they would not be taken; that the militia of the town had been sent for, but were afraid to open the door, the prisoners threatening to shoot the first man who entered. Captain Biddle immediately went to the prison, accompanied by a midshipman, and calling to one of the deserters, whose name was Green, a stout resolute fellow ordered, him to open the door; he replied that he would not, and if attempted to enter, he would shoot him. He then ordered the door to be forced, and entering singly with a pistol in each hand, he called to Green, who was prepared to fire, and said, "now, Green, if you do not take good aim, you are a dead man." Daunted by his manner, their resolution failed, and the militia coming in secured them. They afterwards declared to the officer who furnishes this account, that it was Captain Biddle's look and manner which had awed them into submission, for that they had determined to kill him as soon as he came into the room.

Writing from the capes to his brother, the late Judge Biddle he says, "I know not what may be our fate; be it, however, what it may, you may rest assured, I will never cause a blush in the cheeks of my friends or countrymen." Soon after they sailed, the small-pox broke out and raged with great violence in the fleet, which was manned chiefly by New England seamen. The humanity of Capt. Biddle, always prompt and active, was employed on this occasion to alleviate the general distress, by all the means in its power. His own crew, which was from Philadelphia, being secure against the distemper, he took on board great numbers of the sick from the other vessels. Every part of his vessel was crowded, the long-boat was fitted for their accommodation, and he gave up his own cot to a young midshipman, on whom he bestowed the greatest attention till his death. In the mean while he slept himself upon the lockers, refusing the repeated solicitations of his officers to accept their births. On their arrival at New Providence, it surrendered without opposition. The crew of the Andrew Doria, from the crowded situation, became sick, and before she left Providence, there were not men enough capable of doing duty to man the boats; Capt. Biddle visited them every day, and ordered every necessary refreshment, but they continued sickly until they arrived at New London.

After refitting at New London, Captain Biddle received orders to proceed off the Banks of Newfoundland, in order to intercept the transports and storeships bound to Boston. Before he reached the banks, he captured two ships from Scotland, with 400 highland troops on board, destined for Boston. At this time the Andrew Doria had not 100 men. Lieutenant Josiah, a brave and excellent officer, was put on board one of the prizes, with all the highland officers, and ordered to make the first port. Unfortunately, about ten days afterwards, he was taken by the Cerberus frigate, and on pretence of his being an Englishman, he was ordered to do duty, and extremely ill used. Captain Biddle hearing of the ill treatment of Lieutenant Josiah, wrote to the admiral at New York, that, however disagreeable it was to him, he would treat a young man of family, believed to be son of lord Craston, who was then his prisoner, in the manner they treated Lieutenant Josiah

He also applied to his own government in behalf of this injured officer, and by the proceedings of Congress, on the 7th of August, 1776. it appears, "that a letter from Captain Nicholas Biddle to the marine committee, was laid before Congress and read: whereupon, Resolved, That General Washington be directed to propose an exchange of Lieutenant Josiah, for a lieutenant of the navy of Great Britain; that the general remonstrate to lord Howe on the cruel treatment Lieutenant Josiah has met with, of which the congress have received undoubted information." Lieutenant Josiah was exchanged, after an imprisonment of ten months. After the capture of the ships with the highlanders, such was Captain Biddle's activity and success in taking prizes, that when he arrived in the Delaware, he had but five of the crew with which he sailed from New London, the rest having been distributed among the captured vessels, and their places supplied by men who had entered from the prizes. He had a great number of prisoners, that, for some days before he got in, he never left the deck.

While he was thus indefatigably engaged in weakening the enemy's power, and advancing his country's interest, he was disinterested and generous in all that related to his private advantage. The brave and worthy opponent, whom the chance of war had thrown in his power, found in him a patron and friend, who on more than one occasion, was known to restore to the vanquished the fruits of victory.

In the latter end of the year 1776, Capt. Biddle was appointed to the command of the Randolph, a frigate of thirty-two guns. With his usual activity, he employed every exertion to get her ready for sea. The difficulty of procuring American seamen at that time, obliged him, in order to man his ship, to take a number of British seamen, who were prisoners of war, and who had requested leave to enter.

The Randolph sailed from Philadelphia, in February, 1777. Soon after she got to sea, her lower masts were discovered to be unsound, and, in a heavy gale of wind, all her masts went by the board. While they were bearing away for Charleston, the English sailors, with some others of the crew formed a design to take the ship. When all was ready, they gave three cheers on the gun-deck. By the decided and resolute conduct of Captain Biddle and his officers, the ring-leaders were seized and punished, and the rest submitted without farther resistance. After refitting at Charleston, as speedily as possible, he sailed on a cruise, and three days after he left the bar, he fell in with four sail of vessels, bound from Jamaica to London. One of them, called the True Briton, mounted twenty guns. The commander of her, who had frequently expressed to his passengers his hopes of falling in with the Randolph, as soon as he perceived her, made all the sail he could from her, but finding he could not escape, he hove to, and kept up a constant fire, until the Randolph had bore down upon him, and was preparing for a broadside, when he hauled down his colours. By her superior sailing, the Randolph was enabled to capture the rest of the vessels, and in one week from the time he sailed from Charleston, Captain Biddle returned there with his prizes, which proved to be very valuable.

Encouraged by his spirit and success, the state of South Carolina made exertions for fitting out an expedition under his command. His name and the personal attachment to him, urged forward a crowd of volunteers to serve with him, and in a short time, the ship General Moultrie, the brigs Fair American, and Polly, and the Notre Dame, were prepared for sea. A detachment of fifty men from the first regiment of South Carolina continental infantry, was ordered to act as marines on board the Randolph. Such was the attachment which the honourable and amiable deportment of Captain Biddle had impressed during his stay at Charleston, and such the confidence inspired by his professional conduct and [illegible]ur, that

a general emulation pervaded the corps to have the honour of serving under his command. The tour of duty, after a generous competition among the officers, was decided to Captain Joor, and Lieutenants Grey and Simmons, whose gallant conduct, and that of their brave detachment, did justice to the high character of the regiment. As soon as the Randolph was refitted, and a new mainmast obtained in place of one which had been struck with lightning, she dropt down to Rebellion Roads with her little squadron. Their intention was to attack the Carysfort frigate, the Perseus twenty-four gun ship, the Hichinbrook of sixteen guns, and a privateer which had been cruising off the bar, and had much annoyed the trade. They were detained a considerable time in Rebellion Roads, after they were ready to sail, by contrary winds, and want of water on the bar for the Randolph. As soon as they got over the bar, they stood to the eastward, in expectation of falling in with the British cruisers. The next day they retook a dismasted ship from New England; as she had no cargo on board, they took out her crew, six light guns, and some stores, and set her on fire. Finding that the British ships had left the coast, they proceeded to the West Indies, and cruised to the eastward, and nearly in the latitude of Barbadoes, for some days, during which time they boarded a number of French and Dutch ships, and took an English schooner from New York, bound to Grenada, which had mistaken the Randolph for a British frigate, and was taken possession of before the mistake was dicovered.

On the night of the 7th of March, 1778, the fatal accident occurred, which terminated the life of this excellent officer. For some days previously he had expected an attack. Captain Blake, a brave officer, who commanded a detachment of the second South Carolina regiment, serving as marines on board the General Moultrie, and to whom we are indebted for several of the ensuing particulars, dined on board the Randolph two days before the engagement. At dinner Captain Biddle said, "We have been cruising here for some time, and have spoken a number of vessels, who will no doubt give information of us, and I should not be surprized if my old ship should be out after us. As to any thing that carries her guns upon one deck, I think myself a match for her. About 3. P. M. of the 7th of March, a signal was made from the Randolph for a sail to windward, in consequence of which the squadron hauled upon a wind, in order to speak her. It was four o'clock before she could be distinctly seen, when she was discovered to be a ship, though as she neared and came before the wind, she had the appearance of a large sloop with only a square sail set. About seven o'clock, the Randolph being to windward, hove to; the Moultrie, being about one hundred and fifty yards astern, and rather to leeward, also hove to. About eight o'clock the British ship fired a shot just ahead of the Moultrie, and hailed her; the answer was, the Polly, of New York; upon which she immediately hauled her wind, and hailed the Randolph. She was then, for the first time, discovered to be a two decker. After several questions asked and answered, as she was ranging up alongside the Randolph, and had got on her weather quarter, Lieutenant Barnes, of that ship called out, "This is the Randolph," and she immediately hoisted her colours and gave the enemy a broadside. Shortly after the action commenced, Capt. Biddle received a wound in the thigh and fell. This occasioned some confusion, as it was first thought that he was killed. He soon, however, ordered a chair to be brought, said that he was only slightly wounded, and being carried forward encouraged the crew. The stern of the enemy's ship being clear of the Randolph, the captain of the Moultrie gave orders to fire, but the enemy having shot ahead, so as to bring the Randolph between them, the last broadside of the Moultrie went into the Randolph, and it was thought by one of the men saved, who was stationed on the quarter-deck near Capt. Biddle, that he was wounded by a shot from the Moultrie. The fire from the Randolph was constant and well directed. She fired nearly three broadsides to the enemy's one, and she appeared, while the battle lasted, to be in a continual blaze. In about twenty minutes after the action began, and while the surgeon was examining Captain Biddle's wound on the quarter deck, the Randolph blew up.

The enemy's vessel was the British ship Yarmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Vincent. So closely were they engaged, that Captain Morgan, of the Fair American, and all his crew, thought that it was the enemy's ship that had blown up. He stood for the Yarmouth, and had a trumpet in his hand to hail and inquire how Captain Biddle was, when he discovered his mistake. Owing to the disabled condition of the Yarmouth, the other vessels escaped.

The cause of the explosion was never ascertained, but it is remarkable that just before he sailed, after the clerk had copied the signals and orders for the armed vesse s that accompanied him, he wrote at the foot of them, "In case of coming to action in the night be very careful of your magazines." The number of persons on board the Randolph was three hundred and fifteen, who all perished except four men, who were tossed about for four days on a piece of the wreck before they were discovered and taken up. From the information of two of these men, who were afterwards in Philadelphia, and of some individuals in the other vessels of the squadron, we have been enabled to state some particulars of this unfortunate event, in addition to the accounts given of it by Dr. Ramsay in his History of the American Revolution, and in his History of the Revolution of South Carolina. In the former work, the historian thus concludes his account of the action: "Captain Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful naval officer."

Thus prematurely fell, at the age of twenty-seven, as gallant an officer as any country ever boasted of. In the short career which Providence allowed to him, he displayed all those qualities which constitute a great soldier; brave to excess, and consummately skilled in his professsion.—*Amer. Biog. Dic.*]

Major Talbot took the British schooner Pigot, of 8 twelve pounders, as she lay on the eastern side of Rhode Island. The major, with a number of troops on board a small vessel, made directly for the Pigot in the night, and sustaining the fire of her marines, reserved his own till he had run his jib-boom through her fore shrouds. He then fired some cannon, threw in a volley of musketry, loaded with bullets and buckshot, and immediately boarded her. The captain made a gallant resistance but was not seconded by his crew. Major Talbot soon gained undisturbed possession, and carried off his prize in safety. Congress, as a reward of his merit, presented him with the commission of lieutenant colonel.

THE

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES—*Continued.*

CHAPTER VI.

Campaign of 1779.

Throughout the year 1779, the British seem to have aimed at little more, in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making "the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connexions," they planned sundry expeditions, on this principle.

One of these, consisting of both a naval and land force, was committed to Sir George Collyer and General Matthews, who made a descent on Virginia. They sailed for Portsmouth, and on their arrival took possession of that defenceless town. The remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels; but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched 18 miles in the night, and, arriving at Suffolk by morning, proceeded to the destruction of vessels, naval stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which had been deposited in that place. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's landing, Shepherd's-gosport, Tanner's creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business, along the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hogsheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every house in Suffolk was burnt, except the church, and one dwelling house. The houses of several private gentlemen in the country shared the same fate. Above 130 vessels were either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the stocks were burned, and every thing reative to the building or fitting of ships was either carried off or destroyed. After demolishing Fort Nelson, and setting fire to the store-houses, and other public buildings in the dock-yard at Gosport, the British embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty safe to New York, in the same month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia, distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no real service to the royal cause. It was presumed, that, by involving the citizens in losses and distress, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of submitting to a power, against which they had not the means of defending themselves: but the temper of the times was unfavourable to these views. Such was the high toned state of the American mind, that property had comparatively lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause of independence. Some hearty whigs gloried in their losses with as much pride as others gloried in their possessions. The British, supposing the Americans to be influenced by the considerations which bias men in the languid scenes of tranquil life, and not reflecting on the sacrifices which enthusiastic patriotism is willing to make, proceeded in their schemes of distress: but the more extensively they carried on this mode of warfare, the more obstacles they created to the re-union of the empire.

In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Gov. Tryon was appointed to the command of about 2600 land forces, employed on this business, and he was supported by General Garth. The transports which conveyed these troops, were covered by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by Sir George Collyer. They proceeded from New York, by the way of Hell-gate, and landed at East Haven. The royal commanders made an address to the inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their duty and allegiance, and promised protection to all who should remain peaceably in their usual place of residence, except the civil and military officers of the government. It also stated, "that their property lay within the grasp of that power, whose lenity had persisted in its mild and noble efforts, though branded with the most unworthy imputation; that the existence of a single house, on their defenceless coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their ingratitude; that they, who lay so much in the British power, afforded a striking monument of their mercy, and therefore ought to set the first example of returning to their allegiance."

One of the many addresses, from which the above extract is taken, was sent by a flag to Colonel Whiting, of the militia near Fairfield. The colonel was allowed an hour, for his answer; but he had scarcely time to read it, before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned the following answer: "Connecticut, having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost the power exerted against injured innocence." The British marched from their landing to New Haven. The town on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their household furniture and other moveable property. The harbour and water side were covered with feathers, which were discharged from opened beds. An aged citizen, who laboured under a natural inability of speech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders suddenly reembarked and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity, posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but soon retreated to the back of the town. On the approach of the British, the town was evacuated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained, with the view of saving their property. They imagined that their sex would protect them. They also reposed confidence in an enemy who had been formerly famed for humanity and politeness; but they bitterly repented their presumption. Parties of the royal army entered the deserted houses of the inhabitants: broke open desks, trunks, closets and chests, and took every thing of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest language, threatened their lives, and presented the bayonets to their breasts. A sucking infant was plundered of part of its clothing, while the bayonet was presented to the breast of its mother. Towards evening, they began to burn the houses, which they had previously plundered. The women begged General Tryon to spare the town. Mr. Sayre, the episcopal minister, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the women in their requests: but their joint supplications were disregarded. They then begged, that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied: but at length Tryon consented to save the buildings of Mr. Burr and of Mr. Elliot, and also that the houses for public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear guard consisting of German yeagers set fire to every thing which Tryon had spared; but on their departure the inhabitants extinguished the flames, and saved some of the houses. The militia were joined by numbers from the country, who successively came in to their aid; but they were too few to make effectual opposition.

The British in this excursion, also burned East Haven, and the greatest part of Green's farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandize, were destroyed. Particular accounts of these devastations were, in a short time, transmitted by authority to Congress. By these it appeared, that there were burnt at Norwalk, two houses of public worship, 80 dwelling houses, 87 barns, 22 stores, 17 shops, 3 mills, and 5 vessels; and at Fairfield, two houses of public worship, 75 dwelling houses, 11 barns, and several stores. There were at the same time, a number of certificates transmitted to General Washington, in which sundry persons of veracity bore witness on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine and cruelty, committed on aged persons, women and prisoners. Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British, in this and other similar expeditions, resolved; "To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual measures, to carry into execution their manifesto of October 30th, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging the enemy in Great Britain or the the West Indies:" but their resolve was never carried into effect.

The elder citizens of the United States, who had grown up with habits of love and attachment to the British nation, felt the keenest sensations of regret, when they contrasted the years 1759 and 1779. The former was their glory, when in the days of their youth, they were disposed to

boast of the honours of their common country: but the latter filled them with distress, not only for what they suffered, but for the degradation of a country they revered as the natal soil of their forefathers. The one ennobled the British name with the conquest of Crown Point, Oswego, Montreal, Quebec, and the whole province of Canada. The other was remarkable only for the burning of magazines, store-houses, dock-yards, the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk, and for the general distress of a defenceless peasantry.

The fires and destruction which accompanied this expedition, were severely censured by the Americans, and apologised for by the British in a very unsatisfactory manner. The latter, in their vindication, alleged that the houses which they had burned gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired from them, and on other occasions concealed their retreat.

Tryon, who was a civil governor as well as a general, undertook the justification of the measure, on principles of policy. "I should be very sorry," said he, "if the destruction of these villages would be thought less reconcileable with humanity, than the love of my country, my duty to the king, and the laws of arms. The usurpers have professedly placed their hopes, of severing the empire, in avoiding decisive actions; upon the waste of the British treasures; and upon the escape of their own property, during the protraction of the war. Their power is supported, by the general dread of their tyranny and threats, practised to inspire a credulous multitude, with a presumptuous confidence in our forbearance: I wish to detect this delusion." These devastations were the subject of an elegant poem, written on the spot, a few days afterwards, by Colonel Humphreys.

While the British were proceeding in these desolating operations, Washington was called upon for continental troops; but he could spare very few. He durst not detach largely; as he apprehended that one design of the British in these movements was, to draw off a proportion of his army from West Point, to favour an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, and though, from his small force, he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, yet, instead of pressing General Washington for a large detachment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The British may probably distress the country exceedingly, by the ravages they will commit: but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West Point.

The inhabitants feared much more than they suffered. They expected that the whole margin of their country, 120 miles in extent, would suffer the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk. The season of the year added much to their difficulties; as the close attention of the farmers to their harvesting could not be omitted, without hazarding their subsistence. These fears were not of long duration. In about ten days after the landing of the British troops, an order was issued for their immediate return to New York. This they effected, in a short time, and with a loss so inconsiderable, that, in the whole expedition, it did not exceed one hundred and fifty men.

While the British were successfully making these desultory operations, the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, by means of their superior marine force, having the command of the numerous rivers, bays, and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make descents, where they pleased, with an expedition that could not be equalled by the American land forces. Had Washington divided his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to risk no more by way of covering the country, than was consistent with the general safety.

His army was posted at some distance from British head quarters in New York, and on both sides of the North River. The rear thereof, consisting of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, under the command of Colonel Anthony Walton White, patrolled constantly, for several months in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound, and on the North River. This corps, had sundry skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

About this time, General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post, at Horse-Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picquet of 150 men and two iron field pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He however planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and, by several fires, retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition, till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, was about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picket to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot-passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach. Of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his picquet with some militia, faced about, and pursued Gov. Tryon on his return.

[Israel Putnam, a major-general in the army of the United States, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7, 1718. His mind was vigorous, but it was never cultivated by education. When he for the first time went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size. After bearing his sarcasms until his good nature was entirely exhausted, he attacked and vanquished the unmannerly fellow, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. In running, leaping, and wrestling, he almost always bore away the prize. In 1739, he removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he cultivated a considerable tract of land. He had, however, to encounter many difficulties, and among his troubles, the depredations of wolves on his sheep-fold was not the least. In one night seventy fine sheep and goats were killed. A she wolf, who, with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity, being considered as the principal cause of the havoc, Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with a number of his neighbours to hunt alternately, till they should destroy her. At length the hounds drove her into her den, and a number of persons soon collected with guns, straw, fire, and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. But the dogs were afraid to approach her, and the fumes of brimstone could not force her from the cavern. It was now ten o'clock at night. Mr. Putnam proposed to his black servant to descend into the cave, and shoot the wolf; but as the negro declined, he resolved to do it himself. Having divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered the cavern, head foremost, with a blazing torch, made of strips of birch bark, in his hand. He descended fifteen feet, passed along horizontally ten feet, and then began the gradual ascent, which is sixteen feet in length. He slowly proceeded on his hands and knees, in an abode which was silent as the house of death. Cautiously glancing forwards, he discovered the glaring eye-balls of the wolf, who started at the sight of his torch, gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. He immediately kicked the rope, and was drawn out with a friendly celerity, and violence, which not a little bruised him. Loading his gun with nine buck shot, and carrying it in one hand, while he held the torch with the other, he descended, a second time. As he approached the wolf, she howled, rolled her eyes, snapped her teeth, dropped her head between her legs, and was evidently on the point of springing at him. At this moment he fired at her head, and soon found himself drawn out of the cave. Having refreshed himself, he again descended, and seized the wolf by her ears, kicked the rope, and his companions above, with no small exultation, dragged them both out together.

During the French war he was appointed to command a company of the first troops which were raised in Connecticut, in 1755. He rendered much service to the army in the neighbourhood of Crown Point. In 1756, while near Ticonderoga, he was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. He escaped in an adventure of one night with twelve bullet-holes in his blanket. In August he was sent out with several hundred men to watch the motions of the enemy. Being ambuscaded by a party of equal numbers, a general, but irregular action took place. Putnam had discharged his fusee several times, but at length it missed fire while its muzzle was presented to the breast of a savage. The warrior with his lifted hatchet, and a tremendous war-whoop, compelled him to surrender, and then bound him to a tree. In the course of the action the parties changed their position, so as to bring this tree directly between them. The balls flew by him incessantly; many struck the tree, and some passed through his clothes. The enemy now gained possession of the ground, but being afterwards driven from the field, they carried their prisoners with them. At night he was stripped, and a fire was kindled to roast him alive. For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, and bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labours, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. They then set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it; at last the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, at the very idea of which, all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, so far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost him a single pang; but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domestic endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past: nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublimary things, when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself, to whom a savage, unwilling to see another human victim immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians, whose nocturnal powwas and hellish orgies he suddenly ended Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained till he could safely deliver him into the hands of his master.

The savage approached his prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit; but finding that he could not chew them on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more hu-

mane savage soaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to lose his captive, the refreshment being finished, he took the moccasins from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists; then directing him to lie down on his back on the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree: the other arm was extended and bound in the same manner: his legs were stretched apart, and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender poles were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot: on each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable and painful posture he remained till morning. During the night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling when he reflected on this ludicrous group for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and moccasins, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given, which he sucked through his teeth. At night the party arrived at Ticonderoga, and the prisoner was placed under the care of a French guard.

The savages, who had been prevented from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took this opportunity of manifesting their malevolence for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures; but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Major Putnam's arrival, than he went to the interpreter's quarters, and inquired whether he had a provincial major in his custody. He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition, without coat, waistcoat, or hose; the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged, his beard long and squalid, his legs torn by thorns and briers, his face gashed with wounds, and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufference at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits consistent with the prudence of a prisoner, and the meekness of a christian. Major Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, clothed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by this liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed; and by his assistance he was soon after exchanged.

When General Amherst was marching across the country to Canada, the army coming to one of the lakes, which they were obliged to pass, found the French had an armed vessel of twelve guns upon it. He was in great distress, his boats were no match for her, and she alone was capable of sinking his whole army in that situation. While he was pondering what should be done, Putnam comes to him, and says, "General, that ship must be taken." "Ay," says Amherst, "I would give the world she was taken." "I'll take her," says Putnam. Amherst smiled, and asked how? "Give me some wedges, a beetle, (a large wooden hammer, or maul, used for driving wedges,) and a few men of my own choice." Amherst could not conceive how an armed vessel was to be taken by four or five men, a beetle and wedges. However, he granted Putnam's request. When night came, Putnam, with his materials and men, went in a boat under the vessel's stern, and in an instant drove in the wedges between the rudder and ship, and left her. In the morning, the sails were seen fluttering about: she was adrift in the middle of the lake; and being presently blown ashore, was easily taken.

At the commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country, Colonel Putnam, on hearingof the battle at Lexington,left his plough in the middle of the field, and without changing his clothes, repaired to Cambridge, riding in a single day one hundred miles. He was soon appointed a major-general in the provincial army, and returning to Connecticut, he made no delay in bringing on a body of troops.

Among other examples of patriotism that might be related, the following is from a living witness. The day that the report of the battle of Lexington reached Barnstable, a company of militia immediately assembled and marched off to Cambridge. In the front rank there was a young man, the son of a respectable farmer, and his only child. In marching from the village, as they passed his house, he came out to meet them. There was a momentary halt. The drum and fife paused for an instant. The father, suppressing a strong and evident emotion, said, "God be with you all, my friends! and, John, if you, my son, are called into battle, take care that you behave like a man, or else let me never see your face again!" A tear started into every eye, and the march was resumed.

Not long after his appointment, the commander of the British army, unwilling that so valuable an officer should act in opposition, privately conveyed to him a proposal, that if he would quit the rebel party, he might rely on being made a major-general in the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services; but he spurned the offer. On the 16th of June, 1775, it was determined, in a council of war, at which General Putnam assisted, that a fortified post should be established at, or near Bunker's Hill. General Putnam marched with the first detachment, and commenced the work: he was the principal agent or engineer who traced the lines of the redoubt, and he continued most, if not all the night, with the workmen; at any rate, he was on the spot before sun-rise in the morning, and had taken his station on the top of Bunker's Hill, and participated in the danger, as well as the glory of that day.

When the army was organized by General Washington at Cambridge, General Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In Aug. 1776, he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long Island. After the defeat of our army, on the 27th of that month, he went to New-York, and was very serviceable in the city and neighbourhood. In October or November, he was sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city. In January, 1777, he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. At this place, a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army at Brunswick, might be sent for, to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and did not wish to have his weakness known: but yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He, however sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer, on his return, reported, that General Putnam's army could not consist of less than four or five thousand men. In the spring, he was appointed to the command of a separate army, in the highlands of New York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp: Governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply:

"Sir,

"Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a spy; he was tried as a spy; he was condemned as a spy; and he shall be hanged as a spy.

"Israel Putnam."

"P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

After the loss of fort Montgomery, the commander in chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed General Putnam to fix on a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West Point. The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at this place, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and he passed the remainder of his days in retirement, retaining his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantry, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind.

He died at Brookline, Connecticut, May 29, 1790, aged seventy-two years.

Rogers' Amer. Biog. Dic.]

The campaign of 1779, though barren of important events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprises, which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stoney-Point on the North river. General Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprise, at noon, on the 15th of July, set out at the head of a strong detachment, of the most active infantry in the American army, and completed a march of about 14 miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment, being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The general, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half past eleven, the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, consisting of 150 volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fluery, advanced with unloaded muskets, and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by twenty picked men, who were particularly instructed to remove the abbatis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by Major Stewart, and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison, by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended. The works were defended by a deep morass which was also at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass, the double row of abbatis, nor the strength of the works, damped the ardour of the assailants. In the face of a most tremendous fire of musketry and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre of the works, at nearly the same instant. General Wayne as he passed the last abbatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball; but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding as a reason, "that if he died, he wished it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhurt, although the first lost seventeen men out of twenty, and the last nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to ninety-eight. The killed of the garrison were sixty-three, and the number of their prisoners 543. Two flags two standards, fifteen pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The vigour and spirit with which this enterprise was conducted, was matter of triumph to the American. Congress gave their thanks to General Washington, "for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the states, and which were, among many other signal intances, manifested in his orders for the above enterprise." They also gave thanks to General Wayne, and ordered a gold medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck, and presented to him. They directed a silver one to be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, and another to Major Stewart. At the same time they passed general resolutions, in honour of the officers and men, but particularly designating Lieuten

ant Colonel Fluery, Major Stewart, Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. To the two latter, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's volunteer aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of captain.

The clemency shown to the vanquished, was universally applauded. The customs of war, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would have been an apology for the conquerors, had they put the whole garrison to the sword; but the assailants no less generous than brave, ceased to destroy, as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist. Upon the capture of Stoney-Point, the victors turned its artillery against Verplank's Point, and fired upon it with effect, that the shipping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As soon as the news of these events reached New York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post, and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with the cautious prudence of Washington, to risk an engagement for either or both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the captured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of Stoney Point on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The successful enterprize of the Americans at Stoney Point, was speedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldness of design. This was the surprise of the British garrison at Paulus Hook, opposite to New York, which was effected by Major Lee, with about 350 men. Major Sutherland, the commandant, with a number of Hessians, got off safe to a small block-house, on the left of the fort; but about 30 of his men were killed, and 160 taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable, Major Lee in conformity to the orders he had received, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery. Congress honoured him with their thanks, and ordered a medal of gold, emblematical of the affair, to be struck, and presented to him as a reward, "for his prudence, address, and bravery." They also passed resolutions applauding his humanity, and expressing their high sense of the good conduct of his troops; and at the same time ordered a considerable donation in money to be distributed among them.

These advantages were more than counterbalanced, by an unsuccessful attempt, made by the state of Massachusetts, on a British post at Penobscot. Colonel Macleane, by the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, landed with a detachment of 650 men, from Halifax on the banks of Penobscot river, in the eastern confines of New England, and proceeded soon after to construct a fort in a well-chosen situation. This occasioned an alarm at Boston. To counteract the establishment of the post, vigorous measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports, and sailors, might be secured for an expedition which was immediately projected for this purpose, an embargo for forty days was laid by the state of Massachusetts, on all their shipping. A considerable armament, consisting of 18 armed vessels, besides transports, was fitted out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the command of Commodore Saltonstal. The largest vessel in this fleet was the Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. The others varied from 24 to 12 guns. A body of land forces, commanded by General Lovel, embarked on this expedition. On the 25th of July, the American fleet, consisting of 37 sail, appeared off Penobscot. Colonel Macleane had four days before gained information of what was intended against him. This induced him to redouble his exertions in strengthening his fort, which was in an unfinished state. Two of the bastions were untouched. The remaining two were in no part above five feet high. The ditch was only about three feet deep. There was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. The American general on his landing, summoned the colonel to surrender, which being refused, he proceeded to erect a battery at the distance of 570 yards. A cannonading commenced, and was kept up for about a fortnight, but without any considerable effect. While the besiegers were making preparation for an assault, which they had in immediate contemplation, Sir George Collyer appeared in full view, with a squadron for the relief of the garrison. He had sailed from Sandy Hook, on hearing of the intended attack on Colonel Macleane's party, and in about eleven days arrived in the river Penobscot. His marine force consisted of the Raisonnable, of 64 guns, and five frigates. The Americans at first made a show of resistance; but they intended no more, than to give the transports time to move up the river, that the troops might have an opportunity of landing, and making their escape. The superior force and weight of metal of the Raisonnable was irresistible. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other, took place. Sir George destroyed and took seventeen or eighteen armed vessels. The American soldiers and sailors had to return a great part of their way by land, and to explore their route through thick woods.

While the war languished as to great objects in the country where it originated, it was raging on a new element, and involving distant countries in its wide spreading flame. Hostilities, between the fleets of France and Great Britain, were carrying on in both the Indies, and in the European seas, as well as on the coast of America. His Most Catholic Majesty was also, about this time, induced to take a decided part with France, against Great Britain.

To the surprise of many, the Marquis D' Almodovar, the Spanish ambassador, delivered a manifesto to Lord Viscount Weymouth, amounting to a declaration of war against Great Britain. This event had often been predicted by the minority in the British parlirment; but disbelieved by the ministry. The latter reasoned, "that Spain could have no interest in joining their adversaries; that she had colonies of her own, and could not set so bad an example to them, as to give any countenance to the Americans." It was also said "that Spain was naturally attached to Great Britain." They were so far imposed upon by their eagerness to effect the conquest of the United States, as to believe that to be true which they wished to be so. The event proved, that the politics of foreign powers, are not reducible to fixed principles. Sometimes one interest clashes with another; and it is not always the case that the strongest preponderates. Whether the influence of the French counsels, or the prospect of recovering Gibralter, Jamaica, and Florida, or the pressure of recent injuries, determined the court of Spain to adopt this measure, it is impossible with certainty to decide; but circumstances make it probable, that the hope of regaining Gibralter and Jamaica was the principal inducement.

The situation of Great Britain was at this time truly distressing. She was weakened and distracted by an unnatural war, in which victory produced no advantages; but defeat all its natural effects. In the midst of this wasting contest, in which her ability to reduce her revolted colonies, though without foreign aid, was doubtful, she was suddenly involved in a new and much more dangerous war, with one of the greatest powers in Europe. At the very time, while she was engaged in this double warfare, against old friends and old enemies, his Most Catholic Majesty added his force to that of her numerous foes.

In this situation, a dereliction of the American war was recommended, by some leading characters in the nation; but every proposition of that kind was overruled; and assurances, from both houses of parliament, were given to his majesty, "to support him in carrying on the war against all his enemies."

From these events, which only affected the United States, as far as they increased the embarrassments of Great Britain. I return to relate the transactions which took place in their own limits. In the year 1779, though the war was carried on for little more than distress or depredation, in the northern states, the re-establishment of British government was seriously attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to the king's peace. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement from East Florida, and the whole was put under the command of Major General Prevost. The force then in Georgia gave a serious alarm to the adjacent states. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia, or South Carolina, and scarcely any in North Carolina; as during the late tranquility in the southern states, they had been detached to serve in the main army, commanded by Washington. A body of militia was raised and sent forward by North Carolina, to aid her neighbours These joined the continental troops: but not til they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South Carolina. Towards the close of the year 1778, General Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South Carolina, was appointed by Congress, to take the command of their southern army.

This consisted only of a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular soldiers, a considerable body of militia was ordered to join him; but they added much more to his numbers, than to his effective force.

They had not yet learned the implicit obedience, necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languor of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline. The royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in condition to extend their posts. The first object was to take possession of Port Royal, in South Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men, being detached with this view, landed on the island; but General Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove them off. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces, which were well served by a party of Charleston militia artillery. The British lost almost all their officers. The Americans had eight men killed, and twenty-two wounded. Among the former, was Lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins, an artillery officer of great merit, and a citizen of distinguished virtue, whose early fall deprived a numerous family of their chief support. He was the first officer of South Carolina who lost his life in supporting his independence. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise, to the northward of Savannah; but they fixed posts at Ebenezer, and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. They also endeavoured to strengthen themselves, by reinforcements from the tories, in the western settlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection. They were assured that, if they embodied and added their force to that of the king's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority, as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendezvoused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta Among those who called themselves loyalists there were many of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty, than for the honour and an interest of their royal master. At every period before the war, the western wilderness of the colonies, which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle or disorderly, who disrelished the restraints of of civil society. While the war raged the demands of militia duty and of taxes contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects of exemption from the control of government Among these people, the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of loyalty; and o

that class was a great proportion of those, who, in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the king's friends. They had no sooner embodied, and begun their march to join the royal army at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering the defenceless settlements, through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Colonel Pickens, with about 300 men of the latter character, immediately pursued, and came up with them, near Kettle-creek. An action took place, which lasted three quarters of an hour. The tories were totally routed. About forty of them were killed; and in that number was their leader Colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head them. By this action, the British were disconcerted. The tories were dispersed. Some ran quite off. Others went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South Carolina for offending against an act, called the sedition act, which had been passed since the revolution, for the security of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die; but the sentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah river, General Lincoln fixed encampments at Black-swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the Carolina side. From these posts, he formed a plan of crossing into Georgia, with the view of limiting the British to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this design General Ash, with 1500 North Carolina militia, and a few regular troops, after crossing the river Savannah, took a position on Briar-creek; but in a few days he was surprised by Lieutenant Colonel Prevost, who, having made a circuitous march, of about 50 miles, came unexpectedly on his rear, with about 900 men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and 162 were taken. Few had any chance of escaping, but by crossing the Savannah: in attempting which, many were drowned. Of those who got off safe, a great part returned home. The number that rejoined the American camp, did not exceed 450 men. The few continentals under Colonel Elbert, made a brave resistance; but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. This event deprived General Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British the Indians, and the tories of North and South Carolina.

Inexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were subject to those reverses of fortune, which usually attend young soldiers. Unacquainted with military stratagems, deficient in discipline, and not broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often surprised, and had to learn by repeated misfortunes the necessity of subordination, and the advantages of watchfulness and discipline. Their numbers in the field, to those who are acquainted with European wars, must appear inconsiderable; but such is the difference of the state of society, and of the population, in the old and new world, that in America, a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude with those, which, in Europe, would have called into the field as many thousands. The prize contended for was nothing less than the sovereignty of three millions of people, and of five hundred millions of acres of land; and yet, from the remote situation of the invading powers, and the thin population of the invaded states, especially in the southern extreme of the union, this momentous question was materially affected by the consequences of battles, in which only a few hundreds engaged.

The series of disasters, which had followed the American arms, since the landing of the British near Savannah, occasioned well-founded apprehensions for the safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South Carolina was therefore put on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raised. John Rutledge, a Carolinian of the most distinguished abilities, was called to the chair of government by an almost unanimous vote, and, in imitation of the ancient republic of Rome, invested, in conjuction with his council, with dictatorial powers. By virtue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia, near the centre of the state, that they might be in constant readiness, to march whithersoever public service required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. Part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah, at Purrysburgh and Black-swamp, while General Lincoln and the main army crossed into Georgia near Augusta. General Prevost availed himself of the critical moment, when the American army had ascended 150 miles, towards the source of the Savannah, and crossed into Carolina, over the same river, near to its mouth with about 2400 men. A considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured were associated with them on this expedition. The superior British force, which crossed Savannah river, soon compelled General Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of Sourh Carolina, to retire. Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached 300 of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie; but proceeded with the main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention, from an idea that General Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on Carolina; and because his marching down, on the south side of the river Savannah, would occasion but little additional delay, in repairing to its defence. When Lincoln found that Prevost was seriously pushing for Charleston, he re-crossed the Savannah, and pursued him. The British proceeded in their march by the main road near the sea coast, with but little opposition; and in the mean time, the Americans retreated before them, towards Charleston. General Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Instead of his receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia, who went to their homes. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and, above all, the dread of the Indian savages, who accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual became a source of terror to another. From the influence of these causes, many were induced to apply for British protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charleston. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than of what was true. They represented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wishing for peace. at all events. They also stated that Charleston was incapable of much resistance. These circumstances, combined with the facility with which the British marched through the country, induced General Prevost to extend his plan, and push for Charleston. Had he designed it at first, and continued his march, with the same rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probably have been carried by a coup-de-main; but he halted two or three days, when advanced near half the distance. In that interval, every preparation was made by the South Carolinians, for the defence of their capital. All the houses in its suberbs were burnt. Lines and abbatis were, in a few days, carried across the peninsula, between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this visit of the British, especially an attack on the land side, was unexpected; yet in a few days, great preparations were made, and a force of 3300 men assembled in Charleston for its defence.

The main body and baggage of the British army, being left on the south side of Ashly river, an advanced detachment of 900 men crossed the ferry, and appeared before the town. In the meantime, Lincoln was marching on as fast as possible, for the relief of Charleston; but as his arrival was doubtful, and the crisis hazardous, to gain time was a matter of consequence. A whole day was therefore spent in exchange of flags. Commissioners from the garrison were instructed "to propose a neutrality, during the war between Great Britain and America: and that the question, whether the state shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers." The British commanders refused this advantageous offer, alleging that they did not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted, that as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. This being refused, the garrison prepared for an immediate assault; but it was not attempted. In the night of the same day, Major Benjamin Huger, commanding a party without the lines, was, through mistake killed by his countrymen. This was a loss indeed. The liberality, generosity and public spirit, which distinguished him as a citizen, added to great political and military talents, rendered his untimely death the subject of universal regret. By his fall, the country was deprived of one of its firmest and most useful friends, and the army lost one of its brightest ornaments. Prevost, learning by an intercepted letter that Lincoln was coming on in his rear, retreated from Charleston, and filed off with his whole force from the main, to the islands near the sea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charleston, watching each others' motions, till the 20th of June, when an attack was made with about 1200 Americans on 6 or 700 of the British, advantageously posted at Stono ferry. The latter had redoubts with a line of communication, and field pieces in the intervals; and the whole was secured with an abbatis. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James Island, with a body of Charleston militia, at the moment when General Lincoln began the attack from the main; but, from mismanagement, they did not reach their place of destination, till the action was over. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage; but the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James Island was intended, made their retreat necessary. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 150. Among the former was Colonel Roberts, an artillery officer of distinguished abilities. Having been bred to arms in his native country, England, he had been particularly serviceable in diffusing military knowledge among the less-informed American officers. In the short interval between his being wounded and his dying, he was visited on the field of battle by his son, Captain Roberts, of his own regiment. The expiring father presented his sword to his son, with an exhortation, to behave worthy of it, and to use it in the defence of liberty and his country. After a short conversation, he desired him to return to his proper station adding for reason, "that there he might be useful; but to him he could be of no service."

Immediately after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their homes, returned to their plantations; and about the same time the British left the islands adjacent toCharleston, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port-royal, and Savannah. A considerable garrison was left at the former place, under Colonel Maitland: but the main body went to Savannah.

This incursion into South Carolina contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause; but added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers, and followers of the British army; and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants. The forces under the command of General Prevost, spread themselves over a considerable part of the

richest settlements of the state, and where there are the fewest white inhabitants, in proportion to the number of slaves. There was much to attract, but little to resist the invaders. Small parties visited almost every house, and, unopposed, took whatever they chose. They not only rifled the inhabitants of household furniture, but of wearing apparel, money, rings, and other personal ornaments. Every place, in their line of march, experienced the effects of their rapacity.

Soon after the affair of Stono, the continental forces, under the command of Lincoln, retired to Sheldon, a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both armies remained in their respective encampments, till the arrival of a French fleet, on the coast, roused the whole country to immediate activity.

Count D'Estaign, after repairing his fleet at Boston, sailed for the West Indies. Having received instructions from the king his master, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, and being strongly solicited by General Lincoln, President Lowndes, Governor Rutledge, and Mr. Plumbard, consul of France, in Charleston, he sailed from the West Indies, September 1st, for the American continent, with expectation of rendering essential service, in operating against the common enemy. He arrived on the coast of Georgia, with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of 50 guns, and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected, that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, General Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah: and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Great numbers were employed, both by day and night, in strengthening and extending their lines. The American militia, flushed with the hope of speedily expelling the British from their southern possessions, turned out with an alacrity, which far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. D'Estaign, before the arrival of Lincoln, demanded the surrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevost, in his answer, declined surrendering on a general summons, and requested that specific terms should be proposed, to which he would give an answer. The count replied, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms. Prevost then asked for a suspension of hostilities, twenty-four hours, for preparing proper terms. This was inconsiderately granted. Before the twenty-four hours elapsed, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, with several hundred men, who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way through many obstacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah. The garrison, encouraged by the arrival of so respectable a force, determined on resistance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, several days were consumed in preparing for it; and in the meantime, the works of the garrison were hourly strengthened, by the labour of several hundred negroes, directed by the able engineer, Major Moncrief. The besiegers, on the 4th of October, opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon, from the land side, and fifteen from the water. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of town. This was refused. The combined army suspected, that a desire of secreting the plunder, lately taken from the South Carolinians, was covered under the veil of humanity. It was also presumed that a refusal would expedite a surrender. On a report from the engineers, that a considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on Count D'Estaign by his marine officers, who remonstrated against his continuing in risk so valuable a fleet, on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be surprised by a British fleet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days, the lines of the besiegers might have been carried, into the works of the besieged; but under these critical circumstances, no farther delay could be admitted. To assault or raise the siege was the only alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter: but a sense of honour determined the besiegers to adopt the former. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-hill battery, early in the morning of the 9th, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleston. These boldly marched up to the lines, under the command of D'Estaign and Lincoln; but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a cross-fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two standards were nevertheless planted on the British redoubts. A retreat of the assailants was ordered, after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaign and Count Pulaski were both wounded. The former slightly; but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French and upwards of two hundred of the continentals and militia were killed or wounded. General Prevost, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, and Major Moncrief, deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about 150 were militia. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling, as they fired from behind works, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia, almost universally, went to their homes. Count D'Estaign re-embarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by Colonel John White of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken post with about 100 men near the river Ogechee, some time before the siege began. There were also at the same place, forty sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels and 130 stand of arms, were surrendered, October 1st, to Colonel White, Captain Elholm and four others, one of whom was the colonel's servant. On the preceding night, this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these, and a variety of deceptive stratagems, Captain French was impressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up, without making any resistance.

This visit of the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode Island: but this was of no advantage to the United States. For, of all the blunders committed by the British in the course of the American war, none was greater than their stationing 6000 men, for two years and eight months, on that Island, where they were lost to every purpose of co-operation, and where they could render very little more service to the royal cause, than could have been afforded by a couple of frigates cruising in the vicinity.

The siege being raised, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah. The vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the irritable fibres of men, exhausted with fatigue, and dejected by defeat. In proportion to the towering hopes, with which the expedition was undertaken, was the depression of spirits subsequent to its failure. The Georgia exiles who had assembled from all quarters to repossess themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to flee from their country and possessions. The most gloomy apprehensions, respecting the southern states, took possession of the minds of the people.

Thus ended the southern campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had overrun the state of Georgia, for 150 miles from the sea coast, and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charleston, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by successive disappointments, were thoroughly broken.

The campaign of 1779 is remarkable for the feeble exertions of the Americans. Accidental causes which had previously excited their activity, had in a great measure ceased to have influence. An enthusiasm for liberty made them comparatively disregard property, and brave all dangers in the first years of the war. The successes of their arms near the beginning of 1777, and the hopes of capturing Burgoyne's army in the close of it, together with the brisk circulation of a large quantity of paper money, in good credit, made that year both active and decisive. The flattering prospects inspired by the alliance with France in 1778, banished all fears of the success of the revolution: but the failure of every scheme of co-operation produced a despondency of mind unfavourable to great exertions. Instead of driving the British out of the country, as the Americans vainly presumed, the campaigns of 1178 and 1779 terminated without any direct advantage, from the French fleet sent to their aid. Expecting too much from their allies, and then failing in these expectations, they were less prepared to prosecute the war with their own resources, than they would have been, if D'Estaign had not touched on their coast. Their army was reduced in its numbers and badly clothed.

In the first years of the war, the mercantile character was lost in the military spirit of the times; but in the progress of it, the inhabitants, cooling in their enthusiasm, gradually returned to their former habits of lucrative business. This made distinctions between the army and the citizens, and was unfriendly to military exertions. While several foreign events tended to the embarrassment of Great Britain, and indirectly to the establishment of independence, a variety of internal causes relaxed the exertions of the Americans; and for a time, made it doubtful, whether they would ultimately be independent citizens, or conquered subjects. Among these, the daily depreciation of their bills of credit, held a distinguished pre-eminence. This so materially affected every department, as to merit a particular discussion. The subject to prevent an interruption of the thread of the narrative is treated in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

Of Continental Paper Currency.

In the modern mode of making war, money is not less essential, than valour in the field, or wisdom in the cabinet. The longest purse decides the fate of contending nations, as often as the longest sword. It early occurred to the founders of the American empire, that the established revenues of Great Britain must, eventually, overbalance the sudden and impetuous sallies of men, contending for freedom, on the spur of the occasion, and without the permanent means of defence: but how to remedy the evil puzzled their wisest politicians. Gold and silver, as far as was known, had not a physical existence in the country, in any quantity equal to the demands of war; nor could they be procured from abroad; as the channels of commerce had been previously shut, by

the voluntary association of Congress, to suspend foreign trade. America having never been much taxed in any direct way, and being without established governments, and especially as she was contending against what was lately lawful authority, could not immediately proceed to taxation. Besides, as the contest was on the subject of taxation, the laying of taxes adequate to the exigencies of war, even though it had been practicable, would have been impolitic. The only plausible expedient, in their power to adopt, was the emission of bills of credit representing specie, under a public engagement to be ultimately sunk by equal taxes, or exchanged for gold or silver. This practice had been familiar from the first settlement of the colonies, and, under proper restrictions, had been found highly advantageous. Their resolution, to raise an army in June, 1775, was therefore followed by another to emit bills of credit, to the amount of two millions of dollars. To that sum, on the 25th of the next month, it was resolved to add another million. For their redemption they pledged the confederated colonies, and directed each colony to find ways and means, to sink its proportion and quota, in four annual payments; the first to be made on or before the last of November, 1779. That time was fixed upon from an expectation, that, previous to its arrival, the contest would be brought to a conclusion. On the 29th of November, 1775, an estimate having been made by Congress of the public expenses already incurred, or likely to be incurred, in carrying on their defence, till the 10th of June, 1776, it was resolved to emit a farther sum of three millions of dollars, to be redeemed, as the former, by four annual payments; the first, to be made on or before the last day of November, 1783. It was, at the same time, determined, that the quotas of bills to be redeemed, by each colony, should be in a relative proportion to their respective numbers of inhabitants. This estimate was calculated to defray expenses, to the 10th of June, 1776, on the idea, that an accommodation would take place before that time. Hitherto all arrangements, both for men and money, were temporary, and founded on the supposed probability of a reconciliation. Early in 1776, Congress obtained information, that Great Britain had contracted for 16,000 foreign mercenaries, to be sent over for the purpose of subduing America. This enforced the necessity of extending their plan of defence, beyond the 10th of the next June. They, therefore, on the 17th of February, 1776, ordered four millions of dollars to be emitted, and on the 9th of May, and the 22d of July following, emitted ten millions more, on the same security. Such was the animation of the times, that these several emissions, amounting in the aggregate to twenty millions of dollars, circulated, for several months, without any depreciation, and commanded the resources of the country for public service, equally with the same sum of gold or silver. The United States derived for a considerable time, as much benefit from this paper creation of their own, though without any established funds for its support or redemption, as would have resulted from a free gift of as many Mexican dollars. While the ministry of England were puzzling themselves for new taxes, and funds, on which to raise their supplies, Congress raised theirs by resolutions, directing paper of no intrinsic value to be struck off, in form of promissory notes. But there was a point, both in time and quantity, beyond which this congressional alchemy ceased to operate. That time was about eighteen months from the date of their first emission, and that quantity about twenty millions of dollars.

Independence being declared, in the second year of the war, and the object for which arms were at first assumed being changed, it was obvious that more money must be procured, and equally so, that, if bills of credit were multiplied beyond a reasonable sum for circulation, they must necessarily depreciate. It was, therefore, on the 3d of October, 1776, resolved to borrow five millions of dollars; and, in the month following, a lottery was set on foot: for obtaining a farther sum on loan. The expenses of the war were so great, that the money arising from both, though considerable, was far short of a sufficiency. The rulers of America thought it still premature to urge taxation. They, therefore, reiterated the expedient of farther emissions. The ease, with which the means of procuring supplies were furnished, by striking off bills of credit, and the readiness of the people to receive them, prompted Congress to multiply them beyond the limits of prudence. A diminution of their value was the unavoidable consequence.—This at first was scarcely perceivable; but it daily increased. The zeal of the people, nevertheless, so far overbalanced the nice mercantile calculations of interest, that the campaigns of 1776, and 1778, were not affected by the depreciation of the paper currency. Congress foresaw that this could not long be the case. It was, therefore, on the 22d of November, 1777, recommended to the several states, to raise by taxes the sum of five millions of dollars, for the service of the year 1778.

Previously to this, it had been resolved to borrow larger sums; and for the encouragement of lenders, it was agreed to pay the interest which should accrue thereon, by bills of exchange, payable in France, out of monies borrowed there, for the use of the United States. This tax unfortunately failed in several of the states. From the impossibility of procuring a sufficiency of money, either from loans or taxes, the old expedient of farther emissions was reiterated; but the value decreased as the quantity increased. Congress, anxious to put a stop to the increase of their bills of credit, and to provide a fund for reducing what were issued, called upon the states on the 1st of January, 1779, to pay, into the continental treasury, their respective quotas of fifteen millions of dollars, for the service of that year, and of six millions annually from and after the year 1779, as a fund for reducing their early emissions and loans. Such had been the mistaken ideas, which originally prevailed, of the duration of the contest, that, though the war was raging, and the demands for money unabated, yet the period had arrived, which had been originally fixed upon, for the redemption of the first emissions of Congress.

In addition to these fifteen millions, called for on the 1st of January, 1779, the states were, on the 21st of May following, called upon to furnish, for public service, within the current year, their respective quotas of forty-five millions of dollars. Congress wished to arrest the growing depreciation, and, therefore, called for taxes in large sums, proportioned to the demands of the public, and also to the diminished value of their bills. These requisitions, though nominally large, were by no means sufficient. From the fluctuating state of the money, it was impossible to make any certain calculations; for it was not two days of the same value. A sum which, when demanded, would have purchased a sufficiency of the commodities wanted for the public service, was very inadequate, when the collection was made, and the money lodged in the treasury. The depreciation began at different periods in different states; but in general about the middle of the year 1777, and progressively increased for three or four years. Towards the last of 1777, the depreciation was about two or three for one. In 1778, it advanced from two or three for one, to five or six for one; in 1779, from five or six for one, to twenty-seven or twenty-eight for one; in 1780, from twenty seven or twenty-eight for one, to fifty or sixty for one, in the first four or five months of that year. Its circulation was afterwards partial; but where it passed, it soon depreciated to 150 for one. In some few parts, it continued in circulation for the first four or five months of 1781; but in this latter period, many would not take it at any rate, and they who did, received it at a depreciation of several hundreds for one.

As there was a general clamour on account of the floods of money, which, at successive periods, had deluged the states, it was resolved, in October, 1779, that no farther sum should be issued, on any account whatever, than what, when added to the present sum in circulation, would in the whole be equal two hundred millions of dollars. It was at the same time resolved, that Congress should emit only such part of the sum wanting to make up two hundred millions, as should be absolutely necessary for the public exigencies, before adequate supplies could be otherwise obtained; relying, for such supplies, on the exertions of the several states. This was forcibly represented in a circular letter from Congress to their constituents; and the states were earnestly entreated to prevent that deluge of evils, which would flow from their neglecting to furnish adequate supplies, for the wants of the confederacy. The same circular letter stated the practicability of redeeming all the bills of Congress, at par, with gold and silver, and rejected, with indignation, the supposition that the states would ever tarnish their credit, by violating public faith. These strong declarations, in favour of the paper currency, deceived many to repose confidence in it to their ruin. Subsequent events compelled Congress to adopt the very measure in 1780, which, in the preceding year, they had sincerely reprobated.

From the non-compliance of the states, Congress was obliged, in a short time after the date of their circular letter, to issue such a farther quantity, as, when added to previous emissions, made the sum of 200 millions of dollars. Besides this immense sum, the paper emissions of the different states amounted to many millions; which mixed with the continental money, and added to its depreciation. What was of very little value before, now became less. The whole was soon expended; and yet, from its increased depreciation, the immediate wants of the army were not supplied. The source which for five years had enabled Congress to keep an army in the field being exhausted, General Washington was reduced, for some time, to the alternative of disbanding his troops, or of supplying them by a military force. He preferred the latter; and the inhabitants of New York and New Jersey, though they felt the injury, saw the necessity and patiently submitted.

The states were next called upon to furnish, in lieu of money, determinate quantities of beef, pork, flour, and other articles, for the use of the army. This was called a requisition for specific supplies, or a tax in kind; and was found, on experiment, to be so difficult of execution, so inconvenient, partial and expensive, that it was speedily abandoned. About this time, Congress resolved upon another expedient. This was to issue a new species of paper money, under the guarantee of the several states. The old money was to be called in by taxes; and, as soon as brought in, to be burnt; and in lieu thereof, one dollar of the new was to be emitted for every twenty of the old: so that when the whole two hundred millions were drawn in and cancelled, only ten millions of the new should be issued in their place: four-tenths of which were to be subject to the order of Congress, and the remaining six tenths to the order of the several states. These new bills were to be redeemable in specie, within six years, and to bear an interest at the rate of five per cent, to be paid also in specie, at the redemption of the bills, or, at the election of the owner, annually in bills of exchange on the American commissioners in Europe, at four shillings and sixpence for each dollar.

From the execution of these resolutions, it was expected, that the old money would be cancelled; that the currency would be reduced to a fixed standard; that the states would be supplied with the means of purchasing the specific supplies required of them; and that Congress would be furnished with efficient money, to provide for the exigencies of the war. That these good effects would have followed, even though the resolutions of Congress had been carried into execution, is very questionable: but, from the partial compli-

ances of the states, the experiment was never fairly made, and the new paper answered very little purpose. It was hoped by varying the ground of credit, that Congress would gain a repetition of the advantages, which resulted from their first paper expedient: but these hopes were of short duration. By this time, much of the popular enthusiasm had spent itself, and confidence in public engagements was at a low ebb. The event proved, that credit is of too delicate a nature to be sported with, and can only be maintained, by honesty and punctuality. The several expedients proposed by Congress far raising supplies, having failed, a crisis followed, very interesting to the success of the revolution. The particulars of this are related among the public events of the year 1781, in which it took place. Some observations on that primary instrument of American independence, the old continental bills of credit, shall for the present close this subject.

It would have been impossible to have carried on the war, without something in the form of money. There was spirit enough in America, to bring to the field of battle as many of her sons, as would have out-numbered the armies of Great Britain, and to have risked their fate on a general engagement; but this was the very thing they ought to avoid. Their principal hope lay in evacuating, retreating and protracting, to its utmost length, a war of posts. The continued exertions, necessary for this species of defence, could not be expected from the impetuous sallies of militia. A regular, permament army became necessary. Though the enthusiasm of the times might have dispensed with present pay, yet, without at least as much money as would support them in the field, the most patriotic army must have dispersed.

The impossibility of the Americans procuring gold and silver, even for that purpose, doubtless weighed with the British as an encouragement, to bring the controversy to the decision of the sword. What they knew could not be done by ordinary means, was accomplished by those which were extraordinary. Paper of no intrinsic value was made to answer all the purposes of gold and silver, and to support the expenses of five campaigns. This was in some degree, owing to a previous confidence, which had been begotten by honesty and fidelity, in discharging the engagements of government. From New York to Georgia, there never had been, in matters relating to money, an instance of a breach of public faith. In the scarcity of gold and silver, many emergencies had imposed a necessity of emitting bills of credit. These had been uniformly and honestly redeemed. The bills of Congress being thrown into circulation on this favourable foundation of public confidence, were readily received. The enthusiasm of the people contributed to the same effect. That the endangered liberties of America ought to be defended, and that the credit of their paper was essentially necessary to a proper defence, were opinions engraven on the hearts of a great majority of the citizens. It was, therefore, a point of honour, and considered as a part of duty, to take the bills freely at their full value. Private gain was then so little regarded that the whig citizens were willing to run all the hazards incidental to bills of credit, rather than injure the cause of their country by undervaluing its money. Every thing human has its value diminished from the increase of its quantity. Repeated emissions begat that natural depreciation, which results from an excess of quantity. This was helped on by various causes, which affected the credit of the money. The enemy very ingeniously counterfeited their bills, and industriously circulated their forgeries through the United States. Congress allowed, to their public agents, a commission on the amount of their purchases. Instead of exerting themselves to purchase low, they had, therefore, an interest in buying at high prices. So strong was the force of prejudice, that the British mode of supplying armies by contract could not for a long time, obtain the approbation of Congress. While these causes operated, confidence in the public was abating, and, at the same time, that fervour and patriotism, which disregarded interest, was daily declining. To prevent or retard the depreciation of their paper money, Congress attempted to prop its credit by means, which wrecked private property, and injured the morals of the people, without answering the end proposed. They recommended to the states, to pass the laws for regulating the prices of labour, and of all sorts of commodities; and for confiscating and selling the estates of tories, and investing the money, arising from the sales thereof, in loan-office certificates. As many of those who were disaffected to the revolution, absolutely refused to take the bills of Congress, even in the first stage of the war, when the real and nominal value was the same with the view of counteracting their machinations, Congress early recommended to the states, to pass laws for making the paper money a legal tender, at its nominal value, in the discharge of bona fide debts, though contracted to be paid in gold or silver. With the same views, they farther recommended, that laws should be passed by each of the states ordaining that, "whosoever should ask or receive more, in their bills of credit for gold or silver or any species of money whatsoever, than the nominal sum thereof in Spanish dollars, or more in the said bills for any commodities whatsoever, than the same could be purchased, from the same person, in gold or silver, or offer to sell any commodities for gold or silver, and refuse to sell the same for the said bills, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of the United States, and forfeit the property so sold or offered for sale." The laws which were passed by the states, for regulating the prices of labour and commodities, were found on experiment to be visionary and impracticable. They only operated on the patriotic few, who were disposed to sacrifice every thing in the cause of their country, and who implicitly obeyed every mandate of their rulers. Others disregarded them, and either refused to part with their commodities, or demanded and obtained their own prices.

These laws, in the first instance, made an artificial scarcity, and, had they not been repealed, would soon have made a real one; for men never exert themselves, unless they have the fruit of their exertions secured to them, and at their own disposal.

The confiscation and sale of the property of tories, for the most part, brought but very little into the public treasury. The sales were generally made on credit, and, by the progressive depreciation, what was dear, at the time of the purchase, was very cheap at the time of paymeut. The most extensive mischief resulted in the progress, and towards the close of the war, from the operation of the laws which made the paper bills a tender, in the discharge of debts, contracted payable in gold or silver. When this measure was first adopted, little or no injustice resulted from it; for, at that time, the paper bills were equal, or nearly equal to gold or silver, of the same nominal sum. In the progress of the war, when depreciation took place, the case was materially altered. Laws, which were originally innocent, became eventually the occasion of much injustice.

The aged, who had retired from the scenes of active business, to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance, insufficient for their support. The widow, who lived comfortably on the bequests of a deceased husband, experienced a frustration of all his well-meant tenderness. The laws of the country interposed, and compelled her to receive a shilling, where a pound was her due. The blooming virgin, who had grown up with an unquestionable title to a liberal patrimony, was legally stripped of every thing, but her personal charms and virtues. The hapless orphan, instead of receiving from the hands of an executor, a competency to set out in business, was obliged to give a final discharge on the payment of six pence in the pound. In many instances, the earnings of a long life of care and diligence were, in the space of a few years, reduced to a trifling sum. A few persons escaped these affecting calamities, by secretly transfering their bonds, or by flying from the presence or neighbourhood of their debtors. The evils which resulted from the legal tender of these paper bills, were foreign from the intentions of Congress, and of the state legislatures. It is but justice to add, farther, that a great proportion of them flowed from ignorance. Till the year 1780, when the bills fell to forty for one, it was designed by most of the rulers of America, and believed by a great majority of the people, that the whole sum in circulation would be appreciated by a reduction of its quantity, so as finally to be equal to gold or silver. In every department of government, the Americans erred from ignorance; but in none so much, as in that which related to money.

Such were the evils which resulted from paper money. On the other hand, it was the occasion of good to many. It was at all times the poor man's friend. While it was current, all kinds of labour very readily found their reward. In the first years of the war, none were idle from want of employment; and none were employed, without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To that class of people, whose daily labour was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they received it, they always procured its full value. The reverse was the case with the rich, or those who were disposed to hoarding. No agrarian law ever had a more extensive operation, than continental money. That, for which the Gracchi lost their lives in Rome, was peaceably effected in the United States, by the legal tender of these depreciating bills. The poor became rich, and the rich became poor. Money lenders, and they whose circumstances enabled them to give credit, were essentially injured. All that the money lost in its value was so much taken from their capital; but the active and industrious indemnified themselves, by conforming the price of their services to the present state of the depreciation. The experience of this time inculcated on youth two salutary lessons; the impolicy of depending on paternal acquisitions, and the necessity of their own exertions. They who were in debt, and possessed property of any kind, could easily make the latter extinguish the former. Every thing that was useful, when brought to market, readily found a purchaser. A few cattle would pay for a comfortable house; and a good horse for an improved plantation. A small part of the productions of a farm would discharge the long out-standing accounts, due from its owner. The dreams of the golden age were realised to the poor man and the debtor; but unfortunately what these gained, was just so much taken from others.

The evils of depreciation did not terminate with the war. That the helpless part of the community were legislatively deprived of their property, was among the lesser evils, which resulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws enstranged the minds of many of the citizens, from the habits and love of justice.

The nature of obligations was so far changed that he was reckoned the honest man, who, from principle, delayed to pay his debts. The mounds which government had erected, to secure the observance of honesty, in the commercial intercourse of man with man, were broken down. Time and industry soon repaired the losses of property, which the citizens sustained during the war; but both, for a long time, failed in effacing the taint which was then communicated to their principles.*

* This was written in 1778, since which period a new constitution, good laws, and a vigorous administration of justice, have effected a considerable amelioration in the morals of the inhabitants.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Indians and expeditions into the Indian country.

When the English colonies were first planted in North America, the country was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, who principally supported themselves by fishing, hunting, and by the spontaneous productions of nature. The arts and arms of Europeans soon gave them an ascendancy over such untutored savages. Had the latter understood their interest, and been guided by a spirit of union, they would soon have expelled the invaders; and in that case, they might now be flourishing, in the possession of their ancient territories and independence. By degrees, the old inhabitants were circumscribed within narrower limits: and, by some strange fatality, their numbers have been constantly lessening. The names of various nations, which, in the seventeenth century, boasted of several thousands, are now known only to those who are fond of curious researches. Many are totally extinct; and others can show no more than a few straggling individuals, the remnants of their fallen greatness. That so many tribes should, in so short a time, lose both their country and their national existence, is an event scarcely to be paralleled in the history of the world. Spirituous liquors, the small pox, and an abridgment of territory, to a people whose mode of life needed an extensive range, evils which chiefly resulted from the neighbourhood of Europeans, were among the principal causes of their destruction. The reflections, which are excited by reviewing the havoc made among the native proprietors of this new world, are in some degree alleviated by its counterpart. While one set of inhabitants was insensibly dwindling away, another, improving in the arts of civil and social life, was growing in numbers, and rapidly filling up their places.* As the emigrants from Europe, and their descendants, extended their possessions on the sea coast, the aborigines retired from it. By this gradual advance of the one, and retiring of the other, the former always presented an extensive frontier, to the incursions of the latter. The European emigrants, from an avidity for land, the possession of which is the ultimate object of human avarice, were prone to encroach on the territories of the Indians; while the Indians, from obvious principles of human nature, beheld with concern the descendants of the ancient proprietors circumscribed, in their territory, by the descendants of those strangers, whom their fathers had permitted to reside among them. From these causes, and especially from the licentious conduct of disorderly individuals, of both Indians and white people, there were frequent interruptions of the peace in their contiguous settlements.

In the war between France and England, which commenced in 1775, both parties paid assiduous attention to the Aborigines. The former succeeded in securing the greater number of adherents; but the superior success of the latter, in the progress, and at the termination of the war, turned the current of Indian affections and interest in their favour. When the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies began to grow serious, the friendship of the Indians became a matter of consequence to both parties. Stretching for fifteen hundred miles along the whole north-western frontier of the colonies, they were to them desirable friends, and formidable enemies. As terror was one of the engines, by which Great Britain intended to enforce the submission of the colonies, nothing could be more conducive to the excitement of this passion, than the co-operations of Indians. Policy, not cruelty, led to the adoption of this expedient: but it was of that over-refined species which counteracts itself. In the competition for the friendship of the Indians, the British had advantages, far superior to any possessed by the colonists. The expulsion of the French from Canada, an event which had taken place only about thirteen years before, was still fresh in the memory of many of the savages, and had inspired them with high ideas of the martial superiority of the British troops. The first steps taken by the congress, to oppose Great Britain, put it out of their power to gratify the Indians. Such was the effect of the non-importation agreement of 1774. While Great Britain had access to the principal Indian tribes, through Canada on the north, and Florida on the south, and was abundantly able to supply their many wants the colonists had debarred themselves from importing the articles, which were necessary for the Indian trade.

It was unfortunate for the colonies, that, since the peace of Paris, 1763, the transactions with the Indians had been mostly carried on by superintendants, appointed and paid by the king of Great Britain. These, being under obligations to the crown, and expectants of farther favours from it, generally used their influence with the Indians, in behalf of the mother country, and against the colonies. They insinuated into the minds of the uninformed savages, that the king was their natural protector, against the encroaching colonists; and that, if the latter succeeded in their opposition to Great Britain, they would next aim at the extirpation of their red neighbours. By such representations, seconded with a profusion of presents, the attachment of the Indians was pre-engaged, in support of the British interest.

The Americans were not unmindful of the savages on their frontier. They appointed commissioners to explain to them the grounds of their dispute, and to cultivate their friendship, by treaties and presents. They endeavoured to persuade the Indians, that the quarrel was, by no means, relative to them; and that, therefore, they should take part with neither side.

For the greater convenience of managing the intercourse between the colonies and the Indians, the latter were divided into three departments, the northern, southern, and middle; and commissioners were appointed for each. Congress also resolved to import and distribute among them a suitable assortment of goods, to the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling, on account of the United States; but this was not executed. All the exertions of Congress were insufficient for the security of their western frontiers. In almost every period of the war, a great majority of the Indians took part with Great Britian, against the Americans. South Carolina was among the first of the states, which experienced the effects of British influence over the Indians. The Cherokees and the Creeks inhabit lands not far distant from the western settlements of Carolina and Georgia. The intercourse with these tribes had, for several years prior to the American war, been exclusively committed to John Stuart, an officer of the crown, and devoted to the royal interest. His great influence was wholly exerted in favour of Great Britain. A plan was settled by him in concert with the king's governors and other royal servants, to land a royal armed force in Florida, and to proceed with it to the western frontier of the southern states; and there in conjunction with the tories and Indians, to fall on the friends of Congress, at the same time that a fleet and army should invade them on the sea coast. The whole scheme was discovered, by the capture of Moses Kirkland, one of the principal agents employed in its execution, while he was on his way to General Gage with dispatches, detailing the particulars, and soliciting the requisite aid to accomplish it. The possession of Kirkland, and of his papers, enabled the Americans to take such steps, as in a great degree frustrated the views of the royal servants; yet so much was carried into effect, that the Cherokees began their massacres, at the very time the British fleet attacked the fort on Sullivan's island. The undisturbed tranquility, which took place in South Carolina and the adjacent states, after the British had failed in their designs against them, in the spring and summer of 1776, gave an opportunity for carrying war into the Indian country. This was done, not so much to punish what was past, as to prevent all future co-operation between the Indians and British, in that quarter.

Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, sent about the same time, a considerable force, which traversed the Indian settlements, burned their towns, and destroyed their fields of corn. Above five hundred of the Cherokees were obliged from the want of provisions, to take refuge in Florida, and were there fed at the expense of the British government. These unfortunate, misled people sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and soon afterwards assented to a treaty, by which they ceded a considerable part of their land to South Carolina. The decision with which this expedition was conducted, intimidated the Cherokees, for some years from farther hostilities.

Very different was the case of those Indians, who were in the vicinity of the British posts, and contiguous to the frontier of the northern and middle states. The presents which they continually received from England, the industry of the British agents, and the influence of a great number of American refugees who had taken shelter among them, operating on their native passion for rapine, excited them to frequent hostile excursions. Colonel John Butler, a Connecticut tory, and Brandt, a half Indian by blood, were the principal leaders of the savages in these expeditions. The vast extent of frontier, and remote situation of the settlements, together with the exact knowledge which the refugees possessed of the country, made it practicable for even small parties to do extensive mischief.

A storm of Indian and tory vengeance burst in July 1778 with particular violence on Wyoming, a new and flourishing settlement on the eastern branch of the Susquehannah. Unfortunately for the security of the inhabitants, the soil was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennsylvania. From the collision of contradictory claims, founded on royal charters, the laws of neither were steadily enforced. In this remote settlement, where government was feeble, the tories were under less control; and could easily assemble undiscovered. Nevertheless, twenty-seven of them were taken and sent to Hartford, in Connecticut: but they were afterwards released. These and others of the same description, instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians, and attacked the Wyoming settlement, with their combined forces, estimated at 1100 men, 909 of whom were Indians. The whole was commanded by Colonel John Butler, a Connecticut tory. One of the forts, which had been constructed for the security of the inhabitants, being very weak, surrendered to this party; but some of the garrison had previously retired to the principal fort at Kingston, called Forty-Fort. Colonel John Butler next demanded the surrender thereof. Colonel Zebulon Butler, a continental officer, who commanded, sent a message to him, proposing a conference at a bridge without the fort. This being agreed to, Colonel Zebulon Butler, Dennison, and some other officers repaired to the place appointed; and they were followed by the whole garrison, a few invalids excepted. None of the enemy appeared. The Wyoming people advanced, and supposed that the enemy were retiring. They continued to march on, till they were about three miles from the fort. They then saw a few of the enemy, with whom they exchanged some shot; but they presently found themselves ambuscaded, and attacked by the whole body of Indians and tories. They fought gallantly, till their retreat to the fort was cut off. Universal confusion ensued. Of 417, who had marched out of the fort, about 360 were instantly slain. No quarters were given. Colonel John Butler again

* It has been computed, that five hundred civilized human beings may enjoy life in plenty and comfort, where only one savage drags out a miserable existence.

demanded the surrender of Forty-Fort. This was agreed to, under articles of capitulation, by which the effects of the people therein were to be secured to them. The garrison, consisting of thirty men and two hundred women, were permitted to cross the Susquehannah, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county. The most of the scattered settlers had previously retired, some through the woods to Northampton, others down the river to Northumberland. In this retreat, some women were delivered of children in the woods, and many suffered from want of provisions. Several of the settlers at Wyoming had erected good houses and barns, and made very considerable improvements. These and the other houses in the vicinity, were destroyed. Their horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, were for the most part killed, or driven away by the enemy.

A large proportion of the male inhabitants, were, in one day, slaughtered. In a single engagement, near 200 women were made widows, and a much greater number of children were left fatherless.

Soon after the destruction of the Wyoming settlement, an expedition was carried on against the Indians, by Colonel Butler of the Pennsylvania troops. He and his party having gained the head of the Delaware, Oct. 1st. marched down the river for two days, and then struck across the country to the Susquehannah. They burnt or destroyed the Indian villages, both in that quarter, and the other settlements: but the inhabitants escaped. The destruction was extended for several miles, on both sides of the Susquehannah. The difficulties which Colonel Butler's men encountered, in this expedition, were uncommonly great. They were obliged to carry provisions on their backs, and thus loaded, frequently to wade through creeks and rivers. After the toil of a hard march they were obliged to endure chilly nights, and heavy rains, without even the means of keeping their arms dry. They completed the expedition in sixteen days. About four weeks after Colonel Butler's return, some hundreds of Indians, a large body of tories, and about fifty regulars entered Cherry Valley, within the state of New York. They made an unsuccessful attempt on Fort Alden; but they killed and scalped thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children; and also Colonel Alden and ten soldiers.

An expedition which was to have taken place under Henry Hamilton, lieutenant governor of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginia back settlers, against whom it was principally directed, fell through in consequence of the spirited conduct of Colonel Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive, and many Indians were engaged in it. Hamilton took post at St. Vincennes, in the winter, to have all things in readiness, for invading the American settlements, as soon as the season of the year would permit. Clarke, on hearing that Hamilton had weakened himself, by sending away a considerable part of his Indians, against the frontier settlers, formed the resolution of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing the mischiefs which were designed against his country. After surmounting many difficulties, he arrived with 130 men, unexpectedly at St. Vincennes.

The inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered on the 23d Feb. 1779, to the Americans; and assisted them in taking the fort. The next day, Hamilton, with the garrison, were made prisoners of war, on articles of capitulation. Clarke, on hearing that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on its way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, which met them, and made prize of the whole. By this well-conducted and spirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition was nipped in the bud. Colonel Clarke transmitted to the council of Virginia, letters and papers relating to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Philip de Jean, justice of peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers, whom he had made prisoners. The board reported, that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties, on the defenceless inhabitants of the United States; had sent considerable detachments of Indians against the frontiers; had appointed a great council of them, to meet him and concert the operations of the ensuing campaign; had given standing rewards for scalps; and had treated American prisoners with cruelty. They also reported, that De Jean was the willing and cordial instrument of Hamilton; and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scalping parties of Indians and tories, who went out, from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men, women, nor children. They therefore considering them as fit objects, on whom to begin the work of retaliation, advised the governor to put them in irons; confine them in the dungeon of the public jail; debar them the use of pen, ink and paper; and exclude them from all converse, except with their keeper.

Colonel Goose Van Shaick, with fifty-five men, marched from fort Schuyler to the Onondaga settlements, and on the 19th of April, burned the whole, consisting of about fifty houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. Horses, and stock of every kind, were killed. The arms and amunition of the Indians were either destroyed or brought off, and their settlements were laid waste. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners. This expedition was performed in less than six days, and without the loss of a single man.

In this manner, the savage part of the war was carried on in America. Waste, and sometimes cruelty, were inflicted and retorted, with infinite variety of scenes of horror and disgust. The selfish passions of human nature, unrestrained by social ties, broke over all bounds of decency or humanity. The American refugees, who had fled to the western wilderness, indulged their passion for rapine by assuming the colour and dress of Indians. At other times, they acted as guides, and conducted these merciless ravagers into such settlements, as afforded the most valuable booty, and the fairest prospect of escape. The savages, encouraged by British presents and agents, and led on by American refugees well acquainted with the country, and who cloaked the most consummate villany under the specious name of loyalty, extended their depredations and murders far and near.

A particular detail of the devestation of property; of the distress of numbers, who escaped only by fleeing to the woods, where they subsisted, without covering on the spontaneous productions of the earth; and of the barbarous murders which were committed on persons of every age and sex, would be sufficient to fill every breast with horror.

In sundry expeditions, which had been carried on against the Indians, ample vengeance had been taken on some of them; but these partial successes produced no lasting benefit. The few who escaped, had it in their power to make thousands miserable. For the permanent security of the frontier inhabitants, it was resolved, in the year 1779, to carry a decisive expedition into the Indian country. A considerable body of continental troops were selected for this purpose, and put under the command of General Sullivan.

The Indians who form the confederacy of the six nations, commonly called the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. They inhabit that immense and fertile tract of country, which lies between New England, the middle states, and the province of Canada. They had been advised by Congress, and they had promised, to observe a neutrality in the war; but they soon departed from this line of conduct. The Oneidas and a few others were friends to the Americans; but a great majority took part decidedly against them. Overcome by the presents and promises of Sir John Johnston, and other British agents, and by their own native appetite for depredation, they invaded the frontiers, carrying slaughter and devastation wherever they went. From the vicinity of their settlements, to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. Much was therefore expected from their expulsion. When General Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by the American general, Clinton, with upwards of 1000 men. The latter made his way down the Susquehannah, by a singular contrivance. The stream of water in that river was too low to float his batteaux. To remedy this inconvenience, he raised with great industry, a dam across the mouth of the lake Otsego, which is one of the sources of the river Susquehannah. The lake, being constantly supplied by springs, soon rose to the height of the dam. General Clinton having got his batteaux ready, opened a passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raised the river so high, that he was enabled to embark all his troops, and to float them down to Tioga. By this exertion they soon joined Sullivan.

The Indians, on hearing of the expedition projected against them, acted with firmness. They collected their strength, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. General Sullivan, on the 29th August attacked them in their works. They had a cannonade for more than two hours; but then gave way. This engagement proved decisive. After the trenches were forced, the Indians fled without making any attempt to rally. The consternation occasioned among them by this defeat was so great, that they gave up all ideas of farther resistance. As the Americans advanced into their settlements, the Indians retreated before them, without throwing any obstructions in their way. General Sullivan penetrated into the heart of the country inhabited by the Mohawks, and spread desolation every where. Many settlements in the form of towns were destroyed All their fields of corn, and whatever was in a state of cultivation underwent the same fate. Scarcely any thing in the form of a house was left standing, nor was an Indian to be seen. To the surprise of the Americans, they found the lands about the Indian towns well cultivated, and their houses both large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. Orchards, in which were several hundred fruit trees, were cut down; and of them many appeared to have been planted for a long series of years. Their gardens, replenished with a variety of useful vegetables, were laid waste. The Americans were so full of resentment against the Indians, for the many outrages they had suffered from them, and so bent on making the expedition decisive, that the officers and soldiers cheerfully agreed to remain, till they had fully completed the destruction of the settlement. The supplies obtained in the country lessened the inconvenience of short rations. The ears of corn were so remarkably large, that many of them measured twenty-two inches in length. Necessity suggested a novel expedient for pulverizing the grains thereof. The soldiers perforated a few of their camp-kettles with bayonets. The protrusions occasioned thereby formed a rough surface, and, by rubbing the ears of corn thereon, a coarse meal was produced, which was easily converted into agreeable nourishment.

The Indians, by this decisive expedition, being made to feel, in the most sensible manner, those calamities they were wont to inflict on others, became cautious and timid. The sufferings they had undergone, and the dread of a repetition of them, in case of their provoking the resentment of the Americans, damped the ardour of their warriors for making incursions into the American settlements. The frontiers, though not restored to perfect tranquility, experienced an exemption from a great proportion of the calamities, in which they had been lately involved.

Though these good consequences resulted from this expedition; yet, before its termination, several detached parties of Indians distressed different settlements in the United States. A party of sixty Indians, and twenty-seven white men, under Brandt, attacked the Minisink settlement on the 23d July, and burnt ten houses, twelve barns, a fort and two mills; and carried off much plunder, together with

several prisoners. The militia from Goshen and the vicinity, to the amount of 119, collected and pursued them; but with so little caution, that they were surprised and defeated. About this time General Williamson and Colonel Pickens, both of South Carolina, entered the Indian country, adjacent to the frontier of their state, August 22d, 1779, burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, and insisted upon the Indians removing immediately from their late habitations, into more remote settlements.

In the same month, Colonel Broadhead engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians. He left Pittsburgh with 605 men, and was gone five weeks; in which time, he penetrated 200 miles from the fort, and destroyed a number of Indian huts and five hundred acres of corn.

The state of New York continued to suffer in its frontier, from Indians and their tory associates. These burnt fifty houses, and forty-seven barns, the principal part of Canijohary, a fine settlement about 56 miles from Albany. They also destroyed twenty-seven houses at Schoharie, August, 1780, and twenty at Norman's creek. In about two months afterwards, they made a second irruption, and attacked Stone Arabia, Canasoiraga and Schoharie. At the same time, they laid waste a great extent of country about the Mohawk river, killed a number of the settlers, and made many prisoners.

The Cherokee Indians, having forgotten the consequences of provoking the Americans to invade their settlements, in the year 1776, made an incursion into Ninety-Six district, in South Carolina, massacred some families, and burned several houses. General Pickens, in 1781, collected a party of the militia, and penetrated into their country. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of 394 horsemen. In that short space, he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a number of prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as this. The Americans did not expend three rounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped, after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting them was introduced. The American militia rushed forward on horseback, and charged the Indians with drawn swords. The vanquished Cherokees again sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and obtained it; but not till they had promised, that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists, instigating them to war, they would deliver, to the authority of the state of South Carolina, all who should visit them on that errand.

Towards the end of the war, in 1782, there was a barbarous and unprovoked massacre of some civilized Indians, who had been settled near the Muskingum. These, under the influence of some pious missionaries of the Moravian persuasion, had been formed into some degree of civil and religious order. They abhorred war, and would take no part therein, giving for reason that, "the Great Being did not make men to destroy men; but to love and assist each other." From a love of peace, they advised those of their own colour, who were bent on war, to desist from it. They were also led from humanity, to inform the white people of their danger, when they knew that their settlements were about to be invaded. This provoked the hostile Indians to such a degree, that they carried these pacific people quite away from Muskingum, to a bank of Sandusky Creek. They, finding corn dear and scarce in their new habitations, obtained liberty to come back, in the fall of the same year, to Muskingum, that they might collect the crops they had planted before their removal.

When the white people, at and near Monongahela, heard that a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns, on the Muskingum, they gave out that their intentions were hostile. Without any farther inquiry, 160 of them crossed the Ohio, and put to death these harmless, inoffensive people, though they made no resistance. In conformity to their religious principles, these Moravians patiently submitted to their hard fate, without attempting to destroy their murderers. Upwards of ninety of this pacific race were killed by men, who, while they called themselves Christians; were more deserving of the name of savages, than those whom they inhumanly murdered.

Soon after this unprovoked massacre, a party of Americans set out for Sandusky, to destroy the Indian towns in that part; but the Delawares, Wyandots, and other Indians opposed them. An engagement ensued, in which some of the white people were killed, and several were taken prisoners. Among the latter were Colonel Crawford, and his son-in-law. The colonel was sacrificed to the manes of those Indians, who were massacred at the Moravian towns. The other prisoners were put to death with the tomahawk.

Throughout the American war, the desolation brought by the Indians, on the frontier settlements of the United States, and on the Indians by the Americans, was sufficient to excite compassion in the most obdurate hearts.

Not only men and warriors, but women and children, were indiscriminately murdered, while whole settlements were involved in promiscuous desolation. Each was made a scourge to the other; and the unavoidable calamities of war were rendered doubly distressing, by the dispersion of families, the breaking up of settlements, and an addition of savage cruelties, to the most extensive devastation of those things, which conduce to the comfort of human life.

CHAPTER IX.

Campaign of 1780 in the Southern States.

The successful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of Count D'Estaign, from the coast of the United States, [1780] soon dissipated all apprehensions, previously entertained for the safety of New York. These circumstances pointed out to Sir Henry Clinton, the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having effected nothing of importance, for the two preceding campaigns, he turned his attention southwardly, and regaled himself with flattering prospects of easy conquest, among the weaker states. The suitableness of the climate for winter operations, the richness of the country, and its distance from support, designated South Carolina as a proper object of enterprise. No sooner, therefore, was the departure of the French fleet known, that Sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army, in New York, to Lieutenant General Kniphausen, and embarked for the southward with four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps, British, Hessian and provincial, a powerful detachment of artillery, 250 cavalry, together with an ample supply of military stores and provisions. Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convey the troops to the place of their destination. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee in Georgia, Jan. 21, 1780. In a few days, the transports, with the army on board, sailed from Savannah, for North-Edisto. After a short passage, on the 4th of February, the troops made good their landing, about thirty miles from Charleston, and took possession of John's Island and Stono ferry; and soon afterwards of James Island, and Wappoo-cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley river, opposite to Charleston.

The assembly of the state was sitting when the British landed; but broke up after "delegating to Governor Rutledge, and such of his council, as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen, without a legal trial." The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia, as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard, and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation.

The tedious passage, from New York to Tybee, gave the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This, together with the losses, which the royal army had sustained, in the late tempestuous weather, induced Sir Henry Clinton to despatch an order to New York, for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed Major General Prevost, to send on to him twelve hundred men, from the garrison of Savannah. Brigadier General Patterson, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the Savannah, and through the intermediate country; and, soon afterwards joined Sir Henry Clinton, near the banks of Ashley river. The royal forces, without delay, proceeded to the siege. At Wappoo on James Island, they formed a depot, March 29, and erected fortifications, both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston. An advanced party crossed Ashley river, and soon afterwards broke ground, at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works. At successive periods, they erected five batteries on Charleston neck. The garrison was equally assiduous, in preparing for its defence. The works, which had been previously blown up, were strengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued across, from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the whole, was a strong abbatis, and a wet ditch, made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, which run in opposite directions. Between the abbatis and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals. The lines were made particularly strong, on the right and left, and so constructed, as to rake the wet ditch, in almost its whole extent. To secure the centre, a horn-work had been erected, which, being closed during the siege, formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field-works, yet Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed; and, immediately afterwards, the town was summoned to surrender, On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and, from that day, an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened, a work was thrown up, near Wando river, nine miles from town; and another, at Lempriere's point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. The British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American force, opposed to this, was the Bricole, which, though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two of thirty-two guns, one of twenty-eight, two of twenty-six, two of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of sixteen guns. The first object of its commander, Commodore Whipple, was to prevent admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar; but, on farther examination, this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charleston. The crews and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries.

Admiral Arbuthnot, on the 9th of April, weighed anchor, at Five Fathom Hole; and, with the advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie, without stopping to

engage it; and anchored near the remains of Fort Johnson. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's island, kept up a brisk and well-directed fire, on the ships in their passage. To prevent the royal armed vessels, from running into Cooper river, eleven vessels were sunk in the channel, opposite to the exchange. The batteries of the besiegers soon obtained a superiority over those of the town. The former had twenty-one mortars and royals; the latter only two. The regular force in the garrison, was much inferior to that of the besiegers. Few of the militia could be persuaded to leave their plantations, and reinforce their brethren in the capital. A camp was formed at Monk's corner, to keep up the communication between the town and country; and the militia without the lines, were requested to rendezvous there; but this was surprised, and routed by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. The British having now less to fear, extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river. Two hundred and fifty horse, and 600 infantry were detached on this service, April 16; but nevertheless, the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack that small force.

About this time, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of 3000 men, from New York. A council of war agreed that "a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable;" and advised, "that offers of capitulation, before their affairs became more critical, should be made to General Clinton, which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants." These terms, being proposed, were instantly rejected; but the garrison adhered to them, in hopes that succours would arrive from the neighbouring states. The bare offer of capitulating dispirited the garrison; but they continued to resist, in expectation of favourable events. The British speedily completed the investiture of the town, both by land and water. After Admiral Arbuthnot had passed Sullivan's Island, Colonel Pinckney, and 150 of the men under his command, were withdrawn from that post to Charleston, The fort on the island was surrendered on the 6th of May, without opposition, to Captain Hudson of the royal navy. On the same day, the remains of the American cavalry which escaped from the late surprise at Monk's corner, were again surprised by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, at Laneau's ferry, on Santee; and the whole were either killed, captured, or dispersed. While every thing prospered with the British, Sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence with General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison, in case of their surrender. Lincoln was disposed to close with them, as far as they respected his army; but some demur was made, with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which, it was hoped, might be obtained on a conference. This was asked; but Clinton, instead of granting it, answered, "that hostilities should re-commence at eight o'clock." Nevertheless, neither party fired till nine. The garrison then re-commenced hostilities. The besiegers immediately followed; and each cannonaded the other, with unusual briskness. The British batteries of the third parallel opened on this occasion. Shells and carcasses were thrown, into almost all parts of the town, and several houses were burned. The cannon and mortars played on the garrison, at a less distance than a hundred yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near the American lines, that, with their rifles, they could easily strike any object on them. The British, having crossed the wet ditch by sap, advanced within twenty-five yards of the American works, and were ready for making a general assault by land and water. All expectation of succour was at an end. The only hope left was, that 9000 men, the flower of the British army, seconded by a naval force, might fail in forcing extensive lines, defended by less than 3000 men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted till the 11th of May. On that day, a great number of citizens addressed General Lincoln in a petition, expressing their acquiesence in the terms, which Sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requested his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, General Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry, and offered to accept the terms before proposed. The royal commanders, wishing to avoid the extremity of a storm, and unwilling to press to unconditional submission an enemy, whose friendship they wished to conciliate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed on the 12th of May, and Major General Leslie took possession of the town, on the next day. The loss on both sides during the siege was nearly equal. Of the king's troops, 76 were killed, and 189 wounded. Of the Americans, 89 were killed, and 140 wounded. Upwards of 400 pieces of artillery were surrendered. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison was to march out of town, and deposit their arms in front of the works; but the drums were not to beat a British march nor the colours to be uncased. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war, till exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops, in person or property. The inhabitants of all conditions were to be considered, as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property, on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy were to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage unsearched. They were permitted to sell their horses; but not to remove them. A vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia, with General Lincoln's despatches unopened.

The numbers which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia, and every adult male inhabitant, were above 5000; but the proper garrison, at the time of the surrender, did not exceed 2500. The precise number of privates, in the continental army, was 1977; of which number 500 were in the hospitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and consisted of one major-general, six brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, thirty-two second lieutenants and ensigns. The gentlemen of the country, who were mostly militia officers, from a sense of honour, repaired to the defence of Charleston, though they could not bring with them privates, equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates.

This was the first instance, in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.

Much censure was undeservedly cast on General Lincoln, for attempting the defence of Charleston. Though the contrary plan was in general the best, he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the commander-in-chief of the American army. Charleston was the only considerable town, in the southern extremity of the confederacy, and for its preservation, South Carolina and the adjacent states seemed willing to make great exertions. The reinforcements, promised for its defence, were fully sufficient for that purpose. The Congress, and the states of North and South Carolina, gave General Lincoln ground to expect an army of 9900 men, to second his operations: but, from a variety of causes, this army, including his militia, was little more than one-third of that number. As long as an evacuation was practicable, he had such assurances of support, that he could not attempt it with propriety. Before he could be ascertained of the futility of these assurances, the British had taken such a position, that a retreat could not be successfully made.

Shortly after the surrendor, the commander-in-chief adopted sundry measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them, in a handbill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority, "that the helping hand of every man was wanting, to re-establish peace and good government; that the commander-in-chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success; but, as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed, "that they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia, for the maintenance of peace and good order; but, from those who had no families, it was expected, that they would cheerfully assist, in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised, "that, when on service, they would be allowed pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the same manner as the king's troops." About the same time, Sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, May 22, declared, "that if any person should thenceforward appear in arms, in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country, or should, under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other person or persons so to do, or should hinder the king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation." Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, June 1st, with some exceptions, "pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities, which they heretofore had enjoyed, under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures."

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was, to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, to awe the inhabitants. They also marched, with upwards of 2000 men, towards North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charleston. Among the corps which had come forward, with that view, there was one commanded by Colonel Buford, which consisted of three or four hundred continental infantry, and a few horsemen. Colonel Tarleton, with about seven hundred horse and foot, advanced in front of the British army, in quest of this party. After a rapid march of one hundred miles in fifty-four hours, he came up with them, at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender. This being refused, an action ensued. Buford committed two capital mistakes in this affair. One was, sending his wagons and artillery away, before the engagement. The wagons might have served as a breast work, to defend his men against the attacks of the cavalry. Another mistake was, ordering his men not to fire, till the enemy were within ten yards. A single discharge made but little impression, on the advancing British horsemen. Before it could be repeated, the assailants were in contact with their adversaries, cutting them down with their sabres. The Americans, finding resistance useless, sued for quarters; but their submission produced no cessation of hostilities. Some of them, after they had ceased to resist, lost their hands; others their arms; and almost every one was mangled with a succession of wounds. The charge was urged, till five out of six of the whole number of the Americans were, by Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, either killed or so badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle: and by the same account, this took place, though they made such ineffectual opposition, as only to kill five, and wound twelve of the British. Lord Cornwallis bestowed on Tarleton high encomiums

for this enterprise, and recommended him, in a special manner, to royal favour. This barbarous massacre gave a more sanguinary turn to the war. Tarleton's quarters became proverbial; and, in the subsequent battles, a spirit of revenge gave a keener edge to military resentment.

Sir Henry Clinton, having left about 4000 men for the southern service, embarked early in June, with the main army for New-York. On his departure, the command devolved on Lieutenant General Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North Carolina. Earl Cornwallis despatched instructions to the principal loyalists, in that state, to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to lord Rawdon, and, repairing to Charleston, devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of South Carolina. In the meantime, the impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army, to which the militia of the state might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-Six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state, bordering on North Carolina, the inhabitants, who did not flee out of the country, preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed, that the state was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was now given, to make an experiment, from which much was expected, and for the omission of which, Sir Henry Clinton's predecessor, Sir William Howe, had been severely censured. It had been confidently asserted, that a majority of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that under proper regulations, substantial service might be expected from them in restoring the country to peace.

At this crisis, every bias in favour of Congress was removed. Their armies in the southern states, were either captured or defeated. There was no regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, which was sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Every encouragement was held forth, to those of the inhabitants, who would with arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death were threatened as the consequence of opposing its re-establishment. While there was no regular army, within four hundred miles, to aid the friends of independence, the British were in force, posted over all the country. The people were thus left to themselves, or rather strongly impelled to abandon an apparently sinking cause, and arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors. Under these favourable circumstances, the experiment was made, for supporting the British interest by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by American armies, or republican demagogues. It soon appeared, that the disguise, which fear had imposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger, and that the minds of the people, though overawed, were actuated by a hostile spirit. In prosecuting the scheme for obtaining a military aid from the inhabitants, that tranquility, which previous successes had procured, was disturbed, and that ascendency, which arms had gained, was interrupted. The inducement to submission with many was, a hope of obtaining a respite from the calamities of war, under the shelter of British protection. Such were not less astonished than confounded, on finding themselves virtually called upon, to take up arms in support of royal government. This was done in the following manner. After the inhabitants, by the specious promises of protection and security, had generally submited as subjects, or taken their parole as prisoners of war, a proclamation was issued by Sir Henry Clinton, which set forth, "that it was proper for all persons to take an active part, in settling and securing his majesty's government; that all the inhabitants of the province, who were then prisoners on parole, those taken in Fort Moultrie and Charleston, and such as were in actual confinement excepted, should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their paroles, and restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants; and that all persons under the description above mentioned, who should afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his majesty's government, should be considered as enemies and rebels to the same, and treated accordingly." It was designed by this arbitrary change of the political condition of the inhabitants, to bring them into a dilemma, which would force them to take an active part in settling and securing the royal government. It involved a majority in the necessity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British militia. With this proclamation, the declension of British authority commenced; for though the inhabitants, from motives of fear and convenience, had generally submitted, the greatest part of them retained an affection for their American brethren, and shuddered of the thought of taking up arms against them. Among such it was said, "if we must fight, let it be on the side of America, our friends and countrymen."

A great number considering this proclamation as a discharge from their paroles, armed themselves in self-defence being induced thereto, by the royal menaces, that they who did not return to their allegiance, as British subjects, must expect to be treated as rebels. A greater number from being in the power of the British, exchanged their paroles as prisoners, for the protection of subjects; but this was done in many cases, with a secret reservation of breaking the compulsory engagement, when a proper opportunity should present itself.

A party, always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the state, rejoiced in the ascendency of the royal arms; but their number was inconsiderable, in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

The precautions, taken to prevent the rising of the royalists in North Carolina, did not answer the end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the direction of Colonel Moore, took up arms, and were, in a few days, defeated by the whig militia, commanded by General Rutherford. Colonel Bryan, another loyalist, though equally injudicious as to time, was successful. He reached the 71st regiment stationed in the Cheraws, with about 800 men, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin.

While the conquerors were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. Governor Rutledge, who during the siege of Charleston, had been requested by General Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously and successfully negociating with North Carolina. Virginia, and Congress, to obtain a force for checking the progress of the British arms. Representations, to the same effect, had also been made in due time by General Lincoln. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from their main army, to be marched to the southward. North Carolina also ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the British advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a considerable number of determined whigs retreated before them, and took refuge in North Carolina. In this class was Colonel Sumter, a distinguished partisan, who was well qualified for conducting military operations. A party of exiles, from South Carolina, made choice of him for their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen, he returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther resistance. This unexpected impediment to the extension of British conquests, roused all the passions, which disappointed ambition can inspire. Previous successes had flattered the royal commanders with hopes of distinguished rank, among the conquerors of America; but the renewal of hostilities obscured the pleasing prospect. Flushed with the victories they had gained in the first of the campaign, and believing every thing told them, favourable to their wishes, to be true, they conceived that they had little to feat on the south side of Virginia. When experience refuted these hopes, they were transported with indignation against the inhabitants, and confined several of them, on suspicion of their being accessary to the recommencement of hostilities.

The first effort of renewed warfare was on July 12th, two months after the fall of Charleston, when 133 of Colonel Sumter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing, in the beginning of the year. The steady, persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-western frontier of South Carolina, turned out with great alacrity, to join Colonel Sumter; though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased, in every other part of the state. His troops, in a few days, amounted to 600 men. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of the British, at Rocky Mount: but as he had no artillery, and they were secured under cover of earth, filled in between logs, he could make no impression upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Sensible that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise, and that, to keep militia together, it is necessary to employ them, this active partisan attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the Prince of Wales's regiment, and a large body of tories, posted at the Hanging-rock. The Prince of Wales's regiment was almost totally destroyed. From 278, it was reduced to nine. The loyalists, who were of that party which had advanced from North Carolina, under Colonel Bryan, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston daily abated. The whig militia, on the extremities of the state formed themselves into parties, under leaders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their own countrymen, who as a royal militia, were co-operating with the king's forces. While Sumter kept up the spirits of the people, by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states, for the relief of their southern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charleston, orders were given, March 26, for the Maryland and Delaware troops to march from General Washington's head quarters, to South Carolina; but the quarter-master-general was unable to put this detachment in motion, as soon as was intended.

The manufacturers, employed in providing for the army, would neither go on with their business, nor deliver the articles they had completed; declaring they had suffered so much from the depreciation of the money, that they would not part with their property without immediate payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the southern states required an aid from the northern army, to be marched though the intermediate space of 800 miles. The Maryland and Delaware troops were, with great exertions, at length enabled to move. After marching through Jersey and Pennsylvania, they embarked at the head of Elk, April 16, landed soon afterwards at Petersburgh, and thence proceeded through the country towards South Carolina. This force was at first put under the command of Major General Baron de Kalb, and afterwards of General Gates. The success of the latter, in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe, that his presence, as commander of the southern army, would reanimate the friends of independence. While Baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the well cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws; but General Gates, on taking the commands, did not conceive this movement to be necessary; supposing it to be most for the in

terest of the states, that he should proceed immediately with his army, on the shortest road, to the vicinity of the British encampments. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny: but the officers, who shared every calamity in common with the privates, interposed, and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of using green corn, and peaches, in the place of bread. They were subsisted for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common, in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, the unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation. The wit and humour, displayed on this occasion, contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The American army, having made its way through a country of pine-barrens, sand-hills, and swamps, reached Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden, on the 13th of August. The next day, General Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached South Carolina, lord Rawdon concentrated his force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out-posts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred, at this juncture, to produce a general revolt in favour of Congress. The people were daily more dissatisfied with their situation. Tired of war, they had submitted to British government, with the expectation of bettering their condition; but they soon found their mistake. The greatest address should have been practised towards the inhabitants, in order to second the views of the parent state, in re-uniting the revolted colonies to her government. That the people might be induced to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This delicate task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a re-union of the dissevered members of the empire. Instead of increasing the number of the real friends to royal government, they disgusted those that they found. The high-spirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and insolence, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their country from its oppressors. Motives of this kind; together with a prevailing attachment to the cause of independence, induced many to break through all ties, to join General Gates; and more to wish him the completest success.

General Gates, on reaching the frontier of South Carolina, issued a proclamation inviting the patriotic citizens, "to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country, from the oppression of a government, imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest. He also gave "assurances of forgiveness and perfect security, to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced, by the terror of sanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of citizens, resolved on freedom inwardly revolted at with horror and detestation; excepting from this amnesty, only those who, in the hour of devastation, had exercised acts of barbarity and depredation, on the persons and property of their fellow citizens." The army, with which Gates advanced, was, by the arrival of Stephen's militia, increased nearly to 4000 men; but of this large number, the whole regular force was only 900 infantry, and seventy cavalry. On the approach of Gates, Earl Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th of August. The force, which his lordship found collected on his arrival, was 1700 infantry, and 300 cavalry. This inferior number would have justified a retreat; but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night, Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at ten o'clock P. M. in the following order: Colonel Armand's advance cavalry; Colonel Pottersfield's light infantry, on the right flank of Colonel Armand, in Indian-file, two hundred yards from the road; Major Armstrong's light infantry, in the same order as Colonel Potterfield's; on the left flank of the legion, advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced picquets; first brigade of Maryland; second brigade of Maryland; division of North Carolina; Virginia rear guard; volunteer cavalry, upon the flanks of the baggage, equally divided. The light infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry; and Colonel Armand was directed, in that case, to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night, and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army soon recovered its order. Both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Potterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities General Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning, a severe and general engagement took place. At the first outset, the great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets, by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North Carolina militia followed the unworthy example; but the continentals, who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground, and maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better. For some time they had the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a considerable body of prisoners. Overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In justice to the North Carolina militia, it should be remarked, that part of the brigade commanded by General Gregory acquitted themselves well. They were formed immediately in the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. General Gregory himself was twice wounded, by a bayonet, in bringing off his men; and several of his brigade, who were made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets.* Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden, after this action, 206 of whom were continentals, 82 were North Carolina militia, and two were Virginia militia. The resistance made by each corps, may in some degree, be estimated with the number of wounded. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field pieces, upwards of two hundred wagons, and the greatest part of their baggage. Almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action, and dispersed. The fugitives, who fled by the common road, were pursued above twenty miles by the horse of Tarleton's legion; and the way was covered with arms, baggage, and wagons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken prisoner, and died on the next day, of his wounds. He was a German by birth, but had long been in the French service. Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory, in Annapolis, with a very honourable inscription. General Rutherford, of North Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery; but the completeness of their victory was, in a great degree, owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Their whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundreds. To add to the distresses of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumter's corps. While the former was advancing near to the British army, the latter, who had previously taken post between Camden and Charleston, took a number of prisoners, and captured sundry British stores, together with their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his superior officers, he began to retreat with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton with his legion, and a detachment of infantry, pursued with such celerity and address, as to overtake and surprise this party, at Fishing creek. The British rode into their camp, before they were prepared for defence. The retreating Americans, having been four days with little or no sleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her first law, self-preservation. Sumter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprise; but his videttes were so overcome with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he prevailed on a few to stand their ground, for a short time: but the greater part of his corps fled to the river, or the woods. He lost all his artillery; and his whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed. The prisoners, he had lately taken, were all retaken.

On the 17th and 18th of August, about 150 of Gates's army rendezvoused at Charlotte. These had reason to apprehend, that they would be immediately pursued, and cut to pieces. There was no magazine of provisions in the town, and it was without any kind of defence. It was, therefore, concluded to retreat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this retreat would be the picture of complicated wretchedness. There were more wounded men than could be conveniently carried off. The inhabitants, hourly expecting the British to advance into their settlement, and generally intending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation of the suffering soldiers. Objects of distress occurred in every quarter. There were many who stood in need of kind assistance; but there were few who could give it. Several men were to be seen with but one arm; and some without any. Anxiety, pain and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, marked the gloomy scene. Under these circumstances, the remains of that numerous army, which had lately caused such terror to the friends of Great Britain, retreated to Salisbury, and soon afterwards to Hillsborough. General Gates had previously retired to the latter place; and was there, in concert with the government of North Carolina, devising plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppose lord Cornwallis, yet the season, and bad health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The present moment of triumph seemed, therefore, the most favourable conjuncture, for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the armies of Congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants, this was taken up on grounds, which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The

* This detail was furnished by Dr. Williamson, surgeon general of the North Carolina militia, who, after the battle, went into Camden with a flag.

British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty, over a conquered country, and that, therefore, the efforts of the citizens, to assert their independence, exposed them to the penal consequences of treason and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated the rights, held sacred between independent hostile nations. Orders were given by lord Cornwallis, "that all the inhabitants of the province, who had submitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour; that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them, or destroyed." He also ordered, in the most positive manner, "that every militia man, who had borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Camden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged, in consequence of these orders. The men who suffered had been compelled by the necessities of their families, and the prospect of saving their property, to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these submissions. This, in their opinion, absolved them from their obligations to support the royal cause, and left them at liberty to follow their inclinations. To treat men thus circumstanced, with the severity of punishment, usually inflicted on deserters and traitors, might have a political tendency to discourage farther revolts; but the impartial world must regret, that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated, by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British armies, in South Carolina, several of the most respectable citizens, though in the power of their conquerors, resisted every temptation to resume the character of subjects. To enforce a general submission, orders were given by lord Cornwallis, immediately after this victory, to send out of South Carolina a number of its principal citizens. Lieutenant Governor Gadsden, most of the civil and militia officers, and some others,* who had declined exchanging their paroles, for the protection of British subjects, were taken up, August 27, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine, General Moultrie remonstrated against the confinement and removal of these gentlemen, as contrary to their rights, derived from the capitulation of Charleston. They, at the same time, challenged their adversaries to prove, that any part of their conduct merited expulsion from their country and families. They received no farther satisfaction, than that the measure had been "adopted from motives of policy." To convince the inhabitants, that the conquerors were seriously resolved to remove from the country, all who refused to become subjects, an additional number of above twenty citizens† of South Carolina, who remained prisoners on parole, were sent off to the same place, in less than three months. General Rutherford and Colonel Isaacs, both of North Carolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, were associated with them.

To compel the re-establishment of British government, lord Cornwallis, in about four weeks after his victory, September 16, issued a proclamation, for the sequestration of all estates, belonging to the active friends of independence. By this, he constituted "John Cruden, commissioner, with full power and authority, on the receipt of an order or warrant, to take into his possession the estates, both real and personal, not included in the capitulation of Charleston, of those in the service, or acting under the authority of the rebel Congress: and also the estates, both real and personal, of those persons who, by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notorious acts, manifested a wicked and desperate perseverance, in opposing the re-establishment of his majesty's just and lawful authority." It was further declared, "that any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner, in the execution of his duty, by the concealment, or removal of property, or otherwise, should, on conviction, be punished as aiding and abetting rebellion."

An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became British subjects. The mischievous effects of slavery, in facilitating the conquest of the country, now became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they, by a variety of means, threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of their conquerors, rather than stain their honour by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness. They crowded on board prison ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves, at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions, the ladies, in a great measure, retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. Among the numbers who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced, of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers; exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance; and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home, and followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity.

Animated by such examples, as well as by a high sense of honour, and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South Carolina deliberately adhered to their first resolution of risking life and fortune in support of their liberties. Hitherto the royal forces in South Carolina had been attended with almost uninterrupted success. Their standard overspread the country, penetrated into every quarter, and triumphed over all opposition.

The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged, of speedily re-uniting the dissevered members of the empire. It was now asserted, with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a commander as lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion so effectually, as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by an impious confidence in their wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, a useful lesson to the world.

The disaster of the army, under General Gates, overspread, at first, the face of American affairs, with a dismal gloom: but the day of prosperity to the United States, began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment, to dawn. Their prospects brightened up; while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have seen Sumter penetrating into South Carolina, and re-commencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by Governor Rutledge, to the rank of brigadier general. About the same time, Marion was promoted to the same rank, who, in the north-eastern extremity of the state, successfully prosecuted a similar plan. Unfurnished with the means of defence, he was obliged to take possession of the saws of the saw-mills, and to convert them into horsemen's swords. So much was he distressed for ammunition, that he has engaged, when he had not three rounds to each man of his party. At other times, he has brought his men into view, though without ammunition, that he might make a show of numbers to the enemy. For several weeks he had under his command, only seventy men. At one time, hardships and dangers reduced that number to 25; yet with this inconsiderable number, he secured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various schemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys burned scores of houses on Pedee, Lynch's creek, and Black river; belonging to such as were supposed to do duty with Marion, or to be subservient to his views. This had an effect different from what was intended. Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism, to make these ruined men keep the field. Having no houses to shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For several months, Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats, they sallied out, whenever an opportunity of harrassing the enemy, or of serving their country, presented itself.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct, in the extremities of the state. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of General Gates, was not extinguished by his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed; but not subdued. The severity, with which revolters, who fell into the hands of the British, were treated, induced those who escaped, to persevere, and seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants, in 1780, pains had been taken to increase the royal force, by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. The British persuaded the people to form a royal militia, by representing, that every prospect of succeeding, in their scheme of independence, was annihilated; and that a farther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. Major Ferguson, of the 71st regiment, was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and collected a corps of militia of that description, from which much active service was expected. He advanced to the north-western settlements, to hold communication with the loyalists of both Carolinas. From his presence, together with assurances of an early movement of the royal army into North Carolina, it was hoped that the friends of royal government would be roused to activity, in the service of their king. In the meantime, every

* Their names were: Edward Blake, John Budd, Robert Cochran, John Edwards, Thomas Ferguson, George Flagg, William Hassel Gibbes, William Hall, Thomas Hall, Thomas Heyward, jr. Isaac Holmes, Richard Hutson, Wiliam Johnson, Rev. John Lewis, William Livingston, John Loveday, Richard Lushington, William Massey, Edward M'Bready, Alexander Moultrie, John Mowatt, John Neufville, Edward North, Joseph Parker, John Ernest Poyas, David Ramsay, Jacob Read, Hugh Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, John Sansum Thomas Savage, Thomas Singleton, Josiah Smith, James Hambden Thomson, Peter Timothy, John Todd, and Anthony Toomer.

† Their names were: Joseph Bee, Richard Beresford John Berwick, Daniel Bourdeaux, Benjamin Cudworth, Henry Crouch, John Splatt Cripps, Edward Darrell Daniel De Saussure, George A. Hall, Thomas Grimball, Noble Whimberly Jones, William Lee, William Logan, Arthur Middleton, Christopher Peters, Benjamin Potsell, Samuel Prideau, Philip Smith, Benjamin Walter, James Wakefield, Edward Weyman, Morton Wilkinson.

preparation was made for urging offensive operations, as soon as the season, and the state of the stores, would permit.

That spirit of enterprise, which has already been mentioned, as beginning to revive among the American militia, about this time, prompted Colonel Clarke to make an attempt on the British post at Augusta, in Georgia; but in this he failed, and was obliged to retreat. Major Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains, and at considerable distance from support. These circumstances, together with the depredations of the loyalists, induced those hardy republicans, who reside on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, to form an enterprise for reducing that distinguished partisan. This was done of their own motion, without any direction from the governments of America, or from the officers of the continental army.

There was, without any apparent design, a powerful combination of several detached commanders, of the adjacent states, with their respective commands of militia. Colonel Campbell, of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowel, of North Carolina, together with Colonels Lacy, Hawthorn and Hill, of South Carolina, all rendezvoused together, with a number of men amounting to 1600; though they were under no general command, and though they were not called upon, to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulse of their own minds. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels, by common consent commanded each day alternately. The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great. Some of them subsisted, for weeks together, without tasting bread, or salt, or spirituous liquors, and slept in the woods without blankets. The running stream quenched their thirst. At night, the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens, or at most, the limbs of trees were their only covering. Ears of corn or pompions, thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provisions. They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. They selected about a thousand of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. These attacked Major Ferguson, 7th October, on the top of King's mountain, near the confines of North and South Carolina. The Americans formed three parties. Colonel Lacy of South Carolina led one, which attacked on the west. The two others were commanded by Colonels Campbell and Cleveland; one of which attacked on the east, and the other in the centre.

On this occasion, Colonel Cleveland addressed his party in the following plain unvarnished language: "My brave fellows! we have beat the tories, and we can beat them. They are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow citizens, in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you by my example, how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we be repulsed, let us make a point to return, and renew the fight. Perhaps we may have better luck, in the second attempt, than in the first. If any of you be afraid, such have leave to retire, and they are requested, immediately, to take themselves off."

Ferguson with great boldness attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire: but they only fell back a little way and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their fire, in almost every direction. The British, being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen; and many of them were slain. An unusual number of the killed were found shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen, with such exactness, that they killed each other, when taking sight, so effectually, that their eyes remained, after they were dead, one shut, and the other open, in the usual manner of marksmen, when levelling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much bravery, as was possible, in his situation: but his encampment, on the top of the mountain, was not well chosen; as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themselves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march, on charging and driving the first part of the militia which gave way, he might have got off with most of his men; but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After a severe conflict, he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the contest was ended, by the submission of the survivors. Upwards of 800 became prisoners, and 225 were killed and wounded. Very few of the assailants fell; but in their number was Colonel Williams, a distinguished militia officer, in Ninety-Six district, who had been very active in opposing the re-establishment of British government. Ten of the royal militia, who had surrendered, were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure, by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged several of the captured Americans, in South Carolina and Georgia. They also alleged, that the men who suffered were guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land.

The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss to the royal cause. He possessed superior abilities as a partisan, and his spirit of enterprise was uncommon. To a distinguished capacity for planning great designs, he also added the practical abilities, necessary to carry them into execution. The unexpected advantage, which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree frustrated a well-concerted scheme, for strengthening the British army, by the co-operation of the tory inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and prepare for active service. The total rout of the party, which had joined Major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The same timid caution, which made them averse to joining their countrymen, in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. Henceforward, they waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and reserved themselves till the British army, by its own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village, and marched with the main army, towards Salisbury; intending to push forwards in that direction. While on his way thither, the North Carolina militia were very industrious and successful, in annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and, from behind trees, made sure of their objects. The late conquerors were exposed to unseen dangers, if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards, from their main body. The defeat of Major Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to lord Cornwallis; and he soon after retreated to Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his wagons; and single men often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape. The panic occasioned by the defeat of Gates, had, in a great measure, worn off. The defeat of Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of lord Cornwallis encouraged the American militia to take the field; and the necessity of the times induced them to submit to stricter discipline.—Sumter, soon after the dispersion of his corps on the 18th of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventures, and partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these, though for three months there was no continental army in the state, he constantly kept the field, in support of American independence. He varied his position from time to time, about Enoree, Broad, and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British parties with frequent incursions: beat up their quarters; intercepted their convoys; and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made, but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enterprise was so particularly injurious to the British, that they laid sundry plans for destroying his force: but they all failed in the execution. He was attacked, November 12th, at Broad river, by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action, the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days afterwards, November 20th, he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger river, by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. The attack was begun with 170 dragoons, and 80 men of the 63d regiment. A considerable part of Sumter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from the apertures of which, they fired in security. Many of the 63d regiment were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but, being unable to dislodge the Americans, he retreated, and Sumter was left in quiet possession of the field. The loss of the British in this action was considerable. Among their killed were three officers, Major Money Lieutenants Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few; but General Sumter received a wound, which, for several months, interrupted his gallant enterprises, in behalf of his country. His zeal and activity in animating the militia, when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed, in sundry attacks on the British detachments, procured him the applause of his countrymen, and the thanks of Congress.

For the three months, which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, General Gates was industriously preparing to take the field.—Having collected a force at Hillsborough, he advanced to Salisbury, and soon afterwards to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power, to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy; but from that influence, which popular opinion has over public affairs, in a commonwealth, Congress resolved to supersede him, and to order a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. This was founded on a former resolve, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a court of inquiry. The cases were no ways parallel; he had lost a battle; but not a post. The only charge, that could be exhibited against General Gates, was, that he had been defeated. His enemies could accuse him of no military crime, unless that to be unsuccessful might be so reckoned. The public, sore with their losses, were desirous of a change; and Congress found it necessary to gratify them; though at the expense of the feelings of one of their best, and, till August 1780, one of their most successful officers. Virginia did not so soon forget Saratoga. When General Gates was at Richmond, on his way home from Carolina, the house of burgesses of that state unanimously resolved, December 18th, "that a committee of four be appointed to wait on General Gates, and assure him of their high regard and esteem; that the remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated, by any reverse of fortune,; and that ever mindful of his great merit, they would omit no opportunity of testifying to the world, the gratitude which the country owed to him, in his military character."

These events, together with a few unimportant skirmishes, not worthy of being particularly mentioned, closed the campaign of 1780 in the southern states. They afforded ample evidence of the folly of prosecuting the American war. Though British conquests had rapidly succeeded each other, yet no advantages accrued to the victors. The minds of the people were unsubdued, or rather more alienated from every idea of returning to their former allegiance. Such was their temper, that the expense of retaining them in subjection, would

have exceeded all the profits of the conquest. British garrisons kept down open resistance, in the vicinity of the places where they were established; but as soon as they were withdrawn, and the people left to themselves, a spirit of revolt, hostile to Great Britain, always displayed itself; and the standard of independence, whensoever it was prudently raised, never wanted followers, among the active and spirited part of the community.

CHAPTER X.

Campaign of 1780, in the Northern States.

While the war raged in South Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern states, was barren of important events. At the close of the year 1779, the American northern army took post at Morristown, and built themselves huts agreeably to the practice which had been first introduced at Valley Forge. This position was well calculated to cover the country, from the incursions of the British, being only twenty miles from New York.

Lord Stirling made an ineffectual attempt, in January, 1780, to surprise a party of the enemy on Staten Island. While he was on the island, a number of persons, from the Jersey side, passed over, and plundered the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. In these times of confusion, licentious persons fixed themselves near the lines, which divided the British from the Americans. Whensoever the opportunity offered they were in the habit of going within the settlements, of the opposite party, and, under the pretence of distressing their enemies, committed the most shameful depredations. In the first months of the year 1780, while the royal army was weakened, by the expedition against Charleston, the British were apprehensive for their safety in New York. The rare circumstance which then existed, of a connexion between the main and York island, by means of ice, seemed to invite to the enterprise; but the force and equipments of the American army were unequal to it. Lieutenant General Kniphausen who th n commanded in New-York apprehending such a design, embodied the inhabitants of the city, as a militia, for its defence. They very cheerfully formed themselves into companies and discovered great zeal in the service.

An incursion was made into Jersey, from New York, with five thousand men, commanded by Lieutenant General Kniphausen. They landed at Elizabethtown, and proceeded to Connecticut farms In this neighbourhood, lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian clergyman, of great activity, ability and influence; whose successful exertions, in animating the Jersey militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house in his absence; and shot his wife instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her, through the window of the room in which she was sitting with her children. Her body, at the request of an officer of the new levies, was moved to some distance, and then the house, and every thing in it was reduced to ashes! The British burnt about twelve other houses, and also the Presbyterian church; and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced, they were annoyed by Colonel Dayton, with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town. they were farther opposed by General Maxwell, who, with a few continental troops, was prepared to dispute its passage. They made a halt and soon after returned to Elizabethtown. Before they had retreated, the whole American army at Morristown marched to oppose them. While this royal detachment was in Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton returned, with his victorious troops, from Charleston to New York. He ordered a reinforcement to Kniphausen; and the whole advanced a second time towards Springfield. They were now opposed by General Greene, with a considerable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel, with his regiment and a piece of artillery, was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. An engagement took place. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops, on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Instead of this, the British began to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling-houses were reduced to ashes. The British then retreated; but were pursued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabethtown. The next day, they set out on their return to New York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about eighty; and that of the British, was supposed to be more. It is difficult to tell what was the precise object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal commanders hoped to get possession of Morristown, and to destroy the American stores. Perhaps they flattered themselves, that the inhabitants were so dispirited, by the recent loss of Charleston, that they would submit without resistance; and that the soldiers of the continental army would desert to them: but if these were their views, they were disappointed in both. The firm opposition, made by the Jersey farmers, contrasted with the conduct of the same people, in the year 1776, made it evident, that not only their aversion to Great Britain continued in full force; but that the practical habits of service and danger had improved the country militia, so as to bring them near to an equality with regular troops.

By such desultory operations, were hostilities carried on, at this time, in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to reconcilement or subjugation.

The loyal Americans, who had fled within the British lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory war into system. On their petition to Sir Henry Clinton, they had been in the year 1799, permitted to set up a distinct goverment in New York, under a jurisdiction, called the honourable board of associated loyalists. They had something like a fleet of small privateers and cruisers, by the aid of which they committed various depredations. A party of them, who had formerly belonged to Massachusetts. went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs, and two or three schooners. In a proclamation left behind them, they observed, "that they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends and connexions; and that they conceived themselves warranted by the laws of God and man, to wage war against their persecutors, and to endeavour, by every means in their power, to obtain compensation for their sufferings." These associated loyalists eagerly embraced every adventure which gratified either their avarice or their revenge. Their enterprises were highly lucrative to themselves, and extremely distressing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and superior means of transportation, enabled them to make hasty desents, and successful enterprises. A war of plunder, in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose, was carried on, in this shameful manner, from the double excitements of profit and revenge. The adjoining coasts of the continent, and especially the maratime parts of New Jersey, became scenes of waste and havoc.

The distress, which the Americans suffered, from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in the year 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch, till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jersey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth "that four months' pay of a private would not procure, for his family, a single bushel of wheat; that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse; that a common labourer or express rider received four times as much as an American officer." They urged, "that, unless a speedy and ample remedy was provided, the total dissolution of their line was inevitable;" and concluded with saying, "that their pay should either be made up in Mexican dollars, or in something equivalent." In addition to the insufficiency of their pay and support, other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army, to be raised, paid, subsisted, and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great measure exchanged for state establishments. This mischevious measure partly originated from necessity; for state credit was not quite so much depreciated as continental. Congress not possessing the means of supporting their army, devolved the business on the component parts of the confederacy. Some states, from their internal ability and local advantages, furnished their troops not only with clothing, but with many conveniences. Others supplied them with some necessaries, but on a more contracted scale. A few, from their particular situation, could do little or nothing at all. The officers and men, in the routine of duty, mixed daily, and compared circumstances. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service, which made such injurious distinctions. From causes of this kind, superadded to a complication of wants and suffering, a disposition to mutiny began to show itself in the American army. This broke forth into full action, among the soldiers, stationed at Fort Schuyler. Thirty-one of the men of that garrison went off in a body. Being pursued, sixteen of them were overtaken: and thirteen of the sixteen were instantly killed.

About the same time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied, and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and urged every argument, that could interest their pride or their passions. They were reminded of their good conduct, and of the important objects for which they were contending; but their answer was "our sufferings are too great, and we want present relief.' After much expostulation, they went to their huts While the army was in this feverish state of discontent, from their accumulated distresses, a printed paper addressed to the soldiers of the continental army, was circulated in the American camp. This was in the following word: "The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and falsehoods of the Congress, and of your commanders, can no longer conceal from you the miseries of your situation. You are neither fed, clothed, nor paid. Your numbers are wasting away by sickness, famine, and nakedness, and rapidly so, by the period of your stipulated services being expired. This is now the period to fly from slavery and fraud.

"I am happy in acquainting the old countrymen, that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled; and that Great Britain and Ireland are united, as well from interest as from affection. I need not tell you, who are born in America, that you have been cheated and abused. You are both sensible, that, in order to procure your liberty, you must quit your leaders and join your real friends who scorn to impose upon you, and who will receive you with open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. You are told, you are surrounded by a numerous militia. This is also false. Associate then together; make use of your firelocks; and join the British army, where you will be permitted to dispose of yourselves as you please."

About the same time, or rather a little before, the news arrived of the reduction of Charleston, and the capture of the whole American southern army. Such was the firmness of the common soldiery, and so strong their attachment to the cause of their country, that, though danger impelled, want urged, and British favour invited them to a change of sides yet, on the arrival of but a scanty supply of meat, for their immediate subsistence, military duty was cheerfully performed, and no uncommon desertion took place.

So great were the necessities of the American army, that Washington was obliged to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties, for specified quantities of provisions, to be supplied in a given number of days. At other times, he was compelled to send out detachments of his troops, to take provisions at the point of the bayonet. This expedient at length failed; for the country in the vicinity of the army afforded no farther supplies. These impressments were not only injurious to the morals and discipline of the army; but tended to alienate the affections of the people. Much of the support which the American general had previously experienced from the inhabitants, proceeded from the difference of treatment they received from their own army, compared with what they suffered from the British. The general, whom the inhabitants hitherto regarded as their protector, had now no alternative, but to disband his troops, or to support them by force. The situation of Washington was eminently embarrassing. The army looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for protection of their property. To supply the one, and not offend the other, seemed little less than an impossibility. To preserve order and subordination in an army of free republicans, even when well-fed, paid and clothed, would have been a work of difficulty; but retain them in service, and restrain them with discipline, when destitute, not only of the comforts, but often of the necessaries of life, required address and abilities of such magnitude, as are rarely found in human nature. In this choice of difficulties, Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted with so much discretion, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens.

So great a scarcity, in a country usually abounding with provisions, appears extraordinary; but various causes had concurred, about this time, to produce an unprecedented deficiency. The seasons both in 1779 and 1780 were unfavourable to the crops. The labours of the husbandmen, who were attached to the cause of independence, had been frequently interrupted by the calls for militia duty. Those who cared for neither side, or who, from principles of religion, held the unlawfulness of war, or who were secretly attached to the royal interest, had been very deficient in industry. Such sometimes reasoned, that all labour on their farms, beyond a bare supply of their own necessities, was unavailing; but the principal cause of the sufferings of the army was, the daily diminishing value of the continental bills of credit. The farmers found, that the longer they delayed the payment of taxes, the less quantity of country produce would discharge the stipulated sum. They also observed, that the longer they kept their grain on hand, the more of the paper currency was obtained in exchange for it. This either discouraged them from selling, or made them very tardy in coming to market. Many secreted their provisions, and denied having any; while others, who were contigious to the British, secretly sold to them for gold or silver. The patriotism, which at the commencement of the war, had led so many to sacrifice property, for the good of their country, had, in a great degree, subsided. Though they still retained their good wishes for the cause, yet these did not carry them so far, as to induce a willingness to exchange the hard-earned produce of their farms, for a paper currency, of a daily diminishing value. For provisions carried to New York, the farmers, received real money; but for what was carried to the Americans, they only received paper. The value of the first was known; of the other daily varying, and in an unceasing progression, from bad to worse. Laws were made against this intercourse; but they were executed in the manner laws uniformly have been, in the evasion of which multitudes find an immediate interest.

In addition to these disasters from short crops, and depreciation money, disorder and confusion pervaded the departments for supplying the army. Systems for these purposes had been hastily adopted, and were very inadequate to the end proposed. To provide for an army under the best establishments, and with a full military chest, is a work of difficulty; and though guarded by the precautions which time and experience have suggested, opens a door to many frauds: but it was the hard case of the Americans, to be called on to discharge this duty, without sufficient knowledge of the business, and under ill digested systems, and with a paper currency that was not two days of the same value. Abuses crept in; frauds were practised; and economy was exiled.

To obviate these evils, Congress adopted the expedient of sending a committee, of their own members, to the camp of their main army. Mr. Schuyler, of New York, Mr. Peabody, of New Hampshire, and Mr. Matthews, of South Carolina, were appointed. They were furnished with ample powers and instructions to reform abuses, to alter preceding systems, and to establish new ones in their room. This committee proceeded to camp, in May, 1780, and thence wrote sundry letters to Congress and the states; in which they confirmed the representations previously made, of the distresses and disorders every where prevalent. In particular, they stated, "that the army was unpaid for five months; that it seldom had more than six days' provisions in advance; and was on several occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat; that the army was destitute of forage; that the medical department had neither sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirituous liquors of any kind; that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of credit left; that the patience of the soldiers, worn down by the pressure of complicated sufferings was on the point of being exhausted."

A tide of misfortunes, from all quarters, was, at this time, pouring in upon the United States. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the smallest disposition to purchase safety, by concession of any sort. They seemed to rise in the midst of their distresses, and to gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When Congress could neither command money nor credit, for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association, to procure a supply of necessary articles, for their suffering soldiers. The sum of 300,000 dollars was subscribed in a few days, and converted into a bank; the principal design of which was, to purchase provisions for the troops, in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was instituted. The loss of Charleston, and the subsequent British victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverse of what were expected. It being the deliberate resolution of the Americans, never to return to the government of Great Britain, such unfavourable events, as threatened the subversion of independence, operated as incentives to their exertions. The patriotic flame, which had blazed forth in the beginning of the war was rekindled. A willingness to do, and to suffer, in the cause of American liberty, was revived in the breasts of many. These dispositions were invigorated by private assurances, that his Most Christian Majesty would, in the course of the campaign, send a powerful armament to their aid. To excite the states to be in readiness for this event, Congress circulated among them an address, of which the following is a part: "The crisis calls for exertion. Much is to be done in a little time; and every motive, that can stimulate the mind of man, presents itself to view. No period has occurred in this long and glorious struggle, in which indecision would be so destructive on the one hand, and on the other, no conjuncture has been more favourable to great and deciding efforts."

The powers of the committee of Congress, in the American camp, were enlarged so far, as to authorise them to frame and execute such plans as, in their opinion, would most effectually draw forth the resources of the country, in co-operating with the armament expected from France. In this character they wrote sundry letters to the states, stimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field 35,000 effective men, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support. To obtain the men, it was proposed to complete the regular regiments, by drafts from the militia, and to make up what they fell short of 35,000 effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to rouse the activity of the inhabitants. The states, nearly exhausted by the war, ardently wished for its termination. An opportunity now offered for striking a decisive blow, that might at once, as they supposed, rid the country of its distresses. The only thing required on the part of the United States was to bring into the field 35,000 men, and to make effectual arrangements for their support. The tardiness of deliberation in Congress was, in a great measure done away, by the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate estimates were made of every article of supply, necessary for the ensuing campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted, were assigned to the ten northern states, in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to these requisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntarily enlistments fell short of the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the laws of several states, to be made up by drafts or lots from the militia. The towns in New England, and the counties in the middle states, were respectively called on, for a specified number of men. Such was the zeal of the people in New England, that neighbours would often club together, to engage one of their number to go into the army. Being without money, in conformity to the practice usual in the early stages of society, they paid for military duty with cattle. Twenty head were frequently given as a reward for eighteen months' service. Maryland directed her lieutenants of counties to class all the property, in their respective counties into as many equal classes, as there were men wanted; and each class was by law obliged, within ten day thereafter, to furnish an able bodied recruit, to serve during the war; and, in case of their neglecting or refusing so to do, the county lieutenants were authorised to procure men, at their expense, at any rate, not exceeding fifteen pounds in every hundred pounds worth of property, classed agreeably to the law. Virginia also classed her citizens, and called upon the respective classes for every fifteenth man for public service. Pennsylvania concentrated the requisite power in her president Joseph Reed, and authorised him to draw forth the resources of the state, under certain limitations; and, if necessary, to declare martial law over the state. The legislative part of these complicated arrangements was speedily passed; but the execution, though uncommonly vigorous, lagged far behind. Few occasions could occur, in which it might so fairly be tried, to what extent, in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be brought to act in unison. The result of the experiment was, that, however favourable republics may be to the liberty and happiness of the people, in the time of peace, they will be greatly deficient in that vigour and despatch, which military operation require unless they imitate the policy of monarchies, by committing the executive departments of government to the direction of a single will.

While these preparations were making in America, the armament, which had been promised by his Most Christian Majesty, was on its way. As soon as it was known in France, that a resolution was adopted, to send out troops to the United States, the young French nobility discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that service.—Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness than was the honour of serving under Washington. The number of applicants was much greater than the service required. The disposition, to support the American revolution, was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it ani

mated the whole body of the nation. The wind and waves did not second the ardent wishes of the French troops. Though they sailed from France on the 1st of May, 1780, they did not reach a port in the United States, till the tenth of July following. On that day, to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels. He likewise convoyed a fleet of transports, with four old French regiments, besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to 6000 men, under the command of Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau. To the French, immediate possession was given of the forts and batteries on the island: and by their exertions they were soon put in a high state of defence. An address of congratulation, from the general assembly of the state of Rhode Island, was presented to Count de Rochambeau, in which they expressed "their most grateful sense of the magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally, the monarch of France; and also gave assurances of every exertion in their power, for the supply of the French forces, with all manner of refreshments, and necessaries for rendering the service happy and agreeable." Rochambeau declared in his answer, "that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force, which was destined for their aid; and that he was ordered by the king, his master, to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support." "The French troops," he said, "were under the strictest discipline, and, acting under the orders of General Washington, would live with the Americans as brethren." He returned their compliments by an assurance, "that, as brethren, not only his own life, but the lives of all those under his command were devoted to their service."

Washington recommended, in public orders to the American officers, as a symbol of friendship and affection for their allies, to wear black and white cockades, the ground to be of the first colour and the relief of the second.

The French troops, united both in interest and affection with the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity to co-operate with them against the common enemy. The continental army wished for the same with equal ardour. One circumstance alone seemed unfavourable to this spirit of enterprise. This was the deficient clothing of the Americans. Some whole lines, officers as well as men, were shabby; and a great proportion of the privates were without shirts. Such troops, brought alongside of allies, fully clad in the elegance of uniformity, must have been more or less than men, to feel no degradation on the contrast.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line, at New York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island. This inferiority was in three days reversed by the arrival of Admiral Greaves, with six sail of the line. The British admiral, having now a superiority, proceeded to Rhode Island. He soon discovered, that the French were perfectly secure from attack by sea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month, with his victorious troops from Charleston, embarked about 8000 of his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon-bay, on Long Island, with the apparent design of concurring with the British fleet, in attacking the French force at Rhode Island. When this movement took place, Washington set his army in motion, and proceeded to Peekskill. Had Sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be his design it was intended to attack New York in his absence. Preparations were made for that purpose; but Sir Henry Clinton instantly turned about, from Huntingdon-bay, towards New York.

In the meantime, the French fleet and army being blocked up at Rhode Island, were incapacitated from co-operating with the Americans. Hopes were nevertheless indulged, that by the arrival of another fleet of his Most Christian Majesty, then in the West Indies under the command of Count de Guichen the superiority would be so much in favour of the allies, as to enable them to prosecute their original intention of attacking New-York. When the expectations of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, and when they were in great forwardness of preparation, to act in concert with their allies, intelligence arrived that Count de Guichen had sailed for France. The disappointment was extremely mortifiying. The Americans had made uncommon exertions, on the idea of receiving such an aid from their allies, as would enable them to lay effectual siege to New York, or to strike some decisive blow. Their towering expectations were in a moment levelled with the dust. Another campaign was anticipated, and new shades were added to the deep cloud, which, for some time past, had overshadowed American affairs.

The campaign of 1780 passed away in the northern states, as has been related, in successive disappointments, and reiterated distresses. The country was exhausted; the continental currency expiring. The army, for want of subsistence, was kept inactive, and brooding over its calamities. While these disasters were openly menacing the ruin of the American cause, treachery was silently undermining it. A distinguished officer engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British, an important post committed to his care. General Arnold, who committed this foul crime, was a native of Connecticut. That state, remarkable for the purity of its morals, for its republican principles and patriotism, was the birth place of a man, to whom none of the other states have produced an equal. He had been among the first to take up arms against Great Britain, and to widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies. His distinguished military talents had procured him every honour a grateful country could bestow. Poets and painters had marked him as a suitable subject for the display of their talents. He possessed an elevated seat in the hearts of his countrymen, and was in the full enjoyment of a substantial fame, for the purchase of which, the wealth of worlds ought to have been insufficient. His country had not only loaded him with honours, but forgiven him his crimes. Though, in his accounts against the states, there was much room to suspect fraud and imposition, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct, in a great measure served as a cloak to cover the whole. He, who had been prodigal of life, in his country's cause, was indulged in extraordinary demands for his services. The generosity of the states did not keep pace with the extravagance of their favourite officer. A sumptuous table and expensive equipage unsupported by the resources of private fortune, unguarded by the virtues of economy and good management, soon increased his debts beyond a possibility of his discharging them. His love of pleasure produced the love of money; and that extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honour and duty. The calls of luxury were pressing, and demanded gratification, though at the expense of fame and country. Contracts were made, speculations entered into, and partnerships instituted, which could not bear investigation Oppression, extortion, misapplication of public money and property, furnished him with with the farther means of gratifying his favourite passions. In these circumstances, a change of sides afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and at the same time, held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted coffers. The disposition of the American forces, in the year 1780, afforded an opportunity of accomplishing this, so much to the advantage of the British, that they could well afford a liberal reward for the beneficial treachery. The American army was stationed in the strong holds of the Highlands on both sides of the North River. In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the command of West Point. This has been called the Gibralter of America. It was built, after the loss of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North River, and was deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges, rising one behind another, rendered it incapable of being invested, by less than twenty thousand men. Though some, even then, entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet Washington, in the unsuspecting spirit of a soldier, believing it to be impossible that honour should be wanting in a breast, which he knew was the seat of valour, cheerfully granted his request, and intrusted him with the important post. Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negociation, with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make a disposition of his forces, which would enable the latter to surprise West Point, under such circumstances, that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces. The object of this negociation was the strongest post of the Americans; the thoroughfare of communication, between the eastern and southern states; and was the repository of their most valuable stores. The loss of it would have been severely felt.

The agent employed in this negociation, on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of great hopes, and of uncommon merit. Nature had bestowed on him an elegant taste for literature and the fine arts, which, by industrious cultivation, had been greatly improved. He possessed many amiable qualities, and very great accomplishments. His fidelity, together with his place and character, eminently fitted him for this business: but his high ideas of candour, and his abhorence of duplicity, made him inexpert in practising those arts of deception which it required.

[John Andre, aid-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, and adjutant-general of the British army in the revolutionary war, was born in England in 1749. His father was a native of Geneva, and a considerable merchant in the Levant trade; he died in 1769. Young Andre was destined to mercantile business, and attended his father's counting house, after having spent some years for his education at Geneva. He first entered the army in January 1771. At this time he had a strong attachment to Honoria Sneyd, who afterwards married Mr. Edgeworth. In 1772 he visited the courts of Germany, and returned to England in 1773. He landed at Philadelphia in Sept. 1774, as lieutenant of the Royal English Fusileers; and soon proceeded by way of Boston to Canada to join his regiment. In 1775 he was taken prisoner by Montgomery, at St. John's; but was afterwards exchanged, and appointed captain. In the summer of 1777 he was appointed aid to General Grey, and was present at the engagements in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1777 and 1777. On the return of General Grey, he was appointed aid to General Clinton. In 1780 he was promoted to the rank of major, and made adjutant general of the British army.

After Arnold had intimated to the British, in 1780, his intention of delivering up West Point to them, Major Andre was selected as the person, to whom the maturing of Arnold's treason and the arrangements for its execution should be committed. A correspondence was for some time carried on between them under a mercantile disguise, and the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson; and at length to facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war moved up the North River and took a station convenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion. An interview was agreed on, and in the night of September 21, 1780, he was taken in a boat, which was despatched for the purpose, and carried to the beach, without the posts of both armies, under a pass for John Anderson. He met General Arnold at the house of a Mr. Smith. While the conference was yet unfinished daylight approached; and to avoid the danger of discovery, it was proposed that he should remain concealed till the succeeding night. He is understood to have refused to be carried within the American posts, but the promise made him by Arnold to respect this objection was not observed. He was carried within them contrary to his wishes and against his knowledge. He con-

tinued with Arnold the succeeding day, and when on the following night he proposed to return to the Vulture, the boatman refused to carry him, because she had during the day shifted her station, in consequence of a gun having been moved to the shore and brought to bear upon her. This embarrassing circumstance reduced him to the necessity of endeavouring to reach New York by land. Yielding with reluctance to the urgent representations of Arnold, he laid aside his regimentals, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, and put on a plain suit of clothes; and receiving a pass from the American general, authorizing him, under the feigned name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he set out on his return in the evening of the 22d, accompanied by Joshua Smith, and passed the night at Crompond. The next morning he crossed the Hudson to King's Ferry on the east side. A little beyond the Croton, Smith, deeming him safe, bade him adieu. He had passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was proceeding to New York in perfect security, when September 23d, one of the three militia men, who were employed with others in scouting parties between the lines of the two armies, springing suddenly from his covert into the road, seized the reins of his bridle and stopped his horse. Instead of producing his pass, Andre, with a want of self-possession, which can be attributed only to a kind providence, asked the man hastily where he belonged, and being answered, "to below," replied immediately, "and so do I." He then declared himself to be a British officer, on urgent business, and begged that he might not be detained. The other two militia men coming up at this moment, he discovered his mistake; but it was now too late to repair it. He offered them his purse and a valuable watch, to which he added the most tempting promises of ample reward and permanent provision from the government, if they would permit him to escape; but his offers were rejected without hesitation.

The militia men, whose names were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots exact returns, in Arnold's handwriting, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point and its dependences, critical remarks on the works, and an estimate of the men ordinarily employed in them, with other interesting papers. Andre was carried before Lieut. Col. Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties on the lines, and regardless of himself, and only anxious for the safety of Arnold, he still maintained the character which he had assumed, and requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer that Anderson was taken. A letter was accordingly sent to Arnold, and the traitor, thus becoming acquainted with his danger, escaped. The narrative of the bearer of this letter, Mr. Solomon Allen, is given in the sketch of his life: it differs in several respects from the account of the affair in the Encyclopædia Americana, and throws light upon circumstances which have been heretofore obscure.

A board of general officers, of which Major General Greene was president, and the two foreign generals, Lafayette and Steuben, were members, was called to report a precise state of the case of Andre, who had acknowledged himself adjutant-general of the British army, and to determine in what character he was to be considered, and to what punishment he was liable. He received from the board every mark of indulgent attention; and from a sense of justice, as well as of delicacy, he was informed on the first opening of the examination, that he was at perfect liberty not to answer any interrogatory which might embarrass his own feelings. But he disdained every evasion, and frankly acknowledged every thing which was material to his condemnation.

"I came," said he, "to hold a communication with a general officer of the American army, by the order of my own commander. I entered the American lines by an unquestionable authority: when I passed from them it was by the same authority. I used no deception. I had heard that a provincial officer had repented of the course he had taken, and that he avowed, that he never meant to go so far as he had gone in resisting the authority of his king. The British commander was willing to extend to him the king's clemency, yea, his bounty, in hopes to allure others to do the same I made no plans; I examined no works:—I only received his communications, and was on my way to return to the army, and to make known all I had learned from a general officer in your camp. Is this the office of a spy? I never should have acted in that light, and what I have done is not in the nature of a spy. I have noted neither your strength, or nakedness. If there be wrong in the transaction, is it mine?

"The office of a spy, a soldier has a right to refuse; but to carry and fetch communications with another army, I never heard was criminal. The circumstances which followed after my interview with general Arnold, were not in my power to control. He alone had the management of them.

"It is said that I rode in disguise. I rode for security, incog. as far as I was able, but other than criminal deeds induce one to do this. I was not bound to wear my uniform any longer than it was expedient or politic. I scorn the name of a spy; brand my offence with some other title, if it change not the punishment, I beseech you. It is not death I fear. I am buoyed above it by a consciousness of having intended to discharge my duty in an honourable manner.

"Plans, it is said, were found with me. This is true; but they were not mine; yet I must tell you, honestly, that they would have been communicated, if I had not been taken. They were sent by general Arnold to the British commander, and I should have delivered them. From the bottom of my heart I spurn the thought of attempting to screen myself by criminating another; but as far as I am concerned, the truth shall be told, whoever suffers. It was the allegiance of General Arnold that I came out to secure. It was fair to presume that many a brave officer would be glad, at this time, to have been able to retrace his steps; at least we have been so informed. Shall I, who came out to negociate this allegiance only, be treated as one who came to spy out the weakness of a camp? If these actions are alike I have to learn my moral code anew.

"Gentlemen officers, be it understood that I am no supplicant for mercy; that I ask only from Omnipotence, not from human beings. Justice is all I claim; that justice which is neither swayed by prejudice nor distorted by passion; but that which flows from honourable minds, directed by virtuous determinations. I hear, gentlemen, that my case is likened to that of Captain Hale, in 1776. I have heard of him and his misfortunes. I wish that in all that dignifies man, that adorns and elevates human nature, that I could be named with that accomplished, but unfortunate officer. His fate was wayward and untimely; he was cut off yet younger than I now am. But ours are not parallel cases. He went out knowing that he was assuming the character of a spy; he took all its liabilities on his head, at the request of his great commander. He was ready to meet what he assumed, and all its consequences. His death the law of nations sanctioned. It may be complimentary to compare me with him, still it would be unjust. He took his life in his hand when he assumed the character and the disguise. I assumed no disguise, nor took upon myself any other character that that of a British officer, who had business to transact with an American officer.

"In fine, I ask not even for justice; if you want a victim to the names of those fallen untimely, I may as well be that victim as another. I have in the most undisguised manner given you every fact in the case. I rely only on the proper construction of these facts. Let me be called any thing but a spy. I am not a spy; I have examined nothing; learned nothing; communicated nothing but my detention to Arnold, that he might escape, if he thought proper so to do. This was, as I conceived, my duty. I hope the gallant officer, who was then unsuspicious of his general, will not be condemned for the military error he committed.

"I farther state that Smith, who was the medium of communication, did not know any part of our conference, except that there was some necessity for secrecy. He was counsel in various matters for General Arnold, and from all the intercourse I had with him; and it was Smith who lent me this dress-coat of crimson, on being told by General Arnold that my business was of that private nature that I did not wish to be known by English or Americans; I do not believe that he had even a suspicion of my errand. On me your wrath should fall if on any one. I know your affairs look gloomy, but that is no reason why I should be sacrificed. My death can do your cause no good. Millions of friends to your struggle in England you will lose if you condemn me. I say not this by way of threat, for I know brave men are not awed by them; nor will brave men be vindictive because they are desponding. I should not have said a word had it not been for the opinion of others which I am bound to respect.

"I have done. The sentence you this day pronounce will go down to posterity with exceeding great distinctness, on the page of history; and if humanity and honour mark this day's decision, your names each and all of you, will be remembered by both nations when they have grown greater and more powerful than they now are; but if misfortune befals me, I shall, in time, have all due honours paid to my memory. The martyr is kept in remembrance when the tribunal that condemned him is forgotten. I trust this honourable court will believe me when I say, that what I had spoken comes from no idle fears of a coward. I have done."

The court deliberated long, and at last came to the decision, that Major Andre was a spy, and ought to suffer death. He was calm as a philosopher when the award of the court was read.

The morning of the 2d of October, 1780 dawned upon the American army. This time was fixed for the execution of the prisoner. It was some distance from the prison to the place of execution, and this the prisoner desired to walk. There had been some fog during the night, which was now settling about the surrounding mountains. Some of the leaves had begun to wear an autumnal appearance. The army was drawn out to witness the sad spectacle. He passed through files of soldiers, on whose pale faces sat the utmost melancholy, bowing to every one he knew.

As the prisoner came within sight of the gallows, he turned to the officers who were with him, and said, "Could not this have been otherwise?" He was answered, no. "Well, then," said he, "it is only one pang. I am reconciled to my death, but not to the manner of it. Soldiers, bear witness that I die like a brave man." His manly air; his cheek, fresh as from morning exercise; his nerves firm as ever were in a human frame; his softened tone of voice; his sweet smile; were all witnessed by the spectators; and as he was launched into eternity, a groan involuntarily burst from the bottom of every bosom.

The greatest exertions were made by sir Henry Clinton, to whom Andre was particularly dear, to rescue him from his fate. It was at first represented, that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag; but Washington returned an answer to Clinton, in which he stated, that Andre himself disclaimed the pretext. An interview was next proposed between Lieut. Gen. Robertson and General Greene; but no facts, which had not before been considered, were made known. When every other exertion failed, a letter from Arnold, filled with threats, was presented.

The sympathy excited among the American officers by his fate, was as universal as it is unusual

on such occasions; and proclaims the merit of him who suffered and the humanity of those who inflicted the punishment. In 1821 the bones of Andre were dug up and carried to his native land by royal mandate.—Ed.]

To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable, without exciting suspicion. Before this, a written correspondence, between Arnold and Andre, had been for some time carried on, under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. A boat was sent at night from the shore, to fetch Major Andre. On its return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army. Their business was not finished, till it was too near the dawn of day, for Andre to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose, he was conducted within one of the American posts, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatman refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon, brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. Andre's return to New York, by land, was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favour this, he exchanged his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, for a common coat; was furnished with a horse, and, under the name of John Anderson, with a passport, "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower, if he thought proper; he being on public business." He advanced alone and undisturbed, a great part of the way. When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopped by three of the New York militia, who were, with others, scouting between the out-posts of the two armies. Major Andre, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him, "where he belonged to." He was answered, "to below," meaning New York. He then replied, "so do I," declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him. Sundry papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand-writing. They contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences, at West Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

Andre offered his captors a purse of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass; and permanent provision, and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New York. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him, a prisoner, to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. In testimony of the high sense, entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, the captors of Andre, Congress resolved, "that each of them receive, annually, two hundred dollars in specie, during life; that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a silver medal, on one side of which should be a shield with this inscription, Fidelity, and on the other, the following motto, vincit Amor Patriæ; and that the commander-in-chief be requested to present the same, with the thanks of Congress, for their fidelity, and the eminent service they had rendered their country." Andre, when delivered to Jameson, continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold, on the receipt of this letter, abandoned every thing; and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson forwarded to Washington all the papers found on Andre, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair; but the express, by taking a different route from the general, who was returning from a conference, at Hartford, with Count de Rochambeau, missed him. This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The same packet, which detailed the particulars of Andre's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. The letter was expressed in terms of dignity without insolence, and of apology without meanness. He stated therein, that he held a correspondence with a person, under the orders of his general; that this attention went no farther than meeting that person, on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence; and that, against his stipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them. Being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise. His principal request was, that, "Whatever his fate might be, a decency of treatment might be observed, which would mark, that, though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing that was dishonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor."

Washington referred the whole case to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, Andre voluntarily confessed every thing, that related to himself, and, particularly, that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness; but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts: "That Major Andre came on shore, on the night of the 21st of September, in a private and secret manner; that he changed his dress within the American lines, and, under a feigned name, and disguised habit passed their works; that he was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New York; and that, when taken, several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From these facts, they farther reported it as their opinion, "that Major Andre ought to be considered as a spy; and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-General Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, wrote pressing letters to Washington, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by Major Andre was done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding officer in the department. He contended, "that he had a right to transact all these matters, for which, though wrong, Major Andre ought not to suffer." And interview, also, took place between General Robertson, on the part of the British, and General Greene, on the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity could suggest, for averting the proposed execution. Greene made a proposition for delivering up Andre for Arnold; but this could not be acceded to by the British, without offending against every principle of policy. Robertson urged, "that Andre went on shore, under the sanction of a flag, and that, being then in Arnold's power, he was not accountable for his subsequent actions, which were said to be compulsory." To this it was replied, that "he was employed in the execution of measures, very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorise or countenance; and that Major Andre, in the course of his examination, had candidly confessed, that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag." As Greene and Robertson differed so widely, both in their statement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter proposed to the former, that the opinions of disinterested gentlemen might be taken on the subject, and nominated Kniphausen and Rochambeau. Robertson also urged, that Andre possessed a great share of Sir Henry Clinton's esteem; and that he would be infinitely obliged, if he should be spared. He offered, that, in case Andre were permitted to return with him to New York, any person whatever, that might be named, should be set at liberty. All these arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertson presented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate Andre, by acknowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct, "and particularly insisted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag, which he had sent for that purpose." He declared, that, if Andre suffered, he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also observed, "that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, who had hitherto been spared, only through the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy, if Major Andre suffered; an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." He entreated Washington, by his own honour, and for the sake of humanity, not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of Andre; but if that warning should be diregarded, and Andre suffer, he called heaven and earth to witness, that he alone would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood, that might be spilt in consequence."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to save Andre; but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army, that his life was forfeited; and that national dignity, and sound policy required, that the forfeiture should be exacted.

Andre, though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. From an adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this request; but his delicacy was saved from the pain of receiving a negative answer, the guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution. The way, over which he passed, was crowded, on each side, by anxious spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed, by beholding a well dressed youth in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging person, mien and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arm being locked in theirs. Upon seeing the preparations, at the fatal spot, he asked, with some degree of concern, "must I die in this manner?" He was told, it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode;" but soon subjoined, "It will be but a momentary pang." He ascended the cart, with a pleasing countenance, and with a degree of composure, which excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators. He was asked, when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say? He answered, "nothing but to request, that you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man." The succeeding moments closed the affecting scene.

This execution was the subject of severe censures. Barbarity, cruelty, and murder were plentifully charged on the Americans; but the impartial of all nations allowed that it was warranted by the usages of war. It cannot be condemned, without condemning the maxims of self-preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity would have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxims of war, in favour of so distinguished an officer: but these feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public safety. Such was the distressed state of the American army, and so abundant were their causes of complaint, that there was much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery. Could it have been reduced to a certainty, that there were no more Arnolds in America, perhaps Andre's life might have been spared: but the necessity of discouraging farther plots fixed his fate, and stamped it with the seal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundless field of possible contingencies were to be indulged, it might be said, that it was more consonant to ex

tend humanity, to take one life, than by, ill-timed lenity, to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the loss of many, but endanger the independence of a great country.

Though a regard to the public safety imposed a necessity of inflicting the rigours of martial law, yet the rare worth of this unfortunate officer made his unhappy case the subject of universal regret. Not only among the partisans of royal government, but among the firmest American republicans, the friendly tear of sympathy freely flowed, for the early fall of this amiable young man. Some condemned; others justified; but all regretted the fatal sentence, which put a period to his valuable life.

This grand project terminated with no other alteration, in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers, for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately appointed a brigadier-general, in the service of the king of Great Britain. The failure of the scheme, respecting West Point, made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud, which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new masters. The condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something of consequence. He flattered himself, that by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raise a numerous force, from the distressed American soldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples, and working on their passions. His first public measure was, an address directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, Oct. 7, 1780, five days after Andre's execution. In this, he endeavoured to justify himself for deserting their cause. He said, "that, when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object. He, however acquiesced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reasons that were then offered to justify that measure, no longer could exist; when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children, and to grant the wished-for redress. From the refusal of these proposals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the justice and policy of the war were totally changed, and from that time, he had become a professed loyalist." He acknowledged that, "in these principles, he had only retained his arms and command, for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain." This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army. It was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal service. He informed them, that he was authorised to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payment for their horses, arms and accoutrements. Rank in the British army was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military service. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were, in a great degree, obliged to support themselves, from their own resources, while they were spending the prime of their day, and risking their lives, in the unproductive service of Congress. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distresses of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentinel or officer. Whether the circumstances of Arnold's case added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether the providential escape from the deep laid scheme against West Point, gave a higher tone to the firmness of the American soldiery, cannot be unfolded; but, from these or some other causes, desertion wholly ceased, at this remarkable period of the war.

It is matter of reproach to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character; but it is to the honour of human nature, that a great revolution, and an eight years' war, produced but one such example. In civil contests, for officers to change sides has not been unusual: but in the various events of the American war, and among the many regular officers it called to the field, nothing occurred, that bore any resemblance to the character of Arnold. His singular case enforces the policy of conferring high trusts, exclusively, on men of clean hands, and of withholding all public confidence from those, who are subjected to the dominion of pleasure.

A gallant enterprise of Major Talmadge, in the course of this campaign, shall close this chapter. He crossed the sound to Long Island, with eighty men, Nov. 28th; made a circuitous march of twenty miles to Fort George, and reduced it, without any other loss, than that of one private man wounded. He killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieutenant colonel, a captain, and fifty-five privates.

CHAPTER XI.

Foreign Affairs, connected with the American Revolution, 1780, 1781.

THAT spark, which first kindled at Boston gradually expanded itself, till sundry of the nations of Europe were involved in its wide-spreading flame. France, Spain, and Holland were, in the years 1778, 1779, and 1780, successively drawn in for a share of the general calamity.

These events had so direct an influence on the American war, that a short recapitulation of them becomes necessary.

Soon after his Most Catholic Majesty had declared war against Great Britain, expeditions were carried on by Don Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, against the British settle ments, in West Florida. These were easily reduced. The conquest of the whole province was completed in a few months, by the reduction of Pensacola, May 5th, 1781. The Spaniards were not so successful in their attempts against Gibralter and Jamaica. They had blockaded the former of these places, on the land side, ever since July, 1779; and soon afterwards invested it as closely by sea, as the nature of the gut, and variety of wind and weather, would permit. Towards the close of the year, the garrison was reduced to great straits. Vegetables were with great difficulty to be got at any price; but bread, the great essential both of life and health, was most deficient. Governor Elliot, who commanded in the garrison, made an experiment, to ascertain what quantity of rice would suffice a single person; and lived for eight successive days, on thirty-two ounces of that nutritious grain.

The critical situation of Gibralter called for relief. A strong squadron was prepared for that purpose, and the command of it given to Sir George Rodney. He, when on his way thither, fell in with fifteen sail of merchantmen, under a slight convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and captured the whole, July 10th, 1780. Several of the vessels were laden with provisions, which being sent into Gibralter, proved a seasonable supply. In eight days afterwards, he engaged, near Cape St. Vincent, with a Spanish squadron, of eleven sail of the line, commanded by Don Juan de Langara. Early in the action, the Spanish ship San Domingo, mounting 70 guns, and carrying 600 men, blew up; and all on board perished. The action continued with great vigour, on both sides for ten hours. The Spanish admiral's ship, the Phœnix, of 80 guns, and three of 70, were carried into a British port. The San Julian, of 70 guns, was taken. A lieutenant, with 70 British seamen, was put on board; but, as she ran on shore, the victors became prisoners. Another ship of the same force was also taken: but afterwards totally lost. Four escaped; two of them being greatly damaged. The Spanish admiral did not strike, till his ship was reduced to a mere wreck. Captain Macbride, of the Bienfaisant, to whom he struck, disdaining to convey infection, even to an enemy, informed him, that a malignant small-pox prevailed on board the Bienfaisant; and offered to permit the Spanish prisoners to stay on board the Phœnix, rather than, by a removal, to expose them to the small-pox, trusting to the admiral's honour, that no advantage would be taken of the circumstance. The proposal was cheerfully embraced, and the conditions honourably observed. The consequence of this important victory was, the immediate and complete relief of Gibralter. This being done, Rodney proceeded to the West Indies.

The Spaniards, nevertheless, persevered with steadiness, in their original design of reducing Gibraltar. They seemed to be entirely absorbed in that object. The garrison, after some time, began again to suffer the inconveniences which flow from deficient and unwholesome food: but in April, 1781, complete relief was obtained through the intervention of a British fleet, commanded by Admiral Darby.

The court of Spain, mortified by these repeated disappointments, determined to make greater exertions. Their works were carried on with more vigour than ever. Having, on an experiment of twenty months, found the inefficacy of a blockade, they resolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heaviest metal, and with mortars of the largest dimensions. These disgorged torrents of fire on a narrow spot. It seemed as if not only the works but the rock itself must have been overwhelmed. All distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke. This dreadful cannonade continued day and night, almost incessantly, for three weeks; in every twenty-four hours of which, 100,000lbs. of gunpowder were consumed, and between four and 5000 shot and shells went through the town. It then slackened; but was not intermitted, one whole day, for upwards of a twelvemonth. The fatigues of the garrison were extreme; but the loss of men was less than might have been expected. For the first ten weeks of this unexampled bombardment, the whole number of killed and wounded was about 300. The damage done to the works was trifling. The houses in town, about 500 in number, were mostly destroyed. Such of the inhabitants, as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the remote parts of the rocks; but destruction followed them to places which had always been deemed secure. No scene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children, clasped in each others' arms, were so completely torn to pieces, that it seemed more like an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. Ladies, of the greatest sensibility, and most delicate constitution, deemed themselves happy to be admitted to a few hours of repose, in the casements, amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded.

At the first onset, General Elliot retorted on the besiegers a shower of fire, but foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon retrenched, and received with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adversaries. By the latter end of November, the besiegers had brought their works to that state of perfection which they intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon them were extraordinary. The best engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms were filled with sanguine expectations of speedy success. In this conjuncture, when all Europe was in suspense, concerning the fate of the garrison, and when, from the prodigious efforts made for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a sally was projected and executed, that in about two hours destroyed those works, on which so much time, skill, and labour had been expended.

A body of 2000 chosen men, under the command of Brigadier General Ross, marched out about two o'clock in the morning, November 27th, and, at the same instant, made a general attack, on the whole exterior front of the lines of the besiegers. The Spaniards gave way on every side, and abandoned their works. The pioneers and artillerymen spread their fire with such rapidity, that, in a little time, every thing combustible was in flames. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, platforms, and carriages destroyed. The magazines blew up, one after another. The loss of the detachment, which accomplished all this destruction, was inconsiderable.

This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers; but they soon recovered from their alarm, and, with a perseverance almost peculiar to their nation, determined to go on with the siege. Their subsequent exertions, and reiterated defeats, shall be related in the order of time in which they took place.

While the Spaniards were urging the siege of Gibraltar, a scheme, previously concerted with the French, was in a train of execution. This consisted of two parts. The object of the first, concerted between the French and Spaniards, was no less than the conquest of Jamaica. The object of the second, in which the French and the Americans were parties, was the reduction of New York. In conformity to this plan, the monarchs of France and Spain, early in the year 1780, assembled a force in the West Indies, superior to that of the British. Their combined fleets amounted to thirty-six sail of the line, and their land forces were in a correspondent proportion. By acting in concert, they hoped to make rapid conquests in the West Indies.

Fortunately for the British interest, this great hostile force carried within itself the cause of its own overthrow. The Spanish troops, from being too much crowded on board their transports, were seized with a mortal and contagious distemper. This spread through the French fleet, and land forces, as well as their own. With the hopes of arresting its progress, the Spaniards were landed in the French islands. By these disastrous events, the spirit of enterprise was damped. The combined fleets, having neither effected, nor attempted any thing of consequence, desisted from the prosecution of the objects of the campaign. The failure of the first part of the plan occasioned the failure of the second. Count de Guichen, the commander of the French fleet, who was to have followed M. de Ternay, and to have co-operated with Washington, instead of coming to the American continent, sailed with a large convoy, collected from the French islands, directly to France.

The abortive plans of the French and Spaniards, operated directly against the interest of the United States; but this was, in a short time, counterbalanced, by the increased embarrassments occasioned to Great Britain, by the armed neutrality of the northern powers, and by a rupture with Holland.

The naval superiority of Great Britain had long been the subject of regret and of envy. As it was the interest, so it seemed to be the wish of European sovereigns, to avail themselves of the present favourable moment, to effect an humiliation of her maratime grandeur. That the flag of all nations must strike to British ships of war, could not be otherwise than mortifying to independent sovereigns. This haughty demand was not their only cause of complaint. The activity and number of British privateers had rendered them objects of terror, not only to the commercial shipping of their enemies, but to the many vessels belonging to other powers, that were employed in trading with them. Various litigations had taken place, between the commanders of British armed vessels, and those who were in the service of neutral powers, respecting the extent of that commerce, which was consistent with a strict and fair neutrality. The British insisted on the lawfulness of seizing supplies, which were about to be carried to their enemies. In the habit of commanding on the sea, they considered power and right to be synonymous terms. As other nations, from a dread of provoking their vengeance, had submitted to their claim of dominion on the ocean, they fancied themselves invested with authority, to control the commerce of independent nations, when it interfered with their views. The empress of Russia took the lead, in establishing a system of maratime laws, which tended to subvert the claims of Great Britain. Her trading vessels had long been harassed by British searches and seizures, on pretence of their carrying on a commerce, inconsistent with neutrality. The present crisis favoured the re-establishment of the laws of nations, in place of the usurpations of Great Britain.

A declaration was published in February, 1780, by the empress of Russia, addressed to the courts of London, Versailles and Madrid. In this it was observed, "that her imperial majesty had given such convincing proofs of the strict regard she had for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of commerce in general, that it might have been hoped her impartial conduct would have entitled her subjects to the enjoyment of the advantages belonging to neutral nations. Experience had, however, proved the contrary. Her subjects had been molested in their navigation, by the ships and privateers of the belligerent powers." Her majesty therefore declared, "that she found it necessary to remove these vexations, which had been offered to the commerce of Russia; but, before she came to any serious measures, she thought it just and equitable, to expose to the world, and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principles she had adopted for her conduct; which were as follow:

"That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the nations at war; that all effects, belonging to the belligerent powers, should be looked on as free on board such neutral ships, with an exception of places actually blocked up or besieged; and with a proviso, that they do not carry to the enemy contraband articles." These were limited by an explanation, so as to "comprehend only warlike stores and ammunition." Her imperial majesty declared that, "she was firmly resolved to maintain these principles, and that with the view of protecting the commerce and navigation of her subjects, she had given orders to fit out a considerable part of her naval force." This declaration was communicated to the States General; and the empress of Russia invited them to make a common cause with her, so far as such a union might serve to protect commerce and navigation. Similar communication and invitations were, also, made to the courts of Copenhagen; Stockholm, and Lisbon. A civil answer was received from the court of Great Britain, and a very cordial one from the court of France. On this occasion, it was said by his Most Christian Majesty, "that what her imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers, was nothing more than the rules prescribed to the French navy." The kings of Sweden and Denmark, also, formally acceded to the principles and measures, proposed by the empress of Russia. The States General did the same. The queen of Portugal refused to concur. The powers engaged in this association resolved to support each other, against any of the belligerant nations, who should violate the principles, which had been laid down, in the declaration of the empress of Russia.

This combination assumed the name of the armed neutrality. By it a respectable guarantee was procured to a commerce, from which France and Spain procured a plentiful supply of articles essentially conducive to a vigorous prosecution of the war. The usurped authority of Great Britain, on the highway of nature, received a check. Her embarrassments, from this source, were aggravated by the consideration, that they came from a power, in whose friendship she had confided.

About the same time, the enemies of Great Britain were increased, by the addition of the States General. Though these two powers were bound to each other, by the obligations of treaties, the conduct of the latter had long been considered rather hostile than friendly. Few Europeans had a greater propect of advantage from American independence, than the Hollanders. The conquest of the United States would have regained to Great Britain a monopoly of their trade; but the establishment of their independence promised, to other nations, an equal chance of participating therein. As commerce is the soul of the United Netherlands, to have neglected the present opportunity of extending it, would have been a deviation from their established maxims of policy. Former treaties, framed in distant periods, when other views were predominant, opposed but a feeble barrier to the claims of present interest. The past generation found it to their advantage to seek the friendship and protection of Great Britain. But they, who were now on the stage of life, had similar inducements to seek for new channels of trade. Though this could not be done, without thwarting the views of the court of London, their recollection of former favours was not sufficient, to curb their immediate favourite passion.

From the year 1777, Sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, has made sundry representations to their high mightinesses, of the clandestine commerce, carried on between their subjects and the Americans. He particularly stated that Mr. Van Graaf, the governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans; and had, at one time, returned the salute of a vessel carrying their flag. Sir Joseph, therefore demanded a formal disavowal of this salute, and the dismission and immediate recall of Governor Van Graaf. This insolent demand was answered with a pusillanimous, temporising reply.

On the 12th of September, 1778, a memorial was presented to the States General, from the merchants and others of Amsterdam, in which they complained that their lawful commerce was obstructed by the ships of his Britannic majesty. On the 22d of July, 1779, Sir Joseph Yorke demanded of the States General the succours stipulated in the treaty of 1678; but this was not complied with. Friendly declarations and unfriendly actions followed each other in alternate succession. At length, a declaration was published by the king of Great Britain, by which it was announced, "that the subjects of the United Provinces were, henceforth, to be considered upon the same footing with other martial powers, not privileged by treaty." Throughout the whole of this period, the Dutch, by means of neutral ports continued to supply the Americans; and the English to insult and intercept their navigation: but open hostilities were avoided by both. The former aimed principally at the gains of a lucrative commerce; the latter to remove all obstacles, which stood in the way of their favourite scheme of conquering the Americans. The event, which occasioned a formal declaration of war, was the capture of Henry Laurens. In the deranged state of the American finances, that gentleman had been deputed by Congress, to solicit a loan from their service, in the United Netherlands; and, also, to negociate a treaty between them and the United States. On his way thither, September 3, 1780, he was taken by the Vestal frigate, commanded by Captain Kepple. He had thrown his papers overboard; but many of them were recovered, without having received much damage. His papers being delivered to the ministry, were carefully examined. Among them, was found one, purporting to be a plan of a treaty of amity and commerce, between the states of Holland and the United States of America. This had been originally drawn up, in consequence of some conversation between William Lee, whom Congress had appointed commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and John de Neufville, merchant of Amsterdam, as a plan of treaty, destined to be concluded hereafter: but it had never been proposed, either by Congress or the states of Holland; though it had received the approbation of the Pensionary Van Berkel, and of

the city of Amsterdam. As this was not an official paper, and had never been read in Congress, the original was given to Mr. Laurens, as a paper that might be useful to him, in his projected negotiations. This unauthentic paper, which was in Mr. Laurens' possession by accident and which was so nearly sunk in the ocean, proved the occasion of a national war. The court of Great Britain was highly offended at it. The paper itself, and some others relating to the same subject, were delivered to the prince of Orange, who, on the 10th of November, laid them before the states of Holland and West Freisland.

Sir Joseph Yorke presented a memorial to the States General, in which he asserted, "that the papers of Mr. Laurens, who styled himself president of the pretended Congress, had furnished the discovery of a plot, unexampled in the annals of the republic; that it appeared by these papers, that the gentlemen of Amsterdam had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, from the month of August, 1778; and that instructions and full powers had been given by them, for the conclusion of a treaty of amity, with rebels, who were the subjects of a sovereign, to whom the republic was united by the closest engagements." He therefore, in the name of his master, demanded a formal disavowal of this irregular conduct, a prompt satisfaction proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary punishment of the pensionary Van Berkel, and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violaters of the laws of nations.

The States General disavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amsterdam, and engaged to prosecute the pensionary, according to the laws of the country; but this was not deemed satisfactory. Sir Joseph Yorke was, on the 20th of December, ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and, soon afterwards, a manifesto against the Dutch was published in London. This was followed by an order in council, "that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the States General." Whatever may be thought of the policy of this measure, its boldness must be admired. Great Britain, already at war with the United States of America, and the monarchies of France and Spain, deliberately resolved on a war with Holland, at a time when she might have avoided open hostilities. Her spirit was still farther evinced, by the consideration, that she was deserted by her friends, and without a single ally. Great must have been her resources, to support so extensive a war, against so many hostile sovereigns; but this very ability, by proving that her overgrown power was dangerous to the peace of Europe, furnished an apology for their combination against her.

A war with Holland being resolved upon, the storm of British vengeance first burst on the Dutch island of St. Eustatia. This, though intrinsically of little value, had long been the seat of an extensive commerce. It was the grand freeport of the West Indies, and, as such, was a general market and magazine to all nations. In consequence of its neutrality and situation, together with its unbounded freedom of trade, it reaped the richest harvest of commerce, during the seasons of warfare among its neighbours. It was, in a particular manner, a convenient channel of supply to the Americans.

The island is a natural fortification, and very capable of being made strong; but, as its inhabitants were a motley mixture of transient persons, wholly intent on the gains of commerce, they were more solicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve those means of security, which the island afforded.

Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, with a large fleet and army, surrounded this island, and on the 3d February, 1781, demanded a surrender thereof, and of its dependencies, within an hour. Mr. de Graaf returned for answer, "that, being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it; only recommending the town and its inhabitants, to the known and usual clemency of British commanders."

The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was prodigious. The whole island seemed to be one vast magazine. The storehouses were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities. These, on a moderate calculation, were estimated to be worth above 3,000,000 sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was indiscriminately seized, and declared to be confiscated. This valuable booty was farther increased by new arrivals. The conquerors, for some time, kept up Dutch colours, which decoyed a number of French, Dutch, and American vessels into their hands. Above 150 merchant vessels, most of which were richly laden, were captured. A Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five small armed vessels, shared the same fate. The neighbouring island of St. Martin and Saba were in like manner reduced. Just before the arrival of the British, thirty large ships, laden with West India commodities, had sailed from Eustatia for Holland, under the convoy of a ship of sixty guns. Admiral Rodney despatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of this fleet. The whole of it was overtaken and captured.

The Dutch West India company, many of the citizens of Amsterdam, and several Americans, were great sufferers by the capture of this island, and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately followed; but the British merchants were much more so. These, confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of parliament, had accumulated therein great quantities of West India produce as well as of European goods. They stated their hard case to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, contending that their connexion with the captured island was under the sanction of acts of parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted, according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was answered, "that the island was Dutch; every thing in it was Dutch, and under the protection of the Dutch flag; and as Dutch it should be treated."

The severity, with which the victors proceeded, drew on them pointed censures, not only from the immediate sufferers, but from all Europe. It must be supposed, that they were filled with resentment, for the supplies which the Americans received through this channel; but there is also reason to suspect that the love of gain was cloaked under the specious veil of national policy.

The horrors of a universal havoc of property were realised. The merchants and traders were ordered to give up their books of correspondence, their letters, and also inventories of all their effects, inclusive of an exact account of all money and plate in their possession. The Jews were designated as objects of particular resentment. They were ordered to give up the keys of their stores; to leave their wealth and merchandise behind them; and to depart the island, without knowing the place of their destination. From a natural wish to be furnished with the means of supplying their wants, in the place of their future residence, they secreted in their wearing apparel, gold, silver, and other articles of great value and small bulk. The policy of these unfortunate Hebrews did not avail them. The avarice of the conquerors effectually counteracted their ingenuity. They were stripped, searched, and despoiled of their money and jewels. In this state of wretchedness, many of the inhabitants were transported as outlaws, and landed on St. Christopher's. The assembly of that island, with great humanity, provided for them such articles as their situation required. The Jews were soon followed by the Americans. Some of these, though they had been banished from the United States, on account of their having taken part with Great Britain, were banished a second time, by the conquering troops of the sovereign, in whose service they had previously suffered. The French merchants and traders were next ordered off the island; and, lastly, the native Dutch were obliged to submit to the same sentence. Many opulent persons, in consequence of these proceedings, were instantly reduced to extreme indigence.

In the mean time, public sales were advertised, and persons of all nations invited to become purchasers. The island of St. Eustatia became a scene of constant auctions. There never was a better market for buyers. The immense quantities, exposed for sale, reduced the price of many articles, far below their original cost. Many of the commodities sold on this occasion, became, in the hands of their new purchasers, as effectual supplies to the enemies of Great Britain, as they could have been in case the island had not been captured. The spirit of gain, which led the traders of St. Eustatia to sacrifice the interests of Great Britain, influenced the conquerors to do the same. The friends of humanity, who wish that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national justice, must be gratified, when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of causes, which, as hereafter shall be explained, greatly contributed to the capture of a large British army, in Yorktown, Virginia; an event which gave peace to contending nations. While Admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered, in the sales of confiscated property, at St. Eustatia, and especially while his fleet was weakened, by a large detachment sent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were silently executing a well-digested scheme, which assured them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States.

CHAPTER XII.

The revolt of the Pensylvania line; of part of the Jersey troops: distresses of the American army: Arnold's invasion of Virginia.

Though general Arnold's address to his countrymen produced no effect, [1781] in detaching the soldiery of America, from the unproductive service of Congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and without such clothing as the season required. They could not be induced to enter the British service; but their complicated distresses at length broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event, which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance, in the Pennsylvania line. The common soldiers, enlisted in that state, were, for the most part, natives of Ireland: but though not bound to America, by the incidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment to the cause of independence. They had, on all previous occasions, done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity, in the terms of their enlistment, furnished a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted for three years, or during the war. The three years were expired; and the men insisted, that the choice of staying or going remained with them, while the officers contended that the choice was in the state.

The mutiny was excited, by the non-commissioned officers and privates in the night of the 1st of January, 1781, and soon became so universal, in the line of that state, as to defy all opposition. The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded; and a captain was killed in attempting it. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if about to fire on them; they held their bayonets to his breast, and said: "we love and respect you; but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy. On the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should

see us fight under your orders, with as much alacrity as ever; but we will no longer be amused. We are determined on obtaining what is our just due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they, to the number of 1300 moved off in a body, from Morristown, and proceeded, in good order, with their arms and six field pieces, to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a sergeant major, who had formerly deserted from the British army, to be their commander. General Wayne forwarded provisions after them, to prevent their plundering the country for their subsistence. They invaded no man's property, farther than their immediate necessities made unavoidable. This was readily submitted to by the inhabitants; who had been long used to exactions of the same kind levied for similar purposes, by their lawful rulers. They professed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was justly due to them, nor were their actions inconsistent with that profession.

Congress sent a committee of their body, consisting of General Sullivan, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Atlee, and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The revolters were resolute in refusing any terms, of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. Every thing asked of their country, they might, at any time, after the 6th of January, have obtained from the British, by passing over into New York. This they refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government; to pardon all their past offences; to have the pay due them from Congress faithfully made up, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received, if voluntarily offered. It was recommended to them to move behind the South river, and it was promised, that a detachment of British troops should be in readiness for their protection, as soon as desired. In the meantime, the troops passed over from New York to Staten Island, and the necessary arrangements were made for moving them into New Jersey, whensoever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed than surprised, to find that the faithful, though revolting soldiers, disdained his offers. The messengers of Sir Henry Clinton were seized, and delivered to General Wayne. President Reed and General Potter were appointed, by the council of Pennsylvania to accommodate matters with the revolters. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dismiss all whose terms of enlistment were completed, and admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in his own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies; and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of one hundred guineas to the mutineers, as a reward for their fidelity, in delivering up the spies; but they refused to accept it, saying, "that what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and that they neither desired, nor would receive any reward, but the approbation of that country, for which they had so often fought and bled."

By these healing measures, on the 17th January, the revolt was completely quelled; but the complaints of the soldiers being founded in justice, were first redressed. Those whose time of service was expired obtained their discharges; and others had their arrears of pay in a great measure made up to them. A general amnesty closed the business. On this occasion, the commander-in-chief stated in a circular letter, to the four eastern states, the well-founded complaints of his army; and the impossibility of keeping them together, under the pressure of such a variety of sufferings. General Knox was requested to be the bearer of these despatches; and to urge the states to an immediate exertion for the relief of the soldiers. He visited Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; and, with great earnestness and equal success, described the wants of the army. Massachusetts gave twenty-four silver dollars to each man of her line; and also furnished them with some clothing. Other states, about the same time, made similar advances.

The spirit of mutiny proved contagious. About one hundred and sixty of the Jersey troops followed the example of the Pennsylvania line; but they did not conduct with equal spirit, nor with equal prudence. They committed sundry acts of outrage against particular officers, while they affected to be submissive to others. Major General Howe, with a considerable force, was ordered to take methods for reducing them to obedience. Convinced that there was no medium between dignity and servility, but coercion, and that no other remedy could be applied without the deepest wound to the service, he determined to proceed against them with decision. General Howe marched from Kingwood about midnight; and, by the dawning of the next day, had his men in four different positions, to prevent the revolters from making their escape. Every avenue being secured. Colonel Barber of the Jersey line was sent to them, with orders immediately to parade without arms; and to march to a particular spot of ground. Some hesitation appearing among them, Colonel Sproat was directed to advance; and only five minutes were given to the mutineers, to comply with the orders which had been sent them. This had its effect; and they, to a man, marched without arms to the appointed ground. The Jersey officers gave a list of the leaders of the revolt; upon which General Howe desired them to select three of the greatest offenders. A field court-martial was presently held upon these three; and they were unanimously sentenced to death. Two of them were executed on the spot; and the executioners were selected from among the most active in the mutiny. The men were divided into platoons, made public concessions to their officers, and promised, by future good conduct, to atone for past offences.

These mutinies alarmed the states; but did not produce permanent relief to the army. Their wants, with respect to provisions, were only partially supplied, and by expedients from one short time to another. The most usual was ordering an officer to seize on provisions wherever found. This differed from robbing, only, in its being done by authority, for the public service, and in the officer being always directed to give the proprietor a certificate, of the quantity and quality of what was taken from him. At first, some reliance was placed on these certificates, as vouchers to support a future demand on the United States; but they soon became so common as to be of little value. Recourse was so frequently had to coercion, both legislative and military, that the people not only lost confidence in public credit, but became impatient under all exertions of authority, for forcing their property from them. That an army should be kept together, under such circumstances, so far exceeds credibility, as to make it necessary to produce some evidence of the fact. The American General Clinton, in a letter to Washington, dated at Albany, April 16th, 1781, wrote as follows: "there is not now independent of Fort Schuyler, three days' provision in the whole department, for the troops, in case of an alarm, nor any prospect of procuring any. The recruits of the new levies, I cannot receive, because I have nothing to give them. The Canadian families I have been obliged to deprive of their scanty pittance, contrary to every principle of humanity. The quarter master's department is totally useless. The public armory has been shut up for nearly three weeks, and a total suspension of every military operation has ensued." Soon after this, Washington was obliged to apply 9000 dollars, sent by the state of Massachusetts for the payment of her troops, to the use of the quarter master's department, to enable him to transport provisions from the adjacent states. Before he consented to adopt this expedient, he had consumed every ounce of provision, which had been kept as a reserve in the garrison of West Point; and had strained impress by military force to so great an extent, that there was reason to apprehend the inhabitants, irritated by such frequent calls, would proceed to dangerous insurrections. Fort Schuyler, West Point, and the posts up the North river, were on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie; and in the neighbourhood of the American army, there was a real want of necessary provisions. The deficiency of the former occasioned many inconveniences, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the war; but the insufficiency of the latter had well nigh dissolved the army, and laid the country, in every direction, open to British excursions.

These events were not unforseen by the rulers of America. From the progressive depreciation of their bills of credit, it had for some time past occurred, that the period could not be far distant, when they would cease to circulate. This crisis, ardently wished for by the enemies, and dreaded by the friends of American independence, took place in 1781; but without realising the hopes of the one, or the fears of the other. New resources were providentially opened; and the war was carried on with the same vigour as before. A great deal of gold and silver was, about this time, introduced into the United States, by a beneficial trade with the French and Spanish West India islands, and by means of the French army in Rhode Island. Pathetic representations were made to the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty by Washington, Dr. Franklin, and particularly by Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, who was sent to the court of Versailles as a special minister on this occasion. The king of France gave the United States a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed, for their use in the United Netherlands. A regular system of finance was also, about this time, adopted. All matters, relative to the treasury, the supplies of the army, and their accounts, were put under the direction of Robert Morris, who arranged the whole with judgment and economy. The issuing of paper money, by the authority of government, was discontinued, and the public engagemants were made payable in coin. The introduction of so much gold and silver together with these judicious domestic regulations, aided by the bank which had been erected, the preceding year, in Philadelphia, extricated Congress from much of their embarrassment, and put it in their power to feed, clothe, and move their army.

About the same time, the old continental money, by common consent, ceased to have currency. Like an aged man, expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. By the scale of depreciation the war was carried on five years, for little more than a million of pounds sterling; and two hundred millions of paper dollars were made redeemable by five millions of silver ones. In other countries, such measures would probably have produced popular insurrections; but, in the United States, they were submitted to without any tumults. Public faith was violated; but, in the opinion of most men, public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills of credit, at their nominal value, as originally promised, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would, in many cases, have increased them, by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had, in a great measure gone out of the hands of the original proprietors and was in the possession of others, who had obtained it, at a rate of value not exceeding what was fixed upon it, by the scale of depreciation.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof, that the resistance of America to Great Britan was grounded in the hearts of the people, than these events. To receive paper bills of credit, issued without any funds, and to give property in exchange for them, as equal to gold or silver, demonstrated the zeal

and enthusiasm with which the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction of the same, after a currency of five years, without any adequate provision made for their future redemption, was more than would have been borne by any people, who conceived that their rulers had separate interests or views from themselves. The demise of one king, and the coronation of a lawful successor, have often excited greater commotions, in royal governments, than took place in the United States, on the sudden extinction of their whole current money. The people saw the necessity which compelled their rulers to act in the manner they had done; and, being well convinced that the good of the country was their object, quietly submitted to measures, which, under other circumstances, would scarcely have been expiated by the lives and fortunes of their authors.

While the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities, which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operations, which had ever been attempted since the war. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war, in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics, in particular, found fault with them, for keeping a large army idle at New York, which, they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions, at one and the same time, on several of the states. The British seem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of British head quarters, at New York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and in Virginia. The latter state, from its peculiar situation, and from the modes of building, planting, and living, adopted by the inhabitants, is particularly exposed, and lies at the mercy of whatever army is master of the Chesapeake. These circumstances, together with the pre-eminent rank which Virginia held in the confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making that state the object of particular attention. To favour Lord Cornwallis's designs in the southern states, Major General Leslie, with about 2000 men, had been detached from New York to the Chesapeake, in the latter end of 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to order him from Virginia to Charleston, with the view of his more effectually co-operating with the army under his own immediate command. Soon after the departure of General Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another party from New York. This was commanded by General Arnold, now a brigadier in the royal army. His force consisted of about 1600 men, and was supported by such a number of armed vessels, as enabled him to commit extensive ravages, on the unprotected coasts of that well watered country. The invaders landed abont fifteen miles below Richmond, and in two days marched into the town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sailcloth, &c. Successive excursions were made to several other places, in which the royal army committed similar devastations.

In about a fortnight, they marched into Portsmouth, January 20th, and began to fortify it. The loss they sustained from the feeble opposition of the dispersed inhabitants was inconsiderable. The havoc made by General Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced General Washington to detach the Marquis de la Fayette, with 1200 of the American infantry, to that state; and also to urge the French in Rhode Island to co-operate with him, in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders eagerly closed with the proposal. Since they had landed in the United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying their passion for military fame, had yet presented itself. They rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a cheerful hope of rendering essential service to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold's party. With this view, their fleet, with 1500 additional men on board, sailed from Rhode Island, March 8th, for Virginia. D'Estouches, who since the death of de Ternay, in the preceding December, had commanded the French fleet, previous to the sailing of his whole naval force, despatched the Eveille, a sixty-four gun ship, and two frigates, with orders to destroy the British ships and frigates in the Chesapeake. These took or destroyed ten vessels, and captured the Romulus, of forty-four guns. Arbuthnot, with a British fleet, sailed from Gardiner's bay, in pursuit of D'Estouches. The former overtook and engaged the latter off the capes of Virginia. The British had the advantage of more guns than the French; but the latter were much more strongly manned than the former. The contest between the fleets, thus nearly balanced, ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory, so far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their adversaries. The fleet of his Most Christian Majesty returned to Rhode Island, without effecting the object of the expedition. Thus was Arnold saved from the imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exasperated countrymen. The day before the French fleet returned to Newport, March 25th, a convoy arrived in the Chesapeake from New York, with Major General Philips, and about 2000 men. This distinguished officer, who, having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, was appointed commander of the royal forces in Virginia. Philips and Arnold soon made a junction, and carried every thing before them. They successively defeated those bodies of militia which came in their way. The whole country was open to their excursions. On their embarcation from Portsmouth, a detachment visited Yorktown; but the main body proceeded to Williamsburg. On the 22d of April, they reached Chickapowing. A party proceeded up that river ten or twelve miles, and destroyed much property. On the 24th, they landed at City point, and soon afterwards marched for Petersburg. About one mile from the town, they were opposed by a small force commanded by Baron Steuben; but this, after making a gallant resistance, was compelled to retreat.

At Petersburg, on the 27th, they destroyed 4000 hogsheads of tobacco, a ship, and a number of small vessels. Within three days, one party marched to Chesterfield court-house, and burned a range of barracks, and 300 barrels of flour. At the same time, another party under the command of General Arnold marched to Osborne's. About four miles above that place, a small marine force was drawn up to oppose him. General Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander of this fleet; but he declared he would defend it to the last extremity. Upon this refusal, Arnold advanced with some artillery, and fired upon him with decisive effect from the banks of the river. Two ships, and ten small vessels loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. were captured. Flour ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels were burnt or sunk. The quantity of tobacco, taken or destroyed in this fleet, exceeded 2000 hogsheads; and the whole was effected without the loss of a single man, on the side of the British. The royal forces then marched up the fork, till they arrived at Manchester on the 30th. There they destroyed 1200 hogsheads of tobacco. Returning thence they made great havoc at Warwick. They destroyed the ships on the stocks, and in the river, and a large range of rope walks. A magazine of 500 barrels of flour, with a number of warehouses, and of tan-houses, all filled with their respective commodities, were also consumed in one general conflagation. On the 9th of May, they returned to Petersburg; having, in the course of the preceding three weeks, destroyed property to an immense amount. With this expedition, Major General Philips terminated a life, which in all its previous operations had been full of glory. At early periods of his military career, on different occasions of a preceding war, he had gained the approbation of Prince Ferdinand, under whom he had served in Germany. As an officer he was universally admired. Though much of the devastations, committed by the troops under his command, may be vindicated on the principles of those who hold, that the rights and laws of war are of equal obligation with the rights and laws of humanity; yet the friends of his fame have reason to regret, that he did not die three weeks sooner.

CHAPTER XIII.

Campaign of 1781. Operations in the two Carolinas and Georgia.

The successes which, with a few checks, followed the British arms, since they had reduced Savannah and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object, by advancing from south to north. A vigorous invasion of North Carolina was therefore projected, for the business of the winter, which followed General Gates's defeat. The Americans were sensible of the necessity of reinforcing and supporting their southern army; but were destitute of the means of doing it. Their northern army would not admit of being farther weakened; nor was there time to march over the intervening distance of seven hundred miles; but if men could have been procured, and time allowed for marching them to South Carolina, money, for defraying the unavoidable expenses of their transportation, could not be commanded, either in the latter end of 1780, or the first months of 1771. Though Congress was unable to forward either money or men, for the relief of the southern states, they did what was equivalent. They sent them a general whose head was a council and whose military talents were equal to a reinforcement. The nomination of an officer, for this important trust, was left to General Washington. He mentioned General Greene, adding for reason, "that he was an officer, in whose abilities and integrity, from a long and intimate experience, he had the most entire confidence."

[Nathaniel Greene, a Major General in the American army, during the revolutionary war, was born near the town of Warwick, in Rhode Island, in the year 1741. He received but a scanty, chance education, when a boy, but possessed sufficient sagacity to see and feel his deficiency. His father was an honest blacksmith, extensively engaged in making heavy work, but possessed little if any knowledge beyond that of reading the bible or almanac, or being enabled to write well enough to keep a day-book, in which to charge his neighbour with his work. But Nathaniel was not contented with this, he sought books, became his own instructer, and made rapid progress in several branches of knowledge. Those portions of ancient history, which treat of wars and the exploits of heroes, were the most attractive to the young Quaker; and while he wore his plain beaver, his mind was filled with the nodding plumes, and burnished armour of ancient days. From the workshop, in which he was engaged with his father, he was elected to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, to represent the ancient town of Warwick, the place of his birth. He was in that body, when a proposition was made to raise a considerable military force, for the exigencies of the times. He had shown his taste for military life, in an independent company, raised previously, in expectation of the necessity of using force to protect themselves in the exercise of their rights. With a sagacity and foresight seldom found in a popular assembly, the legislature of Rhode Island took him from the ranks, and gave him the command of the whole, with the rank of brigadier general. He accepted the command, and marched forthwith to the head quarters of the American army, at Cambridge. The keen eye of Washington soon marked Greene for a soldier. He saw the great military chieftain, in the youthful officer, whose maiden sword had not then been tested. In August, 1776, after having been but a little more

than a year in the service, he was commissioned a major general, and this without any murmur from any one. He was with the army at Trenton and Princeton; and had a share in that enterprise, so fortunate for the cause of the revolution. He was at the battle of Germantown, and for his good conduct was honourably mentioned by the commander-in-chief. So fully had Greene disciplined the resources of his mind that Washington urged him to do the duties of quartermaster general to the army, believing that he would find ways and means, that no other man could. These duties were performed by him while he still held his rank in the line. Every thing had gone wrong for the patriots in the south. The British considered the war as ended, south of the Potomac, when General Greene was sent by General Washington to the Southern district. He found the army he was to command in a most wretched condition; a mere skeleton of military force, wasted down to that state by sword, famine, and desertion. Many of his companies were worse than Falstaff's tatterdemalions, for they were not only covered with rags, but were literally naked in a winter month. The brave Morgan was with him; and the very next month after Greene arrived in the district, fought the battle of the Cowpens, one of the most distinguished affairs in the annals of the revolutionary war. The proud and brave Tarleton was beaten by a force smaller than his own, and two-thirds of that force, raw militia. In March, 1781, Greene made an attack on the enemy at Guilford Court House, and after a smart action, was forced to retreat; but the British, though victorious, were so crippled that they were obliged to make a retrograde motion, having gained no advantage by their nominal success. Greene next attempted the reduction of Camden, and had a battle with lord Rawdon; but through the bad conduct of one of the regiments under his command, General Greene was compelled to retreat, but lost no honour by the fight. Rawdon, like Cornwallis, was obliged to retreat soon after the engagement. For some time after this the American army was victorious, and several forts garrisoned by the British, surrendered; but the enemy's force, being augmented by reinforcements, the tide was changed, and they again obtained the control of South Carolina. Greene, however, was not dismayed nor subdued; he said in the pride of his soul, and, in the consciousness of his powers, "I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." The battle of Eutaw Springs, followed; Greene's army was victorious, and the consequences were favourable to the American cause. It was a hard-fought battle; five hundred of the American army were slain, and more than double that number of the British. To the difficulties that at this time encompassed General Greene, was added that of treason in his camp. Misfortune had broken down some men from whom better things were expected; but energy, and a kind providence, delivered him from all the snares that surrounded him. Rebellion was hushed by well-timed severity, and confidence restored in the camp. Our limits will not allow us to dwell longer on the hardships, the exertions, and the successes of our southern army, during this eventful period; the details would require volumes, and happily these have already been written, by men of genius and research. The surrender of Cornwallis, December 17, 1782, put an end to the hardships of the American army, and laid the foundation for an honourable peace for the country. General Greene now revisited his native state, and was received with every mark of attention. Notwithstanding all he had suffered at the south, he was still pleased with it, and removed his family to Georgia, in 1785; but he did not live long to enjoy the life of a southern planter. He died suddenly, on the 15th of June, 1786, leaving behind him a wife and five children. Congress voted him a monument, but it has never been erected. Greene had to encounter enemies, sharp and severe enemies, who were determined to destroy him; not only among those who were foes to his country, but among those who owed him a debt of gratitude. He, however, lived down envy and malice, and rose triumphant over all who assailed him. There was about him in all his transactions, an undeviating honesty, a perseverance and hardihood worthy the best ages of the world. He claimed no lineal honours—he had no adventitious support. He broke from the thraldom of the religious prejudices of the sect in which he was born and educated; but he retained all their firmness of purpose and integrity of character. His life is a proof, and although time and chance happeneth to all, still a great man, may, under our free system of government, be the builder of his own fame.—Ed.]

The army, after its defeat and dispersion, to the 16th of August, 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year, they advanced in Charlottetown. At this place General Gates transferred the command to General Greene. The manly resignation of the one was equalled by the delicate disinterestedness of the other. Expressions of civility, and acts of friendship and attention, were reciprocally exchanged. Greene, upon all occasions, was the vindicator of Gates's reputation. In his letters and conversation, he uniformly maintained, that his predecessor had failed in no part of his military duty; and that he had deserved success, though he could not command it.

Within a few hours after Greene took charge of the army, a report was made of a successful enterprise of Lieutenant Colonel Washington. Being out on a foraging excursion, he had penetrated within thirteen miles of Camden, to Clermont, the seat of Lieutenant Colonel Rigley, of the British militia. This was fortified by a block-house, encompassed by an abbatis, and defended by upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. Lieutenant Colonel Washington advanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine tree, so as to resemble a field piece. The lucky moment was seized, and a peremptory demand of an immediate surrender was made; when the garrison was impressed with the expectation of an immediate cannonade, in case of their refusal. The whole surrendered at discretion, without a shot on either side. This fortunate incident, through the superstition to which most men are more or less subject, was viewed by the army as a presage of success under their new commander.

When General Greene took the command, he found the troops had made a practice of going home without permission, staying several days or weeks, and then returning to camp. Determined to enforce strict discipline, he gave out, that he would make an example of the first deserter of the kind he caught. One such being soon taken, was accordingly shot, at the head of the army, drawn up to be spectators of the punishment. This had the desired effect, and put a stop to the dangerous practice.

The whole southern army at this time consisted of about 2000 men; more than half of whom were militia. The regulars had been for a long time without pay, and very deficient in clothing. All sources of supply from Charleston were in possession of the British; and no imported article could be obtained, from a distance less than two hundred miles. The procuring of provisions for this small force was a matter of difficulty. The paper currency was depreciated so far, as to be wholly unequal to the purchase of even such supplies as the country afforded. Hard money had not a physical existence in any hands accessible to the Americans. The only resource left for supplying the army, was by the arbitrary mode of impress. To seize on the property of the inhabitants, and, at the same time, to preserve their kind affections, was a difficult business, and of delicate execution; but of the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provisions, without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate with it, in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. Such was the situation of the country, that it was almost equally dangerous for the American army to go forward or stand still. In the first case, every thing was hazarded; in the last, the confidence of the people would be lost; and with it all prospect of being supported by them. The impatience of the suffering exiles and others led them to urge the adoption of rash measures. The mode of opposition they preferred was the least likely to effect their ultimate wishes. The nature of the country, thinly inhabited, abounding with swamps and covered with woods; the inconsiderable force of the American army, the number of the disaffected, and the want of magazines, weighed with General Greene to prefer a partisan war. By close application to his new profession, he had acquired a scientific knowledge of the principles and maxims for conducting wars in Europe; but considered them as often inapplicable to America. When they were adapted to his circumstances, he used them; but oftener deviated from them, and followed his own practical judgment, founded on a comprehensive view of his real situation.

With an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, General Greene took the field, against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea coast, and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, and sent General Morgan, with a respectable detachment, to the western extremity of South Carolina; and, about the same time marched with the main body to Hicks's-creek, on the north side of the Pedee, opposite to Cheraw Hill.

After the general submission of the militia, in the year 1780, a revolution took place, highly favourable to the interest of America. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number, and added new vigour to the opposite party. The British had a post in Ninety-Six, for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence and murder. Applications were daily made for redress; yet, in that whole period, there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted, either on the soldiery or the tories. The people soon found, that there was no security for their lives, liberties or property, under the military government of British officers, regardless of their civil rights. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression, than resistance. They therefore most ardently wished for an American force. Under these favourable circumstances, General Greene detached General Morgan, to take a position in that district. The appearance of this force, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the continental troops.

When this irruption was made into the district of Ninety-Six, lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North Carolina. To leave General Morgan in his rear, was contrary to military policy. In order therefore to drive him from his station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton was ordered to proceed, with about 1100 men, and "push him to the utmost." He had two field pieces, and a superiority of infantry, in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this in equality of force, two thirds of the troops under General Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, on the 17th of January, with the expectation of driving him out of South Carolina. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with 190 from North Carolina, were put under the command of Colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hun-

dred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second, when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light infantry, and a corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and about forty-five militia men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood, in which they were formed, was neither secured in front, flank, or rear. On the side of the British, the light legion infantry and fusileers, though worn down with extreme fatigue, were ordered to form in line. Before this order was executed, the line, though far from being complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. They advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed the men under his command to retain their fire, till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness, was not sufficient to repel their advancing foes. The militia fell back; but were soon rallied by their officers. The British advanced, and engaged the second line, which, after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis, Colonel Washington made a successful charge on Tarleton, who was cutting down the militia. Lieutenant Colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Tarleton's pieces of artillery were seized by the Americans; and the greatest confusion took place among his infantry. While they were in this state of disorder, lieutenant colonel Howard called to them, to "lay down their arms," and promised them good quarters. Some hundreds accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the 71st, and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. A party, which had been left some distance in the rear, to guard the baggage, was the only body of infantry that escaped. The officer of that detachment, on hearing of Tarleton's defeat, destroyed a great part of the baggage, and retreated to lord Cornwallis. Three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and above five hundred prisoners taken. Eight hundred muskets, two field pieces, thirty-five baggage-wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Americans had only twelve men killed and sixty wounded.

General Morgan's good conduct, on this memorable day, was honoured by Congress with a gold medal. They also presented medals of silver to Lieutenant Colonels Washington and Howard, a sword to Colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the general's aid-de-camp, and a captaincy to Baron Glassbeck. Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, hitherto triumphant in a variety of skirmishes, on this occasion lost his laurels, though he was supported by the 7th regiment, one battalion of the 71st, and two companies of light infantry: and his repulse did more essential injury to the British interest than was equivalent to all the preceding advantages he had gained. It was the first link in a chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South Carolina, on the royal interest. That impetuosity of Tarleton, which had acquired him great reputation, when on former occasions he had surprised an incautious enemy, or attacked a panic-struck militia, was at this time the occasion of his ruin. Impatient of delay, he engaged with fatigued troops, and led them on to action, before they were properly formed, and before the reserve had taken its ground. He was also guilty of a great oversight, in not bringing up a column of cavalry, to support and improve the advantages he had gained, when the Americans retreated.

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend his conquests, northwardly, was not inattentive to the security of South Carolina. Besides the force at Charleston, he left a considerable body of troops, under the command of lord Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might easily be drawn forth to defend the frontiers, or to suppress insurrections. To facilitate the intended operations, against North Carolina, Major Craig, with a detachment of about three hundred men from Charleston, and a small marine force, took possession of Wilmington. While these arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced, with the fairest prospects to the British government. The arrival of General Leslie in Charleston, with his late command in Virginia, gave Earl Cornwallis a decided superiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North Carolina, with a force sufficient to bear down all probable opposition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South Carolina, in his rear, was considered as completely subdued. His lordship had much to hope, and little to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expectation, that his victory at Camden would prove but the dawn of his glory; and that the events of the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror, at least of the southern states. Whilst lord Cornwallis was indulging these pleasing prospects, he received intelligence, no less unwelcome than unexpected, that Tarleton, his favourite officer, in whom he placed the greatest confidence instead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. This surprised and mortified, but did not discourage his lordship. He hoped, by vigorous exertions, soon to obtain reparation for the late disastrous event, and even to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners, captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by the issue of the late action at that place, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of General Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia with his prisoners. The movements of the royal army, in consequence of this determination, induced General Greene immediately to retreat from Hicks's-creek, lest the British, by crossing the upper sources of the Pedee, should get between him and the detachment, which was encumbered with the prisoners. In this critical situation, General Greene left the main army, under the command of General Huger, and rode 150 miles through the country, to join the detachment under General Morgan; that he might be in front of lord Cornwallis, and direct the motions of both divisions of his army, so as to form a speedy junction between them. Immediately of the action, on the 17th of January, Morgan sent on his prisoners under a proper guard; and, having made every arrangement in his power for their security, retreated with expedition. Nevertheless the British gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to cross the mountains with his detachment and prisoners, that he might more effectually secure the latter; but Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guilford court-house; to which place he had also ordered General Huger, to proceed with the main army.

In this retreat, the Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed this march without shoes, over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that their blood marked every step of their progress. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spirituous liquors. Their march led through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. In this severe season, also with very little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies, and occasional fires in the woods dried their tattered rags. To all these difficulties they submitted, without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion. Lord Cornwallis reduced the quantity of his own baggage; and the example was followed by the officers under his command. Every thing not necessary in action, or to the existence of the troops was destroyed. No wagons were reserved, except those loaded with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the use of the sick. The royal army, encouraged by the example of his lordship, submitted to every hardship with cheerfulness. They beheld, without murmuring, their most valuable baggage destroyed, and their spirituous liquors staved, when they were entering on hard service, and under circumstances which precluded every prospect of supply.

The British had urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached the Catawba, on the evening of the same day on which their fleeing adversaries had crossed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable. The Americans, confident of the justice of their cause, considered this event as an interposition of Providence in their favour. It is certain that, if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, General Morgan, with his whole detachment and 500 prisoners, would have scarcely had any chance of escape. When the fresh had subsided, so far as to leave the river fordable, a large proportion of the king's troops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning. Feints had been made of passing at several different fords; but the real attempt was made on the 1st of February at a ford near McCowan's, the north banks of which were defended by a small guard of militia commanded by General Davidson. The British marched through the river upwards of five hundred yards wide, and about three feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light infantry and grenadier companies, as soon as they reached the land, dispersed the Americans. General Davidson, the brave leader of the latter, was killed at the first onset. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party, which collected about ten miles from the ford, was attacked and dispersed by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army crossed over, without any farther opposition. The passage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee, and the British to pursue. The former, by expeditious movements, crossed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording, on the second and third days of February; and secured their boats on the north side. Though the British were close in their rear, yet the want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains, made the crossing impossible. This second hair-breadth escape was considered by the Americans as a farther evidence, that their cause was favoured by heaven. That they, in two successive instances should effect their passage, while their pursuers, only a few miles in their rear, could not follow, impressed the religious people of that settlement with such sentiments of devotion, as added fresh vigour to their exertions, in behalf of American independence.

The British, having failed in their first scheme of passing the Yadkin, were obliged to cross at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two divisions of the American army made a junction at Guilford-court-house on the seventh of February. Though this had taken place, their combined numbers were so inferior to the British, that General Greene could not with any propriety risk an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimously concurred in opinion, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, knowing the inferiority of the American force, conceived hopes, by getting between General Greene and Virginia, to cut his retreat, intercept his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages. With this view, his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable; supposing that his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient

number of flats, could not make good their passage in the deep water below, or in case of their attempting it, he expected to overtake and force them to action before they could cross. In this expectation he was deceived. General Greene, by good management, eluded his lordship. The British urged their pursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were on the 14th compelled to retire upwards of 40 miles. By the most indefatigable exertions general Greene had that day transported his army, artillery and baggage, over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape, that the van of the pursuing British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The hardships and difficulties, which the royal army had undergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification, that all their toils and exertions were to no purpose. They conceived it next to impossible that general Greene could escape, without receiving a decisive blow. They therefore cheerfully submitted to difficulties, of which they who reside in cultivated countries can form no adequate ideas. After surmounting incredible hardships, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were blasted.

The continental army being driven out of North Carolina, earl Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourable for assembling the loyalists. With this view he left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough. On his arrival there, he erected the king's standard, and published a proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it with their arms and ten days provision, and assuring them of his readiness to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion, and for the re-establishment of good order and constitutional government. Soon after the king's standard was erected at Hillsborough, some hundreds of the inhabitants rode into the British camp. They seemed to be very desirous of peace, but averse to any co-operation for procuring it. They acknowledged the continentals were chased out of the province, but expressed their apprehensions that they would soon return, and on the whole declined to take any decided part in a cause which yet appeared dangerous. Notwithstanding the indifference or timidity of the loyalists near Hillsborough, lord Cornwallis hoped for substantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and Deep river. He therefore detached lieutenant colonel Tarleton with 450 men, to give countenance to the friends of royal government in that district. Greene being informed that many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make their submission, was apprehensive that unless some spirited measure was immediately taken, the whole country would be lost to the Americans. He therefore concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. This was done by the light troops, and these on the next day were followed by the main body accompanied with a brigade of Virginia militia. Immediately after the return of the Americans to North-Carolina, some of their light troops, commanded by general Pickens and lieutenant colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarleton, who had been sent to encourage the insurrection of the loyalists. Three hundred and fifty of these tories, commanded by colonel Pyle, when on their way to join the British, fell in with this light American party, and mistook them for the royal detachment sent for their support. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this mistake, to great advantage, and cut them down as they were crying out. "God save the king," and making protestations of their loyalty. Natives of the British colonies who were of this character, more rarely found mercy than European soldiers. They were considered by the whig Americans as being cowards, who not only wanted spirit to defend their constitutional rights, but who unnaturally co-operated with strangers in fixing the chains of foreign domination on themselves and countrymen. Many of them on this occasion suffered the extremity of military vengeance. Tarleton was refreshing his legion, about a mile from this scene of slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm he recrossed the Haw and returned to Hillsborough. On his retreat he cut down several of the royalists, as they were advancing to join the British army, mistaking them for the rebel militia of the country. These events, together with the return of the American army, overset all the schemes of lord Cornwallis. The tide of public sentiment was no longer in his favour. The recruiting service in behalf of the royal army was entirely stopped. The absence of the American army, for one fortnight longer, might have turned the scale. The advocates for royal government being discouraged by these adverse accidents, and being also generally deficient in that ardent zeal which characterised the patriots, could not be induced to act with confidence. They were so dispersed over a large extent of a thinly settled country, that it was difficult to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had no superintending Congress to give system or concert to their schemes. While each little district pursued separate measures, all were obliged to submit to the American governments. Numbers of them, who were on their way to join lord Cornwallis, struck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and with the unhappy fate of their brethren, went home to wait events. Their policy was of that timid kind, which disposed them to be more attentive to personal safety, than to the success of either army.

Though general Greene had recrossed, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the courage of his party—to depress that of the loyalists, and to harrass the foragers and detachments of the British, till reinforcements should arrive. While Greene was unequal even to defensive operations, he lay seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis' camp, but took a new position every night, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. By such frequent movements, lord Cornwallis could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to profit by it. He manœuvred in this manner to avoid an action, for three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to ask bread from the common soldiers, having none of his own. By the end of that period, two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with four hundred regulars raised for eighteen months, joined his army, and gave him a superiority of numbers. He therefore determined no longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallis having sought for this, no longer delay took place on either side. The American army consisted of about 4400 men of which more than one half were militia. The British of about 2400, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. The former was drawn up in three lines. The front composed of North-Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, the third and last of continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. After a brisk cannonade in front the British advanced in three columns. The Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant colonel Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of 140 yards, and was occasioned by the misconduct of a colonel, who on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance "that he would be surrounded." The alarm was sufficient: without inquiring into the probability of what had been injudiciously suggested, the militia precipitately quitted the field: As one good officer may sometimes mend the face of affairs, so the misconduct of a bad one may injure a whole army. Untrained men when on the field are similar to each other. The difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumstances, and on none more than the manner of their being led on, and the quality of the officers by whom they are commanded.

The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had posted 40 rifleman at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the field. The continental troops, were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length the discipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the reedy fork, a distance of about three miles. Greene halted there and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles distant from Guilford. The Americans lost 4 pieces of artillery and two ammunition wagons. The victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded amounted to several hundreds. The guards lost colonel Stuart and three captains besides subalterns. Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished merit, died of his wounds to the great regret of the whole royal army. Generals O'Hara and Howard, and lieutenant colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About 300 of the continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia, were killed or wounded. Among the former was major Anderson of the Maryland line, a most valuable officer, of the latter were generals Huger and Stevens. The early retreat of the North-Carolinians saved them from much loss. The American army sustained a great diminution, by the numerous fugitives who instead of rejoining the camp went to their homes. Lord Cornwallis suffered so much that he was in no condition to improve the advantages he had gained. The British had only the name the Americans, al-

the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the field, but nothwithstanding the British interest in North-Carolina was from that day ruined. Soon after this action, lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would surrender themselves on or before the 20th of April. On the next day after this proclamation was issued, his lordship left his hospital and 75 wounded men, with the numerous loyalists in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. Major Craig, who for the purposes of co-operating with his lordship, had been stationed at Wilmington, was not able to open a water communication with the British army while they were in the upper country. The distance, the narrowness of Cape-Fear river, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile sentiments of the inhabitants on each side of it, forbade the attempt. The destitute condition of the British army, made it necessary to go to these supplies, which for these reasons could not be brought to them.

General Greene no sooner received information of this movement of lord Cornwallis, than he put his army in motion to follow him. As he had no means of providing for the wounded, of his own and the British forces, he wrote a letter to the neighboring inhabitants of the Quaker persuasion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a Quaker, and urged them to take care of the wounded on both sides. His recommendations prevailed, and the Quakers supplied the hospitals with every comfort in their power.

The Americans continued the pursuit of Cornwallis till they had arrived at Ramsay's mill on Deep river, but for good reasons desisted from following him any farther.

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreshed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched across the country to Petersburg in Virginia. Before it was known that his lordship had determined on this movement, the bold resolution of returning to South-Carolina was formed by general Greene. This animated the friends of Congress in that quarter. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have conceived themselves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marched north or south. Though lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina, the people considered that movement of his lordship in the light of a retreat.

While the two armies were in North-Carolina the whig inhabitants of South-Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. These distinguished partizans, while surrounded with enemies, kept the field. Though the continental army was driven into Virginia, they did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their out-posts, beat up their quarters, and harrassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. In the western extremity of the state, Sumter was powerfully supported by colonels Niel, Lacy, Hill, Winc, Bratton, Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia commissions, and had many friends. In the north-eastern extremity, Marion received in like manner great assistance from the active exertions of colonels Peter Horry, and Hugh Horry, lieutenant colonel John Baxter, colonel James Postell, major John Postell, and major John James.

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themselves under some of the militia officers and performed many gallant enterprizes. These singly were of too little consequence to merit a particular relation, but in general they displayed the determined spirit of the people and embarrassed the British. One in which major John Postell commanded may serve as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and particularly of the indifference for property which then prevailed. Captain James de Peyster of the royal army, with 25 grenadiers, having taken post in the house of the major's father, the major posted his small command of 21 militia men, in such positions as commanded its doors, and demanded their surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an out-house, and was proceeding to burn that in which they were posted, and nothing but the immediate submission of the whole party restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable property, to gain an advantage to his country.

While lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virginia, general Greene determined to re-commence offensive military operations in the southern extreme of the confederacy, in preference to pursuing his lordship into Virginia. General Sumter, who had warmly urged this measure, was about this time authorized to raise a state brigade, to be in service for eighteen months. He had also prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning continentals. With these forces an offensive war was re-commenced in South-Carolina, and prosecuted with spirit and success.

Before Greene set out on his march for Carolina, he sent orders to general Pickens, to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six, and Augusta, and also detached lieutenant colonel Lee to advance before the continental troops. The latter in eight days penetrated through the intermediate country to general Marion's quarters upon the Santee. The main army, in a few more days, completed their march from Deep river to Camden. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts of the state, which had regular communications with each other. Lord Cornwallis being gone to Virginia, these became objects of enterprize to the Americans. While general Greene was marching with his main force against Camden, fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston, was invested by general Marion and lieutenant colonel Lee. The besiegers speedily erected a work which overlooked the fort, though that was built on an Indian mount upwards of 30 feet high, from which they fired into it with such execution that the besieged durst not show themselves. Under these circumstances the garrison, consisting of 114 men, surrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main American army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain, covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree and a creek, the western and northern by six redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about 900 men. The American army, consisting only of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. General Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit sallied on the 25th. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent lord Rawdon from improving the success he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were carried off. The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped about five miles from their former position. Their loss was between two and three hundred. Soon after this action general Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charleston or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their getting any.

Lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of 4 or 500 men by the arrival of colonel Watson from Pedee. With this increase of strength, he attempted on the next day to compel general Greene to another action, but found it to be impracticable. Failing in this design he returned to Camden and burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post, and retired to the southward of Santee. His lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating Camden, as he had shown bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charleston, and the position of the American arms, in a great measure intercepted supplies from the adjacent country. The British in South-Carolina, now cut from all communication with lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments in their distant out-posts. They therefore resolved to contract their limits by retiring within the Santee. This measure animated the friends of Congress in the extremities of the state, and disposed them to co-operate with the American army. While Greene lay in the neighborhood of Camden, he hung in one day eight soldiers, who had deserted from his army. This had such effect afterwards that there was no desertion for three months. On the day after the evacuation of Camden, the post at Orangeburg, consisting of 70 British militia and 12 regulars, surrendered to general Sumter. On the next day Forte Motte capitulated. This was situated above the fork on the south side of the Congaree. The British had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling-house. She with great cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials for firing her own house. These being thrown by them on its roof soon kindled into flame. The firing of the house, which was in the centre of the British works, compelled the garrison, consisting of 165 men, to surrender at discretion.

In two days more the British evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry, and destroyed a great part of their stores. On the day following, fort Granby, garrisoned by 352 men, mostly royal militia, surrendered to lieutenant colonel Lee. Very advantageous terms were given them, from an apprehension that lord Rawdon was marching to their relief.

Their baggage was secured, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder. The American military were much disgusted at the terms allowed the garrison, and discovered a disposition to break the capitulation and kill the prisoners; but Greene restrained them, by declaring in the most preremptory manner, that he would instantly put to death any one who should offer violence to those, who, by surrendering, were under his protection.

General Marion with a party of militia, marched about this time to Georgetown, and began regular approaches against the British post in that place. On the first night after his men had broken ground, their adversaries evacuated their works, and retreated to Charleston; shortly after, one Manson, an inhabitant of South-Carolina, who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel, and demanded permission to land his men in the town. This being refused, he sent a few of them ashore and set fire to it. Upwards of forty houses were speedly reduced to ashes.

In the rapid manner just related, the British lost six posts, and abandoned all the north-eastern extremities of South-Carolina. They still retained possession of Augusta and Ninety-Six, in addition to their posts near the sea coast. Immediately after the surrender of fort Granby, lieutenant colonel Lee began his march for Augusta, and in four days completed it.

The British post at Silver-Bluff, with a field piece and considerable stores, surrendered to a detachment of Lee's legion commanded by captain Rudolph. Lee on his arrival at Augusta joined Pickens, who with a body of militia had for some time past taken post in the vicinity. They jointly carried on their approaches against fort Cornwallis at Augusta, in which colonel Brown commanded. Two batteries were erected within 30 yards of the parapet, which overlooked the fort. From these eminences the American riflemen shot into the inside of the works with success: The garrison buried themselves in a great measure under ground, and obstinately refused to capitulate, till the necessity was so pressing that every man who attempted to fire on the besiegers, was immediately shot down. At length when farther resistance would have been madness, the fort with about 300 men surrendered, on honorable terms of capitulation. The Americans during the siege had about forty men killed and wounded. After the surrender, lieut. colonel Grierson of the British militia, was shot by the Americans. A reward of 100 guineas was offered, but in vain, for the perpetrator of the perfidious deed. Lieutenant colonel Brown, would probably have shared the same fate, had not his conquerors furnished him with an escort to the royal garrison in Savannah. Individuals whose passions were inflamed by injuries, and exasperated with personal animosity, were eager to gratify revenge in violation of the laws of war. Murders had produced murders. Plundering, assassinations, and house burnings, had become common. Zeal for the king or the Congress were the ostensible motives of action; but in several of both sides, the love of plunder, private pique, and a savageness of disposition, led to actions which were disgraceful to human nature. Such was the state of parties in the vicinity of Savannah river, and such the exasperation of whigs against tories, and of tories, against whigs; and so much had they suffered from and inflicted on each other, that the laws of war, and the precepts of humanity, afforded but a feeble security for the observance of capitulations on either side. The American officers exerted themselves to procure to their prisoners that safety which many of the inhabitants, influenced by a remembrance of the sufferings of themselves, and of their friends, were unwilling to allow them.

While operations were carrying on against the small posts, Greene proceeded with his main army and laid siege to Ninety-Six, in which lieutenant colonel Cruger, with upwards of 500 men, was advantageously posted. On the left of the besiegers was a work erected in the form of a star. On the right was a strong blockade fort, with two block houses in it. The town was also picquetted in with strong picquets, and surrounded with a ditch, and a bank, near the height of a common parapet. The besiegers were more numerous than the besieged, but the disparity was not great.

The siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry. The garrison defended themselves with spirit and address. On the morning after the siege began, a party sallied from the garrison, and drove the advance of the besiegers from their works. The next night, two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of 350 yards. Another battery 20 feet high, was erected within 220 yards, and soon after a fourth one was erected within 100 yards of the main fort, and lastly, a rifle battery was erected 30 feet high, within 30 yards of the ditch; from all of which the besiegers fired into the British works. The abbatis was turned, and a mine and two trenches were so far extended, as to be within six feet of the ditch. At that interesting moment, intelligence was conveyed into the garrison, that lord Rawdon was near at hand, with about 2000 men for their relief. These had arrived in Charleston from Ireland after the siege began, and were marched for Ninety-Six, on the seventh day after they landed. In these circumstances, general Greene had no alternative but to raise the seige, or attempt the reduction of the place by assault. The latter was attempted. Though the assailants displayed great resolution, they failed of success. On this gen. Greene raised the siege, and retreated over Saluda. His loss in the assault and previous conflicts was about 150 men. Lieutenant colonel Cruger deservedly gained great reputation by this successful defence. He was particularly indebted to major Greene, who had bravely and judiciously defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, the greatest exertions had been made. Truly distressing was the situation of the American army. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, they were compelled to seek safety by retreating to its utmost extremity. In this gloomy situation Greene was advised to retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, "I will recover South-Carolina, or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandoned themselves to despair, adopted the only expedient now left him, that of avoiding an engagement till the British force should be divided. Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was near Ninety-Six at the time of the assault, pursued the Americans as far as the Enoree river; but without overtaking them. Desisting from this fruitless pursuit, he drew off a part of his force from Ninety-Six, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree. General Greene, on hearing that the British force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprized than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. General Greene in his turn pursued and offered him battle. His lordship would not venture out, and his adversary was too weak to attack him in his encampment, with any prospect of success.

Reasons similar to those which induced the British to evacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time, to withdraw their troops from Ninety-Six. While the American army lay near Orangeburgh, lieutenant colonel Cruger having evacuated the post he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garrison, through the forks of Edisto, to join lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and still less so to stand before their combined force, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manœuvre was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view, general Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks, on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charleston. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact they could not cover the country, and the American general had the prudence to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their small posts in the lower settlements. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest declined daily.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of Santee and Congaree, and to the westward of Edisto conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile country which is in a great measure enclosed by these rivers. They therefore once more resumed their station, near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree This induced general Greene to concert farther measures for forcing them down towards Charleston. He therefore crossed the Wateree and Congaree, and collected his whole force on the south side of the latter, intending to act offensively. On his approach the British retired about 40 miles nearer Charleston, and took post at the Eutaw springs. General Greene advanced with 2000 men, to attack them in their encampment at this place. His force was drawn up in two lines: The first was composed of militia, and the second of

continental troops. As the Americans advanced they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles a-head of their main army. These being briskly attacked soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general, and till they were obliged to give way. They were well supported by the continental troops. In the hottest of the action colonel O. Williams, and lieutenant colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, charged with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. Lieutenant colonel Campbell, while bravely leading his men on to that successful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen, he inquired who gave way, and being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, replied, "I die contented," and immediately expired. The British were vigorously pursued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken prisoners. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house, and in a picquetted garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action. Four six pounders were ordered up before the house from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and retire, but they left a strong picquet on the field of battle, and only retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, lieutenant colonel Stuart, who commanded the British on this occasion, left seventy of his wounded men and a thousand stand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws towards Charleston. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of 1100 men, that of the Americans above 500, in which number were sixty officers. Congress honored general Greene for his good conduct in this action, with a British standard and a golden medal. They also voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders.

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's-Corner. In the close of the year, general Greene moved down into the lower country, and about the same time the British abandoned their out-posts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter house on Charleston-neck. The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the state, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops, which had been planted in the spring of the year under British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans and administered to them a seasonable relief. The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in South-Carolina. A few excursions were afterwards made by the British, and sundry small enterprizes were executed, but nothing of more general consequence than the loss of property, and of individual lives. Thus ended the campaign of 1781, in South-Carolina. At its commencement the British were in force over all the state; at its close they durst not, but with great precaution, venture twenty miles from Charleston. History affords but few instances of commanders, who have achieved so much with equal means, as was done by general Greene in the short space of a twelvemonth. He opened the campaign with gloomy prospects, but closed it with glory. His unpaid and half naked army had to contend with veteran soldiers, supplied with every thing that the wealth of Britain or the plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages, he compelled superior numbers to retire from the extremity of the state, and confine themselves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind been of the firmest texture, he would have been discouraged; but his enemies found him as formidable on the evening of a defeat, as on the morning after a victory

CHAPTER XIV.

Campaign of 1781.—Operations in Virginia:—Cornwallis captured:—New London destroyed.

It has already been mentioned that lord Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guilford, marched to Wilmington in North-Carolina. When he had completed that march, various plans of operation were presented to his view. It was said in favour of his proceeding southwardly, that the country between Wilmington and Camden was barren and of difficult passage—that an embarkation for Charleston would be both tedious and disgraceful—that a junction with the royal forces in Virginia, and the prosecution of solid operations in that quarter, would be the most effectual plan for effecting and securing the submission of the more southern states. Other arguments, of apparently equal force, urged his return to South-Carolina. Previous to his departure for Virginia, he had received information that general Greene had begun his march for Camden, and he had reason from past experience to fear that if he did not follow him, the inhabitants by a second revolt, would give the American army a superiority over the small force left under lord Rawdon. Though his lordship was very apprehensive of danger from that quarter, he hoped that lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or that general Greene would follow the royal army to Virginia, or in the most favourable event he flattered himself, that by the conquest of Virginia, the recovery of South-Carolina would be at any time practicable. His lordship having too much pride to turn back, and preferring the extensive scale of operations which Virginia presented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests, determined to leave Carolina to its fate. Before the end of April, he therefore proceeded on his march, from Wilmington towards Virginia. To favour the passage of the many rivers, with which the country is intersected, two boats were mounted on carriages and taken along with his army. The king's troops proceeded several days without opposition, and almost without intelligence. The Americans made an attempt at Swift-Creek and afterwards at Fishing-creek to stop their progress, but without any effect. The British took the shortest road to Halifax, and on their arrival there defeated several parties of the Americans and took some stores with very little loss on their side. The Roanoke, the Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers were successively crossed by the royal army, and with little or no opposition from the dispersed inhabitants. In less than a month the march from Wilmington to Petersburg was completed. The latter had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, in a private correspondence with general Phillips. By this combination of the royal force previously employed in Virginia, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, lord Cornwallis was at the head of a very powerful army. This junction was scarcely completed, when lord Cornwallis received lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over general Greene, on the 25th of the preceding month. About the same time he received information that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He considered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in a fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the list of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under Phillips and Cornwallis, and by the recent arrival of a reinforcement of 1500 men directly from New-York, Virginia became the principal theatre of operations for the remainder of the campaign. The formidable force, thus collected in one body, called for the vigorous exertions of the friends of independence. The defensive operations, in opposition to it, were principally entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette. Early in the year he had been detached from the main American army on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet in capturing general Arnold. On the failure of this, the Marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. There he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces, which had become more formidable by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement, under general Philips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James river. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time filled with almost all the military stores of the state, saved from imminent danger. So great was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that the Marquis had before him a labour of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed with many embarrassments. In the first moments of the rising tempest, and till he could provide against its utmost rage, he began to retire with his little army, which consisted only of about 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and 60 dragoons.

Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James river, which he crossed at Westown, and thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna or Pamunkey river. The marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. The superiority of the British army, especially of their cavalry, which they easily supplied with good horses from the stables and pastures of private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled them to traverse the country in all directions. Two distant expeditions were therefore undertaken. The one was to Charlotteville, with the view of capturing the governor and assembly of the state. The other to Point of Fork to destroy stores. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, to whom the first was committed, succeeded so far as to disperse the assembly, capture seven of its members, and

to destroy a great quantity of stores at and near Charlotteville. The other expedition, which was committed to lieutenant colonel Simcoe, was only in part successful, for the Americans had previously removed the most of their stores from Point of Fork. In the course of these marches and countermarches, immense quantities of property were destroyed, and sundry unimportant skirmishes took place. The British made many partial conquests, but these were seldom of longer duration than their encampments. The young marquis, with a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old soldier, acted so cautiously on the defensive and made so judicious a choice of posts, and showed so much vigour and design in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. In his circumstances, not to be destroyed, was triumph. He effected a junction at Raccoon-ford with general Wayne, who was at the head of 800 Pennsylvanians. While this junction was forming, the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-house. The possession of these was an object with both armies. The marquis by forced marches, got within a few miles of the British army, when they were two days march from Albemarle old court-house. The British general considered himself as sure of his adversary, for he knew that the stores were his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the marquis to get between him and the stores; but by a road in passing which he might be attacked to advantage. The marquis had the address to extricate himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road to Albemarle old court-house, which had been long disused and was much embarrassed. To the surprize of lord Cornwallis, the marquis fixed himself the next day between the British army and the American stores. Lord Cornwallis, finding his schemes frustrated, fell back to Richmond. About this time the marquis' army was reinforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the parts adjacent. He followed lord Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea that the American army was much greater than it really was. His lordship therefore retreated to Williamsburg. The day after the main body of the British army arrived there, their rear was attacked by an American light corps under colonel Butler, and sustained a considerable loss.

About the time lord Cornwallis reached Williamsburgh, he received intelligence from New-York setting forth the danger to which the royal army in that city was exposed from a combined attack, that was said to be threatened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clinton therefore required a detachment from earl Cornwallis, if he was not engaged in any important enterprize, and recommended to him a healthy station, with an ample defensive force, till the danger of New-York was dispersed. Lord Cornwallis, thinking it expedient to comply with this requisition, and judging that his command afterwards would not be adequate to maintain his present position at Williamsburg, determined to retire to Portsmouth. For the execution of this project, it was necessary to cross James river. The marquis de la Fayette, conceiving this to be a favorable opportunity for acting offensively, advanced on the British. General Wayne, relying on the information of a countryman, that the main body of the British had crossed James river, pushed forwards with about 800 light troops to harrass their rear. Contrary to his expectations, he found the whole British army drawn up ready to oppose him. He instantly conceived that the best mode of extricating himself from his perilous situation would be, to assume a bold countenance, and engage his adversaries before he attempted to retreat. He therefore pressed on for some time, and urged an attack with spirit before he fell back. Lord Cornwalllis, perhaps suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. By this bold manœuvre, Wayne got off with but little loss.

In the course of these various movements, the British were joined by few of the inhabitants and scarcely by any of the natives. The Virginians for the most part either joined the Americans, or, what was much more common, kept out of the way of the British. To purchase safety by submission, was the policy of very few, and these were for the most part natives of Britain. After earl Cornwallis had crossed James river, he marched for Portsmouth. He had previously taken the necessary steps for complying with the requisition of sir Henry Clinton, to send a part of his command to New-York. But before they sailed, an express arrived from sir Henry Clinton with a letter, expressing his preference of Williamsburgh to Portsmouth for the residence of the army, and his desire that Old-Point-Comfort or Hampton road should be secured as a station for line of battle ships. The commander in chief, at the same time, allowed his lordship to detain any part or the whole of the forces under his command, for completing this service. On examination, Hampton road was not approved of as a station for the navy. It being a principal object of the campaign to fix on a strong permanent post or place of arms in the Chesapeake for the security of both the army and navy, and Portsmouth and Hampton road having both been pronounced unfit for that purpose, York-Town and Gloucester Points were considered as most likely to accord with the views of the royal commanders. Portsmouth was therefore evacuated, and its garrison transferred to York-Town. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of sir Henry Clinton's permission to retain the whole force under his command, and impressed with the necessity of establishing a strong place of arms in the Chesapeake, applied himself with industry to fortify his new posts so as to render them tenable by his present army, amounting to 7000 men against any force that he supposed likely to be brought against them.

At this period the officers of the British navy expected that their fleet in the West-Indies would join them, and that solid operations in Virginia would in a short time re-commence with increased vigour.

While they were indulging these hopes, count de Grasse, with a French fleet of 28 sail of the line from the West-Indies, entered the Chesapeake, and about the same time intelligence arrived, that the French and American armies which had been lately stationed in the more northern states, were advancing towards Virginia. Count de Grasse, without loss of time, blocked up York river with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynhaven bay. Three thousand two hundred French troops, brought in this fleet from the West-Indies, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked and soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the marquis de la Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburg. An attack on this force was intended, but before all the arrangements subservient to its execution were fixed upon, letters of an early date in September were received by lord Cornwallis from sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to reinforce the royal army in the Chesapeake, or make every diversion in his power, and that admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast. On the receipt of this intelligence earl Cornwallis, not thinking himself justified in hazarding an engagement, abandoned the resolution of attacking the combined force of Fayette and St. Simon. It is the province of history to relate what has happened, and not to indulge conjectures in the boundless field of contingencies; otherwise it might be added that earl Cornwallis, by this change of opinion, lost a favorable opportunity of extricating himself from a combination of hostile force, which by farther concentration soon became irresistible. On the other hand if an attack had been made, and that had proved unsuccessful, he would have been charged with rashness in not waiting for the promised co-operation. On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be said that the knowledge earl Cornwallis had of public affairs would have justified him in abandoning York-Town, in order to return to South-Carolina. It seems as though this would have been his wisest plan; but either from an opinion that his instructions, to stand his ground were positive, or that effectual relief was probable, his lordship thought proper to risk every thing on the issue of a siege. An attempt was made to burn or dislodge the French ships in the river, but none to evacuate his posts at this early period, when that measure was practicable.

Admiral Greaves, with 20 sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of lord Cornwallis but without effecting his purpose. When he appeared off the capes of Virginia, M. de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. The British were willing to renew the action; but de Grasse for good reasons declined it. His chief object in coming out of the capes was to cover a French fleet of eight line of battle ships, which was expected from Rhode-Island. In conformity to a preconcerted plan, count de Barras, commander of this fleet, had sailed for the Chesapeake, about the same time de Grasse sailed from the West-Indies for the same place. To avoid the British fleet he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the British fleet, might intercept him on his approach to the capes of Virginia, de Grasse came out to be at hand for his protection. While Greaves and de Grasse were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, count de Barras passed the former in the night, and got within the capes of Virginia. This gave the fleet of his most christian majesty a decided superiority. Admiral Greaves soon took his departure, and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake. All this time, conformably to the well digested plan of the campaign, the French and the American forces were marching through the middle states on their way to York-town. To understand in their proper connexion the great events shortly to be

described, it is necessary to go back and trace the remote causes which brought on this great combination of fleets and armies which put a period to the war.

The fall of Charleston in May 1780, and the complete rout of the southern American army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their illustrious ally the king of France. To give greater efficacy to their solicitations, Congress appointed lieutenant-colonel John Laurens their special minister, and directed him after repairing to the court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succour, and in particular to solicit for a loan of money, and the co-operation of a French fleet, in atttempting some important enterprize against the common enemy. His great abilities as an officer, had been often displayed; but on this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negociator were called forth into action. Animated as he was with the ardor of the warmest patriotism, and feeling most sensibly for the distresses of his country, his whole soul was exerted to interest the court of France in giving a vigorous aid to their allies. His engaging manners and insinuating address, procured a favorable reception to his representations. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs, and inflamed them with zeal to assist a country whose cause was so ably pleaded, and whose sufferings were so pathetically represented.—At this crisis, his most christian majesty gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foes was projected.

The American war was now so far involved in the consequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet, seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different sea ports of the United States, any division of it blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force, which might be brought to operate against it. The marquis de Castries who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force, which the British could concentre on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a superiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the design of the campaign, M. de Grasse sailed in March 1781, from Brest, with 25 sail of the line, several thousand land forces, and a large convoy amounting to more than 200 ships. A small part of this force was destined for the East-Indies, but M. de Grasse with the greater part sailed for Martinique. The British fleet then in the West-Indies, had been previously weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatius. The British admirals Hood and Drake, were detached to intercept the outward bound French fleet commanded by M. de Grasse, but a junction between his force and eight ships of the line and one of 50 guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, was nevertheless effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe, with the French fleet previously in the West-Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse having finished his business in the West-Indies, sailed in the beginning of August with a prodigious convoy. After seeing this out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there as has been related on the thirtieth of the same month. Five days before his arrival in the Chesapeake, the French fleet in Rhode-Island sailed for the same place. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British, till the proper season for counter-action was elapsed. This coincidence of favourable circumstances, extended to the marches of the French and American land forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that general Washington and count de Rochambeau had passed the British head quarters in New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to York-town, before count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner. Monsr. de Barras, appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston with despatches for count de Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Wethersfield, between general Washington, Knox. and du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and count de Rochambeau and the chevalier Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North-river. Letters were addressed by general Washington to the executive officers of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas, 6200 militia, in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode-Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, general Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peeks-kill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North-river with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British about this time, retired with almost the whole of their force to York-Island. General Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against New-York, about the middle, or at farthest the latter end of July. Flat bottomed boats sufficient to transport 5000 men were built near Albany, and brought down Hudson's river to the neighbourhood of the American army before New-York. Ovens were erected opposite to Staten Island, for the use of the French troops. Every movement was made which was introductory to the commencement of the siege. It was not a little mortifying to general Washington, to find himself on the second of August to be only a few hundreds stronger than he was on the day his army first moved from their winter quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations, with a foreign officer at the head of a respectable force: to have brought that force from a considerable distance, in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations against the common enemy, and at the same time to have engagements in behalf of the states violated in direct opposition to their own interest, and in a manner derogatory to his personal honour, was enough to have excited storms and tempests, in any mind less calm than that of general Washington. He bore this hard trial with his usual magnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his requisitions to the states, and at the same time urged them by every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements entered into on their account, with the commander of the French troops.

That tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia as was expected, the siege of New-York would have commenced, in the latter end of July, or early in August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, lord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed himself near the capes of Virginia. His situation there, the arrival of a reinforcement of 3000 Germans from Europe to New-York, the superior strength of that garrison, the failure of the states in filling up their battalions and embodying their militia, and especially recent intelligence from count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, concurred about the middle of August, to make a total change of the plan of the campaign.

The appearance of an intention to attack New-York was nevertheless kept up. While this deception was played off, the allied army crossed the North-river, and passed on by the way of Philadelphia, through the intermediate country to York-town. An attempt to reduce the British force in Virginia promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance as the reduction of New-York. No one can undertake to say what would have been the consequence, if the allied forces had persevered in their original plan; but it is evident from the event, that no success could have been greater, or more conducive to the establishment of their schemes, than what resulted from their operations in Virginia.

While the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from general Washington, detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, being intercepted, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation. When the best op

portunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia, for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception, so no feint of attacking New-York, could have been more successful than the real intention.

In the latter end of August, the American army began their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of New-York. General Washington had advanced as far as Chester, before he received the news of the arrival of the fleet, commanded by monsieur de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. In the course of this summer they passed through all the extensive settlements which lie between Newport and York-Town. It seldom, if ever happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at so great a distance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, behaved with so much regularity. In their march to York-Town they had passed through 500 miles of a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their discipline, that in this long march, scarce an instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken, without the consent of the inhabitants. General Washington and count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September. They with generals Chastelleux, du Portail, and Knox proceeded to visit count de Grasse on board his ship the Ville de Paris, and agreed on a plan of operations.

The count afterwards wrote to Washington, that in case a British fleet appeared, "he conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at sea, instead of risking an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the general. He sent the marquis de la Fayette, with a letter to dissuade him from the dangerous measure. This letter and the persuasions of the marquis had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to York-Town, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of general Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg on the 25th of September, and in five days after, moved down to the investiture of York-Town. The French fleet at the same time moved to the mouth of York-river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent lord Cornwallis, either from retreating, or receiving succour by water. Previously to the march from Williamsburg to York-Town, Washington gave out in general orders as follows: "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast, which the British make of their peculiar prowess, in deciding battles with that weapon."

The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-Town, and lay on their arms all night. On the next day colonel Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and of the most amiable manners, in approaching the outer works of the British, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. About this time earl Cornwallis received a letter from sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New-York to embark 5000 men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th of October—that this fleet consisted of 23 sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, earl Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the security of York-Town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries. On the left of the centre was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of freize and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry, passed over the river to Gloucester. General de Choisy invested the British post on that side so fully, as to cut off all communications between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army was straining every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army.

On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries. They kept up a brisk and well directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars and howitzers.—The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbor; the Charon of 44 guns, and a transport ship, were burned. On the 10th, a messenger arrived with a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton to earl Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York. Earl Cornwallis was at this juncture advised to evacuate York-town, and after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been successful, no one can with certainty pronounce, but it could not have produced any consequences more injurious to the royal interest, than those which resulted from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement been made, and the royal army been defeated or captured in the interior country, and in the mean time had Sir Henry Clinton with the promised relief, reached York-Town, the precipitancy of the noble earl would have been perhaps more the subject of censure, than his resolution of standing his ground and resisting to the last extremity. From this uncertain ground of conjectures, I proceed to relate real events.

The besiegers commenced their second parallel 200 yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. It was therefore proposed to carry them by storm.—To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. The assailants marched to the assault with unloaded arms; having passed the abbatis and palisades, they attacked on all sides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loss of 8 killed and 28 wounded. Lieutenant colonel Laurens personally took the commanding officer prisoner. His humanity and that of his associates, so overcame their resentments, that they spared the British, though they were charged when they went to the assault, to remember New-London (the recent massacres at which place shall be hereafter related) and to retaliate by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword. Being asked why they had disobeyed orders by bringing them off as prisoners, they answered, "We could not put them to death, when they begged for their lives." About five of the British were killed, and the rest were captured. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted the enterprize, in his report to the marquis de la Fayette, mentioned to the honour of his detachment, "that incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man who ceased to resist."

The French were equally successful on their part. They carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers.—The British could not with propriety risk repeated sallies. One was projected at this time, consisting of 400 men, commanded by lieutenant colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprize, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked and rendered fit for service.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester-Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats, employed on this business, and frustrated the whole scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division was exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed, to recross the river to York-Town. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the Britsh army expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable while lieutenant colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, that his father was closely confined in the tower of London, of which earl Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner.

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops

to be prisoners of war to Congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations, as are allowed to soldiers in the service of Congress. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime post in possession of the British. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to gen. Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to earl Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town precisely in the same way his own had been conducted, about 18 months before.

Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up, to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New-York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them, as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops, of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about 7000 of the former, and 5500 of the latter; and they were assisted by about 4000 militia. On the part of the combined army about 300 were killed or wounded. On the part of the British about 500; and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war exceeded 7000 men, but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The French and American engineers and artillery, merited and received the highest applause. Brigadiers general du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of major generals, on account of their meritorious services. Lieutenant colonel Gouvion and captain Rochefontaine of the corps of engineers, respectively received brevets, the former to the rank of a colonel, and the latter to the rank of a major.

Congress honoured general Washington, count de Rochambeau, count de Grasse and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in the reduction of lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with singular propriety. It is not therefore wonderful, that from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried success.

A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy-hook and New-York. Such was the fate of that general from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern states had been so confidently expected. No event during the war bid fairer for oversetting the independence of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous success was in danger of terminating in a rebellion. The loss of his army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in North America.

The troops under the command of lord Cornwallis had spread waste and ruin over the face of all the country for four hundred miles on the sea coast, and for two hundred miles to the westward. Their marches from Charleston to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, from the Dan through North-Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Petersburg, and from Petersburg through many parts of Virginia, till they finally settled in York-Town, made a route of more than eleven hundred miles. Every place through which they passed in these various marches, experienced the effects of their rapacity. Their numbers enabled them to go withersoever they pleased, their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they had the means of removing, and their animosity to the Americans led them often to the wanton destruction of what they could neither use nor carry off. By their means thousands had been involved in distress.

The reduction of such an army occasioned unusual transports of joy, in the breasts of the whole body of the people. Well authenticated testimony asserts that the nerves of some were so agitated, as to produce convulsions, and that at least one man expired under the tide of pleasure which flowed in upon him, when informed of his lordship's surrender.* The people throughout the United States displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity is ever able fully to inspire. General Washington, on the day after the surrender, ordered "that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty." His orders closed as follows, "divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprizing and particular interposition of providence in our favour claims." Congress, on receiving the official account of the great events which had taken place at Yorktown, resolved to go in procession to church and return public thanks to Almighty God for the advantages they had gained. They also issued a proclamation for "religiously observing through the United States, the 13th of December as a day of thanksgiving and prayer." The singularly interesting event of captivating a second royal army, produced strong emotions which broke out in all the variety of ways with which the most rapturous joy usually displays itself.

While the combined armies were advancing to the siege of Yorktown, an excursion was made from New-York, which was attended with no small loss to the Americans. General Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New-London in his native country. The troops employed therein were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbour. The one was commanded by lieutenant colonel Eyer and the other by general Arnold. The latter met with little opposition. Fort Trumbull and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable were evacuated, and the men crossed the river to Fort Griswold on Groton hill. This was furiously attacked by lieutenant colonel Eyer; the garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed when the British carried their lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops inquired on his entering the fort, who commanded. Colonel Ledyard answered, I did, but you do now," and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. On the side of the British 48 were killed and 145 wounded: Among the latter was major Montgomery, and among the former was colonel Eyer. About 15 vessels loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and 84 stores were reduced to ashes.

The loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions and merchandize, was immense. General Arnold, having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New-York. The Americans lost many valuable men, and much of their possessions, by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured. Expeditions which seemed to have no higher object than the destruction of property, alienated their affections still farther from British government. They were not so extensive as to answer the ends of conquest, and the momentary impression resulting from them, produced no lasting intimidation. On the other hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the authors of such accumulated distresses.

The year 1781 terminated, in all parts of the United States, in favour of the Americans. It began with weakness in South-Carolina, mutiny in New-Jersey, and devastations in Virginia; nevertheless in its close, the British were confined to their strong holds in or near New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. They in course of the year had acquired much plunder by which individuals were enriched, but their nation was in no respect benefitted. The whole campaign passed away on their part without one valuable conquest, or the acquisition of any post or place, from which higher purposes were answered, than destroying public stores or distressing individuals, and enriching the officers and privates of their army and navy. The important services rendered by France to the Americans, cemented the union of the two nations with additional ties. The orderly inoffensive behaviour of the French troops in the United-States, contrasted with the havoc of property made by the British in their marches

* The door keeper of Congress, an aged man, died suddenly, immediately after hearing of the capture of lord Cornwallis' army. This death was universally ascribed to a violent emotion of political joy

and excursions, was silently turning the current of popular esteem in favour of the former, and working a revolution in the minds of the inhabitants, greatly conducive to the establishment of that which had taken place in the government. The property of the inhabitants of Rhode-Island, received no damage of any account from the French troops, during their eleven months residence among them. The soldiers were rather a guard than a nuisance: The citizens met with no interruption when prosecuting their lawful business, either by night or day, and were treated with every mark of attention and respect.

While the progress of the British army, in a circuitous march of 1100 miles from Charleston to Yorktown, was marked with rapine and desolation; the march of the French troops from Rhode-Island to the same place, a distance nearly equal in a right line, was productive of no inconvenience to the intermediate inhabitants. They were welcome guests wherever they came, for they took nothing by fraud or force, but punctually paid for all they wanted with hard money. In a contest where the good will of the people had so powerful an influence on its final issue, such opposite modes of conduct could not fail of producing their natural effects. The moderation and justice of the French, met with its reward in the general good will of the people, but the violence and rapine of the British contributed, among other things, to work the final overthrow of all their schemes in America.

On the last day of this year, Dec. 31, 1781, Henry Laurens was released from his long confinement in the tower of London. He had been committed there, as already related, on the 6th of October 1780, "On suspicion of high treason," after being examined in the presence of lord Stormont, lord George Germaine, lord Hillsborough, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Justice Addington, and others. The commitment was accompanied with a warrant to the lieutenant of the tower to receive and confine him. Their lordships orders were "To confine him a close prisoner; to be locked up every night; to be in the custody of two warders; not to suffer him to be out of their sight one moment, day nor night; to allow him no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to him; to deprive him of the use of the pen and ink; to suffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty-five years old, and severely afflicted with the gout and other infirmities. In this situation he was conducted to apartments in the tower, and was shut up in two small rooms which together made about twenty feet square, with a warder for his constant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his window, without any friend to converse with, and without any prospect or even the means of correspondence. Being debarred the use of pen and ink, he procured *pencils, which proved a useful substitute.* After a month's confinement, he was permitted to walk out on limited ground, but a warder with a sword in his hand followed close behind. This indulgence was occasionally taken for about three weeks, when lord George Gordon, who was also a prisoner in the tower, unluckily met and asked Mr. Laurens to walk with him. Mr. Laurens declined the offer and instantly returned to his apartment. Governor Gore caught at this transgression of orders, and locked him up for 37 days, though the attending warder exculpated him from all blame. At the end of that time the governor relented so far, as to permit his prisoner to walk on the parade before the door, but this honor, as coming from him, was refused. General Vernon, on hearing of what had passed, gave orders that Mr. Laurens should be permitted to walk out, and this exercise was in consequence thereof resumed, after an intermission of two months and à half.

About this time, Feb. 26, an old friend and mercantile correspondent, having solicited the secretaries of state for Mr Laurens' enlargement on parole, and having offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct, sent him the following message: "Their lordships say, if you will point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain, in the present dispute with the colonies, you shall be enlarged." This proposition filled him with indignation, and provoked a sharp reply, part of which was in the following words: "I perceive from the message you sent me, that if I were a rascal I might presently get out of the tower, but I am not. You have pledged your word and fortune for my integrity. I will never dishonor you nor myself. I can forsee what will come to pass. Happen to me what may, I fear no possible consequences."

The same friend soon after visited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him, addressed him as follows, "I converse with you this morning, not particularly as your friend, but as the friend of Great Britain. I have certain propositions to make, for obtaining your liberty, which I advise you should take time to consider." Mr. Laurens desired to know what they were, and added, "That an honest man required no time to give an answer, in a case where his honour was concerned. If," said he, "the secretaries of state will enlarge me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my engagement to do nothing directly or indirectly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return to America, or remain in any part of England which may be assigned, and surrender myself when demanded." It was answered, "No, sir, you must stay in London among your friends: The ministers will often have occasion to send for and consult you: You can write two or three lines to the ministers, and barely say you are sorry for what is past: A pardon will be granted: Every man has been wrong, at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonour of my children." He was then told of long and painful confinement, and hints were thrown out of the possible consequences of his refusal: To which he replied, "I am afraid of no consequences but such as would flow from dishonourable acts."

In about a week after this interview, major general James Grant, who had long been acquainted with Mr. Laurens, and had served with him near twenty years before, on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, visited him in the tower, and talked much of the inconveniencies of his situation, and then addressed him thus: "Colonel Laurens, I have brought paper and pencil to take down any propositions you have to make to the administration, and I will deliver them myself." Mr. Laurens replied, "I have pencil and paper, but not one proposition, beyond repeating a request to be enlarged on parole. I had well weighed what consequences might follow before I entered in the present dispute. I took the path of justice and honour, and no personal evils cause me to shrink."

About this time lieutenant colonel John Laurens, the eldest son of Henry Laurens, arrived in France, as the special minister of Congress. The father was requested to write to the son to withdraw himself from the court of France, and assurances were given that it would operate in his favour. To these requests he replied, "my son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect: He would only conclude, that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honour; he loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honour to save my life, and I applaud him."

Mr. Laurens penciled an address to the secretaries of state for the use of pen and ink, to draw a bill of exchange on a merchant in London who was in his debt, for money to answer his immediate exigences, and to request that his youngest son might be permitted to visit him, for the purpose of concerting a plan for his farther education and conduct in life. This was delivered to their lordships; but they, though they had made no provision for the support of their prisoner, returned no answer. Mr. Laurens was thus left to languish in confinement under many infirmities, and without the means of applying his own resources on the spot, for his immediate support.

As soon as Mr. Laurens had completed a year in the tower, he was called upon to pay 9*l* 7*s* 10*d* sterling to the two warders for attending on him. To which he replied, "I was sent to the tower by the secretaries of state without money (for aught they knew)—their lordships have never supplied me with any thing—It is now upwards of three months since I informed their lordships that the fund I had hitherto subsisted upon was nearly exhausted, and prayed for leave to draw a bill on Mr. John Nutt, who was in my debt, which they have been pleased to refuse by the most grating of all denials a total silence, and now a demand is made for 9*l* 7*s* 10*d*. If their lordships will permit me to draw for money where it is due to me, I will continue to pay my own expenses, but I will not pay the wardens whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

Three weeks after, the secretaries of state consented that Mr. Laurens should have the use of pen and ink, for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange, but they were taken away the moment that business was done.

About this time Henry Laurens, jun. wrote an humble request to lord Hillsborough for permission to see his father, which his lordship refused to grant. He had at first been permitted to visit his father and converse with him for a short time; but these interviews were no longer permitted. They nevertheless occasionally met on the lines and saluted each other, but durst not exchange a single word, lest it might occasion a second confinement, similar to that which lord George Gordon had been accessary.

As the year 1781 drew near a close, Mr. Laurens' sufferings in the tower became gene-

rally known, and excited compassion in his favour, and odium against the authors of his confinement. It had been also found by the inefficacy of many attempts, that no concessions could be obtained from him. It was therefore resolved to release him, but difficulties arose about the mode. Mr. Laurens would not consent to any act, which implied that he was a British subject, and he had been committed as such, on charge of high treason. Ministers, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, at length proposed to take bail for his appearance at the court of King's-Bench. When the words of the recognizance, "Our Sovereign Lord the King," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "Not my Sovereign," and with this declaration he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the court of King's-Bench the next Easter term, and for not departing thence without leave of the court. Thus ended a long and painful farce. Mr. Laurens was immediately released. When the time of his appearance at court drew near, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was requested by Lord Shelburne to go to the continent, in subserviency to a scheme for making peace with America. Mr. Laurens, startled at the idea of being released without any equivalent, as he had uniformly held himself to be a prisoner of war, replied, that "He durst not accept himself as a gift, and that as Congress had once offered lieutenant general Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving lieutenant general earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."

CHAPTER XV.

Of the treatment of prisoners, and of the distresses of the inhabitants.

Many circumstances concurred to make the American war particularly calamitous. It was originally a civil war in the estimation of both parties, and a rebellion to its termination, in the opinion of one of them. Unfortunately for mankind, doubts have been entertained of the obligatory force of the law of nations in such cases. The refinement of modern ages has stripped war of half its horrors, but the systems of some illiberal men have tended to re-produce the barbarism of Gothic times, by withholding the benefits of that refinement from those who are effecting revolutions. An enlightened philanthropist embraces the whole human race, and enquires not whether an object of distress is or is not an unit of an acknowledged nation. It is sufficient that he is a child of the same common parent, and capable of happiness or misery. The prevalence of such a temper would have greatly lessened the calamities of the American war; but while from contracted policy unfortunate captives were considered as not entitled to the treatment of prisoners, they were often doomed without being guilty, to suffer the punishment due to criminals.

The first American prisoners were taken on the 17th of June, 1774. These were thrown indiscriminately into the jail at Boston, without any consideration of their rank. General Washington wrote to general Gage, Aug. 11, 1775, on this subject, to which the latter answered by asserting that the prisoners had been treated with care and kindness, though indiscriminately, "as he acknowledged no rank that was not derived from the king." To which general Washington replied, "You affect, sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own; I cannot conceive one more honorable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power."

General Carleton, during his command, conducted toward the American prisoners with a degree of humanity, that reflected the greatest honour on his character. Before he commenced his operations on the lakes in 1776, he shipped off those of them who were officers for New-England, but previously supplied them with every thing requisite to make their voyage comfortable. The other prisoners, amounting to 800, were sent home by a flag, after exacting an oath from them, not to serve during the war unless exchanged. Many of these being almost naked were comfortably clothed by his orders, previously to their being sent off.

The capture of general Lee proved calamitous to several individuals. Six Hessian field officers were offered in exchange for him, but this was refused. It was said by the British that Lee was a deserter from their service, and as such could not expect the indulgences usually given to prisoners of war. The Americans replied, that as he had resigned his British commission previously to his accepting one from the Americans, he could not be considered as a deserter. He was nevertheless confined, watched, and guarded. Congress thereupon resolved, that general Washington be directed to inform general Howe, that should the proffered exchange of general Lee for six field officers not be accepted, and the treatment of him as above mentioned be continued, the principles of retaliation should occasion five of the said Hessian field officers, together with lieutenant colonel Archibald Campbell, to be detained, in order that the said treatment which general Lee received, should be exactly inflicted on their persons." The Campbell thus designated as the subject of retaliation, was a humane man, and a meritorious officer, who had been captured by some of the Massachusetts privateers near Boston, to which, from the want of information, he was proceeding soon after the British had evacuated it. The above act of Congress was forwarded to Massachusetts, with a request that they would detain lieutenant colonel Campbell and keep him in safe custody till the further order of Congress. The council of Massachusetts exceeded this request, and sent him to Concord jail, where he was lodged in a gloomy dungeon of twelve or thirteen feet square. The attendance of a single servant on his person was denied him, and every visit from a friend refused.

The prisoners captured by Sir William Howe in 1776, amounted to many hundreds. The officers were admitted to parole, and had some waste houses assigned to them as quarters; but the privates were shut up in the coldest season of the year, in churches, sugar houses, and such like large open buildings. The severity of the weather, and the rigor of their treatment, occasioned the death of many hundreds of these unfortunate men. The filth of the places of their confinement, in consequence of fluxes which prevailed among them, was both offensive and dangerous. Seven dead bodies have been seen in one building, at one time, and all lying in a situation shocking to humanity. The provisions served out to them were deficient in quantity, and of an unwholesome quality. These suffering prisoners were generally pressed to enter into the British service, but hundreds submitted to death, rather than procure a melioration of their circumstances by enlisting with the enemies of their country. After general Washington's successes at Trenton and Princeton, the American prisoners fared somewhat better. Those who survived were ordered to be sent out for exchange, but some of them fell down dead in the streets, while attempting to walk to the vessels. Others were so emaciated that their appearance was horrible. A speedy death closed the scene with many.

The American board of war, Dec. 1, 1777, after conferring with Mr. Boudinot, the commissary-general of prisoners, and examining evidences produced by him, reported among other things, "That there were 900 privates and 300 officers of the American army, prisoners in the city of New-York, and about 500 privates and 50 officers prisoners in Philadelphia. That since the beginning of October, all these prisoners, both officers and privates, had been confined in prison ships or the Provost: That from the best evidence the subject could admit of, the general allowance of prisoners, at most, did not exceed four ounces of meat per day, and often so damaged as not to be eatable: That it had been a common practice with the British, on a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him three, four or five days, without a morsel of meat, and then to tempt him to enlist to save his life: That there were numerous instances of prisoners of war perishing in all the agonies of hunger."

About this time there was a meeting of merchants in London, for the purpose of raising a sum of money to relieve the distresses of the American prisoners then in England. The sum subscribed for that purpose amounted to 4647*l.* 15*s.* Thus while human nature was dishonored by the cruelties of some of the British in America, there was a laudable display of the benevolence of others of the same nation in Europe. The American sailors, when captured by the British, suffered more than even the soldiers that fell into their hands. The former were confined on board prison ships. They were there crowded together in such numbers, and their accommodations were so wretched, that diseases broke out and swept them off in a manner that was sufficient to excite compassion in breasts of the least sensibility. It has been asserted, on as good evidence, as the case will admit, that in the last six years of the war, upwards of eleven thousand persons died on board the Jersey, one of these prison ships, which was stationed in East river near New-York. On many of these, the rites of sepulture were never or but very imperfectly conferred. For some time after the war was ended, their bones lay whitening in the sun, on the shores of Long-Island.

The operations of treason laws added to the calamities of the war. Individuals on both sides, while they were doing no more than they supposed to be their duty, were involved

m the penal consequences of capital crimes. The Americans, in conformity to the usual policy of nations, demanded the allegiance of all who resided among them, but several of these preferred the late royal government, and were disposed, when opportunity offered, to support it. While they acted in conformity to these sentiments, the laws enacted for the security of the new government, condemned them to death. Hard is the lot of a people involved in civil war; for in such circumstances the lives of individuals may not only be legally forfeited, but justly taken from those, who have acted solely from a sense of duty. It is to be wished that some more rational mode than war might be adopted for deciding national contentions; but of all wars, those which are called civil are most to be dreaded. They are attended with the bitterest resentments, and produce the greatest quantity of human woes.

In the American war, the distresses of the country were aggravated, from the circumstance that every man was obliged some way or other, to be in the public service. In Europe, where military operations are carried on by armies hired and paid for the purpose, the common people partake but little of the calamities of war: but in America, where the whole people were enrolled as a militia, and where both sides endeavored to strengthen themselves by oaths and by laws, denouncing the penalties of treason on those who aided or abetted the opposite party, the sufferings of individuals were renewed, as often as fortune varied her standard. Each side claimed the co-operation of the inhabitants, and was ready to punish when it was withheld. Where either party had a decided superiority, the common people were comparatively undisturbed; but the intermediate space between the contending armies, was subject to the alternate ravages of both.

In the first institution of the American governments, the boundaries of authority were not properly fixed. Committees exercised legislative, executive, and judicial powers. It is not to be doubted, that in many instances these were improperly used, and that private resentments were often covered under the specious veil of patriotism. The sufferers in passing over to the royalists, carried with them a keen remembrance of the vengeance of committees, and when opportunity presented, were tempted to retaliate. From the nature of the case, the original offenders were less frequently the objects of retaliation, than those who were entirely innocent. One instance of severity begat another, and they continued to increase in a proportion that doubled the evils of common war. From one unadvised step, individuals were often involved in the loss of all their property. Some from present appearances, apprehending that the British would finally conquer, repaired to their standard. Their return after the partial storm which intimidated them to submission, had blown over, was always difficult and often impossible. From this single error in judgment, such were often obliged to seek safety by continuing to support the interest of those to whom, in an hour of temptation, they had devoted themselves. The embarrassments on both sides were often so great, that many in the humbler walks of life, could not tell what course was best to pursue.

It was happy for those, who having made up their minds on the nature of the contest, invariably followed the dictates of their consciences, for in every instance they enjoyed self-approbation. Though they could not be deprived of this reward, they were not always successful in saving their property. They who varied with the times, in like manner often missed their object, for to such it frequently happened that they were plundered by both, and lost the esteem of all. A few saved their credit and their property; but of these, there was not one for every hundred of those, who were materially injured either in the one or the other. The American whigs were exasperated against those of their fellow citizens who joined their enemies, with a resentment which was far more bitter, than that which they harbored against their European adversaries. Feeling that the whole strength of the states was scarcely sufficient to protect them against the British, they could not brook the desertion of their countrymen to invading foreigners. They seldom would give them credit for acting from principle, but generally supposed them to be influenced either by cowardice or interest, and were therefore inclined to proceed against them with rigor. They were filled with indignation at the idea of fighting for the property of such as had deserted their country, and were therefore clamorous that it should be seized for public service. The royalists raised the cry of persecution, and loudly complained that merely for supporting the government under which they were born, and to which they owed a natural allegiance, they were doomed to suffer all the penalties due to capital offenders. Those of them who acted from principle felt no consciousness of guilt, and could not look but with abhorrence upon a government which inflicted such severe punishments on what they deemed a laudable line of conduct.

Humanity would shudder at a particular recital of the calamities which the whigs inflicted on the tories, and the tories on the whigs. It is particularly remarkable that on both sides, they for the most part consoled themselves with the belief that they were acting or suffering in a good cause. Though the rules of moral right and wrong never vary, political innocence and guilt changes so much with circumstances, that the innocence of the sufferer, and of the party that punishes, are often compatible. The distresses of the American prisoners in the southern states, prevailed particularly towards the close of the war. Colonel Campbell, who reduced Savannah, though he had personally suffered from the Americans, treated all who fell into his hands with humanity. Those who were taken at Savannah and at Ashe's defeat, suffered very much from his successors in South Carolina. The American prisoners, with a few exceptions, had but little to complain of 'till after Gates' defeat. Soon after that event, sundry of them, though entitled to the benefits of the capitulation of Charleston, were separated from their families and sent into exile; others, in violation of the same solemn agreement, were crowded into prison ships, and deprived of the use of their property.

When a general exchange of prisoners was effected, the wives and children of those inhabitants who adhered to the Americans were exiled from their homes to Virginia and Philadelphia. Upwards of one thousand persons were thrown upon the charity of their fellow citizens in the more northern states. This severe treatment was the occasion of retaliating on the families of those who had taken part with the British. In the first months of the year 1781, the British were in force in the remotest settlements of South-Carolina, but as their limits were contracted in the course of the year, the male inhabitants who joined them, thought proper to retire with the royal army towards the capital. In retaliation for the expulsion of the wives and children of the whig Americans from this state, governor Rutledge ordered the brigadiers of militia, to send within the British lines the families of such of the inhabitants as adhered to their interest. In consequence of this order, and more especially in consequence of the one which occasioned it, several hundreds of helpless women and children were reduced to great distress.

The refugees who had fled to New-York, were formed into an association under Sir Henry Clinton, for the purposes of retaliating on the Americans, and for reimbursing the losses they had sustained from their countrymen. The depredations they committed in their several excursions would fill a volume, and would answer little purpose but to excite compassion and horror. Towards the close of the war, they began to retaliate on a bolder scale. Captain Joshua Huddy, who commanded a small party of Americans at a block house, in Monmouth county, New-Jersey, was, after a gallant resistance, taken prisoner by a party of these refugees. He was brought to New-York, April 2d. and there kept in close custody fifteen days, and then told "that he was ordered to be hanged." Four days after, he was sent out with a party of refugees, and hanged on the heights of Middleton. The following label was affixed to his breast: "We the refugees having long with grief beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution; we therefore determine not to suffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin, and have made use of captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view, and further determine to hang man for man, while there is a refugee existing: Up goes Huddy for Philip White." The Philip White in retaliation for whom Huddy was hanged, had been taken by a party of the Jersey militia, and was killed in attempting to make his escape.

General Washington resolved on retaliation for this deliberate murder, but instead of immediately executing a British officer, he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, that unless the murderers of Huddy were given up, he should be under the necessity of retaliating. The former being refused, captain Asgill was designated for that purpose. In the mean time the British instituted a court martial for the trial of captain Lippencutt, who was supposed to be the principal agent in executing captain Huddy. It appeared in the course of this trial, that governor Franklin, the president of the board of associated loyalists, gave Lippencutt verbal orders for what he did, and that he had been designated as a proper subject for retaliation, having been, as the refugees stated, a persecutor of the loyalists, and particularly as having been

instrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, who had been one of that description. The court having considered the whole matter, gave their opinion, "That as what Lippencutt did was not the effect of malice or ill will, but proceeded from a conviction that it was his duty to obey the orders of the board of directors of associated loyalists, and as he did not doubt their having full authority to give such orders, he was not guilty of the murder laid to his charge, and therefore they acquitted him."

Sir Guy Carleton, who a little before this time had been appointed commander in chief of the British army, in a letter to general Washington, accompanying the trial of Lippencutt, declared "that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippencutt, he reprobated the measure, and gave assurances of prosecuting a farther enquiry." Sir Guy Carleton about the same time broke up the board of associated loyalists, which prevented a repetition of similar excesses. The war also drawing near a close, the motives for retaliation, as tending to prevent other murders, in a great measure ceased. In the mean time general Washington received a letter from the count de Vergennes interceding for captain Asgill, which was also accompanied with a very pathetic one from his mother, Mrs. Asgill, to the count. Copies of these several letters were forwarded to Congress, Nov. 7th, 1782, and soon after they resolved, "that the commander in chief be directed to set captain Asgill at liberty." The lovers of humanity rejoiced that the necessity of retaliation was superceded, by the known humanity of the new commander in chief, and still more by the well founded prospect of a speedy peace. Asgill, who had received every indulgence, and who had been treated with all possible politeness, was released and permitted to go into New-York.

CHAPTER XVI.

Campaign of 1782. Foreign events and negociations. Peace, 1782.

After the capture of lord Cornwallis, general Washington, with the greatest part of his force, returned to the vicinity of New-York. He was in no condition to attempt the reduction of that post, and the royal army had good reasons for not urging hostilities without their lines. An obstruction of the communication between town and country, some indecisive skirmishes, and predatory excursions, were the principal evidences of an existing state of war. This in a great measure was also the case in South-Carolina. From December 1781, general Greene had possession of all the state except Charleston and the vicinity. The British sometimes sallied out of their lines for the acquisition of property and provisions, but never for the purposes of conquest. In opposing one of these near Combahee, lieutenant colonel John Laurens, an accomplished officer, of uncommon merit, was mortally wounded. Nature had adorned him with a large proportion of her choicest gifts, and these were highly cultivated by an elegant, useful and practical education. His patriotism was of the most ardent kind. The moment he was of age, he broke off from the amusements of London, and on his arrival in America, instantly joined the army. Whereever the war raged most, there was he to be found. A dauntless bravery was the least of his virtues, and an excess of it his greatest foible. His various talents fitted him to shine in courts or camps, or popular assemblies. He had a heart to conceive, a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute schemes of the most extensive utility to his country, or rather to mankind, for his enlarged philanthropy, knowing no bounds, embraced the whole human race. This excellent young man, who was the pride of his country, the idol of the army, and an ornament of human nature, lost his life in the 27th year of his age, in an unimportant skirmish with a foraging party, in the very last moments of the war.

At the commencement of the year 1782, the British had a more extensive range in Georgia, than in any other of the United States, but of this they were soon abridged. From the unsuccessful issue of the assault on Savannah in 1779, that state had eminently suffered the desolations of war. Political hatred raged to such a degree that the blood of its citizens was daily shed by the hands of each other, contending under the names of whigs and tories. A few of the friends of the revolution kept together in the western settlements, and exercised the powers of independent government. The whole extent between these and the capital, was subject to the alternate ravages of both parties. After the surrender of lord Cornwallis, general Greene, being reinforced by the Pensylvania line, was enabled to detach general Wayne with a part of the southern army to Georgia. General Clarke, who commanded in Savannah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders to his officers in the out posts, to burn as far as they could, all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within the lines at the capital. The country being evacuated by the British, the governor came with his council from Augusta to Ebenezer, and re-established government in the vicinity of the sea coast.

Colonel Brown, at the head of a considerable force, marched out of the garrison of Savannah, May 21, 1782, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got in his rear, attacked him at 12 o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. A large number of Creek Indians, headed by a number of their chiefs and a British officer, made a furious attack on Wayne's infantry in the night. For a few minutes they possessed themselves of his field pieces, but they were soon recovered. In the meantime colonel White, with a party of the cavalry, came up, and pressed hard upon them. Both sides engaged in close quarters. The Indians displayed uncommon bravery, but at length were completely routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that ravaged state. In about three months after the capture of lord Cornwallis was known in Great Britain, the parliament resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America. In consequence thereof, every idea of conquest being given up, arrangements were made for withdrawing the royal forces from Georgia and South Carolina. Peace was restored to Georgia, after it had been upwards of three years in possession of the British, and had been ravaged nearly from one extreme to the other. It is computed that the state lost by the war, one thousand of its citizens, besides four thousand slaves. In about five months after the British left Georgia, they in like manner withdrew their force from South Carolina. The inhabitants of Charleston, who had remained therein while it was possessed by the British, felt themselves happy in being delivered from the severities of a garrison life. The exiled citizens collected from all quarters and took possession of their estates. Thus in less than three years from the landing of the British in South-Carolina, they withdrew all their forces from it. In that time the citizens had suffered an accumulation of evils. There was scarcely an inhabitant, however obscure in character or remote in station, whether he remained firm to one party or changed with the times, who did not partake of the general distress.

In modern Europe the revolutions of public affairs seldom disturb the humble obscurity of private life; but the American revolution involved the interest of every family and deeply affected the fortunes and happiness of almost every individual in the United States. South-Carolina lost a great number of its citizens, and upwards of 20,000 of its slaves. Property was sported with by both parties. Besides those who fell in battle or died of diseases brought on by the war, many were inhumanly murdered by private assassinations. The country abounded with widows and orphans. The severities of a military life co-operating with the climate, destroyed the healths and lives of many hundreds of the invading army. Excepting those who enriched themselves by plunder, and a few successful speculators, no private advantage was gained by individuals on either side, but an experimental conviction of the folly and madness of war.

Though in the year 1782 the United States afforded few great events, the reverse was the case with the other powers involved in the consequences of the American war.

Minorca, after a tedious siege, surrendered to the Duke de Crillon in the service of his most catholic majesty. About the same time the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo, which in the preceding year had been taken by the British, were taken from them by the French. The gallant marquis de Bouille added to the splendor of his former fame by reducing St. Kitts, the former at the close of the year 1781, and the latter early in the year 1782. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Kitts. The French at this period seemed to be established in the West-Indies, on a firm foundation Their islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. The exertions of Spain were also uncommonly great. The strength of these two monarchies had never before been so conspicuously displayed in that quarter of the globe. Their combined navies amounted to threescore ships of the line, and these were attended with a prodigious multitude of frigates and armed vessels. With this immense force they entertained hopes of wresting from his Britannic majesty a great part of his West-India islands.

In the meantime, the British ministry prepared a strong squadron, for the protection of their possessions in that quarter. This was commanded by admiral Rodney, and amounted, after a junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and the arrival of three ships from Great Britain, to 36 sail of the line.

It was the design of count de Grasse, who commanded the French fleet at Martinique amounting to 34 sail of the line, to proceed to Hispaniola and join the Spanish admiral Don Solano, who with sixteen ships of the line and a considerable land force was waiting for his arrival, and to make, in concert with him, an attack on Jamaica

The British admiral wished to prevent this junction, or at least to force an engagement before it was effected. Admiral Rodney came up with the count de Grasse, soon after he had set out to join the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. Partial engagements took place on the three first days, after they came near to each other. In these, two of the French ships were so badly damaged, that they were obliged to quit the fleet. On the next day a general engagement took place: This began at seven in the morning, and continued till past six in the evening. There was no apparent superiority on either side till between twelve and one o'clock, when admiral Rodney broke the French line of battle, by bearing down upon their centre, and penetrating through it. The land forces, destined for the expedition against Jamaica, amounting to 5500 men, were distributed on board the French fleet. Their ships were therefore so crowded, that the slaughter on board was prodigious. The battle was fought on both sides with equal spirit, but with a very unequal issue. The French for near a century, had not in any naval engagement been so completely worsted. Their fleet was little less than ruined. Upwards of 400 men were killed on board one of the ships, and the whole number of their killed and wounded amounted to several thousands, while the loss of the British did not much exceed 1100 men. The French lost in this action, and the subsequent pursuit, eight ships of the line. On board the captured ships, was the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon and travelling carriages, intended for the expedition against Jamaica. One of them was the Ville de Paris, so called from the city of Paris having built her at its own expense, and made a present of her to the king. She had cost four millions of livres, and was esteemed the most magnificent ship in France; she carried 110 guns and had on board 1300 men. This was truly an unfortunate day to count de Grasse. Though his behaviour throughout the whole action was firm and intrepid, and his resistance continued till he and two more were the only men left standing upon the upper deck, he was at last obliged to strike. It was no small addition to his misfortunes that he was on the point of forming a junction, which would have set him above all danger. Had this taken place, the whole British naval power in the West Indies, on principles of ordinary calculation, would have been insufficient to have prevented him from carrying into effect, schemes of the most extensive consequence.

The ships of the defeated fleet fled in a variety of directions. Twenty-three or twenty-four sail made the best of their way to Cape Francois. This was all that remained in a body of that fleet, which was lately so formidable. By this signal victory, the designs of France and Spain were frustrated. No farther enterprises were undertaken against the fleets or possessions of Great Britain in the West-Indies, and such measures only were embraced, as seemed requisite for the purposes of safety. When the news of admiral Rodney's victory reached Great Britain, a general joy was diffused over the nation. Before there had been much despondency. Their losses in the Chesapeake and in the West-Indies, together with the increasing number of their enemies, had depressed the spirits of the great body of the people; but the advantages gained on the 12th of April, placed them on high ground, either for ending or prosecuting the war. It was fortunate for the Americans, that this success of the British was posterior to their loss in Virginia. It so elevated the spirits of Britain, and so depressed the hopes of France, that had it taken place prior to the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, that event would have been less influential in disposing the nation to peace. As the catastrophe of York-town closed the national war in North-America, so the defeat of de Grasse, in a great measure, put a period to hostilities in the West-Indies.

Other decisive events soon followed, which disposed another of the belligerent powers to a pacification. Gibraltar, though successively relieved, still continued to be besieged. The reduction of Minorca inspired the Spanish nation with fresh motives to perseverance. The Duke de Crillon, who had been recently successful in the siege of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the siege of Gibraltar, and it was resolved to employ the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his operations. No means were neglected, nor expense spared, that promised to forward the views of the besiegers. From the failure of all plans, hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was resolved to adopt new ones. Among the various projects for this purpose, one which had been formed by the Chevalier D'Arcon, was deemed the most worthy of trial. This was to construct such floating batteries as could neither be sunk nor fired. With this view their bottoms were made of the thickest timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water, with a large layer of wet sand between.

To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of them, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. The people on board were to be sheltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope netting, which was made sloping, and overlaid with wet hides.

These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, and carried from 28 to 10 guns each, and were seconded by 80 large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft.

General Elliott, the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of a peculiar kind were prepared against him, but knew nothing of their construction. He nevertheless provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined. The 13th day of September was fixed upon by the besiegers for making a grand attack, when the new invented machines, with all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in their highest state of improvement, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain in the bay of Gibralter amounted to 48 sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with 154 pieces of heavy brass cannon. The numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress were estimated at one hundred thousand men. With this force, and by the fire of 300 cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at one and the same instant. The surrounding hills were covered with people assembled to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment was tremendous. The showers of shot and shells from the land batteries, and the ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a most dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment. The whole Peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire, which were incessantly poured upon it. The Spanish floating batteries for some time answered the expectations of their framers. The heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound shot made no visible impression upon their hulls. For some hours, the attack and defence were so equally supported, as scarcely to admit any appearance of superiority on either side.

The construction of the battering ships was so well calculated for withstanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they seemed for some time to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordinance. In the afternoon the effects of hot shot became visible. At first there was only an appearance of smoke, but in the course of the night, after the fire of the garrison had continued about 15 hours, two of the floating batteries were in flames, and several more were visibly beginning to kindle. The endeavours of the besiegers were now exclusively directed to bring off the men from the burning vessels, but in this they were interrupted. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with 12 gun boats, advanced and fired upon them with such order and expedition, as to throw them into confusion before they had finished their business. They fled with their boats, and abandoned to their fate great numbers of their people. The opening of day-light disclosed a most dreadful spectacle. Many were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for help, while others were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element. The generous humanity of the victors equalled their valour, and was the more honorable, as the exertions of it exposed them to no less danger than those of active hostility. In endeavouring to save the lives of his enemies, captain Curtis nearly lost his own. While for the most benevolent purpose he was along side the floating batteries, one of them blew up, and some heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat and

pierced through its bottom. By similar perilous exertions, near 400 men were saved from inevitable destruction.

The exercise of humanity to an enemy, under such circumstances of immmediate action, and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the most splendid series of victories. It in some degree obscured the impression made to the disadvantage of human nature, by the madness of mankind in destroying each other by wasteful wars. The floating batteries were all consumed. The violence of their explosion was such as to burst open doors and windows at a great distance. Soon after the destruction of the floating batteries, lord Howe, with 35 ships of the line, brought to the brave garrison an ample supply of every thing wanted, either for their support or their defence. This complete relief of Gibraltar, was the third decisive event in the course of a twelvemonth which favoured the re-establishment of a general peace.

The capture of the British army in Virginia—the defeat of count de Grasse, and the destruction of the Spanish floating batteries, inculcated on Great Britain, France and Spain, the policy of sheathing the sword, and stopping the effusion of human blood. Each nation found, on a review of past events, that though their losses were great, their gains were little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great Britain had increased her national debt one hundred millions of pounds sterling, and wasted the lives of at least 50,000 of her subjects. To add to her mortification she had brought all this on herself, by pursuing an object the attainment of which seemed to be daily less probable, and the benefits of which, even though it could have been attained, were very problematical.

While Great Britain, France and Spain were successively brought to think favourably of peace, the United States of America had the consolation of a public acknowledgment of their independence by a second power of Europe. This was effected in a great measure by the address of John Adams. On the capture of Henry Laurens, he had been commissioned Jan. 1, 1781, to be the minister plenipotentiary of Congress, to the states general of the United Provinces, and was also empowered to negociate a loan of money among the Hollanders. Soon after his arrival he presented to their high mightinesses a memorial, in which he informed them that the United States of America, had thought fit to send him a commission with full power and instructions, to confer with them concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, and that they had appointed him to be their minister plenipotentiary to reside near them. Similar information, was at the same time communicated to the stadtholder, the prince of Orange.

About a year after the presentation of this memorial, it was resolved " that the said Mr. Adams was agreeable to their high mightinesses, and that he should be acknowledged in quality of minister plenipotentiary." Before this was obtained, much pains had been taken much ingenuity had been exerted, to convince the rulers and people of the states general, that they had an interest in connecting themselves with the United States. These representations, together with some recent successes in their contests on the sea with Great Britain, and their evident commercial interest, encouraged them to venture on being the second power of Europe, to acknowledge American Independence.

Mr. Adams having gained this point, proceeded on the negociation of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries. This was in a few months concluded, to the reciprocal satisfaction of both parties. The same success which attended Mr. Adams in these negociations, continued to follow him in obtaining a loan of money, which was a most seasonable supply to his almost exhausted country.

Mr. Jay had for nearly three years past exerted equal abilities, and equal industry with Mr. Adams, in endeavoring to negociate a treaty between the United States and his most catholic majesty, but his exertions were not crowned with equal success.

To gain the friendship of the Spaniards, Congress passed sundry resolutions, favouring the wishes of his most catholic majesty to reannex the two Floridas to his dominions. Mr. Jay was instructed to contend for the right of the United States to the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and if an express acknowledgment of it could not be obtained, he was restrained from acceding to any stipulation, by which it should be relinquished. But in February 1781, when lord Cornwallis was making rapid progress in overrunning the southern states, and when the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line and other unfavorable circumstances depressed the spirits of the Americans, Congress, on the recommendation of Virginia, directed him to recede from his instructions, so far as they insist on the free navigation of that part of the river Mississippi, which lies below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and on a free port or ports below the same; provided such cession should be unalterably insisted on by Spain, and provided the free navigation of the said river above the said degree of north latitude should be acknowledged and guaranteed by his catholic majesty, in common with his own subjects.

These propositions were made to the ministers of his most catholic majesty, but not accepted. Mr. Jay in his own name informed them, " That if the acceptance of this offer should, together with the proposed alliance, be postponed to a general peace, the United States would cease to consider themselves bound by any propositions or offers he might then make in their behalf."

Spain having delayed to accept these terms, which originated more in necessity than in policy, till the crisis of American independence was past, Congress, apprehensive that their offered relinquishment of the free navigation of the Mississippi should at that late hour be accepted, instructed their minister " To forbear making any overtures to the court of Spain, or entering into any stipulations, in consequence of any which he had previously made." The ministers of his most catholic majesty, from indecision and tardiness of deliberation, let slip an opportunity of gaining a favourite point, which from the increasing numbers of the western settlements of the United States, seems to be removed at a daily increasing distance. Humiliating offers, made and rejected in the hour of distress, will not readily be renewed in the day of prosperity.

It was expected, not only by the sanguine Americans, but by many in England, that the capture of lord Cornwallis would instantly dispose the nation to peace; but whatever might have been the wish or the interest of the people, the American war was too much the favourite of ministry to be relinquished, without a struggle for its continuance.

Just after intelligence arrived of the capitulation of York-Town, the king of Great-Britain, in his speech to parliament, declared " That he should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, if he consented to sacrifice either to his own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintainance and preservation of which the future strength and security of the country must for ever depend." The determined language of this speech, pointing to the continuance of the American war, was echoed back by a majority of both lords and commons.

In a few days after, it was moved in the house of commons that a resolution should be adopted declaring it to be their opinion " That all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of Great Britain." Though the debate on this subject was continued till two o'clock in the morning, and though the opposition received additional strength, yet the question was not carried. The same ground of argument was soon gone over again, and the American war underwent, for the fourth time since the beginning of the session, a full discussion; but no resolution disapproving its farther prosecution, could yet obtain the assent of a majority of the members. The advocates for peace becoming daily more numerous, it was moved by general Conway, " That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions to his ministers not to pursue any longer the impracticable object of reducing his majesty's revolted colonies by force to their allegiance, by a war on the continent of America." This brought forth a repetition of the former arguments on the subject, and engaged the attention of the house till two o'clock in the morning. On a division, the motion for the address was lost by a single vote. In the course of these debates, while the minority were gaining ground, the ministry were giving up one point after another. They at first consented that the war should not be carried on to the same extent as formerly—then that there should be no internal continental war—next that there should be no other war than what was necessary for the defence of the posts already in their possession—and last of all, none but against the French in America.

The ministry as well as the nation began to be sensible of the impolicy of continental operations, but hoped that they might gain their point by prosecuting hostilities at sea. Every opposition was therefore made by them against the total dereliction of a war, on the success of which they had so repeatedly pledged themselves, and on the continuance of which they held their places. General Conway, in five days after, brought forward another motion expressed in different words, but to the same effect with that which had been lost by a single vote. This caused a

long debate which lasted till two o'clock in the morning. It was then moved to adjourn the debate till the 13th of March. There appeared for the adjournment 215, and against it 234.

The original motion, and an address to the king formed upon the resolution, were then carried without a division, and the address was ordered to be presented by the whole house.

To this his majesty answered, "that in pursuance of their advice, he would take such measures as should appear to him most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies." The thanks of the house were voted for this answer. But the guarded language thereof, not inconsistent with farther hostilities against America, together with other suspicious circumstances, induced general Conway to move another resolution, expressed in the most decisive language. This was to the following effect: "That the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who should advise or by any means attempt the further prosecution, of offensive war, on the continent of North-America, for the purpose of reducing the colonies to obedience by force." This motion, after a feeble opposition, was carried without a division, and put a period to all that chicanery by which ministers meant to distinguish between a prosecution of offensive war in North-America, and a total dereliction of it. This resolution and the preceding address, to which it had reference, may be considered as the closing scene of the American war. As it was made a parliamentary war, by an address from parliament for its prosecution in February 1775, it now was no longer so, by an address from the most numerous house of the same parliament in 1782, for its discontinuance. A change of ministry was the consequence of this total change of that political system which, for seven years, had directed the affairs of Great Britain. A new administration was formed under the auspices of the marquis of Rockingham, and was composed of characters who opposed the American war.

It has been said that the new minister stipulated with the court before he entered into office, that there should be peace with the Americans, and that the acknowledgment of their independence should not be a bar to the attainment of it. Soon after the marquis of Rockingham, on whom Great Britain relied with a well placed confidence, for extrication from surrounding embarrassments, departed this life, and his much lamented death for some time obscured the agreeable prospects which had lately begun to dawn on the nation. On the decease of the noble marquis, earl Shelburne was appointed his successor. To remove constitutional impediments to negociate with the late British colonies, an act of parliament was passed, granting to the crown powers for negociating or concluding a general or particular peace or truce with the whole, or with any part of the colonies, and for setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that purpose.

Sir Guy Carleton, who was lately appointed to the command of the royal army in North America, was instructed to use his endeavours for carrying into effect the wishes of Great Britain for an accommodation with the Americans. He therefore dispatched a letter to general Washington, informing him of the late proceedings of parliament, and of the dispositions so favourable to America, which were prevalent in Great Britain, and at the same time solicited a passport for his secretary, Mr. Morgan, to pay a visit to Congress. His request was refused. The application for it, with its concomitant circumstances, were considered as introductory to a scheme for opening negociations with Congress or the states, without the concurrence of their allies. This caused no small alarm and gave rise to sundry resolutions, by which several states declared, that a proposition from the enemy to all or any of the United States for peace or truce, separate from their allies, was inadmissable. Congress not long after resolved, "that they would not enter into the discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his most christian majesty, and as a proof of this, they recommended to the several states to pass laws, that no subject of his Britannic majesty coming directly or indirectly from any part of the British dominions, be admitted into any of the United States during the war." This decisive conduct extinguished all hopes that Great Britain might have entertained, of making a separate peace with America. Two of the first sovereigns of Europe, the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany, were the mediators in accomplishing the great work of peace. Such was the state of the contending parties, that the intercession of powerful mediators was no longer necessary. The disposition of Great Britain, to recognize the independence of the United States, had removed the principal difficulty, which had hitherto obstructed a general pacification. It would be curious to trace the successive steps by which the nation was brought to this measure, so irreconcilable to their former declarations. Various auxiliary causes might be called in to account for this great change of the public mind of Great Britain, but the sum of the whole must be resolved into this simple proposition, "That it was unavoidable." A state of perpetual war was inconsistent with the interest of a commercial nation. Even the longer continuance of hostilities was forbidden by every principle of wise policy.

The avowed object of the alliance between France and America, and the steady adherence of both parties to enter into no negociations without the concurrence of each other, reduced Great Britain to the alternative of continuing a hopeless unproductive war, or of negociating under the idea of recognizing American independence. This great change of the public mind in Great Britain, favourable to American independenc, took place between November 1781, and March 1782. In that interval Mr. Laurens was released from his confinement in the tower. Before and after his release, he had frequent opportunities of demonstrating to persons in power, that from his personal knowledge of the sentiments of Congress, and of their instructions to their ministers, every hope of peace, without the acknowledgment of independence, was illusory. Seven years experience had proved to the nation that the conquest of the American states was impracticable; they now received equal conviction, that the recognition of their independence, was an indispensible preliminary to the determination of a war, from the continuance of which, neither profit nor honour was to be acquired. The pride of Great Britain for a long time resisted, but that usurping passion was obliged to yield to the superior influence of interest. The feelings of the great body of the people were no longer to be controlled, by the honour of ministers, or romantic ideas of national dignity. At the close of the war, a revolution was effected in the sentiments of the inhabitants of Great Britain, not less remarkable than what in the beginning of it, took place among the citizens of America.

Independence which was neither thought of nor wished for by the latter in the year 1774, and 1775, became in the year 1776 their favourite object. A recognition of this, which throughout the war, had been with few exceptions the object of abhorrence to the British nation, became in the year 1782, a popular measure in Great Britain, as the means of putting an end to a ruinous war.

The commissioners for negociating peace on the part of the United States, were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. On the part of Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Oswald. Provisional articles of peace, between Great Britain and the United States were agreed upon by these gentlemen, which were to be inserted in a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place. By these the independence of the states was acknowledged in its fullest extent. Very ample boundaries were allowed them, which comprehended the fertile and extensive countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi, in which was the residence of upwards of twenty nations of Indians, and particularly of the five nations, who had long been the friends and allies of Great Britain. An unlimited right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places where both nations had heretofore been accustomed to fish, was likewise confirmed to the Americans. From the necessity of the case, the loyalists were sacrificed, nothing more than a simple recommendation for restitution being stipulated in their favour. Five days after these provisional articles were signed, the British parliament met. They underwent a severe parliamentary discussion. It was said by the opposition that independence being recognized, every thing ceded by Great Britain required an equivalent; but that while they gave up the many posts they held in the United States, an immense extent of north and western territory, a participation in the fur trade, and in the fisheries, nothing was stipulated in return.

It must be acknowledged, that the ministers of Congress procured for their countrymen better terms than they had reason to expect; but from a combination of circumstances, it was scarcely possible to end the war without similar concessions on the part of Great Britain. By the alliance between France and America, there could be no peace without independence. That once granted,

most of the other articles followed of course. It is true, the boundaries agreed upon were more extensive than the states, when colonies, had claimed; yet the surplus ceded could have been of little or no use to Great Britain, and might if retained have given an occasion to a future war.

The case of the loyalists was undoubtedly a hard one, but unavoidable, from the complex constitution of the United States. The American ministers engaged as far as they were authorized, and Congress did all that they constitutionally could; but this was no more than simply to recommend their case to the several states, for the purpose of making them restitution. To have insisted on more, under such circumstances, would have been equivalent to saying that there should be no peace. It is true, much more was expected from the recommendations of Congress, than resulted from them; but this was not the consequence of deception, but of misunderstanding the principles of the confederation. In conformity to the letter and spirit of the treaty, Congress urged in strong terms the propriety of making restitution to the loyalists, but to procure it was beyond their power. In the animation produced by the war, when the Americans conceived their liberties to be in danger, and that their only safety consisted in obeying their federal head, they yielded a more unreserved obedience to the recommendations of Congress, than is usually paid to the decrees of the most arbitrary sovereigns. But the case was widely different, when at the close of the war, a measure was recommended in direct opposition to their prejudices.

It was the general opinion of the Americans, that the continuance of the war, and the asperity with which it had been carried on, was more owing to the machinations of their own countrymen, who had taken part with royal government, than to their British enemies. It is certain that the former had been most active in predatory excursions, and most forward in scenes of blood and murder. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to do mischief which never would have occurred to European soldiers. Many powerful passions of human nature operated against making restitution to men, who were thus considered as the authors of so great a share of the public distress.

There were doubtless among the loyalists many worthy characters—friends to peace, and lovers of justice: To such, restitution was undoubtedly due, and to many such it was made; but it is one of the many calamities incident to war, that the innocent, from the impossibility of discrimination, are often involved in the same distress with the guilty. The return of the loyalists to their former places of residence, was as much disrelished by the whig citizens of America, as the proposal for reimbursing their confiscated property. In sundry places committees were formed, which in an arbitrary manner opposed their peaceable residence. The sober and dispassionate citizens exerted themselves in checking these irregular measures; but such was the violence of party spirit, and so relaxed were the sinews of government, that in opposition to legal authority, and the private interference of the judicous and moderate, many indecent outrages were committed on the persons and property of the returning loyalists.

Nor were these all the sufferings of those Americans who had attached themselves to the royal cause. Being compelled to depart their native country, many of them were obliged to take up their abodes in the inhospitable wilds of Nova Scotia, or on the barren shores of the Bahama Islands. Parliamentary relief was extended to them, but this was obtained with difficulty, and distributed with a partial hand. Some who invented plausible tales of loyalty and distress, received much more than they ever possessed; but others, less artful, were not half reimbursed for their actual losses. The bulk of the sufferings, subsequent to the peace, among the Americans, fell to the share of the merchants, and others, who owed money in England. From the operations of the war, remittances were impossible. In the mean time payments were made in America by a depreciating paper, under the sanction of a law which made it a legal tender. The unhappy persons who in this manner suffered payment, could not apply it to the extinguishment of their foreign debts. If they retained in their hands the paper which was paid to them, it daily decreased in value: If they invested it in public securities, from the deficiency of funds, their situation was no better: If they purchased land, such was the superabundance of territory ceded by the peace, that it fell greatly in value. Under all these embarrassments, the American debtor was by treaty bound to make payments in specie of all his *bona fide* debts, due in Great-Britain. The British merchant was materially injured by being kept for many years out of his capital, and the American was often ruined by being ultimately held to pay in specie what he received in paper. Enough was suffered on both sides to make the inhabitants, as well in Great Britain as in America, deprecate war as one of the greatest evils incident to humanity.

CHAPTER XVII.

The state of parties; the advantages and disadvantages of the Revolution; its influence on the minds and morals of the citizens.

Previous to the American revolution, the inhabitants of the British colonies were universally loyal. That three millions of such subjects should break through all former attachments, and unanimously adopt new ones, could not reasonably be expected. The revolution had its enemies, as well as its friends, in every period of the war. Country, religion, local policy, as well as private views, operated in disposing the inhabitants to take different sides. The New-England provinces being mostly settled by one sort of people, were nearly of one sentiment. The influence of placemen in Boston, together with the connexions which they had formed by marriages, had attached sundry influential characters in that capital to the British interest, but these were but as the dust in the balance, when compared with the numerous independent whig yeomanry of the country. The same and other causes produced a large number in New-York who were attached to royal government. That city had long been head quarters of the British army in America, and many intermarriages and other connexions, had been made between British officers and some of their first families.

The practice of entailing estates had prevailed in New-York to a much greater extent than in any of the other provinces. The governors thereof had long been in the habit of indulging their favourites with extravagant grants of land. This had introduced the distinction of landlord and tenant. There was therefore in New-York an aristocratic party, respectable for numbers, wealth and influence, which had much to fear from independence. The city was also divided into parties by the influence of two ancient and numerous families, the Livingstons and Delanceys. These having been long accustomed to oppose each other at elections, could rarely be brought to unite in any political measures. In this controversy, one almost universally took part with America, the other with Great Britain.

The Irish in America, with a few exceptions, were attached to independence. They had fled from oppression in their native country, and could not brook the idea that it should follow them. Their national prepossessions in favor of liberty, were strengthened by their religious opinions. They were presbyterians, and people of that denomination, for reasons hereafter to be explained, were mostly whigs The Scotch, on the other hand, though they had formerly sacrificed much to liberty in their own country, were generally disposed to support the claims of Great-Britain. Their nation for some years past had experienced a large proportion of royal favor. A very absurd association was made by many, between the cause of John Wilkes and the cause of America. The former had rendered himself so universally odious to the Scotch, that many of them were prejudiced against a cause, which was so ridiculously, but generally associated, with that of a man who had grossly insulted their whole nation. The illiberal reflections cast by some Americans on the whole body of the Scotch, as favourers of arbitrary power, restrained high spirited individuals of that nation from joining a people who suspected their love of liberty. Such of them as adhered to the cause of independence, were steady in their attachment. The army and the Congress ranked among their best officers, and most valuable members, some individuals of that nation.

Such of the Germans, in America, as possessed the means of information, were generally determined whigs, but many of them were too little informed, to be able to choose their side on proper ground. They, especially such of them as resided in the interior country, were from their not understanding the English language, far behind most of the other inhabitants, in a knowledge of the merits of the dispute. Their disaffection was rather passive than active: A considerable part of it arose from principles of religion, for some of their sects deny the lawfulness of war. No people have prospered more in America than the Germans. None have surpassed, and but few have equalled them, in industry and other republican virtues.

The great body of tories in the southern states, was among the settlers on their western frontier. Many of these were disorderly persons, who had fled from the old settlements, to avoid the restraints of civil government. Their

numbers were increased by a set of men called regulators. The expense and difficulty of obtaining the decision of courts, against horse-thieves and other criminals, had induced sundry persons, about the year 1770, to take the execution of the laws into their own hands, in some of the remote settlements, both of North and SouthCarolina. In punishing crimes, forms as well as substance, must be regarded. From not attending to the former, some of these regulators, though perhaps aiming at nothing but what they thought right, committed many offences both against law and justice. By their violent proceedings regular government was prostrated. This drew on them the vengeance of royal governors. The regulators having suffered from their hands, were slow to oppose an established government, whose power to punish they had recently experienced. Apprehending that the measures of Congress were like their own regulating schemes, and fearing that they would terminate in the same disagreeable consequences, they and their adherents were generally opposed to the revolution.

Religion also divided the inhabitants of America. The presbyterians and independents, were almost universally attached to the measures of Congress. Their religious societies are governed on the republican plan.

From independence they had much to hope, but from Great Britain if finally successful, they had reason to fear the establishment of a church hierarchy. Most of the episcopal ministers of the northern provinces, were pensioners on the bounty of the British government. The greatest part of their clergy and many of their laity in these provinces were therefore disposed to support a connexion with Great Britain. The episcopal clergy in these southern provinces being under no such bias, were often among the warmest whigs. Some of them foreseeing the downfall of religious establishments from the success of the Americans, were less active, but in general where their church was able to support itself, their clergy and laity, zealously espoused the cause of independence. Great pains were taken to persuade them, that those who had been called dissenters, were aiming to abolish the episcopal establishment, to make way for their own exaltation, but the good sense of the people, restrained them from giving any credit to the unfounded suggestion. Religious controversy was happily kept out of view: The well informed of all denominations were convinced, that the contest was for their civil rights, and therefore did not suffer any other considerations to interfere, or disturb their union.

The quakers with a few exceptions were averse to independence. In Pennsylvania they were numerous, and had power in their hands. Revolutions in government are rarely patronised by any body of men, who foresee that a diminution of their own importance, is likely to result from the change. Quakers from religious principles were averse to war, and therefore could not be friendly to a revolution, which could only be effected by the sword. Several individuals separated from them on account of their principles, and following the impulse of their inclinations, joined their countrymen in arms. The services America received from two of their society, generals Greene and Mifflin, made some amends for the embarrassment, which the disaffection of the great body of their people occasioned to the exertions of the active friends of independence.

The age and temperament of individuals had often an influence in fixing their political character. Old men were seldom warm whigs. They could not relish the great changes which were daily taking place. Attached to ancient forms and habits, they could not readily accommodate themselves to new systems. Few of the very rich were active in forwarding the revolution. This was remarkably the case in the eastern and middle states; but the reverse took place in the southern extreme of the confederacy. There were in no part of America, more determined whigs than the opulent slaveholders in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. The active and spirited part of the community, who felt themselves possessed of talents, that would raise them to eminence in a free government, longed for the establishment of independent constitutions: But those who were in possession or expectation of royal favour, or of promotion from Great Britain wished that the connexion between the parent state and the colonies might be preserved.

The young, the ardent, the ambitious and the enterprising were mostly whigs, but the phlegmatic, the timid, the interested and those who wanted decision were, in general favourers of Great Britain, or at least only the lukewarm inactive friends of independence. The whigs received a great reinforcement from the operation of continental money. In the year 1775, 1776, and in the first months of 1777, while the bills of congress were in good credit, the effects of them were the same, as if a foreign power had made the United States a present of twenty millions of silver dollars. The circulation of so large a sum of money, and the employment given to great numbers in providing for the American army, increased the numbers and invigorated the zeal of the friends to the revolution: on the same principles the American war was patronised in England, by the many contractors and agents for transporting and supplying the British army. In both cases the inconveniences of interrupted commerce were lessened by the employment which war and a domestic circulation of money substituted in its room. The convulsions of war afforded excellent shelter for desperate debtors. The spirit of the times revolted against dragging to jails for debt, men who were active and zealous in defending their country, and on the other hand, those who owed more than they were worth, by going within the British lines, and giving themselves the merit of suffering on the score of loyalty, not only put their creditors to defiance, but sometimes obtained promotion or other special marks of royal favour.

The American revolution, on the one hand, brought forth great vices; but on the other hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave occasion for the display of abilites, which but for that event, would have been lost to the world. When the war began, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics and fisherman; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and set them on thinking, speaking and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed. The difference between nations is not so much owing to nature, as to education and circumstances. While the Americans were guided by the leading strings of the mother country, they had no scope nor encouragement for exertion All the departments of government were established and executed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776, the country being suddenly thrown into a situation that needed the abilities of all its sons, these generally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they severally pursued their object with ardour, a vast expansion of the human mind speedily followed. This displayed itself in a variety of ways.

It was found that the talents for great stations did not differ in kind, but only in degree, from those which were necessary for the proper discharge of the ordinary business of civil society. In the bustle that was occasioned by the war, few instances could be produced of any person who made a figure, or who rendered essential services, but from among those who had given specimens of similar talents in their respective professions. Those who from indolence or dissipation, had been of little service to the community in time of peace, were found equally unserviceable in war. A few young men were exceptions to this general rule. Some of these, who had indulged in youthful follies, broke of from their vicious courses, and on the pressing call of their country became useful servants of the public; but the great bulk of those who were the active instruments of carrying on the revolution, were self-made, industrious men. These, who by their own exertions had established or laid a foundation for establishing personal independence, were most generally trusted, and most successfully employed in establishing that of their country. In these times of action, classical education was found of less service than good natural parts, guided by common sense and sound judgment.

Several names could be mentioned, of individuals who without the knowledge of any other language than their mother tongue, wrote not only accurately, but elegantly, on public business. It seemed as if the war not only required, but created talents. Men whose minds were warmed with the love of liberty, and whose abilities were improved by daily exercise, and sharpened with a laudable ambition to serve their distressed country, spoke, wrote, and acted, with an energy far surpassing all expectations which could be reasonably founded on their previous acquirements.

The Americans knew but little of one another, previous to the revolution. Trade and business had brought the inhabitants of their seaports acquainted with each other, but the bulk of the people in the interior country were unacquainted with their fellow citizens. A continental army, and Congress, composed of men from all the states, by freely mixing together were assimilated into one mass Individuals of both, mingling with the citizens, disseminated principles of union among them. Local prejudices abated. By frequent collision asperities were worn off, and a foundation was laid for the establishment of a nation, out of discordant materials. Intermarriages between men and women of different states were much more common than before the war, and became an additional cement to the union. Unreasonable jealousies had existed between the inhabitants of the eastern and southern states; but on becoming better acquainted with each other, these in a great measure subsided. A wiser policy prevailed. Men of lib

eral minds led the way in discouraging local distinctions, and the great body of the people, as soon as reason got the better of prejudice, found that their best interests would be most promoted by such practices and sentiments as were favourable to union. Religious bigotry had broken in upon the peace of various sects, before the American war. This was kept up by partial establishments, and by a dread that the church of England, through the power of the mother country, would be made to triumph over all other denominations. These apprehensions were done away by the revolution. The different sects, having nothing to fear from each other. Dismissed all religious controversy.

A proposal for introducing bishops into America before the war, had kindled a flame among the dissenters; but the revolution was no sooner accomplished, than a scheme for that purpose was perfected, with the consent and approbation of all those sects who had previously opposed it. Pulpits which had formerly been shut to worthy men, because their heads had not been consecrated by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, or of a presbytery, have since the establishment of independence, been reciprocally opened to each other, whensoever the public convenience required it. The world will soon see the result of an experiment in politics, and be able to determine whether the happiness of society is increased by religious establishments, or diminished by the want of them.

Though schools and colleges were generally shut up during the war, yet many of the arts and sciences were promoted by it. The geography of the United States before the revolution was but little known; but the marches of armies, and the operations of war, gave birth to many geographical inquiries and discoveries, which otherwise would not have been made. A passionate fondness for studies of this kind, and the growing importance of the country, excited one of its sons, the Rev. Mr. Morse, to travel through every state of the union, and amass a fund of topographical knowledge, far exceeding any thing heretofore communicated to the public. The necessities of the states led to the study of tactics, fortification, gunnery, and a variety of other arts connected with war, and diffused a knowledge of them among a peaceable people, who would otherwise have had no inducement to study them.

The abilities of ingenious men were directed to make farther improvements in the art of destroying an enemy. Among these, David Bushnell of Connecticut invented a machine for submarine navigation, which was found to answer the purpose of rowing horizontally at any given depth under water, and of rising or sinking at pleasure. To this was attached a magazine of powder, and the whole was contrived in such a manner, as to make it practicable to blow up vessels by machinery under them. Mr. Bushnell also contrived sundry other curious machines for the annoyance of British shipping; but from accident they only succeeded in part. He destroyed one vessel in charge of commodore Symonds, and a second one near the shore of Long Island.

Surgery was one of the arts which was promoted by the war. From the want of hospitals and other aids, the medical men of America, had few opportunities of perfecting themselves in this art, the thorough knowledge of which can only be acquired by practice and observation. The melancholy events of battles gave the American students an opportunity of seeing, and learning more in one day, than they could have acquired in years of peace. It was in the hospitals of the United States, that Dr. Rush first discovered the method of curing the lock-jaw by bark and wine, added to other invigorating remedies, which has since been adopted with success in Europe, as well as in the United States.

The science of government, has been more generally diffused among the Americans by means of the revolution. The policy of Great Britain in throwing them out of her protection, induced a necessity of establishing independent constitutions. This led to reading and reasoning on the subject. The many errors that were at first committed by unexperienced statesmen, have been a practical comment on the folly of unbalanced constitutions, and injudicious laws. The discussions concerning the new constitution, gave birth to much reasoning on the subject of government, and particularly to a series of letters signed Publius, but really the work of Alexander Hamilton, in which much political knowledge and wisdom were displayed, and which will long remain a monument of the strength and acuteness of the human understanding in investigating truth.*

When Great Britain first began her encroachments on the colonies, there were few natives of America who had distinguished themselves as speakers or writers, but the controversy between the two countries multiplied their number.

The stamp act, which was to have taken place in 1765, employed the pens and tongues of many of the colonists, and by repeated exercise improved their ability to serve their country. The duties imposed in 1767, called forth the pen of John Dickinson, who in a series of letters signed a Pennsylvania Farmer, may be said to have sown the seeds of the revolution. For being universally read by the colonists, they universally enlightened them on the dangerous consequences, likely to result from their being taxed by the parliament of Great Britain.

In establishing American Independence, the pen and the press had merit equal to that of the sword. As the war was the people's war, and was carried on without funds, the exertions of the army would have been insufficient to effect the revolution, unless the great body of the people had been prepared for it, and also kept in a constant disposition to oppose Great Britain. To rouse and unite the inhabitants and to persuade them to patience for several years, under present sufferings, with the hope of obtaining remote advantages for their posterity, was a work of difficulty: This was effected in a great measure by the tongues and pens of the well-informed citizens, and on it depended the success of military operations.

To enumerate the names of all those who were successful labourers in this arduous business, is impossible. The following list contains, in nearly alphabetical order, the names of the most distinguished writers in favour of the rights of America.

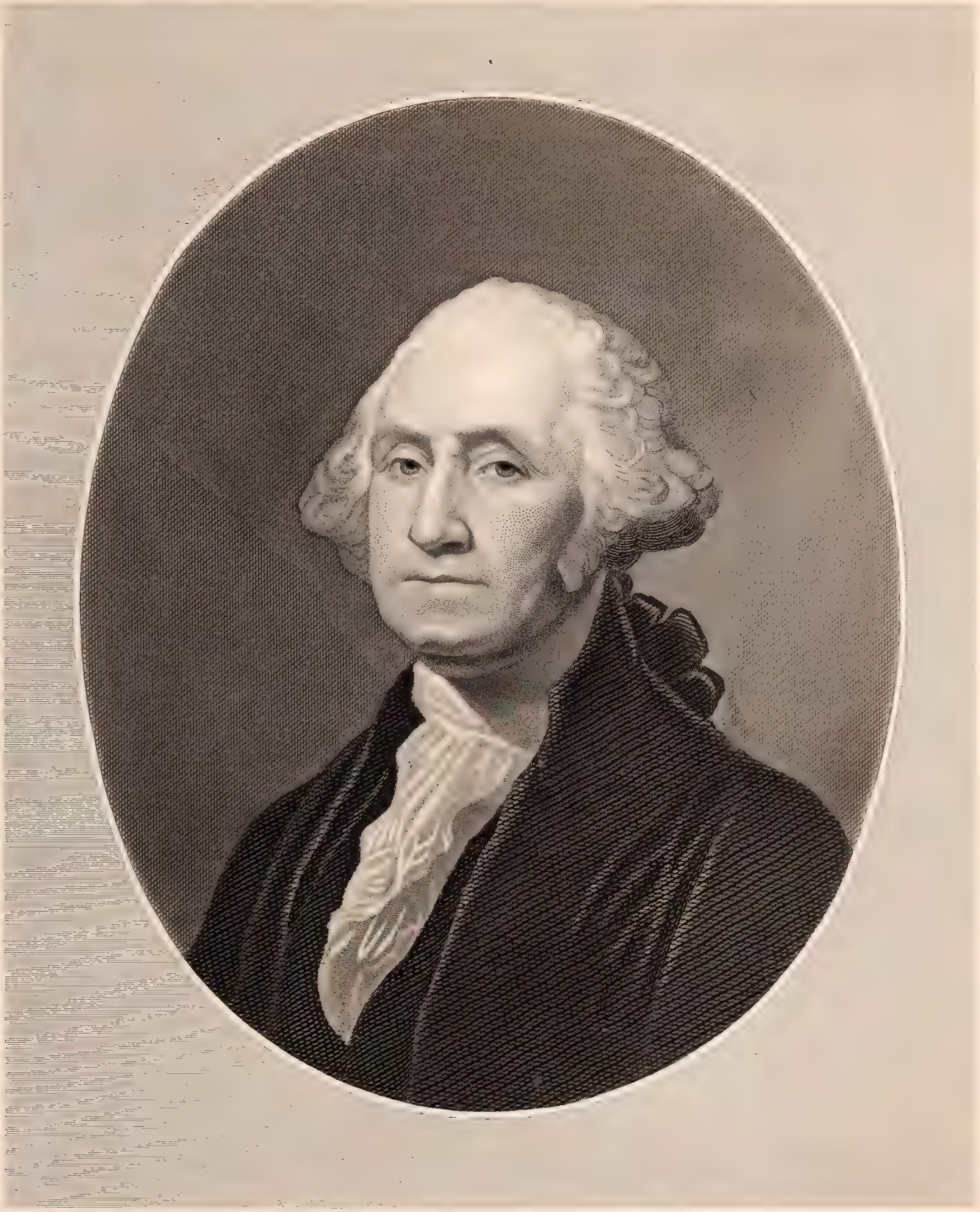
John Adams, and Samuel Adams, of Boston; Bland, of Virginia; John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; Daniel Dulany, of Annapolis; William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina; Dr. Franklin,* of Philadelphia; John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton, of New-York; Thomas Jefferson, and Arthur Lee, of Virginia; Jonathan Hyman, of Connecticut; Governor Livingston, of New-Jersey; Dr. Mayhew, and James Otis, of Boston; Thomas Paine, Dr. Rush, Charles Thompson, and James Wilson, of Philadelphia; William Tennant, of South Carolina; Josiah Quincy, and Dr. Warren, of Boston. These and many others laboured in enlightening their countrymen, on the subject of their political interests, and in animating them to a proper line of conduct, in defence of their liberties. To these individuals may be added, the great body of clergy, especially in New-England. The printers of newspapers, had also much merit in the same way. Particularly Edes and Gill of Boston; Holt, of New-York; Bradford, of Philadelphia; and Timothy, of South Carolina.

The early attention which had been paid to literature in New-England, was also eminently conducive to the success of the Americans in resisting Great Britain. The university of Cambridge was founded as early as 1636, and Yale college 1700. It has been computed, that in the year the Boston port act was passed, there were in the four eastern colonies, upwards of two thousand graduates of their colleges dispersed through their several towns, who by their knowledge and abilities, were able to influence and direct the great body of the people to a proper line of conduct, for opposing the encroachments of Great Britain on their liberties. The colleges to the southward of New-England, except that of William and Mary in Virginia, were but of modern date; but they had been of a standing sufficiently long to have trained for public service a considerable number of the youth of the country. The college of New-Jersey, which was incorporated about 28 years before the revolution, had in that time educated upwards of 300 persons, who, with a few exceptions, were active and useful friends of independence. From the influence which knowledge had in securing and preserving the liberties of America, the present generation may trace the wise policy of their fathers, in erecting schools and colleges. They may also learn that it is their duty to found more, and support all such institutions.

Without the advantages derived from these lights of this new world, the United States would probably have fallen in their unequal contest with Great Britain. Union, which was essential to the success of their resistance, could scarcely have taken place, in the measures adopted by an ignorant multitude. Much less could wisdom in council, unity in system, or perseverance in the prosecution of a long and self-denying war, be expected from an uninformed people. It is a well known fact, that persons unfriendly to the revolution, were always most numerous in those parts of the United States, which had either never been illuminated, or but faintly warmed by the rays of science. The uninformed and the misinformed, constituted a great proportion of those Americans, who preferred the leading strings of the parent state, though encroaching on

* The Dr. is mistaken in awarding to Hamilton alone the honour of writing the "Federalist." Most of the letters which compose this invaluable work are from his pen, but others were contributed by his compatriots Jay and Madison.

* Born in Boston.



G° Washington

their liberties, to a government of their own countrymen and fellow citizens.

As literature had in the first instance favoured the revolution, so in its turn, the revolution promoted literature. The study of eloquence and of the belles lettres, was more successfully prosecuted in America, after the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies began to be serious than it ever had been before. The various orations, addresses, letters, dissertations and other literary performances which the war made necessary, called forth abilities where they were, and excited the rising generation to study arts, which brought with them their own reward. Many incidents afforded materials for the favourites of the muses, to display their talents. Even burlesquing royal proclamations, by parodies and doggerel poetry, had great effects on the minds of the people. A celebrated historian has remarked, that the song of Lillibullero forwarded the revolution of 1688 in England. It may be truly affirmed, that similar productions produced similar effects in America. Francis Hopkinson rendered essential service to his country, by turning the artillery of wit and ridicule on the enemy. Philip Freneau laboured successfully in the same way.

Royal proclamations and other productions which issued from royal printing presses, were, by the help of a warm imagination, arrayed in such dresses as rendered them truly ridiculous. Trumbull, with a vein of original Hudibrastic humour, diverted his countrymen so much with the follies of their enemies, that for a time they forgot the calamities of war. Humphries twined the literary with the military laurel, by superadding the fame of an elegant poet, to that of an accomplished officer. Barlow increased the fame of his country and of the distinguished actors in the revolution, by the bold design of an epic poem ably executed, on the idea that Columbus foresaw in vision, the great scenes that were to be transacted on the theatre of that new world which he had discovered. Dwight struck out, in the same line, and at an early period of life finished an elegant work, entitled the Conquest of Canaan, on a plan which has rarely been attempted. The principles of their mother tongue, were first unfolded to the Americans since the revolution, by their countryman Webster. Pursuing an unbeaten track, he has made discoveries in the genius and construction of the English language, which had escaped the researches of preceding philologists. These, and a group of other literary characters, have been brought into view by the revolution. It is remarkable, that of these, Connecticut has produced an unusual proportion. In that truly republican state, every thing conspires to adorn human nature with its highest honours.

From the latter periods of the revolution till the present time, schools, colleges, societies, and institutions for promoting literature, arts, manufactures, agriculture, and for extending human happiness, have been increased far beyond any thing that ever took place before the declaration of independence. Every state in the union, has done more or less in this way, but Pennsylvania has done the most. The following institutions have been very lately founded in that state, and most of them in the time of the war or since the peace. An university in the city of Philadelphia; a college of physicians in the same place; Dickinson college at Carlisle; Franklin college at Lancaster; the protestant episcopal academy in Philadelphia; academies at Yorktown, at Germantown, at Pittsburgh and Washington; and an academy in Philadelphia for young ladies; societies for promoting political enquiries; for the medical relief of the poor, under the title of the Philadelphia dispensary; for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage; for propagating the gospel among the Indians, under the direction of the united brethren; for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts; for alleviating the miseries of prisons. Such have been some of the beneficial effects, which have resulted from that expansion of the human mind, which has been produced by the revolution, but these have not been without alloy.

To overset an established goverment unhinges many of those principles, which bind individuals to each other. A long time, and much prudence, will be necessary to reproduce a spirit of union and that reverence for government, without which society is a rope of sand. The right of the people to resist their rulers, when invading their liberties, forms the corner stone of the American republics. This principle, though just in itself, is not favourable to the tranquility of present establishments. The maxims and measures, which in the years 1774 and 1775 were succesfully inculcated and adopted by American patriots, for oversetting the established goverment, will answer a similar purpose when recurrence is had to them by factious demagogues, for disturbing the freest governments that were ever devised.

War never fails to injure the morals of the people engaged in it. The American war, in particular, had an unhappy influence of this kind. Being begun without funds or regular establishments, it could not be carried on without violating private rights; and in its progress, it involved a necessity for breaking solemn promises, and plighted public faith. The failure of national justice, which was in some degree unavoidable, increased the difficulties of performing private engagements, and weakened that sensibility to the obligations of public and private honour, which is a security for the punctual performance of contracts.

In consequence of the war, the institutions of religion have been deranged, the public worship of the deity suspended, and a great number of the inhabitants deprived of the ordinary means of obtaining that religieus knowledge, which tames the fierceness, and softens the rudeness of human passion and manners. Many of the temples dedicated to the service of the most high, were destroyed, and these, from a deficiency of ability and inclination, are not yet rebuilt. The clergy were left to suffer, without proper support. The depreciation of the paper currency was particularly injurious to them. It reduced their salaries to a pittance, so insufficient for their maintenance, that several of them were obliged to lay down their profession, and engage in other pursuits. Public preaching, of which many of the inhabitants were thus deprived, seldom fails of rendering essential service to society, by civilizing the multitude and forming them to union. No class of citizens have contributed more to the revolution than the clergy, and none have hitherto suffered more in consequence of it. From the dimunition of their number, and the penury to which they have been subjected, civil goverment has lost many of the advantages it formerly derived from the public instructions of that useful order of men.

On the whole, the literary, political, and military talents of the citizens of the United States have been improved by the revolution, but their moral character is inferior to what it formerly was. So great is the change for the worse, that the friends of public order are loudly called upon to exert their utmost abilities, in extirpating the vicious principles and habits, which have taken deep root during the late convulsions.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The discharge of the American army: The evacuation of New-York: The resignation of General Washington: Arrangements of Congress for disposing of their western territory, and paying their debts: The distress of the States after the peace: The inefficacy of the articles of the confederation: A grand convention for amending the government: The new constitution: General Washington appointed President: An address to the people of the United States.

While the citizens of the United States were anticipating the blessings of peace, their army, which had successfully stemmed the tide of British victories, was unrewarded for its services. The States which had been rescued by their exertions from slavery, were in no condition to pay them their stipulated due. To dismiss officers and soldiers, who had spent the prime of their days in serving their country, without an equivalent for their labours, or even a sufficiency to enable them to gain a decent living, was a hard but unavoidable case. An attempt was made, March 10, 1783, by anonymous and seditious publications* to inflame the minds of the officers and soldiers, and induce them to unite in redressing their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as General Washington was informed of the nature of these papers, he requested the general and field officers with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble on an early day. He rightly judged that it would be much easier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than to recal fatal and hasty steps, after they had once been taken. The period, previously to the meeting of the officers, was improved in preparing them for the adoption of moderate measures. General Washington sent for one officer after another, and enlarged in private, on the fatal consequences, and particularly on the loss of character to the whole army, which would result from intemperate resolutions. When the officers were convened, the commander-in-chief addressed them in a speech well calculated to calm their minds. He also pledged himself to exert all his abilities and influence in their favour, and requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them, "as they valued their honour, as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man,

* The not very enviable honour attached to the authorship of one of the most high-toned of these addresses, is, by good authority, conferred upon Genl. James Armstrong.

who was attempting to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood." General Washington then retired.

The minds of those who had heard him were in such an irritable state, that nothing but their most ardent patriotism, and his unbounded influence, prevented the proposal of rash resolutions, which, if adopted, would have sullied the glory of seven years service. No reply whatever was made to the General's speech. The happy moment was seized, while the minds of the officers, softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, were in a yielding state, and a resolution was unanimously adopted, by which they declared, "that no circumstances of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country; that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army." Too much praise cannot be given to General Washington, for the patriotism and decision which marked his conduct, in the whole of this serious transaction. Perhaps in no instance did the United States receive from Heaven a more signal deliverance, through the hands of the commander-in-chief.

Soon after these events, Congress completed a resolution which had been for some time pending, that the officers of their army, who preferred a sum in gross to an annuity, should be entitled to receive to the amount of five years full pay, in money, or securities at six per cent. per annum, instead of their half pay for life, which had been previously promised to them.

To avoid the inconvenience of dismissing a great number of soldiers in a body, furloughs were freely granted to individuals, and after their dispersion they were not enjoined to return. By this arrangement a critical moment was got over. A great part of an unpaid army, was disbanded and dispersed over the states, without tumult or disorder. The privates generally betook themselves to labour, and crowned the merit of being good soldiers, by becoming good citizens. Several of the American officers, who had been bred mechanics, resumed their trades. In old countries the disbanding a single regiment, even though fully paid, has often produced serious consequences; but in America, where arms had been taken up for self defence, they were peaceably laid down as soon as they became unnecessary. As soldiers had been easily and speedily formed in 1775, out of farmers, planters and mechanics, with equal ease and expedition in the year 1783, they dropped their adventitious character, and resumed their former occupations. About 80 of the Pennsylvania levies formed an exception to the prevailing peaceable disposition of the army. These, in defiance of their officers, set out from Lancaster, and marched to Philadelphia to seek redress of their grievances, from the executive council of the state. The mutineers, in opposition to advice and entreaties, persisted in their march, till they arrived at Philadelphia. They were there joined by some other troops, who were quartered in the barracks. The whole, amounting to upwards of 300 men, marched with fixed bayonets and drums, to the statehouse, in which Congress and the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania held their sessions. They placed guards at every door, and sent in a written message to the president and council of the state, and threatened to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them, if they were not gratified as to their demand within 20 minutes.

The situation of Congress, though they were not the particular object of the soldiers' resentment, was far from being agreeable. After being about three hours under duresse they retired, but previously resolved that the authority of the United States had been grossly insulted. Soon after they left Philadelphia, and fixed on Princeton as the place of their next meeting. General Washington immediately ordered a large detachment of his army, to march for Philadelphia. Previously to their arrival, the disturbances were quieted without bloodshed. Several of the mutineers were tried and condemned, two to suffer death, and four to receive corporal punishment, but they were all afterwards pardoned.

Towards the close of the year, Congress issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded, "for having displayed in the progress of an arduous and difficult war, every military and patriotic virtue, and in which the thanks of their country were given them, for their long, eminent and faithful services." Congress then declared it to be their pleasure, "that such part of their federal armies, as stood engaged to serve during the war, should from and after the third day of November next, be absolutely discharged from the said service." On the day preceding their dismission, Nov. 2d. General Washington issued his farewell orders, in the most endearing language. After giving them his advice respecting their future conduct, and bidding them an affectionate farewell, he concluded with these words: "May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander-in-chief is about to retire from service; the curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed forever."

With great exertions of the superintendant of finance, four months pay, in part of several years arrearages, were given to the army. This sum, though trifling, was all the immediate recompence the states were able to make to those brave men, who had conducted their country through an eight years war, to peace and independence.

The evacuation of New-York, took place in about three weeks after the American army was discharged. For a twelvemonth preceding, there had been an unrestrained communication between that city, though a British garrison, and the adjacent country. The bitterness of war passed away, and civilities were freely interchanged between those, who had lately sought for opportunities to destroy each other. General Washington and governor Clinton, with their suites, made a public entry into the city of New-York, as soon as the royal army was withdrawn. The lieutenant governor, and members of the council, the officers of the American army, and the citizens, followed in an elegant procession. It was remarked that an unusual proportion of those who in 1776, had fled from New-York, were by death cut off from partaking in the general joy, which flowed in upon their fellow-citizens, on returning to their ancient habitations. The ease and affluence which they enjoyed in in the days of their prosperity, made the severities of exile inconvenient to all, and fatal to many, particularly to such as were advanced in life. Those who survived, both felt and expressed the overflowings of joy, on finding their sufferings and services rewarded with the recovery of their country, the expulsion of their enemies, and the establishment of their independence. In the evening there was a display of fireworks, which exceeded every thing of the kind before seen in the United States. They commenced by a dove's descending with an olive branch, and setting fire to a maron battery.

The hour now approached in which it became necessary for General Washington to take leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. This was done in a solemn manner. The officers having previously assembled for the purpose, General Washington joined them, and calling for a glass of wine, thus addressed them. "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." The officers came up successively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. When this affecting scene was over, Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light infantry, to the place of embarkation. The officers followed in a solemn mute procession, with dejected countenances. On his entering the barge to cross the North river, he turned towards the companions of his glory, and by waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu. Some of them answered this last signal of respect and affection with tears, and all of them hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight, till they could no longer distinguish in it the person of their beloved commander-in-chief.

A proposal was made to perpetuate the friendship of the officers, by forming themselves into a society, to be named after the famous Roman patriot Cincinnatus. The extreme jealousy of the new republics suspected danger to their liberties, from the union of the leaders of their late army, and especially from a part of the institution, which held out to their posterity, the honour of being admitted members of the same society. To obviate all grounds of fear, the general meeting of the society, recommended an alteration of their institution, which has been adopted by eight of the state societies. By this recommendation it was proposed to expunge every thing that was hereditary, and to retain little else than their original name, and a social charitable institution for perpetuating their personal friendships, and relieving the wants of their indigent brethren. General Washington, on the approaching dissolution of the American army, by a circular letter to the governors or presidents of the individual states, gave his parting advice to his countrymen; and, with all the charms of eloquence, inculcated the no-

cessity of union, justice, subordination, and of such principles and practices, as their new situation required.

The army being disbanded, the commander-in-chief proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of Congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller in Philadelphia an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand writing, and every entry was made in a very particular manner. The whole sum, which in the course of the war had passed through his hands, amounted only to 14,479*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* sterling. Nothing was charged or retained as a reward for personal services, and actual disbursements had been managed with such economy and fidelity, that they were all covered by the above moderate sum.

In every town and village, through which the general passed, he was met by public and private demonstrations of gratitude and joy. When he arrived at Annapolis, he informed Congress of his intention to ask leave to resign the commission he had the honour to hold in their service, and desired to know their pleasure in what manner it would be most proper to be done. They resolved it should be in a public audience. When the day fixed for that purpose arrived, a great number of distinguished personages attended the interesting scene. At a proper moment, general Washington addressed Thomas Mifflen, the president, in the following words:

"Mr. President,

"The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services, and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war: it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate; permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them, to His holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the President returned the following answer:

"The United States, in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes: you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit them to posterity; you have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for YOU, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care: That your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

CHAPTER XIX.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

In every department of nature violent efforts are succeeded by a corresponding exhaustion; and the struggles of a nation for liberty and independence afford no exception to this universal law. From the evils inseparable from such contests, the pusillanimous and the sordid may urge arguments in favour of what they deem a prudent and profitable submissiveness to arbitrary sway; but the lover of freedom, while he will not deny that there are evils in national convulsion, even when necessitated by the most justifiable causes, will still scorn to evade them by a base servility; and ill does it become those who have rendered such evils inevitable, to attempt to cast the odium of them on the noble and self-denying efforts of the patriot.

The exhausting effect of their exertions was felt by the people of the United States for a considerable period after peace, as well as independence, had been secured. The enthusiasm of a popular contest terminating in victory, began to subside, and the sacrifices of the revolution soon became known and felt. The claims of those who toiled, and fought, and suffered in the arduous struggle, were strongly urged, and the government had neither resources nor power to satisfy or to silence them. The federal head had no separate or exclusive fund. The members of Congress depended on the states which they respectively represented, even for their own maintenance, and money for national purposes could only be obtained by requisitions on the different members of the confederacy. On them it became necessary immediately to call for funds to discharge the arrears of pay due to the soldiers of the revolution, and the interest on the debt which the government had been compelled to contract. The legislatures of the different states received these requisitions with respect, listened to the monitory warnings of Congress with deference, and with silent and inactive acquiescence. Their own situation, indeed, was full of embarrassment. The wealth of the country had been totally exhausted during the revolution. Taxes could not be collected, because there was no money to represent the value of the little personal property which had not been, and the land which could not be, destroyed; and commerce, though preparing to burst from its thraldom, had not yet had time to restore to the annual produce of the country its exchangeable value. The states owed each a heavy debt for local services rendered during the revolution, for which it was bound to provide, and each had its own domestic government to support. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that each state was anxious to retain for its own benefit the small but rising revenue derived from foreign commerce; and that the custom-houses in each commercial city were considered as the most valuable sources of income which the states possessed. Each state, therefore, made its own regulations, its tariff, and tonnage duties, and, as a natural consequence, the different states clashed with each other; one nation became more favoured than another under the same circumstances; and one state pursued a system injurious to the interests of another. Hence the confidence of foreign countries was destroyed; and they would not enter into treaties of commerce with the confederated government, while they were not likely to be carried into effect. A general decay of trade, the rise of imported merchandise, the fall of produce, and an uncommon decrease of the value of lands, ensued.

The distress of the inhabitants was continually on the increase; and in Massachusetts, where it was most felt, an insurrection of a serious character was the consequence. Near the close of the year 1786, the populace assembled to the number of two thousand, in

the north-western part of the state, and, choosing Daniel Shays their leader, demanded that the collection of debts should be suspended, and that the legislature should authorize the emission of paper money for general circulation. Two bodies of militia, drawn from those parts of the state where disaffection did not prevail, were immediately despatched against them, one under the command of General Lincoln, the other of General Shepard. The disaffected were dispersed with less difficulty than had been apprehended, and, abandoning their seditious purposes, accepted the proffered indemnity of the government.

The time at length came when the public mind gave tokens of being prepared for a change in the constitution of the general government—an occurrence, the necessity of which had long been foreseen by Washington, and most of the distinguished patriots of that period. Evil had accumulated upon evil, till the mass became too oppressive to be endured, and the voice of the nation cried out for relief. The first decisive measures proceeded from the merchants, who came forward almost simultaneously in all parts of the country, with representations of the utter prostration of the mercantile interests, and petitions for a speedy and efficient remedy. It was shown, that the advantages of this most important source of national prosperity were flowing into the hands of foreigners, and that the native merchants were suffering for the want of a just protection and a uniform system of trade. The wise and reflecting were convinced that some decided efforts were necessary to strengthen the general government, or that a dissolution of the union, and perhaps a devastating anarchy, would be inevitable. The first step towards a general reformation was rather accidental than premeditated. Certain citizens of Virginia and Maryland had formed a scheme for promoting the navigation of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, and commissioners were appointed by those two states to meet at Alexandria, and devise some plan of operation. These persons made a visit to Mount Vernon, and while there, it was proposed among themselves that more important objects should be connected with the purpose at first in view, and that the state governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners, with enlarged powers, instructed to form a plan for maintaining a naval force in the Chesapeake, and also to fix upon some system of duties on exports and imports in which both states should agree, and that in the end Congress should be petitioned to allow these privileges. This project was approved by the legislature of Virginia, and commissioners were accordingly appointed. The same legislature passed a resolution recommending the design to other states, and inviting them to unite, by their commissioners, in an attempt to established such a system of commercial relations as would promote general harmony and prosperity. Five states only, in addition to Virginia, acceded to this proposition, namely, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and New-York. From these states commissioners assembled at Annapolis, but they had hardly entered into a discussion of the topics which naturally forced themselves into view, before they discovered the powers with which they were instructed to be so limited, as to tie up their hands from effecting any purpose that could be of essential utility. On this account, as well as from the circumstance that so few states were represented, they wisely declined deciding on any important measures in reference to the particular subject for which they had come together. This convention is memorable, however, as having been the prelude to the one which followed. Before the commissioners adjourned, a report was agreed upon, in which the necessity of a revision and reform of the articles of the old federal compact was strongly urged, and which contained a recommendation to all the state legislatures for the appointment of deputies, to meet at Philadelphia, with more ample powers and instructions. This proposal was eventually carried into effect, and, in conformity with it, a convention of delegates from the several states met at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Of this body of eminent statesmen, George Washington was elected president. They deliberated with closed doors during a period of four months. One party in the convention was anxious to enlarge, another to abridge, the authority delegated to the general government. This was the first germ of parties in the United States; not that materials were wanting, for the dissensions of the revolution had left behind some bitterness of spirit and feelings that only awaited an opportunity for their disclosure. The divisions in the convention proved the foundation of many a subsequent struggle. At length a constitution was agreed on, which, after being reported to Congress, was submitted for ratification to conventions held in the respective states. This constitution differs, in many important particulars, from the articles of confederation; and, by its regulations, connects the states more closely together, under a general and supreme government, composed of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial; and invested with powers essential to its being respected, both by foreign nations and the states whose interest it was designed to secure. The provisions and characteristics of this interesting and important political code, will receive the consideration to which they are so justly entitled in another department of our work.

As that party which was desirous to extend the powers of the constitution, had been the most anxious for the formation of this system, and the most zealous advocates for its adoption, it almost naturally followed that the administration of it was committed to their hands. This party, which might, from their opinions, have been denominated nationalists, or, in more modern phraseology, centralists, acquired the name of federalists, while the appellation of anti-federalists was given to their antagonists. The latter, ardently attached to freedom, imagined that rulers, possessing such extensive sway, such abundant patronage, and such independent tenure of office, would become fond of the exercise of power, and in the end arrogant and tyrannical. The former, equally devoted to the cause of national liberty, contended that to preserve it an energetic government was necessary. They described, with powerful effect, the evils actually endured from the inefficiency of the confederation, and demanded that a trial at least should be made of the remedy proposed.

In eleven states, a majority, though in some instances a small one, decided in favour of the constitution. Provision was then made for the election of the officers to compose the executive and legislative departments. In the highest station, the electors, by a unanimous vote, placed the illustrious Washington; and to the office of vice-president, by a vote nearly unanimous, they elevated John Adams, who, in stations less conspicuous, had, with equal patriotism, rendered important services to his country. On the 23d of April the president elect arrived at New-York, where he was received by the governor of the state, and conducted, with military honours, through an immense concourse of people, to the apartments provided for him. Here he received the salutations of foreign ministers, public bodies, political characters, and private citizens of distinction, who pressed around him to offer their congratulations, and to express their joy at seeing the man who had the confidence of all, at the head of the American republic. On the 30th of April the president was inaugurated. Having taken the oath of office in an open gallery adjoining the senate chamber, in the view of an immense concourse of people, who attested their joy by loud and repeated acclamations, he returned to the senate chamber, where he delivered the following appropriate address:

"Fellow citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives:

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in accepting this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it will be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Be

ing, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President, 'to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that, as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained: and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally*, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution, is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good. For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend."

In their answer to this speech, the senate say, "The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favour, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence, and affection of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit, and their esteem. We are sensible, sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow citizens could have called you from a retreat, chosen with the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years. We rejoice, and with us all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide; in you all interests unite; and we have no doubt that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions; and that your prudence and sagacity, as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendour to that country, which your skill and valour, as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and to empire."

The affection for the person and character of the President with which the answer of the House of Representatives glowed, promised that between this branch of the legislature also and the executive, the most harmonious co-operation in the public service might be expected.

"The representatives of the people of the United States," says this address, "present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow citizens have attested the preeminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem. You have often received tokens of their affection. You now possess the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your services, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honour, of being the first magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth."

After noticing the several communications made in the speech, intense of deep felt respect and affection, the answer concludes thus:

"Such are the sentiments with which we have thought fit to address you. They flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

"All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplications for the blessing of heaven on our country; and that we add our own for the choicest of these blessings on the most beloved of her citizens."

The government being now completely organized, and a system of revenue established, the President proceeded to make appointments of suitable persons to fill the offices which had been created.* After a laborious and important session, in which perfect harmony subsisted between the executive and the legislature, congress adjourned

* At the head of the department of state he placed Mr. Jefferson; at the head of the treasury, Colonel Hamilton at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the judicial department, Mr. Jay. The associate justices were John Rutledge, of South Carolina, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, William Cushing, of Massachusetts, Robert Harrison, of Maryland and John Blair of Virginia.

on the 29th of September to the first Monday in the succeeding January.

At the next session of Congress, which commenced in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted during the revolutionary war. Taking an able and enlarged view of the advantages of public credit, he recommended that not only the debts of the continental Congress, but those of the States arising from their exertions in the common cause, should be funded or assumed by the general government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest, by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. The report of the Secretary was largely discussed, and with great force of argument and eloquence. In conclusion, Congress passed an act for the assumption of the State debts, and for funding the national debt. By the provisions of this act, 21,500,000 dollars of the State debts were assumed in specific proportions; and it was particularly enacted, that no certificate should be received from a state creditor which could be "ascertained to have been issued for any purpose other than compensations and expenditures for services or supplies towards the prosecution of the late war, and the defence of the United States, or of some part thereof, during the same." Thus was the national debt funded upon principles which considerably lessened the weight of the public burdens, and gave much satisfaction to the public creditors. The produce of the sales of the lands lying in the western territory, and the surplus product of the revenue, after satisfying the appropriations which were charged upon it, with the addition of two millions which the President was authorized to borrow at five per cent., constituted a sinking fund to be applied to the reduction of the debt. The effect of these measures was great and rapid. The permanent value thus given to the debt produced a result equal to the most favourable anticipations. The sudden increase of monied capital derived from it invigorated commerce, and consequently gave a new stimulus to agriculture.

It has already been stated, that when the new government was first organized, but eleven states had ratified the constitution. Afterwards North Carolina and Rhode Island, the two dissenting states, adopted it; the former in November, 1789, the latter in May, 1790. In 1791, Vermont adopted it, and applied to Congress to be admitted into the Union. An act was also passed, declaring that the district of Kentucky, then part of Virginia, should be admitted into the Union on the 1st day of June in the succeeding year.

During the year 1790, a termination was put to the war which, for several years, had raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the banks of the Sciota and the Wabash. These being rejected, an army of fourteen hundred men, commanded by General Harmar, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chillicothe, in Ohio, between successive detachments from this army and the Indians, in which the latter were victorious. Emboldened by these successes, they continued to make more vigorous attacks upon the frontier settlements, which suffered all the distressing calamities of an Indian war. Additional troops were raised, and the command of the whole, amounting to nearly two thousand men, was given to General St. Clair. By desertion and detachments, this force was, however, reduced to fourteen hundred, when, on the 3d of November, 1791, they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami. But before sunrise the next morning, just after the troops were dismissed from the parade, they were attacked unexpectedly by the Indians. The new levies, who were in front, rushed back in confusion upon the regulars. The latter, however, with great intrepidity, advanced into the midst of the enemy, who retired from covert to covert, keeping always beyond reach, and again returning as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. At length, after a contest of three or four hours, St. Clair, whose ill-health disabled him from performing the active duties of commander, determined to withdraw from the field the remnant of his troops; fortunately, the victorious Indians preferred the plunder of the camp to pursuit, and the vanquished continued their retreat unmolested to the frontier settlements. In this battle, the numbers engaged on each side were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond example. Six hundred and thirty were killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty were wounded—a loss which proves at once the obstinacy of the defence, and the bravery of the assailants. On receiving information of this disaster, Congress, resolving to prosecute the war with increased vigour, made provision for augmenting, by enlistment, the military force of the nation to five thousand men.

In the course of this year was completed the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. They amounted to 3,921,326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to about nineteen, and the imports to about twenty millions. A great improvement in the circumstances of the people began at this period to be visible. The establishment of a firm and regular government, and confidence in the men whom they had chosen to administer it, gave an impulse to their exertions which bore them rapidly forward in the career of prosperity.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on the subject of a permanent seat of the government of the United States, a district of ten miles square for this purpose was fixed on, comprehending lands on both sides of the River Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown. A city was laid out, and the sales which took place produced funds for carrying on the necessary public buildings.

The war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States had the most extensive relations. The French people regarded the Americans as their brethren, bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and when the kings of Europe, dreading the establishment of republicanism in her borders, assembled in arms to restore monarchy to France, they looked across the Atlantic for sympathy and assistance. The new government, recalling the minister whom the king had appointed, despatched the citizen Genet, of ardent temper and a zealous republican, to supply his place. In April, 1793, he arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, where he was received by the Governor and the citizens, in a manner expressive of their warm attachment to his country, and their cordial approbation of the change of her institutions. Flattered by his reception, and presuming that the nation and the government were actuated by similar feelings, he undertook to authorize the fitting and arming of vessels in that port, enlisting men, and giving commissions to cruise and commit hostilities on nations with whom the United States were at peace; captured vessels were brought into port, and the consuls of France assumed, under the authority of M. Genet, to hold courts of admiralty on them, to try, condemn, and authorize their sale. The declaration of war made by France against Great Britain and Holland reached the United States early in the same month. The President, regarding the situation of these states, issued his proclamation of neutrality on the 9th of May. In July, he requested the recall of M. Genet, who was soon afterwards recalled, and succeeded by M. Fauchet.

After the defeat of St. Clair by the Indians, in 1791, General Wayne was appointed to command the American forces. Taking post near the country of the enemy, he made assiduous and long protracted endeavours to negotiate a peace. Failing in these, he marched against them at the head of three thousand men. On the 20th of August, 1794, an action took place in the vicinity of one of the British garrisons, on the banks of the Miami A rapid and vigorous charge roused the savages from their coverts, and they were driven more than two miles at the point of the bayonet. Broken and dismayed, they fled without renewing the combat. In this decisive battle, the loss of the Americans in killed and wounded, including officers, was one hundred and seven. Among the slain were Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Fowles, both of whom fell in the first charge. The American troops engaged in the battle did not amount to nine hundred; the number of Indians was two thousand. After remaining on the banks of the Miami three days, during which time the houses and cornfields above and below the fort were burnt, Gen. Wayne, on the 28th, returned with the army to Au Glaize, having destroyed all the villages and corn within fifty miles of the river. The Indians still continuing hostilities, their whole country was laid waste, and forts were erected in the heart of their settlements. The effect of the battle of the 20th of August was instantly and extensively felt. To the victory gained by the Americans is ascribed the rescue of the United States from a general war with the Indians northwest of the Ohio; and its influence is believed to have extended to the Indians in Georgia. In 1795, a treaty was concluded at Grenville, which, long and faithfully observed, gave peace and security to the frontier inhabitants, permitting the superabundant population of the eastern states to spread with astonishing rapidity over the fertile region northwest of the Ohio.

The year 1794 is distinguished by an insurrection in Pennsylvania. In 1791, Congress had enacted laws, laying duties upon

spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills. From the commencement of the operation of these laws, combinations were formed in the four western counties of Pennsylvania to defeat them, and violence was repeatedly committed. In July of the present year, about one hundred persons, armed with guns and other weapons, attacked the house of an inspector of the revenue, and wounded some persons within it. They seized the marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, who had been previously fired on while in the execution of his duty by a party of armed men, and compelled him to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of his office. Both the inspector and the marshal were obliged to fly from that part of the country to the seat of government. These and many other outrages induced President Washington, on the 7th of August, to issue a proclamation, commanding the insurgents to disperse, and warning all persons against aiding, abetting, or comforting the perpetrators of these treasonable acts, and requiring all officers, and other citizens, according to their respective duties and the laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavours to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings. On the 25th of September the President issued a second proclamation, admonishing the insurgents; forcibly describing the obstinate and perverse spirit with which the lenient propositions of the government had been received; and declaring his fixed determination, in obedience to the duty assigned to him by the constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and to reduce the refractory to obedience. Fifteen thousand men, placed under the command of Governor Lee, of Virginia, were marched into the disaffected counties. The strength of this army rendering resistance desperate, none was offered, and no blood was shed. A few of the most active leaders were seized and detained for legal prosecution. The great body of the insurgents, on submission, were pardoned, as were also the leaders, after trial and conviction of treason. The government acquired the respect of the people by this exertion of its force and their affection by this display of its lenity.

Great Britain and the United States had each been incessantly complaining that the other had violated the stipulations contained in the treaty of peace. The former was accused of having carried away negroes at the close of the revolutionary war; and of retaining in her possession certain military posts situated in the western wilderness, and within the limits of the United States. The latter were accused of preventing the loyalists from regaining possession of their estates, and British subjects from recovering debts contracted before the commencement of hostilities. For the purpose of adjusting these mutual complaints, and also for concluding a commercial treaty, Mr. Adams had been appointed, in 1785, minister to the court of St. James; the British ministry then declined negotiating on the subject; but after the constitution of 1789 was ratified, ministers were interchanged, and the discussion was prosecuted with no little zeal. In 1794, Mr. Jay being then minister from the United States, a treaty was concluded, which, in the spring of the next year, was laid before the Senate. That body advised the President to ratify it, on condition that an alteration should be made in one of the articles. The democratic party, however, exclaimed in intemperate language against most of the stipulations it contained; and the partisans of France swelled the cry of condemnation. Public meetings were held in various parts of the Union, at which resolutions were passed expressing warm disapprobation of the treaty, and an earnest wish that the President would withhold his ratification. General Washington, believing that an adjustment of differences would conduce to the prosperity of the republic, and that the treaty before him was the best that could, at that time, be obtained, gave it his assent, in defiance of popular clamour, and issued his proclamation stating its ratification, and declaring it to be the law of the land. The predominant party in the House of Representatives expressed surprise that this proclamation should be issued before the sense of the House was taken on the subject, as they denied the power of the President and Senate to complete a treaty without their sanction. In March, a resolution passed, requesting the President "to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the king of Great Britain communicated by his message of the 1st of March, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to the said treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed." This resolve placed the President in a situation of high responsibility. He knew that the majority of the House entertained the opinion that a treaty was not valid until they had acted upon it. To oppose, in a government constituted like that of the United States, the popular branch of the Legislature, would be attended with hazard, and subject him to much censure and abuse; but considerations of this nature make but weak impressions on a mind supremely solicitous to promote the public interest. Upon the most mature deliberation, the President conceived that to grant this request of the House would establish a false and dangerous principle in the diplomatic transactions of the nation, and he gave a denial to their request in an answer eminent for mildness, firmness, and perspicuity, which concluded with the following brief recapitulation of the argument: "As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments should be preserved; a just regard to the constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request."

A resolution moved in the House to make the necessary appropriations to carry the British treaty into effect, excited among the members the strongest emotions, and gave rise to speeches highly argumentative, eloquent, and animated. The debate was protracted until the people took up the subject. In their respective corporations, meetings were held, the strength of parties was fully tried, and it clearly appeared that the great majority were disposed to rally around the Executive. Innumerable petitions were presented to Congress, praying them to make the requisite appropriations. Unwilling to take upon themselves the consequences of resisting the public will, they yielded to this call.

The conduct of Spain towards the United States had always been cold and unfriendly. She feared lest the principles of liberty and the desire of independence should find their way into her contiguous American provinces. At length, becoming involved in a war with France, embarrassed at home, and intimidated by the unauthorized preparations which, under the auspices of Genet, were making in Kentucky to invade Louisiana, she intimated her readiness to conclude a satisfactory treaty, should an envoy extraordinary be sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinckney was accordingly appointed. In October, 1795, a treaty was signed, securing to the citizens of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean, and the privilege of landing and depositing cargoes at New Orleans.

During this year also a treaty was concluded with the regency of Algiers, with which the republic was previously at war. It stipulated that the United States, in conformity with the practice of other nations, should, as the price of peace, pay an annual tribute to the sovereign of that country.

The last two or three years had witnessed several changes in the important offices of the nation. On the first day of the year 1794, Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by Mr. Randolph. He had performed the duties of that office with extraordinary ability, and to the entire satisfaction of the President. He was considered the leader of the republican party, enjoying their highest confidence and warmest attachment. On the last day of January, 1795, Mr. Hamilton retired from the office of secretary of the treasury. He possessed distinguished talents, and had exerted those talents to establish order where all was confusion, and to raise from the lowest depression the credit of the country. His complete success greatly exalted his reputation, and to him the federalists felt a sincerity of attachment equalled only by that entertained for Washington. He was peculiarly obnoxious to the republican party, and was accused by them of partiality to England, and of misconduct in office. After the closest scrutiny, his official character was acknowledged, by his enemies, to be without stain. He was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott. At the close of the year 1794, General Knox resigned the office of secretary of war, and Colonel Pickering, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his place. In August Mr. Randolph, having lost the confidence of the President, and having in consequence retired from the administration, Mr. Pickering was appointed his successor in the department of state, and James M'Henry, of Maryland, was made secretary of war. No republican being now at the head of any of the departments, many of the leaders of that party withdrew their support from the administration; but the confidence of the people in the integrity and patriotism of the President experienced not the slightest abatement.

The conduct adopted by France towards the American republic continued to be a source of vexation. M. Fauchet charged the administration with sentiments of hostility to the allies of the United States, with partiality for their former foes, and urged the adoption of a course more favourable to the cause of liberty. Mr. Morris, the minister to Paris, having incurred the displeasure of those in power, was recalled at their request, and his place supplied by Mr. Monroe. Being an ardent republican, he was received in the most respectful manner by the convention, who decreed that the flags of the two republics, entwined together, should be suspended in the legislative hall, as a mark of their eternal union and friendship. M. Adet was appointed soon after to succeed M. Fauchet. He brought with him the colours of France, which he was instructed by the convention to present to the Congress of the United States. They were received by the President with extraordinary ceremonies, transmitted to Congress, and afterwards deposited in the national archives. But France required of the United States more than professions and hopes, and more than by treaty she was entitled to claim. She wished to make them a party in the war she was waging with the despots of Europe. Failing in this, and jealous of the more intimate relations contracted with her principal enemy, England, she adopted regulations highly injurious to American commerce, directing her cruisers to capture in certain cases the vessels of the United States. In consequence of these regulations, several hundred vessels, loaded with valuable cargoes, were taken while prosecuting a lawful trade, and the whole confiscated. Believing that the rights of the nation were not asserted and vindicated with sufficient spirit by Mr. Monroe, the President recalled him, and Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, he left the United States, instructed to use every effort compatible with national honour, to restore the amicable relations which had once subsisted between the sister republics.

As the period for a new election of a President of the United States approached, after plain indications that the public voice would be in his favour, and when he probably would have been chosen for the third time unanimously, Washington determined irrevocably to withdraw to the seclusion of private life. He published, in September, 1796, a farewell address to the people of the United States, which ought to be engraven upon the hearts of his countrymen. In the most earnest and affectionate manner he called upon them to cherish an immoveable attachment to the national union, to watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, to discountenance even the suggestion that it could in any event be abandoned, and indignantly to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest. Overgrown military establishments he represented as particularly hostile to republican liberty. While he recommended the most implicit obedience to the acts of the established government, and reprobated all obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or overawe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, he wished also to guard against the spirit of innovation upon the principles of the constitution. Aware that the energy of the system might be enfeebled by alterations, he thought that no change should be made without an evident necessity; and that, in so extensive a country, as much vigour as is consistent with liberty was indispensable. On the other hand, he pointed out the danger of a real despotism, by breaking down the partitions between the several departments of government, by destroying the reciprocal checks, and consolidating the different powers. Against the spirit of party, so peculiarly baneful in an elective government, he uttered his most solemn remonstrances, as well as against inveterate antipathies or passionate attachments in respect to foreign nations. While he thought that the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly and impartially awake against the wiles of foreign influence, he wished that good faith and justice should be observed towards all nations, and peace and harmony cultivated. In his opinion, honesty, no less in public than in private affairs, was always the best policy. Providence, he believed, had connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue. Other subjects to which he alluded, were the importance of credit, of economy, of a reduction of the public debt, and of literary institutions; above all, he recommended religion and morality as indispensably necessary to political prosperity. This address to the people of the United States was received with the highest veneration and gratitude. Several of the state legislatures ordered it to be put upon their journals, and every citizen considered it as the legacy of the most distinguished American patriot.

On the 7th of December, 1796, the President for the last time met the national legislature. In his speech, after taking a view of the situation of the United States, regardless of opposition and censure, he recommended the attention of Congress to those measures which he deemed essential to national independence, honour, and prosperity. On the 4th of March, 1797, he attended the inauguration of his successor in office. Great sensibility was manifested by the members of the Legislature and other distinguished characters when he entered the Senate chamber, and much admiration expressed at the complacence and delight he manifested at seeing another clothed with the authority with which he had himself been invested. Having paid his affectionate compliments to Mr. Adams, as president of the United States, he bade adieu to the seat of government, and hastened to the delights of domestic life. He intended that his journey should have been private, but the attempt was vain; the same affectionate and respectful attentions were on this occasion paid him which he had received during his presidency. In his retirement at Mount Vernon he gave the world the glorious example of a man voluntarily disrobing himself of the highest authority, and returning to private life, with a character having upon it no stain of ambition, of covetousness, of profusion, of luxury, of oppression, or of injustice; while it was adorned with the presence of virtues and graces, brilliant alike in the shade of retirement and in the glare of public life.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.

When the determination of Washington not again to accept of the presidentship left open the high office to the competition of the leaders of the great political parties, no exertion was spared throughout the Union to give success to their respective claims. The federalists, desiring that the system of measures adopted by Washington should be pursued, and dreading the influence of French sentiments and principles, made the most active efforts to elect John Adams. The republicans, believing their opponents less friendly than themselves to the maxims of liberty, and too much devoted to the British nation and to British institutions, made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson. The result was the choice of Mr. Adams to be President, and Mr. Jefferson to be Vice-President.

The President was inaugurated on the 4th day of March, and made the following speech:

"When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained, between unlimited submission to a foreign Legislature and a total independence of its claims; men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable power of fleets and armies they must determine to resist, than from those contests and dissensions, which would certainly arise, concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole, and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an overruling Providence, which had so signally protected this country from the first; the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present numbers, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up, and frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

"The zeal and ardour of the people during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The confederation, which was early felt to be necessary, was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain, with any detail and precision, in history, and certainly the only ones, which the people at large had ever considered. But, reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country and those, where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some, who assisted in Congress at the formation of it, that it could not be durable.

"Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals, but in states, soon appeared with their melancholy consequences; universal langnor, jealousies, rivalries of states; decline of navigation and commerce; discouragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the value of lands

and their produce; contempt of public and private faith; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and at length, in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity.

"In this dangerous crisis, the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution, or integrity. Measures were pursued to concert a plan, to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisition, discussions, and deliberations, issued in the present happy constitution of government.

"Employed in the service of my country abroad during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as the result of good heads, prompted by good hearts; as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government as I had ever most esteemed; and in some states, my own native state in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage in common with my fellow citizens in the adoption or rejection of a constitution, which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it on all occasions, in public and in private. It was not then nor has been since any objection to it, in my mind, that the Executive and Senate were not more permanent. Nor have I entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in Congress and the state legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

"Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it for ten years, I had the honour to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the constitution. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration, and delight in its effects upon the peace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment to it, and veneration for it.

"What other form of government, indeed, can so well deserve our esteem and love?

"There may be little solidity in an ancient idea, that congregations of men into cities and nations are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligences: but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind there can be no spectacle presented by any nation, more pleasing, more noble, majestic, or august, than an assembly like that, which has so often been seen in this and the other chamber of Congress—of a government, in which the executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the Legislature, are exercised by citizens selected at regular periods by their neighbours, to make and execute laws for the general good. Can any thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration, be added to this by robes or diamonds? Can authority be more amiable or respectable, when it descends from accidents or institutions established in remote antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people? For, it is the people only that are represented: it is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours for any length of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people. And what object of consideration, more pleasing than this, can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information, and benevolence.

"In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we should be unfaithful to ourselves, if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if any thing partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party, for its own ends, not of the nation for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations, by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality; the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we, the people, who govern ourselves: and candid men will acknowledge, that in such cases, choice would have little advantage to boast of, over lot or chance.

"Such is the amiable and interesting system of government, (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed,) which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations for eight years; under the administration of a citizen who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude, conducting a people inspired with the same virtues, and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and peace, to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity, has merited the gratitude of his fellow citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

"In that retirement, which is his voluntary choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services, the gratitude of mankind; the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year. His name may be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives, a bulwark against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace.

"This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors, by both Houses of Congress, and by the voice of the legislatures and the people, throughout the nation.

"On this subject it might become me better to be silent, or to speak with diffidence; but, as something may be expected, the occasion I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say, that, if a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth; if an attachment to the constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it, until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual states, and a constant caution and delicacy towards the state governments; if an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honour, and happiness of all the states in the Union, without preference or regard to a northern or southern, eastern or western position, their various political opinions on essential points, or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion, among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms, but, as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, profligacy, and corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; if a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture commerce, and manufactures, for necessity, convenience, and defence; if a spirit of equity and humanity towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe, which has been adopted by the government, and so solemnly sanctioned by both Houses of Congress, and applauded by the legislatures of the states and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by Congress; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship, which has been so much for the honour and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honour and integrity of the people of America, and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavour to investigate every just cause, and remove every colourable pretence of complaint; if an intention to pursue, by amicable negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow citizens, by whatever nation; and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the Legislature, that they may con-

sider what further measures the honour and interest of the government and its constituents demand; if a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend upon me, at all times, and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship, and benevolence, with all the world; if an unshaken confidence in the honour, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never been deceived; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people, deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured but exalted by experience and age; and with humble reverence I feel it my duty to add—if a veneration for the religion of a people, who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for christianity among the best recommendations for the public service, can enable me, in any degree, to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavour, that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect.

"With this great example before me; with the sense and spirit, the faith and honour, the duty and interest of the same American people, pledged to support the constitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy; and my mind is prepared, without hesitation, to lay myself under the most solemn obligations to support it, to the utmost of my power.

"And may that Being, who is supreme over all, the patron of order, the fountain of justice, and the protector, in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue his blessing upon this nation and its government, and give it all possible success and duration, consistent with the ends of his providence."

Mr. Pinckney had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the French republic in 1796. The object of his mission was stated, in his letter of credence, to be, "to maintain that good understanding which, from the commencement of the alliance, had subsisted between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." On inspecting his letter of credence, the directory announced to him their determination "not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, which the French republic had a right to expect from it." The American minister was afterward obliged, by a written mandate, to quit the territories of the French republic. Besides other hostile indications, American vessels were captured wherever found; and, under the pretext of their wanting a document, with which the treaty of commerce had been uniformly understood to dispense, they were condemned as prizes.

In consequence of this serious state of the relations with France, the President, by proclamation, summoned Congress to meet on the 15th of June; when, in a firm and dignified speech, he stated the great and unprovoked outrages of the French government. Having mentioned a disposition indicated in the executive directory to separate the people of America from their government, "such attempts," he added, "ought to be repelled with a decision which shall convince France and all the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest." He expressed, however, his wish for an accommodation, and his purpose of attempting it. "Retaining still the desire which has uniformly been manifested by the American government to preserve peace and friendship with all nations, and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbade the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, he should," he said, "institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and should not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of the nation." In the mean time, he earnestly recommended it to Congress to provide effectual measures of defence.

To make a last effort to obtain reparation and security, three envoys extraordinary were appointed, at the head of whom was General Pinckney. By their instructions, "Peace and reconciliation were to be pursued by all means compatible with the honour and the faith of the United States; but no national engagements were to be impaired; no innovations to be permitted upon those internal regulations for the preservation of peace, which had been deliberately and uprightly established; nor were the rights of the government to be surrendered." These ambassadors also the directory refused to receive. They were, however, addressed by persons verbally instructed by Talleyrand, the minister of foreign relations, to make proposals. In explicit terms, these unofficial agents demanded a large sum of money before any negotiation could be opened. To this insulting demand a decided negative was given. A compliance was, nevertheless, repeatedly urged, until at length the envoys refused to hold with them any further communication.

When these events were known in the United States they excited general indignation. The spirit of party appeared to be extinct. "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute," resounded from every quarter of the Union. The treaty of alliance with France was declared by Congress to be no longer in force; and authority was given for capturing armed French vessels. Provision was made for raising immediately a small regular army, and, in case events should render it expedient, for augmenting it. A direct tax and additional internal duties were laid. To command the armies of the United States, President Adams, with the unanimous advice of the Senate, appointed George Washington. He consented, but with great reluctance, to accept the office, declaring, however, that he cordially approved the measures of the government.

The first act of hostility between the two nations appears to have been committed by the Insurgente, which was in a short period after so signally beaten by an American frigate. The schooner Retaliation, Lieutenant-Commandant Bainbridge, being deluded into the power of this vessel, was captured and carried into Guadaloupe. Several other United States armed vessels were in company with the Retaliation, and pursued by the French squadron, but were probably saved from capture by the address of Lieutenant Bainbridge, who, being asked by the French Commodore what was the force of the vessels chased, exaggerated with so much adroitness as to induce him to recall his ships. The Constellation went to sea under the command of Captain Truxton. In February, 1799, he encountered the Insurgente, and, after a close action of about an hour and a half, compelled her to strike. The rate of the Constellation was thirty-two guns, that of the Insurgente forty. The former had three men wounded, one of whom shortly after died, and none killed; the latter had forty-one wounded, and twenty-nine killed. This victory, which was so brilliant and decisive, with such a wonderful disparity of loss, gave great eclat to the victor and to the navy. Commodore Truxton again put to sea in the Constellation, being destined to renew his triumphs, and the humiliation of the foe. In February, 1800, he fell in with the Vengeance, a French ship of fifty-four guns, with which he began an engagement that lasted, with great obstinacy and spirit on both sides, from eight o'clock in the evening till one in the morning, when the Vengeance was completely silenced, and sheered off. The Constellation, having lost her mainmast, was too much injured to pursue her. The Captain of the Vengeance is said to have twice surrendered during the contest, but his signals were not understood amidst the darkness of night and the confusion of battle.

The United States, thus victorious in arms at home and on the ocean, commanded the respect of their enemy; and the directory made overtures of peace. The President immediately appointed ministers, who, on their arrival at Paris, found the executive authority in the possession of Bonaparte as first consul. They were promptly received, and in September, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisfactory to both countries.

The services of Washington had not been required in his capacity of commander in chief; but he did not live to witness the restoration of peace. On Friday, December 13, while attending some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner; but at night was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe, attended by fever, and a quick and laborious respiration. About twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from him. In the morning, his family physician, Dr. Craik, was sent for; but the utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. Believing from the commencement of his complaint that it would be mortal, a few hours before his departure, and after repeated efforts to be understood, he succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die without being disquieted by unavailing attempts to rescue him from his fate. When he could no longer swallow, he undressed himself and got into bed, there to await his dissolution. To his friend and physician he said, with difficulty, "Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die." Respiration became more and more contracted and imperfect

until half-past eleven on Saturday night, when retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle. Thus, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, died the father of his country. Intelligence of this event, as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, deep, and unaffected grief, suspending every other thought, and absorbing every different feeling. Congress, then at session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of representatives resolved, "that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The senate of the United States, in an address to the president on this melancholy occasion, indulged their patriotic pride, while they did not transgress the bounds of truth, in speaking of their Washington. "Ancient and modern names," said they, "are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory: he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it,—where malice cannot blast it."

According to the unanimous resolution of Congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn; the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout the union similar marks of affliction were exhibited; a whole people appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief.

In the year 1800 the seat of government of the United States was removed to Washington, in the district of Columbia. After congratulating the people of the United States on the assembling of Congress at the permanent seat of their government, and Congress on the prospect of a residence not to be changed, the president said, "It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble for the first time in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be for ever held in veneration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever."

At this period a presidential election again occurred. From the time of the adoption of the constitution, the republican party had been gradually increasing in numbers. The two parties being now nearly equal, the contest inspired both with uncommon ardour. The federalists supported Mr. Adams and General Pinckney; the republicans, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. The two latter received a small majority of the electoral votes; and as they received also an equal number, the selection of one of them to be president devolved upon the house of representatives. After thirty-five trials, during which the nation felt intense solicitude, Mr. Jefferson was chosen. Colonel Burr received the votes of the federalists, and lost, in consequence, the confidence of his former friends. By the provisions of the constitution he became, of course, vice-president. On his inauguration, Mr. Jefferson made the following speech to both houses of Congress.

"Friends and fellow-citizens,

"Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favour with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

"During the contest of opinion through which we have past, the animation of discussions and of exertions, has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart, and one mind, let us restore to social intercourse, that harmony and affection without which, liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic and wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans: we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or, have we found angels in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

"Let us then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attention to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and

shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

"About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently, those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political: peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none: the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies: the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad: a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided: absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism: a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them: the supremacy of the civil over the military authority: economy in the public expense, that labour may be lightly burdened: the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith: encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid: the diffusion of information, and arrangement of all abuses at the bar of the public reason: freedom of religion: freedom of the press; and freedom of person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus:* and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and the blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment: they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety.

"I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man, to retire from this station with the reputation, and the favour, which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage, is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

"Relying then on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and prosperity."

A second census of the inhabitants of the United States was completed in 1801. They amounted to 5,319,762, having in ten years increased nearly one million four hundred thousand. In the same number of years the exports increased from nineteen to ninety-four millions, and the revenue from 4,771,000 to 12,945,000 dollars. This rapid advance in the career of prosperity has no parallel in the history of nations, and is to be attributed principally to the institutions of the country, which, securing equal privileges to all, gave to the enterprise and industry of all free scope and full encouragement.

In 1802, the state of Ohio was admitted into the union. It was formerly a portion of the north-western territory, for the government of which, in 1787, an ordinance was passed by the continental Congress. In thirty years from its first settlement, the number of its inhabitants exceeded half a million. The state of Tennessee, which was previously a part of North Carolina, and which lies between that state and the river Mississippi, had been admitted in 1796.

The right of deposit at New Orleans, conceded to the citizens of the United States by Spain, and necessary to the people of the western country, had, until this period, been freely enjoyed. In October, the chief officer of that city prohibited the exercise of it in future. This violation of a solemn engagement produced, throughout the states of Ohio and Kentucky, indignant clamour and violent commotion. In Congress a proposition was made to take possession by force of the whole province of Louisiana; but a more pacific course was adopted. Knowing that the province had been ceded, although not transferred, to France, the president instituted a negotiation to acquire it by purchase. In April, 1803, a treaty was concluded, conveying it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars. Its acquisition was considered by the United States of the greatest importance, as it gave them the entire control of a river which is one of the noblest in the world.

At this period, also, there was another important acquisition of territory. The friendly tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, reduced by wars and other causes to a few individuals who were unable to defend themselves against the neighbouring tribes, transferred its country to the United States; reserving only a sufficiency to maintain its members in an agricultural way. The stipulations on the part of the United States were, to extend to them patronage and protection, and to give to them certain annual aids, in money, implements of agriculture, and other articles of their choice. This ceded country extends along the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to and up the Ohio; and is esteemed as among the most fertile within the limits of the union.

The United States had for some time enjoyed the undisputed repose of peace, with only one exception. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had made demands, founded neither in right nor in compact, and had denounced war on the failure of the American government to comply with them before a given day. The president, on this occasion, sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of the sincere desire of the American government to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. It was a seasonable and salutary measure; for the bey had already declared war; and the American commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded, while that of the Atlantic was in peril. The arrival of the squadron dispelled the danger. The Insurgente, which had been so honourably added to the American navy, and the Pickering, of fourteen guns, the former commanded by Captain Fletcher, the latter, by Captain Hillar, were lost in the equinoctial gale, in September, 1800. In 1801, the Enterprise, of fourteen guns, Captain Sterrett, fell in with a Tripolitan ship of war of equal force. The action continued three hours and a half, the corsair fighting with great obstinacy, and even desperation, until she struck, having lost fifty killed and wounded, while the Enterprise had not a man injured. In 1803, Commodore Preble assumed the command of the Mediterranean squadron, and after humbling the emperor of Morocco, who had begun a covert war upon American commerce, concentrated most of his force before Tripoli. On arriving off that port, Captain Bainbridge, in the frigate Philadelphia, of forty-four guns, was sent into the harbour, to reconnoitre. While in eager pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately advanced so far that the frigate grounded, and all attempts to remove her were in vain. The sea around her was immediately covered with Tripolitan gunboats, and Captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. This misfortune, which threw a number of accomplished officers and a valiant crew into oppressive bondage, and which shed a gloom over the whole nation, as it seemed at once to increase the difficulties of a peace a hundred-fold, was soon relieved by one of the most daring and chivalrous exploits that is found in naval annals. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, then one of Commodore Preble's subalterns, proposed a plan for recapturing or destroying the Philadelphia. The American squadron was at that time lying at Syracuse. Agreeably to the plan proposed, Lieutenant Decatur, in the ketch Intrepid, four guns and seventy-five men, proceeded, under the escort of the Syren, Captain Stewart, to the harbour of Tripoli. The Philadelphia lay within half gun-shot of the

bashaw's castle, and several cruisers and gunboats surrounded her with jealous vigilance. The Intrepid entered the harbour alone, about eight o'clock in the evening, and succeeded in getting near the Philadelphia, between ten and eleven o'clock, without having awakened suspicion of her hostile designs. This vessel had been captured from the Tripolitans, and, assuming on this occasion her former national appearance, was permitted to warp alongside, under the alleged pretence that she had lost all her anchors. The moment the vessel came in contact, Decatur and his followers leaped on board, and soon overwhelmed a crew which was paralyzed with consternation. Twenty of the Tripolitans were killed. All the surrounding batteries being opened upon the Philadelphia, she was immediately set on fire, and not abandoned until thoroughly wrapped in flames; when, a favouring breeze springing up, the Intrepid extricated herself from her prey, and sailed triumphantly out of the harbour amid the light of the conflagration. Not the slightest loss occurred on the side of the Americans to shade the splendour of the enterprise.

In July, 1804, Commodore Preble brought together all his forces before Tripoli, determined to try the effect of a bombardment. The enemy having sent some of his gunboats and galleys without the reef at the mouth of the harbour, two divisions of American gunboats were formed for the purpose of attacking them, while the large vessels assailed the batteries and town. On the 3d. of August this plan was put in execution. The squadron approached within gun-shot of the town, and opened a tremendous fire of shot and shells, which was as promptly returned by the Tripolitan batteries and shipping. At the same time the two divisions of gunboats, the first under the command of Captain Somers, the second under Captain Stephen Decatur, who had been promoted as a reward for his late achievement, advanced against those of the enemy. The squadron was about two hours under the enemy's batteries, generally within pistol-shot, ranging by them in deliberate succession, alternately silencing their fires, and launching its thunders into the very palace of the bashaw; while a more animated battle was ranging in another quarter. Simultaneously with the bombardment the American gunboats had closed in desperate conflict with the enemy. Captain Decatur, bearing down upon one of superior force, soon carried her by boarding, when, taking his prize in tow, he grappled with another, and in like manner transferred the fight to the enemy's deck. In the fierce encounter which followed this second attack, Captain Decatur, having broken his sword, closed with the Turkish commander, and both falling in the struggle, gave him a mortal wound with a pistol-shot, just as the Turk was raising his dirk to plunge it into his breast. Lieutenant Trippe, of Captain Decatur's squadron, had boarded a third large gunboat, with only one midshipman and nine men, when his boat fell off, and left him to wage the unequal fight of eleven against thirty-six, which was the number of the enemy. Courage and resolution, however, converted this devoted little band into a formidable host, which, after a sanguinary contest, obliged the numerous foe to yield, with the loss of fourteen killed and seven wounded. Lieutenant Trippe received eleven sabre wounds, and had three of his party wounded, but none killed. Several bombardments and attacks succeeded each other at intervals throughout the month. Day after day death and devastation were poured into Tripoli with unsparing perseverance, each attack exhibiting instances of valour and devotedness which will give lustre to history. The eyes of Europe were drawn to the spot where a young nation, scarcely emerged into notice, was signally chastising the despotic and lawless infidel, to whom some of her most powerful governments were then paying tribute.

On the 4th of September, Commodore Preble, in order to try new experiments of annoyance, determined to send a fireship into the enemy's harbour. The Intrepid was fitted out for this service, being filled with powder, shells, and other combustible materials. Captain Somers, who had often been the emulous rival of Decatur in the career of glory, was appointed to conduct her in, having for his associates in the hazardous enterprise Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel, all volunteers. The Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus, were to convoy the Intrepid as far as the mouth of the harbour. Captain Somers and Lieutenant Wadsworth made choice of two of the fleetest boats in the squadron, manned with picked crews, to bring them out. At eight o'clock in the evening she stood into the harbour with a moderate breeze. Several shot were fired at her from the batteries. She had nearly gained her place of destination when she exploded, without having made any of the signals previously concerted to show that the crew was safe. Night hung over the dreadful catastrophe, and left the whole squadron a prey to the most painful anxiety. The convoy hovered about the harbour until sunrise, when no remains could be discovered either of the Intrepid or her boats. Doubt was turned into certainty, that she had prematurely blown up, as one of the enemy's gunboats was observed to be missing, and several others much shattered and damaged. Commodore Preble, in his account, says, that he was led to believe "that those boats were detached from the enemy's flotilla to intercept the ketch, and without suspecting her to be a fireship, the missing boats had suddenly boarded her, when the gallant Somers and the heroes of his party observing the other three boats surrounding them, and no prospect of escape, determined at once to prefer death, and the destruction of the enemy, to captivity and torturing slavery, put a match to the train leading directly to the magazine, which at once blew the whole into the air, and terminated their existence;" and he adds, that his "conjectures respecting this affair are founded on a resolution which Captain Somers and Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel had formed, neither to be taken by the enemy, nor suffer him to get possession of the powder on board the Intrepid." Soon after these events, Commodore Preble gave up the command in the Mediterranean to Commodore Barron, and returned to the United States. His eminent services were enthusiastically acknowledged by his admiring fellow-citizens, as well of those of his associates in arms, "whose names," in the expressive language of Congress on the occasion, "ought to live in the recollection and affection of a grateful country, and whose conduct ought to be regarded as an example to future generations.

While the squadron remained before Tripoli other deeds of heroism were performed. William Eaton, who had been a captain in the American army, was, at the commencement of this war, consul at Tunis. He there became acquainted with Hamet Caramauly, whom a younger brother had excluded from the throne of Tripoli. With him he concerted an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and repaired to the United States to obtain permission and the means to undertake it. Permission was granted, the cooperation of the squadron recommended, and such pecuniary assistance as could be spared was afforded. To raise an army in Egypt, and lead it to attack the usurper in his dominions, was the project which had been concerted. In the beginning of 1805, Eaton met Hamet at Alexandria, and was appointed general of his forces. On the 6th of March, at the head of a respectable body of mounted Arabs, and about seventy Christians, he set out for Tripoli. His route lay across a desert one thousand miles in extent. On his march, he encountered peril, fatigue, and suffering, the description of which would resemble the exaggerations of romance. On the 25th of April, having been fifty days on the march, he arrived before Derne, a Tripolitan city on the Mediterranean, and found in the harbour a part of the American squadron destined to assist him. He learnt also that the usurper, having received notice of his approach, had raised a considerable army, and was then within a day's march of the city. No time was therefore to be lost. The next morning he summoned the governor to surrender, who returned for answer, "My head or yours." The city was assaulted, and after a contest of two hours and a half, possession was gained. The Christians suffered severely, and the general was slightly wounded. Great exertions were immediately made to fortify the city. On the 8th of May it was attacked by the Tripolitan army. Although ten times more numerous than Eaton's band, the assailants, after persisting four hours in the attempt, were compelled to retire. On the 10th of June another battle was fought, in which the enemy were defeated. The next day the American frigate Constitution arrived in the harbour, which so terrified the Tripolitans that they fled precipitately to the desert. The frigate came, however, to arrest the operations of Eaton in the midst of his brilliant and successful career. Alarmed at his progress, the reigning bashaw had offered terms of peace, which, being much more favourable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorized agent of the government. Sixty thousand dollars were given as ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, and an engagement was made to withdraw all support from Hamet. The nation, proud of the exploits of Eaton, regretted this diplomatic interference, but the treaty was subsequently ratified by the president and senate.

During the year 1804 the Delaware Indians relinquished to the United States their title to an extensive tract east of the Mississippi, between the Wabash and Ohio, for which they were to receive annuities in animals and in

plements for agriculture, and in other necessaries. This was an important acquisition, not only for its extent and fertility, but because, by its commanding the Ohio for three hundred miles, and nearly half that distance the Wabash, the produce of the settled country could be safely conveyed down those rivers, and, with the cession recently made by the Kaskaskias, it nearly consolidated the possessions of the United States north of the Ohio, from Lake Erie to the Mississippi.

Early in the following year Mr. Jefferson was re-elected to fill the president's chair, by the decided majority of sixty-two votes against sixteen, a circumstance which he viewed as an indication of a great decay in the strength of the federal party. George Clinton was also elected vice-president.

The American government at this period began to be seriously affected by the contest which was raging in Europe. Under the guidance of the splendid talents of Napoleon the military prowess of France had brought most of the European nations to her feet. England, however, still retained almost undisputed command of the ocean, expelling every hostile navy from the seas. America profited from the destruction of the ships and commerce of other nations; being neutral, her vessels carried from port to port the productions of France and the dependant kingdoms; and also to the ports of those kingdoms the manufactures of England: indeed, few ships were found on the ocean except those of the United States and Great Britain. These advantages were, however, too great to be long enjoyed unmolested. American ships carrying to Europe the produce of French colonies were, in the early stage of the war, captured by British cruisers, and condemned by their courts as lawful prizes; and now several European ports under the control of France were, by British orders in council, dated in May 1806, declared in a state of blockade, although not invested with a British fleet; and American vessels attempting to enter those ports were also captured and condemned. France and her allies suffered, as well as the United States, from these proceedings; but her vengeance fell not so much upon the belligerent as upon the neutral party. By a decree, issued in Berlin in November, 1806, the French emperor declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and of course authorized the capture of all neutral vessels attempting to trade with those islands. From these measures of both nations the commerce of the United States severely suffered, and their merchants loudly demanded of the government redress and protection.

This was not the only grievance to which the contest between the European powers gave rise. Great Britain claimed a right to search for and seize English sailors, even on board neutral vessels while traversing the ocean. In the exercise of this pretended right, citizens of the United States were seized, dragged from their friends, transported to distant parts of the world, compelled to perform the duty of British sailors, and to fight with nations at peace with their own. Against this outrage upon personal liberty and the rights of American citizens, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson had remonstrated in vain. The abuse continued, and every year added to its aggravation. In June, 1807, a circumstance occurred which highly and justly incensed the Americans. The frigate Chesapeake, being ordered on a cruise in the Mediterranean sea, under the command of Commodore Barron, sailing from Hampton Roads, was come up with by the British ship of war Leopard, one of a squadron then at anchor within the limits of the United States. An officer was sent from the Leopard to the Chesapeake, with a note from the captain respecting some deserters from some of his Britannic majesty's ships, supposed to be serving as part of the crew of the Chesapeake, and enclosing a copy of an order from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, requiring and directing the commanders of ships and vessels under his command, in case of meeting with the American frigate at sea, and without the limits of the United States, to show the order to her captain, and to require to search his ship for the deserters from certain ships therein named, and to proceed and search for them; and if a similar demand should be made by the American, he was permitted to search for deserters from their service, according to the customs and usage of civilized nations on terms of amity with each other. Commodore Barron gave an answer, purporting that he knew of no such men as were described; that the recruiting officers for the Chesapeake had been particularly instructed by the government, through him, not to enter any deserters from his Britannic majesty's ships; that he knew of none such being in her; that he was instructed never to permit the crew of any ship under his command to be mustered by any officers but her own; that he was disposed to preserve harmony, and hoped his answer would prove satisfactory. The Leopard, shortly after this answer was received by her commander, ranged along side of the Chesapeake, and commenced a heavy fire upon her. The Chesapeake, unprepared for action, made no resistance, but having suffered much damage, and lost three men killed, and eighteen wounded, Commodore Barron ordered his colours to be struck, and sent a lieutenant on board the Leopard, to inform her commander that he considered the Chesapeake her prize. The commander of the Leopard sent an officer on board, who took possession of the Chesapeake, mustered her crew, and, carrying off four of her men, abandoned the ship. Commodore Barron, finding that the Chesapeake was very much injured, returned, with the advice of his officers, to Hampton Roads. On receiving information of this outrage, the president, by proclamation, interdicted the harbours and waters of the United States to all armed British vessels, forbade intercourse with them, and ordered a sufficient force for the protection of Norfolk, and such other preparations as the occasion appeared to require. An armed vessel of the United States was despatched with instructions to the American minister at London to call on the British government for the satisfaction and security which this outrage required.

Bonaparte having declared his purpose of enforcing with rigour the Berlin decree; the British government having solemnly asserted the right of search and impressment, and having intimated their intention to adopt measures in retaliation of the French decree, the President recommended to Congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise of the United States should be detained in port to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean; and a law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted. A few days only had elapsed when information was received that Great Britain had prohibited neutrals, except upon most injurious conditions, from trading with France or her allies, comprising nearly every maritime nation of Europe. This was followed in a few weeks by a decree issued by Bonaparte, at Milan, declaring that every neutral vessel which should submit to be visited by a British ship, or comply with the terms demanded, should be confiscated, if afterwards found in his ports, or taken by his cruisers. Thus, at the date of the embargo, were orders and decrees in existence rendering liable to capture almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean. In the New England states, the embargo, withholding the merchant from a career in which he had been highly prosperous, and in which he imagined that he might still be favoured by fortune, occasioned discontent and clamour. The federalists, more numerous there than in any other part of the union, pronounced it a measure unwise and oppressive. These representations, and the distress which the people endured, induced a zealous opposition to the measures of the government.

The president, in his message on the opening of the tenth Congress, stated the continued disregard shown by the belligerent nations to the neutral rights, so destructive to the American commerce; and referred it to the wisdom of Congress to decide on the course best adapted to such a state of things. "With the Barbary powers," he said, "we continue in harmony, with the exception of an unjustifiable proceeding of the Dey of Algiers towards our consul to that regency," the character and circumstances of which he laid before Congress. "With our Indian neighbours the public peace has been steadily maintained. From a conviction that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily, is extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them. Husbandry and household manufacture are advancing among them, more rapidly with the southern than the northern tribes, from circumstances of soil and climate; and one of the two great divisions of the Cherokee nation, has now under consideration to solicit the friendship of the United States, and to be identified with us, in laws and government in such progressive manner as we shall think best."

Mr. Jefferson, following and confirming the example of Washington, determined not to continue in office for a longer term than eight years. "Never did a prisoner," says the president of the American republic, "released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the opportunity of retiring from them.

without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation. I leave every thing in the hands of men so able to take care of them, that if we are destined to meet misfortunes it will be because no human wisdom could avert them."

CHAPTER XXI.

ADMINISTRATION OF MR. MADISON.

Mr. Jefferson was succeeded in the presidency by Mr. Madison. He stated in his inaugural address, that, "Unwilling to depart from examples of the most revered authority, I avail myself of the occasion, now presented, to express the profound impression made on me by the call of my country to the station, to the duties of which I am about to pledge myself, by the most solemn of sanctions. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate and tranquil suffrage of a free and virtuous nation, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion, as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. Under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel, that both the honour and the responsibility, allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

"The present situation of the world is indeed without a parallel; and that of our country full of difficulties. The pressure of these too is the more severely felt, because they have fallen upon us at a moment, when national prosperity being at a height not before attained. the contrast resulting from this change has been rendered the more striking. Under the benign influence of our republican institutions, and the maintenance of peace with all nations, whilst so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources. Proofs of this were seen in the improvements of agriculture; in the successful enterprises of commerce; in the progress of manufactures and useful arts; in the increase of the public revenue, and the use made of it in reducing the public debt; and in the valuable works and establishments every where multiplying over the face of our land.

"It is a precious reflection, that the transition from this prosperous condition of our country to the scene, which has for some time been distressing us, is not chargeable on any unwarrantable views, nor, as I trust, on any involuntary errors in the public councils. Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights or the repose of other nations, it has been the true glory of the United States to cultivate peace, by observing justice, and to entitle themselves to the respect of the nations at war by fulfilling their neutral obligations with the most scrupulous impartiality. If there be candour in the world, the truth of these assertions will not be questioned. Posterity at least will do justice to them.

"This unexceptionable course could not avail against the injustice and violence of the belligerent powers. In their rage against each other, or impelled by more direct motives, principles of retaliation have been introduced, equally contrary to universal reason and acknowledged law. How long their arbitrary edicts will be continued in spite of the demonstrations, that not even a pretext for them has been given by the United States, and of the fair and liberal attempts to induce a revocation of them, cannot be anticipated. Assuring myself, that under every vicissitude, the determined spirit and united councils of the nation will be safe-guards to its honour, and its essential interests, I repair to the post assigned me with no other discouragement than what springs from my own inadequacy to its high duties. If I do not sink under the weight of this deep conviction, it is because I find some support in a consciousness of the purposes, and a confidence in the principles which I bring with me into this arduous service.

"To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations; to prefer, in all cases, amicable discussions and reasonable accommodation of differences, to a decision of them by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union of the states as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the constitution, which is the cement of the union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and to the people, as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve, in their full energy, the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press; to observe economy in public expenditures; to liberate the public resources by an honourable discharge of the public debts; to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering, that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics, that without standing armies their liberty can never be in danger, nor, with large ones, safe; to promote, by authorized means, improvements friendly to agriculture, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce; to favour, in like manner, the advancement of science and the diffusion of information, as the best aliment to true liberty; to carry on the benevolent plans which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbours, from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state:—as far as sentiments and intentions such as these can aid the fulfilment of my duty, they will be a resource which cannot fail me.

"It is my good fortune, moreover, to have the path in which I am to tread, lighted by examples of illustrious services, successfully rendered in the most trying difficulties, by those who have marched before me. Of those of my immediate predecessor, it might least become me here to speak; I may, however, be pardoned for not suppressing the sympathy, with which my heart is full, in the rich reward he enjoys in the benedictions of a beloved country, gratefully bestowed for exalted talents, zealously devoted, through a long career, to the advancement of its highest interest and happiness. But the source to which I look for the aids, which alone can supply my deficiencies, is in the well tried intelligence and virtue of my fellow-citizens and in the councils of those representing them in the other departments associated in the care of the national interests. In these, my confidence will, under every difficulty, be best placed; next to that, we have all been encouraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being, whose power regulates the destiny of nations, whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to this rising republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future."

One of the first acts of Congress under the new president was to repeal the embargo; but at the same time to prohibit all intercourse with France and England.

In the non-intercourse law a provision was inserted, that if either nation should revoke her hostile edicts, and the president should announce that fact by proclamation, then the law should cease to be in force in regard to the nation so revoking. On the 23d of April, Mr. Erskine, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty to the United States, pledged his court to repeal its anti-neutral decrees by the 10th of June; and, in consequence of an arrangement now made with the British minister, the president proclaimed that commercial intercourse would be renewed on that day; but this arrangement was disavowed by the ministry; and, in October, Mr. Erskine was replaced by Mr. Jackson, who soon giving offence to the American government, all further intercourse with him was refused, and he was recalled.

The Rambouillet decree, alleged to be designed to retaliate the act of Congress, which forbade French vessels to enter the ports of the United States, was issued by Bonaparte on the 23d of March. By this decree, all American vessels and cargoes, arriving in any of the ports of France, or of countries occupied by French troops, were ordered to be seized and condemned.

On the 1st of May, Congress passed an act, excluding British and French armed vessels from the waters of the United States; but providing, that if either of the above nations should modify its edicts before the 3d of March, 1811, so that they should cease to violate neutral commerce, of which fact the president was to give notice by proclamation, and the other nation should not, within three months after, pursue a similar course, commercial intercourse with the first might be renewed, but not with the other.

In August the French government assured Mr. Armstrong, the American envoy at Paris, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, the revocation to take effect on the first day of November ensuing. Confiding in this assurance, the president, on the second day of November, issued his proclamation, declaring that unrestrained commerce with

France was allowed, but that all intercourse with Great Britain was prohibited.

Great Britain having previously expressed a willingness to repeal her orders, whenever France should repeal her decrees, was now called upon by the American envoy to fulfil that engagement. The British ministry objected, however, that the French decrees could not be considered as repealed, a letter from the minister of state not being, for that purpose, a document of sufficient authority; and still persisted to enforce the orders in council. For this purpose British ships of war were stationed before the principal harbours of the United States. All American merchantmen, departing or returning, were boarded, searched, and many of them sent to British ports as legal prizes. The contempt in which the British officers held the Republican navy, in one instance, led to an action. Commodore Rogers, in the President frigate, met in the evening a vessel on the coast of Virginia: he hailed; but, instead of receiving an answer, was hailed in turn, and a shot was fired, which struck the mainmast of the President. The fire was instantly returned by the commodore, and continued for a few minutes, when, finding his antagonist was of inferior force, and that her guns were almost silenced, he desisted. On hailing again, an answer was given, that the ship was the British sloop of war, Little Belt, of eighteen guns. Thirty-two of her men were killed and wounded, and the ship was much disabled.

For several years the Indian tribes, residing near the sources of the Mississippi, had occupied themselves in murdering and robbing the white settlers in their vicinity. At length the frontier inhabitants, being seriously alarmed by their hostile indications, in the autumn of 1811 Governor Harrison resolved to move towards the Prophet's town, on the Wabash, with a body of Kentucky and Indiana militia, and the fourth United States regiment, under Colonel Boyd, to demand satisfaction of the Indians, and to put a stop to their threatened hostilities. His expedition was made early in November. On his approach within a few miles of the Prophet's town, the principal chiefs came out with offers of peace and submission, and requested the governor to encamp for the night; but this was only a treacherous artifice. At four in the morning the camp was furiously assailed, and a bloody contest ensued; the Indians were however repulsed. The loss on the part of the Americans was sixty-two killed and one hundred and twenty-six wounded, and a still greater number on the side of the Indians. Governor Harrison, having destroyed the Prophet's town, and established forts, returned to Vincennes.

In November reparation was made by the British for the attack on the Chesapeake. Mr. Foster, the British envoy, informed the secretary of the United States, that he was instructed to repeat to the American government the prompt disavowal made by his majesty, on being apprized of the unauthorized act of the officer in command of his naval forces on the coast of America, whose recall from a highly important and honourable command immediately ensued, as a mark of his majesty's disapprobation; that he was authorized to offer, in addition to that disavowal on the part of his royal highness, the immediate restoration, as far as circumstances would admit, of the men who, in consequence of Admiral Berkeley's orders, were forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, to the vessels from which they were taken; or, if that ship were no longer in commission, to such a seaport of the United States as the American government may name for the purpose; and that he was also authorized to offer to the American government a suitable pecuniary provision for the sufferers, in consequence of the attack on the Chesapeake, including the families of those seamen who fell in the action, and of the wounded survivors. The president acceded to these propositions; and the officer commanding the Chesapeake, then lying in the harbour of Boston, was instructed to receive the men who were to be restored to that ship. The British envoy, however, could give no assurance that his government was disposed to make a satisfactory arrangement of the subject of impressment, or to repeal the orders in council. These orders, on the contrary, continued to be enforced with rigour; and, on the restoration of a free commerce with France, a large number of American vessels, laden with rich cargoes, and destined to her ports, fell into the power of British cruisers, which, since 1803, had captured nine hundred American vessels.

Early in November, 1811, President Madison summoned the Congress. His message indicating an apprehension of hostilities with Great Britain, the committee of foreign relations in the house of representatives reported resolutions for filling up the ranks of the army; for raising an additional force of ten thousand men; for authorizing the president to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, and for ordering out the militia when he should judge it necessary; for repairing the navy; and for authorizing the arming of merchantmen in self-defence. A bill from the senate, for raising twenty-five thousand men, after much discussion, was also agreed to by the house.

The American Congress, although continuing the preparations for war, still cherished the hope that a change of policy in Europe would render unnecessary an appeal to arms till May in the following year. Towards the close of that season, the Hornet arrived from London, bringing information that no prospect existed of a favourable change. On the 1st of June, the president sent a message to Congress, recounting the wrongs received from Great Britain, and submitting the question, whether the United States should continue to endure them, or resort to war? The message was considered with closed doors. On the 18th, an act was passed, declaring war against Great Britain; and the next day a proclamation was issued. Against this declaration, however, the representatives, belonging to the federal party, presented a solemn protest, which was written with great ability.

At the time of the declaration of war, General Hull was also governor of the Michigan territory, of which Detroit is the capital. On the 12th of July, with two thousand regulars and volunteers, he crossed the river dividing the United States from Canada, apparently intending to attack Malden, and thence to proceed to Montreal. Information was, however, received, that Mackinaw, an American post above Detroit, had surrendered to a large body of British and Indians, who were rushing down the river in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the American forces. Panic-struck, General Hull hastened back to Detroit. General Brock, the commander at Malden, pursued him, and erected batteries opposite Detroit. The next day, meeting with no resistance, General Brock resolved to march directly forward and assault the fort. The American troops awaited the approach of the enemy, and anticipated victory; but, to their dismay, General Hull opened a correspondence, which ended in the surrender of the army, and of the territory of Michigan. An event so disgraceful, occurring in a quarter where success was confidently anticipated, caused the greatest mortification and amazement throughout the Union.

General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia, had the command of the troops which were called the army of the centre. His headquarters were at Lewiston on the river Niagara, and on the opposite side was Queenstown, a fortified British post. The militia displaying great eagerness to be led against the enemy, the general determined to cross the river at the head of about one thousand men: though successful at first, he was compelled, after a long and obstinate engagement, to surrender. General Brock, the British commander, fell in rallying his troops.

The army of the north, which was under the immediate command of General Dearborn, was stationed at Greenbush, near Albany, and at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. From the latter post, a detachment marched a short distance into Canada, surprised a small body of British and Indians, and destroyed a considerable quantity of public stores. Other movements were anxiously expected by the people; but, after the misfortunes of Detroit and Niagara, the general deemed it inexpedient to engage in any important enterprise.

While, on land, defeat and disgrace attended the arms of the republic, on the ocean they gained victories, which compensated their loss, and relieved their wounded pride. On the 19th of August, Captain Hull, commanding the Constitution, of forty-four guns, fell in with the British frigate, Le Guerriere. She advanced towards the Constitution, firing broadsides at intervals; the American reserved her fire till she had approached within half pistol shot, when a tremendous cannonade was directed upon her, and in thirty minutes, every mast and nearly every spar being shot away, Captain Dacres struck his flag. Of the crew, fifty were killed and sixty-four wounded; while the Constitution had only seven killed and seven wounded. The Guerriere received so much injury, that it was thought to be impossible to get her into port, and she was burned. Captain Hull, on his return to the United States, was welcomed with enthusiasm by his grateful and admiring countrymen. The vast difference in the number of killed and wounded certainly evinced great skill, as well as bravery, on the part of the American seamen. But this was the first only of a series of naval victories. On the 18th of October, Captain Jones, in the Wasp, of eighteen guns, captured the Frolic, of twenty-two, after a bloody conflict of three-quarters of an hour. In this action the Americans obtained a victory over a superior force;

The Constellation and Insurgente.

and, on their part, but eight were killed and wounded, while on that of the enemy about eighty. The Wasp was unfortunately captured, soon after her victory, by a British ship of the line. On the 25th, the frigate United States, commanded by Captain Decatur, captured the British frigate Macedonian. In this instance, also, the disparity of loss was astonishingly great: on the part of the enemy, a hundred and four were killed and wounded; on that of the Americans but eleven. The United States brought her prize safely to New York. A most desperate action was fought, on the 29th of December, between the Constitution, of forty-four guns, then commanded by Captain Bainbridge, and the British frigate Java, of thirty-eight. The combat continued more than three hours; nor did the Java strike till she was reduced to a mere wreck. Of her crew, a hundred and sixty-one were killed and wounded, while of that of the Constitution there were only thirty-four.

These naval victories were peculiarly gratifying to the feelings of the Americans; they were gained in the midst of disasters on land, and by that class of citizens whose rights had been violated; they were gained over a nation whom long-continued success had taught to consider themselves lords of the sea, and who had confidently affirmed that the whole American navy would soon be swept from the ocean. Many British merchantmen were also captured, both by the American navy and by privateers, which issued from almost every port, and were remarkably successful. The number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war exceeded five hundred.

At the commencement of the session of Congress, held in the autumn of 1812, the president, in his message, stated that immediately after the declaration of war, he communicated to the British government the terms on which its progress might be arrested; that these terms were, the repeal of the orders in council, the discharge of American seamen, and the abandonment of the practice of impressment; and that the ministry had declined to accede to his offers. He also stated that, at an early period of the war, he had received official information of the repeal of the orders in council; that two propositions for an armistice had been made to him, both of which he had rejected, as they could not have been accepted without conceding to Great Britain the right of impressment. The rejection of these propositions was approved by the national representatives, who, far from abandoning the ground they had taken, adopted more vigorous measures for the prosecution of the war.

While the war was proceeding in America, a friendly power abroad interposed for its termination. Soon after the spring session of Congress, an offer was communicated from the emperor of Russia of his mediation, as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The offer was immediately accepted by the American government, and provision made for the contemplated negotiation. Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, and John Quincy Adams, were appointed commissioners, and invested with the requisite powers to conclude a treaty of peace with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They were also authorized to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries as might be mutually advantageous. The two first named envoys proceeded to join their colleague at St. Petersburgh, where he then was as resident minister from the United States. A commission was also given to the envoys, authorizing them to conclude a treaty of commerce with Russia, with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse, between the two countries.

On the 24th of May, Congress was convened by proclamation of the president. Laws were enacted, imposing a direct tax of three millions of dollars; authorizing the collection of various internal duties; providing for a loan of seven and a half millions of dollars; and prohibiting the merchant vessels of the United States from sailing under British licenses. Near the close of the session, a committee appointed to inquire into the subject made a long report upon the spirit and manner in which the war had been conducted by the British.

The scene of the campaign of 1813 was principally in the north, towards Canada. Brigadier-General Winchester, of the United States army, and nearly five hundred men, officers and soldiers, were made prisoners at Frenchtown, by a division of the British army from Detroit, with their Indian allies, under Colonel Procter. Colonel Procter leaving the Americans without a guard, the Indians returned, and deeds of horror followed. The wounded officers were dragged from the houses, killed, and scalped in the streets. The buildings were set on fire. Some who attempted to escape were forced back into the flames, while others were put to death by the tomahawk, and left shockingly mangled in the highway. The infamy of this butchery does not fall upon the perpetrators alone, but extends to those who were able, and were bound by a solemn engagement, to restrain them. The battle and massacre at Frenchtown clothed Kentucky and Ohio in mourning. Other volunteers, indignant at the treachery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to the aid of Harrison. He marched to the rapids of the Miami, where he erected a fort, which he called Fort Meigs, in honour of the governor of Ohio. On the 1st of May it was invested by a large number of Indians, and by a party of British troops from Malden, the whole commanded by Colonel Procter. An unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege was made by General Clay, at the head of twelve hundred Kentuckians; but the fort continued to be defended with bravery and skill. The Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weary and discontented; and, on the 8th of May, they deserted their allies. The British, despairing of success, then made a precipitate retreat.

On the northern frontier a body of troops had been assembled, under the command of General Dearborn, at Sackett's Harbour, and great exertions were made by Commodore Chauncey to build and equip a squadron on Lake Ontario, sufficiently powerful to contend with that of the British. By the 25th of April the naval preparations were so far completed, that the general and seventeen thousand troops were conveyed across the lake to the attack of York, the capital of Upper Canada. On the 27th, an advanced party, commanded by Brigadier-General Pike, who was born in a camp, and bred a soldier from his birth, landed, although opposed at the water's edge by a superior force. After a short but severe conflict, the British were driven to their fortifications. The rest of the troops having landed, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the English magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber. Numbers were killed; the gallant Pike received a mortal wound; the troops halted for a moment, but, recovering from the shock, again pressed forward, and soon gained possession of the town. Of the British troops, one hundred were killed, nearly three hundred were wounded, and the same number made prisoners.

The object of the expedition attained, the squadron and troops returned to Sackett's Harbour, and subsequently sailed to Fort George, situated at the head of the lake. After a warm engagement, the British abandoned the fort and retired to the heights, at the head of Burlington Bay.

While the greater part of the American army was thus employed, the British made an attack upon the important post of Sackett's Harbour. On the 27th of May, their squadron appeared before the town. Alarm guns instantly assembled the citizens of the neighbourhood. General Brown's force amounted to about one thousand men; a slight breast-work was hastily thrown up at the only place where the British could land, and behind this he placed the militia, the regulars, under Colonel Backus, forming a second line. On the morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron, and advanced towards the breast-work; the militia gave way, but by the bravery of the regulars, under the skilful arrangement of General Brown, the British were repulsed, and re-embarked so hastily as to leave behind most of their wounded.

The sea coast was harassed by predatory warfare, carried on by large detachments from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach, while a more powerful squadron, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, destroyed the farm-houses and gentlemen's seats along the shore of Chesapeake Bay. Frenchtown, Havre-de-Grace, Fredricktown, and Georgetown, were sacked and burnt. Norfolk was saved from a similar fate by the determined bravery of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbour. A furious attack was made upon Hampton, which, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of its small garrison, was captured.

The ocean was the theatre of sanguinary conflicts. Captain Lawrence, in the sloop of war, Hornet, on the 23d of February, met the British brig Peacock, and a fierce combat ensued. In less than fifteen minutes the Peacock struck her colours, displaying at the same time a signal of distress. The victors hastened to the relief of the vanquished; the same strength which had been exerted to conquer was equally ready to save; but the Peacock sank before all her crew could be removed, carrying down nine British seamen, and three brave and generous Americans. On his re-

turn to the United States, Captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, then in the harbour of Boston. For several weeks the British frigate Shannon, of equal force, had been cruising before the port; and Captain Broke, her commander, had announced his wish to meet, in single combat, an American frigate. Inflamed by this challenge, Captain Lawrence, although his crew was just enlisted, set sail on the 1st of June to seek the Shannon. Towards evening of the same day they met, and instantly engaged, with unexampled fury. In a very few minutes, and in quick succession, the sailing master of the Chesapeake was killed, Captain Lawrence and three lieutenants were severely wounded, her rigging was so cut to pieces that she fell on board the Shannon, Captain Lawrence received a second and mortal wound, and was carried below; at this instant Captain Broke, at the head of his marines, gallantly boarded the Chesapeake, when resistance ceased, and and the American flag was struck by the British. Of the crew of the Shannon twenty-four were killed and fifty-six wounded. Of that of the Chesapeake, forty-eight were killed and nearly one hundred wounded. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride, and in the journals of the day many such were stated to have preceded and attended the action. The youthful and intrepid Lawrence was lamented, with sorrow deep, sincere, and lasting. When carried below, he was asked if the colours should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." Delirious from excess of suffering, he continued to exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!"—an expression consecrated by his countrymen. He uttered but few other words during the four days that he survived his defeat.

The next encounter at sea was between the American brig Argus and the British brig Pelican, in which the latter was victorious. Soon after, the American brig Enterprise, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig Boxer, commanded by Captain Blyth. Both commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, each by the other's side in Portland.

While each nation was busily employed in equiping a squadron on Lake Erie, General Clay remained inactive at Fort Meigs. About the last of July, a large number of British and Indians appeared before the fort, hoping to entice the garrison to a general action in the field. After waiting a few days without succeeding, they decamped, and proceeded to Fort Stephenson, on the river Sandusky. This fort was little more than a picketing, surrounded by a ditch, and the garrison consisted of but one hundred and sixty men, who were commanded by Major Croghan, a youth of twenty-one. The force of the assailants was estimated at about four hundred in uniform, and as many Indians; they were repulsed, and their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is supposed to have exceeded one hundred and fifty, those of the remainder who were not able to escape were taken off during the night by the Indians. The whole loss of Major Croghan during the siege was one killed and seven slightly wounded. About three the next morning the British sailed down the river, leaving behind them a boat containing clothing and considerable military stores.

By the exertions of Commodore Perry, an American squadron had been fitted out on Lake Erie early in September. It consisted of nine small vessels, in all carrying fifty-four guns. A British squadron had also been built and equipped, under the superintendence of Commodore Barclay. It consisted of six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns. Commodore Perry, immediately sailing, offered battle to his adversary, and on the 10th of September, the British commander left the harbour of Malden to accept the offer. In a few hours the wind shifted, giving the Americans the advantage. Perry, forming the line of battle, hoisted his flag, on which were inscribed the words of the dying Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship." Loud huzzas from all the vessels proclaimed the animation which this motto inspired. About noon the firing commenced; and after a short action two of the British vessels surrendered, and the rest of the American squadron now joining in the battle, the victory was rendered decisive and complete. The British loss was forty-one killed, and ninety-four wounded. The American loss was twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded, of which number twenty-one were killed and sixty-two wounded on board the flag-ship Lawrence, whose whole complement of able bodied men before the action was about one hundred. The commodore gave intelligence of the victory to General Harrison in these words: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." The Americans were now masters of the lake; but the territory of Michigan was still in the possession of Colonel Procter. The next movements were against the British and Indians at Detroit and Malden. General Harrison had previously assembled a portion of the Ohio militia on the Sandusky river; and on the 7th of September four thousand from Kentucky, the flower of the state, with Governor Shelby at their head, arrived at his camp. With the co-operation of the fleet, it was determined to proceed at once to Malden. On the 27th the troops were received on board, and reached Malden on the same day; but the British had, in the mean time, destroyed the fort and public stores, and had retreated along the Thames towards the Moravian villages, together with Tecumseh's Indians, amounting to twelve or fifteen hundred. It was now resolved to proceed in pursuit of Procter. On the 5th of October a severe battle was fought between the two armies at the river Thames, and the British army was taken by the Americans. In this battle Tecumseh was killed, and the Indians fled. The British loss was nineteen regulars killed, and fifty wounded, and about six hundred prisoners. The American loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to upwards of fifty. Procter made his escape down the Thames. On the 29th of September the Americans took possession of Detroit, which, on the approach of Harrison's army, had been abandoned by the British. Preparations were now made for subduing Upper Canada, and taking Montreal; but owing to the difficulties attending the concentration of the troops, and perhaps also to the want of vigour in the commanders, that project was abandoned, and the army under Wilkinson marching to French Mills, there encamped for the winter. This abortive issue of the campaign occasioned murmurs throughout the nation, and the causes which led to it have never been fully developed. The severest censure fell upon General Armstrong, who was secretary of war, and upon General Hampton. The latter soon after resigned his commission in the army, and General Izard was selected to command the post at Plattsburgh.

Major-General Harrison, commander in chief of the eighth military district in the United States, issued a proclamation, stating, that the enemy having been driven from the territory of Michigan, and a part of the army under his command having taken possession of it, it became necessary that the civil government of the territory should be re-established, and the former officers resume the exercise of their authority. He therefore proclaimed, that all appointments and commissions which have been derived from British officers were at an end; that the citizens were restored to all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed previously to the capitulation made by General Hull on the 15th of August, 1812, and, until the will of the government should be known, directed that all persons having civil offices in the territory of Michigan, at the period of the capitulation of Detroit, should resume the exercise of the powers appertaining to their offices respectively.

The United States squadron, chased by Commodore Hardy with a superior naval force, had taken refuge in the harbour of New London, where the decayed and feeble state of the fortifications afforded a precarious defence. The menacing appearance of the British squadron at the entrance of the harbour, and the strong probability that the town would be destroyed in the conflict, which had been long expected, produced among the inhabitants the greatest consternation. In this moment of alarm, the major-general of the third division, and the brigadier-general of the third brigade, considered themselves justified at the earnest entreaty of the citizens, in summoning the militia to their assistance. Governor Smith, of Connecticut, approved this proceeding, and immediately forwarded supplies, and adopted measures of defence. "On this occasion," said the governor to the legislature, "I could not hesitate as to the course which it became my duty to pursue. The government of Connecticut, the last to invite hostilities, should be the first to repel aggression."

The Indians at the southern extremity of the union had imbibed the same hostile spirit as those at the north-western. They had been visited by Tecumseh, and by his eloquence had been persuaded that the great spirit required them to unite and attempt the extirpation of the whites. In the fall of 1812, a cruel war was carried on by the Creeks and Seminoles against the frontier inhabitants of Georgia. General Jackson, at the head of two thousand five hundred volunteers from Tennessee, marched into the country of the Indians. Overawed by his presence, they desisted for a time from hostility; but, after his return, their animosity, burst forth with increased and fatal violence. Dreading their cruelty, about three hundred men, women, and children, sought safety in Fort Mimms in the Tensaw settlement. Although fro

quent warnings of an intended attack had been given them, yet, at noonday, on the 30th of August, they were surprised by a party of six hundred Indians, who, with axes, cut their way into the fort, and drove the people into the houses which it enclosed. To these they set fire. Many persons were burnt, and many killed by the tomahawk. Only seventeen escaped to carry the horrid tidings to the neighbouring stations. The whites resolved on vengeance. Again General Jackson, at the head of three thousand five hundred militia of Tennessee, marched into the southern wilderness. A detachment under General Coffee encountering at Tallushatchie a body of Indians, a sanguinary conflict ensued. The latter fought with desperation, neither giving nor receiving quarter, until nearly every warrior had perished. Yet still was the spirit of the Creeks unsubdued, and their faith in victory unshaken. With no little sagacity and skill they selected and fortified another position on the Tallaoosa, called by themselves Tohopeka, and by the whites Horse-shoe Bend. Here nearly a thousand warriors, animated with a fierce and determined resolution were collected. Three thousand men, commanded by General Jackson, marched to attack this post. To prevent escape, a detachment under General Coffee encircled the Bend. The main body advanced to the fortress; and for a few minutes the opposing forces were engaged muzzle to muzzle at the port-holes; but at length the troops, leaping over the walls, mingled in furious combat with the savages. When the Indians, fleeing to the river, beheld the troops on the opposite bank, they returned and fought with increased fury and desperation. Six hundred warriors were killed; four only yielded themselves prisoners; the remaining three hundred escaped. Of the whites, fifty-five were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded. It was deemed probable that further resistance would be made by the Indians at a place called the Hickory-Ground; but on General Jackson's arriving thither in April, 1814, the principal chiefs came out to meet him, and among them was Wetherford, a half-blood, distinguished equally for his talents and cruelty. "I am in your power," said he, "do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice; I have none now, even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice; their bones are at Tallushatchie, Talladega, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. While there was a chance of success I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was concluded, and General Jackson and his troops enjoyed an honourable but short repose.

It was the declared intention of the British to lay waste the whole American coast, from Maine to Georgia. Of this intention demonstration was made by their descent upon Pettipauge, and the destruction which followed in that harbour. Early in April, a number of British barges, supposed to contain about two hundred and twenty men, entered the mouth of Connecticut river, passed up seven or eight miles, and came on shore at a part of Saybrook called Pettipauge, where they destroyed about twenty-five vessels. Guards of militia were placed without delay at nearly all the vulnerable points on the seaboard, and where troops could not be stationed, patrols of videttes were constantly maintained.

On the 25th of April, Admiral Cochrane declared, in addition to the ports and places blockaded by Admiral Warren, all the remaining ports, harbours, bays, creeks, rivers, inlets, outlets, islands, and sea coasts of the United States, from Black Point, on Long Island Sound, to the northern and eastern boundaries between the United States and the British province of New Brunswick, to be in a state of strict and rigorous blockade. On the other hand, the president of the United States issued a proclamation, declaring that the blockade proclaimed by the British of the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, nearly two thousand miles in extent, being incapable of execution by any adequate force actually stationed for the purpose, formed no lawful prohibition or obstacle to such neutral and friendly vessels as may choose to visit and trade with the United States; and strictly ordered and instructed all the public armed vessels of the United States, and all private armed vessels commissioned as privateers, or with letters of marque and reprisal, not to interrupt, detain, or molest any vessels belonging to neutral powers, bound to any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States; but, on the contrary, to render all such vessels all the aid and kind offices which they might need or require.

The pacification in Europe offered to the British a large disposable force, both naval and military, and with it the means of giving to the war in America a character of new and increased activity and extent. The friends of the administration anticipated a severer conflict, and prepared for greater sacrifices and greater sufferings. Its opposers, where difficulties thickened and danger pressed, were encouraged to make more vigorous efforts to wrest the reins of authority from men who, they asserted, had shown themselves incompetent to hold them. The president deemed it advisable to strengthen the line of the Atlantic, and therefore called on the executive of several states to organize and hold in readiness for immediate service a corps of ninety-three thousand five hundred men.

The hostile movements on the northern frontier were now becoming vigorous and interesting. In the beginning of July, General Brown, who had been assiduously employed in disciplining his troops, crossed the Niagara with about three thousand men, and took possession, without opposition, of fort Erie. In a strong position at Chippewa, a few miles distant, was intrenched an equal number of British troops, commanded by General Riall. On the 4th, General Brown approached their works; and the next day, on the plains of Chippewa, an obstinate and sanguinary battle was fought, which compelled the British to retire to their intrenchments. In this action, which was fought with great judgment and coolness on both sides, the loss of the Americans was about four hundred men, that of the British was upwards of five hundred. Soon afterwards, General Riall, abandoning his works, retired to the heights of Burlington. Here Lieutenant-General Drummond, with a large reinforcement, joined him, and assuming the command, led back the army towards the American camp. On the 25th was fought the battle of Bridgewater, which began at four in the afternoon, and continued until midnight After a desperate conflict, the British troops were withdrawn, and the Americans left in possession of the field. The loss on both sides was severe, and nearly equal. Generals Brown and Scott having both been severely wounded, the command devolved upon General Ripley. He remained a few hours upon the hill, collected the wounded, and then returned unmolested to the camp. This battle was fought near the cataract of Niagara, whose roar was silenced by the thunder of cannon and the din of arms, but was distinctly heard during the pauses of the fight. The American general found his force so much weakened, that he deemed it prudent again to occupy fort Erie. On the 4th of August it was invested by General Drummond with five thousand troops. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the besiegers made a daring assault upon the fort, which was repelled with conspicuous gallantry by the garrison, the former losing more than nine hundred men, the latter but eighty-four. The siege was still continued. On the 2d of September, General Brown, having recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison. For their fate great anxiety was felt by the nation, which was, however, in some degree removed, by the march from Plattsburgh of five thousand men to their relief. After an hour of close fighting they entered the fort, having killed, wounded, and taken one thousand of the British. The loss of the Americans was also considerable, amounting to more than five hundred. On the 21st of September, the forty-ninth day of the siege, General Drummond withdrew his forces.

The march of the troops from Plattsburgh having left that post almost defenceless, the enemy determined to attack it by land, and, at the same time, to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on lake Champlain. On the 3d of September, Sir George Provost, the governor-general of Canada, at the head of fourteen thousand men, entered the territories of the United States. On the 6th they arrived at Plattsburgh. It is situated near lake Champlain, on the northern bank of the small river Saranac. On their approach, the American troops, who were posted on the opposite bank, tore up the planks of the bridges, with which they formed slight breast-works, and prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. The British employed themselves for several days in erecting batteries, while the American forces were daily augmented by the arrival of volunteers and militia. Early in the morning of the 11th, the British squadron, commanded by Commodore Downie, appeared off the harbour of Plattsburgh, where that of the United States, commanded by Commodore Macdonough, lay at anchor prepared for battle. At nine o'clock the action commenced. Seldom has there been a more furious encounter than the bosom of this transparent and peaceful lake was now called to witness. During the naval conflict, the British on land began a heavy cannonade upon the American lines, and attempted at different places to cross the Saranac; but as often as the British advanced

into the water they were repelled by a destructive fire from the militia. At half-past eleven the shout of victory heard along the American lines announced the result of the battle on the lake. Thus deprived of naval aid, in the afternoon the British withdrew to their intrenchments, and in the night they commenced a precipitate retreat. Upon the lake the American loss was one hundred and ten; the British one hundred and ninety-four, besides prisoners. On land, the American loss was one hundred and nineteen; that of the British has been estimated as high as two thousand five hundred.

The inhabitants of the middle and southern states, anticipating a great augmentation of the English force, and uncertain where the blow would fall, made exertions to place every exposed position in a posture of defence. About the middle of August, a British squadron of between fifty and sixty sail arrived in the Chesapeake, with troops destined for the attack of Washington, the capital of the United States. A body of five thousand of them having landed, an action was fought at Bladensburgh, six miles from Washington. General Winder commanded the whole American force; Commodore Barney the flotilla. The British were commanded by Major-General Ross and Rear-Admiral Cockburn. The Americans were repulsed, and the British advanced towards the capital. A body of militia had been assembled in this emergency; but the president and heads of departments, on reviewing the force brought out for defence, despaired of success, and dispersed. General Ross, at the head of about seven hundred men, took possession of Washington, and burned the capitol, or senate-house, the president's house, and public offices, the arsenal, the navy yard, and the bridge over the Potomac. The loss of the British in this expedition was nearly a thousand men, in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of the Americans was ten or twelve killed, and thirty or forty wounded. Commodore Barney's horse was killed under him, and himself wounded in the thigh and taken prisoner; but he was paroled on the field of battle for his bravery. The capture of Washington reflected no credit upon those by whom it ought to have been defended; but the destruction of the national edifices was still more disgraceful to the character of the invaders. The whole civilized world exclaimed against the act, as a violation of the rules of modern warfare. The capitals of most of the European kingdoms had lately been in the power of an enemy; but in no instance had the conqueror been guilty of similar conduct. The act was also as impolitic as it was barbarous; it naturally excited an indignant spirit throughout the republic, and led its inhabitants to vie with each other in exerting all their faculties to overcome the ravagers of their country.

After the capture of Washington, the British army re-embarked on board the fleet in the Patuxent, and Admiral Cockburn moved down that river, and proceeded up the Chesapeake. On the 29th of August, the corporation of Alexandria submitted to articles of capitulation, and the city was delivered up to the British. On the 11th of September, the British admiral appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, fourteen miles from Baltimore, with a fleet of ships of war and transports amounting to fifty sail. The next day six thousand troops were landed at North Point, and commenced their march towards the city. In this march, when the foremost ranks were harassed by a brisk fire from a wood, Major-General Ross was mortally wounded. A battle was fought on this day. The American forces, the militia, and the inhabitants of Baltimore, made a gallant defence, but were compelled to retreat; the British, however, abandoning the attempt to get possession of the city, retired to their shipping during the night of the 13th of September.

On the ocean, the Essex, commanded by Captain Porter, after a bloody combat, struck to a British frigate and sloop of war, whose united force was much superior. The American sloop Peacock captured the Epervier of equal force. The sloop Wasp, commanded by Captain Blakely, captured the Reindeer, and afterwards, in the same cruise, sank the Avon, both of superior force. She made several other prizes, but never returned into port; she probably foundered at sea.

The closing scene of this unnecessary and disgraceful war, the more detestable when contemplated as a series of human sacrifices for the preservation of a commercial system, was creditable to the genius and bravery of the American republic. The operations of the British in Louisiana were commenced by a small expedition, the naval part under the command of Captain Percy, and the troops under Colonel Nicholls. They landed and took forcible possession of Pensacola, and were aided by the Spaniards in all their proceedings; they collected all the Indians that would resort to their standard; and Colonel Nicholls then sent an officer to the piratical establishment at Barrataria to enlist the chief, Lafitte, and his followers, in their cause; the most liberal and tempting offers were made them. These people, however, showed a decided preference for the American cause; they deceived the English by delay; conveyed intelligence of their designs to the Governor at New Orleans, and offered their services to defend the country. Disappointed in securing their aid, the expedition proceeded to the attack of fort Bowyer, on Mobile point, commanded by Major Lawrence, with one hundred and thirty men. The result, however, was a loss to the besiegers of more than two hundred men; the commodore's ship was so disabled that they set fire to her, and she blew up, and the remaining three vessels, shattered and filled with wounded men, returned to Pensacola. While the British thus sheltered in this place, where they were busily occupied in bringing over the Indians to join them, General Jackson formed an expedition of about four thousand men, regulars and militia, to dislodge them. He summoned the town, was refused entrance by the Spanish governor, and his flag of truce was fired upon; the British soldiers being in the forts, where their flag had been hoisted, in conjunction with the Spanish, the day before the American forces appeared. Preparations were immediately made to carry the place; one battery having been taken by storm, with slight loss on either side, the governor surrendered, the English having previously retired on board their ships. The forts below which commanded the passage, were blown up and this enabled the English fleet to put to sea.

General Jackson then evacuated the Spanish territory, and marched his troops back to Mobile and New Orleans, which he reached on the second day of December. Having reviewed a corps of volunteers the day of his arrival, he immediately proceeded to visit every post in the neighbourhood, to give orders for adding fortifications, and establishing defensive works and outposts in every spot where the enemy might be expected, as there was the greatest uncertainty where a landing would be made; he mingled with the citizens, and infused into the greater part his own spirit and energy. By his presence and exhortations they were animated to exertions of which before they were not supposed to be capable All who could wield a spade, or carry a musket, were either put to work upon the fortifications, or trained in the art of defending them. The Mississippi, upon the eastern bank of which New Orleans stands, flows to the ocean in several channels; one leaving the main stream above the city, runs east of it, and forms in its course lake Ponchartrain and lake Borgne. Early in December, the British entered this channel, with a force of about eight thousand men, a part of whom had just left the shores of the Chesapeake, the remainder having arrived direct from England. A small squadron of gunboats, under Lieutenant Jones, was despatched to oppose their passage into the lake. These were met by a superior force, and after a spirited conflict, in which the killed and wounded of the British exceeded the whole number of the Americans, they were compelled to surrender. The loss of the gunboats left no means of watching the movements of the enemy, or of ascertaining where the landing would be made. Orders were given for increased vigilance at every post; the people of colour were formed into a battalion; the offer of the Barratarians to volunteer, on condition of pardon for previous offences, if they conducted themselves with bravery and fidelity, was accepted. General Jackson, after applying to the legislature to suspend the act of *habeas corpus*, and finding that they were consuming these extreme moments in discussion, proclaimed martial law, and from that moment his means became more commensurate with the weight of responsibility he had to sustain.

On the 22d, the British having landed, took a position near the main channel o the river, about eight miles below the city. In the evening of the 23d, General Jackson made a sudden and furious attack upon their camp. They were thrown into disorder: but they soon rallied, and fought with a bravery at least equal to that of the assailants. Satisfied with the advantage first gained, he withdrew his troops, fortified a strong position four miles below New Orleans, and supported it by batteries erected on the west bank of the river. On the 28th of December, and the 1st of January, vigorous but unsuccessful attacks were made upon these fortifications by the English. In the meantime, both armies had received reinforcements; and General Sir E Packenham, the British commander, resolved to exert all his strength in a combined attack upon the American positions on both sides of the river. With almost incredible industry he caused a canal, leading from a creek emptying itself into lake Borgne to the main channel of the Mississippi, to be dug, that he

might remove a part of his boats and artillery to that river. On the 7th of January, from the movements observed in the British camp, a speedy attack was anticipated. This was made early on the 8th. The British troops, formed in a close column of about sixty men in front, the men shouldering their muskets, all carrying fascines, and some with ladders, advanced towards the American fortifications, from whence an incessant fire was kept up on the column, which continued to advance, until the musketry of the troops of Tennessee and Kentucky, joined with the fire of the artillery, began to make an impression on it which soon threw it into confusion. For some time the British officers succeeded in animating the courage of their troops, making them advance obliquely to the left, to avoid the fire of a battery, every discharge from which opened the column, and mowed down whole files, which were almost instantaneously replaced by new troops coming up close after the first: but these also shared the same fate, until at last, after twenty-five minutes continual firing, through which a few platoons advanced to the edge of the ditch, the column entirely broke, and part of the troops dispersed, and ran to take shelter among the bushes on the right. The rest retired to the ditch where they had been when first perceived, four hundred yards from the American lines. There the officers with some difficulty rallied their troops, and again drew them up for a second attack, the soldiers having laid down their knapsacks at the edge of the ditch, that they might be less encumbered. And now for the second time, the column, recruited with the troops that formed the rear, advanced. Again it was received with the same galling fire of musketry and artillery, till it at last broke again, and retired in the utmost confusion. In vain did the officers now endeavour, as before, to revive the courage of their men; to no purpose did they strike them with the flat of their swords, to force them to advance; they were insensible of every thing but danger, and saw nothing but death, which had struck so many of their comrades. The attack had hardly begun, when the British commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Packenham, fell a victim to his own intrepidity, while endeavouring to animate his troops with ardour for the assault. Soon after his fall, two other generals, Keane and Gibbs, were carried off the field of battle, dangerously wounded. A great number of officers of rank had fallen: the ground over which the column had marched was strewed with the dead and wounded. Such slaughter on their side, with scarcely any loss on the American, spread consternation through the British ranks, as they were now convinced of the impossibility of carrying the lines, and saw that even to advance was certain death. Some of the British troops had penetrated into the wood towards the extremity of the American line, to make a false attack, or to ascertain whether a real one were practicable. These the troops under General Coffee no sooner perceived, than they opened on them a brisk fire with their rifles, which made them retire. The greater part of those who, on the column's being repulsed, had taken shelter in the thickets, only escaped the batteries to be killed by the musketry. During the whole hour that the attack lasted, the American fire did not slacken for a single moment. But half-after eight in the morning, the musketry had ceased. The whole plain on the left, as also the side of the river, from the road to the edge of the water, was covered with the British soldiers who had fallen. About four hundred wounded prisoners were taken, and at least double that number of wounded men escaped into the British camp; and a space of ground, extending from the ditch of the American lines to that on which the enemy drew up his troops, two hundred and fifty yards in length, by about two hundred in breadth, was literally covered with men, either dead or severely wounded. Perhaps a greater disparity of loss never occurred; that of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, in this attack, which was not made with sufficient judgment, and which, besides, was embarrassed, by unforseen circumstances, was upwards of two thousand men; the killed and wounded of the Americans was only *thirteen*.

The events of the day on the west side of the river present a striking instance of the uncertainty of military operations. There the Americans were thrice the number of their brave assailants, and were protected by intrenchments; but they ingloriously fled. They were closely pursued, until the British party, receiving intelligence of the defeat of the main army, withdrew from pursuit, and recrossed the river. They then returned and resumed possession of their intrenchments. General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army had devolved, having lost all hopes of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat he was not molested: General Jackson wisely resolving to hazard nothing that he had gained, in attempting to gain still more.

The Americans naturally indulged in ecstasies of joy for this signal victory. Te Deum was sung at New Orleans, and every demonstration of gratitude manifested by the inhabitants of the union generally. In speaking of gratitude on this occasion, however, we must not omit a ludicrous instance of the meanness which party-spirit will sometimes exhibit. The state of Louisiana passed votes of thanks to several of the officers concerned in the defence, and omitted General Jackson.*

Although the results of the war had been honourable to the American arms, a large portion of the inhabitants of the New England states were unceasingly opposed to the measures of the administration. The governor of Massachusetts convoked the general court of that state; the legislature of Connecticut was about to hold its usual semi-annual session; and the legislature of Rhode Island also assembled. When these several bodies met, what should be done in this unexampled state of affairs became a subject of most solemn deliberation. To insure unity of views and concert in action, the legislature of Massachusetts proposed a 'Conference' by delegates from the legislatures of the New England states, and of any other states that might accede to the measure. Their resolution for this purpose, and the circular letter accompanying it, show, that the duty proposed to be assigned to these delegates was merely to devise and recommend to the states, measures for their security and defence, and such measures as were "not repugnant to their federal obligations as members of the Union." The proposition was readily assented to by several states, and the delegates appointed in pursuance of it met at Hartford, on the 15th of December following. The convention recommended, 1. That the states they represent take measures to protect their citizens from "forcible draughts, conscriptions or impressments, not authorized by the constitution of the United States." 2. That an earnest application be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the states separately, or in concert, may take upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy, and that a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within the states be appropriated to this object. 3. That the several governors be authorized by law to employ the military force under their command in assisting any state requesting it, to repel the invasions of the public enemy. 4. That several amendments of the constitution of the United States, calculated in their view to prevent a recurrence of the evils of which they complain, be proposed by the states they represent for adoption either by the state legislatures, or by a convention chosen by the people of each state. Lastly, That if the application of these states to the government of the United States should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the

* The reason for this omission was, that, while they were wrangling and delaying to suspend the *habeas corpus* in a moment of the most imperious necessity, the general, to save the country, proclaimed martial law. In consequence of the omission of thanks by the legislature, some of the citizens of New Orleans presented an address to the general; the answer to which is highly characteristic of the gallant officer, now president of the United States:—"Although born and bred in the land of freedom," says the general, "popular favour has always been with me a secondary object. My first wish in political life has been, to be useful to my country. Yet I am not insensible to the good opinion of my fellow-citizens; I would do much to obtain it; but I cannot, for this purpose, sacrifice my own conscience, or what I conceive to be the interests of my country. These principles have prepared me to receive with just satisfaction the address you have presented. The first wish of my heart, the safety of our country, has been accomplished; and it affords me the greatest happiness to know, that the means taken to secure this object, have met the approbation of those who have had the best opportunities of judging of their propriety, and who, from their various relations, might be supposed the most ready to censure any which had been improperly resorted to. The distinction you draw, gentlemen, between those who only declaim about civil rights, and those who fight to maintain them, shows how just and practical a knowledge you have of the true principles of liberty—without such knowledge all theory is useless or mischievous. It is matter of surprise, that they who boast themselves the champions of those rights and privileges, should not, when they were first put in danger by the proclamation of martial law, have manifested that lively sensibility of which they have since made so ostentatious a display. So far, however, was this from being the case, that this measure not only met, then, the open support of those who, when their country was invaded, thought resistance a virtue, and the silent approbation of all, but even received the particular recommendation and encouragement of many who now inveigh the most bitterly against it. It was not until a victory, secured by that very measure, had lessened the danger which occasioned the resort to it, that the present feeling guardians of our rights discovered that the commanding general ought to have suffered his posts to be abandoned through the interference of a foreign agent—his ranks to be thinned by desertion, and his whole army to be broken to pieces by mutiny; while yet a powerful force of the enemy remained on our coast, and within a few hours sail of your city. Under these circumstances, fellow-soldiers, your resolution to let others declaim about privileges and constitutional rights, will never draw upon you the charge of being indifferent to those inestimable blessings; your attachment to them has been proved by a stronger title—that of having nobly fought to preserve them. You, who have thus supported them against the open pretensions of a powerful enemy, will never, I trust, surrender them to the underhand machinations of men who stand aloof in the hour of peril, and who, when the danger is gone, claim to be the 'defenders of your constitution.'"

defence of these states be still neglected, it would, in their opinion, be expedient for the legislatures of the several states to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston, in June, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require. The effect of these proceedings upon the public mind in the aggrieved states, was alike seasonable and salutary. The very proposal to call a convention, and the confidence reposed in the men delegated to that trust, served greatly to allay the passions, and to inspire confidence and hope. Nor was the influence of this body upon the national councils less perceptible. Within three weeks after the adjournment of the Convention and the publication of their report, an act passed both houses of the national legislature, and received the signature of the president, authorizing and requiring him to "receive into the service of the United States any corps of troops which may have been or may be raised, organized, and officered, under the authority of any of the states," to be "employed in the state raising the same, or an adjoining state, and not elsewhere, except with the consent of the executive of the state raising the same." Before the commissioners who were sent to confer with the government could reach Washington, a bill passed the senate, providing for the payment of the troops and militia already called into service under the authority of the states. The arrival of the treaty of peace at this juncture, rendered all farther proceedings unnecessary.

During the preceding year the British government had declined to treat under the mediation of Russia, and a direct negotiation had been agreed on. Ghent was ultimately determined as the place of meeting; and in the autumn of 1814 the commissioners prosecuted their labours, but at first with very doubtful success. By the 24th of December, a treaty was agreed upon and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the respective powers at Ghent; and in February of the following year it received the ratification of the president.

While the people of the United States were rejoicing at the return of peace, their attention was called to a new scene of war. By a message from the president to the house of representatives, with a report of the secretary of state, it appeared that the dey of Algiers had violently, and without just cause, obliged the consul of the United States, and all the American citizens in Algiers, to leave that place, in violation of the treaty then subsisting between the two nations; that he had exacted from the consul, under pain of immediate imprisonment, a large sum of money, to which he had no just claim; and that these acts of violence and outrage had been followed by the capture of at least one American vessel, and by the seizure of an American citizen on board of a neutral vessel; that the captured persons were yet held in captivity, with the exception of two of them, who had been ransomed; that every effort to obtain the release of the others had proved abortive; and that there was some reason to believe they were held by the dey as means by which he calculated to extort from the United States a degrading treaty. The president observed, that the considerations which rendered it unnecessary and unimportant to commence hostile operations on the part of the United States, were now terminated by the peace with Great Britain, which opened the prospect of an active and valuable trade of their citizens within the range of the Algerine cruisers; and recommended to Congress the consideration of an act declaring the existence of a state of war between the United States and the dey of Algiers, and of such provisions as might be requisite for the prosecution of it to a successful issue. A committee of Congress, to whom was referred a bill "for the protection of the commerce of the United States against the Algerine cruisers," after a statement of facts, concluded their report by expressing their united opinion, "that the dey of Algiers considers his treaty with the United States as at an end, and is waging war with them;" and in March, war was declared against the Algerines.

An expedition was immediately ordered to the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Bainbridge. The squadron in advance on that service, under Commodore Decatur, lost not a moment after its arrival in the Mediterranean, in seeking the naval force of the enemy, then cruising in that sea, and succeeded in capturing two of his ships, one of them commanded by the Algerine admiral. The American commander, after this demonstration of skill and prowess, hastened to the port of Algiers, where he readily obtained peace, in the stipulated terms of which the rights and honour of the United States were particularly consulted, by a perpetual relinquishment, on the part of the dey, of all pretensions to tribute from them. The impressions thus made, strengthened by subsequent transactions with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli, by the appearance of the larger force which followed under Commodore Bainbridge, and by the judicious precautionary arrangements left by him in that quarter, afforded a reasonable prospect of future security for the valuable portion of American commerce which passes within reach of the Barbary cruisers.

President Madison, in his message to the congress of 1816, having adverted to the peace of Europe and to that of the United States with Great Britain, said, he had the "satisfaction to state, generally, that they remained in amity with foreign powers." He proceeded to say, that the posture of affairs with Algiers at that moment was not known; but that the dey had found a pretext for complaining of a violation of the last treaty, and presenting as the alternative, war or a renewal of the former treaty, which stipulated, among other things, an annual tribute. "The answer," says the president, "with an explicit declaration that the United States preferred war to tribute, required his recognition and observance of the treaty last made, which abolishes tribute, and the slavery of our captured citizens. The result of the answer has not been received. Should he renew his warfare on our commerce, we rely on the protection it will find in our naval force actually in the Mediterranean. With the other Barbary states our affairs have undergone no change. With reference to the aborigines of our own country," he continues "the Indian tribes within our limits appear also disposed to remain in peace. From several of them purchases of lands have been made, particularly favourable to the wishes and security of our frontier settlements as well as to the general interests of the nation. In some instances, the titles, though not supported by due proof, and clashing those of one tribe with the claims of another, have been extinguished by double purchases, the benevolent policy of the United States preferring the augmented expense to the hazard of doing injustice, or to the enforcement of justice against a feeble and untutored people, by means involving or threatening an effusion of blood. I am happy to add, that the tranquility which has been restored among the tribes themselves, as well as between them and our own population, will favour the resumption of the work of civilization, which had made an encouraging progress among some tribes; and that the facility is increasing for extending that divided and individual ownership, which exists now in moveable property only, to the soil itself; and of thus establishing, in the culture and improvement of it, the true foundation for a transit from the habits of a savage to the arts and comforts of social life."

The doubtful state of the relations between the United States and the dey of Algiers, to which the president alluded in his message, arose either from a strong impulse of the love of extortion in the dey, or from the influence of some foreign personages; the rising differences were, however, settled by the prudent management of the American consul, Mr. Shaler, and peace has not since been broken on the part of the Algerines.

Among the incidents of domestic interest which indicate the rapid growth and increasing prosperity of the republic, we may notice the formation of the territory of Indiana into a state, and its admission into the union: the progress of canals in various states; the institution of a national bank; and the arrival of many thousand emigrants, chiefly from Great Britain. Treaties were, during this year, negotiated with the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Indians, ceding large portions of their respective territories to the United States, and acknowledging their tribes to be under the protection of the republic.

CHAPTER XXII.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF JAMES MONROE, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, AND PART OF THAT OF ANDREW JACKSON.

The events of the existing generation can never be considered fully ripe for the historian; we have therefore been concise in our narrative of recent transactions. The closing chapter of this narrative, although comprising a period of eighteen years, will exhibit still more strikingly a happy brevity, through the absence of events which constitute the chief materials of history; and our earnest hope is, that every succeeding decade will possess an equally diminished claim on the historic pen —an indication that an interchange of benevolent acts constitutes an increasing proportion of national proceedings, giving little to record, but much to enjoy. Ambition and the love of glory, the brilliant but delusive offspring of disordered minds, may excite to deeds

which engage the admiration of the unreflecting mass of mankind; but they are decds which, while they gratify the pride of a few, blast the happiness of multitudes; and, like family feuds, spread their baneful influence through distant generations. Under the heated and deadly glare of military glory, the arts and sciences which contribute to the enjoyment of life wither, and give place to the luxurious growth of rancorous weeds, whose blossoms are decked, indeed, with gorgeous colours, but whose fruit is the dust of bitterness and despair.

A circumstance peculiar to the constitution of the United States, also tends to abridge our present labours;—the history of the United States during the remainder of the period we propose to include relating chiefly to measures of internal improvement, which are, for the most part, conducted by the respective states, and not by the general government, the arrangements of the work necessarily transfer our notice of these transactions to a subsequent section, which will treat of them in connection with the statistics and topography of the states in which they have occurred.

The term of Mr. Madison's administration having expired in the year 1817, James Monroe was inaugurated president, and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president. On his inauguration, Mr. Monroe delivered the following address to both houses of congress:—

"I should be destitute of feeling, if I was not deeply affected by the strong proof which my fellow-citizens have given me of their confidence, in calling me to the high office, whose functions I am about to assume. As the expression of their good opinion of my conduct in the public service, I derive from it a gratification, which those who are conscious of having done all that they could to merit it, can alone feel. My sensibility is increased by a just estimate of the importance of the trust, and of the nature and extent of its duties; with the proper discharge of which, the highest interests of a great and free people are intimately connected. Conscious of my own deficiency, I cannot enter on these duties without great anxiety for the result. From a just responsibility I will never shrink; calculating with confidence, that in my best efforts to promote the public welfare, my motives will always be duly appreciated, and my conduct be viewed with that candour and indulgence which I have experienced in other stations.

"In commencing the duties of the chief executive office, it has been the practice of the distinguished men who have gone before me, to explain the principles which would govern them in their respective administrations. In following their venerated example, my attention is naturally drawn to the great causes which have contributed, in a principal degree, to produce the present happy condition of the United States. They will best explain the nature of our duties, and shed much light on the policy which ought to be pursued in future.

"From the commencement of our revolution to the present day, almost forty years have elapsed, and from the establishment of this constitution, twenty-eight. Through this whole term the government has been what may emphatically be called, self-government; and what has been the effect? To whatever object we turn our attention, whether it relates to our foreign or domestic concerns, we find abundant cause to felicitate ourselves in the excellence of our institutions. During a period fraught with difficulties, and marked by very extraordinary events, the United States have flourished beyond example. Their citizens, individually, have been happy, and the nation prosperous.

"Under this constitution, our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the states; new states have been admitted into our union; our territory has been enlarged, by fair and honourable treaty, and with great advantage to the original states; the states respectively, protected by the national government, under a mild parental system, against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity, which are the best proofs of wholesome laws, well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit? On whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of our union? Who has been deprived of any right of person or property? Who restrained in offering his vows in the mode in which he prefers, to the Divine Author of his being? It is well known, that all these blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent; and I add with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason.

"Some, who might admit the competency of our government to these beneficent duties, might doubt it in trials which put to the test its strength and efficiency, as a member of the great community of nations. Here, too, experience has afforded us the most satisfactory proof in its favour. Just as this constitution was put into action, several of the principal states of Europe had become much agitated, and some of them seriously convulsed. Destructive wars ensued, which have, of late only, been terminated. In the course of these conflicts, the United States received great injury from several of the parties. It was their interest to stand aloof from the contest; to demand justice from the party committing the injury; and to cultivate, by a fair and honourable conduct, the friendship of all. War became, at length, inevitable, and the result has shown, that our government is equal to that, the greatest of trials, under the most unfavourable circumstances. Of the virtue of the people, and of the heroic exploits of the army, the navy, and the militia, I need not speak.

"Such, then, is the happy government under which we live: a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may, by his merit, obtain the highest trust recognized by the constitution; which contains within it no cause of discord; none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a government which protects every citizen in the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers.

"Other considerations of the highest importance admonish us to cherish our union, and cling to the government which supports it. Fortunate as we are in our political institutions, we have not been less so in other circumstances, on which our prosperity and happiness essentially depend. Situated within the temperate zone, and extending through many degrees of latitude along the Atlantic, the United States enjoy all the varieties of climate, and every production incident to that portion of the globe. Penetrating, internally, to the great lakes, and beyond the source of the great rivers which communicate through our whole interior, no country was ever happier with respect to its domain. Blessed too with a fertile soil, our produce has always been very abundant, leaving, even in years the least favourable, a surplus for the wants of our fellow men in other countries. Such is our peculiar felicity, that there is not a part of our union that is not particularly interested in preserving it. The great agricultural interest of the nation prospers under its protection. Local interests are not less fostered by it. Our fellow-citizens of the north, engaged in navigation, find great encouragement in being made the favoured carriers of the vast productions of the other portions of the United States, while the inhabitants of these are amply recompensed, in their turn, by the nursery for seamen and naval force, thus formed and reared up for the support of our common rights. Our manufactures find a generous encouragement by the policy which patronizes domestic industry; and the surplus of our produce, a steady and profitable market by local wants, in less favoured parts at home.

"Such, then, being the highly favoured condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained and guarded against.

"In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it may be asked, what raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the states, or affecting those of individuals? How sustain, and pass with glory through the late war? The government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the faithful and able depositories of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? While then the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives of every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and a usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us then look to the great cause, and endeavour to preserve it in full force. Let us, by all wise and consti-

tutional measures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties.

"Dangers from abroad are not less deserving of attention. Experiencing the fortune of other nations, the United States may be again involved in war, and it may, in that event, be the object of the adverse party to overset our government, to break our union, and demolish us as a nation. Our distance from Europe, and the just, moderate, and pacific policy of our government, may form some security against these dangers, but they ought to be anticipated and guarded against. Many of our citizens are engaged in commerce and navigation, and all of them are in a certain degree dependent on their prosperous state. Many are engaged in the fisheries. These interests are exposed to invasion in the wars between other powers, and we should disregard the faithful admonition of experience if we did not expect it. We must support our rights or lose our character, and with it perhaps our liberties. A people who fail to do it, can scarcely be said to hold a place among independent nations. National honour is national property of the highest value. The sentiment in the mind of every citizen, is national strength. It ought therefore to be cherished.

"To secure us against these dangers, our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our army and navy regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing. To put our extensive coast in such a state of defence, as to secure our cities and interior from invasion, will be attended with expense, but the work when finished will be permanent, and it is fair to presume that a single campaign of invasion, by a naval force superior to our own, aided by a few thousand land troops, would expose us to greater expense, without taking into the estimate the loss of property, and distress of our citizens, than would be sufficient for this great work. Our land and naval forces should be moderate, but adequate to the necessary purposes. The former to garrison and preserve our fortifications and to meet the first invasions of a foreign foe; and, while constituting the elements of a greater force, to preserve the science, as well as all the necessary implements of war, in a state to be brought into activity in the event of war. The latter, retained within the limits proper in a state of peace, might aid in maintaining the neutrality of the United States with dignity in the wars of other powers, and in saving the property of their citizens from spoilation. In time of war, with the enlargement of which the great naval resources of the country render it susceptible, and which should be duly fostered in time of peace, it would contribute essentially both as an auxiliary of defence, and as a powerful engine of annoyance, to diminish the calamities of war, and to bring the war to a speedy and honourable termination.

"But it always ought to be held prominently in view, that the safety of these states, and of every thing dear to a free people, must depend in an eminent degree on the militia. Invasions may be made, too formidable to be resisted by any land and naval force, which it would comport either with the principles of our government, or the circumstances of the United States, to maintain. In such cases, recourse must be had to the great body of the people, and in a manner to produce the best effect. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that they be so organized and trained, as to be prepared for any emergency. The arrangement should be such, as to put at the command of the government the ardent patriotism and youthful vigour of the country. If formed on equal and just principles, it cannot be oppressive. It is the crisis which makes the pressure, and not the laws which provide a remedy for it. This arrangement should be formed too in time of peace, to be better prepared for war. With such an organization of such a people, the United States have nothing to dread from foreign invasion. At its approach, an overwhelming force of gallant men might always be put in motion.

"Other interests of high importance will claim attention, among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the states, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow-citizens; much to the ornament of the country; and, what is of a greater importance, we shall shorten distances, and by making each part more accessible to, and dependent on the other, we shall bind the union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays, and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more interesting spectacle was perhaps never seen than is exhibited within the United States; a territory so vast, and advantageously situated, containing objects so grand, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts.

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on the supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture, and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

"With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations, and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.

"The great amount of our revenue, and the flourishing state of the treasury, are a full proof of the competency of the national resources for any emergency, as they are, of the willingness of our fellow-citizens to bear the burdens which the public necessities require. The vast amount of vacant lands, the value of which daily augments, forms an additional resource of great extent and duration. These resources, besides accomplishing every other necessary purpose, put it completely in the power of the United States to discharge the national debt at an early period. Peace is the best time for improvement and preparation of every kind; it is in peace that our commerce flourishes most, that taxes are most easily paid, and that the revenue is most productive.

"The executive is charged officially, in the departments under it, with the disbursement of the public money, and is responsible for the faithful application of it to the purposes for which it is raised. The legislature is the watchful guard over the public purse. It is its duty to see that the disbursement has been honestly made. To meet the requisite responsibility, every facility should be afforded to the executive to enable it to bring the public agents, intrusted with the public money, strictly and promptly to account. Nothing should be presumed against them; but if, with the requisite faculties, the public money is suffered to lie, long and uselessly, in their hands, they will not be the only defaulters, nor will the demoralizing effect be confined to them. It will evince a relaxation, and want of tone in the administration, which will be felt by the whole community. I shall do all that I can, to secure economy and fidelity in this important branch of the administration, and I doubt not, that the legislature will perform its duty with equal zeal. A thorough examination should be regularly made, and I will promote it.

"It is particularly gratifying to me, to enter on the discharge of these duties, at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it so far as depends on the executive, on just principles with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due.

"Equally gratifying is it, to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our union. Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our government, extending its blessings to every individual, as by the other eminent advantages attending it. The American people have encountered together great dangers, and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family with a common interest. Experience has enlightened us on some questions of essential importance to the country. The progress has been slow, dictated by a just reflection, and faithful regard to every interest connected with it. To promote this harmony, in accord with the principles of our republican government, and in a manner to give them the most complete effect, and to advance in all other respects the best interests of our union, will be the object of my constant and zealous exertions.

"Never did a government commence under auspices so favourable, nor ever was success so complete. If we look to the history of other nations, ancient and modern, we find no example of a growth so rapid, so gigantic; of a people so prosperous and happy. In contemplating what we have still to perform, the heart of every citizen must expand with joy when he reflects how near our govern-

ment has approached to perfection; that in respect to it, we have no essential improvement to make; that the great object is to preserve it in the essential principles and features which characterize it, and, that it is to be done, by preserving the virtue and enlightening the minds of the people; and as a security against foreign dangers, to adopt such arrangements as are indispensable to the support of our independence, our rights, and liberties. If we persevere in the career in which we have advanced so far, and in the path already traced, we cannot fail, by the favour of a gracious Providence, to attain the high destiny which seems to await us.

"In the administration of the illustrious men who have preceded me in this high station, with some of whom I have been connected by the closest ties from early life, examples are presented, which will always be found highly instructive, and useful to their successors. From these I shall endeavour to derive all the advantages which they may afford. Of my immediate predecessor, under whom so important a portion of this great and successful experiment has been made, I shall be pardoned for expressing my earnest wishes that he may long enjoy, in his retirement, the affections of a grateful country, the best reward of exalted talents, and the most faithful and meritorious services. Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of the government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, with my fervent prayers to the Almighty, that He will be graciously pleased to continue to us that protection, which He has already so conspicuously displayed in our favour."

During this year the republic received another accession by the erection of the territory of Mississippi into a state, and its admission into the union. By the act of admission it is provided, that the public lands, while belonging to the United States, and for five years from the day of sale, shall be exempted from all taxes; that lands belonging to the citizens of the United States residing without the state, shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing within the state: and that the river Mississippi, and the navigable rivers and waters leading into it, or into the gulf of Mexico, shall be common highways, and for ever free of toll or duty to all the citizens of the United States. In return for this concession, Congress provided, that, after paying a debt to Georgia and indemnifying certain claimants, five per cent. of the net proceeds of the public lands, lying within the state, shall be devoted to the making of roads and canals for the benefit of the state.

In the summer of this year an expedition was undertaken against East Florida by persons claiming to act under the authority of some of the revolted Spanish colonies. The leader of this expedition styled himself "Citizen Gregor M'Gregor, brigadier-general of the armies of the united provinces of New Grenada and Venezuela, and general in chief, employed to liberate the provinces of both the Floridas, commissioned by the supreme governments of Mexico and South America." The persons that combined for this purpose took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's River, near the boundary of the state of Georgia. The president, apprised of this transaction, ordered an expedition, consisting of naval and land forces, to repel the invaders, and occupy the island. A squadron, under the command of J. D. Henley, with troops under the command of James Banhead, arrived off Amelia Island on the 22d of December, and the next day took possession of it, hoisting the American flag at Fernandina. The president, in a message to Congress relative to the capture, observed, "In expelling these adventurers from these posts, it was not intended to make any conquest from Spain, or to injure, in any degree, the cause of the colonies." The real reason of the measure seems to have been, that the invasion interfered with endeavours which were then making on the part of the United States to obtain the cession of the Floridas from the Spaniards.

In the following year the union received the accession of another state, that of Illinois. At the time of its admission, the government of the United States granted to the state one section or thirty-sixth part of every township for the support of schools, and three per cent. of the net proceeds of the United States lands lying within the state for the encouragement of learning, of which one sixth part must be exclusively bestowed on a college or university. The constitution happily provides, that no more slaves shall be introduced into the state. In 1819 the Alabama territory was admitted as a state into the union; and the Arkansaw territory was, by an act of Congress, erected into a territorial government. In the following year the district of Maine was separated from Massachusetts, formed into a distinct state, and admitted into the union.

During this year the American congress did themselves honour by providing more effectually against carrying on the slave trade. The enactment declared, that if any citizen of the United States, being of the ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned by, or navigated for, any citizens of the United States, shall on foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour by the laws either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make him a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring or receive him on board with such intent, he shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction shall suffer death.

A treaty for the cession of the Floridas was concluded at Washington, February 22, 1819, between Spain and the United States. In the year 1821 it was reluctantly ratified by the king of Spain, and possession was taken of those provinces according to the terms of the treaty. On the 1st of July, General Jackson, who had been appointed governor of the Floridas, issued a proclamation, declaring "that the government heretofore exercised over the said provinces under the authority of Spain has ceased, and that that of the United States of America is established over the same; that the inhabitants thereof will be incorporated in the union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the federal constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States; that in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion they profess; that all laws and municipal regulations which were in existence at the cessation of the late government remain in full force, and all civil officers charged with their execution," with certain exceptions and limitations, "are continued in their functions." On the 7th of July, the colonel commandant, Don Jose Gallava, commissioner on the part of his Catholic majesty, made to Major-General Jackson, the commissioner of the United States, a delivery of the keys of the town of Pensacola, of the archives, documents, and other articles, mentioned in the inventories, declaring that he releases from their oath of allegiance to Spain the citizens and inhabitants of West Florida who may choose to remain under the dominion of the United States. On the same day, Colonel Joseph Coppinger, governor of East Florida, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing that, on the 10th day of this month, "possession will be given to Colonel Robert Butler, the commissioner legally authorised by the United States." The American authorities were accordingly put in possession of the Floridas.

During this year Missouri was admitted as a state into the union, forming the eleventh state added to the thirteen confederated states which signed the declaration of independence, making the present number of the United States twenty-four. The proposition for the admission of this state, which was brought forward in the session of 1819, produced vehement discussion in the congress, and excited an intense interest throughout the whole union. The inhabitants of Missouri, the territory having been considered as a part of Louisiana, had derived from their connexion with the Spaniards and French the custom, which they deemed equivalent to the right, of possessing slaves; it was proposed, however, in admitting the territory to the privileges of a state, to prevent the increase and to insure the ultimate abolition of slavery, by the insertion of the following clause:—"Provided, that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and that all the children born within the said state after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." Judging from the previous views and measures of the general government, in similar and analogous cases, it could hardly have been conjectured, that the result of proposing such a limited and qualified restriction would be doubtful. The house of representatives, after a short but animated debate, refused to pass the bill without the restriction; but the senate refused to pass the bill with it; consequently the bill itself was lost, and Missouri still continued under her former territorial government. Such was the rapidity with which the several proceedings passed in the two houses of congress, that it was scarcely known beyond its walls that such a question was agitated, before it was decided. When, however, it came to be generally known what principles had been advanced, what votes had been given, with what ardour and vehemence the advocates of slavery had urged their demands, not merely upon he justice, the reason, and good sense of Congress, but upon

their interests, their prejudices, and their fears, by how slender a majority a measure had been checked, which, in the estimation of many of the best friends of American liberty, would have been productive of incalculable and interminable mischiefs, it excited a feeling of universal surprise and alarm. It is instructive to observe that many of the stanchest advocates of liberal ideas, who delighted in appropriating to themselves exclusively the name of republicans, suffered their jealousy of the interference of the congress in the internal government of an individual state, to engage them on the side of the perpetuators of slavery. Jefferson, who prided himself in being the devoted friend of liberty, thus expresses himself: "The real question, as seen in the state afflicted with this unfortunate population, is, are our slaves to be presented with freedom and a dagger? For, if Congress has the power to regulate the conditions of the inhabitants of the states within the states, it will be but another exercise of that power to declare that all shall be free. Are we then to see again Athenian and Lacedemonian confederacies?—to wage another Peloponnesian war to settle the ascendency between them? Or is this the toscin of merely a servile war? That remains to be seen; but not, I hope, by you or me. Surely they will parley awhile, and give us time to get out of the way." The consequence of this combination of the advocates of the sovereignty of individual states with those who make a traffic of the bodies of their fellow men, was the passing of the bill for the admission of Missouri in the next session of the congress, without the restricting clause; a circumstance which occasioned the deep regret and mortification of most of the inhabitants of the northern states, and excited feelings which it has been feared by many, may ultimately lead to a dissolution of the union.

No circumstances of particular interest in the transactions of the general government occurred till the year 1824, when articles of a convention between the United States of America and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, were subscribed at London by plenipotentiaries appointed for that purpose. By the first article, the commanders and commissioned officers of each of the two high contracting parties, duly authorized by their respective governments to cruise on the coast of Africa, America, and the West Indies, for the suppression of the slave trade, are empowered, under certain restrictions, to detain, examine, capture, and deliver over for trial and adjudication by some competent tribunal, any ship or vessel concerned in the illicit traffic of slaves, and carrying the flag of the other.

In the spring of this year a convention was also concluded between the United States of America and the emperor of Russia. By the third article of this convention it was agreed, "that, hereafter, there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said States, any establishment upon the northern [north-west] coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, to the north of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, south of the same parallel."

This year is signalized in American history by the visit of the venerable La Fayette, on the express invitation of Congress. He arrived in the harbour of New York on the 13th of August, and proceeded to the residence of the vice-president at Staten Island. A committee of the corporation of the city of New York, and a great number of distinguished citizens, proceeded to Staten Island to welcome him to their capital. A splendid escort of steamboats, decorated with the flags of every nation, and bearing thousands of citizens, brought him to the view of assembled multitudes at New York, who manifested their joy at beholding him, by acclamations, and by tears. At the city hall the officers of the city and many citizens were presented to him; and he was welcomed by an address from the mayor. While he was at New York, deputations from Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Haven, and from many other cities, arrived with invitations for him to visit them. After remaining a few days at New York, he proceeded to Boston, where he met with the same cordial reception. The general soon after returned to New York, visited Albany and the towns on Hudson river, and afterwards passed through the intermediate states to Virginia. He returned to Washington during the session of Congress, and remained there several weeks. Congress voted him the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, and a township of land, as a remuneration, in part, of his services during the war of the revolution, and as a testimony of their gratitude.

General Lafayette was present at the imposing ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, on the 17th of June, 1825, to which he had been invited by the Association for the purpose of erecting a memorial to those which fell in the battle of June 17, 1775.

In the year 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated president of the United States, and John C. Calhoun, vice-president. On his inauguration, Mr. Adams delivered the following address to both houses of congress:

"In compliance with a usage, coeval with the existence of our federal constitution, and sanctioned by the example of my predecessors, in the career upon which I am about to enter, I appear, my fellow-citizens, in your presence, and in that of heaven, to bind myself by the solemnity of religious obligation, to the faithful performance of the duties allotted to me in the station to which I have been called.

"In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed, in the fulfilment of those duties, my first resort will be to that constitution, which I shall swear, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend. That revered instrument enumerates the powers and prescribes the duties of the executive magistrate; and, in its first words, declares the purposes to which these, and the whole action of the government, instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted: to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general warfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of this union, in their successive generations. Since the adoption of this social compact, one of these generations has passed away. It is the work of our forefathers. Administered by some of its most eminent men, who contributed to its formation, through a most eventful period in the annals of the world, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, incidental to the condition of associated man, it has not disappointed the hopes and aspirations of those illustrious benefactors of their age and nation. It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all; it has, to an extent, far beyond the ordinary lot of humanity, secured the freedom and happiness of this people. We now receive it as a precious inheritance from those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, doubly bound by the examples which they have left us, and by the blessings which we have enjoyed, as the fruits of their labours, to transmit the same, unimpaired, to the succeeding generation.

"In the compass of thirty-six years since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws, enacted under its authority, and in conformity with its provisions, has unfolded its powers, and carried into practical operation its effective energies, Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations to foreign affairs, to the revenues and expenditures, and to the military force of the union, by land and sea. A co-ordinate department of the judiciary has expounded the constitution and laws, settling, in harmonious coincidence with the legislative will, numerous weighty questions of construction, which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. The year of jubilee, since the first formation of our union, has just elapsed; that of the declaration of our independence, is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution.

"Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve; a territory bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea; new states have been admitted to the union, in numbers equal to those of the first confederation; treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth; the people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings; the forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen; the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers; our commerce has whitened every ocean; the dominion of every man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists; liberty and law have marched hand in hand; all the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe; and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditure of other nations in a single year.

"Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition, under a constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights. To admit that this picture has its shades, is but to say, that it is still the condition of men upon earth. From evil, physical, moral, and political, it is not our claim to be exempt. We have suffered, sometimes by the visitation of heaven, through disease; often, by the wrongs and injustice of other nations, even to the ex

tremites of war; and lastly, by dissensions among ourselves—dissensions, perhaps, inseparable from the enjoyment of freedom, but which have, more than once, appeared to threaten the dissolution of the union, and, with it, the overthrow of all the enjoyments of our present lot, and all our earthly hopes of the future. The causes of these dissensions have been various; founded upon differences of speculation in the theory of republican government; upon conflicting views of policy, in our relations with foreign nations: upon jealousies of partial and sectional interest, aggravated by prejudices and prepossessions which strangers to each other are ever apt to entertain.

"It is a source of gratification and of encouragement to me, to observe that the great result of this experiment, upon the theory of human rights, has, at the close of that generation by which it was formed, been crowned with success, equal to the most sanguine expectations of its founders. Union, justice, tranquillity, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty, all have been promoted by the government under which we have lived. Standing at this point of time; looking back to that generation which has gone by, and forward to that which is advancing, we may, at once, indulge in grateful exultation, and in cheering hope. From the experience of the past, we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices to the formation and administration of this government; and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first went into operation under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the union was shaken to its centre.

"This time of trial embraced a period of five and twenty years, during which the policy of the union in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our federal government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time, no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth, in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to the public sentiment or legislative debate. Our political creed is, without a dissenting voice that can be heard, that the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end, of all legitimate government upon earth—that the best security for the beneficence and the best guarantee against the abuse of power, consists in the freedom, the purity, and the frequency of popular elections—that the general government of the union, and the separate government of the states, are all sovereignties of limited powers, fellow-servants of the same masters; uncontrolled within their respective spheres; uncontrollable but by encroachments upon each other—that the firmest security of peace is the preparation, during peace, of the defences of war—that a rigorous economy and accountability of public expenditures, should guard against the aggravation, and alleviate, when possible, the burden of taxation—that the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power—that the freedom of the press and of religious opinion should be inviolate—that the policy of our country is peace, and the ark of our salvation, union, are articles of faith upon which we are all now agreed. If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, those doubts have been dispelled. If there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected on the ruins of the union, they have been scattered to the winds: if there have been dangerous attachments to one foreign nation and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace, at home and abroad, have assuaged the animosities of political contention, and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion. There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation, who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancour against each other; of embracing, as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which, in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who wore the badge of party communion.

"The collisions of party spirit, which originated in speculative opinions, or in different views of administrative policy, are, in their nature, transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life, are more permanent, and therefore perhaps more dangerous. It is this which gives inestimable value to the character of our government, at once federal and national. It holds out to us a perpetual admonition to preserve alike, and with equal anxiety, the rights of each individual state in its own government, and the rights of the whole nation in that of the union. Whatsoever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with the other members of the union, or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the state governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights and interests of the federative fraternity, or of foreign powers, is of the resort of this general government. The duties of both are obvious in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail. To respect the rights of the state governments, is the inviolable duty of that of the union; the government of every state will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole. The prejudices, every where too commonly entertained against distant strangers, are worn away, and the jealousies of jarring interests are allayed by the composition and functions of the great national councils, annually assembled from all quarters of the union at this place. Here the distinguished men from every section of our country, while meeting to deliberate upon the great interests of those by whom they are deputed, learn to estimate the talents, and do justice to the virtues of each other. The harmony of the nation is promoted, and the whole union is knit together, by the sentiments of mutual respect, the habits of social intercourse, and the ties of personal friendship, formed between the representatives of its several parts, in the performance of their service at this metropolis.

"Passing from this general review of the purpose and injunctions of the federal constitution and their results, as indicating the first traces of the path of duty in the discharge of my public trust, I turn to the administration of my immediate predecessor, as the second. It has passed away in a period of profound peace; how much to the satisfaction of our country, and to the honour of our country's name, is known to you all. The great features of his policy, in general concurrence with the will of the legislature, have been—to cherish peace, while preparing for defensive war; to yield exact justice to other nations, and maintain the rights of our own; to cherish the principles of freedom and of equal rights, wherever they were proclaimed; to discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt; to reduce, within the narrowest limits of efficiency, the military force; to improve, the organization and discipline of the army; to provide and sustain a school of military science; to extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation; to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes; and to proceed in the great system of internal improvements, within the limits of the constitutional power of the union. Under the pledge of these promises, made by that eminent citizen, at the time of his first induction into this office, in his career of eight years, the internal taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the revolution; the regular armed force has been reduced, and its constitution revised and perfected; the accountability for the expenditure of public moneys has been more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific ocean; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognised and recommended by example and by counsel, to the potentates of Europe; progress has been made in the defence of the country, by fortifications, and the increase of the navy towards the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves; in alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind; in exploring the interior regions of the union; and in preparing, by scientific researches and surveys, for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.

"In this brief outline of the promise and performance of my immediate predecessor, the line of duty, for his successor, is clearly delineated. To pursue, to their consummation, those purposes of improvement in our

common condition, instituted or recommended by him, will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations. To the topic of internal improvement, emphatically urged by him at his inauguration, I recur with peculiar satisfaction. It is that from which I am convinced that the unborn millions of our posterity, who are, in future ages, to people this continent, will derive their most fervent gratitude to the founders of the union; that, in which the beneficent action of its government will be most deeply felt and acknowledged. The magnificence and splendour of their public works are among the imperishable glories of the ancient republics. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages, and have survived thousands of years, after all her conquests have been swallowed up in despotism, or become the spoil of barbarians. Some diversity of opinion has prevailed with regard to the powers of Congress for legislation upon objects of this nature. The most respectful deference is due to doubts originating in pure patriotism, and sustained by venerated authority. But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced. The authority for its construction was then unquestioned. To how many thousands of our countrymen has it proved a benefit? To what single individual has it ever proved an injury? Repeated liberal and candid discussions in the legislature have conciliated the sentiments, and proximated the opinions of enlightened minds, upon the question of constitutional power. I cannot but hope, that by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation, all constitutional objections will ultimately be removed. The extent and limitation of the powers of the general government, in relation to this transcendently important interest, will be settled and acknowledged, to the common satisfaction of all, and every speculative scruple will be solved by a practical public blessing.

"Fellow-citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you, at this time. You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfilment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station. Less possessed of your confidence in advance, than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand, more and oftener, in need of your indulgence. Intentions, upright and pure; a heart devoted to the welfare of our country, and the unceasing application of all the faculties allotted to me, to her service, are all the pledges that I can give, for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake. To the guidance of the legislative councils; to the assistance of the executive and subordinate departments; to the friendly co-operation of the respective state governments; to the candid and liberal support of the people, so far as it may be deserved by honest industry and zeal, I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service: and knowing, that, except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain; with fervent supplications for his favour, to his overruling Providence I commit, with humble but fearless confidence, my own fate, and the future destinies of my country."

In August, 1826, Lafayette repaired to Washington, to take leave of the president, and his last look of the land through which he had passed as a laurelled victor, receiving the homage of nations. His was the homage of the heart; the offerings he received was the gratitude of an enlightened people. "The last three weeks which he spent in the United States, was exceedingly well appropriated; and, no doubt, after much reflection, by him—for he is a man not more remarkable for the purity of his motives, than an observance of every right rule of conduct, a deviation from which might lead to a suspicion of any of them. This induced him, after witnessing the magnificent ceremony at Boston, on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill, leisurely to return to the city of Washington, (visiting many of his personal friends in the way, and reviewing the battle field at Brandywine,) that his last moments might be given up to a brief residence in what must be metaphorically regarded as the *heart of the nation*, being the seat of its government, where the chief agents of millions of their fellow-citizens are gathered together, to execute the laws, and distribute that moral force, for the preservation of harmony, which rightfully belongs to institutions based upon the self competency of a free people for the self-management of their own affairs; and it was here that Lafayette mentally looked over the whole republic—the twenty-four sovereignties which he had visited—and, with feelings which no honest man will envy, but such as every honourable one would desire to possess for himself—reflected on what he had seen, and indulge the fond hopes of what this nation, of which he was a distinguished builder, would attain, before the expiration of that period of time usually allotted to men now living; and his tender heart must have seemed to melt within him, at the remembrance of the scenes through which he had passed in the dark days of the revolution, contrasted with the triumphs of his journey through the 'land of the free.' Not the triumphs of the conqueror, before whom the enslaved bow to the dust, and by their own debasement endeavour to win the favour of the oppressor; but growing out of the best affections of the human mind, for kindnesses rendered, when a weak people most needed them, that they might become strong, and laugh the oppressor to the scorn and contempt that tyranny merits.

"From the city of Washington, the political heart of the nation, he made delightful excursions into Virginia, in which it happened that three out of all the presidents which we have had, yet resided as citizens—distinguished over their fellows only by the right of franking their letters, except in their private virtues,—and this is all the distinction that the constitution allows!—no pension, no precedent, no other privilege than that of being enabled to correspond through the post-offices with their old friends and acquaintances, free of expense! He had before visited one of the lion-hearted of the revolution, the resolute and devoted president Adams; and the other ex-presidents were, the author of the declaration of independence; a soldier who spilled his blood in supporting it; and he to whom, perhaps, more than any man living, we are indebted for the present happy constitution of the United States. And in one of those excursions, he was accompanied by the present president of the republic, and met by the venerable chief justice of the United States, a fellow soldier also. What meetings were these of the great and the good! We can entertain some idea of the sensations which they produced, but language would fail to give utterance to it, and we shall not attempt an impossibility.

"The last days of his visit were properly spent by Lafayette in the nation's house, on the invitation of its present possessor, the chief magistrate of the United States. Mr. Adams was, in his early youth, a favourite with the general, having much personal communication with him; and of his disposition and ability to represent the hospitality and feeling of the millions of free people over whose affairs he presides, there could not be a doubt. Lafayette was at home, in the national house, in the city of Washington, and in the heart of a family which had every inducement that can operate on the human mind to make him comfortable; this was his abode till the moment of his departure, to embark in the Brandywine, named in compliment to him, and peculiarly fitted for his accommodation—her 'giddy mast' bearing the stripes and the stars, her bosom to contain the person of our guest: man of whom it may be said, 'take him all in all, we ne'er shall look upon his like again,' unless he shall again visit our shores: one that was the same, great and good, in prosperity and adversity—grateful for kind offices, forgiving of injuries, zealous to confer benefits—modest when as on the pinnacle of human glory, dignified and collected in the proud presence of kings. But I must not proceed—if, after Mr. Adams' display of eloquence and power, he, who commands words and they obey him, honestly confessed 'a want of language to give utterance to his feelings'—who among us may attempt it? I shall, therefore, proceed to notice some of the things which happened at the departure of Lafayette, with this simple remark, that if there is any American who can read, unmoved, Mr. Adam's valedictory address to him, or the reply of the general to that address, I would not possess that man's heart for his fortune, though he were a Crœsus.

"The 7th inst. was the day appointed for his departure. The civil and military authorities, and the whole people of Washington, had prepared to honour it. The banks were closed, and all business suspended; and nothing else engaged attention, except the ceremonies prescribed for the occasion.

"At about 12 o'clock, the authorities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, the principal officers of the general government, civil, military, and naval, some members of Congress, and other respected strangers, were assembled in the president's house to take leave of Lafayette. He entered the great hall in silence, leaning on the marshal of the district, and on the arm of one of the president's sons. Mr. Adams then, with much dignity, but with evident emotion, addressed him in the following terms:—

"'General Lafayette: It has been the good fortune of many of my distinguished fellow-citizens, during the course of the year now elapsed, upon your arrival at their respective places of abode, to greet you with the welcome of the nation. The less pleasing task

now devolves upon me, of bidding you, in the name of the nation, adieu.

"'It were no longer seasonable, and would be superfluous, to recapitulate the remarkable incidents of your early life—incidents which associated your name, fortunes, and reputation, in imperishable connexion with the independence and history of the North American union.

"'The part which you performed at that important juncture was marked with characters so peculiar, that, realizing the fairest fable of antiquity, its parallel could scarcely be found in the *authentic* records of human history.

"'You deliberately and perseveringly preferred toil, danger, the endurance of every hardship, and the privation of every comfort, in defence of a holy cause, to inglorious ease, and the allurements of rank, affluence, and unrestrained youth, at the most splendid and fascinating court of Europe.

"'That this choice was not less wise than magnanimous, the sanction of half a century, and the gratulations of unnumbered voices, all unable to express the gratitude of the heart with which your visit to this hemisphere has been welcomed, afford ample demonstration.

"'When the contest of freedom, to which you had repaired as a voluntary champion, had closed, by the complete triumph of her cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and patriot in the land of your nativity. There, in a consistent and undeviating career of forty years, you have maintained, through every vicissitude of alternate success and disappointment, the same glorious cause to which the first years of your active life had been devoted, the improvement of the moral and political condition of man.

"'Throughout that long succession of time, the people of the United States, for whom, and with whom, you had fought the battles of liberty, have been living in the full possession of its fruits; one of the happiest among the family of nations. Spreading in population; enlarging in territory; acting, and suffering according to the condition of their nature; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and we humbly hope, the most beneficent power that ever regulated the concerns of man upon earth.

"'In that lapse of forty years, the generation of men with whom you co-operated in the conflict of arms, has nearly passed away. Of the general officers of the American army in that war, you alone survive. Of the sages who guided our councils; of the warriors who met the foe in the field or upon the wave, with the exception of a few, to whom unusual length of days has been allotted by Heaven, all now sleep with their fathers. A succeeding, and even a third generation, have arisen to take their places; and their children's children, while rising up to call them blessed, have been taught by them, as well as admonished by their own constant enjoyment of freedom, to include in every benison upon their fathers, the name of him who came from afar, with them, and in their cause, to conquer or to fall.

"The universal prevalence of these sentiments was signally manifested by a resolution of Congress, representing the whole people, and all the states of this union, requesting the president of the United States to communicate to you assurances of the grateful and affectionate attachment of this government and people, and desiring that a national ship might be employed, at your convenience, for your passage to the borders of our country.

"'The invitation was transmitted to you by my venerable predecessor: himself bound to you by the strongest ties of personal friendship, himself one of those whom the highest honours of his country had rewarded for blood early shed in her cause, and for a long life of devotion to her welfare. By him the services of a national ship were placed at your disposal. Your delicacy preferred a more private conveyance, and a full year has elapsed since you landed upon our shores. It were scarcely an exaggeration to say, that it has been, to the people of the union, a year of uninterrupted festivity and enjoyment, inspired by your presence. You have traversed the twenty-four states of this great confederacy: You have been received with rapture by the survivors of your earliest companions in arms: You have been hailed as a long absent parent by their children, the men and women of the present age: And a rising generation, the hope of future time, in numbers surpassing the whole population of that day when you fought at the head and by the side of their forefathers, have vied with the scanty remnants of that hour of trial, in acclamations of joy at beholding the face of him whom they feel to be the common benefactor of all. You have heard the mingled voices of the past, the present, and the future age, joining in one universal chorus of delight at your approach: and the shouts of unbidden thousands, which greeted your landing on the soil of freedom, have followed every step of your way, and still resound, like the rushing of many waters, from every corner of our land.

"'You are now about to return to the country of your birth, of your ancestors, of your posterity. The executive government of the union, stimulated by the same feeling which had prompted the congress to the designation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at this metropolis, to the less welcome, but equally distinguished trust, of conveying you home. The name of the ship has added one more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable, at once in the story of your sufferings and of our independence.

"'The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the moment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to Heaven that her passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.

"'Go then, our beloved friend—return to the land of brilliant genius, of generous sentiment, of heroic valour; to that beautiful France, the nursing mother of the twelfth Louis, and the Fourth Henry; to the native soil of Bayard and Coligni, of Turenne and Catinat, of Fenelon and D'Aguesseau. In that illustrious catalogue of names which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride holds up to the admiration of other nations, the name of Lafayette has already for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth burnish into brighter fame; for if, in after days, a Frenchman shall be called to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, during the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the name of Lafayette. Yet we, too, and our children, in life and after death, shall claim you for our own. You are ours by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of their fate. Ours by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance. Ours by that tie of love, stronger than death, which has linked your name, for the endless ages of time, with the name of Washington.

"'At the painful moment of parting from you, we take comfort in the thought, that wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of your heart, our country will be ever present to your affections; and a cheering consolation assures us, that we are not called to sorrow most of all, that we shall see your face no more. We shall indulge the pleasing anticipation of beholding our friend again. In the meantime, speaking in the name of the whole people of the United States, and at a loss only for language to give utterance to that feeling of attachment with which the heart of the nation beats, as the heart of one man—I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell.'"

"To which General Lafayette made the following answer:—

"'Amidst all my obligations to the general government, and particularly to you, sir, its respected chief magistrate, I have most thankfully to acknowledge the opportunity given me, at this solemn and painful moment, to present the people of the United States with a parting tribute of profound, inexpressible gratitude.

"'To have been, in the infant and critical days of these states, adopted by them as a favourite son, to have participated in the toils and perils of our unspotted struggle for independence, freedom, and equal rights, and in the foundation of the American era of a new social order, which has already pervaded this, and must, for the dignity and happiness of mankind, successively pervade every part of the other hemisphere, to have received at every stage of the revolution, and during forty years after that period, from the people of the United States, and their representatives at home and abroad, continual marks of their confidence and kindness, has been the pride, the encouragement, the support of a long and eventful life.

"'But how could I find words to acknowledge that series of welcomes, those unbounded and universal displays of public affection, which have marked each step, each hour, of a twelve-months' progress through the twenty-four states, and which, while they overwhelm my heart with grateful delight, have most satisfactorily evinced the concurrence of the people in the kind testimonies, in the immense favours bestowed on me by the several branches of their representatives, in every part and at the central seat of the confederacy.

"'Yet, gratification still higher awaited me; in the wonders of creation and improvement

that have met my enchanted eye, in the unparalleled and self-felt happiness of the people, in their rapid prosperity and insured security, public and private, in a practice of good order, the appendage of true freedom, and a national good sense, the final arbiter of all difficulties, I have had proudly to recognise a result of the republican principles for which we have fought, and a glorious demonstration to the most timid and prejudiced minds, of the superiority, over degrading aristocracy or despotism, of popular institutions founded on the plain rights of man, and where the local rights of every section are preserved under a constitutional bond of union. The cherishing of that union between the states, as it has been the farewell intreaty of our great paternal Washington, and will ever have the dying prayer of every American patriot, so it has become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world, an object in which I am happy to observe that the American people, while they give the animating example of successful free institutions, in return for an evil entailed upon them by Europe, and of which a liberal and enlightened sense is every where more and more generally felt, show themselves every day more anxiously interested.

"'And now, sir, how can I do justice to my deep and lively feelings for the assurances, most peculiarly valued, of your esteem and friendship, for your so very kind references to old times, to my beloved associates, to the vicissitudes of my life, for your affecting picture for the blessings poured by the several generations of the American people on the remaining days of a delighted veteran, for your affectionate remarks on this sad hour of separation, on the country of my birth, full, I can say, of American sympathies on the hope so necessary to me of my seeing again the country that has deigned, near half a century ago, to call me hers? I shall content myself, refraining from superfluous repetitions, at once, before you, sir, and this respected circle, to proclaim my cordial confirmation of every one of the sentiments which I have had daily opportunities publicly to utter, from the time when your venerable predecessor, my old brother in arms and friend, transmitted to me the honourable invitation of Congress, to this day, when you, my dear sir, whose friendly connexion with me dates from your earliest youth, are going to consign me to the protection, across the Atlantic, of the heroic national flag, on board the splendid ship, the name of which has not been the least flattering and kind among the numberless favours conferred upon me.

"'God bless you, sir, and all who surround us. God bless the American people, each of their states, and the federal government. Accept this patriotic farewell of an overflowing heart; such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat.'

"As the last sentence was pronounced, the general advanced, and, while the tears poured over his venerable cheek, again took the president in his arms—he retired a few paces, but overcome by his feelings again returned, and uttering in broken accents, 'God bless you!' fell once more on the neck of Mr. Adams. It was a scene, at once solemn and moving, as the sighs and stealing tears of many, who witnessed it, bore testimony. Having recovered his self-possession, the general stretched out his hands, and was, in a moment, surrounded by the greetings of the whole assembly, who pressed upon him, each eager to seize, perhaps for the last time, that beloved hand which was opened so freely for our aid, when aid was so precious, and which grasped, with firm and undeviating hold, the steel which so bravely helped to achieve our deliverance. The expression which now beamed from the face of this exalted man was of the finest and most touching kind. The hero was lost in the father and the friend: dignity melted into subdued affection, and the friend of Washington seemed to linger with a mournful delight among the sons of his adopted country. A considerable period was then occupied in conversing with various individuals, while refreshments were presented to the company. The moment of departure at length arrived, and, having once more pressed the hand of Mr. Adams, he entered the barouche, accompanied by the secretaries of state, of the treasury, and of the navy.

"The parting being over, the carriage of the general, preceded by the cavalry, the marine corps, and Captain Edwards' rifle corps, and followed by the carriages containing the corporate authorities of the cities of the district, and numerous military and high civil officers of the government, moved forward, followed by the remaining military companies. In taking up the escort, the whole column moved through the court, in front of the president's mansion, and paid him the passing salute, as he stood in front to receive it. The whole scene—the peals of artillery, the animating sounds of numerous military bands, the presence of the vast concourse of people, and the occasion that assembled them, altogether produced emotions, not easily described, but which every American will readily conceive.

"On reaching the bank of the Potomac, near where the Mount Vernon steam vessel was in waiting, all the carriages in the procession, except the general's, wheeled off, and the citizens in them assembled on foot around that of the general. The whole military body then passed him in review, as he stood in the barouche of the president, attended by the secretaries of state, of the treasury, and of the navy. After the review, the general proceeded to the steam vessel under a salute of artillery, surrounded by as many citizens, all eager to catch the last look, as could press on the large wharf; and, at four o'clock, this great, and good, and extraordinary man, trod, for the last time, the soil of America, followed by the blessings of every patriotic heart that lives on it.

"As the vessel moved off, and for a short time after, the deepest silence was observed by the whole of the vast multitude that lined the shore. The feelings that pervaded them was that of children bidding a final farewell to a venerated parent. The whole remained gazing after the retiring vessel, until she had passed Greenleaf's Point, where another salute repeated the valedictory sounds of respect, and these again were, not long after, echoed by the heavy guns of fort Washington, and reminded us of the rapidity with which this benefactor and friend of our country was borne from it.

"The general was accompanied to the Brandywine by the secretary of the navy, the mayors of the three cities of the district, the commander-in-chief of the army, the generals of the militia of the district, Commodore Bainbridge, and several other gentlemen."

The transactions between the United States and the Indian tribes have occasioned considerable discussion among the philanthropists of both the new and the old world; we shall, therefore, notice the treaties which were formed somewhat particularly. In February, a treaty was concluded with the Creek nation of Indians. The commissioners on the part of the United States represented to the Creeks, that it is the policy and wish of the general government, that the several Indian tribes within the limits of any of the states of the union, should remove to territory to be designated on the west side of the Mississippi river, as well for the better protection and security of the said tribes, and their improvement in civilization, as for the purpose of enabling the United States, in this instance, to comply with a compact entered into with the state of Georgia, on the 24th of April, 1802. The chiefs of the Creek towns assented to the reasonableness of the proposition, and expressed a willingness to migrate beyond the Mississippi, those of Tokaubatchee excepted. The Creeks accordingly, by the first article of the treaty, ceded to the United States all the lands within the boundaries of the state of Georgia now occupied by them, or to which they have title or claim, lying within certain described boundaries; and by the second it was agreed, that the United States will give in exchange for the lands hereby acquired the like quantity, acre for acre, westward of the Mississippi, on the Arkansas river. Other stipulations favourable to the equitable claims of the emigrating parties were made; particularly that a deputation may be sent to explore the territory herein offered them in exchange; and if the same be not acceptable to them, then they may select any other territory west of the Mississippi, on Red, Canadian, Arkansas, or Missouri rivers, the territory occupied by the Cherokees and Choctaws excepted; and if the territory to be selected shall be in the occupancy of other Indian tribes, then the United States will extinguish the title of such occupants for the benefit of the said emigrants.

The Kansas Indians, by treaty, ceded to the United States all their lands both within and without the limits of Missouri, excepting a reservation beyond that state on the Kansas river, about thirty miles square, including their villages. In consideration of this cession, the United States agreed to pay three thousand five hundred dollars a year for twenty years; to furnish the Kansas immediately with three hundred head of cattle, three hundred hogs, five hundred fowls, three yoke of oxen, and two carts, and with such farming utensils as the Indian superintendent may deem necessary; to provide and support a blacksmith for them; and to employ persons to aid and instruct them in their agricultural pursuits, as the president may deem expedient. Of the ceded lands, thirty-six sections on the Big Blue river were to be laid out under the direction of the president, and sold for the support of schools among the Kansas. Reservations were also made for the benefit of certain half-breeds; and other stipulations mutually satisfactory. It was

also agreed, that no private revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the violation of their rights; but that they shall make their complaint to the superintendent or other agent, and receive justice in a due course of law; and it was lastly agreed, that the Kansas nation shall never dispose of their lands without the consent of the United States, and that the United States shall always have the free right of navigation in the waters of the Kansas.

A treaty was also concluded with the Great and Little Osages, at St. Louis, Missouri. The general principles of this treaty are the same as those of the treaty with the Kansas. The Indians cede all their lands in Arkansas and elsewhere, and then reserve a defined territory, west of the Missouri line, fifty miles square; an agent to be permitted to reside on the reservation, and the United States to have the right of free navigation in all the waters on the tract. The United States pay an annuity of seven thousand dollars for twenty years; furnish forthwith six hundred head of cattle, six hundred hogs, one thousand fowls, ten yoke of oxen, six carts, with farming utensils, persons to teach the Indians agriculture, and a blacksmith, and build a commodious dwelling-house for each of the four principal chiefs, at his own village. Reservations were made for the establishment of a fund for the support of schools for the benefit of the Osage children; and provision was made for the benefit of the Harmony missionary establishment. The United States also assume certain debts due from certain chiefs of the tribes; and agree to deliver at the Osage villages, as soon as may be, four thousand dollars in merchandise, and two thousand six hundred in horses and their equipments.

In May, a general convention of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce, between the United States of America and the republic of Colombia, was signed by the president, at Washington.

The fiftieth anniversary, the jubilee, as it was termed, of American independence, was observed throughout the states with great enthusiasm, and was rendered additionally interesting by the remarkable circumstance that both Adams and Jefferson, eminent men among the fathers of their country, died on that day.

Mr. Adams, in a message to Congress, recommended a naval academy, and urged the appropriation of money for such an establishment; but Congress did not move far in the business. He also recommended the erection of an observatory, that the United States might not be behind the nations of Europe in their astronomical knowledge. This was also neglected. The next election was the all engrossing subject of the politicians, in every quarter of the country, and forbade any improvements in science or letters. Towards the close of his administration, twenty thousand dollars were appropriated, to be paid by instalments, for statuary to fill some niches in the east front of the capitol, and a suitable artist engaged to repair to Italy, to commence his labours. He received his instructions from Mr. Adams, who had designed the ornaments of the pediment on the front of the same building.

Mr. Adams lived in harmony with his cabinet, although they were made of different materials from himself. He struggled hard to prove that a president could act without party; but his success did not warrant the conclusion that such a course could ever be wisely pursued. Many were mortified, and not a few disappointed, to see those who had made no effort to bring in the administration, receive the rewards which belonged to his political friends. Mr. Adams was unquestionably the most learned of all the chief magistrates the nation has had. He received all foreign ambassadors without an interpreter, and satisfied all that he was acquainted with their mother tongue. His learning and his openness of disposition did nothing to insure his second election. The tide of party was not to be stemmed by learning and enlarged views. General Jackson was elected by a large majority.

In the year 1828, Congress made provision, by law, for certain officers of the revolutionary army. The debt of justice had been long delayed. Thousands had descended to the grave in poverty, with complaints on their lips against the rulers of the land. All the wise, patriotic, and eloquent of both houses of Congress, were on the side of the veteran soldiers. Strong arguments were used in their cause. The chairman of the committee which reported the bill, made the following forcible remarks :—

"Mr. President, (said he,) it has become my duty, sir, as chairman of the committee who reported this bill, to explain the origin and character of it. I regret that this duty has not devolved upon some abler representative of the interests of the petitioners; but I regret it the less as my colleagues on the committee possess every quality of both the head and heart to advance those interests, and will no doubt, hereafter, be seconded by an indulgent attention on the part of the senate.

"Who, then, sir, are the venerable men that knock at your door? and for what do they ask? They are not suppliants for mere favour or charity, though we all know that nothing but the proud spirit which helped to sustain them through the distresses of our revolution, has withheld most of them from reliance for daily bread on the alms provided by the present pension act. No, sir, they come as petitioners for their rights. They come as the remnant of that gallant band, who enlisted your continental army, who disciplined its ranks, who planned its enterprises, and led the way to victory and independence. Confiding in the plighted faith of Congress, given in the form of a solemn compact, they adhered to your cause through evil report and good report, till the great drama closed; and they now ask only that the faith so plighted may be redeemed. Amid the wrecks from time and disease, during almost half a century, short of two hundred and fifty now survive, out of two thousand four hundred and eighty, who existed at the close of the war. Even this small number is falling fast around us, as the leaves of autumn; and this very morning a gentleman before me has communicated the information, that another of the most faithful among them has just passed 'that bourne whence no traveller returns.' It behooves us, then, if we now conclude, in our prosperity and greatness, to extend relief, either from charity, gratitude, or justice, to do it quickly.

"My great anxiety is, in the outset, to prevent any misapprehension of the true grounds on which the appropriation is founded. Throughout the whole inquiry, there is no disposition to censure the motives or policy of the old congress. They adopted such measures as the exigencies and necessities of the times forced upon them; and now, when those exigencies have ceased. it is just, as well as generous, to give such relief as the nature of the case may demand.

"A very great obstacle to the success of this measure, heretofore, has been a prevalent opinion, that these petitioners are seeking compensation merely for losses sustained on the depreciation of continental money and certificates received for their monthly wages; whereas from their first memorial in A. D. 1810, to the present session, they have invariably rested on the non-performance, by Congress, of a distinct and independent contract. All the losses on their monthly wages, they bore in common, and are willing to forego in common with many in the walks of civil life, and with the brave soldiers under their command. This is the plain and decisive reason why none but officers are embraced in the present bill. The contract on which they rely, was made with the officers alone; and gallant and unfortunate as were the soldiers, the officers have endured, and will continue to endure, without repining, still severer sufferings from the worthless money and certificates received for their wages; because those losses were perhaps too large, and too general in all departments of life, ever to warrant the expectation, or practicability, of complete remuneration. I have said severer sufferings on this account by the officers; because the money received for wages before A. D. 1780, worth only one dollar in the hundred, was, to the officers, the only means to purchase camp equipage and clothing, that were furnished to the soldiers out of the public arsenals; and because the soldier often received besides bounties both at home and from Congress.

"Let it then be distinctly understood, that notwithstanding this disparity against the officers, no such losses or depreciations form any part of the foundation for this bill. A moment's attention to the history of that period, will show the true ground of the appropriation. After this unequal pressure had continued nearly three years—after the officers had sustained their spirits during that trying period under such disadvantages, by the force of those principles that led them at first to join in the pledge to the cause, of 'their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour;' after their private resources had become nearly exhausted in supplying those wants their country was unable rather than unwilling to satisfy, there arose a state of things which led to certain proceedings by Congress in relation to half pay.

"The prospect had nearly vanished, that any honourable accommodation could be effected with the parent country. The contest seemed likely to become more severe, and to be protracted for many years; and it was obvious that many of the officers thus impoverished and disheartened, must actually resign in order to provide themselves with decent clothing, and to maintain their families, and secure any subsistence for advanced life, or that they must receive some assurance of future indemnity, if they continued in service, and abandoned every thing else to sink

or swim with the military destinies of their country.

"It was then that the resolve of May 15th, 1778, granting half-pay, for only seven years, to all who continued in service till the close of the war, was passed.

"This short period of half-pay was dictated, rather by the wants of Congress to provide a longer one, than from an impression that it was, in truth, sufficient, or in accordance with any similar system in the armies of Europe. Hence, a committee, May 24th, 1779, reported a resolution, allowing half-pay for life to the same class of officers, and justly grounded it on the great risks they were called to encounter, on their great sufferings and sacrifices, of youth, ease, health, and fortune, in the cause of their country. But the want of resources in Congress, induced them to postpone this subject, and on the 17th of August, 1779, to urge upon the respective states the expediency of adopting such a resolution, and of pledging for its fulfilment their state resources. The power of the states over those resources, was much more effective than that of the confederation over the states. But such were the general gloom and despondency of the times, that not a single state, except Pennsylvania, complied with the recommendation. The currency continued to depreciate more and more, daily; the officers, in many instances, were utterly unable, by their whole pay, to procure decent apparel: treason had penetrated the camp in the person of Arnold: Charleston had been surrendered: Lincoln captured: Gates defeated at Camden: the southern states overrun by Cornwallis: our soldiery had become discouraged; and the great military leader of the revolution had become convinced, and had urged, with his usual energy, upon Congress, that the adoption of this resolution was almost the only possible method of retaining the army together. Under such appalling circumstances, Congress passed, on the 24th of October, A. D. 1780, the resolution, which I will now take the liberty to read:

"'Resolved, That the officers who shall continue in the service to the end of the war, shall also be entitled to half-pay during life; to commence from the time of their reduction.' (1 U. S. Laws, 688.)

"This, with one or two subsequent resolutions, explaining and modifying its provisions as to particular persons, constitutes the great foundation of the bill under consideration. The promise was most solemnly and deliberately made: the consideration for it was ample, and most honourably performed by the officers: and yet, on the part of Congress, its stipulations have, in my opinion, never, to this day, been equitably fulfilled. As to the binding effect of the compact on Congress, nobody can pretend to doubt. I shall, therefore, not waste a single moment in the discussion of that point. But I admit that the officers were first bound to perform the condition faithfully, of serving to the close of the war, however long or disastrous. Did they do it? History and tradition must convince all, that through defeat as well as victory, they clung to our fortunes to the uttermost moment of the struggle. They were actuated by a spirit and intelligence, the surest guarantees of such fidelity. Most of them had investigated, and well understood, the principles in dispute, and to defend them, had flown to the field of battle on the first alarm of war, with all the ardour of a Scottish gathering, at the summons of the fiery cross. And it is not poetry, that one of my own relatives, an officer, long since no more, when the alarm was given at Lexington, left for the tented field, the corpse of his father unburied;

> 'One look he cast upon the bier,
> Dashed from his eyes the gathering tear,

and hastened to devote his own life to the salvation of his country. In the same duty—in performing their part of the compact, to serve faithfully to the close of the war, these petitioners endured the frosts of winter, often half sheltered, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid. God forbid that I should exaggerate. The naked truth is stronger than any colouring of fancy. We have the authority of their commander, that they were, at times, in such a condition as to be unable and ashamed to receive their friends; but never, I believe, loath to face their enemies. Their paths were sometimes marked by their blood—their courage and constancy tried by frequent alarms, by ambuscade, and the pitched battle; but they never faltered: and when, towards the close of the war, neglect on the part of Congress, as to their monthly wages, might have justified, under most circumstances, disquiet and distrust; and when at Newburg they were tempted with the insidious taunt, that if, relinquishing their arms and retiring home with the promises made to them unfulfilled, they would 'go starve, and be forgotten;' yet they disbanded in peace, and expressed their 'unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress."

"Washington, himself, declared in substance, that by means of this resolve the officers were inspired to make renewed exertions; to feel a security for themselves and families, which enabled them to devote every faculty to the common cause; and that thus was an army kept together, which otherwise must have dissolved, and we probably have been compelled to pass again under the yoke of colonial servitude.

"For all this fidelity to the performance of their part of the compact, the officers have been duly thanked by many congresses, and applauded by the world. They have occupied a conspicuous niche in toasts, odes, and orations, and some of them have animated the canvass and breathed in marble.

"But has the promise to them of half-pay ever been either literally or substantially fulfilled? That, sir, is the important question. I answer not literally, by any pretence, from any quarter. No half-pay, as such, has ever, for any length of time, been either paid or provided for one of the petitioners. Almost as little, sir, can there be a pretence that it has been substantially fulfilled. No kind of fulfilment has been attempted, except in the commutation act, passed March 22d, 1783.

"That act grew out of objections, in some of the states, to the system of half-pay as a system, because not strictly republican in theory, and because every thing of a pension character had become so odious by its abuse in some governments, in the maintenance of hirelings who had performed secret and disreputable service.

"Some of the officers being anxious to remove any formal objection, petitioned Congress for a commutation or change in the mode of indemnifying and rewarding them. No opposition had been made to the amount or value of the half-pay, and therefore, as appears in the commutation act itself, the officers expected, if a change took place, a full 'equivalent' in value to the half-pay for life.

"But instead of such an equivalent, Congress gave, by that act, what was far short of an equivalent, whether we regard the particular ages at that time of these petitioners, or their average age with the other officers, or the period they have actually since lived. Congress gave only five years' full pay to the youngest in the line, and just as much to the eldest; treating the officer of twenty-five, as not likely to live any longer than him of seventy; and subjecting the former to take for his half-pay, which he was entitled to for his whole life, of probably thirty-five years, the same small sum bestowed on him not likely to live ten or fourteen years.

"If we look to the average age of all the officers at that time, the commutation was still inadequate. That age was probably not over thirty; none have pretended to consider it over thirty-five; and on all observations, in similar climates, and all calculations of annuity tables, such persons' lives would be likely to extend beyond thirty years, and thus their half-pay for life be, on an average, worth the gross sum, *in presenti*, of at least seven years full pay. Any gentleman can test the general accuracy of these results, by a reference to Price's Annuity Tables, and to Milne on Annuities. In England, Sweden, and France, it will be seen that a person of thirty years of age is ascertained to be likely to live thirty-four more; and of thirty-five years of age, to live about twenty-eight more. An annuity for thirty-four years is worth a fraction more than fourteen times its annual amount, if paid in a gross sum in advance; and one, for twenty-eight years, only a fraction less than fourteen times its annual amount. So that seven years' full pay is as near a fair commutation for the half pay for life, taking their average ages, as can well be calculated, or as is necessary for the present inquiry.

"Again: If we advert to the real facts, as since developed, these petitioners, had the commutation act not passed, or not been at all binding, would now receive twenty-two, instead of five years' full pay, as they have survived, since the close of the war, over forty four years.

"Congress, as if conscious that the pressure of the times had driven them to propose a substitute for the half-pay for life, not, in any view, sufficient or equivalent, as regarded the younger officers, who alone now survive and ask for redress, provided in the commutation act, not that each officer might accept or reject it at pleasure, but that it should take effect, if accepted within certain periods, not excepting six months, by majorities in the several lines of the army. The most influential officers in any line, are of course the elder and superior ones. To these, as a general rule, five years full-pay was a fair equivalent; and by their exertions the commutation was accepted by majorities in most of the lines, and no provision ever afterwards made for such officers, as were either absent or present, and dissenting.

"No evidence can now be found, however

of any acceptance, even by majorities, in any of the lines, till after the expiration of the six months prescribed. But a report of the secretary of war, dated October 31, 1783, (8 Journals of Congress, 478,) enumerates certain lines and individuals, that had then signified their acceptance. It would be difficult, as might be expected, to find among the individuals named, one who still survives. Those, then, the youngest and now surviving, must have felt deeply the inequality proposed; and if most of them had not been absent on furlough, by a resolve of Congress, after peace was expected, probably even majorities in the lines would never have been obtained. The certificates were made out for all, without application, and left with the agents; no other provision was made for those entitled to half-pay, and it remained with the younger officers to receive those certificates or nothing.

"But it is most manifest, that Congress had no legal right to take away from a single officer his vested half-pay for life, without giving him a full equivalent; or, to say the least, what the officer should freely and distinctly assent to, as a full equivalent. It would be contrary to the elementary principles of legislation and jurisprudence: and a majority of the lines could no more bind the minority on this subject of private rights of property, than they could bind Congress, or the states, on questions of politics. This point need not be argued to men, who, like those around me, have watched the discussions and decisions in this country the last quarter of a century. But no such individual assent was asked here: it was indeed declared to be useless for any minority of individuals to dissent; the commutation not having been, in any view, a full equivalent, individual assent cannot fairly be presumed. The subsequent taking of the certificates was merely taking all that was provided, and all they could get, without any pretence that they took it as a full and fair equivalent. And hence it follows, that, on the lowest computation, two years more full pay are necessary to make any thing like a substantial fulfilment of the compact on the part of Congress. In truth, twenty years more would be less than the petitioners could rightfully claim now, if the commutation act had never passed; or if the position was clearly established that the commutation act, as to them, was, under the circumstances, entirely null and void. To say that such a transaction, resorted to under the pressure of the times, and finding no apology except in the security and necessities of that pressure, should not be relieved against when the pressure is over, and our means have become ample, is to make a mockery of justice, and to profane every principle of good faith.

"But consider a little farther the history of these proceedings, on the supposition that the five years full-pay was an ample equivalent to all. Was it either paid or secured to them in such manner as to become any thing like a substantial fulfilment of the promise? Though the act allowed Congress to give the officers money or securities, and though these last might be in the form prescribed for other creditors, yet the act contemplated giving them money or money's worth, else it doubly violated the former engagement to give them half-pay for life. The very nature of half-pay, or of any commutation for it, implies that it should be actually paid, or so secured as to raise the money whenever it becomes due. They were here intended as means for immediate maintenance or business to those who, by peace, would be thrown out of their accustomed employment and support. This is too plain for further illustration; and, in conformity with these views, Congress forthwith effected a loan in Europe, and paid in money all the foreign officers entitled to the commutation. But how were the petitioners treated? They did not obtain a dollar in money, and even their certificates were not delivered till six or nine months after their right to half-pay accrued; and when received, so far from being secured by pledges or requisitions rendering them valuable as money, the officers could not obtain for them in the market over one-fifth of their nominal amount. The receipts given for these certificates truly omitted to state that they were in full payment, of either the commutation or the half-pay. By such means these petitioners, to supply the then existing wants of themselves and families, which was the legitimate object of both the half-pay and its commutation, in fact realized only one, instead of five years' full-pay; or only two years' half-pay instead of half-pay for life.

"If this was a substantial fulfilment of the promise to them, I think it would be difficult to define what would have been a defective, delusive, and unsubstantial fulfilment. But it has been suggested, that the petitioners might all have retained their certificates till afterwards funded, and in that event have escaped loss. Can gentlemen, however, forget that the very design of half-pay was to furnish food and raiment, and not a fund to be deposited in bank for posterity? And that, though the use of a portion of it, if all had been paid at once, might have been postponed to a future period, yet their necessities utterly forbade most of them from not resorting, forthwith, to a single year's pay, which was the entire value of the whole certificate. It is another part of the distressing history of this case, that if, on the contrary, every officer had retained his certificate till funded, his loss on it would have been very near one third of its amount. But on this point I shall not dwell, as its particulars are more recent and familiar. It will suffice to call to your minds, that the provision made for the payment of these certificates in A. D. 1790, was not by money, nor virtually to their full amount, but by opening a loan, payable in those certificates, and a scrip of stock given for them on these terms: one third of the principal was to draw no interest whatever, for ten years; and all the interest then due, was to draw thereafter only three per cent. Without going into any calculations of the value of different kinds of stock, under different circumstances, it is obvious that such a payment or security was not worth so much by nearly a third, as the money would have been worth, or as scrip would have been worth for the whole then due on six per cent. interest.

"It is true that this loan was, in form, voluntary; but it is equally true, that, as no other provision was made for payment, no alternative remained but to accept the terms. Hence, if the officer sold his certificate from necessity, he obtained only one fifth of the amount therein promised: or, if he retained it, he obtained only about two thirds of that amount.

"What renders this circumstance still more striking, we ourselves have in this way saved, and reduced our national debt below what it would have been, many millions of dollars—from eighteen to fifteen, I believe; and yet, now, in our prosperity, hesitate to restore what was taken in part from these very men, and when not from them, taken from others on account of their speculations on these very men, and their associates in arms. It was at the time of the funding thought just, and attempted by some of our ablest statesmen, to provide some retribution to the original holders of certificates for the losses that had been sustained on them—to provide in some way a partial restoration. But the inherent difficulty of the subject, and the low state of our resources, prevented us from completing any such arrangement, though we were not prevented from saving to the government, out of these very certificates, and similar ones, ten times the amount now proposed for these petitioners.

"On this state of facts, then, I hold these conclusions: that what is honest, and moral, and honourable, between debtor and creditor in private life, is so in public life. That a creditor of the public should be treated with at least equal, if not greater kindnesses, than the creditor of an individual. That when the embarrassments of a debtor give rise to a mode of payment altogether inadequate to what is justly due, and this kind of payment is forced upon the creditor, by the necessities of either party, the debtor ought, when relieved from his embarrassments or necessities, to make ample restitution. That it is the dictate of every moral and honourable feeling to supply the deficiency; and especially, should the debtor do this where the inadequacy was more than four fifths of the whole debt; where the debtor, by a part of the arrangement, saved millions to contribute to his present prosperity, and where the debt itself was, as in the present case, the price of blood lavished for the creditor, the wages of those sufferings and toils which secured our present liberties, and fill the brightest page of glory in our country's history. The great military leader of the revolution has given his sanction to this measure, in the strongest terms, when calling to mind the lion hearts, and eagle eyes, that had surrounded and sustained him in all his arduous trials, and reflecting that they, not soldiers by profession, nor adventurers, but citizens, with tender ties of kindred and friendship, and with cheering prospects in civil life, had abandoned all to follow him, and to sink or swim with the sacred cause in which he had enlisted, he invoked towards them the justice of his country, and expressed the fullest confidence, that 'a country rescued by their arms, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.'

"It is not to be forgotten, that a measure like this would remove a stain from our history. Its moral influence on our population, in future wars, for wars we must expect, again and again: its consonance with those religious, as well as moral principles of perfect justice, which, in a republic, are the anchor and salvation of all that is valuable; its freedom, I trust, from political prejudice and party feeling, all strengthen the other reasons for its speedy adoption.

"Nor have all the imputations against it as a local measure, been at all well founded. What is right or just in regard to contracts, is right without regard to the residence of individuals, whether in the east, the west, or the south. But independent of that consideration, these venerable worthies, though once much more numerous at the north than elsewhere, have since followed the enterprises of their children, and pushed their own broken fortunes to every section of the union. It is impossible to obtain perfect accuracy as to their numbers and residence. But by corresponding and verbal inquiries it is ascertained, that four or five survive in New Hampshire; from thirty to thirty-five in Massachusetts and Maine; five or six in Rhode Island; five in Vermont; sixteen in Connecticut; twenty in New York; twelve in New Jersey; eighteen in Pennsylvania; three in Delaware; twelve in Maryland; thirty-three to thirty-eight in Virginia and Kentucky; ten to twelve in Ohio; twelve or fifteen in the Carolinas; and five or six in Georgia. As by the annuity tables, something like two hundred and fifty ought now to be alive, the computations have been made on a medium of two hundred and thirty, between the number ascertained and the conjectural number.

"The question then, is of a general public nature, and presents the single point, whether, in the late language of an eloquent statesman of New York, these veterans shall any longer remain 'living monuments of the neglect of their country.'

"All the foreign officers, whose claims rested on the same resolve, were, as I have before stated, promptly paid in specie; and their illustrious leader, Lafayette, by whose side these petitioners faced equal toils and dangers, has been since loaded with both money and applause. Even the tories, who deserted the American cause, and adhered to one so much less holy and pure, have been fully and faithfully rewarded by England: and it now remains with the senate to decide, not whether the sum proposed shall be bestowed in mere charity—however charity may bless both him that gives and him that takes; nor in mere gratitude—however sensible the petitioners may be to the influence of either; but whether, let these considerations operate as they may, the officers should be remunerated for their losses, on those broad principles of eternal justice which are the cement of society, and which, without a wound to their delicacy and honest pride, will, in that event, prove the solace and staff of their declining years.

"I shall detain the senate no longer, except to offer a few remarks on the computations, on which the sum of one million one hundred thousand dollars is proposed as the proper one for filling the blank. Various estimates, on various hypothesis, are annexed to the report in this case, and others will doubtless occur to different gentlemen. But if any just one amounts to about the sum proposed, no captious objection will, I trust, be offered on account of any trifling difference. It is impossible, in such cases, to attain perfect accuracy; but the estimates are correct enough, probably, for the present purpose.

"The committee have proposed a sum in gross rather than a half-pay or annuity, because more appropriate to the circumstances of the case, and because more acceptable, for the reasons that originally gave rise to the commutation.

"On the ground that these officers were, in 1783, justly entitled to two years more full-pay, as a fair equivalent for half-pay during life; and there being two hundred and thirty of them of the rank supposed in the report, their monthly pay would be about thirty dollars each. This, for two years, would be seven hundred and twenty dollars each; or one hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred dollars due to these petitioners at the close of the war, over and above what they then received certificates for. The interest on that, for forty-four years, would be four hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty-four dollars, which, added to the principal, make six hundred and two thousand seven hundred and eighty-four dollars.

"If to that be added what they lost on their certificates by depreciation, which at four-fifths was three hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred dollars, and the sum without any interest, on the depreciation, amounts to nine hundred and thirty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-four dollars; or, with interest, to more than a million and a half; or, if the depreciation be considered seven-eights, as it really was, the sum would be still larger. On the other hand, if nothing be allowed for depreciation on the certificates, but one-third be considered as lost in funding, that one-third, in A. D. 1791, would be about two hundred and four thousand two hundred and forty dollars, and interest since would swell it to six hundred and forty-five thousand four hundred and thirty-four dollars, which added to the two years' pay not received, and interest on that pay, makes the whole one million two hundred and forty-eight thousand two hundred and eighteen dollars.

"Another view of the case, which seems to me the most technical, and which steers clear of any difficulty about the loss, either by depreciation or funding, will lead to about the same result as to the amount. It is this. On the ground that seven years' full-pay was the smallest sum which, in A. D. 1783, could be deemed a fair equivalent for the half-pay for life, then the petitioners got certificates for only five sevenths of their half-pay. Or, in other words, five sevenths of their half-pay was extinguished and paid. The other two sevenths, then, has annually accrued since, and will continue to accrue while the petitioners survive. This two sevenths being fifty-one dollars and forty-two cents per year, to each officer, or eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty-six dollars to these officers, would amount at this time to five hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and forty-four dollars; and the interest accruing on it during only thirty-five years, would make it exceed the one million one hundred thousand dollars proposed. The amount is fairly reached by this view of the case, without a single cent for either depreciation or loss in funding, and thus does not indirectly touch a single fact or principle upon which a similar allowance could be made to any body besides these officers. Gallant, and meritorious, and suffering, as were the soldiers, and none could be more so; worthy and affectionate as may have been the surviving widows, and distinguished as may have been many of the officers' heirs, for filial and generous devotion to smooth their declining years; they all stand on their own cases and merits. None of them have been referred to the committee who reported this bill, and they can all be provided for otherwise, this session, or hereafter, if thought proper. Let the present appropriation be tried first on its own grounds, and then by subsequent amendments of this bill, or by new bills, let an appropriation for other classes of persons be also tried on its own grounds. All I ask and entreat is, that if, either in strict law or in justice, whether grounded upon the original defective commutation, the depreciation of the certificates, or the loss in funding, any member is convinced that the sum proposed to these officers is a fair one, that he will first consider the case of the officers, and support this motion. If any think a different sum more proper, I hope they will propose that sum in due time; and thus let the sense of the senate be fully expressed upon one case at a time, and upon the only case now duly before us. In this manner, only, can any thing ever be accomplished.

"The amount of the sum now proposed, cannot be objected to on the grounds that doubtless caused the losses and sufferings which we are now seeking to redress. The country during the revolution, and at its close, would hardly have been unwilling to bestow twice the amount, had its resources permitted. But, now, such have been our rapid advances in wealth and greatness, by means of the rights and liberties of the valour of these men contributed so largely to secure; that the very public land they defended, if not won, yields every year to our treasury more than the whole appropriation. One twentieth of our present annual revenue exceeds it. A fraction of the cost of the public buildings—the expense of two or three ships of the line—one tenth of what has been saved to our national debt in the funding system—a tax of ten cents per head on our population, only a single twelvemonth,—either of them would remove all this reproach.

"But, whatever might be the cost, I would say, in all practicable cases, be just and fear not. Let no illiberal or evasive feeling blast the hopes of these venerable patriots. Much longer delay will do this as effectually as a hard hearted refusal; since the remains of them are almost daily going down to the city of silence. Either drive them, then, at once from your doors, with taunts, and in despair,—or sanction the claim. So far as regards my single self, before I would another year endure the stigma, of either injustice or ingratitude to men like these, I would vote to stop every species of splendid missions: I would cease to talk of Alleghany canals: I would let the capitol crumble to atoms for want of appropriations, and introduce retrenchment from the palace to the humblest door-keeper.

"It has formerly been said, that if these officers are relieved, so must be those of the late war. But, deserving as were these last, the cause in which they fought required much inferior sacrifices—they were not contending under the stigma of traitors, liable to the halter—they were liberally and promptly paid; and whatever small depreciation may have existed in the treasury notes taken for their monthly pay, it was infinitely less than the losses sustained by these petitioners on their monthly pay, and for which they neither ask nor expect relief.

"One other consideration, and I will at this time trouble the senate no longer. The long lapse of time since the claim originated has been objected formerly to its success. But what honest individual shelters himself under a statute of limitation, if conscious that his promise has not been substantially fulfilled? Under such circumstances, it is no defence, either in the court of conscience or in a court of honour; and Congress have often shown their liberality in waiving it, where expressly provided to bar an application.

"Here no express bar has ever been provided. Before their first application, the officers waited till A. D. 1810, when old age and infirmity rendered them more needy, and when many years of prosperity had rendered their country more able. However numerous, and technical, and evasive, may have been the objections since interposed, let it not be forgotten, that in performing their portion of the compact, however neglected as to food or wages, they never were heard to plead excuses or evasions, however appalling the danger, whether roused by a midnight alarm or invited to join a forlorn hope.

"Like others, too, it may be imputed to them in derogation, that they were 'military chieftains.' But if, as such for a time, they did, like others, nobly help 'to fill the measure of their country's glory;' so, like others of that class, they have often distinguished themselves in forums, cabinets, and halls of legislation.

"Whatever 'honour and gratitude' they have yet received, is deeply engraven on their hearts; but they now also need—and they ask, only because they need, the additional rewards of substantial justice.

"It remains, sir, for us, whose rights they defended and saved, to say whether they shall longer ask that justice in vain."

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Andrew Jackson took the oath of office. His course as a military commander had been wonderfully successful, and in all republics, the military chieftain has been held in the highest consideration. He was not bred a statesman, nor had he been considered as a leader in senates; but he was energetic, prompt, and fearless. He was initiated in war on the borders with the Indian tribes, and his name was a terror throughout the nations then hostile or friendly to the United States. His successful defence of New Orleans had excited the admiration and awakened the gratitude of the American people. His inaugural speech was short, and full of promises in the way of reform. "Fellow-citizens, (said he,) about to undertake the arduous duties that I have been appointed to perform, by the choice of a free people, I avail myself of this customary and solemn occasion, to express the gratitude which their confidence inspires, and to acknowledge the accountability which my situation enjoins. While the magnitude of their interests convinces me that no thanks can be adequate to the honour they have conferred, it admonishes me that the best return I can make, is the zealous dedication of my humble abilities to their service and their good.

"As the instrument of the federal constitution, it will devolve on me, for a stated period, to execute the laws of the United States; to superintend their foreign and their confederate relations; to manage their revenue; to command their forces; and, by communications to the legislature, to watch over and to promote their interests generally. And the principles of action by which I shall endeavour to accomplish this circle of duties, it is now proper for me briefly to explain.

In administering the laws of Congress, I shall keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the executive power, trusting thereby to discharge the functions of my office without transcending its authority. With foreign nations it will be my study to preserve peace, and to cultivate friendship on fair and honourable terms; and in the adjustment of any difference that may exist or arise, to exhibit the forbearance becoming a powerful nation, rather than the sensibility belonging to a gallant people.

"In such measures as I may be called on to pursue, in regard to the rights of the separate states, I hope to be animated by a proper respect for those sovereign members of our union; taking care not to confound the powers they have reserved to themselves, with those they have granted to the confederacy.

"The management of the public revenue—that searching operation in all governments—is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours; and it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered, it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy. This I shall aim at the more anxiously, both because it will facilitate the extinguishment of the national debt—the unnecessary duration of which is incompatible with real independence—and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the government, is but too apt to engender. Powerful auxiliaries to the attainment of this desirable end, are to be found in the regulations provided by the wisdom of Congress, for the specific appropriation of public money, and the prompt accountability of public officers.

"With regard to a proper selection of the subjects of impost, with a view to revenue, it would seem to me, that the spirit of equity, caution, and compromise, in which the constitution was formed, requires that the great interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, should be equally favoured; and that, perhaps, the only exception to this rule should consist in the peculiar encouragement of any products of either of them that may be found essential to our national independence.

"Internal improvement, and the diffusion of knowledge, so far as they can be promoted by the constitutional acts of the federal government, are of high importance.

"Considering standing armies as dangerous to free governments, in time of peace, I shall not seek to enlarge our present establishment, nor disregard that salutary lesson of political experience, which teaches that the military should be held subordinate to the civil power. The gradual increase of our navy, whose flag has displayed, in distant climes, our skill in navigation and our fame in arms; the preservation of our forts, arsenals, and dock yards; and the introduction of progressive improvements in the discipline and science of both branches of our military service, are so plainly prescribed by prudence, that I should be excused for omitting their mention sooner than for enlarging on their importance. But the bulwark of our defence is the national militia, which, in the present state of our intelligence and population, must render us invincible. As long as our government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, it will be worth defending: and so long as it is worth defending, a patriotic militia will cover it with an impenetrable *ægis*. Partial injuries and occasional mortifications we may be subjected to, but a million of armed freemen, possessed of the means of war, can never be conquered by a foreign foe. To any just system, therefore, calculated to strengthen this natural safe-guard of the country, I shall cheerfully lend all the aid in my power.

"It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe towards the Indian tribes within our limits, a just and liberal policy; and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which are consistent with the habits of our government, and the feelings of our people.

"The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes, on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform; which will require, particularly, the correction of those abuses, that have brought the patronage of the federal government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment, and have placed, or continued, power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.

"In the performance of a task thus generally delineated, I shall endeavour to select men whose diligence and talents will insure, in their respective stations, able and faithful co-operation—depending, for the advancement of the public service, more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers, than on their numbers.

"A diffidence, perhaps too just, in my own qualifications, will teach me to look with reverence to the examples of public virtue left by my illustrious predecessors, and with veneration to the lights that flow from the mind that founded, and the mind that reformed, our system. The same diffidence induces me to hope for instruction and aid from the co-ordinate branches of the government, and for the indulgence and support of my fellow-citizens generally. And a firm reliance on the goodness of that Power whose providence mercifully protected our national infancy, and has since upheld our liberties in various vicissitudes, encourages me to offer up my ardent supplications that he will continue to make our beloved country the object of his divine care and gracious benediction."

General Jackson at once filled up his cabinet with men devoted to his cause. Martin Van Buren, of the state of New York, was appointed secretary of state. He was a self-made man, and had secured the votes of his native state for governor, which office he held when he received his appointment. Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, was appointed secretary of the treasury. He had been a member of the house of representatives in the national legislature, and was thought a straight

forward, plain man. John H. Eaton was made secretary of war. He had been a senator from Tennessee, and was the personal friend of General Jackson. John Branch was appointed to fill the office of secretary of the navy. The qualifications he had for this office were not known to the nation at large, but they presumed the executive was fully aware of them, before he had elevated him to that office. John M'Pherson Berrien was made attorney-general. This appointment gave general satisfaction. He was at the time of his appointment a senator from Georgia, and celebrated for his acquirements, eloquence, and discrimination. He had shown his talents as well in the high judicial councils of the nation, as in the senate of the United States. John M'Lean, who had held the office of post master general, was transferred to the bench of the supreme court of the United States, and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, was put into the office which Mr. M'Lean had filled with so much reputation, that not a man of note in the country wished him removed. A general sweep was made of men in office not favourable to the administration. This was justified upon political grounds, as a course of true policy, and in full accordance with the genius of the government.

The relations of the United States with foreign countries, were in a prosperous situation. Some little misunderstanding existed with the British government, in regard to the West India trade, which was arranged by the plenipotentiary to the court of London, Mr. Louis M'Lane; but this was of no great importance, although thought so at the time.

In 1832, the cholera raged in the United States, and gave great alarm to the whole population; but the number of deaths was not great.

The boundary line, a subject of dispute, has not lately been agitated.

The people of South Carolina had, before this time, broached some doctrines in regard to state rights, not acknowledged by the great body of the union. The question was most ably argued in Congress, particularly by Colonel Hayne, a senator from South Carolina, on the one side, and by Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, on the other.

The attention of the people was attracted by this discussion, and an immense majority of them were decidedly against the doctrines avowed by Carolina. Although the state of South Carolina assumed an attitude of defiance, President Jackson at once took a most decided course. He was supported by the great body of the people. He issued a proclamation, which we shall insert, fraught with all the sound doctrines of the old school. This manly, bold, and decided course, made him tenfold more popular than before.

"Whereas, a convention assembled in the state of South Carolina, have passed an ordinance, by which they declare, 'That the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and more especially' two acts for the same purposes, passed on the 29th of May, 1828, and on the 14th of July, 1832, are 'unauthorized by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law,' nor binding on the citizens of that state or its officers: and by the said ordinance, is further declared to be unlawful for any of the constituted authorities of the state, or of the United States, to enforce the payment of the duties imposed by the said acts within the same state, and that it is the duty of the legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to give full effect to the said ordinance.

"And whereas, by the said ordinance it is further ordained, that in no case of law or equity, decided in the courts of the said state, wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of the said ordinance, or of the acts of the legislature that may be passed to give it effect, or of the said laws of the United States, no appeal shall be allowed to the supreme court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for a contempt of court:

"And, finally, the said ordinance declares, that the people of South Carolina will maintain the said ordinance at every hazard; and that they will consider the passage of any act by Congress abolishing or closing the ports of the said state, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress or egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act of the federal government to coerce the state, shut up her ports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to enforce the said acts otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of the said state will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connexion with the people of the other states, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent states may of right do:

"And whereas, the said ordinance prescribes to the people of South Carolina a course of conduct in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, contrary to the laws of their country, subversive of its constitution, and having for its object the destruction of the union—that union which, coeval with our political existence, led our fathers, without any other ties to unite them than those of patriotism and a common cause, through a sanguinary struggle to a glorious independence—that sacred union, hitherto inviolate, which, perfected by our happy constitution, has brought us, by the favour of Heaven, to a state of prosperity at home, and high consideration abroad, rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of nations. To preserve this bond of our political existence from destruction, to maintain inviolate this state of national honour and prosperity, and to justify the confidence my fellow-citizens have reposed in me, I, ANDREW JACKSON, *President of the United States*, have thought proper to issue this my PROCLAMATION, stating my views of the constitution and laws applicable to the measures adopted by the convention of South Carolina, and to the reasons they have put forth to sustain them, declaring the course which duty will require me to pursue, and appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people, warn them of the consequences that must inevitably result from an observance of the dictates of the convention.

"Strict duty would require of me nothing more than the exercise of those powers with which I am now, or may hereafter be invested, for preserving the peace of the union, and for the execution of the laws. But the imposing aspect which opposition has assumed in this case, by clothing itself with state authority, and the deep interest which the people of the United States must all feel in preventing a resort to stronger measures, while there is a hope that any thing will be yielded to reasoning and remonstrance, perhaps demand, and will certainly justify a full exposition to South Carolina and the nation of the views I entertain of this important question, as well as a distinct enunciation of the course which my sense of duty will require me to pursue.

"The ordinance is founded, not on the indefeasible right of resisting acts which are plainly unconstitutional and too oppressive to be endured; but on the strange position that any one state may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution—that they may do this consistently with the constitution—that the true construction of that instrument permits a state to retain its place in the union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider as constitutional. It is true, they add, that to justify this abrogation of a law, it must be palpably contrary to the constitution; but it is evident, that to give the right of resisting laws of that description, coupled with the uncontrolled right to decide what laws deserve that character, is to give the power of resisting all laws. For, as by the theory, there is no appeal, the reasons alleged by the state, good or bad, must prevail. If it should be said that public opinion is a sufficient check against the abuse of this power, it may be asked, why it is not deemed a sufficient guard against the passage of an unconstitutional act by Congress. There is, however, a restraint in this last case, which makes the assumed power of a state more indefensible, and which does not exist in the other. There are two appeals from an unconstitutional act passed by Congress—one to the judiciary, the other to the people and the states. There is no appeal from the state decision in theory, and the practical illustration shows that the courts are shut against an application to review it, both judges and jurors being sworn to decide in its favour. But reasoning on this subject is superfluous, when our social compact in express terms declares, that the laws of the United States, its constitution and treaties made under it, are the supreme law of the land—and for the greater caution adds, 'that the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' And it may be asserted without fear of refutation, that no federative government could exist without a similar provision. Look for a moment to the consequence. If South Carolina considers the revenue laws unconstitutional, and has a right to prevent their execution in the port of Charleston, there would be a clear constitutional objection to their collection in every other port, and no revenue could be collected any where, for all imposts must be equal. It is no answer to repeat, that an unconstitutional law is no law, so long as the question o

its legality is to be decided by the state itself; for every law operating injuriously upon any local interest will be perhaps thought, and certainly represented, as unconstitutional, and, as has been shown, there is no appeal.

"If this doctrine had been established at an earlier day, the union would have been dissolved in its infancy. The excise law in Pennsylvania, the embargo and non-intercourse law in the eastern states, the carriage tax in Virginia, were all deemed unconstitutional, and were more unequal in their operation than any of the laws now complained of; but fortunately none of those states discovered that they had the right now claimed by South Carolina. The war into which we were forced, to support the dignity of the nation and the rights of our citizens, might have ended in defeat and disgrace instead of victory and honour, if the states who supposed it a ruinous and unconstitutional measure, had thought they possessed the right of nullifying the act by which it was declared, and denying supplies for its prosecution. Hardly and unequally as those measures bore upon several members of the Union, to the legislatures of none did this efficient and peaceable remedy, as it is called, suggest itself. The discovery of this important feature in our constitution was reserved to the present day. To the statesmen of South Carolina belongs the invention, and upon the citizens of that state will unfortunately fall the evils of reducing it to practice.

"If the doctrine of the state veto upon the laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its impracticable absurdity, our constitutional history will also afford abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with indignation had it been proposed to form a feature in our government.

"In our colonial state, although dependent on another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other. Leagues were formed for common defence, and before the Declaration of Independence we were known in our aggregate character as THE UNITED COLONIES OF AMERICA. That decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a nation by a joint, not by several acts, and when the terms of our confederation were reduced to form, it was in that of a solemn league of several states, by which they agreed that they would collectively form one nation for the purpose of conducting some certain domestic concerns and all foreign relations. In the instrument forming that union, is found an article which declares that 'every state shall abide by the determination of Congress on all questions which by that confederation should be submitted to them.'

"Under the confederation, then, no state could legally annul a decision of the Congress, or refuse to submit to its execution; but no provision was made to enforce these decisions. Congress made requisitions, but they were not complied with. The government could not operate on individuals. They had no judiciary, no means of collecting revenue.

"But the defects of the confederation need not be detailed. Under its operation we could scarcely be called a nation. We had neither prosperity at home nor consideration abroad. This state of things could not be endured, and our present happy constitution was formed, but formed in vain, if this fatal doctrine prevails. It was formed for important objects that are announced in the preamble, made in the name, and by the authority of the people of the United States, whose delegates framed, and whose conventions approved it. The most important among these objects, that which is placed first in rank, on which all the others rest, is '*to form a more perfect Union.*' Now, is it possible that even if there were no express provision giving supremacy to the constitution and laws of the United States over those of the states—it can be conceived, that an instrument made for the purpose of '*forming a more perfect Union*' than that of the confederation, could be so constructed by the assembled wisdom of our country, as to substitute for that confederation a form of government, dependent for its existence on the local interest, the party spirit of a state, or of a prevailing faction in a state? Every man of plain, unsophisticated understanding, who hears the question, will give such an answer as will preserve the union. Metaphysical subtlety, in pursuit of an impracticable theory, could alone have devised one that is calculated to destroy it.

"I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, *incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.*

"After this general view of the leading principle, we must examine the particular application of it which is made in the ordinance.

"The preamble rests its justification on these grounds:—It assumes as a fact, that the obnoxious laws, although they purport to be laws for raising revenue, were in reality intended for the protection of manufactures, which purpose it asserts to be unconstitutional; that the operation of these laws is unequal; that the amount raised by them is greater than is required by the wants of the government; and, finally, that the proceeds are to be applied to objects unauthorized by the constitution. These are the only causes alleged to justify an open opposition to the laws of the country, and a threat of seceding from the union, if any attempt should be made to enforce them. The first virtually acknowledges that the law in question was passed under a power expressly given by the constitution, to lay and collect imposts; but its constitutionality is drawn in question from the motives of those who passed it. However apparent this purpose may be in the present case, nothing can be more dangerous than to admit the position, that an unconstitutional purpose, entertained by the members who assent to a law enacted under a constitutional power, shall make that law void; for how is that purpose to be ascertained? Who is to make the scrutiny? How often may bad purposes be falsely imputed? in how many cases are they concealed by false professions? in how many is no declaration of motive made? Admit this doctrine, and you give to the states an uncontrolled right to decide, and every law may be annulled under this pretext. If, therefore, the absurd and dangerous doctrine should be admitted, that a state may annul an unconstitutional law, or one that it deems such, it will not apply to the present case.

"The next objection is, that the laws in question operate unequally. This objection may be made with truth to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect equality. If the unequal operation of a law makes it unconstitutional, and if all laws of that description may be abrogated by any state for that cause, then indeed is the federal constitution unworthy of the slightest effort for its preservation. We have hitherto relied on it as the perpetual bond of our union. We have received it as the work of the assembled wisdom of the nation. We have trusted to it as to the sheet anchor of our safety, in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe. We have looked to it with sacred awe as the palladium of our liberties, and, with all the solemnities of religion, have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here, and our hopes of happiness hereafter, in its defence and support. Were we mistaken, my countrymen, in attaching this importance to the constitution of our country? Was our devotion paid to the wretched, inefficient, clumsy contrivance, which this new doctrine would make it? Did we pledge ourselves to the support of an airy nothing, a bubble that must be blown away by the first breath of disaffection? Was this self-destroying, visionary theory, the work of the profound statesmen, the exalted patriots, to whom the task of constitutional reform was intrusted? Did the name of Washington sanction, did the states deliberately ratify, such an anomaly in the history of fundamental legislation? No. We were not mistaken! The letter of this great instrument is free from this radical fault: its language directly contradicts the imputation: its spirit, its evident intent, contradicts it. No, we did not err! Our constitution does not contain the absurdity of giving power to make laws, and another power to resist them. The sages, whose memory will always be reverenced, have given us a practical, and, as they hoped, a permanent constitutional compact. The Father of his country did not affix his revered name to so palpable an absurdity. Nor did the states, when they severally ratified it, do so under the impression that a veto on the laws of the United States was reserved to them, or that they could exercise it by implication. Search the debates in all their conventions—examine the speeches of the most zealous opposers of federal authority—look at the amendments that were proposed. They are all silent—not a syllable uttered, not a vote given, not a motion made, to correct the explicit supremacy given to the laws of the union over those of the states—or to show that implication, as is now contended, could defeat it. No, we have not erred! The constitution is still the object of our reverence, the bond of our union, our defence in danger, the source of our prosperity in peace. It shall descend, as we have received it, uncorrupted by sophistical construction, to our posterity; and the sacrifices of local interest, of state prejudices, of personal animosities, that were made to bring it into existence, will again be patriotically offered for its support.

"The two remaining objections made by the ordinance to these laws are, that the sums intended to be raised by them are greater than are required, and that the proceeds will be

unconstitutionally employed. The constitution has given expressly to Congress the right of raising revenue, and of determining the sum the public exigencies will require. The states have no control over the exercise of this right, other than that which results from the power of changing the representatives who abuse it, and thus procure redress. Congress may undoubtedly abuse this discretionary power, but the same may be said of others with which they are vested. Yet the discretion must exist somewhere. The constitution has given it to the representatives of all the people, checked by the representatives of the states, and by the executive power. The South Carolina construction gives it to the legislature or the convention of a single state, where neither the people of the different states, nor the states in their separate capacity, nor the chief magistrate elected by the people, have any representation? Which is the most discreet disposition of the power? I do not ask you, fellow-citizens, which is the constitutional disposition—that instrument speaks a language not to be misunderstood. But if you were assembled in general convention, which would you think the safest depository of this discretionary power in the last resort? Would you add a clause giving it to each of the states, or would you sanction the wise provisions already made by your constitution? If this should be the result of your deliberations when providing for the future, are you—can you—be ready to risk all that we hold dear, to establish, for a temporary and local purpose, that which you must acknowledge to be destructive, and even absurd, as a general provision? Carry out the consequences of this right vested in the different states, and you must perceive that the crisis your conduct presents at this day would recur whenever any law of the United States displeased any of the states, and that we should soon cease to be a nation.

"The ordinance, with the same knowledge of the future that characterizes a former objection, tells you that the proceeds of the tax will be unconstitutionally applied. If this could be ascertained with certainty, the objection would, with more propriety, be reserved for the law so applying the proceeds, but surely cannot be urged against the laws levying the duty.

"These are the allegations contained in the ordinance. Examine them seriously, my fellow-citizens, judge for yourselves. I appeal to you to determine whether they are so clear, so convincing, as to leave no doubt of their correctness; and even if you should come to this conclusion, how far they justify the reckless, destructive course, which you are directed to pursue. Review these objections and the conclusions drawn from them, once more. What are they? Every law, then, for raising revenue, according to the South Carolina ordinance, may be rightfully annulled unless it be so framed as no law ever will or can be framed. Congress have a right to pass laws for raising revenue, and each state has a right to oppose their execution, two rights directly opposed to each other; and yet is this absurdity supposed to be contained in an instrument drawn for the express purpose of avoiding collisions between the states and the general government, by an assembly of the most enlightened statesmen and purest patriots ever embodied for a similar purpose.

"In vain have these sages declared that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises—in vain have they provided that they shall have power to pass laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry those powers into execution; that those laws and that constitution shall be the 'supreme law of the land; and that the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' In vain have the people of the several states solemnly sanctioned these provisions, made them their paramount law, and individually sworn to support them whenever they were called on to execute any office. Vain provisions! ineffectual restrictions! vile profanation of oaths! miserable mockery of legislation! if a bare majority of the voters in any one state may on a real or supposed knowledge of the intent with which a law has been passed, declare themselves free from its operation—say here it gives too little, there too much, and operates unequally—here it suffers articles to be free that ought to be taxed, there it taxes those that ought to be free—in this case the proceeds are intended to be applied to purposes which we do not approve, in that the amount raised is more than is wanted. Congress, it is true, are invested by the constitution with the right of deciding these questions according to their sound discretion. Congress is composed of the representatives of all the states, and of all the people of all the states; but WE, part of the people of one state, to whom the constitution has given no power on the subject, from whom it has expressly taken it away—*we*, who have solemnly agreed that this constitution shall be our law—*we*, most of whom have sworn to support it—*we* now abrogate this law, and swear, and force others to swear, that it shall not be obeyed, and we do this, not because Congress have no right to pass such laws, this we do not allege; but because they have passed them with improper views. They are unconstitutional from the motives of those who passed them, which we can never with certainty know; from their unequal operation, although it is impossible from the nature of things that they should be equal; and from the disposition which we presume may be made of their proceeds, although that disposition has not been declared. This is the plain meaning of the ordinance in relation to laws which it abrogates for alleged unconstitutionality. But it does not stop there. It repeals, in express terms, an important part of the constitution itself, and of laws passed to give it effect, which have never been alleged to be unconstitutional. The constitution declares that the judicial powers of the United States extend in cases arising under the laws of the United States, and that such laws, the constitution, and treaties, shall be paramount to the state constitutions and laws. The judiciary act prescribes the mode by which the case may be brought before a court of the United States by appeal, when a state tribunal shall decide against this provision of the constitution. The ordinance declares there shall be no appeal: makes the state law paramount to the constitution and laws of the United States; forces judges and jurors to swear that they will disregard their provisions; and even makes it penal in a suitor to attempt relief by appeal. It further declares that it shall not be lawful for the authorities of the United States, or of that state, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the revenue laws within its limits.

"Here is a law of the United States, not even pretended to be unconstitutional, repealed by the authority of a small majority of the voters of a single state. Here is a provision of the constitution which is solemnly abrogated by the same authority.

"On such expositions and reasonings, the ordinance grounds not only an assertion of the right to annul the laws of which it complains, but to enforce it by a threat of seceding from the union, if any attempt is made to execute them.

"This right to secede is deduced from the nature of the constitution, which, they say, is a compact between sovereign states, who have preserved their whole sovereignty, and, therefore, are subject to no superior; that, because they made the compact, they can break it when, in their opinion, it has been departed from by the other states. Fallacious as this course of reasoning is, it enlists state pride, and finds advocates in the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our government sufficiently to see the radical error on which it rests.

"The people of the United States formed the constitution, acting through the state legislatures in making the compact, to meet and discuss its provisions, and acting in separate conventions when they ratified those provisions; but the terms used in its construction, show it to be a government in which the people of all the states collectively are represented. We are ONE PEOPLE in the choice of the president and vice president. Here the states have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given. The candidates having the majority of all the votes are chosen. The electors of a majority of states may have given their votes for one candidate, and yet another may be chosen. The people, then, and not the states, are represented in the executive branch.

"In the house of representatives there is this difference, that the people of one state do not, as in the case of president and vice president, all vote for the same officers. The people of all the states do not vote for all the members, each state electing only its own representatives. But this creates no material distinction. When chosen, they are all representatives of the United States, not representatives of the particular state from which they come. They are paid by the United States, not by the state; nor are they accountable to it for any act done in the performance of their legislative functions: and however they may in practice, as it is their duty to do, consult and prefer the interests of their particular constituents when they come in conflict with any other partial or local interests, yet it is their first and highest duty, as representatives of the United States, to promote the general good.

"The constitution of the United States, then, forms a *government*, not a league; and whether it be formed by compact between the states, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the states; they retained all the power they did not grant. But each state having ex-

pressly parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with the other states, a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation; and any injury to that unity is not only a breach, which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offence against the whole union. To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the union, is to say that the United States are not a nation; because it would be a solecism to contend, that any part of a nation might dissolve its connexion with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right is confounding the meaning of terms; and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure.

"Because the union was formed by compact, it is said the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart from it: but it is precisely because it is a compact that they cannot. A compact is an agreement or binding obligation. It may, by its terms, have a sanction or penalty for its breach, or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt: if it have a sanction, then the breach incurs the designated or implied penalty. A league between independent nations, generally has no sanction other than a moral one; or, if it should contain a penalty, as there is no common superior, it cannot be enforced. A government, on the contrary, always has a sanction, express or implied; and, in our case, it is both necessarily implied and expressly given. An attempt by force of arms to destroy a government, is an offence, by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed; and such government has the right, by the law of self-defence, to pass acts for punishing the offender, unless that right is modified, restrained, or resumed, by the constitutional act.—In our system, although it is modified in the case of treason, yet authority is expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into effect, and under this grant, provision has been made for punishing acts which obstruct the due administration of the laws.

"It would seem superfluous to add any thing to show the nature of that union which connects us; but as erroneous opinions on this subject are the foundation of doctrines the most destructive to our peace, I must give some further development to my views on this subject. No one, fellow-citizens, has a higher reverence for the reserved rights of the states, than the magistrate who now addresses you. No one would make greater personal sacrifices, or official exertions, to defend them from violation; but equal care must be taken to prevent on their part an improper interference with, or resumption of, the rights they have vested in the nation. The line has not been so distinctly drawn as to avoid doubts in some cases of the exercise of power. Men of the best intentions and soundest views may differ in their construction of some parts of the constitution: but there are others on which dispassionate reflection can leave no doubt. Of this nature appears to be the assumed right of secession. It rests, as we have seen, on the alleged undivided sovereignty of the states, and on their having formed in this sovereign capacity a compact which is called the constitution, from which, because they made it, they have the right to secede. Both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the arguments to prove them so have been anticipated.

"The states severally have not retained their entire sovereignty. It has been shown that in becoming parts of a nation, not members of a league, they surrendered many of their essential parts of sovereignty. The right to make treaties—declare war—levy taxes—exercise exclusive judicial and legislative powers, were all of them functions of sovereign power. The states then, for all these important purposes, were no longer sovereign. The allegiance of their citizens was transferred, in the first instance, to the government of the United States—they became American citizens, and owed obedience to the constitution of the United States, and to the laws made in conformity with the powers it vested in Congress. This last position has not been, and can not be denied. How then can that state be said to be sovereign and independent, whose citizens owe obedience to laws not made by it, and whose magistrates are sworn to disregard those laws, when they come in conflict with those passed by another? What shows conclusively that the states can not be said to have reserved an undivided sovereignty, is, that they expressly ceded the right to punish treason—not treason against their separate power—but treason against the United States. Treason is an offence against *sovereignty*, and sovereignty must reside with the power to punish it. But the reserved rights of the states are not less sacred, because they have for their common interest made the general government the depository of these powers. The unity of our political character (as has been shown for another purpose) commenced with its very existence. Under the royal government we had no separate character—our opposition to its oppression began as United Colonies. We were the United States under the confederation, and the name was perpetuated, and the union rendered more perfect, by the federal constitution. In none of these stages did we consider ourselves in any other light than as forming one nation. Treaties and alliances were made in the name of all. Troops were raised for the joint defence. How, then, with all these proofs, that under all changes of our position we had, for designated purposes and with defined powers, created national governments—how is it, that the most perfect of those several modes of union should now be considered as a mere league, that may be dissolved at pleasure? It is from an abuse of terms. Compact is used as synonymous with league, although the true term is not employed, because it would at once show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would not do to say that our constitution was only a league; but, it is laboured to prove it a compact, (which in one sense it is,) and then to argue that as a league is a compact, every compact between nations must of course be a league, and from such an engagement every sovereign power has a right to secede. But it has been shown, that in this sense the states are not sovereign and that even if they were, and the national constitution had been formed by compact, there would be no right in any one state to exonerate itself from its obligations.

"So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The union was formed for the benefit of all. It was produced by mutual sacrifices of interests and opinions. Can those sacrifices be recalled? Can the states who magnanimously surrendered their title to the territories of the west, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland states agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the Gulf for their own benefits? Shall there be a free port in one state, and onerous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single state to involve all the others in these and countless other evils, contrary to the engagements solemnly made. Every one must see that the other states, in self-defence, must oppose at all hazards.

"These are the alternatives that are presented by the convention—a repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the government without the means of support; or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our union by the secession of one of its members. When the first was proposed, it was known that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was known if force was applied to oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled by force—that Congress could not, without involving itself in disgrace, and the country in ruin, accede to the proposition; and yet, if this is not done in a given day, or if any attempt is made to execute the laws, the state is, by the ordinance, declared to be out of the union. The majority of a convention assembled for the purpose have dictated these terms, or rather this rejection of all terms, in the name of the people of South Carolina. It is true that the governor of the state speaks of the submission of their grievances to a convention of all the states; which, he says, they 'sincerely and anxiously seek and desire.' Yet this obvious and constitutional mode of obtaining the sense of the other states on the construction of the federal compact, and amending it, if necessary, has never been attempted by those who have urged the state on to this destructive measure. The state might have proposed the call for a general convention to the other states; and Congress, if a sufficient number of them concurred, must have called it. But the first magistrate of South Carolina, when he expressed a hope that, 'on a review by Congress and the functionaries of the general government of the merits of the controversy,' such a convention will be accorded to them, must have known that neither Congress or any functionary of the general government has authority to call such a convention, unless it be demanded by two-thirds of the states. This suggestion, then, is another instance of the reckless inattention to the provisions of the constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on, or of the attempt to persuade the people that a constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. If the legislature of South Carolina 'anxiously desire' a general convention to consider their complaints, why have they not made application for it in the way the constitution points

out? The assertion that they 'earnestly seek' it is completely negatived by the omission.

"This, then, is the position in which we stand. A small majority of the citizens of one state in the union have elected delegates to a state convention: that convention has ordained that all the revenue laws of the United States must be repealed, or that they are no longer a member of the union. The governor of the state has recommended to the legislature the raising of an army to carry the secession into effect, and that he may be empowered to give clearances to vessels in the name of the state. No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed, but such a state of things is hourly apprehended, and it is the intent of this instrument to PROCLAIM, not only that the duty imposed on me by the constitution, 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' shall be performed to the extent of the powers already invested in me by law, or of such others as the wisdom of Congress shall devise, and intrust to me for the purpose; but to warn the citizens of South Carolina, who have been deluded into an opposition to the laws, of the danger they incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganizing ordinance of the convention—to exhort those who have refused to support it to persevere in their determination to uphold the constitution and laws of their country, and to point out to all, the perilous situation into which the good people of that state have been led—and that the course that they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very state whose rights they affect to support.

"Fellow-citizens of my native state!—Let me not only admonish you, as the first magistrate of our common country, not to incur the penalties of its laws, but use the influence that a father would over his children whom he saw rushing to a certain ruin. In that paternal feeling, let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves, or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason, on which you stand! First a diminution of the value of your staple commodity, lowered by over production in other quarters, and the consequent diminution in the value of your lands, were the sole effect of the tariff laws. The effect of those laws are confessedly injurious, but the evil was greatly exaggerated by the unfounded theory you were taught to believe, that its burdens were in proportion to your exports, not to your consumption of imported articles. Your pride was roused by the assertion that a submission to those laws was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our fathers offered to the oppressive laws of Great Britain. You were told that this opposition might be peaceably—might be constitutionally made—that you might enjoy all the advantages of the union, and bear none of its burdens.

"Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your state pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the period when the mask which concealed the hideous features of DISUNION should be taken off. It fell, and you were made to look with complacency on objects which, not long since, you would have regarded with horror. Look back at the arts which have brought you to this state—look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead! Look back to what was first told you as an inducement to enter into this dangerous course. The great political truth was repeated to you, that you had the revolutionary right of resisting all laws that were palpably unconstitutional and intolerably oppressive; it was added, that the right to nullify a law rested on the same principle, but that it was a peaceable remedy! This character which was given to it, made you receive, with too much confidence, the assertions that were made of the unconstitutionality of of the law, and its oppressive effects. Mark, my fellow-citizens, that by the admission of your leaders, the unconstitutionality must be *palpable*, or it will not justify either resistance or nullification! What is the meaning of the word *palpable*, in the sense in which it is here used? that which is apparent to every one; that which no man of ordinary intellect will fail to perceive. Is the unconstitutionality of these laws of that description? let those among your leaders who once approved and advocated the principle of protective duties, answer the question; and let them choose whether they will be considered as incapable, then, of perceiving that which must have been apparent to every man of common understanding, or as imposing upon your confidence, and endeavouring to mislead you now. In either case, they are unsafe guides in the perilous path they urge you to tread. Ponder well on this circumstance, and you will know how to appreciate the exaggerated language they address to you. They are not champions of liberty, emulating the fame of our revolutionary fathers; nor are you an oppressed people, contending, as they repeat to you, against worse than colonial vassalage. You are free members of a flourishing and happy union. There is no settled design to oppress you. You have indeed felt the unequal operation of laws which may have been unwisely, not unconstitutionally passed; but that inequality must necessarily be removed. At the very moment when you were madly urged on to the unfortunate course you have begun, a change in public opinion had commenced. The nearly approaching payment of the public debt, and the consequent necessity of a diminution of duties, had already produced a considerable reduction, and that too on some articles of general consumption in your state. The importance of this change was underrated, and you were authoritatively told, that no further alleviation of your burdens was to be expected, at the very time when the condition of the country imperiously demand such a modification of the duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable scale. But, as if apprehensive of the effect of this change in allaying your discontents, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves.

"I have urged you to look back to the means that were used to hurry you on to the position you have now assumed, and forward to the consequences it will produce. Something more is necessary. Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part! Consider its government, uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different states, giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of AMERICAN CITIZENS, protecting their commerce, securing their literature and the arts, facilitating their intercommunication, defending their frontiers, and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth! Consider the extent of its territory, its increasing and happy population, its advance in arts, which render life agreeable, and the sciences which elevate the mind! See education spreading the lights of religion, morality, and general information, into every cottage in this wide extent of our territories and states Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support! Look on this picture of happiness and honour, and say—WE TOO, ARE CITIZENS OF AMERICA: Carolina is one of these proud states: her arms have defended, her best blood has cemented this happy union! And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, this happy union we will dissolve—this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface—this free intercourse we will interrupt—these fertile fields we will deluge with blood—the protection of that glorious flag we renounce—the very name of Americans we discard—And for what, mistaken men!—for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings—for what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honour of the union? For the dream of a separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbours, and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are you united at home—are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? Do our neighbouring republics, every day suffering some new revolution, or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed.

"The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject—my duty is emphatically pronounced in the constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion; but be not deceived by names; disunion by armed force is TREASON. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequence,—on their heads be the dishonour, but on yours may fall the punishment—on your unhappy state will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the government of your country. It can not accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first victims—its first magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow-citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world. Its enemies have beheld our prosperity, with a vexation they could not conceal—it was a standing refutation of their slavish doctrines, and they will point to our discord with a triumph of malignant joy. It is yet in your power to disappoint them. There is yet time to show that the descendants of the Pinckneys, the

Sumpters, the Rutledges, and of the thousand other names which adorn the pages of your revolutionary history, will not abandon that union, to support which, so many of them fought, and bled, and died. I adjure you, as you honour their memory—as you love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives—as you prize the peace of your country, the lives of its best citizens, and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps. Snatch from the archives of your state the disorganizing edict of its convention—bid its members to re-assemble and promulgate the decided expressions of your will to remain in the path which alone can conduct you to safety, prosperity, and honour—tell them that, compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of all—declare that you will never take the field unless the star-spangled banner of your country shall float over you: that you will not be stigmatized when dead, and dishonoured and scorned while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the constitution of your country!—its destroyers you cannot be. You may disturb its peace—you may interrupt the course of its prosperity—you may cloud its reputation for stability—but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.

"Fellow-citizens of the United States!—The threat of unhallowed disunion—the names of those once respected, by whom it is uttered—the array of military force to support it—denote the approach of a crisis in our affairs on which the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence, and, perhaps, that of all free governments, may depend. The conjuncture demanded a free, a full, and explicit enunciation, not only of my intentions, but of my principles of action; and, as the claim was asserted of a right by a state to annul the laws of the union, and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of my opinions in relation to the origin and form of our government, and the construction I give to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper. Having the fullest confidence in the justness of the legal and constitutional opinion of my duties which has been expressed, I rely with equal confidence on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws—to preserve the union by all constitutional means—to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force; and if it be the will of heaven that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man for the shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, that it be not called down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.

"Fellow-citizens! The momentous case is before you. On your undivided support of your government depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred union will be preserved, and the blessings it secures to us as one people shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed, will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defence, will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

"May the great Ruler of nations grant that the signal blessings with which he has favoured ours, may not, by the madness of party, or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost: and may his wise providence bring those who have produced this crisis to see the folly, before they feel the misery of civil strife: and inspire a returning veneration for that union which, if we may dare to penetrate his designs, he has chosen as the only means of attaining the high destinies to which we may reasonably aspire."

The language of the proclamation is too precious to be forgotten. The second election of General Jackson was of a decided character. The opposition was overwhelming. After this event, he made a tour to the eastern and northern states. Every where he was received with enthusiasm. Party feelings were forgotten, and the president alone was considered. A brave and generous people received a gallant commander, with every demonstration of respect and admiration. The most ancient university in the country made him a Doctor of Laws. He visited Bunker Hill, saw the plains of Lexington, ground sacred to the descendants of the Pilgrims, and returned with their warmest wishes for his prosperity.

The refusal of the President to sign the bill for rechartering the United States Bank has already been noticed. In the present year, he went still further, and gave orders to withdraw the government deposits from that institution and its branches, and to place them in the local banks. He defended this measure in a long letter addressed to the Cabinet, on the 18th of September. His accusations were denied, and it was contended that his measure was unconstitutional. But, on whichever side the right and law might be, the conduct of the President led to disastrous results in the mercantile world. The deposits being withdrawn, the bank necessarily diminished its issues, and lessened its discounts; all operations of buying and selling were thus discouraged and impeded; a stagnation of trade ensued; property was depreciated; and bankruptcies and failures were multiplied on all sides.

During the year 1834, the United States continued to be agitated by the consequences of the acts of the President. The House of Representatives was inundated with petitions for the restoration of the public money to the vaults of the bank; but the majority of the members were favorable to the measures of the President; whilst the Senate was arrayed in open hostility to his measures, and refused to confirm his appointment of directors for the bank on behalf of the government shares.

In New York and other cities, the public opposition to the President's measures was violent in the extreme; whilst the interior of the country, having little or no sympathy with the great trading and moneyed interests of the commercial cities, were generally favorable to the policy of the President. The election of members to the House of Representatives of this year, resulted in adding sixteen or twenty to the former majority in favor of the President. One of the results of this measure was the partial substitution of a metallic for a paper circulation throughout the union. It has been computed that from the beginning of January, 1833, to July, 1834, an excess of over twenty-two millions of specie was imported into the country.

In his message of December, 1834, the President called attention to the rejection, by the French Chamber of Deputies, of the bill for the indemnification of the United States for losses sustained in consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees. He suggested to Congress retaliatory measures, and his whole message breathed a warlike spirit. The Senate, however, differed from the President upon the subject; and, after much deliberation, unanimously adopted the following resolution on the 14th of July, 1835: "That it is inexpedient at present to adopt any legislative measures in regard to the state of affairs between this country and France." The House of Representatives unanimously agreed to two resolutions: "1. That, in the opinion of this House, the treaty with France of July 4th, 1831, should be maintained, and its execution insisted upon. 2. That the Committee of Foreign Affairs should be discharged from further consideration of so much of the President's message as relates to commercial restrictions, or to reprisals on the commerce of France."

The French minister was recalled, the American government being at the same time assured that the bill should nevertheless be presented to the Chambers. Mr. Livingston was instructed to return home in the event of the refusal of the French government to pay the money. A bill passed the Chambers, authorizing the payment of the money, after satisfactory explanation had been given to France of the President's language. In December, the President met Congress, and declared that there was nothing to explain; and that, in any event, he would never allow a foreign power to found demands upon the interior and official communications of one department of the American government with another. Great Britain then tendered her mediation, and both parties accepted the offer. During this year, the whole debt of the United States was paid off. The majority which the friends of the President had secured in one branch of the legislature, rendered all the efforts of his opponents to recharter the bank abortive, and its concerns were consequently wound up.

On the 19th of July, a party of Seminole Indians crossed their bounds, near the Hog's-Town settlement, for the purpose of hunting. They separated, and agreed to meet again on a certain day. On that day five of them were met together, when a party of white men came by, and commenced flogging them with their cow-whips. Two other Indians came up, and fired upon the whites, who returned the fire. Three whites were wounded, and one Indian killed and one wounded. On the 6th of August, Dalton, a mail carrier, was killed, and the Indians refused to deliver the murderers up to justice. In September, a party of Mickasuckee Indians, led by the celebrated Osceola, waylaid and shot Charley Omathla, a powerful friendly chief, who was journeying with his daughter. General Clinch, who commanded a small force in this section of the country, obtained a body of six hundred and fifty militia from the Governor of Florida, and commenced operations against them on the Ouithlacooche river.

On the 23d of December, two companies of the United States' army, under command of Major Dade, marched from Tampa Bay for Camp King. From Hillsborough Bridge, Major Dade sent a letter to Captain Belton, urging him to forward a six-pounder which had been left behind. Horses were procured, and the piece was received by the detachment that night. Soon after the six-pounder joined the column, a shot was heard in the direction of the advanced guard, which was soon followed by another, when a volley was suddenly poured in on the front and left flank. Half the men were killed or wounded at the first fire; and, until several volleys had been received, not an enemy could be seen. The Indians fired lying or squatting in the grass, or from behind pine trees. The infantry threw themselves behind trees, and opened a sharp discharge of musketry. Several pounds of canister were fired from the cannon; and the Indians temporarily retreated. The detachment instantly proceeded to form a breastwork by felling trees, but had scarcely commenced when the enemy returned to the fight. The infantry immediately took shelter behind trees; but they were all gradually cut down by the overwhelming force opposed to them. When all resistance had ceased, the Indians leaped into the breastwork, and stripping off the arms and accoutrements from the dead, carried them away. Forty or fifty negroes then came up on horseback, tied their animals fast to trees, and commenced butchering the wounded. When all were supposed to be dead, they stripped the clothing off all the bodies, and departed in the same direction with the Indians, taking the cannon with them. Of eight officers and one hun

dred and two privates, but four escaped alive from the scene of the action, one of whom was shot the day after the battle.

During the year 1835, much excitement was felt in the Southern States, in consequence of the alleged efforts of the friends of the abolition of slavery to disseminate their doctrines among the slaves, which in many places broke out in riot and bloodshed.

The money due for depredations under the Berlin and Milan decrees, was received from the French government in 1836, and made a large surplus in the treasury. Much debating occurred in Congress about the disposal of the surplus revenue, which was now kept in state banks, selected by the secretary of the treasury. The expiration of the charter of the United States' Bank was followed by the creation of a large number of state banks, whose capital was chiefly nominal, the largest being the United States' Bank of Pennsylvania, with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. The great increase of the circulating medium which followed the creation of these banks, produced and nourished all manner of wild speculations, particularly in unappropriated public lands. The money received from their sale increased to an unprecedented amount. They were paid for in notes of the banks, which the land agents conveyed to the banks, who received them to be immediately issued again, the government being credited with the amount of the notes on the books of the bank. These credits upon many of the western banks were already greatly beyond their immediate means of payment, and were rapidly increasing; many fearing that if the practice were allowed to continue, the credits would ultimately be worth nothing to the government. A treasury circular was issued, which prohibited the receiving payment of lands in any currency but specie, and allowed no sales to be made except to actual settlers.

This circular did not give general satisfaction, and Congress passed a bill designating and confining within certain bounds the revenues of the United States. The bill providing that the notes of specie-paying banks should, in certain cases, be taken in payment, was retained by the President until after the adjournment of Congress, thus preventing it from becoming a law. His reasons he published after he had retired from the presidency, as follows:—

Reasons of the President for retaining the bill designating and limiting the funds receivable for the revenues of the United States.

"Washington, March 3, 1837.
"½ before 12, P. M.

"The bill from the senate, entitled 'An act designating and limiting the funds receivable for the revenues of the United States,' came into my hands yesterday, at 2 o'clock, P. M. On perusing it, I found its provisions so complex and uncertain, that I deemed it necessary to obtain the opinion of the Attorney-general of the United States on several important questions touching its construction and effect, before I could decide on the disposition to be made of it. The Attorney-general took up the subject immediately, and his reply was reported to me this day at 5 o'clock, P. M. As this officer, after a careful and laborious examination of the bill, and a distinct expression of his opinion on the points proposed to him, still came to the conclusion that the construction of the bill, should it become a law, would be a subject of much perplexity and doubt (a view of the bill entirely coincident with my own), and, as I cannot think it proper, in a matter of such vital interest, and of such constant application, to approve a bill so liable to diversity of interpretation, and, more especially, as I have not had time, amid the duties constantly pressing on me, to give the subject that deliberate consideration which its importance demands, I am constrained to retain the bill, without acting definitively thereon; and, to the end that my reasons for this step may be fully understood, I shall cause this paper, with the opinion of the Attorney-general, and the bill in question, to be deposited in the department of state.

"Andrew Jackson."

In the middle of the year Congress adjourned, and the excitement of the presidential election followed, General Jackson's second term having expired. The friends of the existing administration supported Martin Van Buren of New York, who was the more easily elected from the circumstance that three different candidates were opposed to him. The next year opened upon the people of the United States under very inauspicious circumstances. A sense of approaching disasters pervaded all classes, and the spirit of unbounded speculation was succeeded by one of general despondency and distrust. Many efforts were made by the merchants and bankers to avert them, but with very partial success.

During the winter session, a bill was brought before Congress, recognizing the independence of Texas. The consideration of it was, however, postponed, and a salary was appropriated for a Texan chargé d'affaires, whenever the President should think proper to appoint one. This he did before the close of his administration.

The Indian war was continued in Florida during the year 1836. On the 6th of January, five persons, the family of a Mr. Cooley, were murdered at his residence on New River, about twelve miles from Cape Florida. A few days previously, a battle was fought at a ford of the Ouithlacoochee, in which a small and unsupported body of the troops were attacked by a force nearly three times their number, the enemy being repulsed before a reinforcement could cross to their aid. While these operations were passing in West Florida, the plantations and settlements in the neighborhood of St. Augustine were ravaged by the enemy, the inhabitants slain, and the negroes taken away; General Hernandez, who was in command, being too weak to offer any resistance. General Gaines had collected a body of volunteers from Louisiana, and, near the end of February, moved down the Ouithlacoochee. A skirmish happened at General Clinch's crossing-place, another on the 28th, and a third, in which numbers were engaged, on the 29th, when General Gaines was wounded in the under lip. These skirmishes continued till the 5th of March, when Osceola demanded a parley, which was broken up without any satisfactory conclusion.

Before closing our account of General Jackson's administration, it is proper to notice the troubles with the Indians on our north-western frontier, called Black Hawk's war.

In the summer of the year 1832 difficulties with the savages broke out, owing partly to their dissatisfaction with the stipulations in the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1823, and partly to the injustice of the settlers towards their red neighbors. Eight of a party of twenty-four Chippewas, on a visit to Fort Snelling, were all killed or wounded by a party of Sioux, four of whom were afterwards captured by the commander of the garrison, and given up to the Chippewas, who immediately shot them. Red-Bird, the Sioux chief, chose three companions, and they set about seeking revenge. Four or five whites were killed by them, when General Atkinson captured Red-Bird and a party of hostile Winnebagoes, in the country of that tribe. Red-Bird died in prison soon after; and his companions—one of whom was the celebrated Black Hawk—were released from confinement. Black Hawk immediately commenced inciting hostility among the already disaffected tribes, among whom the Sacs bore a prominent part. Towards July, General Gaines marched to the Sacs' village, and they humbly sued for peace, which was granted. Meanwhile a party of them, under Black Hawk, murdered twenty-eight of the friendly Menominies, and recrossed the Mississippi to the lands which they had ceded to the United States. General Atkinson marched after him; and, at Dixon's Ferry, on Rock River, May 15th, 1833, learned that a party of two hundred and seventy-five men, under Major Stillman, had been attacked at Sycamore Creek on the preceding day, while incautiously marching after the Indians, and lost a great many of their number, the Indians having suffered but little.

The cholera broke out among the troops in July, and whole companies were nearly broken up; in one instance, nine only surviving out of a corps of two hundred and eight. Twelve Indians were killed by General Dodge's men at Galena, and sixteen others afterwards fell by his arms, about forty miles from Fort Winnebago. Meanwhile, General Atkinson, with an army greatly superior to that of Black Hawk, pursued him through trackless forests, always finding himself no nearer his enemy at the end of his journey than he had been at its commencement. Finally, however, Black Hawk, seeing the necessity of his escape, and that it could not be effected with his whole force, sent his women and children down the Mississippi in boats, many of which fell into the hands of the whites. About four hundred of them were encamped on Bad Axe River, where they were discovered, on the 1st of August, by the steamboat Warrior, which had been sent up the Mississippi with a small force on board, in hopes of finding them. In the action which ensued, twenty-three Indians were killed and many wounded, without any loss to the troops. After the fight, the Warrior returned to Prairie du Chien, and, before she could return next morning, General Atkinson had engaged the Indians. The Warrior joined the contest, and the Indians retreated with considerable loss, thirty-six of their women and children being taken. Eight of the troops were killed, and seventeen wounded in this engagement. Black Hawk was now pursued over Wisconsin, and overtaken in an advantageous position at the foot of a precipice, over which the army had to pass. The Indians fought with the fury of tigers, leaving one covert for another, and were only routed at the point of the bayonet. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force, which scarcely numbered three hundred men, Black Hawk maintained the battle for three hours, when he barely escaped, with the loss of all his papers, and one hundred and fifty of his bravest warriors, among whom was Newpop, his second in command. A party of Sioux now volunteered to pursue the remainder of the enemy, of whom they succeeded in killing about one hundred and twenty. The great chief himself was finally captured by a party of Winnebagoes, and given up to General Street, at Prairie du Chien. Treaties were then made with the rest of the Sacs, the Foxes, and the Winnebagoes, by which the United States acquired some very valuable lands on favorable terms,—Black Hawk, his two sons, and six of the principal chiefs were retained as hostages. The chief and his son were carried to Washington to visit the President, receiving many valuable presents on their route. They returned to their homes by way of Detroit, and were liberated at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, in Illinois, in August, 1833. He having been by the treaty deposed, Keokuk was made chief of the tribe, and Black Hawk settled on the Mississippi.

In the early part of the year 1837, General Santa Anna, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of San Jacinto, and subsequently obtained his liberty from his Texan captors, visited

Washington, whence, after a short stay, he sailed for Mexico, in a United States vessel of war.

On the 4th of March, the term of General Jackson's presidency expired, and Martin Van Buren, whose views of general policy coincided with those of his predecessor, took possession of the chair. After issuing a valedictory address, the late President retired to his residence in Tennessee.

CHAPTER XXIII.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

Leaving the honors and cares of government to his successor, President Jackson delivered to his countrymen a valedictory address; and nearly at the same time appeared the inaugural speech of the new President:—

"Unlike all that have preceded me," was the language of this manifesto, "the revolution that gave us existence as a nation, was achieved at the period of my birth; and whilst I contemplate, with grateful reverence, that memorable event, I feel that I belong to a later age, and that I may not expect my countrymen to weigh my actions with the same kind and partial hand."

The new President was scarcely seated in his chair, when the storm, so long collecting itself, burst upon the commercial classes. It was at New Orleans, that the first failures, of any consequence, were declared; but New York followed; the banks found the demands upon their funds increase with frightful rapidity, while, what was yet more ominous, their circulation returned upon them. The alarm broke out into a panic; then came a general "run" upon the banks; and a few days more sufficed to bring about the almost universal suspension of cash payments. It has been computed that in New York no less than two hundred and fifty houses stopped payment in the course of the first three weeks in April. The banks of that city, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Albany, and others, ceased to pay specie. The mammoth Bank of the United States itself bent to the tempest, and imitated the example of the rest.

A meeting of the citizens of New York was held, a committee appointed to wait upon the President, and request him to annul the specie circular, to postpone commencing actions upon the unpaid bonds, and call an extra session of Congress. Their address to him stated, that "under a deep impression of confining their declarations within moderate limits, they affirmed, that the value of their real estate had, within the last six months, depreciated more than forty millions of dollars; that within the preceding two months there had been more than two hundred and fifty failures of houses engaged in extensive business; that within the same period a decline of twenty millions had occurred in their local stocks, including those railroad and canal incorporations, which, though chartered in other States, depended chiefly upon New York for their sale; that the immense amount of merchandise in their warehouses had, within the same period, fallen in value at least thirty per cent.; that within a few weeks not less than twenty thousand individuals, depending upon their daily labor for their daily bread, had been discharged by their employers, because the means of retaining them were exhausted; and that a complete blight had fallen upon a community heretofore so active, enterprising, and prosperous: the errors of our rulers," they said, "had produced a wider desolation than the pestilence which depopulated our streets, or the conflagration which laid them in ashes."

The Secretary of the Treasury, as soon as the suspension of cash payments became general, gave orders to the revenue collectors, to receive nothing but specie, or paper convertible into specie on demand, in payment of the revenue bonds, given by traders in the course of business. Meanwhile the distress spread like a pestilence through the various ramifications of society. Public works, railways, and canals, were brought to a stand; the shipwright and builder dismissed their men; the manufacturer closed his doors; one sentiment pervaded all classes, the anticipation of universal ruin, and individual beggary. The administration made several endeavors to restore the financial affairs of the country to their former condition, and an extra session of Congress was convened on the 4th of September; the President, in his message, confining himself to the financial condition of the country. The friends of the administration triumphed in the election for Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr Polk being re-elected. A bill was passed suspending the payment of the fourth instalment of surplus revenue to the States, until the 1st of January, 1839.

Another bill was passed, authorizing the issue of treasury notes, equal to any deficiency that might ensue, with four millions of dollars by way of reserve, at any rate of interest not exceeding six per cent., to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury. A bill for the extension of the payment of revenue bonds, for a short period, and another, authorizing the warehousing in bond of imported goods, for a term not exceeding three years, were also passed during the session.

But a bill, organizing a Sub-treasury System, whereby the nation should become its own banker, which the friends of the administration made great efforts to carry, was lost in the House of Representatives; after a very warm debate, that House resolved to postpone the further consideration of the measure until the next session. The war with the Seminole Indians continued during the year to employ the arms of the United States in Florida. The troops succeeded in taking the great chief Osceola, or Powell, whose capture, it was thought, would be followed by the submission of his tribe. Treaties were concluded with Siam and Muscat, which promised considerable commercial benefit.

Congress reassembled on the 4th of Decembe when the President sent in his message, in which the relations with Mexico, which had recently become confused, the finances, foreign relations, Indian affairs, military and naval matters, and the post-office, were treated at some length. The message concluded by inviting Congress to a thorough and careful revision of the local government and interests of the District of Columbia, which had been "left to linger behind the rest of the Union; its codes, civil and criminal, being not only defective, but full of obsolete or inconvenient provisions;" and the District, although selected as the seat of the Legislature, had never received "that special and comprehensive legislation," which its situation particularly demanded. The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury was received, in which the receipts for the year were estimated at nearly twenty-three millions, five hundred thousand dollars, which, added to the surplus remaining in the treasury in 1836, gave the sum of sixty-nine millions, four hundred thousand dollars, in his hands. The expenses of the year when met, would reduce that sum to about one half its present amount.

During the early part of the session of Congress, the Canadian rebellion, and the border conflicts to which it gave rise, occupied the attention of that body, whose proceedings were marked by a becoming forbearance, even at a moment when out of doors the excitement of the more inflammable portion of the community was at its height. The President forbade, by proclamation, the interference of American citizens in the war, and ordered the United States Marshal to execute warrants upon all those who should violate the national neutrality. General Scott was ordered to the frontier with a portion of the New York troops. But, whilst these efforts were making, an affair occurred on the frontier, which produced much ill-feeling for a time, throughout the United States. A party of the Patriots had made a rendezvous on Navy Island, in the Niagara River, opposite to which, on the American side, was a small village, denominated Fort Schlosser. On the night of the 28th of December, a small steamboat, called the Caroline, was moored there, intelligence of which was conveyed to Colonel M'Nab, commander of the Canadian militia on the opposite side. He had suspected her of carrying ammunition and supplies to the Patriots, and he resolved to destroy her. He accordingly despatched a party of militia in boats for this purpose. After a short scuffle, they became masters of the vessel, and then setting her on fire, they suffered her to drift in flames down the Falls of Niagara. Several persons were killed in the affray. This circumstance occasioned a correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr. Fox, the British minister at Washington, of rather an angry nature; and after a long debate, a bill for the preservation of neutrality was passed by Congress, and the matter dropped.

A bill giving a right of pre-emption to the first settlers on unoccupied public lands, was passed during the session, in conformity with the recommendation of the President. The Sub-treasury bill, one of the cardinal points of policy of the Van Buren party, was again debated at full length, and passed the Senate; but its reception in the House of Representatives was less favorable; and in June, it was ultimately rejected by a vote of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and eleven. During this year (1838), the banks throughout the United States generally resumed specie payments. The effects of the commercial catastrophe were rapidly subsiding; credit revived, the prospects of trade in the autumn were encouraging, and the harvest was abundant. In the fall, the elections held throughout the Union, continued the change in the members of the Van Buren party in Congress, which had been commenced in 1837, and the administration found itself likely to lose even the small majority which remained.

The contest between the State of Maine and Great Britain respecting the north-eastern boundary, began in the course of the year to assume a threatening aspect. The north-western boundaries were fixed by a treaty with Russia, and land added to the territory of the United States by the removal of the tribe of Cherokees west of the Mississippi. The war with the Seminoles still continued. Texas withdrew her application for admission into the Union; but her consul at New Orleans was recognized by the President who issued a public notice, according to him the enjoyment of all such functions and privileges as are allowed to consuls of the most favored nations. At the end of the year, when the second Canadian outbreak occurred, a new proclamation was issued by the President, calling on the citizens of the United States to preserve neutrality, and declaring the protection of the country forfeited by those who should invade the territory of Great Britain with hostile intentions.

A convention for fixing the boundaries of the United States and Texas was concluded at Washington, on the 25th of April. Treaties had been concluded between the United States and the Peru-Bolivian confederation, and also with the King of Greece.

In his message to Congress on the reassembling of that body, the President touched upon the removal of many of the Indians west of the Mississippi. He then stated that no official communications had passed between the government and the cabinet of Great Britain, since the last communication to Congress. The President

was, however, assured that the offer to negotiate a convention for the appointment of a joint commission of survey and exploration, would be met on the part of her Majesty's government in a conciliatory spirit, and prove, if successful, to be an important step towards the final adjustment of the controversy.

The discussion of the question of the abolition of slavery had at length been completely precluded by an act of Congress, which passed, at the beginning of the session, a series of resolutions to that effect by the overwhelming majority of one hundred and ninety-eight to six. The excited feelings created by the recent collision of the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Victoria, on the borders of Lower Canada, had scarcely subsided, when the relations of the two countries were once more in the way of becoming gravely compromised by occurrences in the contested district between Maine and New Brunswick. It would appear that towards the end of January, 1838, a numerous band of British subjects invaded the portion of the British territory in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, which is watered by the river Aroostook, and committed extensive depredations by cutting down the timber. An armed force was sent into the district to hinder the carrying off of the timber. This done they were to return home; but for the seizure of Mr. M'Intyre, the American land agent, when he was in the act of putting himself into communication with the agent appointed by Sir J. Harvey, Governor of New Brunswick, to watch the trespassers whom the officer of Maine had been commissioned to drive off. In retaliation, the English warden, Mr. M'Laughlin, was now arrested, and conveyed as a hostage to Bangor. These proceedings were followed by some angry correspondence between Governor Fairfield and Sir John Harvey, and the people of both States began seriously to prepare for hostilities.

Both prisoners were, however, soon liberated on parole, and the discussion transferred to Washington. Several letters passed between Mr. Fox, the British minister, and Mr. Forsyth, which, with a message from the President, were laid before Congress. Many speeches were made in that body; several of the members advocating a forcible occupancy of the territory, whilst the others were more pacifically inclined. The debate in both houses closed by referring the matter to the committee on foreign affairs, who recommended in their report that power should be given to the President to raise a provisional army during the Congressional recess; that appropriations should be made for fortifications, and the immediate repair and building of new vessels of war, and that the President should be instructed to repel any invasion of the territory of the Union in Maine. It was moreover recommended, that a special minister should be sent to England. The session of Congress shortly after came to an end. The war excitement in the north-east soon began to subside, and Messrs. Rudge and Featherstonhaugh were subsequently sent out by the British government to conduct a new investigation of the still debatable territory.

Great dismay was created in the commercial world towards the close of the year, by the suspension of specie payments on the part of the United States Bank, on the 5th of October. Her example was followed by all the banks in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, and the interior of Pennsylvania.

The result of the election which occurred during the recess of Congress was, that the Government had a small majority in that body; but the two parties were nearly equally balanced in the House of Representatives, until the middle of July, when five members of the New Jersey delegation, whose seats had been contested, were added to the administration party, who thus gained the ascendency. On the 24th of December, 1839, the President's message was delivered, and received the first action of Congress. It stated that with foreign countries, the relations of the government continued amicable. He referred to the arrival of the commissioners of exploration and survey of the north-eastern boundary. He also stated that the troubles in Canada had ceased. Treaties of commerce had been made with the King of Sardinia, and the King of the Netherlands. The relations with Mexico and Texas were touched upon, together with finance, the post-office, and the best method of keeping the public revenue. More than half of the message was occupied with a discussion on the evils of the American banking system, and a statement of the "constitutional" as well as other objections entertained by him to the establishment of a National Bank, while at the same time, he proposed that the public revenue should be kept in a separate and independent treasury, and collected in gold and silver. The Maine and New Brunswick boundary question continued this year still to keep up a feeling of irritation between England and America—and a long and recriminatory correspondence on the subject took place in the month of March, between Mr. Fox, the English minister, and Mr. Forsyth. It was concluded by Mr. Fox, in a brief reply to Mr. Forsyth's last letter, stating that he would transmit the communication to her majesty's government in England, and that until he received instructions from home, he would not engage in correspondence on the subject. In June he addressed another letter to Mr. Forsyth, in which he stated that the most prominent among the causes of failure in past negotiations, had been a want of correct information as to the topographical features and physical character of the country in dispute. In consequence of his statements, and the recommendation of the President, a bill was passed in Congress, appropriating twenty-five thousand dollars towards the expenses of the survey of the disputed territory.

During the vacation of Congress, the election for President was held; Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison, being the two candidates. The choice of the nation fell upon General Harrison, who was elected by a large majority.

The negotiations respecting the boundaries of the United States and the British Provinces, and of the United States and Texas, were stated by the President in his message to Congress in January, 1841, to be in a state of progression. The state of the public finances, and the reduction of expenditures during his administration were dwelt upon, and he closed with a long vindication of his own financial policy. But little business was done during the session of Congress, which closed on the 2d of March, and on the 4th, William Henry Harrison was inaugurated President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, Vice-President of the United States.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Unlimited confidence in the ability and integrity of the new President appears to have been entertained by the people. He was elected by a majority so decisive as to leave no doubt respecting their disposition towards himself. General Harrison, coming into office by the suffrages of a party in direct opposition to that which elected and had sustained his predecessor, reorganized the cabinet by appointing Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, to the office of Secretary of State, and Mr. Ewing, of Ohio, to that of Secretary of the Treasury, while Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, and Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, were appointed to preside over the departments of war and the navy. Numerous other changes in the executive offices were made, and a total change in administrative measures was anticipated. The state of the commercial and financial relations of the country were considered to be so critical, that a special session of Congress was ordered for the purpose of taking those steps, which were deemed essential to the restoration of credit and confidence among the trading and manufacturing classes, and increasing the reward of agricultural industry.

In the inaugural address of General Harrison, his views of the principles of the American government were fully explained, and his determination to carry their execution into effect, solemnly expressed. In concluding his address, he says, "Fellow citizens: being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you. You will bear with you, to your homes, the remembrance of the pledge I have this day given, to discharge all the high duties of my exalted station according to the best of my ability; and I shall enter upon their performance with entire confidence in the support of a just and generous people."

But these professions, and this system of policy, General Harrison was destined never to have the opportunity of realizing—His elevation to the high office of First Magistrate of the Union, furnishes a striking and melancholy example of the uncertainty of human greatness; for on the morning of the 4th of April, before he had delivered to Congress a single message, he expired at Washington.

General Harrison was in the sixty-ninth year of his age; he died within one month of his inauguration, and was the first President who died in office. On the 5th of April the public were admitted to view the remains of the late President. His corpse was placed in a leaden coffin, with a roofed lid, and a glass cover over it. The whole was covered with a black velvet pall, trimmed with silver lace. The funeral took place on the 7th. The corpse was borne from the President's house, and was deposited in the Congregational Cemetery. The order of the ceremony was very imposing; the procession extended over two miles of space, and was the longest ever witnessed in Washington.

A sentiment of the profoundest grief pervaded every part of the Union on this melancholy occasion. A national fast was proclaimed; and the affection and respect of the people were testified by every species of public demonstration.

CHAPTER XXV.

TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.

According to the Constitution, Mr. Tyler now became President; he arrived at Washington on the 5th of April, 1841, and was immediately sworn into office. Mr. Southard, who had been elected President of the Senate, *pro tempore*, a few days before the close of the last session of Congress, became Vice-President. On the 8th the new President issued an address, suited to the occasion, in which, after lamenting the decease of General Harrison, he expressed his intention of carrying into practice during his administration of the government, what he conceived to have been that gentleman's principles. The cabinet chosen by General Harrison, was retained in office.

On the 31st of May, the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the United States assembled at Washington, when Mr. White, of Kentucky, a member of the administration party, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives, by a majority of thirty-seven. A message was transmitted to Congress, in which the President proposed that the nation should reimburse the family of General Harrison, for the expenses he must have

incurred in taking office for so short a time. His views with regard to foreign policy were of a pacific character, and no important changes had taken place in foreign relations, since the last session of Congress. He stated that the census shows the population to be seventeen millions, and that it had doubled in twenty three years.

Several important subjects were presented for consideration during the special session of Congress—a bill for establishing a new Bank of the United States, however, which was considered the cardinal measure of the session, was defeated by the President's refusal of his signature—a second bill was prepared, after consultation between the President, his cabinet, and certain members of the house of Representatives; and when this bill was defeated, by a second exercise of the negative power, all the members of the cabinet, except Mr. Webster, resigned their offices—The elevated character of the Secretary of State did not prevent his motives for retaining office from being sternly questioned at the time; but it is now considered a most fortunate circumstance for the country that he did not abandon his post. The importance of his subsequent services in arranging the terms of treaty with Great Britain, are universally recognized.

Animated discussions took place upon the case of Alexander McLeod, who had been arrested in New York and committed, on the charge of being concerned in the attack upon the Caroline, and the murder of Durfee, an American citizen, one of the parties killed on that occasion. His release was demanded by the British minister, who signified that a compliance with his demand was essential to the preservation of the good understanding which had hitherto been manifested between the two countries. The President refused to comply with the demand, and much excitement was felt throughout the country. The trial of McLeod took place at Utica, in the State of New York, in October, and he was acquitted, an alibi having beeen sworn in evidence. Thus terminated this unpleasant affair, which seemed likely at one time to involve the two nations in a war, and excited angry feelings on both sides of the Atlantic.

Before the close of the special session, Congress passed a bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, which received the assent of the President. This measure had for many years been urged upon Congress by Henry Clay, who had repeatedly prepared bills for the purpose, one of which was passed by both branches of the national legislature, but was defeated by the omission of President Jackson to return it with his signature before the close of the session.

On the reassembling of Congress at the close of the year, an important subject of dispute sprung up between Great Britain and the United States, respecting, the "right of search" claimed by the former power. The debate was brought up in Congress by a clause in the message of the President at the commencement of the session, accompanied by a copy of correspondence between Lords Palmerston and Aberdeen, and Mr. Stevenson, the American minister at London. The nature of this dispute will be best understood from Mr. Stevenson's own account of it.

"The government of Great Britain, with that of other nations, regarding the African slave trade as a great evil, united in measures for its abolition. For that purpose laws were passed and treaties concluded, giving to the vessels of each of the contracting parties, the mutual right of search, under certain limitations. Independent of these treaties, and under the principles of public law, this right of search could not be exercised. The United States were invited to become a party to these treaties; but for reasons which they deemed satisfactory, and growing out of the peculiar character of their institutions and systems of government, they declined doing so. They deemed it inexpedient, under any modification or in any form, to yield the right of having their vessels searched or interfered with in time of peace, upon the high seas.

"In the mean time, some of the Powers who were parties to these treaties, and others who refused to become so, continued to prosecute their slave traffic; and to enable them to do so with more effect, they resorted to the use of flags of other nations, but more particularly that of the United States. To prevent this, and enforce her treaties, Great Britain deemed it important that her cruisers in the African seas should have the right of detaining and examining all vessels navigating those seas, for the purpose of ascertaining their national character. Against this practice the government of the United States protested, and the numerous cases out of which the present discussion has arisen, became subjects of complaint and negotiation between the two governments."

A circumstance occurred at the close of the previous year, connected with the question of the right of search, which threatened to produce unpleasant consequences, and make its settlement still more difficult. Some negroes had been carried off from the coast of Africa by a Spanish slaver called the Armistad. They rose in revolt during the middle passage, seized the ship, and murdered some of the crew. They afterwards landed in the United States, where they were tried for the murders and acquitted. In this case the American government refused to recognize the right of slave trading, and decided that any kind of resistance was lawful on the part of of those who were forcibly torn from their native country. The Spanish owners demanded that the slaves should be given up to be tried in a territory subject to the crown of Spain; but their claim was disallowed.

On the 27th of October, the brig Creole, of Richmond, Virginia, bound to New Orleans, sailed from Hampton Roads, with a cargo of merchandise, and about one hundred and thirty-five slaves. On the 7th of November, some of them rose upon the crew of the vessel, murdered a passenger named Howell, who owned some of them, and wounded the captain dangerously. When they had obtained complete possession, the brig was taken into the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, where at the request of the American consul, a guard was placed on board to prevent the escape of the mutineers. Nineteen of the slaves were identified as having participated in the deed, and they were placed in confinement until further orders. The remainder were set at liberty, notwithstanding the demand of the American Consul that they should be sent to the United States. The Governor of New Providence justified this proceeding on the ground that the slaves became free on landing in a British territory, and that he could not recognize any right of dominion over them, claimed by American owners. An earnest remonstrance was raised on this occasion in the Southern States, where the British government was charged with abetting piracy and murder. But the case of the Armistad furnished a precedent against the surrender of the slaves who mutinied on board the Creole. The result was, that the nineteen incarcerated in the jail at Nassau were not given up, but were tried there, the rest being allowed to depart wherever they pleased.

During this year the President gave proofs that he did not intend to allow the veto with which the constitution intrusted him, to be an ineffective instrument in his hands. A bill for the extension of the celebrated Compromise Act, was first subjected to the use of this power; and a new tariff bill, which followed, shared the same fate. In September, however, a modified bill was passed, to which he gave his consent. His independent exercise of the veto power, however, gave great offence to the party to whom the President owed his elevation to office; and a committee was appointed, who reported against the course he had pursued. A protest followed on the part of the President, in which he inveighs against the unfairness and unconstitutionality of the report.

As several questions had occurred between the British and American cabinets, of an irritating nature, Sir Robert Peel determined to send Lord Ashburton as a special ambassador to the United States, clothed with full powers to effect an amicable adjustment of all causes of dispute between the two governments. His lordship arrived in New York on the 1st of April, and proceeded immediately to effect the object of his mission. He was met by Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, on the part of the United States, and their negotiations were brought to a close in August. On the 9th of that month a treaty was signed by the two plenipotentiaries, with a provision that it was to be duly ratified and a mutual exchange of ratifications to take place in London, in six months from that date. By this treaty, the line of the Northeastern Boundary was settled by a minute geographical description of the country through which it was to run. It was also stipulated that Great Britain and the United States should each maintain on the coast of Africa a sufficient squadron or naval force, carrying not less than eighty guns, for the purpose of enforcing separately and respectively the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries, for the suppression of the slave trade. Both parties to the treaty also agreed to unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with those powers within whose dominions slave markets were allowed to exist; and to urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets at once and for ever.

The treaty was ratified by the Senate on the 20th of August, 1842, and on the 31st of the same month, Congress adjourned, after a laborious session, in which were passed ninety-five public acts, thirteen joint resolutions, and one hundred and eighty-nine private bills. Two other public bills were passed, which were defeated by the veto of the President, and two more were defeated by not receiving the executive approval before the close of the session.

On the reassembling of Congress, the principal subject of attention was still the plan for the Exchequer. That which was presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, and recommended by the President, however, was rejected by the House of Representatives (one hundred and ninety-three to eighteen), January 29th, 1843.

In May, 1843, Mr. Webster resigned his office, as Secretary of State, and was succeeded by Hugh S. Legare, Attorney General, who died soon after at Boston. In July, 1843, the cabinet of the President, was as follows:—Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, Secretary of State; John C. Spencer, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; James M. Porter of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; David Henshaw, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, Postmaster General; John Nelson, of Maryland, Attorney General. Congress, however, at its next session, refused to confirm the nomination of Messrs. Porter and Henshaw, and the President nominated William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; and Thomas W. Gilmer, of Virginia, for Secretary of the Navy, who were confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. Upshur, the Secretary of State, and Mr. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, lost their lives by the explosion of one of the large guns of the Steamship Princeton, on the Potomac, and Jno. C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was appointed Secretary of State, and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Spencer, in May, 1844, resigned the office of Secretary of the

Treasury, and was succeeded by George M. Bibb, of Kentucky.

Among the most important events at the close of the administration of Mr. Tyler, was the negotiation of a valuable treaty with China, by Caleb Cushing, the commissioner to that country, in 1843; and the annexation of Texas treaty, made at Washington, April 12th 1844, by Secretary Calhoun, on the part of the United States, and Messrs. Van Zandt and Henderson, on the part of Texas. The former treaty was confirmed by Congress, but the latter rejected; as it was evident that it would be made the stepping-stone to Mr. Tyler's accession to a second term.

At the great national convention held in Baltimore, in May, 1844, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, were nominated by the whigs for the Presidency. Mr. Van Buren, in the democratic convention, received a plurality of votes, but being opposed to the annexation of Texas, was not nominated. After eight ballotings, James K. Polk, of Tennessee, received the nomination for President, and Silas Wright, of New York, for Vice President; but on his declination, George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, was chosen in his stead.

The friends of Mr. Tyler also held a convention about the same time, and he was placed before the people as a candidate for re-election; but yielding to the persuasions of his friends, he withdrew, in favor of Messrs. Polk and Dallas, who were elected after a very exciting contest.

On the 1st of March, 1845, resolutions were passed by Congress, admitting Texas into the Union, and which were approved by Mr. Tyler. The last act of Mr. Tyler was denominated "the pocket veto," which he exercised by holding the river and harbor appropriation bill over the time specified by the constitution. The administration of Mr. Tyler ended on the 3d of March, and he retired from office without the regret of either party.

CHAPTER XXVI.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

James Knox Polk was inaugurated President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1845, in the presence of a vast concourse of people from all parts of the United States. On arriving at the capitol, the President elect and the Ex-President entered the Senate chamber. A procession was here formed, when they proceeded to the platform on the east front of the capitol, from which Mr. Polk delivered his inaugural address.

Chief Justice Taney administered the oath of office, and Mr. Polk devoted the remainder of the day to receiving the congratulations of his friends. His cabinet consisted of James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; W. L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster-general; and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-general.

The first act of importance of the new administration, was the fulfilment of the annexation of Texas. The terms proposed by Congress, at the close of Tyler's administration, were accepted by Texas, and a state constitution adopted, and she was ready for admission into the Union. President Polk, in his first annual message, recommended Congress to pass a bill, recognizing Texas as a sister state. He also called the attention of Congress to the dispute in relation to Oregon, and urged them to demand the whole of that territory, notwithstanding the claims of Great Britain. A reduction of the duties under the tariff of 1842 was also recommended, the further restriction of banking operations, and better means for the national defence.

In the north, especially, the proposed alteration of the tariff caused great alarm, particularly in the manufacturing districts, where it had been understood at the election, that the President was an advocate of this law of 1842.

The only obstacle remaining to obstruct the acquisition of Texas, was the consent of that nation's Congress. Before their action upon it, however, Mexico, who had never recognized their independence, assumed an opposing aspect; the minister at Washington demanded his papers, and the American envoy was denied all communication with Mexico. Special ministers were appointed to adjust the difficulty; but without success, and it was evident that the only resort would be, an appeal to arms. Meantime, Texas, by an act of her legislature, became one of the states of the Union.

The tariff law was repealed in the winter of 1845 6, and another substituted, called the tariff of 1846. This new tariff reduced the duties upon all articles, and was hailed with great dismay and indignation throughout the north and manufacturing districts. A treaty was also concluded with Great Britain, by which our claim to the whole of Oregon was set aside, and the boundary line fixed at 49° 50′ north latitude.

It will be remembered that on the 12th day of April, 1844, during the administration of President Tyler, a treaty of annexation between Texas and the United States was signed by joint commissioners, but not ratified by the United States Senate. On the 1st of March, 1845, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution admitting her into the Union, upon certain conditions, to which her assent was required. After grave deliberation, the executive Congress of that country accepted the propositions, and thus was concluded the important act, by which the vast territory formerly ceded to Spain by the Florida treaty, was restored to our government. During this time, Mexico had formally protested against the course of the United States, and after the preliminaries had been settled, the Mexican minister at Washington, in a note to the Secretary of State, dated March 6th, 1845, stated that it was "an act of aggression, the most unjust which can be found recorded in the annals of modern history; namely, that of despoiling a friendly nation, like Mexico, of a considerable portion of her territory." He also protested against the resolution of annexation, as being an act "whereby the province of Texas, an integral portion of the Mexican territory, is agreed and admitted into the American Union," stated that his mission to the United States had terminated, and demanded his passports, which were given him, and he returned to Mexico.

Affairs continued in this condition until September, when the Secretary of State was authorized by the President to inquire, through the United States consul at Mexico, if the Mexican government would consent to receive an American envoy, clothed with full powers to settle all difficulties. A favorable response was received, but it was requested that the American naval force might be withdrawn from Vera Cruz, while negotiations were pending. This request was granted, and a minister with full powers sent to Mexico. He reached Vera Cruz on the 30th of November, 1845, but found that the politics of the country had undergone an unfavorable change towards the United States.

President Herrera, who had always been an advocate of peace, was opposed by a strong party under General Paredes, who founded his rebellion principally upon the assertion that General Herrera, in consenting to receive the peace minister of the United States, intended to separate the territory of Mexico, by granting the department of Texas to a hostile country. Prior to this rebellion, Herrera, it is believed, was favorable to a peaceful settlement of all difficulties; but, alarmed by the threats of Paredes, adopted the unhappy course of refusing to receive the minister, although he had promised to do so. The principal reason assigned for acting thus was, that the minister had not come upon a *special* mission, relating solely to the Texas question, but his duties also included a consideration of the long-disputed outrages upon the flag and citizens of his country.

On the 30th of December, 1845, General Herrera resigned the presidency, and he was succeeded by Paredes without opposition. On the 1st of March, 1846, the American envoy addressed the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, requesting that his credentials might be presented to the new government, in order that he might be received in the diplomatic character in which he had been commissioned. He received an answer, refusing his request, demanded his passports, and returned to the United States.

Meanwhile, other and totally different operations were going forward, The President of the United States, anticipating war, was organizing a force to defend Texas, in case of an invasion, or should war be declared, to invade Mexico. In his message of December, 1845, the President thus comments upon this measure:

"Both the Congress and the convention of the people of Texas invited this government to send an army into their territory, to protect and defend them against a menaced attack. The moment the terms of annexation offered by the United States were accepted by Texas, the latter became so far a part of our country, as to make it our duty to afford such protection and defence. I therefore deemed it proper, as a precautionary measure, to order a strong squadron to the coasts of Mexico, and to concentrate an efficient military force on the western frontier of Texas. Our army was ordered to take positions in the country between the Nueces and the Del Norte, and to repel every invasion of the Texan territory which might be attempted by the Mexican forces.

"Our squadron in the Gulf was ordered to cooperate with the army. But, though our army and navy were placed in a position to defend our own and the rights of Texas, they were ordered to commit no act of hostility against Mexico, unless she declared war, or was herself the aggressor, by striking the first blow."

Of the proper arrangement of this force, he adds as follows:

"When orders were given, during the past summer, for concentrating a military force on the western frontier of Texas, our troops were widely dispersed, and in small detachments, occupying posts remote from each other. The prompt and expeditious manner in which an army, embracing more than half of our peace establishment, was drawn together on an emergency so sudden, reflects great credit on the officers who were intrusted with the execution of these orders, as well as upon the discipline of the army itself."

The next thing that demanded attention was the appointing of a commander-in chief. General Gaines was the superior officer in that section, but for some reasons not known, he was passed by, and at the suggestion of General Scott, General Zachary Taylor was appointed. On the 21st of March, 1845, information was conveyed to that officer, then at Fort Jessup, in Louisiana, to prepare his forces to march into Texas as soon as orders were received.

The resolutions of Congress, passed the 3d of March for the admission of Texas into the Union, had not as yet been adopted by the Texan government. As the President, however, considered that there would be no opposition by that body, he issued further orders, through Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, dated 28th of May, directing General Taylor, "by order of the President, to cause the forces now under your command, and those which may be assigned to it, to be put in

a position where they may most promptly and efficiently act in the defence of Texas, in the event it should become necessary or proper to employ them for that purpose."

Mr. Bancroft, acting secretary in the absence of Mr. Marcy, on the 15th of June gave other instructions, and as they are highly important in consequence of their showing the precise position laid down by the Government to General Taylor, we give them in full:—

["Confidential.]

"War Department, June 15th, 1845.

"Sir:—On the 4th day of July, or very soon thereafter, the convention of the people of Texas will probably accept the proposition of annexation, under the joint resolution of the late Congress of the United States. That acceptance will constitute Texas an integral portion of our country.

"In anticipation of that event, you will forthwith make a forward movement with the troops under your command, and advance to the mouth of the Sabine, or to such other points on the Gulf of Mexico or to its navigable waters, as in your judgment may be most convenient for an embarkation, at the proper time, for the western frontier of Texas. * * * * * The point of your ultimate destination is the western frontier of Texas, where you will select and occupy, in or near the Rio Grande del Norte, such a site as will consist with the health of your troops, and will be best adapted to repel invasion, and to protect what, in the event of annexation, will be our western border. You will limit yourself to the defence of the territory of Texas, unless Mexico should declare war against the United States.

"Your movement to the Gulf of Mexico, and your preparations to embark for the western frontier of Texas are to be made without delay; but you will not effect a landing on that frontier, until you have yourself ascertained the due acceptance, by Texas, of the proffered terms of annexation."

These instructions were somewhat changed by the following, dated 8th of July, by Mr. Marcy to General Taylor.

"This department is informed that Mexico has some military establishments on the east side of the Rio Grande, which are, and for some time have been in the actual occupancy of her troops. In carrying out the instructions heretofore received, you will be careful to avoid any acts of aggression unless an actual war should exist. The Mexican forces at the posts in their possession, and which have been so, will not be disturbed, as long as the relations of peace between the United States and Mexico continue."

On the 20th of July, the receipt of this letter was acknowledged by General Taylor, who expressed his entire satisfaction at the instructions it contained, "as they confirm," says he, "my views previously communicated, in regard to the proper line to be occupied at present by our troops; those instructions will be closely followed, and the department may rest assured, that I will take no step to interrupt the friendly relations between the United States and Mexico."

On the 30th, he received further instructions as follows:—

"War Department, 30th July.

"He (the President) has not the requisite information in regard to the country, to enable him to give any positive directions as to the position you ought to take, or the movements which it may be expedient to make; these must be governed by circumstances. While avoiding, as you have been instructed to do, all aggressive measures towards Mexico, as long as the relations of peace exist between that republic and the United States, you are expected to occupy, protect, and defend the territory of Texas, to the extent that it has been occupied by the people of Texas. The Rio Grande is claimed to be the boundary between the two countries, and up to this boundary you are to extend your protection, only excepting any posts on the eastern side thereof, which are in the actual occupancy of Mexican forces, or Mexican settlements, over which the Republic of Texas did not exercise jurisdiction at the time of annexation, or shortly before that event. It is expected that, in selecting the establishment for your troops, you will approach as near the boundary line, the Rio Grande, as prudence will dictate. With this view the President desires that your position, for part of your forces at least, should be west of the Nueces."

On the 6th of August, it was stated by the adjutant-general, that the seventh infantry, and three companies of dragoons, were ordered to join General Taylor in Texas; "for," says the letter, "although a state of war with Mexico, or an invasion of Texas by her forces may not take place, it is nevertheless deemed proper and necessary that your forces should be fully equal to meet, with certainty of success, any crisis which may arise in Texas, and which require you by force of arms to carry out the instructions of the government." The letter further required General Taylor to state what auxiliary troops, in case of emergency, he could count upon from Texas, and "what additional troops, designating the arms, and what supply and description of ordnance, ordnance stores, small arms, &c., judging from any information you may possess as to the future exigencies of the public service," he (General Taylor) thought he would require, stating at the same time, that ten thousand muskets and one thousand rifles had already been issued for Texas.

So far, the actions and intentions of Mexico were not known. She was known to be very bitterly opposed to the course pursued by the United States in regard to Texas; and it was evident, that without a severe struggle, she would not give her countenance to the annexation; but whether the state of the country, both civil and political, would enable the government to raise an army of sufficient strength to cope with the United States, was utterly unknown. Under these embarrassing circumstances, General Taylor was further *instructed*, as follows:—"The information hitherto received as to the intentions of Mexico, and the measuress he may adopt, does not enable the administration here to give you more explicit instructions in regard to your movements, than those which have already been forwarded to you. There is reason to believe that Mexico is making efforts to assemble a large army on the frontier of Texas, for the purpose of entering its territory and holding forcible possession of it. Of their movements you are doubtless advised, and we trust have taken, or early will take, prompt and efficient steps to meet and repel any such hostile incursion. Should Mexico assemble a large body of troops on the Rio Grande, and cross it with considerable force, such a movement must be regarded as an invasion of the United States, and the commencement of hostilities. You will, of course, use all the authority which has been given or may be given you to meet such a state of things. Texas must be protected from hostile invasion, and for that purpose you will, of course, employ to the utmost extent all the means you possess or can command.

"An order has this day been issued for sending one thousand more men into Texas to join those under your command. When the existing orders are carried into effect, you will have with you a force of four thousand men of the regular army. We are not enabled to judge what auxiliary force can, upon an emergency, be brought together from Texas, and, as a precautionary measure, you are authorized to accept volunteers from the States of Louisiana and Alabama, and even from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Should Mexico declare war, or commence hostilities by crossing the Rio Grande with a considerable force, you are instructed to lose no time in giving information to the authorities of each or any of the above-mentioned States as to the number of volunteers you may want of them respectively. Should you require troops from any of these States, it would be important to have them without the least possible delay. It is not doubted that at least two regiments from New Orleans, and one from Mobile, could be obtained and expeditiously brought into the field. You will cause it to be known at these places, what number and description of troops you desire to receive from them in the contemplated emergency. The authorities of these States will be apprised that you are authorized to receive volunteers from them, and you may calculate that they will promptly join you, when it is made known that their services are required. Arms, ammunition, and camp equipage for the auxiliary troops that you may require, will be sent forward subject to your orders. You will so dispose of them as to be most available in case they should be needed, at the same time with a due regard to their safety and preservation. Orders have been issued to the naval force in the Gulf of Mexico to co-operate with you. You will, as far as practicable, hold communication with the commanders of our national vessels in your vicinity, and avail yourself of any assistance that can be derived from their co-operation. The Lexington is ordered into service as a transport ship, and will sail in a few days from New York, with a detachment of United States troops for Corpus Christi. She will be employed as the exigency of the public service may require. In order to keep up a proper communication between the army in Texas and the United States, the On-ka-hy-e, the Harney, and the Dolphin will be put into service as soon as they can be made ready as despatch vessels to convey intelligence, supplies, &c. You will avail yourself of these vessels, and all other proper means, to keep the government here advised of your operations, and the state of things in Texas and Mexico."

General Taylor, in the same month, having concentrated his forces, marched for Texas. His march from Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande is filled with wonderful and romantic events. The Great American Desert was to be crossed; all vegetation there was stunted, and every river and lake filled with salt water. The appearance of the fruit and water was tempting, but the taste loathsome and nauseous. Drooping with thirst and weariness, their feet blistered with heat and their cattle dropping dead at every step, the army moved over the burning sand. The men who could face death in battle without shrinking, now grew sad and melancholy, and moved slowly and wearily as if to a funeral march.

At length the river was seen, and the cry of *fresh water* ran through the ranks; every man felt his energy renewed, and the army swept on with rapid steps; as they neared the banks discipline was lost, and general, officers, and men, exulted and revelled in the cooling stream.

On the 28th of March, the American flag floated on the banks of the Rio Grande, and the troops who had forded rivers, crossed streams and deserts, endured hunger, hardship, thirst, and fatigue, captured Point Isabel, and established there a military depot, now sat down to await a commencement of hostilities, or an order to return home.

The death of Colonel Cross, then of Lieutenant Porter, and subsequently the capture of Captain Thornton, with his command, roused the Americans from their security. The Mexicans, grown bold by success, were pouring in upon them from all quarters; their supplies were cut off from Point Isabel, and a dark, trying period

was settling over the army. But the troops, confident of the genius and firmness of their leader, did not despond; nor was this confidence diminished on the arrival of Capt. Walker at the fort, after escaping innumerable dangers, to report the critical condition of Point Isabel.

On the 1st of May, General Taylor, aware of the importance of re-opening this communication, left his fort for the purpose of cutting his way to Point Isabel. He reached it in safety, replenished his stores, recruited his army, and on the 7th started on his return. That night the troops slept on the open plain, and early on the following morning recommenced their march. At noon they reached a wide prairie, flanked by pools of fresh water, and bounded in the distance by long rows of chapparal. In front of the latter were drawn up in battle array, six thousand Mexicans, in one unbroken line, a mile in length. Undaunted by the overwhelming superiority of numbers, the Americans pressed forward with the greatest enthusiasm. When the armies were within six hundred yards of each other, the Mexican batteries to the left, poured forth their murderous fire. Battery after battery followed in rapid succession, until the ground rocked, the whole field was filled with dense smoke, and the balls tore up the earth and grass in whirling fragments.

There was a pause of a few minutes, and the Americans placed their guns in battery. Then the action commenced in earnest, Ringgold, Duncan and Churchill, sustaining the whole force of the enemy's fire. At every discharge of these gallant cannoneers, the Mexican cavalry reeled to and fro, while scores sank down in mangled masses.

Dismayed by the havoc of his cavalry, the Mexican general collected their scattered fragments and prepared for a charge. At that movement the third and fifth infantry regiments, who had hitherto taken no part in the battle, were ordered forward to meet the enemy. But the huge masses bore on amid a tremendous fire from the third regiment, assisted by Ridgely's guns, until they arrived at the fifth. This was formed into a square to support Lieutenant Ridgely. That brave officer planted his guns in the very front of the lances, and rode from rank to rank, amid showers of balls and bullets. His horse fell dead, and four others, maddened with the smoke and uproar, plunged headlong, before the muzzles of the cannon,and directly between the two armies. There was a moment of dread, for without horses the artillery would be unmanageable. Then Ridgely sprang forward, and drew the animals to their stations. A tremendous shout followed this daring action, echoed by roars of artillery, and the hurryings of the enemy's retreat. At this moment Colonel Twiggs came down on them with the third infantry, supported by Major Ringgold.

While the cavalry was breaking before our artillery, the prairie grass became ignited, and the exciting spectacle of a prairie on fire was added to the horrors of a field of battle. Gradually the firing ceased, until silence hung over the plain, unbroken save by the crackling of flames, or an occasional command.

But the cessation was only temporary. Under cover of the thick darkness, caused by the masses of smoke, which rising hid the sun, and the armies from each other, each formed a new line of battle, and in an hour the action was renewed. The artillery led the battle; and both armies fought with a heroism rarely surpassed in the history of American warfare. In the very midst of it one man rode along the van of our troops, on a white horse, and exhorted them to duty. Wild shouts of exultation greeted him, and each soldier forgot that he was rioting in blood and danger.

Major Ringgold, on that day, nobly sustained the honor of his country. His calm, fearless bearing attracted general attention, as he, the very soul of the artillery, watched with a soldier's interest, the fearful havoc of his shot in the enemy's ranks.

Yet his glory was as short-lived as it was brilliant. While superintending the eighteen pounders, a cannon ball struck his right thigh, passed completely through the shoulders of his horse, and out through his left thigh, tearing away all that opposed its course.

The last cavalry charge was met by Capt. Duncan's battery, assisted by the 8th infantry and Ker's dragoons. Before the fire of these companies the horsemen fell back in confusion, and the day was won. Night brought repose to the weary soldiers.

Thus was the battle of Palo Alto won, but another more dark and terrible was in reserve. At four o'clock in the afternoon of May 9th, the Americans arrived in front of a deep gorge, known as the Resaca de la Palma, flanking the road on each side, and covered with an impenetrable chapparal of prickly pear, Spanish needle, and other thorny plants. Here were concealed the legions of the Mexican forces, awaiting the arrival of their opponents. Their heavy batteries were posted in the gorge, so as to rake the ground from both sides, while the infantry should at the same time employ their musketry from the chapparal. The cavalry was stationed so as to support the rest of the army, and act according to emergencies.

About four o'clock the battle began. A party of skirmishers engaged some Mexican cavalry, and after retreating a short distance, rallied, and in turn drove back their opponents. Meanwhile the main army moved rapidly toward the gorge, eager to finish the work commenced at Palo Alto. Riding through their columns, the commander exhorted each man to his duty, reminding them that a fearful struggle was about to complete the measure of their worth and glory. Shouts of gratitude and exultation greeted him.

At length when near the Resaca, the Mexican artillery broke forth in discharges which echoed along the gorge, and ploughed up the ground and rocks in every direction. The troops halted. Then the regiments followed each other towards the ravine, regardless of the murderous fire pouring from above them. In advance of all rode Lieutenant Ridgely, his batteries pouring forth uninterrupted discharges of shot and canister. Then came the heavy columns of the 8th infantry, succeeded by the remainder of the army. For half an hour the artillery stood between the opposing forces. They faltered not, although the balls whizzed around them, and the cavalry dashed forward until the horses almost leaped upon the cannon. Throwing aside all superfluous clothing, grim with smoke and powder, and sweltering in the burning sun, these heroes faced death, and amid frightful scenes of carnage, wrenched victory from the enemy. Their leader managed a gun with his own hand, like a common soldier, and refused to mount his horse until the cavalry was broken.

When the Mexicans began to retreat, the Americans raising a terrific shout, immediately commenced a pursuit. Batteries groaning with heavy cannons were wheeled into action, and opened upon the Americans. Still, although clamor and misery followed their course, they pressed on. Then the flash of thousands of muskets burst forth from the chapparal. Whole companies were ploughed down, and the artillery was almost dismantled. Still the soldiers advanced. Dashing through death and horror they reached the thicket, and sprang forward to the fierce trial of the bayonet. Then the firing ceased, and nothing was heard save the grating of bayonet with bayonet as they sprung to opposing bosoms. Then arose another shout,—the chapparal was gained.

Sure of victory, the troops now attempted to drive the Mexicans from their batteries. But manned by the Tampico veterans, and commanded by the brave La Vega, these guns swept every thing before them, and covered the retreat of the infantry, while the cavalry prepared for another charge.

General Taylor, seeing that nothing decisive could be accomplished while the Mexicans retained their guns, ordered Capt. May to charge them with his dragoons. When the captain rode back to his command, "Men!" he exclaimed, "follow," and the troops plunged forward towards the rocks of the Resaca. On they swept until they reached Colonel Ridgely, by whom they halted until he had drawn the enemy's fire. Then, with their arms bared to the shoulder, and their sabres glittering in the sun, the dragoons advanced. Silently the enemy, with their matches ignited close to the cannon, awaited them. Nearer the dragoons approached; a roar like thunder broke the silence, and eighteen horses with seven men fell dead. Lieutenant Sackett was thrown into the midst of the enemy; Lieutenant Inge was shot through the throat. Still the survivors pressed on. Leaping over the breeches of the cannon, they overthrew the cannoneers, and drove back the Tampico regiment with their sabres. These were repulsed but a moment; then rushing back to their stations, they seized the horses' bridles, and fought hand to hand with their riders. Again they were driven back, and again returned, climbing over their dead companions, and planting their standard by the principal battery. La Vega, their general, black with smoke, and grimed with blood, stood among his fallen heroes, and called the survivors to their posts. Nobly obeying this call, they closed around him like a wall of iron. But May, concentrating his forces, again rushed upon them, breaking their ranks, and capturing La Vega himself. Then the shattered band slowly left their guns. One of them tore the flag from the staff, wrapped it around his body, and attempted to escape, but weary and wounded he fell, and was captured.

Thus was won the battle of Resaca de la Palma. The Mexicans were completely routed, and eleven hundred were lying still and cold on the plains of Texas.

The little fort on the river had not been idle. On the 3d of May, all the cannon in Matamoras opened a heavy cannonade, and soon after the Mexicans crossed the river, and poured forth heavy discharges from their field batteries. The little garrison were undismayed. Surrounded by many times their number, they hurled defiance at their foes, and prepared for the fierce struggle of an assault; and when their ammunition was almost exhausted, they sullenly awaited the onset of the enemy. On the 6th Major Brown, their commander, was mortally wounded by a bomb, yet still his men bore on. On the 8th the sound of distant cannon broke upon their ears; they sprang upon the parapets and listened; again and again it echoed along, and then wild cheers followed the reports. General Taylor had met the enemy, and on the following day, when his little army sprang from the neighbouring thickets, in pursuit of the Mexicans, one shout arose from the fort heard above the din of battle.

The capture of Matamoras, and the neighbouring posts, followed these victories. General Taylor refreshed his troops, received reinforcements, and marched for Monterey, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived on the 19th of September.

On the 21st this strong city was attacked at two stations by the main army, while General Worth led a division against the forts on a neighbouring hill. Generals Twiggs and Butler, Colonel May's dragoons and the Texas volunteers, became involved between three fires, directed

against them from strongly built forts. Here they stood for several hours in the very jaws of death, with the balls sweeping through and thinning their ranks every instant. May and Twiggs were heard high over the scene of slaughter, exhorting their heroes to the charge; while Butler's troops, sweeping on with the bayonet, overthrew the opposing cavalry, and rushed almost to the guns of the fort. But the Mexicans saw the danger, and calling the troops around, prepared to meet it. Our companies were completely riddled by the tremendous fires poured upon them, and in gloomy rage were torn from the scene while the shouts of the Mexicans rang upon the air.

But the Americans soon changed the shout of triumph. Capt. Backus, having climbed upon a tannery near the fort, poured into it a deadly fire of musketry. Before their astonishment at this bold feat had subsided, General Quitman came upon it, leaped the embrasures, wheeled round the cannon, and drove off the Mexicans with the bayonet.

The battle now raged with new fury. From thirty heavy cannons the Mexicans poured forth a deadly fire; whole sections melted under it, and General Butler was wounded, and retired from the field. The rapid charges of Colonel Garland against the second fort were unsuccessful, and the command was withdrawn to the captured station.

About this time a body of lancers wound slowly round the wall of the city, toward the battery opposite the citadel. At seeing them Captain Bragg galloped forward, and by a few well directed charges drove them back with loss.

On the 23d a grand attack was made upon all the Mexican stations. Maddened by heavy losses, the American rangers burst into the houses, tore the skirmishers from the windows, and bored through the side walls toward the central plaza. The dull sound of the pickaxe, contrasted strangely with the roar of the guns. Streets and squares were thus passed until the troops were in the vicinity of the principal plaza. Here they halted, issued from the houses, and commenced a cannonade. This renewed the general action. Soon the walls of the great cathedral tottered, and at length a portion fell inward with a fearful crash. There was an instant's cessation of the enemy's fire, then it commenced again with renewed fury. Until near sunset the Americans fought desperately, against an intrenched foe of three times their number. Then they were withdrawn to await the arrival of General Worth's division. This officer, after capturing the Bishop's Palace and other redoubts, had entered the city, and penetrated toward the square, on the side opposite General Taylor. Night set in, and both armies retired to prepare for a final struggle on the ensuing day.

On the 24th, proposals for a capitulation were received from the Mexican General Ampudia, and negotiations ensued, which resulted in a surrender of the city and public stores to the army of General Taylor. The army marched into the interior on parole, the officers and soldiers retaining most of their arms, together with a battery of artillery.

The crowning point of General Taylor's career, was the battle of Buena Vista. The generals he had heretofore engaged with were those of little popularity; now he was contending with one, on whom the nation depended with entire confidence, and for whom they were willing to make any sacrifices.

About seven miles south of Saltillo stands the small village of Buena Vista. The deep gorge of Angostura is at some distance from it, surrounded by rocks, hills and ravines, and holding the key of a position, which, for defensive warfare, is not surpassed by any other on the continent. General Taylor, with his little army of five thousand men, here awaited the best General in Mexico, with twenty-one thousand. They soon came, arranging their artillery, moving into line, and choosing positions for the attack. In the afternoon, a party of lancers wound round the heights to the left of the American position, with the intention of making a charge; they were followed by some infantry, and one artillery company, who commenced an attack in that quarter. Considerable skirmishing took place, and the troops of both armies manœuvred till night.

On the 23d at early dawn, the movements in both armies gave token of the approaching struggle. The enemy, reinforced during the night, now bore down an immense column upon the little army on the left. Colonel Marshall, calling his little band around him, prepared for the charge. For three hours they fought for victory, and the sun rose on the dreadful battle already commenced.

At eight o'clock, a dense, deep column came steadily upon the American centre. The eye of their leader and his artillerists watched them in stern silence as they drew near. They passed artillery shot, and a wild shout arose, in anticipation of victory; but now the heavy balls ploughed their way from side to side of that living column, sweeping with fearful havoc through their ranks. The severed ranks closed, and the columns still pressed on. A second and third time the death shower was poured upon them, each time with frightful effect; then a panic seized them, and they fled in dire confusion.

The Mexican General viewed this rout with dismay, and instantly began to repair it. His cavalry and a large infantry force united under cover of the rocks in one body, and issued forth to attack the left wing. This had been the first point of attack, and was now reinforced by the Illinois and Indiana regiments, and the artillery of Capt. O'Brien.

General Lane rode along his lines; and pointing to the coming hosts, reminded the men that they were Americans, and exhorted them to their duty. Throwing the artillery rapidly forward, he ordered the second Indiana regiment to support it, and placing himself by the soldiers of the Illinois, watched the foe's progress. In a massive column they came on, shouting in anticipation of victory. The battle now opened. Sweeping through the heavy Mexican phalanx, the shot mowed down whole columns, and levelled the cavalry; yet the lines closed, and pressed on. Then another road opened, and the carnage was still frightful. Still, with pale, compressed lips, the Mexicans pressed forward. The Americans were melting at their approach, and the artillery was surrounded with dead. General Lane, sweeping over the field, urged his troops to firmness; while O'Brien, leaping from his horse, seized a gun, and kept the artillerists at their places.

At the fearful moment when the energy of every man was required to insure victory to the Americans, the Indiana regiment moved rapidly from their stations, and commenced an inglorious retreat. The staff officers, at this shameful sight, galloped across their path, and seizing the regimental colors, called on the troops to remember their country; some few brave spirits came from the mass, in answer to the call, but the greater part still fled.

Now the Mexicans, inspired by this success, poured on with exultant shouts. Sure of victory, the lancers bore down. They bore up, their stern captain refusing to yield, until the soldiers less than the cannon fell into confusion. Then remounting his horse, which was wounded, like all the others, he ordered a retreat, and the cavalry dashed down and took his guns.

But now the ringing voice of General Wool came ringing over the field, "Illinois! Illinois! to the rescue!" and the fiery sons of the west, panting for conflict and revenge, opened their volleys of musketry. Still the living avalanche poured on. Then the Mississippians planted themselves in the path, and awaited the struggle. All around, horsemen, artillery, and infantry, were concentrating themselves upon the devoted regiments. Still the tall form of Wool was seen gliding from company to company, shouting that thrilling war-cry, which filled every heart with fire.

But a still more stirring appeal awaited them. General Taylor, on his white horse, rode between the two armies, while the army carried his name in exultant shouts to the very skies. Before that wild battle cry was over, the Mexicans were towering upon our troops for the final struggle. Then Captain Bragg galloped into battery, and the rifles, muskets, and heavy ordnance commenced their deadly work. Now the reputation of each general, nation, army was at stake. Again and again the Mexicans advanced, and as often rolled back, before the showers of iron hail which greeted them. Nobly the American troops did their duty. Each soldier fought as if victory depended on his individual efforts. Broken and repulsed, the enemy commenced their disastrous retreat. Their dead and wounded, lying in masses, or scattered, marking the whole line of their march. Yet over these the terrified lancers rode, grinding them to earth, and completing the work of death. Ranks were trodden down by their comrades, or whirled over slippery rocks. Then they burst upon the infantry, overthrowing column after column, and scattering the flower of the army like chaff. On poured the shouting Americans, blighting those splendid companies with their terrible discharges, and sweeping the entire field. Still the war-cry of Wool, and the shout for Taylor went up, urging the troops to pursuit. The Kentucky regiment under the command of Clay and McKee, pushed after the fugitives, far in advance, until they became entangled among the ravines and passes on the left. Seizing this favorable moment, the cavalry whirled around, and attacked these troops with their whole force, and the battle commenced again. Now, after a hard day's battle, facing an entire army, the Kentucky regiments fought till night. Their colonels fell, but the soldiers gathered round the bodies, and fought hand to hand with the foe. The contest was too unequal. They were driven back, and the day seemed lost. But the artillery again met the enemy, drove them back, and secured the victory. General Taylor had triumphed.

The Americans sank exhausted upon the field, and night fell on the scene of slaughter. Two thousand dead, dying and wounded, friend and foe lay around.

This great battle, by far the most remarkable of the war, was the last military achievement of General Taylor.

General Kearney, an officer of marked ability and energy, was ordered by the President to raise a number of men, not to exceed 2,000, which, united with the regular army at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, were to be called the "Army of the West," and were to carry out a most important part of the plan of operations determined on by the government of the United States. His instructions were to cross the prairies, and take possession of New Mexico. He was further commissioned to proceed to California, after securing possession of New Mexico.

The Governor of Missouri was called upon for 1,000 volunteers—one battalion to serve as light artillery, and the rest as mounted riflemen. So great was the enthusiasm, that no difficulty was experienced in raising volunteers, although each man had to provide himself with a horse, and every thing except his arms.

After many delays, the "Army of the West" were in proper trim, and started from Fort Leavenworth, on the 30th of June, 1846, and

arrived, on the 29th of July, at Bent's Fort, a distance of 561 miles. Here was found the remainder of the troops ordered to join General Kearney. His whole force then numbered about 1,750 men. On the 31st of July, a proclamation was issued to the inhabitants of New Mexico, according to instructions.

On the 3d of August, the army commenced its onward movements, and in ten days, during which both the men and beasts suffered most intolerably, they began to ascend the Rocky Mountains. Scouts were frequently captured, who stated that Armijo, the Governor of New Mexico, would oppose the progress of the Americans; and who, after being shown the strength of the army, were sent back to Armijo. General Kearney arrived at the Lower Moro village on the 15th of August, and addressed the people. He compelled the alcaldes to swear allegiance to the United States, and greeted the people as citizens of that country. His address gave a great deal of satisfaction to the inhabitants.

On his march, General Kearney encountered the village of San Miguel, on the 16th of August, where he made another speech, similar in tone to the one made at Lower Moro village. Shortly after leaving San Miguel, General Kearney learned that General Salazar was in command of the troops destined to oppose his progress. On the day following, the son of Salazar was made prisoner, who informed the general, that the Mexican troops had all returned to their homes. The Americans arrived at a canon, on the 18th of August, where, a day or two before, a Mexican force, consisting of 3,000 men, had been assembled; but had fled on the approach of General Kearney. The army marched into the plaza of Santa Fe, where they were received by the acting governor and other dignitaries, Armijo having made his escape. The American flag was hoisted, and General Kearney addressed the people, assuring them of full protection, and taking possession of the country in the name of the United States, proclaimed himself Governor.

On the 2d of September, George Bent, known as the proprietor of Bent's Fort, was appointed civil Governor of New Mexico, and General Kearney started on a reconnoissance down the Rio Grande, with 750 men. He was favorably received every where on the route, and the most friendly disposition was manifested by the Indians. A treaty of peace was concluded between the Apache tribe, so formidable to the Mexicans, and the Americans, in the latter part of September. Arrangements were also made for improving the civil government of the country, and a code of laws was established, which were drawn up by Colonel Doniphan and Willard P. Hall.

General Kearney, having been informed of the approach of the Missouri regiment, under Colonel Price, left Santa Fé with 300 men, to march across the country to Upper California. Soon after, he was informed of the conquest of California by Commodore Stockton and Colonel Fremont; and this news induced him to send back a portion of his men. He then marched the distance of 1,000 miles, through an unknown country, with only 100 dragoons as an escort; the remainder of the "Army of the West" being posted at different places in New Mexico.

Colonel Doniphan, with the object of opening a communication with General Wool, at Chihuahua, left Valverde with 500 men, and after a journey of three days, through a desert country, arrived near the town of El Paso. Near this place they encamped. They had all dispersed, the rear-guard being six miles behind, when they were attacked by a large body of Mexicans, with cavalry and artillery. Doniphan's men had not time to saddle their horses, but drew up rapidly in front of their encampment, determined to fight to the last. The Mexicans sent a black flag, with skull and cross-bones upon it, with an intimation that no quarter would be given. They then opened their fire and charged handsomely, but were driven back; while a handful of Doniphan's men ran up to the Mexican line, and secured their cannon. This brave and desperate act perplexed the Mexicans, who now seemed for the first time to be aware of the character of the foes with whom they had to deal; they were soon routed, leaving about 200 in killed and wounded on the field, while the loss of the Americans was seven wounded and none killed. This, the first battle fought by the "Army of the West," was called the battle of Bracito, from a bend of the river near which it was fought.

Colonel Doniphan entered El Paso on the 29th of December, and met with no opposition. He despatched a messenger, to hurry a company of artillery, which he had some time before ordered from Santa Fé, and determined to await its arrival. Reports were constantly being received of anticipated resistance at Carrizal—a fortified place some distance on this side of Chihuahua. At last he found that regular carriers were sent to that place, and he was induced to suspect Ortis, the priest, of being the agent of the correspondence. He accordingly despatched a scouting party to catch him in the act; but owing to the bad management of the officer in charge, who instead of waiting to seize the messenger after he had started, and try to find despatches upon him, only surrounded the house, and arrested Ortis, who was taken before Colonel Doniphan and upbraided with treachery; he (Ortis) remarked that he did not consider the delivering one's country from a foreign power treachery; and that he was the enemy of all Americans; and that he would use his utmost endeavors to free his country from them, but that he would not attempt to excite an insurrection; all should be fairly and openly done. Colonel Doniphan told him, that while he admired his sentiments, he would take care that an opportunity was not given him for carrying them into effect. A strict watch was kept over him, and Doniphan remarked, that as he had seen how Mexicans could fight upon ground of their own selection—meaning Bracito, where Ortis was—he would take him along with him, in order that he might see the Mexicans fight upon ground of his, Doniphan's, selection. This threat the colonel carried into effect, taking him to Chihuahua.

The artillery arrived on the 1st of February, 1847, and Colonel Doniphan's force was increased to 1,000 men; and on the 11th, he set out for Chihuahua. After a march of 145 miles, he received information that General Wool was not at Chihuahua. This was very disheartening intelligence, for it was fully expected that the two forces would there be combined. After some deliberation it was decided to go forward. The march from the place where the council of war was held, was one of the most difficult and dangerous of the whole route. The most prominent sources of danger were fires upon the prairies, and long journeys without water, combined with the momentary expectation of an attack.

It was very clear, on the 27th of February, that a battle would be fought upon the day following; Colonel Doniphan having received information that the enemy were posted in the neighborhood of the Sacramento, and that every thing was prepared for a battle. The following is a semi-official account of the battle:—

"Head Quarters, Battalion Missouri Light Artillery.
"Camp near Chihuahua, Mexico, *March 2d*, 1847."

"To Colonel A. W. Doniphan, Commanding American Forces in the State of Chihuahua.

"Sir:—I have the honor to report, that, agreeably to your instructions, I left the camp near *Sanz*, on the morning of the 28th ultimo, accompanied by my adjutant, Lieutenant L. D. Walker, and non-commissioned staff, and proceeded in advance to a position commanding a full view of the enemy's camp and intrenchments, situated about four miles distant from this point. The enemy was discovered to be in force, awaiting our approach, having occupied the ridge and neighboring heights about Sacramento. Upon examination, it was ascertained that his intrenchments and redoubts occupied the brow of elevation extending across the ridge between the *Arroyo Seco* and that of *Sacramento*, both of which, at this point, cross the valley from the elevated ridge of mountains in the rear of the valley of *Torreon*, known by the name of the *Sierra de Victoriano*, that of *Nombre de Dios* on the east, and through which runs the *Rio del Nombre de Dios*. This valley is about four miles in width, and intrenched by the enemy entirely across, from mountain to mountain, the road to the city of Chihuahua running directly through its centre—and of necessity passing near to, and crossing the *Rio Sacramento*, at the *Rancho Sacramento*, a strongly built and fortified house, with adjoining corrals, and at other enclosures, belonging to Angel Frias, the Governor of Chihuahua. From observation it was ascertained that the enemy had occupied the site between these hills, and that the batteries upon them were supported by infantry—his cavalry being in advanced positions, formed into three columns, between the *Arroyo Seco*, and our advance. During these observations, the enemy's advanced guard discovering my party, approached rapidly, with the evident intention of intercepting it; but being met by that of our troops, which I had sent forward, it as rapidly retreated. At this time, also, the three columns of the enemy's cavalry recrossed the *Arroyo Seco*, and retired behind their intrenchments. I then approached within 600 yards of the most advanced redoubt, from which point the enemy's formation was plainly discernable. The intrenchments consisted of a line, with intervals, compos d of circular redoubts, from 300 to 500 yards interval, with intrenchments between each, covering batteries partly masked by cavalry. The redoubt nearest to my position, contained two pieces of cannon, supported by several hundred infantry.

"The enemy's right and left were strong positions—the *Cerro Frijoles* on his right, and having high precipitous sides, with a redoubt commanding the surrounding country, and the pass leading towards Chihuahua, through the Arroyo Seco. The Cerro Sacramento on his left, consisting of a pile of immense volcanic rocks, surmounted by a battery, commanded the main road to Chihuahua, leading directly in front of the enemy's intrenchments; crossing the Rio Sacramento at the rancho, directly under its fire, and also commanding the road from Terreon, immediately in its rear; the crossing of the main road over the Arroyo Seco, at the point from which my reconnoissance was made, laid directly under the fire of the batteries on the enemy's right, which rendered it necessary to ascertain the practicability of a route more distant from the enemy's intrenchments. The passage was found to be practicable, with some little labor, and a point selected as the best for the passage of the artillery, and wagons, and merchants' trains. The whole point of the enemy's line of intrenchments appeared to be about two miles, and his force 3,000 men. The artillery being masked, the number and calibre of the cannon could not be ascertained.

"Further, I have the honor to report, that the battalion of artillery under my command, composed of 110 men, and seven officers, with a battery of six pieces of artillery, were, on the morning of the battle, directed to form, under the direction of Captain Weightman, between the two columns of merchants' and provision wagons; being thus masked from the view of the enemy. In this column my troops continued the march to within 1,500 yards of the enemy's most advanced position; our direction was then changed to the right, and the column,

having crossed the Arroyo Seco without reach of the enemy's fire, rapidly advanced towards the table-land between the Seco and Sacramento. At this time the enemy was perceived advancing from his intrenchments, to prevent our seizing upon the heights, but by a rapid movement of the battery, it was quickly drawn from its mask, and seizing upon a favorable position, protected in the rear by a mask from the attack of a large body of the enemy's cavalry, ascertained to be hanging on our rear, it was formed, and at once opened fire upon the enemy's cavalry, rapidly advancing upon us. At this time his charging column was about 900 yards distant, and the effect of our stray shot and shells was such as to break his ranks, and throw his cavalry into confusion. The enemy now rapidly deployed into line, bringing up his artillery from the intrenchments. During this time our line was preparing for a charge—my artillery advancing by hand, and firing. The enemy now opened a heavy fire of cannon upon our line, mainly directed upon the battery, with little effect. Lieutenant Dorn had his horse shot under him by a nine-pound ball, at this stage of the action, and several mules and oxen in the merchant wagons, in our rear, were wounded or killed, which, however, was the only damage done. The fire of our cannon at this time had such good effect, as to dismount one of the enemy's pieces, and completely to disperse his cavalry, and drive him from his position, forcing him to again retire behind his intrenchments. For a short time the firing on either side now ceased, and the enemy appeared to be removing his cannon and wounded, whilst our line prepared to change our position, and move towards the right, for the purpose of occupying a more advantageous ground. Our object being soon gained, the order to advance was given, and immediately after I was directed to send the section of howitzers, to support a charge upon the enemy's left. I immediately ordered Captain R. H. Weightman to detach the section, composed of two twelve-pound mountain howitzers, mounted upon carriages constructed especially for field-prairie service, and drawn by two horses each. These were commanded by Lieutenant E. F. Chouteau and H. D. Evans, and manned by some twenty men, whose conduct in this action cannot be too much commended.

Captain Weightman charged at full gallop upon the enemy's left, preceded by Captain Reid and his company of horse, and after crossing a ravine some 150 yards from the enemy, he unlimbered the guns within 50 yards of the intrenchment, and poured a destructive fire of canister into his ranks, which was warmly returned, but without effect. Captain Weightman again advanced upon the intrenchment, passing through it in the face of the enemy, and within a few feet of the ditches; and in the midst of cross-fires from three directions, again opened his fire to the right and left with such effect, that, with the formidable charge of the cavalry and dismounted men of your own regiment, and Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell's escort, the enemy were driven from the breastworks on our right in great confusion. At this time, under a heavy cross-fire from a battery of four six-pounders, under Lieutenant's Dorn, Kibben, and Labeaume, upon the enemy's right, supported by Major Gilpin on the left, and the wagon-train escorted by two companies of infantry under Captains E. F. Glasgow and Skillman, in rear, Major Gilpin charged upon the enemy's centre and forced him from his intrenchments, under a heavy fire of artillery and small arms. At the same time, the fire of our own battery was opened upon the enemey's extreme right, from which a continued fire had been kept up upon our own line and the wagon-train. Two of the enemy's guns were soon dismounted on their right, that battery silenced, and the enemy dislodged from the redoubt on the *Cerro Frijoles*. Perceiving a body of lancers forming, for the purpose of outflanking our left, and attacking the merchant train under Captain Glasgow, I again opened upon them a very destructive fire of grape and spherical case shot, which soon cleared the left of our line. The enemy, vacating his intrenchments and deserting his guns, was hotly pursued towards the mountains beyond Cerro Frijoles, and down *Arroyo Seco de Sacramento*, by both wings of the army, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, Lieutenant-colonel Jackson, and Major Gilpin, and by Captain Weightman, with the section of howitzers. During this pursuit, my officers repeatedly opened their fire upon the retreating enemy with great effect. To cover this flight of the enemy's forces from the intrenched camp, the heaviest of his cannon had been taken from his intrenchments to the *Cerro Sacramento*, and a heavy fire opened upon our pursuing forces and the wagons following in the rear. To silence this battery, I had the honor to anticipate your order to that effect, by at once occupying the nearest of the enemy's intrenchments, 1,225 yards distant, and notwithstanding the elevated position of the Mexican battery giving him a plunging fire into my intrenchments, which were not enfiladed, and the greater range of his long nine-pounders, the first fire of our guns dismounted one of his largest pieces, and the fire was kept up with such briskness and decision of aim, that the battery was soon silenced, and the enemy seen precipitately retreating. The fire was then continued upon the Rancho Sacramento, and the enemy's ammunition and wagon train, retreating upon the road to Chihuahua. By their fire, the house and several wagons were rendered untenable and useless. By this time, Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell had scaled the hill, followed by the section of howitzers, under Captain Weightman, and the last position of the Mexican forces was taken possession of by our troops; thus leaving the American forces masters of the field. Having silenced the fire from Cerro Sacramento, one battery was removed into the plain at the rancho, where we gained the road, and were in pursuit of the enemy, when I received your order to return and encamp within the enemy's intrenchments for the night. From the time of first opening my fire upon the Mexican cavalry, to the cessation of the firing upon the rancho and battery of Sacramento, was about three hours; and during the whole time of the action, I take the utmost pleasure in stating, that every officer and man of my command, did his duty with cheerfulness, coolness and precision, which is sufficiently shown by the admirable effect produced by their fire, the great accuracy of their aim, their expedition and ingenuity in supplying deficiencies in the field during the action, and the prompt management of their pieces—rendered still more remarkable, from the fact, that I had, during the fight, less than two-thirds the number of cannoneers generally required for the service of light artillery, and but four of the twelve artillery carriages belonging to my battery harnessed with horses, the remaining eight carriages being harnessed to mules of the country. During the day my staff were of the greatest service; Adjutant Leo D. Walker having been sent with the howitzers, and the non-commissioned officers remaining with me, to assist in the service of the battery. In this action, the troops under your command have captured one nine-pounder, one six-pounder, and seven four-pounder guns, all mounted on new stock-trail carriages. These pieces were manufactured in Chihuahua, except the six-pounder, which is an old Spanish piece. Three of the four-pounders were made at the mint in Chihuahua. Seven of the ten pieces were spiked, but have been unspiked since their capture; four of these were rendered unserviceable in the action; one entirely dismounted, was seized by my adjutant, whilst in the act of being dragged from the field by the retreating enemy. There were also taken two pieces of artillery, mounting three wall-pieces of one and a half-inch calibre each, and these are formidable weapons [illegible] force. With these twelve pieces of artillery was taken a due proportion of ammunition, implements, harness, mules, &c.; and they may be rendered serviceable by being properly repaired and manned; for which purpose I would ask for further reinforcement of my command. It is with feelings of gratitude to the Ruler of all battles, that I have now the honor to report, that not a man of my command has been hurt, nor any animals, with the exception of one horse killed under Lieutenant Dorn, chief of the first section of six-pound guns, and of one mule, belonging to the United States, shot under one of the cannoneers; neither has a gun or other carriage of my battery been touched, except in one instance, when a nine-pound ball struck the tire of a wheel, without producing any injury. This is a fact worthy of notice, that so little damage was done to a command greatly exposed to the enemy's fire, and of itself made a point of attack by the enemy, if I may so judge by the showers of cannon and other shot constantly poured into us, as long as the enemy continued to occupy his position. I might call your attention to the individual instances of personal courage and good conduct of the men of my command, as well as of the intrepid bravery, cool and determined courage of many of your own regiment, and Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell's escort, who charged with us upon the enemy's works, were it not impossible, in any reasonable space, to name so many equally worthy of distinction; and did I not presume that other field officers on that occasion, would report the proceedings of their own commands, and the praiseworthy conduct of their own officers and men.

"With high respect, I am, sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"M. Lewis Clark,
"Major Commanding Battalion Missouri Light Artillery."

The day following the battle was devoted to the mending of the tattered clothes of the army, previous to a triumphal march into Chihuahua. Having been disappointed again in finding General Wool, an express was sent to general Taylor, requesting to be informed whether they should return home, or join him; an answer was received, stating that they should join him by way of Parras and Saltillo. They accordingly started for Saltillo on the 25th of April; travelling a distance of 909 miles in forty-five days, arriving at Saltillo on the 22d of May. Here they had many offers made them to enlist again, but home was preferable, and they returned to the United States, and were received with every manifestation of joy and pleasure.

In the meantime, important events were taking place in California. Before the war began, in 1846, the territory of Upper California formed the north-western portion of the Republic of Mexico. It was chiefly inhabited by Indians, and portions of the country, in the valley of San José, and the vicinity of Los Angeles, were very fertile. General Sloat, commander of the squadron on the Pacific coast, having received information of the war upon the Rio Grande, arrived at Monterey, and hoisted the American flag over that town, amidst the cheers of the Americans, and a salute from the ships in the harbor. He also issued a proclamation to the people of California. The American flag was also hoisted at San Francisco, by Montgomery, commander of the sloop-of-war Portsmouth.

Captain Frémont, with 170 men, arrived in California by an overland route, and took possession of Sonoma, one of the most important posts in the territory, where he left a small garrison, and marched for and took possession of San Juan, about 30 miles east of Monterey.

Immediately after raising the flag of the

United States, the fortification of Monterey took place, and Commodore Sloat sailed for the United States, leaving Commodore Stockton in command of the Pacific squadron. Shortly after this, the Cyane, Commandant Dupont, with Captain Frémont and volunteers on board, sailed for San Diego, and the frigate Congress, Commodore Stockton, sailed for San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, the capital of California. The frigate Savannah remained at Monterey, and the sloop-of-war Portsmouth, at San Francisco. Thus all the ports of the territory were secured.

Commodore Stockton proclaimed California in full possession of the United States on the 17th of August, and shortly after, joined the squadron at San Francisco. Scarcely had he arrived, when information was received that all the country below Monterey was in arms; he immediately returned, and gained a victory of the Californians at the Ranche Sepulinda. On the 23d of September, Pueblo de los Angeles, which had been left in command of Captain Gillespie with 30 men, was invested with an army of Californians under Manuel Gaspar, who forced Gillespie to surrender the place, and retire to San Pedro, where he embarked for Monterey.

Gaspar then led 200 of his men against Santa Barbara (which place had been left in command of Lieutenant Talbot with only nine men), where he was held in check by Talbot for ten days. Talbot and his men then retired to the mountains, and were summoned to surrender; but on his refusal, a detachment of forty men was sent against him, who promised, if he would preserve neutrality during the war, to permit him to retire. This not proving effectual, the grass was fired, and he was burned out, retreating to Monterey on foot a distance of 500 miles.

Some two days after the arrival of Lieutenant Talbot at Monterey, a party of 27 Americans, under Captains Burrows and Thompson, were attacked by 80 Californians, and Captain Burrows and three Americans slain. Three of the enemy were also killed, but the Americans were kept shut up in St. John's, until the arrival of Major Frémont. The whole party then left St. John's, and arrived at San Fernando on the 11th of January.

While these affairs were in progress in California, General Kearney was on his march thither from Santa Fé. He met Carson on the 6th of October, who, with fifteen men, was on his way to Washington, with an account of the conquest of that country by Frémont and Stockton. General Kearney persuaded him to act as his guide towards the Pacific, and allow some other person to take his despatches. On the 15th of October, they left the Rio Grande, and commenced their march with 100 men, well equipped, towards the Pacific coast.

They were met on the 5th of December, by a small body of volunteers under Captain Gillespie, who gave them information concerning the state of the country. He stated that an armed party of Californians, with an extra number of horses, were encamped at San Pasqual, three leagues distant. General Kearney determined to march upon them, in the double hope of a victory, and obtaining a remount for his poor soldiers, whose animals had been completely worn out during their march from Santa Fé, a distance of 1,050 miles. They encountered the enemy at daybreak, on the 6th December, and Captain Johnson, who led the advanced guard, made a furious onslaught upon them, but fell almost at the beginning of the action. The enemy were forced to retreat. Captain Moore pursued them, but the mules on which the dragoons were mounted, could not keep up with his horses, and the enemy seeing this, renewed the fight. Their superior numbers nearly proved fatal to the little band; but the dragoons coming up soon after, they fled from the field, carrying off most of their dead with them. Captain Johnson, Captain Moore, Lieutenant Hammond, two sergeants, two corporals, eleven privates, and a man attached to the topographical department were slain. General Kearney was wounded in two places, Captain Gillespie had three wounds, Lieutenant Warner, of the topographical engineers, three, and Captain Gibson and eleven others were also wounded, most of them having from two to ten wounds from lances. The crippled state of the soldiers caused a halt until the 12th of December, when the march was resumed, and on the 12th the army reached San Diego.

On the arrival of General Kearney, he and Commodore Stockton laid a plan for putting an end to the war.

The little army, consisting of about 500 men, started from San Diego on the 29th of December, to march to Los Angeles. They had only proceeded 100 miles, as far as the Rio San Gabriel, when they met the enemy, who with 600 mounted men, and four pieces of artillery, were prepared to dispute the passage of the river.

On the 8th of January, 1847, the Americans waded through the river, under a most galling fire, reserving their fire, until they reached the opposite bank. Here they succeeded in completely routing the enemy, and encamped there over night, and resumed their march, early next morning. On the plains of the Mesa, another attempt was made by the enemy to save their capital. They concealed themselves in a ravine, as the Americans approached, when they opened a brisk fire with their field pieces, and at the same time charged upon them both in the front and rear. They fell back, however, as the Americans advanced, and finally retreated, after another charge on the left flank. The Americans entered the city of Los Angeles on the 10th without opposition.

Two or three days previously to the battle of the 8th of January, propositions were made by Jose Maria Flores, the commander of the Californians, for peace. But Captain Stockton replied that he would receive no overtures from a man who had broken his parole; that he was a rebel in arms, and if taken he would be shot.

After losing the battles of the 8th & 9th, they met Colonel Frémont on his way to Ciudad de los Angeles. Flores had fled, leaving the command to Don Andres Pico, who proposed surrendering his force to Colonel Frémont, who, being unaware of what had occurred previously, agreed to accept. The articles of capitulation were signed on the 13th of January. The terms did not treat the Californians either as rebels, or as citizens of the United States, nor exact oaths of allegiance until a definite treaty of peace should be concluded between the two Powers. Commodore Stockton approved of this agreement though he regretted that the opportunity was lost for punishing the officers for breaking their parole.

Colonel Frémont joined the forces of Kearney and Stockton, at Los Angeles, on the 15th. It was here that the dispute arose between Kearney and Stockton, as to their relative prerogatives, which eventually lost to the country, the valuable services of one of her most brilliant and talented officers.

Commodore Stockton had been greatly pleased with the conduct of Colonel Frémont, and was deeply impressed with his ability and zeal; and in return for his services, before leaving the coast, appointed him Governor of California.

Commodore Shubrick arrived at Monterey, and assumed command of the naval forces on that station, in January, 1847. General Kearney was joined by Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, at San Diego, with a battalion of Mormons, who were posted at San Luis Rey, to prevent the reinforcements from entering California from Sonora. General Kearney sailed to Monterey. Captain Tompkins arrived with his company of United States artillery, and was stationed at Monterey, and on the 6th of March, Colonel Stephenson, with 250 of the New York California volunteers, arrived at San Francisco. The remainder of his regiment arrived soon after. He was ordered, soon afterwards, to occupy Monterey, with four companies, and Lieutenant Colonel Burton, with three companies, occupied Santa Barbara. The emigrants who had formed the California Battalion, were discharged, and began to establish themselves. New settlements were formed in all directions. General Kearney's last act was to order Lieutenant Colonel Burton to sail to La Paz in Lower California, and occupy that country. This was accomplished without much difficulty.

A brilliant victory was gained by Lieutenant Colonel Burton at La Paz, over 300 of the enemy, killing and wounding 50 of their number, with the loss of only three men. Some 50 Americans, under Lieutenant Heywood, were besieged at San José, the most southern port of California, for 30 days, by nearly 400 of the enemy, yet despite of all the horrors of famine and thirst, they maintained their post until they were released by the United States ship Cyane, the crew of which put the enemy to flight. A series of minor fights and skirmishes took place on the Pacific coast of Mexico, in which the enemy were generally worsted.

In February, 1847, General Kearney received instructions from the war department, to assume the government of California, and issued, on the 1st of March, 1847, a proclamation to that effect. When Colonel Frémont was apprised of this action, he declined to obey his military orders, and continued to act as "governor and commander-in-chief of California," under authority from Commodore Stockton, alleging that the authority conferred on General Kearney had become obsolete by events, of which the government had taken no note. The principal of these was the conquest of California, which he stated had been accomplished by Commodore Stockton and himself, before the arrival of General Kearney.

At the end of May, General Kearney left for home, having appointed Colonel Mason governor of California. He was accompanied by Colonel Frémont and his original engineering party. When they reached Fort Leavenworth, formal charges of mutiny, and disobedience of the commands of his superior officer, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, were preferred by General Kearney against Colonel Frémont, who desired a speedy trial. He was subsequently tried in Washington, before a court martial, and found guilty of all the charges; but recommended to executive clemency. Although the President approved of the sentence of the court, which was "dismissal from service," he was of opinion that the charge of mutiny was not sustained. The sentence was remitted, and Frémont released from arrest, and ordered to report for duty. He was ordered to join the rifle regiment, in which he held a commission, as lieutenant-colonel in Mexico; but he was not conscious of meriting the sentence of the court, and he would not seem to admit its justice, by accepting executive clemency. He therefore resigned his commission.

An insurrection broke out in the northern part of New Mexico, soon after Colonel Doniphan left for Chihuahua. The object of those engaged in it appeared to be to murder all the American residents, and as many of the Mexicans as had taken office under the government established by General Kearney. The insurrection was formed by a number of prominent Mexicans, headed by Thomas Ortiz, and Diego Archaleta. The failure of their plan is attributed to the postponement of their scheme, from the time first agreed upon. The leaders fled, though their doctrines were rife among the people, and gave great anxiety to the authorities. Governor Bent issued a proclamation on the 5th of January, which appeared to have the desired effect, for the governor, confiding in the appar-

ent tranquillity, went to Taos unattended on private business.

On the 19th of January, a party of Pueblo Indians appeared in the village, and demanded the release of two of their comrades, who were confined in prison for crime. Stephen L. Lee, the sheriff, would have complied with their request, had not Vigil, the Mexican prefect, forbidden it. The Indians then murdered both Vigil and Lee, and themselves released the prisoners. They were now joined by a party of Mexicans, and marched to the house of Governor Bent, who attempted to escape, but was shot, scalped, and his body nailed to a board, and paraded through the streets. Mr. Leal, the district attorney, they treated in a more brutal manner, scalping him alive, and shooting arrows into his body a little way at a time. Messengers were then dispatched all over the country, proclaiming that a blow had been struck, and inviting the aid of the people in prosecuting the revolt. Several Americans were murdered on the same day, at the Arroyo Honda, and two others on the Rio Colorado.

On the 20th of January, Colonel Price heard of these events, and that the insurgents had raised an army of 1,500 men, and were advancing to fight him. He met them on the 24th, and defeated them, they flying in all directions, leaving 36 dead on the field. On the 29th he was informed that some 60 or 80 of them were posted on the gorge leading to Embudo, and dispatched Captain Burgwin with 180 men to fight them.

He found them 600 strong, and posted on the precipitous sides of the mountains. Nevertheless he drove them from their position, with the loss of 20 killed and 60 wounded on their part, while he had only one man killed and one wounded. He then marched to Trampas, where he was joined by Colonel Price, and the whole army marched over the Taos Mountains, breaking a road through the snow for their artillery. It was ascertained that the enemy had fortified Pueblo de Taos, a place remarkable for its strength, being surrounded by adobe walls and strong pickets, every part of which was flanked by some projecting building.

Colonel Price opened his batteries on the town on the 3d of February, but retired shortly after to await the concentration of his forces. On the 4th the fire was again opened, but it being found impossible to make a breach in the walls with the howitzers, it was determined to storm the church, situated in the north-western angle of the town. The attack was led by Captain Burgwin, who established his party under the western walls of the church, and attempted to effect an entrance with axes, while the roof was fired, with the help of a temporary ladder. Captain Burgwin was fatally wounded, while endeavoring to force the door, and died on the 7th of February.

It was found to be impossible to force the door, and they retreated behind the wall; while they had been thus engaged small holes had been cut in the wall, and shells were thrown in by hand doing great execution. A breach was at last effected by Lieutenant Wilson, who procured a six-pounder, and fired ten rounds of grape within 60 yards of the wall. The gun was then brought to bear within ten yards' distance, and three more rounds of grape, and a shell were fired.

The capture of the town was speedily effected, numbers of the enemy endeavoring to escape towards the mountains; but were intercepted by Captains Slack and St. Vrain, who killed 51 of them. In order to obtain terms, they gave up to us the Indians who had been concerned in the murder of Governor Brent, and much property belonging to the Americans whom they had murdered.

On the 19th of January the people of the town of Moro, on the side of the mountains, had risen and murdered eight Americans residing there. Captain Henley being in the vicinity, attempted to take the town, but was repulsed, and lost his life. Captain Morin reinforced the assailants, and took and burned the town. The Indians sued for peace, and gave up those who had excited them to rebellion. Many of those who had borne an active part, were tried and convicted, and promptly executed. Colonel Price was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general for his zeal and bravery.

Hostilities were kept up for some time by the Camanche, Arapaho, and Kiawa tribes of Indians, with others inhabiting the country from Missouri to Santa Fé and California. Colonel Gilpin, with a battalion of troops, was ordered to the scene of these operations, and by his skill and bravery succeeded in restoring quiet, and now the Santa Fé trader and the government trains pass unmolested.

When the movements of the Mexicans against General Taylor on the Rio Grande rendered war between the United States and Mexico inevitable, General Scott submitted a plan of operations to government, having for its basis a vigorous prosecution of hostilities. This was rejected by the war department. The general then requested permission to join Taylor with large reinforcements, and be ready for an advance on the enemy's capital at a moment's warning. This was also disapproved, and Scott was obliged to remain inactive at Washington, until November, 1846, when he received authority from Secretary Marcy to organize a force independent of that under General Taylor, and proceed with it to the Gulf coast. In obedience to this order, he reached Rio Grande on the 1st of January, and immediately commenced preparations for the siege of Vera Cruz. On the 9th, the troops, numbering eleven thousand, were landed on the wide beach near the city. "A more stirring spectacle," says an eye-witness, "has probably never been witnessed in America. In the first line there were no less than seventy heavy surf-boats, containing nearly four thousand regulars, all of whom expected to meet the enemy before they reached the shore. Yet every man was anxious to be first, and plunged into the water waist-deep. When they reached the shore, the stars and stripes were instantly floating, a rush was made for the sand-hills, the troops pressing onward amid loud shouts. Three long and loud cheers rose from their comrades still on board, awaiting to be disembarked, and meanwhile the tops and every portion of the foreign vessels were crowded with spectators of the scene.

On the 22d, after summoning the city to surrender, General Scott opened his batteries, and the bombardment was commenced in regular form. The details present scenes of the most thrilling interest of individual heroism and intense suffering. The enemy were superior in number to their assailants, and both city and castle were bristling with infantry. Yet while bombs and balls were falling around them as thick as a summer shower, the Americans labored at their trenches, erected batteries, and completed their investment. All night, while the terrible drama went on, fiery streams, carrying winged messengers of death, traversed the air, shattering the flinty rocks like chaff, or crushing through walls and houses into the streets of Vera Cruz. Houses and battlements shook with the explosions, while the heaving Gulf tossed and lashed as though participating in the fearful uproar. Sweeping up and down, between the fires of both armies, the tall form of General Scott thrilled each soldier as it had done a former army, near the roar of Niagara: while here and there the American officers stood upon their guns, and watched the flaming fires, as they drove into the city. Rows of buildings were heard crashing in the streets, while wailings of death from thousands of voices told of the fearful consequences. Then the stern old castle would vomit forth its discharges, the balls plunging and hissing in the water, or rattling like fallen meteors along the shore.

Such was the scene during the night of the 22d. On the following day, one of those terrific storms, denominated northers, set in, and a suspension of hostilities became necessary. The ocean dashed and roared along the shore, so as to render any communication with the fleet impossible; while showers of sand filled the trenches of the Americans as soon as opened, blinding the laborers, and scattering their materials. This subsided during the night, and on the following day the bombardment recommenced with increased spirit,—several new batteries having been opened in the morning. The heaviest walls crumbled before the iron bolts that were hurled against them, while scores of men, women, and little children were engulfed under their ruins. The terrified, shrieking masses flew from station to station, as one after another became untenable, until at length no place was secure. Heavy bombs, loaded with powder and small shot, fell and exploded among dense groups, crushing and mangling hundreds.

At length the citizens crowded to General Morales, and demanded the opening of a negotiation for the surrender of the city, if not the castle. This was refused, and though clamor and anarchy were loud against him, the general kept his soldiers to their posts, and announced his resolution to die rather than surrender. Then despair, tumult, discord ran wild through the city. Morales was deposed, and General Landero appointed in his place. Negotiations for capitulation immediately ensued, and on the 29th, the garrison marched from both city and castle, laid down their arms, and departed to the interior. The Mexican flag was hauled down, and as the American one ran up, it was saluted by the guns of San Juan de Ulloa and the fleet. The Mexican army was dismissed on condition of not again serving in the war, unless exchanged. The officers and soldiers retained their side arms and all private effects. The public stores and military property, with both city and castle, were yielded to the United States.

This siege will ever be remarkable for the great strength of the place attacked, the vigor of the besiegers, and their comparatively insignificant loss. Two officers were killed, and a few soldiers. The number of killed and wounded among the Mexicans is unknown, but was no doubt very great.

After refreshing his men for about two weeks, General Scott advanced (8th April) towards the capital. On the 19th he arrived at the Sierra Gordo, where General Santa Anna had stationed himself with eleven thousand men. The Sierra is a strong pass, situated among lofty rocks, and entirely controlling the road toward the interior. The Mexican General had fortified it so carefully that it was considered impregnable, except in front. Further along the road was another hill similarly fortified, and defended by General La Vega, with three thousand men. Besides these principal works, batteries were placed at different points on the road, so as to sweep directly across it. In front of these stations was the Rio de la Plan, a small stream between deep rugged banks. The road itself was broken up by gorges, hills and ravines. Such was the position which, although defended by eleven thousand men, General Scott was about to storm with eight thousand.

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this battle, was the scientific accuracy with which its every vicissitude, with one exception, was foretold by the American general's order, (No. 111), which, although written on the 17th day of April, is an exact narration of every part of the action, except that relating to General Pillow.

Undoubtedly an attempt to carry Sierra Gordo

by an attack in front, leading the troops three quarters of a mile in the face of the enemy's batteries, would have been rashness. The American general, therefore, opened a new road in the rear of the hill, and favorable to an immediate passage to the Jalapa road, should the fort be carried. This labor was effected on the afternoon of the 17th, during which time some of the American troops became engaged in a skirmish with the Mexicans and carried a small advanced redoubt. During the night the troops were engaged in lifting the cannon up the steep rocks and preparing for the assault of the following day. For eight hours they thus toiled, although previously worn down by long marches, want of rest, and heavy labor.

At daylight on the 18th, General Twiggs moved to the attack upon Sierra Gordo. The struggle was fierce but short. Mexico's feeble sons shrunk convulsively before American valor, and Sierra Gordo was won.

Meanwhile General Shields with his volunteers attacked the redoubt in front. Emulating the example of their comrades under Twiggs, the troops rushed on under a most galling fire, without pausing for a moment. Their general fell by a ball through the lungs, but the fort was carried at the point of the bayonet. The division then hastened to the Jalapa road to intercept the flight of the enemy.

Pillow was unsuccessful; but he kept General La Vega engaged until the fall of Sierra Gordo, and finally assisted in capturing him.

On the enemy's side all was now flight and confusion. That vast army which in the morning had appeared utterly impregnable, was broken, scattered, annihilated. Generals Santa Anna, Canalizo, and others, fled through a narrow pass to Puebla. Three thousand troops, five generals, forty-three pieces of brass artillery, and an immense quantity of small arms and military stores, were the rewards of victory.

The total loss of the Americans was about two hundred and fifty, that of the Mexicans exclusive of prisoners and deserters, about one hundred more.

Within less than a month after this battle, the towns of Jalapa, Perote, and Puebla, fell into the hands of the Americans. The army remained at the latter place until the 8th of August, when it resumed its advance toward the capital. After passing round Lake Chalco, by an unfrequented road, in order to avoid the strong fortress of El Penon, the troops entered San Augustine (August 18th), a village twelve miles south of the city.

On the afternoon of the following day, a reconnoissance of the fortress of San Antonio took place, during which Capt. Thornton was killed, but a heavy rain rendered an attack upon it that evening impracticable. The troops bivouacked on the open plain, without tents or blankets, and exposed to a drenching rain.

At one o'clock P. M., on the 19th, Generals Twiggs and Pillow, assisted by Generals P. F. Smith and Cadwalader, attacked the fortification of Contreras, defended by thousands of Mexicans with twenty-two pieces of cannon. The assault upon this place was continued for six hours, during which one incessant cannonade shook the ground for miles around. At the same time, a large body of Mexican cavalry appeared in the rear of the fort, as though preparing for a charge. About this time General Scott arrived, and perceiving the great force of the enemy, ordered up General Shields to assist Cadwalader and Colonel Riley in watching the lancers, and also reinforced Generals Smith and Pillow. But the Mexicans were not dismayed. One wide peal of artillery burst from their heavy guns, and the fort was hid from view by fire and smoke. Companies diminished fearfully before their plunging vollies; and a position which General Smith had assumed with his artillery was before night abandoned. Each effort of the assailants was met in mid career and foiled. The troops finally paused, night fell on the fearful struggle, and still Contreras was not gained. Weary and disappointed, they sank down amid the rocks and gorges of the battle-field. The commander retired to San Augustine. At intervals during the whole night, rain fell in torrents, completely drenching the troops, and preventing them from building fires.

Before daylight on the 20th, the commander, accompanied by General Worth, set out for Contreras, for the purpose of making a combined attack upon the fortress. The roar of cannon, with rapid discharges of musketry and rifles soon assured him that the attack had already begun. Still he hastened forward, until a single horseman was seen spurring along the rugged plain with furious haste. It was Colonel Mason, the bearer of glorious tidings. Contreras had been taken by General Smith. The intrepid Riley had led the van through a long rugged gorge, marched directly up to the fort and carried it at the point of the bayonet. Several hundred of the enemy were killed, thirteen hundred taken prisoners, including Generals Blanco, Salas, Garcia, and Mendoza, and a large amount of stores, with twenty-two field pieces captured. The enemy fled toward San Pablo and Churubusco rapidly pursued by the Americans; while at the same time General Worth moved upon San Antonio. This was speedily abandoned by the garrison, who retired to Churubusco.

The enemy now concentrated their troops in the fortification of Churubusco, which had been constructed in the short space of thirty-eight hours. The cathedral and other buildings near the fort were scaffolded for infantry, and every roof was lined with armed men. All the stores and artillery saved from Contreras, San Pablo, San Antonio, and San Augustine, together with a large quantity from the city, were here collected.

This place was attacked by General Worth, with the flower of the American army. The thick growth of vegetation covering the hill on which the redoubt was built, embarrassed for a short time the operations of the Americans, and exposed them to considerable loss. But this difficulty being surmounted, they advanced steadily toward their object, and carried it in a very short time. The enemy threw down their arms, and fled by thousands toward the city, while the Americans led by Worth, drove on in hurried pursuit. Many of the enemy were killed in the flight, and the whole road was strewn with arms and clothing thrown away by the fugitives. The pursuit continued until the Mexicans were within the city.

"After so many victories," says General Scott, "we might, with but little additional loss, have occupied the capital the same evening. But Mr. Trist, commissioner, etc., as well as myself, had been admonished by the best friends of peace—intelligent neutrals, and some American residents—against precipitation; lest by wantonly driving away the government and others dishonored, we might scatter the elements of peace, excite a spirit of national desperation, and thus indefinitely postpone the hope of accommodation. Deeply impressed with this danger, and remembering our mission—to conquer a peace—the army very cheerfully sacrificed to patriotism, to the great wish and want of our country, the *eclat* which would have followed an entrance sword in hand into a great capital. Willing to leave something to this republic of no immediate value to us, on which to rest her pride and to recover temper, I halted our victorious corps at the gates of the city (at least for a time), and have them now cantoned in the neighbouring villages, where they are well sheltered and supplied with all necessaries.

"On the morning of the 21st, being about to take up battering or assaulting positions, to authorize me to summon the city to surrender, or to sign an armistice with a pledge to enter at once into negotiations for a peace, a mission came out to propose a truce. Rejecting its terms, I despatched my contemplated note to President Santa Anna, omitting the summons. The 22d, commissioners were appointed by the commanders of the armies; the armistice was signed the 23d, and ratifications were exchanged the 24th."

"The first article of the armistice stipulated that hostilities shall instantly and absolutely cease, between the armies of the United States of America, and the United Mexican States, within thirty leagues of the capital of the latter states, to allow time to the commissioners appointed by the United States, and the commissioners to be appointed by the Mexican Republic, to negotiate. The armistice shall continue as long as the commissioners of the two governments may be engaged on negotiations, or until the commander of either of the said armies shall give formal notice to the other of the cessation of the armistice for forty-eight hours after such notice."

Negotiations then commenced between Mr. Trist, the American plenipotentiary, and the authorities of Mexico, but the hopes of the friends of peace were destined to be disappointed. The Mexicans made demands which were considered inadmissible. All efforts of compromise were ineffectual, and on the 6th of September, the ultimatum offered by Mr. Trist on the 2d was rejected, and the negotiations closed. On the same day, General Scott wrote to the Mexican commander, charging him with the violation of the armistice, by refusing the passage of supplies from the capital to the American army, and threatening the recommencement of hostilities, in case satisfaction was not given. Santa Anna replied in a similar strain, expressing his astonishment at the reception of such a charge, and accusing the Americans of intercepting the communications with the capital, and of committing outrages upon peaceable citizens. He intimated his perfect willingness for another appeal to arms, with a determination to use every effort to repel invasion.

The armistice being terminated, General Worth was sent (September 8th) to attack the Molinos del Rey, a strongly fortified station in front of Chepultepec. When the Americans were near the works, the enemy opened upon them a heavy fire, which mowed down whole companies. For a moment the advance wavered, but the reserve led by Cadwalader swept to their van, restored order, and continued the march. At this critical moment four thousand lancers, taking advantage of the temporary confusion, came towering down, their long pennants gleaming in the sun, and their spears set for a charge. Col. Duncan opened two pieces of his battery upon them, followed immediately after by Capt. Drum, while Major Sumner with two squadrons of dragoons, and Capt. Ruff's company of mounted rifles, passing rapidly down under fire from the enemy's works, charged the head of their column. Under the rapid discharges of artillery their crowded ranks melted powerless away, and in a few minutes the whole force was flying in confusion. Twice they turned and rallied, but were finally scattered before the superior prowess of our artillerists.

The Americans then united against the fortification, which, after a vigorous struggle, was carried. Seven pieces of artillery, a large quantity of ammunition, small arms, etc., with about six hundred prisoners, were the rewards of victory. But to win these, some of the best officers in the army had been sacrificed, and but two of their whole number escaped, having their horses killed under them. So terrible was the fire of the enemy, that while our cavalry were passing in front of the fort to charge the column of lancers —a space of time not greater than ten seconds—

they sustained a loss of six officers wounded, thirty-two privates killed and wounded, and one hundred and five horses. The total loss in killed and wounded was seven hundred and eighty-nine. On the 11th a column of cavalry sallied from the fort on the San Antonia road, for the purpose of capturing Capt. Magruder's battery, which was stationed with the picket within about eight hundred yards of the enemy. When within fair range, the captain opened upon them with shot and shell, driving them back to the fort in some confusion. The enemy then directed their fire upon the battery, but with no other effect than killing one man.

About sundown General Twiggs, with the balance of his division, arrived at Piedad, and General Pillow, with his command, moved to the south of Tacubaya, and occupied a station west of Chepultepec; Quitman's troops were stationed on the road from Tacubaya to the city of Mexico. Worth remained in Tacubaya.

At daylight on the 12th all the batteries opened upon Chepultepec. When Capt. Steptoe, of Twiggs' division, commenced his fire, several heavy columns of the enemy left their position and came within cannon range. They were driven back with loss. The captain then turned his attention to a fort fronting Chepultepec, and after an hour's cannonading drove the enemy from it, and silenced their guns. All day the siege batteries continued their heavy fire upon the castle, riddling its buildings and sweeping its defenders from the heights. As they fell, the fierce survivors, forgetting the ties of humanity in the uproar of battle, tore them from the works, threw them into wells and ditches, and went on with their terrible work.

On the following day General Scott selected the divisions of Worth and Twiggs, the flower of his army, to storm the fortress. When they began their march, the heavy batteries on both sides were opened, and the strongest companies dwindled away to a scattered remnant. Hour after hour did three thousand troops wrestle with four times their number, stationed behind almost impregnable works. But they were toiling for the City of Mexico, the far-famed halls of Montezuma. The star of victory still beamed on American valor, while the remembrance of Cerro Gorda, Contreras and Churubusco, brooding over the sons of Mexico, withered all hope or effort—Chepultepec fell.

"About four o'clock next morning," says General Scott, "(September 14th), a deputation of the ayuntamiento (city council) waited on me to report that the federal government and the army of Mexico had fled from the capital some three hours before; and to demand terms of capitulation in favor of the church, the citizens and the municipal authorities. I promptly replied that I would sign no capitulation; that the city had been virtually in our possession from the time of the lodgments effected by Worth and Quitman, the day before; that I regretted the silent escape of the Mexican army, that I should levy upon the city a moderate contribution for special purposes; and that the American army should come under no terms not self-imposed—such only as its honor, the dignity of the United States, and the spirit of the age, should, in my opinion, imperiously demand and impose."

About daylight, Generals Worth and Quitman were ordered to enter the city. Quitman proceeded to the grand plaza, and raised the United States flag on the national palace. General Scott and the whole army followed soon after, taking possession of the city with much pomp.

The flying government had released about two thousand convicts from the public prisons, and throughout that and the following day, they continued to fire from the windows and tops of the houses upon the American troops, killing some and wounding many. At first the artillery was tried on them, but owing to their concealed position it was not effective. The rifle regiment and some of the infantry were then sent in pursuit, and the evil was soon arrested.

The loss of the Americans in this assault was very severe. Generals Pillow and Shields were each wounded, together with other valuable officers. The total loss in the valley of Mexico from the 19th of April until the time of taking the city, was two thousand seven hundred and three men, of whom three hundred and eighty-three were officers. Their achievements equal in magnitude any operations of American history. They utterly dispersed an army of thirty thousand men, taking a number of prisoners equal to themselves; seized seventy pieces of artillery, stormed San Antonia, San Pueblo, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino and Chepultepec, and entered the capital in triumph.

General Scott proclaimed martial law in Mexico, but permitted the people to continue their usual business avocations. All excesses of the soldiers were rigidly punished, while at the same time the citizens and their soldiery were taught that they could not insult the American character with impunity.

The city of Puebla was besieged by Santa Anna. The garrison, under the command of Colonel Childs, was small, and encumbered with 1800 sick. Childs was summoned to surrender, and on his declining, the firing of the Mexicans was renewed with increased energy, the garrison enduring the greatest privations, and being nearly worn out with their exertions. But they nobly maintained themselves, and after various instances of bravery and devotion, Santa Anna withdrew, in order to oppose the march of General Lane, from Vera Cruz, with reinforcements. The bombardment of the town was continued until the worn-out garrison were relieved by General Lane. The siege lasted 40 days, and was the longest military operation of the war.

Rumors of the enemy's designs on Puebla had reached Vera Cruz, in the latter part of September, and General Lane was dispatched with a considerable force, for the interior. He had some hard fighting on the road. He came upon a company of guerrillas at the hacienda of Santa Anna, near the San Juan river, and sent Captain Lewis's company of mounted volunteers, in pursuit, who, with a portion under Lieutenant Lilly, succeeded in overtaking them, and after a short skirmish, drove them from their position. The whole force now proceeded, until it reached Paso de Orejas, where the rear guard was fired upon by a small guerrilla force, and Lieutenant Cline, a gallant young officer, killed.

The march was a very fatiguing one to the troops, on account of the heat of the weather, and the bad state of the road. Great difficulty was experienced with the artillery, the road being obstructed by ravines, passes, and other obstacles. In the mean time rumors were constantly being received, concerning a large Mexican force concentrating between Perote and Puebla. On arriving at the former place, General Lane learned that they numbered 4,000 men, with six pieces of artillery, and were commanded by Santa Anna in person. From his spies, he learned that the enemy were at Huamantla, a city but a few miles distant. Thither he determined to march, and if possible, give them battle.

To execute this as quickly as possible, the general left his train at the hacienda of San Antonio Tamario in charge of Colonel Brough's regiment of Ohio volunteers, Captain Simmons' battalion, and a battery under Lieutenant Pratt, and moved forward with the rest of his command. On the 9th of October they came within sight of the city, after as rapid a march as the nature of the ground would permit. A halt was made, and the advance guard of horsemen, under Captain Walker, ordered to move forward as far as the entrance of the city, but not to enter if the enemy were in force until the arrival of the infantry. When within three miles of the city, parties of horsemen were observed riding over the fields, in the direction of the city, and Walker, lest he should be anticipated, put his men to a gallop. General Lane anxiously watched his progress, until his movements were concealed by a hedge of thick maguay bushes, on either side of the road. In a few minutes firing was heard from the city, and a body of 2,000 lancers were seen hurrying over the neighboring hills, and General Lane ordered Colonel Gorman to advance with his regiment, and enter Huamantla from the west, while Colonel Wynkoop moved towards the east.

On his arrival at the entrance of the city, Captain Walker discovered 500 of the enemy drawn up in the plaza. Dashing into their midst with his handful of men, he engaged them hand to hand, and after a bloody conflict, succeeded in driving them away, and capturing three of their guns. A vigorous pursuit was now commenced, in which Colonel La Vega, the brother of General La Vega, and Major Iturbide, a son of the unfortunate Emperor of Mexico, were captured by Lieutenant Anderson of the Georgia volunteers, he narrowly escaping with his life.

Walker's men imprudently dispersed, after pursuing the enemy some distance, and returned to the square in small parties. This was in consequence of a belief that the enemy's whole force was routed. A company of lancers suddenly charged upon the plaza, and separated the Americans into bodies. A desperate fight now took place, in which the Mexicans behaved with unwonted gallantry; but Walker, by skilful manœuvring, succeeded in uniting his forces, and dismounted his command in the convent yard. Here another action took place, in which the lancers were assisted by both artillery and infantry. Captain Walker, while directing the movements of his little band, fell mortally wounded, and soon after expired. The enemy were finally driven back. The death of Captain Walker was sincerely lamented all over the United States; as he was widely known as one of the best officers in the service.

In the mean time, the main body of the American forces arrived at the city, and opened their fire upon masses of the enemy. The Mexicans fled, leaving 150 dead upon the field, while the loss of the Americans was thirteen killed, and eleven wounded.

General Lane now marched to the relief of Colonel Childs, and remained with his whole force at Puebla, until the 18th of October, when he received information that the Mexican General, Rea, was at Atlixco, 30 miles distant. Lane, after a forced march of five hours, came in sight of the enemy's advance guard, near Santa Isabella. A halt was now made until the cavalry could come up from their examination of a neighboring hacienda. A straggling fire was opened by small parties of the enemy, from the foot of a neighboring hill, which, however, did no execution. On the arrival of the cavalry, General Lane put his whole force in motion; but as the Mexicans appeared to be confused, the cavalry were ordered to charge the enemy, and keep them engaged, until the infantry could come up. The action was continued, until the infantry arrived by a forced march, when the foe fled, pursued by the cavalry. A running fight was kept up, until within less than two miles of Atlixco, when the enemy's main body was observed to be posted on the side of a hill, behind rows of chaporal hedges. The cavalry dashed into their midst without stopping to ascertain their numbers, and forced them within the thickest part of their shelter. Then dismounting, the assailants entered the chaporal, hand to hand with their foe. The struggle, which was long and terrible, scores of the enemy falling beneath the heavy blows of the Americans, lasted until the infantry came up, who for the last six miles had been using their ut-

most endeavours to join the cavalry. It was impossible for the artillery to advance at a faster pace than a walk, the road being intercepted by numerous gullies; and so worn out were the cavalry by their exertions, and the intense heat, that they could pursue the enemy no farther. The column continued, however, to approach the town, and reach a hill overlooking it, just as night set in. Lane was enabled to continue his operations with perfect certainty, however, for the moon shone brightly, and afforded a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

General Lane did not deem it prudent to risk a street fight, at night in an unknown town; he therefore posted his artillery on a hill overlooking the town, and ordered them to open their fire upon it. This was speedily put into execution, and every gun was fired with the utmost rapidity. This was continued for upwards of an hour, with great effect; the gunners being enabled, by the light afforded by the moon, to direct their shot into the most populous parts of the city.

Finding that the firing from the town had ceased, Lane, wishing to obtain its surrender, ordered Major Lilly and Colonel Brough to advance cautiously with their commands into the town. On their entering, the general was met by the city council, who desired that their town might be spared. Quiet being restored, Lane, on the following morning, commenced his return to Puebla.

He learned that two pieces of artillery had just been finished at Guerocingo; he resolved on destroying them, and proceeding to the town with 450 men, commenced a thorough search. The pieces had been removed, but their carriages were found, and destroyed. A party of the enemy were observed in the vicinity; but on the approach of the troops, they precipitately retreated. The next morning, Lane entered Puebla, without further accident.

Captain Lavellette, with a portion of the American squadron, consisting of the frigate Congress, the sloop of war Portsmouth, and the brig Argo, entered the port of Guaymas, a small town of the Gulf coast, about the same time that the battle of Atlixco was fought (October 15–16).—On the 18th, the Argo anchored between the islands of Almagre Grande and Almagre Chico, placing a mortar on each. The other vessels had already taken their stations. Mr. William Robinson was dispatched with a flag of truce to the governor, and the object of the Americans was explained, and he (the governor) was advised to surrender. This he refused to do, and Mr. Robinson returned to the Argo.

The Congress and Portsmouth, arranged themselves in a position for attack, on the 19th, and a summons was again sent for the Mexicans to surrender; but they declined answering, until nightfall. Then, the commandant took up a position, three miles distant, having previously placed there a battery of fourteen guns, to resist the Americans, should they attempt to penetrate the interior. The bombardment of the town was commenced on the 20th, at six in the morning, and was continued for more than an hour; five hundred shells and shot being thrown into the town, killing one English resident, and destroying several houses. The garrison having abandoned the town, the citizens announced their entire willingness to listen to terms, when a party of American sailors and marines, landed and ran up the national flag on a fort, defending the Casa Blanca hill. A proclamation was issued about the same time, by Lavellette, claiming the town, and ordering the surrender of all the public property in the name of the United States. A civil and military police were established, and the Mexican authorities invited to continue in office, the church property being placed under American protection, and the customary order of business ordered to be resumed. Mr. Robinson was made collector of the port.

The port of Mazatlan was captured about the same time, by another portion of the squadron. General Lane followed up his victory at Atlixco and Huamantla, by a successful attack upon Matamoras, where he defeated a party of Mexican lancers; and measures were taken by Lane to hinder his being disturbed by them in future.

Events, that tended to cast a shade over the proud enthusiasm of the officers, who had so heroically followed their leader to the conquest of the famed city of the Montezuma, occurred in the month of November, in Mexico. By an article in the military code, "private letters or reports, relative to military marches and operations," being "frequently mischievous in design, and always disgraceful to the army," are strictly forbidden; "and any officer found guilty of making such report for publication, without special permission, or of placing the writing beyond his control, so that it finds its way to the press, within one month after the termination of the campaign to which it relates, shall be dismissed from the service." It appears that some time after the victories of the 19th and 20th of August, the Pittsburgh Post published extracts from private letters, dated, "Tacubaya, Mexico, August 24th, 1847," purporting to give an original account of the battles of Contreras and Churubusco. This letter was, by some means, copied by a Tampico paper, and fell into the hands of the general-in-chief, who issued an order, denouncing the letters as despicable and scandalous, and intimating the general's surmisings of their authors. A card was published the following day in one of the leading Mexican papers, by Lieutenant Colonel Duncan, stating his connection with the Pittsburg letter, and using all the means in his power to exculpate the Generals suspected by the commander, from all blame.

He and General Worth were the same day placed under arrest; and General Pillow was subsequently arrested for contempt of his superior. The general-in-chief himself was arrested by order of the government, on specified charges preferred in part as an appeal by General Worth, and a court-martial ordered to try him, along with the other officers, Major-General Butler being appointed to the command of the army.

General Towson, paymaster-general, was appointed president of the court. The other members, first named by President Polk, were Brigadier-General Caleb Cushing, and Colonel E. G. W. Butler. Lieutenant Hammond was named as chief advocate. Subsequently Colonel Butler was relieved, and Brevet Colonel Belknap appointed in his place.

Captain S. C. Ridgely also succeeded Lieutenant Hammond, as judge advocate and recorder. The first place of meeting was Perote, but it was subsequently changed to Puebla, where they met on the 18th of February, 1848; and after a lengthy session, removed to Fredricktown, Maryland. All the officers accused were present, and the case occupied the court until the close of the war. The proceedings were published daily, both in the United States and Mexico, and excited a universal feeling of regret, that the men who had behaved themselves so nobly through all the various scenes of a two years' war, should at its close be so involved in difficulty.

General Twiggs had been ordered, after the fall of the capital, to Jalapa, to organize a train for the main army, and keep in check the neighbouring guerrillas. He left that city on the 19th of November, and marched for Mexico, where he was also joined by General Butler, with a train and supplies.

During the campaign that followed General Scott's march from Puebla, General Patterson had been stationed at Vera Cruz, using all his endeavours to keep the communication with the army open, and chastise the guerrillas, who swarmed in that vicinity. These roving bands were aided and abetted by a priest named Padre Iarauta, who abandoning his sacerdotal duties, or rather combining them with those of the soldier, had thrown the whole weight of his influence against the friends of peace. They were a cause of greater trouble to the Americans than Santa Anna's army. Their depredations were numerous, and of the most daring character. To their partial success, may be attributed the obstinacy of the Mexicans, in refusing to listen to terms of peace.

In the fall of 1847, General Patterson left Vera Cruz (after intrusting the command of that city to Colonel Wilson), with a large train, and advanced by easy marches to Jalapa. He started from Jalapa on the 25th of November, en route for the capital; but before leaving, hung two American teamsters for the murder of a Mexican boy, and on the following day shot two Mexican officers, Garcia and Alcade, for violation of parole. This caused a great excitement, and insurrection seemed to be inevitable, but was suppressed, and Patterson commenced his journey, and reached the city of Mexico, on the 6th of December.

A number of guerrillas, under an officer named Mijares, attacked a body of Americans about the middle of December, and were repulsed with considerable loss, their leader being among the number. Another engagement, similar in its character, further to the north, also resulted in victory to the American arms. An expedition was sent to Cholula, on the night of the 21st, to apprehend some American officers. A fight took place, in which three of the enemy were killed and three wounded.

The Mexican general, Valencia, was captured by a party especially organized for that purpose, early in January. The following are the particulars:—

"Colonel F. M. Wynkoop, of the 1st Pennsylvania volunteers, having learned by a Mexican friend, that Padre Iarauta and General Rea were at Tlalnepanatla, about five leagues from the city of Mexico, applied to General Scott for permission to take 20 men and capture them. Permission being granted, the colonel set off on the 1st January, with 38 Texan Rangers under command of Lieutenants Daggerts, Burkes, and Jones. Upon arriving at, and charging Tlalnepanatla, and finding no one there, they learned that Rea and Iarauta had left for Toluco, a few hours previous to our arrival. Colonel Wynkoop here learned that General Valencia and his staff were at a hacienda some six leagues distant. He immediately set off with his party, and arrived at the hacienda, which he surrounded. Admittance into the house was demanded by the party, but for a time refused, when Colonel Siba, a wounded Mexican officer on parole, opened the door, and assured Colonel Wynkoop that General Valencia had departed that day for Toluco; but this not being credited, lights were demanded to search the building. Colonel Siba then proposed to deliver General Valencia the next day, if the party would leave. To this the colonel would not assent, but proposed to send an officer and eight men with him to await their return. This proposition completely disconcerted Colonel Siba, thus convincing Colonel Wynkoop that Valencia was really in the house. Search was accordingly made, but he could not be found. The colonel then declared that he would not leave the hacienda without him; that if Valencia would give himself up, he would be perfectly safe, but that he could not answer for his life should he attempt an escape. At this moment a person stepped up and said, "I am Valencia." He then said that it was against the usages of civilized warfare to attack a man in the peace and quiet of his family in the dead hour of the night. The colonel answered that it was the only way he could be captured. Colonel Arrera was taken in the same hacienda on that night."

Another capture of officers took place, about a week after, in the neighbourhood of Santa Fé. About 50 guerrillas, under Colonel Zenobia, were charged and dispersed by Colonel Dominguez, after which the latter proceeded to the plains of Salva, where he received a communication from the neighbouring haciendas, requesting his assistance in liberating the inhabitants from the tyranny of General Torrejin. After a short skirmish, on the 6th of December, Dominguez succeeded in dispersing the Mexican party, capturing Generals Torrejin, Minon, Guana, 50 cavalry, and two deserters. The Mexican general had 150 men, being on his way to join some forces at San Andres, and proceed thence to Orizaba. The force of the Americans amounted to 70 men.

The guerrillas now became more daring and revengeful. About the 1st of January a large train of wagons, carrying a large amount of specie, set out for the interior under the direction of Colonel Miles. The rear portion of the train was unable to leave until the morning of the 4th. The pack mules became very much scattered, in moving over the heavy sand, and Lieutenant Walker, with a party of mounted riflemen, were thrown seven miles behind the main body of the wagon-train. A party of guerrillas captured some of the packs, and information conveyed to Lieutenant Walker, moved towards Santa Fé, and found the enemy drawn up in battle array. A charge was ordered, when the guerrillas scattered in all directions, and opened a heavy fire upon the lieutenant's little company. All communication with the main party being thus cut off, Walker sent to Vera Cruz for assistance. He lost five men killed and five wounded. The Mexicans captured 300 pack mules, and about $100,000 in specie.

Colonel Hays, with 100 rangers and a few Illinois volunteers, reached Teotihuacem, twelve leagues north-east of Mexico, in pursuit of Iarauta. Here he was attacked by a party of guerrillas under the padre himself. A severe battle ensued, in which the Americans lost eight men. The padre is said to have been slightly wounded, and one of his men made prisoner.

Serma, Toluco, and Pachuca, were occupied by different portions of the American army under General Cadwallader, about this time; and Orizaba was also taken by a detachment of 500 cavalry under General Lane.

A train of 2,000 wagons left Mexico on the 14th of January, escorted by a detachment under Major Cadwallader, and although great efforts were made to capture them by the guerrillas, they arrived safely at Vera Cruz.

Colonel Childs in the same month intercepted letters, which disclosed a plot hatched by General Rea, at Puebla, to murder Don Raphael Isunza, the Mexican governor, and such of the inhabitants as were in favor of a peace with the United States. The object appeared to be to abolish the existing government, and proclaim Rea dictator. Measures were taken by Colonel Childs to prevent this plot from being carried into execution, and a proclamation issued, warning all spies to leave the city, and making it a penal offence for any of the inhabitants to hold communication with the guerrillas. No attempt was made to carry the plot into execution.

Two large trains left Vera Cruz, one for Orizaba, and the other for the city of Mexico, on the 7th of February, escorted by 1,600 men under Colonel Bankhead, who, since the 16th of December, had been civil and military governor of Vera Cruz. Although keenly watched by the guerrillas, they arrived safely at their destination. General Scott had on the 12th of December, 1847, issued an order against the guerrillas, by which every American post established in New Mexico was authorized to push daily detachments as far as practicable on the roads, in order to protect them from the marauding parties. "No quarters," says the order, "will be given to known murderers or robbers, whether called guerrillas or rancheros, and whether serving under Mexican commissions or not. They are equally pests to unguarded Mexicans, foreigners, and small parties of Americans, and ought to be exterminated. Offenders of the above character, accidentally falling into the hands of American troops, will be momentarily held as prisoners, that is, not put to death without due solemnity. Accordingly they will be reported to commanding officers, who will, without delay, order a council of war for the summary trial of the offenders, under the known laws of war applicable to such cases.

"A council of war may consist of any number of officers not less than three nor more than thirteen, and may, for any flagrant violation of the laws of war, condemn to death, or to lashes, not exceeding fifty, on satisfactory proof that such prisoner, at the time of capture, actually belonged to any party or gang of known robbers, or murderers, or had actually committed murder or robbery upon any American officer or soldier, or follower of the American army."

Several guerrilla parties were broken up by the active operations called forth from different portions of General Scott's army. Still the roads continued to be infested with these marauding parties, and travellers or stragglers from the American army, to be murdered. Arrests were continually made and executions took place, until the close of the war.

The mission of Mr. Twist as negotiator with the Mexican government, did not end his fruitless attempts to obtain peace after the battles of Contreras and Churubusco. After repeated efforts by General Scott and himself to bring about the desired result, they at length met with success. General Scott in January, 1848, laid before the Mexican authorities, the basis of a treaty, similar to the one which had been rejected. They appointed Luis G. Cueras, Bernado Conto and Miguel Atristain, as commissioners; the United States being represented by Mr. Twist. The negotiations were opened at Guadaloupe Hidalgo, and after their respective powers were made known by the commissioners, they arranged and signed a "treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic." This treaty arrived in Washington in February, and was laid before the American Senate. It was agreed to with some amendments on the 10th of March. Mr. Sevier was, on the 14th, appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to present the treaty as amended, to the Mexican Congress, who, after a strong debate, ratified it. The news of peace was received by the great body of both nations with every manifestation of satisfaction.

The army left Vera Cruz by detachments, and the greater part arrived at New Orleans by the middle of June, 1848.

Intelligence of the discovery of gold in Upper California, which, by the treaty of peace, had been ceded to the United States, was received at Washington in the latter part of 1848. Colonel Mason, governor of the territory, in his official dispatch to the government, expressed the opinion that there was more gold in the region of the Sacramento and San Joachim Rivers, than would pay the cost of the Mexican War a hundred times over. The existence of the gold in the beds of the streams was discovered by Mr. Marshall, in May, 1848, while digging a mill race near Sutter's Fort, on the American fork of the Sacramento. The news spread rapidly, although the rumors were not generally believed, until the reception of Colonel Mason's despatch, resolved all doubts. Business and trades of all kinds, received a fresh impetus, and emigrants crowded every road to the gold region. San Francisco, the principal port of Alto California, became a large city, and its great harbour was filled with the vessels of all nations. Cities and towns sprung up as if by magic in the vicinity of the mines, and the prices of all kinds of merchandise rose to an enormous height, and there seemed to be but little prospect of a diminution. The aspect of the whole territory seemed changed, and from a poor grazing country, it became a commercial point to which the eyes of all the world were turned.

The Presidential election occurred in 1848. General Lewis Cass was nominated by the Democratic party for President, and General William O. Butler for Vice-President. The candidates of the Whig party were General Zachary Taylor, and Millard Fillmore of New York, for the same offices. There was another party formed, pledged to the prohibition of the extension of slavery, by congressional enactment and other reform measures. The candidates of this party were Martin Van Buren and Charles F. Adams. General Taylor and Millard Fillmore were successful—each receiving 160 votes in the electoral college.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION.

Having received the majority of votes, General Taylor entered upon the duties of his high office on the 4th of March, 1849. His inaugural address was remarkable for its brevity, but still lucid and eloquent. Jno. M. Clayton was appointed Secretary of State, and Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, was chosen to fill the office of a new department created during the Congressional session of 1848–9, to relieve the Secretaries of the State and Treasury departments of a portion of their arduous duties—denominated the Home Department. William M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

Congress assembled on the 1st Monday in December, 1849. In the Lower House, there was an administration majority, but an opposition majority in the Senate. The most of the appointments, made by the President, were, however, approved by that body. The message to Congress was short, but characteristic of the Chief Magistrate, and sufficiently indicated the moderate course he intended pursuing. The subject of slavery was introduced into every debate. The bills providing territorial governments for California and New Mexico were defeated.

John C. Calhoun issued an address to the people of the Southern States, complaining of various acts of aggression upon the rights of Southern slaveholding people, and exhorting them to make all the resistance in their power; and after the adjournment of Congress, a caucus of the southern members was held in Washington. The effect of this was, an increased excitement upon the subject of slavery.

The parties in the House of Representatives were equally balanced, on the assembling of Congress in December, 1850. A few "free soilers" had been elected in the Northern States, men pledged to oppose the extension of slavery; and these held the balance of power. The contest for the speakership continued six weeks, and Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was elected by a small majority.

The excitement did not end here. The subject of slavery was introduced into every debate. The people of California, wishing to establish a better form of government, met in convention and adopted a State Constitution; and slavery was for ever prohibited by the prefixed declaration of rights. Application was made for admission into the Union, but the clause relating to slavery was bitterly opposed by the Southern members of Congress. Other things conspired to feed the excitement. The government of Texas put forth a claim to the territory of New Mexico; the question of the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was agitated; and it soon became clear, that no business could be done in Congress until the subject was settled by compromise.

A Compromise Committee of thirteen, of which Henry Clay was chairman, was, on the motion of Mr. Foote, elected by ballot on the 19th of April. On the 6th of May, this committee, reported the "Omnibus Bill" to the Senate; the object of which was to restore harmony to the national councils, and calm the excitement of the public. It provided for the admission of California; giving territorial governments to New Mexico and Utah; paying Texas to relinquish her claim upon New Mexico; and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The discussion of this great measure drew forth a display of talent and statesmanship unsurpassed in the annals of the Republic. Able men were ranged on both sides of the question.

General Lopez with about 600 men, on board of the steamer Creole, destined to attempt to revolutionize Cuba, arrived off Yucatan about the middle of May. On the 19th they reached Cardenas, Cuba, where the men were disembarked, and after some skirmishing, the town surrendered. The invaders maintained possession during the day, and in the evening, after another slight skirmish, went on board of the Creole. After landing her men at Key West, the Creole was seized by the United States revenue officers. The expedition was pretty generally condemned by the people of the United States, and many distinguished persons, who were charged with aiding and abetting it, were arrested and brought to trial for a violation of the neutrality laws of their country, but discharged for want of evidence.

For upwards of two months, the discussion of the "Omnibus Bill" was continued, and the Senate seemed to be pretty generally divided upon the merits of the bill. Some of its provisions were generally acceptable; but their combination with other obnoxious measures was condemned. By successive amendments, the bill was reduced to the provision of a territorial government for Utah.

The sudden death of the President, while the public mind was occupied with the debates on the compromise measures, threw the nation into mourning. General Taylor expired on the 9th of July, after a short illness, at the age of 65 years. His last words were expressive of the character of his life. "I have endeavoured to do my duty," are words, which denote a man of that beautiful simplicity of character, which belongs only to the best of earth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

According to the requirements of the Constitution, Mr. Fillmore, the Vice-President, became President, and was inaugurated immediately after the death of General Taylor. The members of the Cabinet at once tendered their resignations, which were accepted, and a new Cabinet organized. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, was appointed Secretary of State, and the various other offices were filled by men, who were distinguished as Whigs, and in favor of the compromise measures. These measures having been brought forward separately, were not so strenuously opposed as before, and at length passed both Houses. This act occasioned great rejoicing by the friends of the Union, both North and South.

The policy of the administration of the new President could not be doubted, as he had long been identified with the Whig party. In his first annual message to Congress, the principles of Union, compromise, domestic protection, and foreign neutrality, were lucidly and forcibly recommended as necessary for the maintenance of the honor and safety of the country.

The foreign relations had, during General Taylor's administration, occupied a great share of the attention of the government. Difficulties had occurred with England France, Spain and Portugal, all of which had been satisfactorily settled. A treaty had been negotiated by Mr. Webster, with the British minister, by which a route across Nicaragua, in Central America, was opened to both nations.

An agent had been sent by the government of the United States, during the Hungarian struggle for independence, to ascertain the exact position of affairs, so that if the independence of Hungary could be maintained, its government might be recognized. A rich correspondence took place in December, 1850, concerning this agency, between Secretary Webster, and Chevalier Hulsemann, the Austrian minister to the United States. The reply of Mr. Webster, to the letter of the minister, was a noble vindication of the conduct of the government, and worthy the character of the age, and the peculiar position of America.

Another attempt was made in the spring of 1851, to revolutionize Cuba. Men and supplies were collected in several of the southern ports, and the government were soon informed, by the bustle of preparation, of what was afoot. A proclamation was issued by the President, declaring his intention to uphold the neutral laws, and warning those who violated them, that they would place themselves beyond the protection of the government. Nevertheless, the steamer Pampero, with more than 400 men on board, under command of General Lopez, sailed for Cuba, in August. The troops were landed at Bahia Honda; but none of the inhabitants joined them, as they had been taught to expect. Colonel Crittenden, with a small detachment, being left in charge of the baggage, while Lopez, with the main body, proceeded into the interior, was attacked by a greatly superior force of Spaniards, and after a desperate resistance, dispersed. Colonel Crittenden and 51 men, attempting to escape in boats, were captured, taken to Havana, and shot. General Lopez was, in the mean time, attacked by Spanish troops; at first he repulsed them with slaughter, but they were reinforced, and compelled the Americans to disperse. Most of them were killed or captured, General Lopez was taken, sent to Havana, and put to death by the *garotte*.

A national convention of the Democratic party assembled in Baltimore, in June, 1852. A series of resolutions were adopted, enbodying the principles of the party, and Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, nominated for the Presidency, and William R. King, of Alabama for Vice-President.

A convention of the Whig party assembled soon after in the same city, and after adopting a "platform" of principles proceeded to ballot for candidates for the highest offices in the gift of the American people. General Winfield Scott, of New Jersey, was nominated for President, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. The "compromise measures," were sanctioned in express terms, by both of these conventions.

A "free soil" convention was held at Pittsburgh, in August, and John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, were nominated for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. Other candidates were nominated in various sections of the Union.

At the election, held on the 23d of November, Franklin Pierce and William R. King were elected to the offices for which they were nominated.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Franklin Pierce was inaugurated President of the United States. His address was a shorter one than usual, and by its frankness attracted general attention. He declared his intention to carry out the compromise measures of 1850; and that they were to be cheerfully obeyed. He nominated William L. Marcy, of New York, for Secretary of State, James Guthrie, of Kentucky, for Secretary of the Treasury; Robert McClelland, of Michigan, Secretary of the Interior; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster General; and Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Attorney General. These appointments were confirmed by Congress in an extra session, convened on the 7th.

The debate of Congress on the affairs of Central America, which engaged their attention at the adjournment of their regular session, was continued from time to time without any result.

Soon after the inauguration of President Pierce, the diplomatic corps paid their respects in a formal visit, and congratulated him on his accession. The President replied in a short speech, reciprocating the expressions of national amity, and said that in the conduct of our relations he should of course "look, in the first instance, to what the interests and honor of the United States may require."

Congress met on the 5th of December, and the message of the President was submitted to that body on the 6th. It touched principally upon our relations with foreign countries, and financial matters, and concluded by anpouncing the death of the Vice-President, on the 18th of April.

On the 4th of January, a bill providing for the organization of Nebraska and Kansas territories was introduced by Mr. Douglas, and after considerable debate, passed both Houses.

A vote of thanks was passed by the House, to Captain Duncan N. Ingraham "for his judicious and gallant conduct on the 22d of July, in extending the protection of the American government to Martin Kosta, by rescuing him from forcible and illegal seizure and imprisonment on board the Austrian brig of war Hussar."

Resolutions were adopted, expressing the public thanks to the officers and others engaged in rescuing the survivors of the steamship San Francisco, wrecked off Charleston on the night of the 25th of December. The President was requested to procure three gold medals with suitable devices—one to be presented to Captain Creighton, of the ship Three Bells, of Glasgow; one to Captain Low, of the barque Kilby, of Boston; and one to Captain Stouffer, of the ship Antarctic, as testimonials of national gratitude for their gallant conduct in rescuing about five hundred Americans from the wreck of the steamship San Francisco; and $100,000 was appropriated to reward the officers and crews of the vessels that aided in the rescue.

The "Gadsden Treaty" with Mexico, as amended in the Senate, was accepted by Santa Anna. The first article, relating to the new boundary between the United States and Mexico, is as follows:

"The Mexican Republic agrees to designate the following as her true limits with the United States for the future: retaining the same dividing line between the two Californias as already defined, and established according to the 5th article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the limits between the two Republics shall be as follows: Beginning in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, as provided in the 5th article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; thence, as defined in the said article, up the middle of that river, to the point where the parallel of 31° 47′ north latitude crosses the same; thence due west one hundred miles; thence south to the parallel of 31° 20′ north latitude; thence along the said parallel of 31° 20′ to the 111th meridian of longitude west of Greenwich; thence in a straight line to a point on the Colorado river, twenty English miles below the junction of the

Gilas and Colorado rivers; thence up the middle of the said river Colorado, until it intersects the present line between the United States and Mexico."

A commissioner was appointed by each government to survey, and lay down this boundary, and their decision was to be final, and to be considered as a part of the treaty. The United States were released from the obligation, imposed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to protect the Mexican frontier against the Indians. In consideration for this release, and for the territory ceded by Mexico, the United States to pay $10,000,000, of which $7,000,000 was to be paid on the ratification of the treaty, and the remainder on the establishment of the boundary line—vessels and citizens of the United States were to have free passage through the Gulf of California, and along the Colorado River. The authorization of the construction of a plank road and railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec was confirmed, and neither government to throw any obstacles in the way of the free transit of persons and merchandise of both nations; no higher charges were to be made upon the transit of the persons and property of citizens of the United States, than upon those of other foreign nations; no interest in the road or in its proceeds to be transferred to any foreign government; and no passports or letters of security to be required of persons merely crossing the Isthmus. The United States were to have the right of transporting their mails across the Isthmus in closed bags free of all Custom-house or other charges by the Mexican government. Arrangements were made by which the United States are to transport troops and munitions of war by the road. When the road was completed, a port of entry was to be opened at or near its terminus in the Gulf of Mexico. The United States may extend to the road such protection as shall be warranted by public or international law.

After considerable debate in Congress, the bill making the appropriation of $10,000,000 requisite to carry into effect the stipulations of the treaty, was passed, by a vote of 102 to 63 in the House, and 34 to 6 in the Senate.

A treaty was negotiated between the United States and Great Britain, providing for commercial reciprocity, between this country and the British provinces. It provided that the fisheries of the provinces, with the exception of those of Newfoundland, shall be open to American citizens; that disputes respecting fisheries should be settled by arbitration; that the British should have a right to participate in the American fisheries as far as the 36th degree of north latitude; that there should be free commerce between the provinces and the United States in flour, breadstuffs, fruits, fish, animals, lumber, and a variety of natural productions in their unmanufactured state. The St. Lawrence and the Canadian canals were to be thrown open to American vessels; and the American government was to urge upon the States to admit British vessels into their canals upon similar terms. The treaty was to be submitted to the provincial legislatures of the British provinces, as well as to the governments of the two countries.

The Japan expedition was attended with exceedingly favourable results. A treaty of amity, preparatory to a commercial treaty, had been negotiated. This treaty was ratified by Congress. It contained two important stipulations, that two ports on different islands should be open to American vessels; that the steamers from California to China should be furnished with supplies of coals; and that sailors shipwrecked on the Japanese coasts, should receive hospitable treatment. The negotiations throughout were conducted in a very friendly spirit. The Russians also endeavoured to enter into a treaty, but the Japanese declared that their efforts had been unsuccessful. A treaty was also negotiated with Russia, and ratified by the Senate, guaranteeing the neutrality of the United States in the war of the Allied Powers of Europe with that country, and recognizing, as a doctrine of international law, the principle that free ships make free goods, and that the property of neutrals, unless contraband of war, shall be respected, even if found on board enemies' vessels. Several Indian treaties were also ratified, and Congress adjourned on the 7th of August.

Intelligence was received about this time, of the destruction of Greytown, on the Musquito Coast, by bombardment from a United States ship of war, under circumstances which gave the act a good deal of importance. Some months before, property was alleged to have been stolen from the Accessory Transit Company, and removed within the limits of San Juan, or Greytown. A demand for its restoration was made by the agent of the Company upon the authorities of the town, who replied that after a diligent inquiry they could obtain no trace of such property, nor any evidence that it had ever been brought within their jurisdiction. For this, the Company claimed damages to the amount of $16,000. In 1853, the Company hired of the authorities a site on Point Arenas, agreeing to vacate it when required to do so. The requisition was made in March, 1853, and refused by the Company, upon which the authorities proceeded to remove the building, which was a mere shed for temporary purposes. For this the Company claimed damages to the amount of $8,000.

In May, of the present year, a negro captain of a river boat was shot by Captain Smith, who commanded a steamer, plying on the river, who had previously had some difficulty with him. The general testimony, both of Americans, and others who witnessed the affair, was that it was a deliberate murder. A warrant was issued by the Mayor of San Juan, for Smith's arrest; but the officer who went on board the steamer to execute it was resisted by the passengers, headed by Mr. Borland, the Minister of the United States to Nicaragua, who justified his conduct, by saying that he was instructed not to recognize in any way the authority of Greytown, which claims to derive its authority from the Musquito King, as separate and distinct from Nicaragua. Mr. Borland afterward went on shore, and an attempt was made to arrest him, on charge of obstructing officers of the law in the discharge of their duty. This was resisted, and in the *mêlée* that ensued, Mr. Borland was struck on the face with a bottle thrown by some person unknown.

On the 10th June, the United States ship *Cyane* was sent to San Juan, under Commander Hollins, who was instructed to consult with Mr. I. W. Fabens, the United States Commercial Agent there, and to take such steps to enforce the demands of the United States government as might be necessary—on the 11th of July, he made a formal demand on the authorities for the immediate payment of $24,000, as indemnity for the property of the Transit Company which had been stolen and destroyed, and a prompt apology for the insult offered to Mr. Borland, with satisfactory assurances of future good behavior towards the United States, and her public functionaries. To this, no reply was received; and on the 12th, Commander Hollins issued a proclamation declaring that, by virtue of his instructions from the United States government, unless the demands were complied with by nine o'clock the next morning, he should bombard the town.

A copy of this proclamation was sent on board the British ship *Bermuda*, whose commander, Lieutenant Jolly, protested against the threatened bombardment, saying that such an act would be without precedent among civilized nations, and that a large amount of property belonging to British subjects, would be destroyed, which it was his duty to protect; but as the force under his command was totally inadequate for its protection against the *Cyane*, he could only enter his protest. Commander Hollins replied to this note, that he was only fulfilling the orders of his government—that he sympathized with Lieutenant Jolly in the risk of English subjects and property, and that he "regretted exceedingly that the force under his command was not doubly equal to that of the *Cyane*."

On the morning of the 12th, a guard of marines and seamen went on shore to secure the arms and ammunition, and to remove property exposed to destruction. On the next morning, a steamer was sent to the shore to aid British subjects in removing their persons and property to a place of safety; but only a few availed themselves of it. At nine o'clock, the batteries of the *Cyane* were opened upon the town, and firing was kept up at intervals, until 4 o'clock, when a party was sent on shore to complete the destruction of the town, by setting the houses on fire, which was done. Lieutenant Jolly, after the town had been destroyed, declared it to be under his protection, and proclaimed martial law.

Congress met on the 4th of December, 1854, and the President's message was communicated the same day. It dwelt at some length upon our foreign relations, and vindicated the destruction of Greytown by the sloop of war *Cyane*, on the ground that the inhabitants had been guilty of flagrant outrages upon the rights and property of Americans, and that there was no recognized authority, to which we could look for redress. The transaction had been the subject of complaint on the part of some foreign powers, and said to have been characterized with more of harshness than of justice. The President thought it would not be hard to find repeated instances in the history of other States, which would fully justify the chastisement of Greytown. The financial condition of the country was then dwelt upon.

Attention was directed, about this time, to an expedition in process of preparation, under command of Colonel Kinney, to colonize and settle certain portions of the territory on the Musquito coast. The settlement was to be made under a grant alleged to have been made to two British subjects, named Sheppard and Haly, by the predecessor of the present King of the Musquito country. The government of Nicaragua protested against this expedition, as an invasion of its territory, and as in violation of the Neutrality Laws of the United States. To these representations Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, replied, that there was no evidence of any hostile intent on the part of the expedition, but that, on the contrary, it was merely a peaceful emigration company, intending to settle upon lands to which they had a claim, not for purposes of conquest, but of cultivation and improvement; and that it was not in violation of our Neutrality Laws, inasmuch as the members of the expedition would be in all respects subject to the authority of the country. To these representations Mr. Marcoleta, the Minister from Nicaragua, replied, under date of January 16th, setting forth the various attempts of Great Britain to establish a protectorate over the Musquito coast, and to plant an English colony there, and the declaration of the government of the United States that they would never acknowledge any such protectorate, nor permit the European governments either to interfere with the domestic concerns of the American republics, or to establish new colonies upon this continent which jeopard their independence or ruin their interests. The American Secretary of State, also, in 1849, and at other times, informed the British authorities that the American government could never acknowledge the independence of the Mosquito Indians, or admit that they have any right of sovereignty over the territory they claim. The minister urged

that by the declarations, so frequently repeated, and so explicit and emphatic in their terms, the government of the United States had denied the right of the Mosquito King to make any grants of land, and denounced the policy of planting new colonies upon those territories. It could hardly be supposed, therefore, that it would attempt to establish such colonies itself, or permit the invasion by its citizens of the rights and territories of the State of Nicaragua.

Colonel Kinney, on the 28th of January, wrote to Secretary Marcy, declaring that the objects of the expedition were to occupy and improve the lands within the limits of his grant, and that everything was to be done peaceably, and without invading the rights of either communities or States.

He said it was his intention to establish municipal regulations for the government of the colonists, so that it might be in his power to enforce order, and keep up the forms of civilized society from the beginning. The Secretary replied, under date of the 4th of February, that if the expedition was a mere peaceful emigration, and if those connected with it chose to abandon all claim to the protection of the United States, and submit themselves to the jurisdiction of some other country, this government would not interfere with it; but the ministers of the various Central American governments denied that he had any grants of lands within their dominions, and our government does not acknowledge the Mosquito King.

Congress adjourned on the 4th of March. On the 17th of February, the President sent in a message vetoing the bill providing for the payment of claims of American citizens for spoliations committed by the French prior to 1801. The bill increasing the annual appropriation from $385,000 to $850,000 to the proprietors of the Collins line of Liverpool steamers, was also vetoed. In addition to the laws enacted, several joint resolutions of considerable public interest and importance were adopted. One of them, approved on the 15th of February, authorized the President to confer the title of Lieutenant-general by brevet, in a single instance, for eminent services. The President, in accordance with the intent of Congress, conferred the title upon General Scott.

On the last day of the session, the President transmitted to Congress a very large collection of correspondence, relating to a conference of American Ministers held at Ostend in October, 1854. The documents were quite voluminous, and advised the purchase of the island of Cuba, or if that failed, a resort to force was recommended. The President did not deem it advisable to follow the course indicated in this despatch; and, in consequence of this hesitation, Mr. Soulé, in a letter dated December the 17th, 1854, resigned his office as Minister at Madrid, saying he had no alternative but to take that step, or linger in languid impotence at the capital. The proceedings of the conference at Ostend caused a lively feeling of indignation both in this country and in Europe.

A law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors was passed both in New York and Pennsylvania. Colonel Kinney had to encounter unexpected obstacles to his Central American colonization scheme. He was arrested both in New York and Philadelphia, on charges of attempting to violate the Neutrality Laws, but in both cases he was released on bail to await the issue. The *United States*, chartered to convey himself and party, was detained in the port of New York, watched by government vessels.

Another expedition, of a somewhat different character, set sail from New York on the 31st of May. The bark *Release*, and steam propeller *Arctic*, under the command of Lieutenant Hartstein, United States Navy, started in search of Dr. Kane and his associates, who, in the *Advance*, started to search for Sir John Franklin, and was supposed to be ice-bound in the Northern Seas.

In the spring of 1855, William Walker, "the gray-eyed man of destiny," invaded Nicaragua, and in 1856 had so far succeeded in establishing himself, that having sent a minister to the United States, his government was recognized and diplomatic relations opened between the two countries. In the following winter the subject of enlistments in the United States of recruits for the British army then operating in the Crimea, disturbed the friendly relations existing between England and America. Crampton, the British minister, having become involved in the affair, President Pierce requested his recall, which was refused by his government. He was dismissed, however, by the authorities at Washington, together with the English consuls at New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, who had taken an active part in the enlistments. England remained unrepresented at Washington for a short time, but the affair was finally settled amicably.

Discord, dispute and bloodshed marked the latter years of Pierce's administration. The conflict over the government of Kansas drew forth, in 1856, a message to Congress, in which the President declared the creation of a Free-State government in Kansas an act of rebellion, and justified the principles of the Douglas Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854, by which the Missouri compromise act was repealed. Violent party feeling extended throughout the country, and its result was riot and bloodshed in the territory of Kansas, and upon its borders.

A large meeting of the residents was held in Leavenworth, on the 30th of April, in reference to the postponement of the time for the registration of lands. A portion of the meeting were in favor of the extension, and the remainder opposed to it. An angry discussion ensued; from words the opponents came to blows, and Malcolm Clark was shot by a lawyer named McCrea. The people became much excited, and strove to lynch McCrea, but the commanding officer at the fort rescued him. In a memorial to Congress, the anti-slavery settlers in Kansas complained that the Missourians had entered their territory in large numbers, "seized upon their rights, and selected for them their rulers." The other party —asserting that slavery had been recognized in the territory—denounced any attempt to overthrow the institution.

The authorities at Washington took general ground against the action of the Free-State party. In August the lower house of Congress amended the annual appropriation bill for the maintenance of the army, providing "that no part of the military force of the United States, herein provided for, shall be employed in aid of the enforcement of the enactments of the alleged Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas, recently assembled at Shawnee Mission, until Congress shall have enacted either that it was or was not a valid legislative assembly chosen in conformity with the organic law by the people of the said Territory," and "that until Congress shall have passed on the validity of the said legislative assembly, it shall be the duty of the President to use the military force in said territory to preserve the peace, suppress insurrection, repel invasion and protect persons and property therein and upon the national highways in the State of Missouri and elsewhere, from unlawful seizures and searches," and "that the President is required to disarm the present organized militia of the territory of Kansas, to recall all the United States arms therein distributed, and to prevent armed men from going into said territory to disturb the public peace, or to aid in the enforcement or resistance of real or pretended laws."

This amendment was amended in the Senate and returned to the lower house, which adjourned *sine die* without acting upon the bill, and thus the army was left without any support. An extra session was called on the day of adjournment, which met, passed the bill without any proviso, and then again adjourned. On the assembling of Congress in the following December, the condition of Kansas was again referred to in the message of the President, in which he firmly adhered to the principles laid down in his former message, and strife and contention continued in the unfortunate territory.

CHAPTER XXX.

ADMINISTRATION OF BUCHANAN.

In the Presidential contest of 1856 the Democratic party, endorsing the Kansas and Nebraska bill as embodying the only safe solution of the slavery question, nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The dissolution of the Whig party, which commenced by the imposition of the Southern platform on its national convention of 1852, was now consummated by the eager participation of most of its Southern members of Congress in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Those, of whatever party in the past, who condemned that repeal and who united on that basis, were first known simply as "anti-Nebraska," but had gradually, and almost spontaneously assumed the designation of "Republicans." As such they had carried most of the Free-State elections of 1854, but were less decidedly successful in those of 1855. Their first National Convention was held at Pittsburgh, Pa., on the 22d February, 1856, but no nominations were then made. Their nominating convention met at Philadelphia on the 17th June, 1856, when John C. Fremont, of California, was nominated for President, and Wm. L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. This convention declared it both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories the "twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery." A convention of the American party was held at Philadelphia, the 22d Feb., 1856, which nominated respectively, Millard

Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, for President and Vice-President. From this convention the anti-Nebraska delegates withdrew upon the failure of a resolution to nominate no men who were not in favor of interdicting slavery north of the Missouri line. After an animated canvass, at the ensuing election James Buchanan received 174 electoral votes and 1,838,169 of the popular votes; Col. Fremont, 114 electoral and 1,341,264 popular votes; Mr. Fillmore received the electoral vote of Maryland alone, but 874,534 of the popular votes.

On the 4th of March, 1857, Mr. Buchanan assumed the duties of the Presidential office. The disturbed and distracted condition of Kansas, resulting from the immediate efforts of the South to introduce slavery there, upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, necessarily attracted the early attention of Mr. Buchanan's administration. John W. Geary, the fourth of the Territorial Governors of Kansas, having recently resigned, the President selected as his successor Robt. J. Walker, of Mississippi, with Fred P. Stanton, of Tennessee, as Secretary. The anti-slavery party in Kansas, comprising a large majority of the settlers, though prevented by Federal force from effecting such an organization as they desired, still refused to recognize the Legislature chosen by the pro-slavery men; and each party held independent conventions and elections. A constitutional convention, called by the pro-slavery Legislature, met at Lecompton in September, 1857. Having formed a pro-slavery constitution, they submitted the question of slavery alone to the people, this at least being required by the Kansas and Nebraska act of Congress. Thus any vote cast at this election, even though against slavery, would necessarily be in favor of a constitution which contained slavery clauses. The adherents of the Topeka Constitution refused to vote at this election, whereat the Constitution *with slavery* was adopted by a vote of 6,266 to 569. But at an election which had been held in October, 1857, for a Territorial Legislature, under the pro-slavery organization, most of the Free-State men had, nevertheless, voted, carrying the Legislature and electing a delegate to Congress. This Legislature, whose legality was now unquestioned, submitted the Lecompton Constitution to the people on the 4th Jan., 1858. At this election, which the pro-slavery party in turn did not choose to recognize as valid, a majority of 10,084 was returned against the said constitution in any shape. On April 30, 1858, Congress passed a bill admitting Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, with a condition precedent submitting to the people of Kansas a proposition to reduce the cession of public lands, which had been stipulated in that instrument at six times the usual amount, to the number of acres which had been granted to other States. On the 3d August, 1858, the people of Kansas voted, by an overwhelming majority, to reject the condition precedent, and thus, in effect, rejected the Lecompton Constitution. The Territorial Legislature had now passed completely into the hands of the Free-State party, and all efforts to make Kansas a Slave State were abandoned in favor of an effort to organize it as a Democratic Free State, which, however, also failed. In March, 1859, a new Constitution and Convention assembled at Wyandot, by direction of the people; a Free-State Constitution was duly framed and ratified by the people in October, 1859. The first undisputed State election was held under it on the 6th Dec. following, when Republican officers and members of Congress were elected. Finally, on Jan. 21, 1861, the arduous Kansas struggle, opened by the repeal of the Missouri Restriction, was closed by her admission to the Federal Union, as the thirty-fourth State thereof, and with a Free Constitution.

On the 6th March, 1857, the decision and opinions of the United States Supreme Court were made public in the case of Dred Scott. The intention of this decision was to establish the right of the master to take his slaves into any Territory of the United States, and hold them there, in despite of all conflicting congressional or territorial legislation, until the Territory should be prepared to become a State. Dred Scott, a slave, had sued for his freedom; having been held as a slave in Missouri previous to 1834, and shortly thereafter accompanied his master to Fort Snelling, in the Territory now known as Minnesota, but which was then an unorganized Territory of the United States, and covered by the slavery prohibition included in the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Chief Justice Taney, pronouncing the decision, affirmed that Dred Scott had no right to sue in a court of the United States, on the ground that, previously to and at the time of adopting the Federal Constitution, no persons who had been, or whose ancestors had been slaves, were regarded as citizens, or as having any rights which the white man was bound to respect; and further, that no State has, or can have, any right to confer citizenship on such persons. The Justice then further pronounced the Act of Congress (the Missouri Compromise of 1820), which prohibited a person from holding property in slaves north of the line therein mentioned, not warranted by the Constitution, and therefore void.

Justices McLean, of Ohio, and Curtis, of Massachusetts, dissented from both the decision and opinions of the court, and further declared that the court had transcended its authority in its utterances concerning the Missouri Compromise, and in all except that which had a direct bearing on the jurisdiction of the lower court against which it decided.

Its bearing upon the slavery question was denounced and repudiated by the Republican party; and the platform subsequently adopted by that party at Chicago maintained, as a cardinal principle, that it was not only the right, but the duty, of Congress to abolish slavery in all the Territories; and on the 19th June, 1862, by a Republican Congress, this act was performed.

A large portion of the Northern Democratic party, known as the Douglas Democracy, also disregarded this decision; for this party, whilst admitting that the Constitution authorized the migration of slaves from the States into the Territories, had long maintained that after their arrival it was competent for the Territorial Legislature to protect, impair, or destroy the rights of the master. They claimed this power by virtue of a supposed inherent attribute of popular sovereignty alleged to belong to the first settlers of a Territory, just as it exists in the people of one of the States. The remainder of the Democratic party, devoted to the pro-slavery interest, ardently sustained the decision.

On May 11, 1858, Minnesota was admitted to the Union, and Oregon on February 14, 1859. The strength of the Republican party steadily increased, though the decline of the American, or Fillmore party, inured to the benefit of the still united organization of the Democracy. In the year 1858 Illinois was the arena of the popular form of political contest known as stumping for the senatorial seat between Senator Douglas and ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the Republican competitor. In this campaign, in which he was defeated, the latter prophetically enunciated the startling, if not absolutely novel doctrine, that "the Union could not permanently endure half-slave and half-free;" and shortly afterwards Senator Seward, of New York, also characterized the contest between the North and South as "an irrepressible conflict," until the United States should become entirely a slave-holding or free-labor nation. During the year 1859 the Territorial Legislature of New Mexico, assuming the legal existence of slavery in that territory, in accordance with the Dred Scott decision, passed numerous acts protecting and fostering slavery.

Towards the close of this year John Brown, a man of remarkable strength of character, who had already distinguished himself amid the troubles in Kansas, both by word and deed, and whose ruling conviction was the wickedness of slavery, put into execution a design which he had long meditated, to free the slaves of Virginia. For this purpose he had purchased two hundred Sharp's carbines, two hundred revolver pistols, and about one thousand pikes, with which to arm the slaves. These arms he had collected and deposited in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, and at midnight, on Sunday, the 16th October, 1859, with a force comprising sixteen whites and five negroes, he rushed across the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, and there seized the armory, arsenal, and rifle factory belonging to the United States. On Tuesday morning, the 18th, the whole band, excepting two who had escaped, were either killed or captured, the slaves of the neighborhood having failed to respond to this effort in their behalf. Among the captured was John Brown himself, badly wounded, as were the eight or ten others who had retreated with him to the engine-house, where they were taken by a detachment of ninety United States marines sent from Washington by the President, with two pieces of artillery. Large numbers of volunteers from Virginia and Maryland had also hastened to the scene of action. John Brown and several of his party were afterwards tried before the appropriate judicial authorities of Virginia, and were convicted and executed.

The 36th Congress, which met Dec. 5, 1859, was strongly Democratic in the Senate, but the House of Representatives being divided between Republicans, Democrats, Americans and Anti-Lecompton Democrats, contained no clear majority for any party. In the Senate, after most of the session had been consumed in their discussion, resolutions of the Lecompton Democrats thereof, offered by Jeffer-

son Davis, of Mississippi, were passed by an imposing party vote, intended to denounce the Anti-Lecompton or Douglas Democracy, as well as the Republicans, as making war on the guaranteed rights of the South. In the House, eight weeks were expended in the choice of a speaker, resulting in the choice of William Pennington, Republican, of New Jersey. During this contest bitter denunciation was made of the Republican members of the House who had endorsed "The Impending Crisis," a book by one Hinton R. Helper, of North Carolina, which was in substance a vehement appeal to the poor whites of the South against further servility to the slaveholders, backed by ample statistics, proving slavery injurious to the South.

On the 23d April, 1860, the Democratic Convention met at Charleston, S. C., to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President. The Douglas Democracy having triumphed in the proceedings for the adoption of a platform, the delegates of the seven cotton States withdrew from the convention, and after fifty-four ballotings for a Presidential candidate, the convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore on the 18th June, 1860, where, after the withdrawal of numerous other delegations, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was nominated for President, and Herschel V. Johnson became the candidate for Vice-President. On the same day the delegates seceding from the convention nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President. The illustrious Abraham Lincoln was nominated at Chicago, by the Republican Convention, on the 19th May, for President, with Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President. The candidates of the Constitutional Union, late American party, were John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. The position of the respective parties in this contest was well defined. That of the Republican party was that Congress was bound to prohibit slavery in any and every Federal Territory. The Douglas Democracy maintained that neither Congress, nor the people of the Union, nor any part of it, outside of said Territory, had any right to interfere with the matter. While the supporters of Mr. Breckinridge upheld the right of the citizen of any State to migrate to any Territory, taking with him anything which was property by the law of his own State, and to hold and enjoy such property, and be protected in its use by Congress, whether with or without the co-operation of the Territorial Legislature. The canvass was one of intense interest. In many of the Northern States coalitions of the other parties against the Republicans were formed, based upon their united hostility to the Republican idea of excluding slavery from the Territories; and the mercantile fears of convulsion and civil war were so vivid that the contest was prosecuted by the combined adversaries of Mr. Lincoln with the energy of desperation, the controlling aim being to thus conciliate and satisfy the South. At the South, no such coalitions, on the other hand, were formed. On the 6th November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was designated by the people as their next President. Of the electoral vote, he received 180, Mr. Breckinridge, 72; Mr. Bell, 39; and Mr. Douglas, 12. Of the popular vote, Mr. Lincoln received in the Free States, 1,831,180; in the Slave States, 26,430. Mr. Douglas received in the Free States, 1,128,049; in the Slave States, 163,525. Mr. Breckinridge, 279,211 in the Free, and 570,871 in the Slave States; while Mr. Bell received 130,151 in the Free, and 515,973 in the Slave States. Immediately after the elections public meetings were held in Charleston and elsewhere in South Carolina, at which great joy was manifested at the result, and resolutions enthusiastically adopted in favor of the secession of the State from the Union. Its legislature shortly passed an act for the call of a convention to carry the State out of the Union.

In the midst of all the elements of prosperity every material interest of the country was now depressed by the apprehensions of civil war. The price of all public securities fell, and the credit of the Federal Government was shaken.

In his annual message of the 3d December, 1860, President Buchanan appealed to Congress to propose an amendment to the Constitution, which should declare that instrument on three points: 1, As expressly recognizing the right of property in slaves in the States where it then existed or might thereafter exist; 2, as pointing the duty of protecting this right in all the common territories until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe; 3, as recognizing the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and delivered up to him, and as attesting the validity of the fugitive slave law enacted for this purpose, and as rendering all State laws impairing or defeating this right null and void.

The message further declared, that unless the Southern States obtained this act of justice from the Northern States, they would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union, so characterizing secession; and also expressed the opinion that the Constitution had conferred no power on the Federal Government to coerce a State to remain in the Union, but simply to enforce the laws upon individuals within the limits of a State.

The message was denounced by both the anti-slavery and pro-slavery members of Congress. By the former it was construed to mean a denial by the President to enforce the laws against the citizens of a State after secession or rebellion; by the latter, as denying the right of peaceful secession, and as indicating the intention of collecting the revenue in the ports of South Carolina by means of a naval force, and to defend the public property. The opposing parties in Congress now breathed nothing but mutual defiance. There was no longer any social or friendly intercourse between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery members. South Carolina had called a Convention to adopt a secession ordinance, and all the federal officers within her limits had resigned; and the other cotton States were preparing to follow her example.

In the Senate, a committee of thirteen was now created, consisting of five Republicans, five from slaveholding States, and three Northern Democrats, to report on the distracted condition of the country. The committee met on the 21st December, 1860, and on the next day, Mr. Crittenden, one of its members, submitted to it a proposition to amend the Constitution by prohibiting slavery forever from all territories north of 36° 30′ (or the old Missouri Compromise line), and recognizing and protecting it in all territories lying south thereof. It was rejected by the committee, the five Republican members, and two from the cotton States, Messrs. Davis and Toombs, voting against it; and on the 31st Dec., 1860, the committee reported to the Senate their inability to agree.

Ordinances of secession were now adopted by the seven cotton States. On the 17th December, 1860, a convention met at Columbia, South Carolina, but in consequence of the prevalence of small-pox in that city, adjourned to Charleston, where, on the 20th December, the ordinance of secession was unanimously passed, and thereupon the Federal property within the limits of the State, where it was feasible, was seized. The Convention of Florida, on the 7th January, 1861; Mississippi, the 9th; Alabama, the 11th; Georgia, the 19th; Louisiana, the 25th; and Texas, the 5th February, passed ordinances of secession by overwhelming majorities. Many efforts, in the meanwhile, were being made at the North, for conciliation, by public meetings and otherwise; and many memorials in favor of peace, by means of the Crittenden Compromise, were presented to Congress from different portions of the North, even from New England, and also from the border slaveholding States, a large number of whose people, while believing in the right of peaceful secession, resisted the efforts of the extreme men in their midst, and were still devoted to the Union.

A small band of Federal soldiers, under Major Robt. Anderson, garrisoned the ports in Charleston harbor at the period of South Carolina's secession. On the night of the 26th December, Major Anderson transferred his command from Fort Moultrie, an old and weak fort, which had been tenanted for convenience to the city, to Fort Sumter, the principal of the defences. The remainder were immediately seized by volunteers acting under the State authorities, and additional fortifications, defending the city and commanding the harbor approaches, were pushed forward by them. On the 26th December, commissioners from the State of South Carolina reached Washington, under instructions to negotiate with the Federal Executive a partition of all the properties and interests of South Carolina in the Union from which she had seceded; but they were informed that the President could only meet them as citizens of the United States. On the 9th of January, 1861, the steamer *Star of the West*, from New York, having on board 250 soldiers and ample supplies for Fort Sumter, appeared off the bar at Charleston. Attempting to steam up the harbor to Fort Sumter, she was fired upon from Fort Moultrie and a battery on Morris Island, and being struck by a shot, put about and left for New York, without communicating with Major Anderson.

About this period most of the forts, arsenals, and other property of the United States in the cotton States were seized by

the respective State authorities; in some cases, even before secession; and the authorities of Louisiana thus robbed the Branch Mint and Sub-Treasury at New Orleans of a large amount. Lieut. Slemmer being commanded by his superior officer, Commander Armstrong, to surrender Forts Pickens and McRae, on the Florida coast, defied the order, and withdrawing his small force from Fort McRae to the stronger and less accessible Fort Pickens, was soon besieged therein by a formidable volunteer force.

On the 8th January, 1861, President Buchanan sent a special message to Congress, urging the adoption of the compromise measures proposed by Mr. Crittenden. Referring to the seizure of the federal property by the Southern States, as a purely aggressive act, and not in resistance to any attempt to coerce a State or States to remain in the Union, he further expressed the opinion that the powers already possessed by the President, to employ the militia in suppressing insurrections, were only in cases of insurrection against a State Government, and not against the authority of the United States, and consequently with Congress still rested the responsibility of securing peace and union to the distracted country, by declaring war or authorizing the employment of military force at this juncture.

On the 16th January, on motion of Mr. Clark, a Republican Senator from New Hampshire, the Senate resolved, by a vote of 25 to 23, to strike out the entire preamble and resolution of Mr. Crittenden's proposition and insert in lieu thereof those of a directly opposite character. Six senators from the secession States, Messrs. Benjamin and Slidell, of Louisiana; Mr. Iverson, of Georgia; Messrs. Hemphill and Wigfall, of Texas; and Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, refused to vote against the Clark amendment.

The hopes of avoiding civil war were now chiefly fixed on the border slave States, which still stood aloof from secession and manifested an earnest desire not only to remain in the Union themselves, but to exert their powerful influence to bring back the seceding States. On the 19th January, 1861, the General Assembly of Virginia adopted resolutions, extending an invitation to call the other States to unite with her in an effort to adjust the unhappy controversy in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally framed, and to appoint Commissioners for this purpose to a Convention to be held in Washington on the 4th February, 1861. This Peace Convention met on the 4th February, and selected Ex-President Tyler, of Virginia, as its President. It was composed of one hundred and thirty-three commissioners, of great respectability and influence, representing twenty-one States. Four days thereafter, deputies from six of the cotton States adopted and published at Montgomery, Alabama, a Provisional Constitution for the so-called Confederate States. Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were reported in the Peace Convention, substantially the same with the Crittenden Compromise, and after much time consumed in discussion and in voting upon various propositions offered, a final vote was taken on the 26th February, and on the same day the Convention communicated to Congress the amendment they had adopted, with a request that it might be submitted, under the Constitution, to the several State Legislatures. In the Senate no direct vote was ever taken upon it, and in the House of Representatives the Speaker was refused leave even to present it. On the 2d March, the day before the final adjournment of Congress, Mr. Clark's amendment to Mr. Crittenden's proposition was removed in the Senate, and the proposition itself was defeated by a vote of 19 in the affirmative against 20 in the negative. On the 9th of February, 1861, the convention of the seceded States having met at Montgomery, Alabama, adopted a provisional framework of government for "the Confederate States of America," which was subsequently (March 11th) superseded by a permanent Constitution, substantially a copy of the Federal Constitution, but with slavery as the corner-stone of the structure. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was by the Confederate Congress then unanimously elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President of the Confederacy for the current year.

On the 3d March, 1861, the 36th U. S. Congress expired, many of the Southern members thereof having already vacated their seats, and the various measures of compromise which had been proposed to heal the existing difficulties having failed.

Three new territories were organized at this session—Kansas, Colorado, Dakota.

The organic acts were in each case silent respecting slavery, as a peace-offering and concession to the unionists of the South. The measures deemed necessary by the President, and suggested by him to Congress, to enable him to execute the laws and defend the Government at the South, were not acted upon. At the close of Mr. Buchanan's administration most of the defensive fortifications within the seceding States, some thirty in number, mounting over three thousand guns, and having cost at least twenty millions of dollars, had been seized and appropriated by the Confederate authorities. They were also in possession of the navy yards and arsenals therein, filled with arms and munitions, together with the entire army of the frontier, with all its equipments, the Southern revenue cutters, mints, custom-houses and sub-treasuries, amounting in value fully to twenty millions of dollars more.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

In proceeding from his home to the Federal capital, Mr. Lincoln was everywhere honored as the chosen Executive of the nation. He was obliged, however, to pass through Baltimore clandestinely, an attempt to assassinate him there, under cover of mob violence, having been assured. Apprehensions of tumult at his inauguration had also been entertained, but that ceremony was conducted in a tranquil and imposing manner. In his address thereat, the President having rejected the doctrine of secession, and pointed out disunion as physically impossible, declared that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed, and announced his intention of causing a faithful execution of the Federal laws, including that respecting fugitive slaves; and further, of using the power confided to him, to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond this declared that there would be no invasion of any State. He further proffered the olive branch to the South, by intimating that his right to furnish the mails, and to appoint Federal officers for parts of the Union unanimously hostile thereto, would be waived as impracticable until current events should show a modification to be proper. These assurances, however, were not regarded by the people of the South.

The National Cabinet was composed as follows:—William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, ruling at Montgomery, Alabama, shortly completed his Cabinet, which consisted of Robert Toombs, of Georgia, Secretary of State; Charles G. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; Leroy Pope Walker, of Alabama, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida, Secretary of the Navy; and John H. Reagan, of Texas, Postmaster-General.

Shortly after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford, Commissioners from the Confederate Government to the Government of the United States, empowered to adjust terms of amity as between two nations, arrived at Washington and requested an interview with President Lincoln, but were informed that the Executive could recognize them only as citizens of the United States. For some few days the new administration hesitated to discard the policy of indecision and inaction inherited from its predecessor, but on the 21st March, after a long and excited Cabinet meeting, it was resolved that Fort Sumter should be vigorously defended. In the meantime, the authorities of the seceded States, instead of manifesting a desire for peace, were investing every fort and navy yard with rebel troops and fortifications, and busily preparing to make war upon the Federal Government. A decided activity of the latter now took place. Ships of war were rapidly fitted for service, and several large steamers having been loaded with provisions and munitions, sailed southward on the 7th April from New York and other Northern ports, under sealed orders. On the 8th, formal notice was given to Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, by direction of the Federal Government, that Fort Sumter would be provisioned at all hazards. On the 12th, Gen. Beauregard, formerly a major of the United States army, commanding the rebel forces around Charleston, in accordance with orders received from the rebel government, opened fire on the fort, the surrender thereof having been duly demanded and

refused. On the 13th, after thirty-four hours of bombardment, during which the fire of the fort was proudly maintained against that of a vastly superior force, the fort becoming entirely untenable, and no provisions but pork remaining, Major Anderson evacuated it under highly honorable conditions, and was transferred with his command to the Federal transport *Baltic*, awaiting the result off the port. The fleet from New York, laden with provisions for the garrison, had arrived off the bar during the bombardment, but prudently made no effort to fulfil its errand.

The news of the attack upon Sumter, and its surrender, caused intense and universal excitement throughout both the North and the South, in the latter characterized by great rejoicing. On the 15th April, the Federal Executive issued his proclamation, calling forth the militia of the several States of the Union, to the number of 75,000, in order to suppress the further progress of the rebellion. This proclamation was received throughout the Free States with hearty approval, and they vied with each other in responding to its call. The spirit of the hour indicated a now almost unbroken unanimity therein of Democrats, as well as Republicans, in support of the Government. On the other hand, the authorities of the Slave States not yet seceded, with the exception of Maryland, refused to respond thereto, and generally characterized the proclamation as a wicked violation of the laws of the country, for the unconstitutional purpose of coercing the Southern States. On the 16th, several companies of Pennsylvania militia reached Washington and reported for duty. On the 18th more volunteers from the same State also passed through Baltimore without hindrance. But on the 19th, the 6th Massachusetts, a full regiment, having reached Baltimore, were attacked in the streets thereof by a secession mob, upon which several volleys were fired by a small portion of the regiment, whereby eleven of the rioters were killed, and four severely wounded. Of the soldiers, three were slain and eight severely wounded. Ten unarmed companies of the Philadelphia Washington Brigade, who had arrived with the Massachusetts regiment, were also attacked ere transportation through the city, and ultimately returned to Philadelphia. Great opposition was now manifested to the further transportation of Northern troops through that city; and in response to a request of its Mayor, and of the State Governor, Hicks, the President agreed to forbid the passage through that city of certain Pennsylvania troops then on their way from Harrisburgh to Washington, and selected the route by Annapolis, to answer the military necessity. Whereupon Governor Hicks objected to the passage of Northern troops across any portion of Maryland, and the Young Men's Christian Association of Baltimore petitioned the President to end the conflict by conceding the demands of the South. By the cutting of telegraph wires and burning of railroad bridges connecting Baltimore with the Free States, the communication of the Government at Washington with the North was now intercepted. On the 21st the 8th Massachusetts, under Gen. B. F. Butler, arrived, after some obstruction at Annapolis, where he was reinforced by the 7th of New York, and proceeded on the 24th to Washington. The 71st New York and Governor Sprague's Rhode Island regiment were now on their way thither; and on the 25th the most of these troops had arrived in Washington, to the great satisfaction of its loyal citizens and the discomfiture of the secessionists thereof, both having expected the speedy capture of the city by the rebels.

On the 27th April the Legislature of Maryland convened in extra session, and decided not to secede from the Union, but created a State Military Board, with power to adopt measures for the safety, peace, and defence of the State. But with the strength and determination of the Free States now fully shown, the actual minority of the secession element of Maryland revealed itself as growing still less. A large Union meeting was held in Baltimore on May 4th, and on the 13th Gen. Butler occupied the city, and communications with the North being shortly re-established, the safety of the Federal capital was assured. By the end of May fifty thousand men held the line of the Potomac and guarded Washington, while every loyal State seemed actively desirous of swelling the ranks of the Union armies.

On April 17th, 1861, a convention in Virginia voted that that State should secede from the Union; and immediately expeditions, planned long previously, were set on foot to capture the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the navy yard at Norfolk, in that State. On the 18th, Lieut. Jones, who was in charge of the arsenal, learning that a force of 2,500 Virginia militia was advancing upon that post, after partially succeeding in destroying the national property there, evacuated the place and retreated to Chambersburg, Pa.

On the night of the 16th, obstructions were placed by the rebels in the channel of Elizabeth river, leading up from Hampton Roads to Norfolk, and a Virginia military force, under Gen. Taliaferro, reached the latter place on the 18th to seize the navy yard, and Federal vessels and other property there, amounting in value to fully ten millions of dollars, including the powerful forty-gun steam frigate *Merrimac*, with the *Cumberland*, the *Germantown*, the *Plymouth*, the *Raritan*, and many other vessels, with nearly two thousand cannon, some thousand stand of arms, and immense quantities of munitions and naval stores. On the evening of the 20th, Capt. McCauley, the commandant, ordered all the ships to be scuttled, excepting the *Cumberland*. Capt. Paulding, in the frigate *Pawnee*, from Washington, with a force on board of six hundred men, and with instructions from the Government to assume command at Norfolk, arrived during the evening at the navy yard and found the guns therein rendered temporarily useless by McCauley's orders, and nearly all the ships, including the *Merrimac*, sinking. He proceeded at once to hastily transfer papers, money, and other portables to the *Pawnee* and the *Cumberland*, and then attempted to destroy the remainder of the public property. On the next morning he left Norfolk, whereupon the navy yard was immediately occupied by the rebel forces adjacent, in the name of Virginia, and her flag there raised. On the 24th, all the public property here and elsewhere acquired by the State was by convention turned over to the Southern Confederacy.

Shortly afterwards, on the 24th May, the peaceful accession of Virginia to that Confederacy was ratified by an overawed popular vote of 125,950 for secession to 20,373 for the Union, the vote of several western counties having also been excluded. This rendered disunion a physical impossibility; to concede the western portion of this State to the Southern Confederacy would have involved ultimate disintegration of the Free States themselves; for a portion of Western Virginia, known as "the Panhandle," stretches northerly nearly to Lake Erie, almost dividing the old Free States from the new, and would thus become an easy means of cutting off communication between them by hostile powers. But the people of West Virginia being strongly loyal, assembled in convention on the 13th May, at Wheeling, and formally repudiated the secession of the State. On the 11th June, a second convention of Virginia met, wherein it was unanimously voted that West Virginia be set apart as a new State, and its government was then formed. A legislature of Virginia meeting shortly after at Wheeling, assented to this in accordance with the Federal Constitution; and later, on January 26, 1862, the Federal Congress, recognizing the doctrine that the loyal citizens alone of a State constitute the State, admitted the new State of West Virginia into the Union.

On the 27th April, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation announcing the blockade of the Southern ports, the chief of which were soon thereafter effectually closed by the Federal naval forces. On the 3d May he made a further requisition upon the States for 42,000 additional volunteers for three years, and ten regiments were added to the regular army. Many millions were now tendered to the Government by the legislatures and citizens of the loyal States. A large force of Pennsylvanians was organized at Chambersburg, Pa., under the command of Gen. Robert Patterson, of that State; and Gen. Butler, having been made a major-general, was placed in command of the Department of Eastern Virginia and North Carolina. George B. McClellan, John C. Fremont, and John A. Dix were now appointed major-generals in the regular army, the latter to command in New York, Gen. McClellan in the Department of the Ohio, and Gen. Fremont on his return from Europe being assigned to the Department of the West.

The work of secession now rapidly proceeded in the Slave States yet remaining in the Union. In Tennessee, early in March, 1861, a vote of the people was taken upon calling a State Convention to secede from the Union, which was defeated by over 50,000 Union majority. But shortly after the bombardment of Sumter, the Legislature secretly authorized the Governor to appoint commissioners to enter into a military league with the Confederate States; and on the 6th May, the Legislature passed an ordinance of secession, and on the 7th ratified the convention formed with the Confederate Government by these commissioners. The ordinance of secession was nominally submitted to the popular vote on the 8th June, with the follow-

ing proclaimed result: for separation, 104,913; against separation, 47,238; the people of East Tennessee, a mountainous region, where slavery never could have a firm foothold, voting by more than two to one against separation. They further, on the 17th May, in convention, protested against the late election as having been in no part of the State, except East Tennessee, a free one; as not expressive of the will of the majority of Tennessee freemen; and earnestly expressed a desire to remain in the Union, even if the rest of the State were resolved to go out. In consequence whereof, this part of the State, being isolated from aid by the neutrality of Kentucky, henceforth and for a considerable period was subjected to the bitter proscription of the Confederacy.

In Kentucky, all efforts to carry the State out of the Union failed, a large majority of her people being loyal, and her proximity to other loyal States having its weight against that of the organized rebellion at opportune moments. The Legislature, however, early declared that while the State would never sever its connection with the National Government, she would not take up arms for either belligerent party, and for some time this policy was mainly acted upon.

Until the bombardment of Sumter, North Carolina seemed largely in favor of the Union; but at an extra session of the Legislature, May 1, 1861, the Governor was authorized to tender aid to the Confederate authorities, and a convention was called, which met on the 20th May; and on that day it passed an ordinance of secession by a unanimous vote.

Upon the reception of the news from Fort Sumter in Arkansas, a convention, which had previously voted not to secede from the Union, was reconvened, and passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of 69 to 1. In all these States, wherever possible, the Federal property was now seized upon. In Missouri, also, on May 2d, an extra session of the Legislature was convened, which speedily entrusted to the Governor, a sympathizer with the rebellion, the entire control of the military and pecuniary resources of the State. The Federal arsenal in Western Missouri was seized on the 20th April, and its contents carried off to equip the rebels; but the arsenal at St. Louis was promptly protected by its commandant, Capt. Nath. Lyon, and on the night of the 20th its contents safely transferred to Springfield, Illinois. Within ten days from the reception of the President's call, a regiment had been raised by Col. F. P. Blair, and four others were being rapidly formed at St. Louis, in despite of the State authorities. On May 10th, at the head of six thousand armed Unionists, Capt. Lyon and Col. Blair surrounded the State Guard, organized at Camp Jackson in the interests of the rebellion, and demanded its immediate surrender, which was at once complied with, a considerable amount of munitions being turned over to the captors. Shortly afterwards a German Union regiment in St. Louis fired upon some assailants, killing twenty-two. On the 12th May, Gen. Wm. S. Harney took command of the Union forces in Missouri, and Capt. Lyon was made Brigadier-General of the 1st Missouri Brigade. Gen. Harney now entered into a compact with Gen. Sterling Price, upon the part of the State government, the proposed object being to restore tranquillity to Missouri; but this compact proving to be a protection to treason and terrorism, it was repudiated by the Federal Government, and Gen. Harney was removed from his command, being succeeded therein by Gen. Lyon. Upon this, Gov. Jackson and Gen. Price, mustering the advocates of the rebellion within the State, proceeded to openly act in concord with its leaders, and the former shortly officially called for 50,000 State militia, to repel what he termed the Federal invasion.

For some weeks after the seizure of Harper's Ferry, the rebels controlled, at that point, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; on May 16th, to strengthen their position, they burned several bridges farther west on that road. On the 20th, at Clarksburg, in Harrison County, two companies of the Confederates, having entered that place, and being outnumbered by the Unionists there, surrendered their arms and dispersed without a contest. The Union volunteers of West Virginia were now organized at Camp Carlisle, in Ohio, opposite Wheeling, under the command of Col. Kelly, Geo. B. McClellan having been appointed a major-general, and assigned to this, the Department of the Ohio. On the 27th, the 1st Virginia, 1,100 in number, together with the 16th Ohio, Col. Irvine, and the 14th Ohio, Col. Steedman, crossed the Ohio and occupied Wheeling and Parkersburg, the terminus of the north-west branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. On the 30th, the Unionists reached Grafton, and there a force of 7,000 or 8,000 men was collected under Gen. Morris. The tracks of the railroads, which had been damaged by a rebel force, were now repaired, the latter having retreated to Philippi, fifteen miles southward, and apart from the railway. On the night of June 2d, an attempt was made by the Union forces to surprise Philippi. Four regiments approached it by different roads, the division under Col. Kelly failing to arrive at the concerted time, 4 A.M., owing to the state of the roads. The rebels, only six or seven hundred in number, under Col. G. A. Porterfield, fled, however, after a short resistance, having been opened upon with artillery and charged by the infantry of the Unionists, who had arrived under Cols. Dumont and Lander. Col. Kelly presently arriving, fell upon them and dispersed them completely. Col. Kelly was severely wounded, and two Unionists were killed. The rebels lost sixteen killed and ten captured. Porterfield then hastily retreated with a few stragglers to Huttonsville, where conscription was rapidly increasing the rebel forces Gen. McClellan arrived at Grafton on the 23d June, and issued proclamations condemning the guerilla warfare of the rebels, and exhorting his own soldiers to forbear pillage and outrage of every kind. The rebel main force, several thousand in number, under Gen. Robt. S. Garnett, were now strongly intrenched on Laurel Hill, near Beverley, the capital of Randolph County, commanding the road to Philippi; a smaller force under Col. John Pegram, was on Rich Mountain, commanding the turnpike leading from Beverley to Buckhannon. After a reconnoissance, Gen. McClellan resolved to attack Pegram first, and sent Col. Rosecrans to gain, by a detour, the turnpike two or three miles in the rear of Col. Pegram. Col. Rosecrans approached the rebel position about noon, having marched since daylight through a dense forest and under a drenching rain. He was then opened upon by the rebel guns, and after a half hour of random firing, his orders to charge bayonets were promptly obeyed by his forces, and the rebels fled, leaving their cannon, munitions and stores, and 135 dead. Pegram attempted to escape during the night, but was forced to surrender on the following day, the 12th July, with about 600 men.

Gen. McClellan entered Beverley the next morning, flanking Gen. Garnett, and thus forcing him also to a hasty flight. The latter crossed the Laurel Mountains eastward to the narrow valley of the Cheat River, along the sole road of which he fled to Carrick's Ford, felling trees to obstruct the pursuit of the enemy. Having crossed the river here, and finding a strong and sheltered position, he turned and offered battle, twice repulsing, by a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, the efforts of the Union forces to cross the river. Col. Dumont with the 7th Indiana, marching down the bluff and through the middle of the stream, between the two contesting armies, and forcing his way through a dense forest of laurel, now appeared on the right flank of the rebels, who thereupon fled. At a second ford, a short distance below, Gen. Garnett gallantly, but vainly, attempted to rally his forces, who received and returned one volley and then retreated, being some 3,000 in number at this point, pursued by 600 Indiana troops. Gen. Garnett was here shot through the body, falling dead, and his command were pursued two miles, when the Union soldiers halted, leaving the rebels to cross the mountains and join Gen. Jackson at Monterey. Gen. McClellan, who, with a large portion of his force, had not joined in the pursuit, but had moved south from Beverley to Huttonsville, telegraphed the loss of the enemy in this action to have been about 200 killed, 1,000 prisoners, and seven guns; and that of the Union forces, 13 killed and 40 wounded.

Simultaneously with Gen. McClellan's advance upon Beverley, Gen. Cox, with a large Union force, moved eastward from Guyandotte to the Kanawha, and up that river, reaching Charleston, the capital of Kanawha County, on the 25th July. The rebels in this section, commanded by Gov. Wise, continued to flee before the approach of Gen. Cox, who reached Gauley Bridge on the 29th, finding it burned by the retreating rebels. Gen. Wise succeeded in reaching Lewisburg, the capital of Greenbrier, a county devoted to the rebel cause, and here was reinforced by Gen. John B. Floyd, formerly the U. S. Secretary of War under President Buchanan. Gen. Floyd now assumed the offensive, and after surprising the 7th Ohio, Col. Tyler, near Summerville, and routing that regiment with a loss of 200 of its men, he moved southerly to Carnifex Ferry, where, endeavoring to strike the rear of Gen. Cox, he was himself attacked on the 10th August by a strong force under Gen. Rosecrans, in a reconnoissance in force, which resulted in a short but severe action, and a loss of about 200 of the Union troops—very much greater than that of the intrenched rebels. Gen. Rosecrans having directed his troops to be

ready for assault early on the following morning, was eluded by the enemy during the night; the latter rapidly retreating some thirty miles to Big Sewell Mountain, and thence to Meadow Bluff, whither he was not pursued. Gen. Lee now assumed the command of both Floyd's and Wise's forces, numbering, with recent reinforcements from the northern front, about 20,000 men; and Rosecrans, after remaining some days before him at Big Sewell, retreated to Gauley unpursued. Gen. Lee, being shortly recalled to take command on the coast, made a slight attack on the Union position held by Gen. Reynolds on Cheat Mountain, but soon retired again to his camp at Greenbrier. On the 3d October, after Gen. Lee's departure, Gen. Reynolds in turn unsuccessfully assaulted the rebels, now commanded by Gen. H. R. Jackson of Georgia. On the 10th November, Col. Jenkins, with a regiment of rebel cavalry, surprised the Union forces stationed at Guyandotte, taking over 100 prisoners and plundering the loyal inhabitants; and on the following morning, the Union Col. Ziegler, of the 5th Virginia, arrived, and ordered to be burned the houses of the secessionist inhabitants who had instigated the raid. On the 14th, the rear-guard of Gen. Floyd, who was then retreating southward, was attacked by Gen. Benham, and its colonel, St. George Croghan, was killed. Floyd then retreated unpursued to Peterstown, fifty miles southward. In the north-east, Gen. Kelly, by a spirited dash from New Creek, October 25th, drove out of Romney a rebel battalion, capturing two cannons, sixty prisoners, and several hundred stands of arms. Gen. R. H. Milroy, the successor of Gen. Reynolds at Cheat Mountain, failed on December 12th, in a similar attempt on the rebels strongly posted at Alleghany Summit; but on Dec. 31st, the ground now being covered with snow, he despatched Major Webster, of the 25th Ohio, with 800 men, to Huntersville, from which a considerable rebel force was driven out. The campaign of 1861 in Western Virginia thus closed, with few rebels remaining there.

On the 22d May, Gen. Butler took command at Fortress Monroe of some 15,000 raw but gallant soldiers, and was soon there confronted by 12,000 Confederates under Gens. Huger and Magruder. Some fugitive slaves entering his camp about this time, and being demanded under a flag of truce by their master, Gen. Butler decided that if, according to the latter, slaves were property, and Virginia a foreign nation at war with the United States, such property should be held as *contraband*, and refused to return the slaves. Having seized and fortified Newport News, at the mouth of James River, on the 9th June, Gen. Butler ordered a reconnoissance in force towards the rebel position at Little Bethel, the expedition being under command of Gen. E. W. Pierce, a militia brigadier of Massachusetts. Just before daybreak two Union regiments, those of Cols. Bendix and Townsend, of New York, at a junction of roads, came into collision; the former mistaking the latter for the enemy, and opening fire, killed two of that regiment and seriously wounded eight or ten. The rebels at Little Bethel, being thereupon alarmed, safely retreated. Gen. Pierce then pushed on to Big Bethel, where he found 1,800 Confederates, under Gen. Magruder, safely intrenched. After four hours' action, the Union forces being exposed in an open field, Gen. Pierce ordered a retreat, which was made in good order, a loss of 100 men having been sustained, including among the dead Major Theodore Winthrop, aid to Gen. Butler, and Lieut. John T. Greble, of the 2d regular artillery. During the night the rebels retreated to Yorktown, ten miles up the Peninsula. On the 16th August, Gen. Butler was succeeded in his command by Gen. Wool. During the month of May, Maryland Heights, opposite Harper's Ferry, was held by the rebels, under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston; and on the 19th, a considerable force of rebels appeared opposite Williamsport, apparently contemplating an invasion of the North. On the 24th May, the day of the Virginia secession election, 10,000 Union troops advanced into Virginia, from Washington, by order of Lieut.-Gen. Scott, commanding there. The 69th New York, Col. Corcoran, seized the junction of the Orange and Manassas Gap Railroads, several miles westward of Washington. The New York Fire Zouaves, under Col. Ellsworth, proceeded to occupy Alexandria. Observing a secession flag flying from the Marshall House, an hotel of that city, Col. Ellsworth, with four men, entered and took it down. On his return down the stairs of the house, he was shot dead by one Jackson, the innkeeper, who was in turn at once killed by a private of the regiment, Frank E. Brownell.

Gen. McDowell, commanding on the right bank of the Potomac, now occupied several weeks in fortifying his position there. Early in June, Lieut. C. H. Tompkins, of the 2d regular cavalry, dashed into the village of Fairfax Court-House, with a portion of that force, temporarily driving the enemy therefrom, with a small loss on both sides. On the 17th, near Vienna, thirteen miles from Alexandria, a train upon the railway, containing 700 of Col. McCook's 1st Ohio, under Gen. Robt. C. Schenck, was raked by a masked battery of two guns, planted there by Col. Gregg, commanding 800 rebels, South Carolinians, who had started that morning from Dranesville, destroying the track. The Ohio men at once sprang from the cars and formed on the side of the track, whereupon the rebels retreated to Fairfax Court-House, and the Unionists then returned to the camp at Alexandria, bringing their dead and wounded, twenty in number, in blankets, the engineer of the train having at the outset fled with his locomotive. On June 7th, Gen. Patterson, with 20,000 men, advanced from Chambersburg, Pa., to Hagerstown, Md., and Col. Lewis Wallace took possession of Cumberland and Romney. Gen. Johnston, of the rebels, thereupon burned the bridge at Point of Rocks. On the 14th he evacuated Harper's Ferry and retreated to Leesburg, Va., having destroyed the costly railway bridge over the Potomac at the former place, and also the armory and shops thereof, the machinery of which he had previously removed to Richmond. On the 16th, Gen. Thomas, of the Union army, crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, but recrossed on the 18th, Gen. Patterson still remaining at Hagerstown; whereupon the rebels returning, entirely destroyed the remaining works at Harper's Ferry, and conscripted all the citizens of the neighborhood. On July 2d, Gen. Patterson, crossing the Potomac at Williamsport, encountered Gen. Jackson, subsequently known as "Stonewall," who fell back to Bunker Hill, which place was occupied on the 15th July by Gen. Patterson without resistance. But on the 17th, the latter, from want of courage, common sense, or loyalty, moved away from the enemy in his front, marching to Charlestown, twelve miles eastward, and permitting Johnston to lead his entire command to Manassas. At Charlestown he remained without action until the 22d July, when learning the disaster of Bull Run, to be presently chronicled, he hastily retreated to Harper's Ferry, where on the 25th he was superseded by Gen. Nath. P. Banks.

On Tuesday, July 16th, Gen. Tyler's column, the advance of the Union grand army, moved towards the enemy to Vienna, and on Thursday reached Centreville, the rebels retiring quietly before it. At 1 o'clock P.M., it moved three miles beyond that village to Blackburn's Ford on Bull Run, where the rebels were found strongly posted. A vigorous artillery conflict now took place, in which a Union loss of 83 and a rebel loss of 68 was sustained. The Unionists finally drew back, having learned that the main rebel army was posted along the wooded valley of Bull Run, half-way between Centreville and Manassas Junction, and purposed to remain there. During the 18th and 19th, the Union army was concentrated near the ridge on which Centreville is situated. On Saturday, the 20th, three days' rations were distributed, and preparations made to move on the enemy at 2 o'clock on the following morning. Gen. Beauregard, commanding the rebel forces, was now well informed by sympathizers at Washington, and within the Union lines, of the detailed intention of the Unionists, and was reinforced by the full force of Gen. Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah. The Union order of battle was to menace the rebel right by an advance of the 1st Division on the Manassas road from Centreville; to make a more serious demonstration on the road running westerly from Centreville to Groveton, which crossed Bull Run by the Stone Bridge; but to make the main attack by a column of 15,000, composed of the 2d Division, Gen. Hunter, and 3d Division, Gen. Heintzelman, which was ordered to detour to the right, crossing Cub Run and Bull Run at the ford of Sudley Spring, three miles above the Stone Bridge, thus turning the rebel left and throwing it upon the centre, where it was to be flanked by the 1st Division, under Gen. Tyler, crossing the Stone Bridge at the critical moment. The 5th Division, Gen. Miles, was held in reserve at Centreville. The 4th Division, Gen. Runyon, guarded the communication with Alexandria, being about seven miles from Centreville. Gen. Tyler, in front of Stone Bridge, opened with his artillery at 6½ A.M., with reply from the enemy. Three hours later, Hunter's advance, under Col. Burnside, crossed at Sudley Spring, and after marching a mile through the woods down the road on the right of Bull Run, it reached some clear fields, and was there opened upon by the rebel artillery and infantry from the woods in its front. It advanced, fighting, being followed and supported by the rest of

the division, which was now joined on its left by Heintzelman's. This column, still advancing, crossed the Warrenton road, where it found and aided Sherman's brigade of Tyler's division, and soon nearly cleared the road of the rebel batteries and regiments there, commanded by Gen. J. E. Johnston. One of the most effective Union batteries, Griffin's, was here surprised by a rebel regiment, through the mistake of the battery's officers, who had supposed their assailants to be a Union force. Three attacks thereon were repulsed, however, with much slaughter on both sides, and the battery still remained uncaptured, though all its horses were killed. At 3 P.M. the rebels abandoned the Warrenton road to the Union troops. Gen. Tyler now pushed Sherman's and Keyes' brigades over Bull Run, driving the enemy in a severe struggle, and advancing till checked by a heavy artillery fire from their batteries on the heights above the road, which were supported by a brigade of infantry, strongly posted behind breastworks. The 2d Maine and 3d Connecticut, by a gallant charge, temporarily carried the buildings which sheltered the rebel guns, but recoiled from the severe fire from the breastworks, and moved down the Run under the shelter of the bluff, covering a force who now effected the removal of the obstructions placed by the rebels upon the road from the Stone Bridge. At this critical moment, at which the Union triumph seemed inevitable, Gen. Kirby Smith, with heavy rebel reinforcements, appeared on the field, having arrived from Piedmont, fifteen miles distant, and being entirely unexpected by the rebels themselves. Smith being shortly wounded, was succeeded in command by Col. Arnold Elzey, who pressed forward, followed by the entire force of the now confident enemy. After thirteen hours of severe action, not having been once reinforced, and having continually encountered fresh rebel regiments, the Union forces retreated, and shortly a panic among them ensued. The fresh battalions of the enemy continued to fill the woods on their right, extending rapidly towards the rear, firing from under cover, and seeming by their shots and cries to be innumerable. Two or three of the Union regiments broke and rushed down to the Run, pursued by 1,500 rebel cavalry under Lieut.-Col. Stuart. At this Union defeat on the right, Gen. Johnston ordered Gen. Ewell to attack the left. Ewell being received by the 2d Union Brigade, Col. T. A. Davis, with a heavy fire of grape and canister, precipitately retreated; but notwithstanding, the Union panic shortly became general, though the enemy failed to follow up their advantage by any extensive pursuit. Preceded by their cavalry, they crossed Bull Run, and halted on distantly observing the Union 5th Division drawn up on the slope west of Centreville, and upon which they were expected to advance. They shortly returned, however, to the woods skirting Bull Run. Night soon afterwards closed in, and towards midnight, under peremptory orders from Gen. McDowell, the 5th Division, which had now become the rear-guard of the Union army, commenced its retreat towards Washington. At 7 A.M. of Monday, the 22d, the last of the Union stragglers and wounded left Centreville, which a rebel force of cavalry shortly thereafter entered.

Gen. McDowell reported the Union losses in this engagement at 481 killed and 1,011 wounded, but made no report of the number of his forces made prisoners. Gen. Beauregard reported the rebel loss at 269 killed and 1,533 wounded, also making no report of his losses by capture. He further reported 1,460 wounded and other prisoners dispatched by him to Richmond. The Unionists also lost 17 field-pieces, and a large amount of small arms, accoutrements, and munitions. The forces engaged in this conflict were about 25,000 on each side; a large number of the troops of the Unionists, however, remained in inaction throughout, owing to the imbecility and lack of purpose which, at this period, presided over the military councils of the Union.

In consequence of this serious defeat of the Unionists, the rebellion was for the moment greatly strengthened and consolidated, its numbers in the field were instantly doubled, while the Union force was reduced by half, for most of the 75,000 three months' volunteers quitted the service on the expiration of their terms of enlistment, within the following three weeks. A few weeks, however, sufficed to efface this disparity; the nation rising from this defeat to a true appreciation of the contest, swelled its forces once more till they exceeded those of the enemy, who in the meanwhile expended in exultation much energy which might have been better used in preparation for the more serious conflicts yet to come.

On the 4th of July, the 37th Congress met in extra session and continued until August 6. Various measures to aid the Government in its prosecution of the war were passed, including a bill to call out 500,000 volunteers; one authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow $250,000,000; and a bill confiscating the property used for insurrectionary purposes by persons engaged in rebellion, and emancipating all slaves whose labor was employed in aid thereof. Resolutions were also adopted—expelling certain members of Congress from the Slave States who had vacated their seats and fled to the Confederacy; declaring it to be no part of the duty of the Federal soldiers to capture and return fugitive slaves; declaring the war to be maintained by the Union, to defend the Constitution and preserve the Union, and not to overthrow or interfere with the rights or established institutions of the Southern States; and declaring it to be the fixed determination of the people and States in Congress represented, to maintain the war for the supremacy of the Government, until all rebels thereto should submit.

One of the particular consequences of the Bull Run defeat, however, was the strengthening of the rebel army in Missouri. Having been early in May invested with unlimited authority by the Legislature, Gov. Jackson organized a large army of rebels, as a State force, appointing Sterling Price major-general thereof. Fearing an attack from the Federal force gathering at St. Louis, Jackson and Price started therefrom westward with their followers, reaching Booneville on the 18th of June. The Union Gen. Lyon and his army reached Rockport, opposite Booneville, shortly afterwards. Two or three thousand raw, undisciplined troops were here gathered in the rebel camp, commanded by Col. Marmaduke. At Gen. Lyon's unexpected approach, Jackson ordered those forces to be disbanded, but Marmaduke, determined to fight, met Lyon advancing from the landing, and was routed by him, losing two guns and much camp equipage. Jackson now fled to Warsaw, 80 miles south-west. Here he was reinforced by Col. O'Kane, who, on the 18th June, had surprised and routed a half-organized regiment of Unionists, under Capt. Cook, at Camp Cole, 15 miles distant. On the 3d July, having retreated to Lexington, he was further joined by Gen. Price, with his forces, amounting in all to 3,600. Being pursued by Lyon, they at once retreated 23 miles into Jasper County, where, on the morning of the 4th, they were confronted by a Union force of 1,500 under Col. Franz Sigel. The latter finding the rebels superior in numbers and in cavalry, but inferior in artillery, by principally using the latter on his side, inflicted great damage, and received very little. After three or four hours, the enemy flanked him right and left with cavalry, and compelled him to retreat three miles to his unprotected baggage train. At Dry Fork Creek he routed a strong cavalry force which had been massed in his front, and then continued to Carthage and thence to Sarcoxie, fifteen miles eastward. The Union loss in this affair was 13 killed and 31 wounded; that of the rebels 40 killed and 125 wounded. The enemy being now reinforced by several thousand Arkansas and Texas troops, under Gens. McCulloch and Pearce, Gen. Sigel continued his retreat to Springfield, where he was joined on the 10th by Gen. Lyon, who assumed command.

Col. Smith, with a Union force, on the 10th, at Palmyra, attacked and routed the rebel Gen. Harris of North-eastern Missouri, who was engaged in destroying the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, and in guerilla raids upon the property of the Unionists. On the 20th July, the State Convention reassembled at Jefferson City, declared the chief offices of the State Government vacated by the treasonable acts of their occupants, and elected Hamilton R. Gamble, Governor; W. P. Hall, Lieutenant-Governor; and Mordecai Oliver, Secretary of State; which proceedings were in the following November ratified by the people. On August 6th, the ejected Gov. Jackson undertook to issue, by the virtue of his office, a Declaration of Independence, asserting therein the political connection of the State of Missouri with the Federal Union to have been dissolved by the recent acts of the latter; and on the 31st October, he further undertook to form an alliance between this State and the Southern Confederacy, transferring all the military force and material of the former to the executive of the latter.

On the 1st of August, Gen. Lyon hearing that the enemy, largely reinforced, were advancing upon him at Springfield, in two strong bodies from the south and west, and resolving to strike the southern column before a junction of the two was effected, set out from Springfield with 5,500 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 18 guns. At Dry Springs he encountered and routed a detachment of the

enemy, under McCulloch, who then moved his forces westward and joined the other rebel column.

Lyon then returned to Springfield. On the 7th, the enemy, commanded by Price, arrived at Wilson's Creek, ten miles south of Springfield. On the 9th, Lyon advanced from the latter place with his main force, having sent Sigel, with 1,200 men, to gain the rebels' rear by their right. On the 10th, fire was thus opened both upon the rebel front and rear. The enemy at first gave way before the unexpected charge of Sigel, but presently, being vastly superior in numbers, attacked him with two batteries and a large force of infantry, causing his command to fly in confusion, and assailing it with large bodies of cavalry, by which a loss of 800, two-thirds of the whole force, was sustained. Gen. Lyon, in the meantime, had opened his batteries in front with great effect, and his infantry repeatedly drove back the rebels in disorder, who were as often rallied by their officers, assured by the superiority of their numbers. Gen. Lyon, having been twice wounded, was killed by a third bullet as he was heroically leading a bayonet charge of the 2d Kansas, whose commanding officer, Col. Mitchell, had previously fallen, severely wounded. Shortly after the death of Gen. Lyon, the enemy, who had retreated, suddenly reappeared, and a fierce engagement took place along the entire line. After many repulses, the rebels finally fled in wild confusion. The ammunition of the Union forces having been exhausted, and the tidings of the rout of Col. Sigel having arrived, a retreat of the Unionists to Springfield was ordered. In this remarkable engagement, in which 3,700 Unionists assailed for six hours the enemy numbering 23,000, of whom 14,000 were well-armed and well-disciplined troops, the Union loss was 223 killed, 721 wounded, and 292 missing; that of the enemy 265 killed, 800 wounded, and 30 missing.

Springfield being unfortified and otherwise untenable, the Union forces, on the 19th August, evacuated it and reached Rolla unmolested. Gen. Fremont now assumed command of the Western Department, over which a force of 55,693 men was scattered, confronting formidable, and often superior, numbers of rebels. He proceeded to fortify St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, Ironton, Rolla, and Jefferson City. On the 31st August he issued a general order, in which he memorably declared the slaves of the rebels to be free. Gen. Price, having separated from Gen. McCulloch and his forces, moved northward from Springfield and appeared before Lexington on the 11th September. Here he was joined by Gen. Harris from the north side of the river, and by reinforcements and volunteers from all directions, until his force amounted to about 25,000, with 13 guns.

On a hill north-east of the city, Col. Mulligan, at the head of 2,780 Union soldiers, with barely 40 rounds of ammunition, had posted himself. He was at once cannonaded by the rebels, but no general assault was made upon him. On the 17th, he was cut off from the river and deprived of water, save that of accidental rains. The rations and ammunition now became short, while the rebels made four charges, but without success. On the 18th, Capt. Gleason, with a small band, in a heroic sally retook a hospital which had been shortly before captured by the rebels, and from the roof and balcony of which their sharpshooters had poured a deadly fire within the Union intrenchments. On the 20th the rebels rolled up a line of hemp bales, 40 yards long, to within ten rods of the garrison. The Missouri Home Guard, constituting a good portion of Mulligan's forces, now becoming dispirited, their colonel having been killed, retired within the line of the inner intrenchments and raised a white flag, at which the rebels ceased firing. Col. Mulligan and a council of officers then decided to surrender. The Union loss in this affair was 40 killed and 120 wounded; that of the Confederates, about the same. The troops which had been dispatched from different quarters by Gen. Fremont to reinforce Col. Mulligan, failed to reach him, having been delayed by rains or bad roads, or the confrontation of superior rebel forces.

Gen. Price now retreated to the south-west, and on the 27th September Gen. Fremont left St. Louis in pursuit. Price skilfully continued his flight to Neosho, in the south-west corner of the State, where he found Governor Jackson and a part of the old Legislature, who now formally passed an ordinance of secession. Gen. Fremont having reached Tipton, there spent some time in organization. The roads were now excessively bad from the autumn rains, and his army, some 30,000 men, including 5,000 cavalry and 80 guns, was illy provided with means of transportation; but on the 17th October he moved to Warsaw. On the 21st, the rebel Gen. Jeff. Thompson was overpowered at Fredericktown by superior Union forces, and after two hours' fighting, fled, hotly pursued, and leaving 60 dead.

On the 24th October, Major White, who led the advance of Gen. Fremont's army, and who had recaptured Lexington on the 16th, without loss, taking 70 prisoners and releasing a number of Unionists captured with Mulligan, was joined near Springfield by Major Zagonyi, of the Fremont Body-Guard, who assumed command and resolved to capture that place the next day. The two commands, numbering about 300 men, found 1,200 infantry and 400 horse posted and prepared for them on a hill on the outskirts of Springfield. Upon these Zagonyi at once charged, losing seventy men ere he could strike a blow. He soon, however, caused the rebel force to scatter in flight through the corn-fields in the rear, and a greater part of them having taken refuge in the village, were then driven therefrom with great slaughter. Shortly afterwards the other Union forces arrived at this place.

On November 2d, Gen. Fremont was unwisely superseded in his command by Gen. Hunter, and his body-guard, though enlisted for three years and composed of the very best material, were soon afterwards mustered out of service by order of Gen. McClellan, who had now succeeded Gen. Scott in the chief command at Washington. Five days after Gen. Hunter had assumed command, by orders also emanating from Washington, Springfield was unnecessarily abandoned by the Union army, which retreated to Rolla. This movement disheartened the Unionists and elated the rebels of all Southern Missouri. On November 12th, Gen. Henry W. Halleck succeeded to the command of the Missouri Department.

The Legislature of Kentucky, which met on September 3, was strongly Union in character, and proceeded at once to repass over the Governor's veto, a bill directing him to order by proclamation the Confederate troops encamped in Kentucky to decamp immediately. Gen. Zollicoffer, commanding the rebel forces in East Tennessee, had advanced through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky for the purpose of cutting off from that loyal portion of Tennessee all communication with the loyal States; and a large rebel force under Gen. Bishop Leonidas Polk held and was fortifying strong positions on the east bank of the Mississippi at Hickman, Chalk Bluffs, and Columbus. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, commanding at Cairo, Ill., now occupied Paducah, on the south bank of the Ohio, there being 16 miles distant a Confederate force of 3,800 strong. Gen. Robt. Anderson assumed command at Louisville of the Department of Kentucky, September 20th, and the organization of Union volunteers rapidly proceeded. Strong bills and resolutions in aid of the prosecution of the war against the rebels were now passed by the State Legislature. On the 16th, Zollicoffer advanced to Barboursville, Ky. A large number of prominent sympathizers with the rebellion, natives of the State, including ex-Vice-President John C. Breckinridge, now escaped to the Southern Confederacy, and openly gave in their adhesion thereto.

Gen. W. T. Sherman, early in October, succeeded Gen. Anderson in command of this district, and shortly informed the Federal Government that 200,000 men were necessary to hold Kentucky, being deceived as to the strength of the rebels there in arms, who were then not over 40,000. On October 21st, Zollicoffer, with a considerable force, attacked the Unionists organizing at Camp Wildcat, under Gen. Schoepf. Though superior in numbers, the rebels were repulsed and driven away. A portion of the rebel army under Gen. Polk was encamped at Belmont, on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, opposite Columbus. On November 6th, with 2,850 Illinoisans, Gen. Grant moved down the river in four steamboats upon this force at Belmont. Fighting with great gallantry, the Unionists carried and fired the enemy's camp, capturing several guns and driving the rebels over the bluff to the river. Gen. Polk now trained some of the heavy guns of Columbus upon the victorious Unionists, and sent 5,000 men to the aid of his routed fugitives. Though largely outnumbered, the Unionists successfully cut their way back through these fresh troops to the boats, bringing off all their own guns, with two captured from the rebels, losing two caissons, and 400 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. In this action, Gen. Grant's horse was shot under him. The entire rebel loss was about 800.

On the 9th November, Gen. William Nelson, commanding the Union forces in Eastern Kentucky, drove out of Piketon a considerable rebel force under Col. John S. Williams, and caused them to retreat as far as Pound Gap, with inconsiderable loss, however, on either side. The hopes of the heroic

Unionists of East Tennessee, aroused by these successes, were shortly destroyed by the course of Gen. Schoepf, commanding the Union army in front of Zollicoffer. Led to believe that an overwhelming Confederate force was advancing from Bowling Green to flank his right, he hastily fled to the Ohio, and left East Tennessee to her fate.

On the 18th November, the Secessionists of the State held a convention at Russelville, protected by the Confederate camp at Bowling Green, and organized a Provisional Government, which included a species of Legislative Council. Geo. W. Johnson was designated as Governor by them, and commissioners to negotiate for the admission of Kentucky into the Confederacy were also appointed; and shortly afterwards a full delegation from this State was admitted to the Confederate Congress, having been chosen thereto by the abovesaid Council.

On the 1st June, a small privateer, the *Savannah*, eluded the Federal blockaders at Charleston, S. C., and falling in with a Northern merchantman, captured her. On the same day, observing another vessel, which she supposed to be another merchantman, she made all sail thereto, and discovered, when too late, that she was under the guns of the U. S. brig *Perry;* shortly surrendering, the men and officers were despatched to New York in the vessel recently their own, and, after some intention on the part of the Federal authorities to try them as pirates, and threats of retaliation by President Davis, they were ultimately exchanged as prisoners of war. Two months later, the *Petrel*, formerly the U. S. revenue cutter *Aiken*, betrayed to South Carolina by her officers at the commencement of the rebellion, ran out from the same harbor, and shortly encountered the gunboat *St. Lawrence*. Mistaking the latter for a merchantman, the privateer fired at her. The *St. Lawrence* at once answered with a broadside, which sunk the privateer with five of her crew. The remainder, thirty-six in number, were picked up and sent to Fort Miflin, on the Delaware, as prisoners. On June 30th, the steam privateer *Sumter* ran the blockade of New Orleans, and shortly captured fifteen merchantmen in the West India waters. At the British port of Nassau she was promptly furnished with supplies, and, after a continued success, finally entered the British harbor of Gibraltar. The U. S. gunboat *Tuscarora*, anchored in the Spanish port of Algesiras opposite, with the *Kearsarge* succeeding her in the watch, held the privateer there until the Confederate officers abandoned her, and proceeded to Liverpool to take charge of a better steamer, the *Alabama*, which had there been constructed for the Confederacy. The privateer Nashville also succeeded in running out of Charleston, and, after burning an American merchantman in British waters, ran into Southampton, where the *Tuscarora* then was, but the latter was compelled to remain twenty-four hours after the departure of the former, who thus escaped.

On August 26th, 1861, Gen. B. F. Butler sailed from Fortress Monroe, in command of a large military force, accompanied by Com. Silas Stringham, commanding a commensurate naval force. Arriving at Hatteras Inlet, the entrance to Pamlico Sound, on the 28th, he proceeded to bombard the rebel forts Hatteras and Clark, defended by 700 Confederates, under Com. Barron, late of the U. S. Navy. On the morning of the 29th the latter surrendered, 715 prisoners, 25 cannon, and 1,000 stand of arms being taken. For several days thereafter, blockade-runners from various quarters, entering the inlet, were also captured. Late in September, the 20th Indiana, Col. Brown, of the Union troops at Hatteras, occupied Chicamicomico, some fifteen miles north-east of the inlet. On September 29th, while proceeding through the Sound, the Union steamer *Fanny*, loaded with stores, was captured by three armed steamers from the mainland; and shortly after, Col. Brown discovering five rebel steamers emerging from Croatan Sound to attack him, destroyed his camp and made a rapid march to the Hatteras Lighthouse, with a loss of 50 stragglers made prisoners. In the meantime his courier had reached the forts, and the Union steam frigates *Susquehanna* and *Monticello* were dispatched on the ocean side of the island to his relief, while Col. Hawkins started from the forts with six companies of Zouaves for the scene of action. The *Monticello* opened upon the rebel forces with shells, which caused them to flee, panic-stricken. The land being less than a mile wide between the ocean and the Sound, afforded them no place of safety, and the slaughter was immense. The firing was thus continued until night set in, when the rebels re-embarked. The amount of their loss has never been ascertained.

On the night of September 13th, an expedition from the flag-ship *Colorado*, Com. Mervine, of the Gulf blockading squadron, boarded the rebel privateer *Judah* in Pensacola harbor, fired and scuttled her, with a loss of 3 killed and 12 wounded. On the night of October 9th, a Confederate force from Pensacola surprised and destroyed the camp of the 6th N. Y. (Wilson's Zouaves), about two miles from Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island; but in retreating to their boats, were followed and severely harassed.

On the 29th October, a second military and naval expedition, under Gen. W. T. Sherman and Com. Samuel F. Du Pont, and consisting of 10,000 men and a fleet embracing the steam frigate *Wabash*, 14 gunboats, 34 steamers and 26 sailing vessels, left Hampton Roads, and after a stormy passage arrived off Port Royal, S. C., November 4th, which harbor was strongly fortified by the rebels. On November 7th, the war-steamers of the fleet in order sailed up before the fortifications on one side of the entrance and down before those of the other side, constantly discharging their shot and shell thereupon. After five hours of fearful carnage and devastation among the rebels, the latter took to flight, and the neighborhood was at once occupied by the Union forces. On December 6th, Beaufort was also occupied by them, and on December 20th, Tybee Island, commanding the approach to Savannah. The slave-holders of the region, having burned their cotton and other crops, fled to Charleston with their domestic animals, and as many of their slaves as they could control. Labor and schools were at once provided by the Federal authorities for the negroes remaining.

James M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate envoys to Great Britain and France, evaded the blockade at Charleston in the steamship *Theodora* and proceeded to Havana, Cuba, which port they left on Nov. 7, for England, in the British steamer *Trent*. Capt. Wilkes, of the United States steamship *San Jacinto*, intercepted the *Trent* in the Bahama Channel on the 8th, and firing a shell across her bow compelled her to stop. He then boarded her and brought away the embassadors and their secretaries, leaving their families and papers undisturbed. On reaching the United States the rebel officials were confined, by order of the Government, in Fort Warren, near Boston. Great excitement was caused throughout Europe and America by this act. The seizure was justified by the doctrines and practices of Great Britain, and especially by the Queen's proclamation of neutrality between the United States and the Confederates, of May 13, 1861, which forbade the carrying of officers and dispatches for either party; nevertheless a peremptory demand was instantly made by Great Britain for the unconditional surrender of the rebel envoys and their secretaries. France also extended her moral aid to this demand in a considerate note to the United States; and the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, complied with it, technically basing his compliance upon the failure of Com. Wilkes to bring the *Trent* into port for adjudication of the act.

On the 25th July, Gen. Scott, though nominally remaining in chief command at Washington, was practically superseded by the formation of the new military Department of Washington and North-eastern Virginia, to which Gen. McClellan was then assigned. The latter commenced at once the organization of the forces of the department, which now began to be increased by the renewed activity of the loyal States, and on the 15th Oct. they amounted to 150,000 men, well drilled and fitted for service. The enemy in the meanwhile failed to follow up their victory at Bull Run by advancing on Washington or Baltimore, which were then clearly at their mercy. On the 17th October, the Union army occupied Fairfax Court-House, the Confederates retiring to Centreville and Manassas. On the 16th, Gen. Geary captured from the rebels Bolivar Heights, overlooking Harper's Ferry. On the 20th, Brig.-Gen. Stone, guarding the line of the Potomac at Poolesville, Md., ordered Col. Devens, 16th Mass., and Col. Lee, 20th Mass., with a portion of their commands, to move towards the enemy, discovered in the region of Leesburgh, Va. For this purpose they crossed the Potomac, and at noon, on the 21st, at Ball's Bluff, on the Virginia shore, were attacked by musketry from the woods, surrounding on three sides the field on which they were formed. They then fell back to the edge of the bluff, which was about 150 feet high, and between 1 and 2 P.M. were reinforced by Col. E. D. Baker, who assumed command, with a force consisting of the New York Tammany regiment, Col. Milton Cogswell, the California regiment, Lieut.-Col. Wistar, comprising, with the Massachusetts men, 1,900 men. The rebel assailants comprised the 8th Virginia, 13th, 17th, and 18th Mississippi, forming the brigade of Gen. Evans. The struggle continued for two hours, with a great slaugh-

ter of the exposed Union forces. Col. Baker having bravely fallen, shot through the head, Col. Cogswell, who succeeded to the command, attempted to charge the enemy on the left, and escape towards Gen. Stone, but being met by a fresh Mississippi regiment, was thrown in disorder down the bluff just as darkness was ensuing. The pursuing rebels from the bluff continued to fire upon the struggling, flying mass below and in the boats, which being overloaded, were shortly upset. Few of the Union force escaped drowning or the destructive fire of the enemy; the loss being not less than 1,000 men, including 300 killed, and more than 500, mostly wounded, taken prisoners.

On December 20th, Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commanding 3d Pennsylvania Brigade, with about 4,000 men, moved on Dranesville, Loudon Co., Va., to forage. Near Dranesville the Union forces were attacked by a rebel brigade under Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, consisting of about 2,500 men. The rebels were badly beaten, losing 230 men, including several officers. The Federal loss was 9 killed and 60 wounded.

The Army of the Potomac, comprising nearly 200,000, were now eagerly awaiting the expected permission to move in mass on the enemy, and the loyal people of the North still hurried regiments to it, to be in time for the decided movement that was supposed to be shortly inevitable. The weather was extremely propitious, the roads remaining hard and dry till far into the winter. But winter settled upon this grand army without a blow being struck by it. The rebels, vastly outnumbered, wisely refrained from disturbing this virtual siege of Washington, by any offensive movement. This neglect of a grand opportunity is attributed both to the incapacity of Gen. McClellan for the position which he held, and to the influence of the party who hoped to restore the Union with slavery, by means of little fighting and a speedy compromise.

On the withdrawal of the Union forces from South-western Missouri, Gen. Price, the rebel commander, at once returned from the Arkansas border, passing triumphantly through Springfield and occupying Lexington and other points upon the Mississippi. Rebel incendiaries and guerillas became frequent, and small combats took place. The village of Warsaw was burned by them on November 19, 1861, and Platte City, December 16, 1861; and on December 20, nearly 100 miles of the railroad crossing Northern Missouri was disabled by them; whereupon Gen. Halleck, commanding the department, threatened to shoot parties engaged in this kind of work: but this threat, never executed, was of little force. On December 15, the rebels occupying Lexington under Gens. Rains and Stein were driven southward therefrom by Gen. Pope, with a loss of 300 prisoners and most of their baggage, including seventy wagons laden with clothes and supplies for Gen. Price, then at Osceola with 8,000 men. On the 18th, Col. Jeff. C. Davis captured, by surprise, a rebel camp at Milford, consisting of 3 colonels, 17 captains, 1,000 men, 1,000 stand of arms, 1,000 horses, with tents, baggage, and supplies. Gen. Price now retreated rapidly to the southern line of the State, where, near Boston Mountain, he was joined by Gen. McCulloch, with a division of Texas and Arkansas Confederates, and on March 3, 1862, by Gen. Earl Van Dorn, Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department; and also by Gen. Albert Pike, of Arkansas, at the head of some 5,000 Indians. The number of rebels was increased by these accessions to 20,000. Most of the Indians, Creeks and Choctaws, being slaveholders themselves, had entered into an alliance with the Confederacy; and on December 9, 1861, the minority in favor of the Union, under Chief Opothleyolo, were beaten on Bushy Creek, 180 miles west of Fort Smith, and compelled to flee into Kansas. March 6, 1862, Gen. Van Dorn attempted to isolate the division of Gen. Sigel at Bentonville from the rest of the Union army near Mottsville, which was now commanded by Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, of Iowa. By skilful fighting and falling back throughout the day, Gen. Sigel baffled this attempt, with small loss, and at 4 P.M. was joined by reinforcements from Gen. Curtis, when he deliberately encamped at Pea Ridge, near Gen. Curtis's centre. On the 7th, the enemy, instead of advancing upon Gen. Curtis by way of the direct road from Fayetteville, succeeded in reaching and advancing on the road from Bentonville, thus flanking the Unionists. Gen. Curtis promptly changed his line, making the first and second divisions, under Sigel and Asboth his left; the third, under Jeff. C. Davis, his centre; and the 4th, under Col. Carr, his right. This line, about three miles in length, stretching from Sugar Creek to Elkhorn Tavern, was confronted by Gen. Price with his Missouri forces, Gen. McIntosh commanding the centre, and Gen. McCulloch on the left. At 10½ A.M., Gen. Osterhaus advanced on the rebels from Leetown in the centre nearly to the Bentonville road, but was driven back in disorder by overwhelming numbers, and with the loss of his battery. At the same time McCulloch attacked Carr's forces with vastly superior numbers at Elkhorn Tavern. Col. Davis now advanced to the aid of Osterhaus, and although repeatedly compelled to fall back, held his ground at the close of the day, recapturing during the conflict, by a desperate charge of the 18th Indiana, two guns of Davidson's Battery. Gen. Curtis, with Asboth's division, finding his left unassailed, at 2 P.M. moved to Elkhorn to the support of Carr, whom he reached at 5 P.M. The latter had been fiercely fighting with an immensely superior force for seven hours, during which one-fourth of his command had fallen. Gen. Asboth now opened a heavy artillery fire on the rebel forces, and the 2d Missouri Infantry also vigorously attacked them. But night shortly closed in, and both armies rested on the battlefield. On the morning of the 8th Col. Davis renewed the battle in the centre, and the rebels replied from new batteries and lines formed during the night, raking the Union right wing, and causing it to slightly fall back. Asboth's and Sigel's divisions were soon in position, completing the Union line of battle. Gen. Curtis now ordered his right to advance to the support of the Dubuque Battery, posted on an elevation at the extreme right. He then placed the 1st Iowa Battery in an open field, and other batteries with supporting infantry were speedily placed in such positions as to cause the rebels to recoil. The Union left wing was meanwhile pushed forward, driving the rebels into the deep ravines of Cross-Timber Hollow. At 9½ A.M. the rout of the rebels was complete. After entering the Hollow their main force turned to the right, following obscure valleys which led into the Huntsville road. On this they escaped to a point some eight miles on the Bentonville road, whence Van Dorn dispatched a flag of truce to Curtis, soliciting an arrangement for burying the dead, which was accorded. The command of Curtis, in this battle, numbered about 10,500 men, and 48 pieces of artillery. The rebel force was about 30,000, including 5,000 Indians, who were worse than useless in the action, seemingly terrified by the novelty of the artillery. The Federal loss, during the three days, was reported at 1,351, of whom 701 were of Col. Carr's division. The rebel loss, unascertained, was probably much more, including Gens. McCulloch and McIntosh killed, and Gens. Price and Slack wounded.

The enemy having disappeared, Gen. Curtis now proceeded towards Batesville, on White River, for supplies, which, however, failed to arrive, owing to low water. Compelled thus to rely for supplies upon wagon trains from Rolla, Mo., several hundred miles distant, he gave up his intended march on Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, and after waiting eight weeks at Batesville he moved in a south-western direction. In making his way across the cypress swamps of the Cache River, he was attacked by a rebel force of 1,500 Texan cavalry, under Gen. Albert Rust. These he routed after an hour's conflict by an impetuous charge of the 1st Indiana Cavalry, with a loss to the rebels of 110 killed. Being short of provisions in an inhospitable country, Gen. Curtis now proceeded to Helena, on the Mississippi, which he reached about July 12, bringing with him a large number of negroes, who had been employed by the rebels in obstructing the roads, and were thus entitled to their freedom by law of Congress.

On Aug. 6, 1862, at Kirksville, Adair County, Missouri, Col. John McNeil, with 1,000 cavalry and 6 guns, attacked a rebel band of Missouri partisans, under Col. Porter, two or three thousand in number, and, after a severe fight of four hours, defeated them, inflicting a loss of 180 killed, 500 wounded, and several wagon-loads of arms; the Federal loss being 28 killed and 60 wounded. On Sept. 2 another of these rebel partisan forces of 1,200, under Col. Poindexter, was attacked and routed while crossing Chariton River, by Col. Odin Guitar, 9th Militia Cavalry of Missouri, with 600 men and 2 guns, many of the rebels being driven into the river and drowned. Poindexter fleeing northward to join Porter, was driven back by another Union force under Gen. Benj. Loan, and again attacked by Guitar, who utterly annihilated his command; and Porter, being driven back upon McNeil by the same movement of Gen. Loan, was likewise compelled to disperse his band to save it from destruction. No rebels henceforward appeared in any force north of the Missouri River. On Aug. 11, the Federal garrison at Independence, in the western part of the

State, consisting of 312 men of the 7th Missouri Cavalry, under Lieut.-Col. Buel, was surrendered after a short resistance to a rebel band of 800, under Col. Hughes. The latter being joined by Col. Coffey with 1,500 Arkansas Cavalry, then attacked Major Foster, of the 7th Militia Cavalry, 800 men, at Lone Jack, Jackson County, defeating him and compelling him to retreat with a loss of two guns to Lexington. Coffey advanced upon the latter place, but finding Gen. Blunt in strong force there, fled, vigorously pursued to the Arkansas line by the latter, but escaped without serious loss.

Gen. Schofield, commanding this department, was now superseded by Gen. Curtis, and took the field against the rebels in the south-west of the State, who were meditating a fresh invasion. On Oct. 1 he left Springfield. At Newtonia his advance under Gen. Salomon was overwhelmed and pressed back by a large body of rebel cavalry. Being reinforced shortly by Gen. Blunt, from Arkansas, his force was swelled to 10,000 men, while that of the enemy at Newtonia was estimated at 15,000. Being charged with artillery and cavalry, the rebels, who were badly armed, now fled 30 miles into Arkansas. Schofield pressed on to Pea Ridge, where the rebel force having been divided, he sent Gen. Blunt in pursuit of that portion which had moved westward, under Cooper, towards Fort Scott. The latter being overtaken near Maysville, was compelled to flee in disorder across the Arkansas to Fort Gibson, losing four guns. Gen. Schofield pursued the main body of the rebels as far as Huntsville, and finding them resolved to avoid fighting till they were reinforced, returned to Osage Springs, from whence he dispatched a force under Gen. Herron to attack some 3,000 or 4,000 rebel cavalry on White River, eight miles from Fayetteville. These were assailed, Oct. 28, so vigorously, that, although superior in numbers, they shortly fled into the mountains, losing their camp equipage. On Nov. 20, Gen. Schofield was forced by sickness to resign his command. Gen. Hindman, commanding the Confederate forces in Arkansas, having collected a large force, early in December crossed the Arkansas River, near Van Buren, with 9,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and extensive artillery, and advanced upon Gen. Blunt at Cave Hill with 5,000 troops. Gen. Blunt, showing a bold front, at once apprised Gen. Herron, commanding the 2d and 3d Divisions of the Federal forces, who was then at Wilson's Creek, 10 miles north of Springfield, and who immediately, by forced marches, proceeded to the relief of Blunt. On Dec. 7th he reached Fayetteville, and had proceeded thence five miles, when his cavalry in the advance were attacked and thrown into confusion by Marmaduke, commanding the vanguard of Hindman's army. The main portion of his cavalry reached Gen. Blunt, and the remainder returned to him. On the 6th December, thus divested of cavalry and with about 4,000 men, he was confronted by the rebel main force at Prairie Grove, on Illinois Creek. He at once gallantly attacked the enemy. The battle was desperately contested, the batteries of both sides being repeatedly charged upon, often taken, and as often abandoned under the overwhelming fire of infantry concentrated upon them. At 2 P.M., however, Gen. Blunt came up on the right of Gen. Herron, confronting the rebel left, where a large force had been massed for the purpose of flanking the latter's position. The battle thus continued with great vigor until evening, when the rebels retreated into the woods, leaving the Union soldiers in the open fields where it had been fought. During the night the rebel force retreated from the neighborhood. The Union loss in this battle of Prairie Grove was 167 killed, 798 wounded and 183 missing. Gen. Hindman's official report made his loss 164 killed, among them Gen. Stein, of Missouri; 817 wounded, and 336 missing.

After the betrayal of the United States frontier army to the Confederates by Gen. Twiggs in February, 1861, most of the posts, extending from Indianola, Texas, to Fort Bliss, on the route to New Mexico, a distance of 675 miles, were shortly given up to the Confederate authorities by the officers in command, who were generally in full sympathy with the rebel cause. A force of 700 at El Paso was also betrayed to the rebels by their commanding officer, Major Lynde; whereupon the Governor of New Mexico, Abraham Rencher, at once called out the militia thereof, exerting a wholesome counteracting influence upon its Mexican population in behalf of the Union. On Dec. 2, 1861, a new governor, Henry Connolly, arrived, and Col. E. R. S. Canby, a loyal officer, had also succeeded to the military command of the department. The Territorial Legislature, at the Governor's recommendation, promptly repealed the act protecting slavery in the Territory. Col. Canby had now organized his scanty forces, and held the frontier posts as far down as Fort Fillmore, which still remained in the hands of the Texans.

Gen. H. F. Sibley, having organized a rebel brigade in Texas for the conquest of New Mexico, on Feb. 19, 1862, confronted Col. Canby at Valverde, about seven miles from Fort Craig, on the east bank of the Rio Grande, with a force of 2,300 men, most of them efficiently trained in previous frontier service, and famous as "Texan rangers." The battle was opened in the morning, and continued mainly with artillery, wherein the Unionists were superior both in guns and in service, until noon, when the rebel commander ordered a charge of 1,000 infantry upon the Union battery, commanded by Lieut. McRae. The battery was taken, and Lieuts. McRae and Michler were killed at their posts. The supporting Union infantry, though largely outnumbering the Texans, most shamefully fled from the field to the fort. The losses of men were about equal, 60 killed and 140 wounded on either side. The rebels, deeming an assault on Fort Craig unadvisable, then pushed on up the river, advancing towards Santa Fé. At Apache Pass, fifteen miles from the latter place, March 24, they encountered a raw Federal force of 1,300, mostly Colorado volunteers, under Col. John P. Slough, whom they speedily routed by a charge, but inflicting small loss upon them. Sibley then triumphantly entered Santa Fé, which place, however, he was shortly compelled to evacuate, retreating by forced marches to his depot at Albuquerque, as Canby was marching upon it from Fort Craig. He saved it, but evacuated it also on the 12th April, and was pursued in his retreat down the west bank of the river, by Canby on the east. In order to avoid another general action in his crippled condition, he shortly abandoned the river for the mountains, and by an arduous march through the most desolate and rugged of regions, succeeded in evading his enemy, and returning to Fort Bliss in Texas.

Early in January, 1862, Col. James A. Garfield, commanding a Union brigade, moved on Humphrey Marshall, commanding the Confederate forces in South-eastern Kentucky. Near Prestonburg, Floyd County, he encountered the latter, whom he forced to retreat into Virginia. About Feb. 22 Cumberland Gap was also abandoned to the Unionists, and shortly afterwards Gen. Garfield surprised and captured a considerable rebel camp at Pound Gap.

On Jan. 17th, Gen. George H. Thomas, ordered by Gen. Buell to assume the command of the Union forces in Kentucky, operating against Gen. Zollicoffer's army, reached Logan's Cross-Roads, having under him a force of about 8,000 men. Here, on the 19th January, he was attacked by Major-Gen. George B. Crittenden, who had superseded Zollicoffer. The charge of the rebels was desperate, and the battle lasted for nearly two hours, during which the opposing infantry often fired through the same fence. In the midst of the battle Gen. Zollicoffer was shot by Col. Fry, of the 4th Kentucky, the latter's horse being shot dead about the same time. A charge of the 9th Ohio, with fixed bayonets, carried the day, the rebels flying to their intrenchments on the Cumberland River, at Camp Beech Grove. The rebels lost in this action 192 killed, 62 wounded, and 89 prisoners. The Union loss was 39 killed and 207 wounded. The Unionists at once proceeded to shell the rebel intrenchments, and shortly afterwards night fell. Taking advantage of a small steamer, the Confederates silently escaped across the river during the night, leaving 12 guns, with caissons and many small arms, 1,500 horses and mules, and all their army material.

On Feb. 2, 1862, Com. A. H. Foote, with seven gunboats, and Gen. U. S. Grant, with 15,000 men on steamboats, left Cairo, and moved up the Ohio and the Tennessee to within ten miles of Fort Henry, a strong rebel work commanding the latter river from its eastern bank, mounting 17 large guns, and defended by Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, of Ky., with 2,600 men. About twelve miles distant, on the western bank of the Cumberland River, was situated Fort Donelson, a still more formidable rebel fort, the two being connected by a military road, so that reinforcements could easily be thrown from one into the other. On Feb. 4, Gen. Grant debarked his forces within four miles of Fort Henry. On the morning of the 6th, his main body, under Gen. John A. McClernand, moved to seize the military road connecting the two forts, while a brigade under Gen. C. F. Smith advanced on the west bank of the river; and Com. Foote, with his gunboats, including the iron-clads *Cincinnati*, *Essex*, *Carondelet*, and *St. Louis*, steamed slowly up and attacked the fort from the river. After an hour's exchange of cannonading the *Essex* was pierced by a 24 pound shot from

the fort, which exploded one of her boilers, by which both of her pilots were killed, and Capt. W. D. Porter and forty of his men severely scalded. The *Essex* then drifted out of the action, but the remaining iron-clads continued to approach the fort until within 600 yards thereof, gradually silencing its guns. At 2 P.M. Col. Tilghman, who had previously ordered the entire force within the fort, with the exception of those engaged in working the guns, to retreat to Fort Donelson, raised a flag of truce, and shortly surrendered. Gen. McClernand failed to intercept the main rebel force on their way to Fort Donelson. This engagement is chiefly memorable as the first in history in which iron-clad boats were tried.

Six days after the fall of Fort Henry, Gen. Floyd arrived at Fort Donelson with heavy reinforcements and assumed command, superseding Gen. Gideon J. Pillow. The fort covered a level plateau of 100 acres, surmounting a steep bluff 100 feet high, having two strong water batteries on the bank at its base. The fort itself had 8 heavy guns mounted in addition to the field batteries of its garrison, which now amounted to about 15,000 men. On Feb. 13, Gen. Grant, bringing Smith's division across the Tennessee, proceeded from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson, investing the latter by a line 3 miles long, and 200 rods distant from the rebel outworks. Skirmishing by sharpshooters took place during the day, and in the evening Com. Foote arrived with his gunboats, four iron-clad and two wooden. At 3 P.M. the next day, the latter had steadily advanced to within 400 yards of the great guns of the fort, driving most of the enemy's gunners from their posts. At this point, perceiving victory hopeless from the crippled condition of his fleet, he withdrew down the river, having been himself painfully wounded in the foot. Elated with the defeat of the gunboats, the rebel general Floyd at once assumed the offensive against the Union forces. At daylight on the morning of the 15th, Gen. Pillow commanding the rebel left, which had been heavily massed, vigorously attacked the Union right under Gen. McClernand, and after several hours of desperate fighting, caused the latter to slowly fall back on the Union centre. About noon, Pillow joined Buckner, leading the rebel centre, and assumed command of the united forces. A charge was then made by the rebel cavalry under Gen. Forrest on the Union infantry supporting a battery of six pieces, which was thus captured. Col. Cruft with the 1st and Col. Thayer with the 3d brigade of the Union centre, having been sent by Gen. Lew Wallace, its commander, to the aid of McClernand's overmatched forces, the rebel advance was checked. Gen. Grant, who was in conference with Com. Foote on a gunboat some miles distant, not having expected this attack, arrived on the field at 3 P.M., and ordered a general advance, Gen. Wallace leading against the enemy's left, and Gen. C. F. Smith charging the right. At 5 P.M. Wallace had driven Buckner to the intrenchment from which he had rallied in the morning, and rested within 150 yards thereof. Gen. Smith, in a bloody charge, carried the works before him, and thus a position was gained by the Unionists secure against recapture. The weather during the night became severely cold, and great suffering was endured by both sides in consequence, many of the wounded being actually frozen to death. The rebels were now greatly outnumbered, and their gallant attempt to extricate themselves from the investment, by cutting through the Union right, had failed. Eighty-four hours of alternate watching and fighting had completely exhausted them, and the positions gained by Gen. Smith rendered other of their intrenchments untenable. A surrender to the Unionists was inevitable. Gen. Floyd, now devoting his energies to his own personal escape, turned over his command to Gen. Pillow, who, actuated by the same motive, passed it to Gen. Buckner. Floyd filled two rebel steamboats at hand with his own brigade shortly before sunrise, and steamed up the river, leaving the rest of the garrison to their fate, of whom, however, Col. Forrest with 800 cavalry escaped on a partially overflown road by the bank of the river. The terms of the capitulation having been fixed by Gen. Grant at unconditional and immediate surrender, with the alternative of instant renewal of the attack, the rebel capitulation took place on the morning of the 16th February, 1862. The rebel loss in this conflict and surrender was fully 10,000 men, including 2,000 killed and wounded. The Union loss in killed and wounded was somewhat larger. Thus of the three great avenues leading from the Free States of the North into the Southwestern States, the Mississippi, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland rivers, two were freed of their formidable rebel barriers, and in possession of the Unionists, and the general rebel line of defence was broken. Important union successes now followed throughout Kentucky and Tennessee. Simultaneously with Gen. Grant's movement on Donelson, Gen. Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, had dispatched Gen. O. M. Mitchel, with about 16,000 men, against the enemy at Bowling Green, under Gen. A. S. Johnston. At Mitchel's approach, Gen. Johnston, being greatly outnumbered, dismantled his camp and fled rapidly to Nashville, destroying a large amount of rebel property in the course of his retreat. General consternation ensued at Nashville at the news of the rebel disaster, which was received by the citizens while on their way to church on Sunday, Feb. 16. Every moment they expected to see the enemy's gunboats approaching the city, and before night a panic of soldiers as well as civilians took place, and hundreds of the population, gathering their transportable property, fled from the city. The military authorities seized every vehicle for the use of the hospitals. On the following day, Gen. Johnston arrived in his retreat, and after informing the Governor he should make no attempt to defend the city, continued his precipitate march to the south. Bank directors now rushed to convey their specie and other valuables to the railway connecting with Chattanooga, Columbia, and other points of safety southward. Gov. Harris fled across the country to Memphis, taking with him the State records; and the Legislature, in panic-stricken adjournment, followed him. Vast public stores were abandoned to the populace or to the flames. Two gunboats in process of construction were burned, and two magnificent bridges crossing the Cumberland River were also destroyed. On Feb. 23d, a small advance of Gen. Buell's column took possession of the village of Edgefield, opposite Nashville, and shortly afterwards the city was formally surrendered by its Mayor, Cheatham, and was made the headquarters of Gen. Buell, while his army was quartered around the city.

These continued Union successes rendered untenable the rebel stronghold at Columbus, Ky., commanding the Mississippi. Though strongly fortified and stored, its garrison, under Gen. Polk, had been reduced by successive detachments to about 3,000 men. After having taken Clarksville, on the Cumberland, Com. Foote returned to Cairo and collected a fleet of six gunboats, and early in March dropped down the Mississippi, followed by three transports, with two or three thousand soldiers, under Gen. W. T. Sherman, while a supporting force moved overland from Paducah. On their approach to Columbus, the enemy retreated 45 miles down the river to Island No. 10, leaving many camp stores, and rolling their heavy guns off the bluff into the river. On March 3, Gen. Pope, with a Union force of about 40,000 men, invested New Madrid, a short distance below Island No. 10, on the Missouri bank of the river. This place was strongly defended by 20 heavy guns and nine well-appointed gunboats anchored before it. Its garrison consisted of 9,000 infantry under Major-Gen. McCown; the gunboats being directed by Com. Hollins. On the 13th, Gen. Pope opened a heavy cannonade upon the place, which was replied to during the day, the Unionists steadily pushing forward their trenches. During a violent thunder-storm on the following night, the rebels evacuated the place, leaving behind them 33 cannon, several thousand small arms, and a large amount of other war material. On the 17th March, Com. Foote, with five gunboats and four mortar-boats, made a general attack on the strong rebel fortifications at Island No. 10, but without material success. On April 5, Gen. Beauregard left for Corinth, ceding his command to Gen. Makall. In the meantime the engineer corps of Gen. Pope had cut a canal, twelve miles in length, across the Missouri peninsula, opposite Island No. 10, through which steamboats and barges and two gunboats succeeded in safely passing to the river below that stronghold. April 7, Gen. Pope dispatched a division across the river towards its rear, when the rebel forces there, under McCown, sinking their gunboats and transports, escaped eastward, leaving Makall, who was soon compelled to surrender his force: three generals, 273 officers, 6,700 prisoners, 123 pieces of heavy artillery, 7,000 stand of small arms, and a large quantity of ammunition and other material, were reported in the capture.

April 12, Com. Foote and Gen. Pope moved down the river to Fort Pillow, situated on the Chickasaw Bluffs, about 70 miles above Memphis. Com. Foote having planted his mortars on the Arkansas side of the river, commenced, on the 17th, a bombardment, promptly replied to, which was kept up for nearly two weeks, but with little effect, the high stage of the river preventing the co-operation of the Union army.

May 4, a powerful rebel ram, the *Mallory*,

supported by three gunboats, attacked the Union gunboat *Cincinnati*, commanded by Com. Stembel, who, at the instant of collision, shot the rebel pilot, and was in turn severely wounded by the pilot's mate. The *Cincinnati*, whose rapid broadsides made no impression upon the iron mail of her assailant, being crippled and sinking, was run upon a shoal, where she sank. But the rebel *Mallory* was in turn cut into by the *St. Louis* and sunk, most of her crew going down with her. One of the rebel gunboats was also burned, and another had her boiler exploded by a shot, and ceasing the fight, they drifted down to their batteries, under cover of the smoke. June 4, Fort Pillow, and Fort Randolph 12 miles below it, were both evacuated by the Confederates; and on June 6, Com. Davis, with five gunboats and four rams, approached Memphis. A rebel fleet of eight gunboats advanced in order to meet him, and an interesting engagement shortly took place, lasting over an hour, within full view of the citizens of Memphis. The prow of the Union ram *Queen of the West* struck the rebel gunboat *Gen. Price*, damaging her to such extent that she was at once headed for the Arkansas shore. The rebel gunboat *Beauregard* then struck the *Queen* aft, and disabled her, and thereupon the Union ram *Monarch*, striking the *Beauregard* in her bow, caused her to fill and sink, while the *Monarch* towed the *Queen* away from peril. The rebel gunboat *Gen. Lovell* being struck by a 50-pound ball from the Union flagboat, the *Benton*, sank in 75 feet of water, carrying down a part of her crew. The four remaining rebel boats now headed for the Arkansas shore, where the crews of the *Jeff. Thompson*, *Gen. Bragg*, and *Sumter* escaped into the woods, and the *Thompson* being shortly struck by a shell, was set on fire and burned to the water's edge. The *Gen. Van Dorn* escaped down the river. No one was killed on the Union fleet, and the city of Memphis was surrendered immediately after the action.

In an expedition up the Arkansas and White rivers, shortly afterwards, the *Mound City*, the Federal gunboat in advance, was blown up at St. Charles by a ball, which passed through her steam drum, from a concealed battery on the shore. Of the 175 persons on board, scarce any escaped death or injury. Many jumped overboard, frantic with scalds, and were drowned, while the boats sent to their relief from the *Conestoga* were fired on with grape and canister, by which most of the remainder were killed. But in a few minutes the batteries were taken by Col. Fitch, of the 46th Indiana, commanding the expedition, which, however, failed in its purpose of opening communication with Gen. Curtis, who was approaching from the West.

On June 24 the Union fleet on the Mississippi proceeded down to near Vicksburg, where it shortly communicated with Com. Farragut's fleet from the Gulf, lying below, where were also four regiments of infantry under Gen. Williams. The siege of Vicksburg was now opened, and continued without effect until the 24th July, when it was abandoned. During the siege the rebel ram *Arkansas*, from the Yazoo, ran through the Union fleet and took refuge under the batteries of Vicksburg unharmed. Three other rebel gunboats on the Yazoo were destroyed by their commanders at the approach of Lieut.-Col. Ellet, with two rams in pursuit of them.

Shortly after the capture of Fort Donelson, Gen. Grant, at the head of 40,000 men, moved up the Tennessee, debarking at Pittsburg Landing, a small village eight miles above Savannah, Tenn., twenty miles north-east of Corinth, Miss., and two or three miles north of Shiloh Church. Five divisions of the Union army were encamped in a semicircle of three or four miles southward of Pittsburg Landing. Previous to April 4th, small engagements had taken place with insignificant bands of the enemy in the neighborhood, who made no considerable resistance, although it was well known that the enemy in great force and superior numbers were at Corinth. The Union army lay here for three weeks without erecting defences of any kind. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, the ablest of the Confederate generals, had concentrated at Corinth an experienced and well-drilled army of 50,000 men. During the night of April 3d, this grand army moved silently out of Corinth, and advanced, with caution, to within three miles of the Federal pickets. Every preparation was then made for a stealthy and desperate assault at daybreak. Gen. Prentiss's division, encamped across the direct road to Corinth, was thus surprised while some of its men were dressing, others washing or cooking, while many of the officers had not yet risen. Countless forces of the enemy rushed upon them with deadly volleys, and taking them prisoners ere they had time to form in line of battle, or even to seize their weapons. The adjacent Union division on the right, under Gen. Sherman, was now compelled to retreat behind the next ravine, leaving their camps and camp equipage to the enemy, with one brigade completely routed. At 7 A.M., McClernand's division, in the rear of Sherman's, moved to its support and found it practically destroyed. Gen. Prentiss endeavored to re-form his men in an open field, but they were there exposed to a deadly fire from woody coverts, and speedily flanked. The commander, with 2,000 of his force, became separated from the remainder, and was completely surrounded, and at 4 P.M. was obliged to surrender. By the rout of Sherman's and Prentiss's divisions, the enemy were left free to mass themselves on McClernand's forces. After repulsing many attacks, and losing many officers, and half his batteries, the latter gave way about 11 A.M., and thus three of the Union divisions were routed ere noon. Gen. Grant, who had been at Savannah superintending the reception of supplies, where also was his sixth division, under Gen. Lew Wallace, arrived on the battle-field about 8 A.M. He at once reformed the brigades, re-established his batteries and new lines of defence, the divisions of Gens. Hurlburt and W. H. L. Wallace being still intact. He also promptly sent for Gen. Lew Wallace's division, but that force, consisting of 11 regiments, 2 batteries, and 2 battalions of cavalry, were prevented, by countermarching to avoid the enemy, from reaching the bloody field till after nightfall. For six hours the overmatched Union forces stood the brunt of battle. Hurlburt's division was thrice charged in full force, and thrice they drove the enemy back with great slaughter. At 2½ P.M., the rebel commander, A. S. Johnston, in Hurlburt's front, was struck in the thigh by a fragment of a shell, but continued silently in his saddle for a few moments, when he was removed therefrom dying. The division of W. H. L. Wallace repulsed four desperate charges during this bloody Sunday, and once or twice pursued the enemy, being stopped only by the extraordinary disparity of numbers. At 5 P.M. the two divisions fell back nearly half a mile to a position about that distance from the river, Gen. W. H. L. Wallace having fallen mortally wounded. This was the last possible standing-ground of the beaten Union army. A deep and rapid river in its rear could not be crossed without a hideous massacre forming a part of the retreat. The rebels hesitated for a few moments to follow up their extraordinary advantage. This gave an opportunity to the Unionists to plant their remaining guns, 22 in number, in a semicircle on the bluff, commanding the approach of the enemy. At 6 o'clock the enemy's batteries were thus promptly replied to, and shortly afterwards the gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington* opened with shell and shot through an opportune ravine in the bluff across the new front of the rebels, preventing any charge upon the Union guns by their infantry, and finally compelling them to move farther back for the night. A heavy rain fell during the night upon the weary and wounded thousands. Gen. Beauregard, who had succeeded Gen. Johnston, despatched a messenger to Corinth, from Shiloh Church, announcing a complete victory, after ten hours' severe battle. At daylight, on the 7th, the fighting was renewed, but the Union army was now reinforced by Nelson's, Crittenden's, and McCook's divisions of Gen. Buell's army, from Nashville, which had opportunely arrived at Savannah, and pushed on to Pittsburg Landing, at the sound of cannon. These, with Gen. Lew Wallace's division, comprised about 25,000 fresh Union forces, while the rebel reserve forces were scarcely 3,000. The enemy, though wearied with sixteen hours of manœuvring and fighting, during the previous day, nevertheless stood firmly to their arms. They were speedily concentrated upon Nelson's division, who opened the battle, but the latter maintained its position for many hours against the superior numbers of its foes. Crittenden's and McCook's divisions were engaged later. The latter being attacked in force, caused their assailants to recoil, and drove them nearly a mile, to the original position held by McClernand, which was also shortly retaken. Gen. Lew Wallace's division, on the extreme Union right, opened fire at dawn. Advancing his right, under Gen. Grant's personal direction, he attempted to turn the enemy's left, which was stubbornly resisted with heavy reinforcements. Sherman's and McClernand's re-formed divisions also steadily advanced under a heavy fire, and at 4 P.M. the original front lines of the Union forces had been retaken, and the whole Confederate army was retreating towards Corinth, feebly pursued. The victory was thus to the Unionists, who possessed the field and the dead, but the losses were about equalized. Gen. Beauregard officially reported the Confederate loss

at 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 957 missing; total, 10,699. The official Federal loss was reported at 1,735 killed, 7,882 wounded, and 3,956 prisoners; total, 13,573.

Gen. Halleck, commanding the Department of the Mississippi, shortly after the Shiloh battles, arrived and assumed command of the Union forces, which were presently increased to over 100,000 men by reinforcements from various quarters, including Gen. Pope with 25,000 men from Missouri. But no attempt against the rebels at Corinth was made by Gen. Halleck for weeks following, during which Gen. Beauregard strengthened his works. By slow approaches, the Union batteries were brought within three miles of Corinth by May 21st, and on that day a Union force partially destroyed the Charleston and Memphis Railroad, at Glendale, eight miles north-west of Corinth. The railroad at Purdy was also broken, and on the 27th, a Union force, dispatched to cut the railroad south of Corinth, found the rebel army there in full retreat. The evacuation of Corinth was completed on the 29th, Gen. Beauregard having fallen back to Tupelo, pursued by Gen. Pope as far as Guntown.

April 9, Gen. O. M. Mitchel, commanding a division of Buell's army at Nashville, advanced through Fayetteville to Huntsville, Ala., which he surprised and captured, seizing a large number of locomotives and cars, with which he pushed westward on the Memphis and Charleston road as far as Tuscumbia, thus holding the avenue along which reinforcements of men and supplies and munitions of war were conveyed from the west to the rebel armies in the east. From Tuscumbia he dispatched a force as far south as Russellville, capturing a large amount of Confederate property without loss. On April 29 he took Bridgeport, Ala., driving out a force equal to his own, and inflicting a loss of 72 killed and wounded, 350 prisoners, and 2 guns. Being compelled to abandon Tuscumbia by the gathering of rebel forces around him, he burned the railroad bridges at Decatur and Bridgeport, and returned to the Tennessee, holding all Alabama north of that river. In June Gen. Mitchel was summoned to assume command at Port Royal, S. C., where he died of a malignant fever, Oct. 23. On July 23 Gen. Halleck was designated as commander-in-chief at Washington, and Gen. Grant succeeded him in the command at Corinth.

Ship Island, between the mouth of the Mississippi and the Bay of Mobile, about 65 miles from New Orleans, was occupied in Dec., 1861, by Gen. Phelps, with a part of a force of volunteers raised by Gen. B. F. Butler in New England for confidential service. Phelps then issued an earnest but untimely proclamation, declaring the aim of the Government to be the overthrow of slavery. On March 25, 1862, after a severe and hazardous passage, Gen. Butler arrived at Ship Island with the remainder of his forces, which now numbered 13,700 men, and which were destined to aid the naval forces under Com. Farragut in the capture of New Orleans. The approach to the latter place by the Mississippi was commanded at a bend of the river, about 60 miles below, by two strong forts—Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip. The river itself at this point was obstructed by a great boom of chain cables, old hulks, and cypress trees. The Union naval forces consisted of 47 heavily armed vessels, 21 of them being mortar-schooners, under Com. Porter, each throwing a 215-pound shell. The rebel fleet consisted of the iron-clad *Louisiana*, the ram *Manassas*, and 13 other gunboats, under Com. Whittle. Gen. Mansfield S. Lovell commanded the military forces of the region. On April 17, the Union fleet reached the vicinity of the forts, whereupon a formidable fire-ship was sent down on the strong current by the rebels, which was duly grappled by a boat of the Union *Iroquois*, and towed to the river bank, there to harmlessly burn up. The Union mortar-boats were scarcely stationed within range of Fort Jackson, the lower fort, on the 19th, when it opened fire upon them, while more harmless fire-rafts were sent down the current. The bombardment of Fort Jackson was continued from the gunboats and mortars throughout the day, during which the wooden interior of the fort was burned. The next day one of the Union schooners was struck and sunk, while the gunboat *Oneida* was twice hit, two of her gun-carriages smashed, and nine men wounded. On the third day of the bombardment, it was resolved to force a passage by the forts, and the gunboats *Pinola* and *Itasca* under Capt. Bell, at 10 P.M., moved upward to break the chain-boom stretching from fort to fort. The *Pinola*, under cover of the darkness and a heavy fire from all the mortar-schooners, ran up the western shore to the chain, and directly under the guns of Fort Jackson. She then threw upon the cable a powerful petard, which, however, failed to explode. The *Itasca* made fast to a hulk next eastward, which supported the chain, and she shortly cut the latter in twain at that point. The cables of the hulk were then slipped, and it immediately swung round, dragging the *Itasca* towards the nearest shore, and both were shortly fast aground within range of both forts. The *Pinola* then rescued the *Itasca* from her perilous position, and both vessels, unharmed, returned in the darkness to their positions. On the 24th, at 2 A.M., the bombardment of Fort Jackson having steadily continued, Com. Farragut, with his three largest ships, the *Hartford*, *Richmond*, and *Brooklyn*, moved up the river on the western bank to engage Fort Jackson; while Capt. Bailey, with eight gunboats, proceeded near the eastern bank to fight Fort St. Philip. Six small steamers engaged the water batteries below Fort Jackson. Capt. Bell with six gunboats kept the middle of the river. Capt. Bailey's division being first observed, was fired upon by both forts as it reached the breach in the boom, but it succeeded in passing the forts materially uninjured. Of Capt. Bell's division, the *Itasca* was disabled by a ball from Fort St. Philip passing through her boiler, and she drifted down the river. The *Winona* was driven back by the fire of that fort, and the *Kennebec* became entangled in the cable, and finally returned to below the forts. The rest of the division passed the forts unharmed. The *Hartford*, bearing Com. Farragut, and the *Richmond* following, poured heavy broadsides upon Fort Jackson as they passed, but the *Brooklyn*, Capt. Craven, running over a hulk which had been connected with the chain, was first subjected to a heavy fire from Fort St. Philip, then attacked by the rebel ram *Manassas*, which, however, struck her without injury. Subsequently, while under a raking fire from Fort Jackson, she was again attacked by a large rebel steamer, to which she administered a broadside that finished the latter's career. Passing Fort St Philip, she completely silenced that fort with grape and canister, and above it engaged several of the rebel gunboats. The *Cayuga*, Capt. Bailey, having passed the forts, encountered the entire rebel flotilla of 18 gunboats, but skilfully avoided destruction, and forced three of her smaller enemies to surrender, as the *Varuna* and *Oneida* came to her rescue. Four of the rebel gunboats were now driven ashore and blown up by these vessels. At 6 A.M. the *Morgan*, rebel iron-clad, Com. Bev. Kennon, attacked the *Varuna*, twice butting her, and assailing with a raking fire; but the *Varuna* now disabled her foe, causing her to drift out of the fight. During this contest another rebel iron-clad twice struck the *Varuna* in the port side with a beak under water. The last time, the latter stuck fast in the *Varuna's* side, and the rebel craft being drawn around close thereto, was ploughed by five eight-inch shells abaft her armor, and becoming disengaged, she shortly drifted ashore, a burning wreck. The *Varuna*, now sinking, was run ashore, but still firing upon the *Morgan*. The *Oneida* coming to her rescue, was directed by Capt. Boggs, of the *Varuna*, to pursue the *Morgan*. The latter shortly surrendered, having lost over 50 killed and wounded, and having been fired by her commander, who left his wounded to the flames. The *Varuna* then sunk, but her crew gained the shore. The loss of the National force in this engagement was but 30 killed and 110 wounded.

On the morning of the 25th, the *Cayuga*, still leading, approached the Chalmette batteries, three miles below the city, which were speedily silenced, and about noon the whole fleet was moored opposite New Orleans. Gen. Lovell had already withdrawn his force of several thousand men beyond the city limits, and sent them to Camp Moore, 78 miles above, on the Jackson Railroad. A panic and rage amounting to insanity had taken possession of the rebels in the city. It is estimated that property to the amount of eight or ten millions was fired by them and consumed in a few hours. The river seemed covered with floating masses of flame, richly freighted vessels being fired and cut adrift Two iron rams nearly finished were both destroyed. On the 26th the city was formally surrendered, after a ridiculous exhibition of spiteful hesitation by its Mayor, Munroe, it being found necessary to send a Union force to take down the flag of Louisiana from the City Hall. Crowds of rebels followed the marines, hooting and yelling, but fearing to offer any personal violence, as the whole city lay exposed to the shells of the fleet. Eight miles above the city, at Carrolton, Com. Farragut found abandoned two forts mounting thirty-five guns, which had been disabled; and also a second chain-boom extended across the river to prevent the descent of Com. Foote's flotilla from above.

Gen. Butler now brought up his forces which had been waiting at the bar below,

and shortly led them to the rear of Fort St. Philip. On the 28th April, Com. Porter having steadily continued the bombardment of the forts, received the capitulation of Gen. Duncan and Lieut.-Col. Higgins, commanding them. During the conference upon the *Harriet Lane*, the rebel ram *Louisiana*, perfidiously set on fire with all her guns shotted, drifted down upon Porter's fleet, in the midst of which she was expected to explode. But the explosion did not take place until she was abreast of Fort St. Philip, by which a rebel soldier in that fort only was killed. The three remaining rebel steamers were scuttled. Their officers, with those of the *Louisiana*, were sent north as prisoners without parole, for this violation of the progress of a capitulation. The forts were shortly turned over to Gen. Phelps. The rebel forts Pike and Morgan on Lake Ponchartrain, and Livingston on the Gulf, were now easily taken, and on the 1st of May Gen. Butler arrived at New Orleans and took possession, marching on foot to the air of "Yankee Doodle" through various streets to the custom-house from the levee, at the head of his forces, amid a crowd of 50,000 highly excited rebels, who pressed forward to get a sight of him, with mingled cries of curiosity and defiance.

Under the vigorous and able rule of Gen. Butler, the city soon enjoyed perfect order and extraordinary cleanliness, while the open or insulting display of treason to the national allegiance was thoroughly suppressed by rigid but effective measures, among which an order by him subjected women who passed the limits of a decent indulgence in their exhibition of feeling against the Union soldiers, to the punishment by imprisonment to which disorderly courtesans are usually subjected in well-ordered cities.

The Mayor and municipal authorities having proved incapable of understanding or administering the affairs of the city, under the existing situation, were deposed by him and sent to jail for a short period. Several newspapers also, not being inclined to print his official documents, and foolishly continuing to issue rebellious appeals to the people, were promptly suppressed by him. He also hanged, on June 7th, one Wm. B. Mumford, the leader of a rebel mob who had torn down from the Mint the National flag, where it had been hoisted by some sailors of the *Pensacola*, on 27th April. About the same time he pardoned six misguided rebel soldiers who had violated their parole by re-enlisting in the rebel service. Shortly after the surrender of New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Natchez were occupied by the Union forces, and the advance of the Union squadron reached Vicksburg. On the night of June 26th, the Union force before this place having been increased by 4,000 soldiers under Gen. Thomas Williams and Com. Porter's mortar fleet, a bombardment was opened. On the afternoon of the 28th, Com. Farragut, with six vessels, passed Vicksburg and communicated with the national fleet of mortar and gun boats from Cairo, under Capt. Davis. Gen. Williams, with his soldiers, and a force of 1,200 negroes collected in the region, attempted, but failed in making a canal across the peninsula opposite Vicksburg, and the bombardment failed to materially affect the naturally strong fortifications of the place. Under instructions from Washington, the siege was abandoned, and Com. Farragut returned to New Orleans, which he reached on the 28th July, and Gen. Williams, with his command, comprising a great many sick, returned to Baton Rouge.

At daylight, on August 5th, an attack was made on the latter place, by a Confederate force of 13 regiments, under Major-Gen. John C. Breckinridge, the National forces amounting to 9 regiments, thinned by sickness. A severe battle of two hours ensued, during which many officers on both sides fell, including Gen. Williams, who was shot dead while gallantly leading the 21st Indiana, its field-officers being all killed. At 10 A.M., the Confederates withdrew with a loss of 400, Gen. Clarke, commanding one of their brigades, being left on the field mortally wounded.

The powerful rebel ram *Arkansas*, which had eluded the attempts of both Com. Farragut and Commander Porter to destroy her while near Vicksburg, and had come down with two tenders to aid Breckinridge in his attack on Baton Rouge, was rendered temporarily useless by the breaking down of her engine. The day after the battle, Commander Porter, in the gunboats *Essex*, *Cayuga*, and *Sumter*, pursued her and her consorts up the river. Shortly after being overtaken, her remaining engine became disabled. Her commander, Lieut. Stevens, then set her on fire and abandoned her, escaping with his crew to the shore. The *Essex* shortly fired her magazine with a shell, whereat she blew up. In consequence of the active and thorough preparations of Gen. Butler at New Orleans, a meditated attack for its recapture by the rebels was abandoned; whereupon he sent Gen. Weitzel, in October, to re-establish the national authority in the wealthy regions of the State lying north-west of New Orleans, sequestrating the whole district by commission, liberating the slaves, and largely increasing the number of white loyalists, and instituting an election of members of Congress from that district.

On December 14th, Gen. N. P. Banks reached New Orleans, superseding Gen. Butler in the command of the department. Gen. Butler turned over to his successor 4,000 more soldiers than he had received from the military authorities of the North, including 3 regiments and 2 batteries of negroes. He expended $525,000 in feeding the poor of New Orleans, and the remainder of an aggregate of $1,088,000, which he had collected by taxation and confiscation, he turned over to the national treasury. His vigorous and unique administration of affairs had caused him, and all his commissioned officers, to be proclaimed by the Confederate Executive as felons and outlaws, and a reward of $10,000 was also offered for his body, dead or alive, by a private citizen of Charleston, S. C.

On the 13th January, 1862, the advance of a large military and naval expedition, under Gen. A. E. Burnside and Com. L. M. Goldsborough, reached Hatteras Inlet. The forces of Gen. Burnside amounted to 11,500 men in 30 or 40 transports, organized in brigades commanded by Gens. Foster, Reno, and Parkes. The naval force consisted of 31 gunboats, mounting 94 guns. The fleet was severely crippled by stress of weather, and four or five transports, with one gunboat, were lost off the bar. After a necessary delay, on February 5th, 65 vessels of the fleet moved up Pamlico and Croatan Sounds at the rate of four miles an hour, until off the southern point of Roanoke Island, where they anchored for the night. At 10 A.M. February 5th the gunboats led the way into Croatan Sound through Roanoke Inlet, driving seven rebel gunboats before them At noon, the latter, having reached the rebel Fort Barton, halted, and with the latter opened fire upon the Union force. At 4 P.M., covered by the fire of the Union gunboats, 7,500 men debarked on Roanoke Island some two miles from Fort Barton, and bivouacked for the night. The fort was defended by about 3,000 Confederates, under Gen. Shaw. At an early hour on Feb. 8 the Unionists advanced through the bogs surrounding the fort, and then resolved to charge the causeway which led to it and was completely commanded by its fire. This was shortly accomplished in the most gallant manner, by the 9th and 51st New York, 21st and 23d Massachusetts, and 10th Connecticut. Lying down beneath a fire of grape, the 51st and 9th New York and 21st Massachusetts suddenly rose and rushed over the rebel breastworks, chasing the enemy therefrom, and speedily capturing the most of them. The rebel loss in killed and wounded was 55, among the former being Capt. O. J. Wise, son of the rebel general; in prisoners, 2,700. The entire Union loss was about 50 killed and 250 wounded. A large amount of war material, including some forty guns, was thus captured.

On the following day, the rebel gunboats, seven in number, having been hotly pursued by fourteen Union gunboats under Com. Rowan up Albemarle Sound, were set on fire and abandoned by their crews at Elizabeth City. The latter was also fired and partially destroyed. Four of the Union gunboats then proceeded to Edenton, where eight cannon and several schooners laden with supplies were destroyed or captured. On March 12, the main expedition arrived at a point 68 miles below Newbern, N. C., on the Neuse River. Next morning the troops landed and pushed up on the banks, following the gunboats on the river, which shelled the road for them to within a mile and a half of the rebel defences of the city. Half way up, the gunboats encountered heavy obstructions of sunken vessels, spars, and torpedoes, but these were removed. The next day, March 14, one after another of the forts defending Newbern on the water were evacuated at the approach of the Union gunboats, which advanced firing their shells even to the city wharves. The land defences of the city were strong breastworks covering the railway, and well mounted with heavy guns and field batteries, and manned by about 5,000 men, under Gen. L. O'B. Branch. At 7 A.M. Gen. Burnside moved on the rebel works, and after an hour's vigorous fighting, a general assault was made by the Unionists, and the whole line of fortifications was shortly in their hands. The rebels manning these works then fled into the city, pursued by Gen. Foster. They then hastily fired this place at numerous points, and retreated on Goldsboro, by the railroad, which was now subjected to severe shelling by the Union gunboats. The capture of the intrenchments and city included 69 cannon, two steamboats, and large quantities of munitions, with 500 prisoners. The Union loss was about 100 killed and 500 wounded. The

rebel loss in killed and wounded was about 200.

March 23, Gen. Burnside occupied Morehead City without resistance, and also Beaufort, across the Newport River. April 25, the strong and costly Federal fortress, Fort Macon, standing at the entrance of Newport River, and seized by Gov. Ellis upon the secession of the State, was invested by the Union forces, and heavy fire opened thereon from batteries and flanking mortars at 1,200 feet distance, while four gunboats circled before the fortress, and discharged their shot and shell thereupon in turn. The next day, most of his guns having been dismounted, Col. White, commanding the fort, surrendered it, with its garrison of 500 men. In the meantime, the towns on the Chowan River as far as Wilton were occupied by the Unionists with little resistance. April 20, Gen. Reno endeavoring to intercept a rebel force leaving Elizabeth City for Norfolk, was confronted near Camden by another, which was strongly posted, and which after some temporary advantage was finally driven off, the Unionists having lost in the engagement 15 killed and 98 wounded, and the rebels about the same numbers. On July 4, Gen. Burnside was ordered to hasten to Fortress Monroe with all his disposable troops, and left Gen. Foster in command of the North Carolina Department, with a small force to hold the positions gained there. Late in the year, Gen. Foster, having received reinforcements, assumed the offensive, and on Dec. 11 advanced on Goldsboro. Near Kingston he encountered a considerable rebel force, under Gen. Evans, whom he routed after a short but sharp fight, capturing 400 prisoners. He next advanced on Goldsboro and destroyed the railroad bridge of the Wilmington and Weldon road over the Neuse. He then returned to Newbern, a vastly superior force having been gathered in his front, under the rebel Gen. G. W. Smith.

The inaction of the Grand Army of the Potomac, under Gen. McClellan, continued throughout the winter of 1861–62. No engagements took place of any note, except at Bath and Romney, where, January 1st, national detachments were driven from their garrisons by Gen. (Stonewall) Jackson with a large force, and the dash, on February 15th, of the Union Gen. F. W. Lander, at Blooming Gap, in which he inflicted a loss of 88 killed and wounded upon the enemy. On January 13th, E. M. Stanton succeeded Simon Cameron as Secretary of War, and shortly afterwards a war order commanding a general advance, on February 22d, towards Richmond, was issued by the President. The Army of the Potomac was now organized in four corps, under Gens. McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes. The President's plan of movement was directly southward to a point on the railroad south-west of Manassas. That of Gen. McClellan was by the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Fortress Monroe, making a secondary base of West Point. The latter plan involved a long delay, and heavy expense in procuring naval transportation. It also left the national metropolis, with its archives and enormous stores, dangerously exposed, or else involved a serious dispersion of the national forces. It was nevertheless adopted, the President deferring the common-sense of the civilian to military science. The Confederates, about 60,000 in number at Manassas, were now commanded by Gen. J. E. Johnston, who completed, on the 8th March, the evacuation of his winter camps and successful retirement southward to the line of the Rappahannock. The Union commander received his first information of this important movement of the enemy the day after its completion. The latter, awaiting transportation to Fortress Monroe at this moment, ordered an advance of his grand army upon the enemy's deserted lines, with a view of practice, whereupon the President relieved him of the command of all military departments but that of the Potomac. Gen. Nath. P. Banks, commanding the national forces on the upper Potomac, was now ordered by Gen. McClellan to move down from the Shenandoah valley to Manassas, to prevent the enemy from repossessing himself of the latter position. At 10 A.M. on March 23d, a division of Banks's army, under Gen. Shields, comprising 6,000 infantry, 750 cavalry, and 24 guns, and well posted at the village of Kernstown, was attacked by Gen. Jackson, but the latter, notwithstanding a desperate stand behind a high and solid stone wall, was ultimately flanked therefrom and forced to retreat in disorder, with a loss in killed and wounded of 1,000 to 1,500, 300 prisoners, and 2 guns. The national loss was 103 killed, 441 wounded, and 24 missing. Jackson was then unsuccessfully pursued up the Shenandoah valley as far as Woodstock, by Gen. Banks.

The forty-gun steam frigate *Merrimac*, scuttled upon the evacuation of Norfolk navy yard by its commander, was raised by the rebels and cut down to her hull, over which was then constructed a sloping shield of railroad iron, firmly plated and extending two feet beneath the water, and resembling the slanting roof of a house; the ends of the vessel projected a few feet beyond this roof. On the noon of Saturday, March 8, 1862, this formidable craft, heavily armed with 100-pound Armstrong guns and accompanied by two other war vessels, the *Jamestown* and *Yorktown*, proceeded from Norfolk to Newport News, where were lying at anchor two national sailing frigates, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*. Passing the latter, she discharged a single broadside at her, and proceeded towards the *Cumberland*, receiving upon her sloping shield without harm the heavy broadsides of both frigates. The formidable Union battery on the shore also opened upon her point blank, but its shot and shell glanced harmlessly away from her sides. The iron prow of the *Merrimac* twice struck and crushed in the side of the *Cumberland*, and ponderous missiles were poured into the latter, which scattered her massive guns and the mutilated bodies of her crew in all directions. But she still nobly replied, until after forty-five minutes she sunk in 54 feet of water, carrying down with her the dead and wounded upon her decks, her flag still flying from the topmast. The *Congress*, having endeavored to escape, ran aground, and was now approached by the *Merrimac* and her allies, who at once discharged broadside after broadside at close range, raking her from stem to stern. The decks were in an instant covered with dismounted guns and mangled limbs and the vessel fired in three separate places. The flag was drawn down at 4.30 P.M. to prevent further suffering. While she had a white flag flying to intimate her surrender, Union soldiers from the shore fired upon the rebel vessels, whereupon the *Merrimac* poured another broadside into the *Congress*, notwithstanding the white flag. The officers of the latter were taken prisoners, while the crew were permitted to escape to the shore in their boats. The *Congress* burned until midnight, when her magazine exploded, completely destroying her. The *Merrimac*, after leaving the *Congress*, proceeded towards the *Minnesota*, which with another splendid frigate, the *St. Lawrence*, had run aground about a mile from Newport News, in coming from Fortress Monroe to the scene of action. For two or three hours the *Merrimac* fired upon the *Minnesota* at a mile's distance, not being able from the shallowness of the water to approach nearer, while her consorts, the *Jamestown* and *Yorktown*, also kept up a vigorous fire upon her at nearer range. At 7 P.M. they desisted, and steamed back towards Norfolk.

At 6 A.M. of the following day, they again appeared and proceeded towards the rear of the firmly grounded *Minnesota*. During the night, two small steamers had arrived from sea at Fortress Monroe, towing a small raft, surmounted by a small round tower, a few feet in height. This was the *Monitor*, devised by Capt. Ericsson and built by private enterprise as an experiment of invulnerability. She mounted but two guns. The *Merrimac*, apparently unconscious of the vicinity of the antagonist she was shortly to encounter, again leisurely proceeded to open fire upon the *Minnesota*. The *Monitor* then approached and intervened directly between the unequally matched antagonists, and opening her fire upon the astonished *Merrimac*, shortly compelled her to change her position, in doing which she grounded. As soon as she got afloat, she stood down the bay, chased by the *Monitor*. Suddenly she turned and ran over the latter, but without damaging her, and seriously injuring her own prow and her mail so that a bad leak ensued. The ships now closed and hurled shot and shell at each other. The rebel *Yorktown* endeavoring to intervene, received a 170-pound shot from the *Monitor*, which at once disabled her. The *Monitor* now steamed around her more unwieldy antagonist, discharging her missiles at likely vulnerable spots, and at length three holes were observed to have been made in the *Merrimac*, and she was evidently sinking She now gave up the fight, which she was destined never to renew, and fled towards Norfolk, pursued but a short distance by the *Monitor*, which had been ordered not to leave the immediate vicinity of the fleet. In this memorable contest the *Monitor* was entirely uninjured, although she was struck by the rebel broadsides twenty-two times. One of the rebel bolts, however, struck the grating of the pilot-house, through which her gallant commander, Lieut. Worden, was watching his enemy, knocking off some cement into his face with such force as to blind him for some days and permanently destroying his left eye.

During the month of April, 1862, a portion of the Grand Army of the Potomac, consisting of 121,500 men, 14,592 animals, 1,150 wagons, 44 batteries, and an immense quantity of equipage, was transferred from Wash

ington to Fortress Monroe. On the 2d April Gen. McClellan reached the latter place, some 60,000 of his men and 100 guns having already been transported thither. He proceeded to reconnoitre the rebel lines at Yorktown, which were then defended by a force of about 10,000 men, under Gen. Magruder, and concluded to besiege instead of making any determined assault upon them. On the 16th, a reconnoissance in force made by the 2d Division under Gen. W. F. Smith, on the Warwick, was successfully checked by the rebels. May 4th, the great preparations for his besiegement having been fully completed by the Unionists, Gen. Magruder abandoned his lines and retreated up the peninsula, and was thereupon pursued by several divisions of the Union army. Concentrated from various points and in large force, the rebels now made a stand at Williamsburg. The various Union divisions advanced to this place by different roads, which were nearly impassable from a heavy rain which had set in. At daylight, May 5, Gen. Hooker, moving over the Hampton road, came in sight of the rebel works, which were placed on well-chosen ground, and consisted of Fort Magruder, at the junction of the Yorktown and Hampton roads, with a line extending across the peninsula, of redoubts, rifle-pits, and tangled abattis. Hooker at once attacked the enemy, expecting the speedy arrival of the remainder of the Union troops, and was soon desperately engaged with a vastly superior force. Three times he repulsed the rebel charges upon his centre, each made with fresh troops and increasing numbers. At 1 P.M. all his regiments were engaged, and though still fighting gallantly, were fast being thinned without advancing against the overmatching foe. Shortly afterwards Gen. Longstreet's division of the rebel army, which had been marching to the defence of Richmond and recalled to the Williamsburg defences, reached the field, and a fresh attempt was at once made by the enemy on both Gen. Hooker's centre and left. After a protracted struggle it was repulsed with great slaughter on both sides, and with a loss of four Union guns and 300 prisoners. At 4.50 P.M. Gen. Hooker's division, which had for nine hours gallantly stood against the whole rebel army, skilfully fortified, was relieved by Gen. Kearney's division and held as a reserve. The musketry firing was now renewed along the whole line, and our regiments began to advance. A gallant charge of the 38th New York, Col. Hobart Ward, which lost most of its officers therein, supplemented by a charge of the 40th New York, Col. Riley, drove the enemy from the rifle-pits of the centre, and this ground was held. Gen. Jameson brought up his brigade, and a second line was formed, when darkness closed in, preventing further action. Gen. Hancock had been sent to flank the enemy's left, and by a brilliant bayonet charge he routed and dispersed their whole force there, killing, wounding, and capturing 500 or 600, with a loss of but 31 men, and holding the works which he captured. At 5 P.M. Gen. McClellan reached the front at Hancock's position, and shortly before dark several fresh divisions of his army arrived. In his report of this conflict, Gen. Hooker calls attention to the remarkable fact that his division was permitted to carry on this unequal struggle from morning till night unaided, in the presence of more than 30,000 of their comrades with arms in their hands. During the night the rebels hastily evacuated Williamsburg, leaving 800 severely wounded to become prisoners. Gen. McClellan reported a total loss in this engagement of 456 killed, 1,400 wounded, and 372 missing. The rebel loss, not officially proclaimed, was probably equal to that of the Union forces. Gen. Franklin's division, which had been dispatched to McClellan's aid from Washington, in consequence of the latter's delusion respecting the enemy's force before him, reached West Point, on the York River, the day after the battle of Williamsburg, and the day thereafter found themselves engaged with a large force, which thrice drove them from the plains near the village, on which they were encamped; but at length the Union batteries having been landed and posted, with the aid of the gunboats on the river, silenced the rebel batteries posted on the hills near by, and the Union infantry shortly pushed into the surrounding woods to find the enemy retreated. The Union loss in this affair was 194 men. On the 8th May, Gen. Stoneman, with the advance of the Union army, moved from Williamsburg to open communication with Franklin. The rain still fell, and the roads were so imperfect in consequence, that slow progress was made by the main army in advancing towards Richmond. On the 22d May, Gen. McClellan made his headquarters at Coal Harbor.

On the 10th May, Gen. Wool, commanding at Fortress Monroe, advanced from that place with a force upon Norfolk, which was surrendered by its Mayor, no enemy being found there to dispute possession. The Navy Yard and Portsmouth were also repossessed. The rebels partially blew up the Dry Dock, and destroyed by fire the celebrated iron-clad, the *Merrimac*, and abandoned about 200 cannon, mostly spiked, but still valuable.

After his defeat by Gen. Shields, the rebel Gen. Jackson retreated up the Shenandoah valley and took position at Elk Run valley, where hearing that a junction of the Union forces in West Virginia, under Gen. Fremont, was contemplated with those of Gen. Banks now in pursuit of him, he at once advanced across Shenandoah Mountain to strike the advance of Gen. Fremont, under Gen. Milroy, who had concentrated his command at McDowell. The division of Gen. Edward Johnson led the rebel advance, which arrived and posted itself on Bull Pasture Mountain, a mile or two west of McDowell, on May 8. On the same day Gen. Schenck with 2,000 men reached Gen. Milroy from the town of Franklin, 34 miles north. The rebels, including Jackson's column, which had now arrived, were considerably superior in numbers and were better posted. Cannonading and skirmishing continued from 10 A.M. until 3 P.M., when a charge up the mountain was made by 2,000 of the Union forces, who were engaged at close range for an hour and a half, during which an attempt was made to turn the rebel right, but failed. At 8 P.M. the fight ceased. The Union loss was 256; Gen. Jackson's report placed his loss at 461. During the night the Union troops retreated to Franklin with their wounded, having burned a part of their stores. Jackson did not follow up the pursuit, but presently recrossed the Shenandoah Mountain to Lebanon, and on the 17th May proceeded towards Harrisonburg, by the way of Front Royal, to meet Banks at Strasburg. At Front Royal a small Union force, holding the place under Col. J. R. Kenly, was driven out by Ashby's cavalry, the advance of Jackson's army, and a few miles farther on was overtaken, his train captured, and his command of 900 annihilated by the 8,000 pursuing; 700 Unionists were made prisoners, and a number of guns were taken in this rebel triumph.

On May 24th Gen. Banks at Strasburg, with hardly 7,000 men, learning the advance of 15,000 or 20,000 rebels, started to retreat towards Winchester. At 9 A.M., three miles beyond Strasburg, his train, which was in the advance, was attacked, and much disorder ensued, but the column being reorganized with the train in the rear, the Unionists retreated to Winchester by midnight, with moderate loss. On the 25th, the enemy, who had closed around Winchester, opened at daylight with their artillery. Facing a confident enemy of 20,000, the 7,000 Unionists held their ground for five hours, when the whole rebel army was brought upon them. They then retreated in three columns through Winchester, suffering serious loss in its streets from the missiles of the rebel residents. In the course of the afternoon they reached Martinsburg, 22 miles distant, sharply followed, and during the night fled 12 miles farther to the Potomac, but now unpursued. Gen. Banks reported his loss in the retreat at 38 killed, 155 wounded, and 711 missing; while a tenth of his wagons, together with a large amount of stores, were destroyed. The rebel loss was reported at 68 killed and 329 wounded.

Gen. Shields' division, which had been ordered to Gen. McDowell at Fredericksburg, now rapidly returned to the Shenandoah, by the Manassas Gap Railway, to attack Jackson, while Gen. Fremont left Franklin on 25th May to cross the Alleghanies, and descend into the valley to co-operate with Gens. McDowell and Shields by intercepting Jackson, who was now retreating rapidly up the valley. On the evening of June 1st, Fremont reached Strasburg, to find that Jackson had passed through that place a few hours previous, and the next morning the cavalry advance of Gen. Shields' division reached that point. The latter now pushed up the South Fork of the Shenandoah, while Gen. Fremont followed the enemy down the North Fork to Harrisonburg; the advance of each being seriously hindered by swollen streams and burned bridges. On June 5th, Jackson moved from Harrisonburg, south-easterly towards Port Republic, on the South Fork. Within a few miles of the latter place his rear-guard under Ashby was attacked by the Union cavalry pursuing, and during the engagement Ashby was killed. Being severely pressed, Jackson ordered Ewell, commanding his rear division of 5,000, to halt and take a strong position along a ridge near Union Church. At 9 A.M., June 7th, Gen. Fremont's advance reached a small village, Cross Keys, 7 miles from Harrisonburg, and soon his army became engaged with the enemy. In desperate conflict he advanced steadily, constantly gaining ground, until 3 P.M., when

the brigade of Gen. Stahl recoiled from a terrible fire, and Gen. Schenck, of the Union right, was forced to recede strategically a mile distant, where he was cannonaded by the rebels, to whom he vigorously replied till dark. The Union loss during the day was 664. The rebel loss was reported at 329. During the night the rebels silently abandoned their position, leaving their dead and mortally wounded. The cavalry advance of Gen. Shields' division, under Col. Carroll, on June 8th, followed by Gen. Tyler's brigade of infantry, reached the vicinity of Port Republic, and on June 9th were attacked by Gen. Jackson, who made an attempt to outflank their left. Being some 3,000, while their immediate assailants were 8,000 in number, the Union forces, after a great display of gallantry and spirit, retreated, the rebels pursuing them five miles, and capturing 450 prisoners. Jackson's army now safely crossed the river at Port Republic, and by burning the only bridge in the neighborhood, intercepted the pursuit of Fremont. Jackson having thus brilliantly beaten his enemies, the latter were shortly recalled to Washington. On the 12th, Jackson leisurely recrossed the South Fork, and on the 17th June was ordered to Richmond with his command. 23d May, at Lewisburg, in West Virginia, an engagement took place between three regiments of rebels, under Gen. Heth, and the 36th and 34th Ohio, under Col. Geo. Crook, in which the rebels were routed, with considerable loss. May 15th the Union gunboats, under Com. J. Rogers, proceeded up the James River unimpeded to within eight miles of Richmond, to co-operate with the Union land forces moving on the latter place.

Towards the latter end of May, Gen. McClellan had thrown two corps, comprising his left wing, across the Chickahominy near White Oak Swamp, but his right remained on the north side of the now swollen and almost impassable river, thus exposing them both to defeat in detail. On May 27th, Gen. Fitz-John Porter, who was on the north side of the river with two divisions, moved up towards Hanover Court-House, to aid the expected junction of Gen. McDowell's forces from Fredericksburg. At the Ashland fork of the road, two miles south of Hanover Court-House, a portion of Jackson's army, under Gen. Branch, was met and pushed back with a loss of 200 killed, 730 prisoners, and 1 gun; the Union loss being 53 killed and 344 wounded. On May 31, Casey's division, Keyes' (4th) corps, the advance of the Union army, near Fair Oaks, on the south side of the Chickahominy, was attacked by Gen. D. H. Hill's division of the rebel army. After desperate fighting, the Union division, largely outnumbered, was flanked, and driven back in disorderly retreat upon Couch's division (Keyes' corps), between Fair Oaks and Seven Pines, with the loss of 6 guns. The latter division now stood the brunt. Being pressed back upon Fair Oaks by the enemy's overpowering advance, it held its own there until the tardy arrival of Gen. Sumner's corps from across the swollen Chickahominy, where the further progress of the enemy was checked. The other Union corps (Gen. Heintzelman's), on the south side of the river, had arrived at 3 o'clock to support Couch, but the rebels soon interposed between them, having turned Couch's left. An hour and a half before sunset, the division of Sedgwick, of Sumner's corps, arrived and moved forward in line of battle, sweeping the field, and recovering much ground that had been lost, when darkness ended the battle for the day. During the night Gen. McClellan arrived from Newbridge, but without the corps either of Fitz-John Porter or of Franklin. The next morning, June 1st, Sumner's left was attacked by the rebels under Gen. Pickett, but after a desultory conflict of two or three hours, they desisted, and retreated unpursued. During the engagement of May 31st, Gen. Jo. Johnston, the rebel commander-in-chief, being with his left, under Gen. G. W. Smith, near Fair Oaks crossing, was struck in the side by a shell and disabled; whereupon Gen. Smith succeeded him in the command, who in turn was shortly disabled by a paralytic stroke, and removed from the field. Jefferson Davis, who was there present, then temporarily assumed the command, leading in person one of the charges in this part of the field. On June 1st no demonstration was made by the Union forces to disturb the rebel possession of Couch's and Casey's camps. The official report of the Union loss in this desperate battle placed it at 5,739. That of the enemy was about 7,000. On June 2d, a reconnoissance in force, under Gen. Hooker, advanced unmolested to within four miles of Richmond, whither the enemy had fallen back.

The President now reinforced Gen. McClellan with the disposable troops at Fortress Monroe, and five new regiments from Baltimore, and on the 12th June, McCall's division of McDowell's corps arrived by water. On the 13th, the first of the numerous notable and unprofitable cavalry raids of the war was made by Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, who captured near Tunstall Station 165 prisoners and 260 mules, and burned two schooners loaded with forage.

On the 26th June, Fitz-John Porter's corps rested behind defences at Mechanicsville, on the north side of the Chickahominy; the other corps of the Union army were on the south side. The rebel plan was to destroy Porter's corps, and then proceed down the river to the Union rear. On this day, Jackson moved down the river from Ashland, and was shortly supported by Gens. Branch's and A. P. Hill's columns. The three columns now moved towards Mechanicsville, Jackson in the advance and nearest the Pamunkey River, Branch next, and Hill last, with his right resting on the Chickahominy. The Union troops were in a position on Beaver Dam Creek, strengthened by felled timbers and rifle-pits, their left resting on the Chickahominy, and the right in a forest. The struggle was most desperate. The enemy advanced towards the stream upon the Union right, held by Gen. Reynolds, but were speedily forced back by the steady fire of the Union batteries. Again their troops were massed for another attack, and advanced only to be slaughtered by the batteries of Seymour, who commanded the Union left. For six hours, or until 9 P.M., the battle continued, when the defeated enemy retired.

At daylight, June 27th, Gen. McClellan ordered Porter to fall back to Gaines' Mills, so as to protect the bridges across the Chickahominy. At 2 P.M., Gen. A. P. Hill advanced and opened battle, and shortly thereafter two-thirds of the force of Gen. Lee, now commander-in-chief of the rebel army, were brought into action; a general advance of Jackson's, D. H. Hill's, Ewell's, and Longstreet's columns, comprising about 60,000 men, from right to left, being made under a terrific fire of cannon and musketry from both sides. The total force of Porter was barely 35,000, including Slocum's division, which was sent over to him; while 60,000 Union troops remained idle during the conflict, on the other side of the Chickahominy, to watch and guard against 25,000 rebels, the Union commander-in-chief having greatly over-estimated his enemy in that quarter. At 3.30 P.M., Porter was so severely pressed, that the second Union line under Meade and Reynolds, supporting McCall's division in the centre, was ordered up. For hours the battle now raged, with repeated and desperate charges on the overmatched and exhausted Unionists, which were gallantly repulsed by them. Fresh rebel brigades were promptly advanced to replace those which had been hurled back. At 5 P.M., Porter telegraphed again that his position was extremely critical, when French's and Meagher's brigades of the 2d Corps were ordered across to his support. Before they could reach the field, however, the rebels, rallying all their forces, had stormed the Union intrenchments, on the right and left, in one last desperate effort, which was crowned with success. The Union infantry were driven from the defences, with terrible slaughter on both sides. Borne back a mile in spite of the efforts of their officers to rally them, they came upon the fresh brigades of Meagher and French. Wearied and decimated, they again reformed behind these, and advanced in order, ready to meet a fresh attack. But the enemy had halted for the night in the field they had thus far won. Twenty-three guns were left in the rebel hands as trophies, and many prisoners; among the latter the gallant Gen. Reynolds, who rode by mistake into a rebel regiment shortly after dark. The Union losses in this desperate action were hardly less than 8,000 men, while those of the rebels were probably about two-thirds as many.

During that night, the Union forces were by order withdrawn, unmolested, across the Chickahominy, preparatory to a flank movement of the whole force to the James River, through the White Oak Swamp. Gen. Keyes was at once dispatched with his corps on the road across the latter to seize strong positions on the James River side of the swamp, so as to protect the passage of the trains and the army. During the night the Union commander removed his headquarters to Savage's Station, to superintend the movement. The Union base of supplies at West Point was now cut off by the retreat of Porter, and the rebel cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart, the next day, June 28, pushed forward towards White House, but rested at Tunstall's Station for the night, during which the Union force devoted itself to the destruction of the vast stores of the former place. Immense amounts of provisions, munitions, and supplies were necessarily consigned to destruction, while 2,500 wounded were left in hospital, with surgeons and attendants, to fall into the enemy's hands.

No serious attack or forward movement

was made by the latter during June 28th, the puzzled rebel commander not believing it possible that his antagonist could thus abandon the position without a battle. On the 29th, the retreat having been fully discovered by the enemy, Gen. Magruder pursued on the Williamsburg road, and coming up with the Union rear near Savage's Station, attacked it in full force. He was gallantly repelled by Gen. Burn's brigade, supported by those of Brooks and Hancock. At 9 P.M. he recoiled, without gaining any advantage, and the Union forces fell back, by order, upon White Oak Swamp, the rear-guard under Gen. French crossing and destroying White Oak Swamp bridge at 5 A.M., June 30th. Here Franklin with his division was left to defend the crossing, and every attempt of the rebels to cross the marsh and creek was defeated. In the meantime, farther on towards the James River, rebel forces under A. P. Hill, Jackson, and Longstreet, the latter accompanied by Gen. Lee and Jefferson Davis in person, had moved down from Richmond between the swamp and the river, on the Charles City road, which was guarded by Slocum, and also on the New Market road, upon which McCall was posted with his gallant Pennsylvania Reserves, whom hard fighting had now reduced from 10,000 to 6,000. At 3 P.M., June 30th, the enemy arrived near Glendale and Nelson's Farm, and a succession of desperate struggles ensued at both positions. Being checked by artillery in the attack upon Slocum, they fell with fury upon McCall. The latter held his position without a gun lost, after a series of charges and countercharges of the most deadly character had taken place, in the midst of constant volleys of grape and canister. Between sunset and dark he was reinforced on his left by a portion of Hooker's division, who, charging desperately across an open field, drove the rebels back again into the woods. Cooper's and Randall's batteries were both captured by the rebels and recaptured by the Union forces.

While the rebel artillery was thus this day attacking the Union rear-guard at White Oak Swamp bridge, and the battle was raging at Nelson's Farm and Glendale, the enemy also came down on Porter, upon the James, and braved the ponderous fire of his gunboats. Infuriated by the prospective escape of the Union army, they thus unsuccessfully endeavored at all points to break through the long Union line which stretched from the middle of the swamp to James River. During the struggle, McCall fell into the hands of the enemy. Heintzelman, who was in chief command of the troops on the field, with Franklin, fell back to the James, on the banks of which the Union trains were now rapidly gathering. On the forenoon of July 1st, the rear of the wasted, wayworn Union army reached the position assigned it, upon and around Malvern Hill, on the James, closely pursued by the converging columns of the rebels; thus ending a retreat as memorable, from the suffering endured and courage shown, as the most pitiful or admirable parts of Napoleon's retreat from Russia.

The plateau of Malvern Hill, with James River at its back, and about a mile and a half long, was protected from the approaching enemy by several ravines, while its sloping ground gave a clean sweep for the Union artillery, composed of 300 guns, which was massed upon it; the highest point of all thereon being crowned by ten heavy siege guns, which Col. Tyler had succeeded in bringing through the swamp. Here were posted the Union forces, in division after division, reaching back to the river. To attack such a position seemed madness. But about 2 o'clock a rebel column emerged from the woods skirting the plain, below the plateau, and moved steadily forward on Couch's division in the centre of the Union front, while a heavy fire of artillery opened on both sides. The Union division remained motionless until the enemy came within close musket range, when it poured its deadly volleys upon its assailants, who were shortly driven in shattered fragments back over the field to the adjacent woods. For two hours thereafter, the conflict was confined to the artillery, and then a silence of two hours more ensued. At 6 P.M., a fierce fire of all the rebel artillery suddenly was opened, and under its cover, column on column of their infantry advanced in another and grander attempt to dislodge the Union forces, and drive them into the James. Braving the tempest of shot and shell from 300 cannon, they came on the double-quick with the hope of carrying the position in one impetuous charge, but only to reel, break, and disappear before the volleys of musketry. Again and again the rebel leaders thus re-formed their battalions, or brought forth fresh troops beneath the cloud of smoke that canopied the field, to be subjected to the same vain sacrifice. Darkness at length closed this one-sided carnage, and they retired into the fields and woods out of close range, although the gunboats continued to throw their great missiles clear over the Union left upon them.

A most extraordinary order was now issued by the commander-in-chief of the Union army to his victorious forces, to retreat from the strong position where they had achieved so decided and bloody a success, and the evacuation of Malvern Hill was badly conducted, in a hurried and disorderly night march over crowded and poor roads, the Union dead being left unburied, and many of the wounded to fall into the hands of the enemy. The movement, however, was not molested by the latter, not having been comprehended by them, and having been skilfully covered by Keyes' corps, with the cavalry, which did not leave till after daylight of the 2d. On the evening of the 3d, the rear-guard went into camp, and the whole army rested under the cover of its batteries, and the gunboats in the position selected by the commander, at Harrison's Bar, seven miles down the James.

Gen. McClellan reports the Union loss in the seven days' fighting and retreating from Mechanicsville to Harrison's Bar, at 1,582 killed, 7,709 wounded, and 5,958 missing; total, 15,249. The losses of the rebels the Confederate authorities did not report, but they probably suffered as heavily, the rebel capital being crowded at the time with the wounded and dying.

On July 8, Gen. Lee withdrew his forces to Richmond, not caring to renew the costly experiment of Malvern Hill at Harrison's Bar.

The failure of Gen. McClellan to accomplish the capture of Richmond was attributed by him, in a spirited correspondence, to the wilful neglect of the national authorities to send him sufficient and opportune reinforcements; and on Aug. 4, Gen. Halleck, now commander-in-chief at Washington, assuming Gen. McClellan's estimate of his own strength and that of his rebel antagonists to be correct, directed him to withdraw his forces by water to Acquia Creek, to support a fresh demonstration on Richmond in accordance with the President's original plan, from a base on the Rappahannock. McClellan protested against this order, and asked for more reinforcements, but his wishes were not complied with. On the 24th August he reported at Acquia Creek, his forces having been previously transferred to that place, without molestation by the enemy.

The corps of McDowell, Banks, and Fremont, with all the troops in garrison around Washington, had been organized into a command, to be called the Army of Virginia, and Gen. John Pope was called from the West to take command, entering upon his duties on the 26th June. The entire strength of this army was about 50,000 men, who were intended to protect Washington and co-operate in some way with the Army of the Potomac. Gen. Pope at once concentrated it at Sperryville, with the purpose of operating on the enemy towards Gordonsville and Charlottesville, so as to draw off a part of the army in front of McClellan. But Richmond being now relieved from all danger, Gen. Lee determined to move his army rapidly across the country, and crush Pope before the Army of the Potomac could reach him, and then move on Washington. On the 9th August, Gen. Pope, who had ordered forward his second corps, about 8,000 strong, under Banks, to Culpepper Court-House, directed the latter to proceed to Cedar Mountain and take up a strong position, to resist the advance of Jackson. But ere this Jackson himself had crossed the Rapidan, and occupied the sides and neighborhood of Cedar Mountain with 25,000 men. At 4 P.M. Banks approached the mountain, whence a destructive fire of artillery was at once poured on his advancing columns. Underestimating the numbers of his enemy, he ventured to charge the rebel batteries thereon. The unexpected fire of the large masses of infantry concealed by the foliage and ravines of the mountain, compelled him to fall back, though not till, in the short space of an half hour, he had left a third of his entire command on the field. Gens. Geary, Augur, and Carroll, of the Union army, were severely wounded, and Gen. Prince was taken prisoner after dark. The rebel loss was reported at 223 killed, including Gen. Winder, and 1,060 wounded.

Gen. Pope at Culpepper, hearing the cannonade, hastened forward with McDowell's corps, commanding Sigel to follow, but before he could organize his forces for battle, Jackson had rapidly retreated across the Rapidan, having accomplished his purpose of decoying Banks into complete disaster. On the 18th and 19th August, Gen. Pope, who had advanced his infantry to Robertson's River and Raccoon Ford, and had begun again to operate with his cavalry on the enemy's communications, having learned that the whole rebel army of Virginia was rapidly assembling to overwhelm him, safely retreated across the Rappahannock, and though pursued by the enemy, succeeded in holding the fords for several days. On the 24th, the enemy com-

menced a movement up the stream to turn the Union right. Pope being ordered to protect Fredericksburg, could not extend his lines to the right to keep pace with the rebel movements without weakening his centre, and telegraphed repeatedly to Washington that he must be reinforced or retreat. A sudden freshet of the river temporarily relieved him from danger. On the 25th, an inconsiderable reinforcement of 7,000 reached him, but in turn his resolution to fall on the flank and rear of the long rebel column passing up the river was defeated by the freshet. On the night of the 25th, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, with 1,500 rebel cavalry, who had succeeded in crossing the river at Waterloo Bridge during the day, pushed on to Warrenton, and surprised Gen. Pope's head-quarters' train near Catlett's Station, capturing his dispatch-book and the personal baggage of his military family. Receiving word that 30,000 of the Army of the Potomac were on their way to join him, Pope now determined to concentrate his forces on the turnpike between Warrenton and Gainesville, and give the enemy battle. On the 26th, Jackson passed around his right, to cut off his communication with Washington, and moved swiftly through Thoroughfare Gap and south-easterly by Gainesville. Before dark on that day, Jackson struck the Alexandria Railroad at Bristow Station, and thus placed himself without resistance between Pope's superior army and its base at Washington, having made the march of fifty miles in forty-eight hours with the celerity of cavalry, his men subsisting on corn standing by the way. Burning railway trains at Bristow, he moved up to Manassas Junction, followed by Ewell, and destroyed there an immense amount of quartermasters' and commissary stores, and sutlers' depots, and also captured 8 guns and 300 prisoners. His success was thus far perfect, but his position was extremely critical. He now moved off to Centreville, and crossed the Bull Run, pursued by Pope, who ordered Porter to come up at once to Manassas. At 6 P.M., Jackson's advance, now moving towards Thoroughfare Gap, encountered King's division of McDowell's corps, and a sanguinary combat ensued, which terminated at dark with the rebel success. At 10 P.M., Gen. Pope at Centreville ordered McDowell and King to hold their ground, obstructing Jackson's retreat by the Gap, and directed Kearney at 1 A.M. to push forward from Centreville, on the Warrenton turnpike, to prevent Jackson's only other way of escape northward to Leesburgh. Supposing Porter now at Manassas Junction, he confidently expected to capture Jackson before Longstreet could arrive through the Gap to the latter's rescue. At 3 P.M., August 28, Longstreet's division, dispatched by Gen. Lee to Jackson's aid, passed through the Gap, driving off Rickett's division posted on the eastern side, and early on the 29th reached Gainesville, McDowell and King having left the way clear by retreating on Manassas Junction during the night. At noon, Longstreet came rapidly into action on the right of Jackson, who had been hotly assailed since daylight by Sigel from Groveton, supported by Reynolds. The rebel strength, now constantly increasing, assumed the offensive against the Union right, which held its ground, though with heavy loss. But Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps shortly arrived on the field to support Sigel's right, while Reno coming up by the Gainesville turnpike supported the Union centre. About 2 P.M., Hooker's division of Heintzelman's corps came down the Sudley Springs road on the extreme right, and at 5 P.M. the two divisions of Heintzelman and Reno made a furious charge on the enemy's left, which forced it back, leaving the Union forces masters of the field, when darkness ensued. The losses on either side were about 7,000 men.

The next morning, Pope again gave battle with the desperate hope of breaking the enemy's left, and ordered Porter, who had failed to participate in the battle of the day before, to advance down the Warrenton turnpike, supported by King, and attack; while Heintzelman and Reno, supported by Rickett's division, were to assail the enemy's left under Jackson. Porter's attack was feeble, and being shortly overpowered he was thrown back in confusion. The Confederates now eagerly pursued and joined battle along the entire front. The Union forces were, however, shortly rallied, and the battle raged with varying success. The Union attack on the rebel left was met by a cross fire of four batteries from Longstreet's left, which decimated the assailants and drove them back in confusion; whereupon the whole rebel front was pressed forward, the rebel artillery doing fearful execution on the disordered and recoiling Union infantry. At dark, the left of the Union forces, though standing firm, and covering the turnpike, their only safe line of retreat, had been forced back a considerable distance. At 8 P.M. Gen. Pope instructed his corps commanders to withdraw deliberately to Centreville, and Gen. Reno was ordered to protect the retreat, which was made in good order, no pursuit across Bull Run being attempted. At 10 P.M. Pope reached Centreville, where he prepared for a rebel attack, having been joined by Sumner's and Franklin's corps from McClellan's army, raising his total force to 60,000 men. No direct attack was made, but the next morning, Jackson, by direction of Gen. Lee, crossed Bull Run at Sudley Ford, and moved down to Fairfax Court-House, for the purpose of assailing the Union right. Near Chantilly, at 5 P.M., Sept. 1, Jackson was attacked by Reno's inferior force. Gen. Isaac J. Stevens, commanding the Union left division, was shot dead while leading it, whereupon both divisions fell back in disorder. Gen. Phil. Kearney, with his division of Heintzelman's corps, now advanced and renewed the action, in the midst of a thunderstorm furious enough to seriously affect the ammunition. Gen. Kearney, riding recklessly almost within the rebel lines, was shot dead about sunset, his command devolving on Gen. Birney. The latter promptly ordered a bayonet charge of his own brigade, which was gallantly executed, driving back the enemy's advance, by which Gen. Birney held the field of conflict through the night. The Union loss in this battle was about 500. Pope's retreat continued on the following day and thereafter without further annoyance from the enemy, until his whole army had fallen back within the intrenchments along the south bank of the Potomac, covering the approaches to Washington. Pope shortly thereafter resigned his command to Gen. McClellan, and was sent by the Administration to the North-west to conduct a campaign against the Sioux Indians, who had recently massacred several hundred of the inhabitants of Minnesota. The entire rebel losses in Pope's brief campaign from Cedar Mountain to Chantilly was about 15,000 men, while those of the Unionists were fully double that number, a large number of officers of distinction being included among the killed. The failure of Pope's campaign was partially due to the superior knowledge of the field of conflict which his antagonist, Gen. Lee, possessed; but the jealousy manifested in constant disobedience of his orders, of officers of his own army, who had lately served under Gen. McClellan, undoubtedly had its weight in turning more than one prospective victory into defeat. On this charge of culpable disobedience to Pope, Major-Gen. Fitz-John Porter was subsequently tried and found guilty by a court-martial.

Upon full advices of Pope's disasters, Sept. 2, the Government invested Gen. McClellan with the entire control of all the forces for the defence of the capital, and the latter at once concentrated his command within the defences of Washington. On the 6th Gen. Lee, with his entire army, being reinforced by D. H. Hill's fresh division from Richmond, arrived without resistance at Frederick, Md., crossing the Potomac in the vicinity of Hagerstown. On the 8th he issued an address to the people of Maryland, announcing that he had come among them to aid them in throwing off the foreign yoke of the United States, and a recruiting office was promptly opened, at which the numbers won by him to the rebel standard about equalled his loss in deserters. On the 7th Gen. McClellan, apprised of the disappearance of Lee from his front, commenced to move slowly and cautiously up the river from Washington, on the Maryland side, by five different parallel roads, with his left wing resting on the river. On the 13th he entered Fredericksburg, which the rebels, moving westward, had two days previously evacuated. During the day an order of Gen. Lee fell into his hands, which fully disclosed the rebel commander's object to be the capture of Harper's Ferry; and, further, that Jackson's corps and Walker's division were already across the Potomac in quest of it, and that only McLaws' rebel corps of 20,000 was now between the Union army and Harper's Ferry. Franklin's corps of the Union army was some miles south of Frederick at this time, and in front of McLaws. The easy task of precipitating Franklin upon the latter would have relieved Harper's Ferry. This was not done, and, instead of advancing his main body on the roads leading through Crampton's Gap to the Potomac, McClellan moved to the north-west towards Hagerstown, through Turner's Gap, of the South Mountain range of hills. Here a portion of the rebel army, under D. H. Hill, was strongly posted on both sides of the national road leading through the Gap, while Longstreet and Jackson had pushed on to Hagerstown to co-operate with McLaws against Harper's Ferry and Maryland Heights.

At 7 A.M., Sept. 11, the battle was here commenced by the advance of Cox's division

of Reno's corps. The superior numbers of the Unionists enabled them to steadily gain ground, though constantly subjected to a heavy fire. At noon the musketry firing ceased, and for two hours cannonading only continued, both sides awaiting reinforcements. At 2 P.M. Hooker's corps came up and took position on the old Hagerstown road leading away from the turnpike, with intent to flank the rebel left. An hour later the line of battle was formed at the base of the ridge and a general advance commenced up the turnpike in the pass, and the rocky wooded steeps on either side, the ground being stubbornly contested foot by foot. The enemy was reinforced by Longstreet, about 4 P.M., who then assumed command. At sunset the victorious flag of the Unionists was planted upon the crest of the ridge, the enemy fleeing down the other side. By dark Gen. McClellan had most of his army in hand at the base of the mountain, ready to renew the action next morning, but Gen. Lee, having gained time for his operations against Harper's Ferry, withdrew his forces during the night. The Union loss in killed and wounded was 1,568. That of the enemy was unknown, except in prisoners, of whom McClellan reported a total of 1,500. Among the Union dead was Major-Gen. Jesse L. Reno, killed by a musket ball at the head of his division.

On the 14th Franklin's corps of the Union army reached the pass through Crampton's Gap, at which he overtook two or three brigades of McLaws' division, whereof the larger portion was some miles farther on towards Harper's Ferry. After a contest of five hours the rebels were driven out, badly cut up; but Franklin, uninformed of the critical situation of Harper's Ferry, failed to vigorously follow up his advantage. On the 13th Gen. Jackson arrived by way of Williamsport and Martinsburg before Harper's Ferry, while McLaws advanced to Sandy Hook, preventing all egress from Harper's Ferry down the Potomac. The garrison at the latter place was 11,583 men, with about 50 pieces of artillery, under Col. Miles, appointed by McClellan, and an unfit commander, as had been shown by his conduct at the first battle of Bull Run. Harper's Ferry is situated in a gorge commanded by steep mountains on three sides, on one of which he should have concentrated his command, and held out till relieved. Some of his forces he had posted on Maryland Heights, under Col. Ford, 32d Ohio, but refused to supply the latter with axes and spades to fortify his position upon the approach of McLaws thereto. The latter made an attack thereupon in force on the morning of Sept. 13, but was repulsed; but on the morning of Sept. 14, Col. Ford, without being further assailed, abandoned the Heights entirely to McLaws, who commenced shelling therefrom the Union forces at the Ferry, and at Bolivar Heights beyond it. Walker's guns also opened from Loudon Heights, and Jackson's batteries were playing from several points, some of them enfilading the Union position on Bolivar Heights. At 9 P.M., Sept. 14, the Union cavalry, 2,000 men, under Col. Davis, 12th Illinois, escaped to the Maryland bank, and thence to Greencastle, Pa., capturing by the way the ammunition train of Gen. Longstreet, consisting of fifty or sixty wagons. Next day at daybreak the rebel batteries opened from seven commanding points. At 7 A.M. Miles caused a white flag to be raised, but the rebels, not perceiving it, continued their fire an half hour thereafter, during which Miles was mortally wounded. Gen. Jackson, leaving the reception of the surrender to Hill, hastened at once with his forces to rejoin Gen. Lee, and reached the Antietam on the following morning, Sept. 16. Harper's Ferry had no important bearing on the campaign, the rebel army having already passed it on their way into Maryland, and its retention after that event was a military error of the general-in-chief, Halleck; but the loss of so many troops at this juncture was serious.

Gen. McClellan now pushed forward his army towards Antietam, having ascertained that the main body of the enemy were concentrated there, and on the 15th he found them drawn up in line of battle on a rolling country that stretched along the west side of Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg. McClellan did not attack, however, until the afternoon of the 16th, thus enabling Jackson, Walker, and McLaws to arrive from Harper's Ferry and participate in the battle; and on the morning of the 17th, when the battle began in earnest, Gen. Lee had his whole army at hand, with the exception of A. P. Hill's division, left at the Ferry. Having resolved to turn the enemy's left, McClellan despatched Hooker, at 4 P.M., September 16th, by a long detour, to cross the Antietam out of sight and range of the rebel batteries. The passage of the stream being effected, Hooker moved cautiously down on the enemy's flank, and found himself, at dark, in an open field, bounded by woods, breast to breast with the enemy's lines. Here, within half-musket shot of each other, the two armies, after some desultory firing, lay down for the night; Rickett's division of the Union force being on the left, Meade with the Pennsylvania Reserves in the centre, while Doubleday had planted his guns on a hill to the right. At daylight, September 17th, the left of Meade's and right of Rickett's divisions became engaged, and soon the whole of Hooker's corps hurled itself against Ewell's and Jackson's divisions of the enemy. The main contest was in an open space, composed of a ploughed field and a cornfield. The rebels shortly gave way, at first retreating slowly and then precipitately over the field and across the road beyond into a piece of thick woods, pursued by Gen. Meade with the Pennsylvania Reserves. Here, reinforced by Hood's division, the rebels in turn hurled themselves upon the Unionists with terrible volleys, and in overwhelming force charged them back across the cornfield. Gen. Hooker, at this critical moment, ordered Doubleday to despatch him his best brigade, which immediately came down the hill, led by Hartsuff, moving to the crest of the rise that commanded the cornfield. This they held for an half hour unsupported, and then they dashed down, driving out the rebels for a second time from the cornfield into the woods; among the fallen here being the Union leader, Gen. Hartsuff, severely wounded. Rickett's division, holding the left of the line, and attempting to advance had fallen back, and Mansfield was ordered to its relief with a part of his corps. They too were driven back, with their general mortally wounded. Hooker now advanced, with Crawford's and Gordon's fresh brigades of Mansfield's corps, to Rickett's support, determined to carry the woods on the right and beyond the cornfield, and amid a shower of rebel bullets, was painfully wounded, by a musket-ball through his foot, which compelled him at 9 A.M. to relinquish the command to Sumner. The latter now sent forward Sedgwick's division of his own corps to support Crawford and Gordon. At this moment the fresh rebel forces of Walker and McLaws, seconded by Early on their left, were hurried from their yet unassailed right, and poured upon the advancing Unionists. And again the centre of the latter's right gave way. Sedgwick, vainly striving to rally his forces under the terrible fire, was three times wounded. Gen. Howard, who took his command, was unable to re-form it, and the efforts of Sumner himself were equally unavailing. Thus the bloody cornfield was again retaken by the enemy. The attempt of the latter to advance beyond it was repelled by the heavy fire of the Union batteries, while Doubleday on the farther Union right still maintained his original ground. Franklin now came up with his fresh corps, and at once ordered Slocum and Smith, commanding his two divisions, to retake the field. So suddenly and unexpectedly did they execute this order, that it was with comparatively small loss that they swept over the cornfield and through the woods, clearing them of the foe. The ground thus retaken was not again lost. Nearer the centre the Union lines successfully withstood numerous assaults of the enemy, and when night closed the battle, held advanced positions.

Burnside's corps held the extreme Union left, opposite the lowest of the three bridges crossing the Antietam. At 8 A.M. he was ordered to cross this bridge, but his feeble attempts to execute this order were successively repulsed. At 1 P.M., being peremptorily ordered to carry it at the point of the bayonet, it was successfully charged by the 51st New York and 51st Pennsylvania, the enemy retreating therefrom to the heights. Again Burnside halted, and it was not until 3 P.M. that renewed orders, of a peremptory nature, caused him to charge up the heights, which were now gallantly carried, some of the Union troops reaching even the outskirts of Sharpsburg beyond. But this advantage came too late. A. P. Hill's division now arrived on the field and charged this portion of the Union lines, and covered by a heavy fire of artillery, drove it back in confusion down the hill towards Antietam, pursuing until checked by the fire of the Union batteries across the river. They refrained, however, from attempting to carry the bridge, and retired to their lines on the heights, as darkness ensued. Among their killed in this charge was Gen. L. O'B. Branch, of North Carolina.

The Union and rebel forces engaged in this bloody and indecisive battle were about equal, being between 80,000 and 90,000 each. Gen. McClellan reported his entire loss at 2,010 killed, 9,416 wounded, and 1,043 missing; total, 12,469. The aggregate losses reported by the rebel division commanders were, 1,842 killed, 9,399 wounded, 2,292 missing; total, 13,533: but they were probably much larger, as 2,700 alone of their dead were buried by

the Unionists, while six thousand prisoners, with 13 guns, were taken by the latter.

During the night following the battle, Gen. Lee quietly moved off across the Potomac, declining to renew the combat. On the night of the 19th, Gen. Griffin, with two Union brigades, crossed the river and carried eight rebel batteries posted on the Virginia bluffs. But on the morning of the 20th, a reconnoissance in force, under Porter, was ambushed by A. P. Hill a mile from the river, and driven back to the stream with great slaughter and loss of 200 prisoners. On Sept. 22d, Gen. Sumner reoccupied, without opposition, Harper's Ferry and its neighborhood. Lee shortly retired to Winchester, unpursued by McClellan, and more than a month was now consumed by the latter in resting, in bringing up supplies and ammunition, and in attempts to procure reinforcements of men. At length, at the close of October, he crossed the Potomac, and moved down to Manassas. He proceeded thence to Warrenton, but on Nov. 4th he was directed to turn over his command to Burnside, which order ended his active services in the war.

During the month of July, 1862, Gen. Buell, commanding at Corinth, moved eastward with a force of about 25,000 men towards Chattanooga, leaving Gen. Mitchell to repair and hold the railroad running to Nashville, as a base for his supplies. Gen. Bragg, the commander of the rebels confronting him, moved on parallel roads from Tupelo, Miss., and reached Chattanooga in advance of the Union army. On July 5th, Gen. Forrest, rebel guerilla chieftain, captured Murfreesboro, Tenn.; and about the same time, and with the same general object of horse-stealing, Gen. Morgan made a raid on Cynthiana, Ky., but was presently chased away by a cavalry force under Green Clay Smith.

The army of Gen. Bragg was now swelled by conscription to some 45,000 men, in three corps, under Gens. Hardee, Bishop Polk, and Kirby Smith. With this force he proposed an invasion of Middle Tennessee and Kentucky, Louisville, with its immense resources, being his immediate object. On Aug. 24th, he crossed the Tennessee with 36 regiments and 40 guns, and passing through Dunlap and Crossville, entered Kentucky on the 5th September. Kirby Smith, with his division, advanced by the way of Big Creek Gap, through the Cumberland Mountain, flanking the Union Gen. Geo. W. Morgan, commanding at Cumberland Gap, and cutting him off from his supplies; whereupon, on Aug. 17th, the latter blew up his works and retreated to the Ohio, over a sterile region most difficult to traverse, which was his only way of escape. He arrived at the Ohio River, however, without material loss, though harassed the most of the way by the rebel guerilla, John Morgan, with 700 cavalry.

On Aug. 29th, Kirby Smith reached Richmond, Ky., where he was met by a raw Union force, about equal in numbers to his own, under Gen. M. D. Manson, who, on the morning of Aug. 18th, attacked him at Rogersville, but was shortly defeated, his whole line giving way and retreating beyond Rogersville, where he stood, maintaining the fight three hours, till Gen. Nelson reached the ground and assumed command. Another stand was then made, but in less than half an hour the Unionists were totally routed and dispersed, Gen. Manson becoming a prisoner. Sept. 4th, Smith entered Lexington, Ky., and then moved on as far as Cynthiana, within striking distance of both Cincinnati and Louisville. By this time Gen. Bragg, flanking Buell's left, had entered Kentucky at Glasgow. Buell, who had concentrated his forces at Murfreesboro, now marched on the enemy, who retired as he advanced, first from Glasgow, and then from Munfordsville, and continued northward to Frankfort, the State capital. Buell then marched directly to Louisville, which was seriously threatened by Kirby Smith, and arrived there on the 25th September, to the great relief of the citizens. Here, while reorganizing his forces, he was ordered to turn over his command to Thomas, in consequence of his delay in finding the enemy, but the execution of the order being suspended, he proceeded on Oct. 1st to move in five columns towards Bardstown, where the main rebel force, under Bragg, were. With his trains laden with the spoils of Kentucky, Bragg now slowly retreated before Buell's advance to Springfield, 62 miles from Louisville. Thence he proceeded towards Perryville to form a junction with Kirby Smith, who was now retiring from his designs on Cincinnati, having carried the rebel flag within seven miles of that city. On the 7th, Buell overtook the enemy near Perryville, and pressed back a considerable body of them whom he found drawn up in order of battle. The next morning, the enemy attacked and was repulsed by Gen. McCook, who had pushed forward for water to Doctor's Creek. About noon, McCook having advanced his division between two and three miles from Gen. Buell's headquarters, proceeded further to make a personal reconnoissance. While thus absent from his command, it was suddenly and overwhelmingly assailed in front and flank by swift charges of masses of rebel infantry and by the heavy cannonading of their artillery, which had been skilfully concealed in the adjacent woods and ravines. The whole left corps of the Union army was thus desperately pressed. Gen. Terrill's brigade was shortly driven back in a complete rout, and he was killed, as well as Gen. James S. Jackson, who commanded the division. The rebels then charged upon Rousseau, commanding the 3d Division in the centre, which for two or three hours bore the chief weight of the battle, fighting bravely, but losing ground. The rebels then struck the left flank of Gilbert's corps, held by Gens. R. B. Mitchell and P. H. Sheridan. But Sheridan shortly charged at double-quick, driving the enemy into and through Perryville, up to the protection of two batteries on the bluffs beyond, capturing fifteen ammunition wagons and a train guard of 140, and then retiring to the Union batteries as darkness came on. For two hours, the 30th Union brigade, Col. Gooding, sent by Gilbert to the aid of McCook, fought on the extreme left against superior numbers, losing 549 men out of 1,423. Gen. Buell did not learn until 4 P.M. that any serious conflict was in progress, when he sent reinforcements from the centre, and ordered Crittenden, commanding the right, to advance; but night fell ere these forces arrived. During the night Bragg decamped to Harrodsburg, where he was joined by Kirby Smith. The Union loss in this engagement was about 4,000 and 10 guns; that of the enemy about 2,500. Bragg now retreated precipitately to East Tennessee, through Crab Orchard and Cumberland Gap, destroying on the way a large amount of valuable stores and spoils for want of transportation across the mountainous country. He was pursued as far as Crab Orchard by Buell's forces. The Government, deeply dissatisfied at the failure of Buell to destroy the rebel army, now relieved him from command, and appointed Maj.-Gen. Rosecrans to succeed him.

On the elevation of Gen. Halleck to the chief command of the Union forces, Gen. Rosecrans had been placed in command under Grant in Northern Mississippi and Alabama. During the summer he was active in his department, but no event of importance occurred there. About Sept. 1, having left Iuka in charge of Col. R. C. Murphy, 8th Wisconsin, he moved eastward to watch the enemy's movements about Corinth. Murphy disgracefully abandoned his post, permitting a large amount of stores to fall into the hands of the enemy, and the rebel Gen. Price shortly occupied the place. Gen. Grant being advised of this, sent Gen. Ord with 5,000 men to Burnsville to move on Iuka from the north, while Rosecrans, having concentrated his two divisions and advanced on the south, reached Jacinto on Sept. 18. On the morning of the 19th, the latter being duly advised, Gen. Grant proceeded to the attack of Iuka, and after a march of nineteen miles, came within two miles of that place at 4 P.M.; one division, Hamilton's, of about 3,000 men and one battery being pushed thus far in advance. The rebels held a strong position along a deep ravine, crossing the main road, and behind the crest of a hill, while the nature of the ground prevented the formation of any extended line. The battle was thus maintained by a single Union brigade against more than three times its numbers. The single Union battery, the 11th Ohio, was captured by the rebels after every gunner and horse thereof had fallen. While it was in their possession, and their dense masses were sweeping down on the small Union force engaged, threatening it with entire destruction, Stanley's division came up, and, though no more troops could be sent to the front, prevented Hamilton from being outflanked. Gen. Sullivan, commanding the front brigade of Hamilton, in a desperate struggle now recaptured the battery. The rebels immediately rallied, and precipitating themselves upon his diminished force, again took it. Every flank movement of the enemy was promptly stopped, and the battle thus kept at the front upon the road. For three hours it was maintained by the 5th Iowa, and 11th and 26th Missouri, when darkness closed. The Union forces then laid down on their arms, expecting to renew the struggle the next morning. Gen. Ord failed to arrive and attack on the other road, as had been confidently expected, but arrived within 4 miles of Iuka, where he awaited the sound of Rosecrans' guns, which he did not hear. The next morning he moved rapidly toward and into Iuka, to find the enemy fled therefrom. Rosecrans pursued the rebels for 25 miles, but they had too much the start to be over-

taken. The total Union loss in this affair was 782—144 killed, 598 wounded and 40 missing. The rebel loss was 1,438, about 800 being killed and wounded.

Price, Van Dorn, and Lovell now united their entire forces, and concentrated on Rosecrans at Corinth before he could receive reinforcements. The latter, though conscious of being outnumbered, relied upon the character of his troops and upon the strength of his position, having erected works within the old and too extensive fortifications of Beauregard. Hamilton commanded his right, Davies the centre, and McKean the left, while three regiments under Col. Oliver proceeded to meet the rebels advancing on the Chewalla road. On the 3d October, at 7 A.M., the right of the enemy under Lovell was encountered thereon, and during the day was engaged with a portion of McKean's and Davies' divisions, who after considerable fighting gave ground, when night compelled a pause in the engagement, and the Union army was drawn back within the town. At daylight the fight was reopened by the fire of a rebel battery planted during the night 200 yards from the Union works covering the Chewalla road. Shells were thrown into Corinth, causing a general consternation of the non-combatants therein. Batteries on both sides now opened, but no rebel infantry were visible till 9 A.M., when heavy columns suddenly poured out from the woods east of the railroad, moving up the Bolivar road by divisions, and opened out in the shape of a monstrous wedge, Price being on the left and Van Dorn on the right. The advancing masses were torn by the shot and shell of the whole line of Union batteries, but they still pressed forward within musket range, with faces averted like men advancing against a driving storm of hail. They reached the hill in front and right of the battery, called Fort Richardson, where Gen. Davies' Union division gave way before them. Gen. Rosecrans at once rallied it by his gallant example, but his headquarters were seized by the advancing foe, who poured their fire from it upon the Union troops on the opposite side of the public square. Hamilton's veterans now fell back, and the rebels seized Fort Richardson, killing its commander. Suddenly, the 56th Illinois, concealed in a ravine near it, rose and charged, driving the foe in wild confusion back and out of the works. The whole Union line now rallied and advanced, and shortly the rebel legions of Price, with broken lines, demoralized and fugitive, were pursued down the hill, into the marsh and forests adjacent. Van Dorn, who had failed in the all-important work of attacking simultaneously with Price, now desperately attempted to carry Fort Robinett. Two of his brigades, led by a brave Texan, Col. Rogers, advanced through a terrible fire from both that battery and Fort Williams, a hundred and fifty yards distant, and then pressed onward within range of a devastating musketry, till they reached the ditch. Rogers, with the rebel flag in his hand, leaped this and planted his standard on the ramparts, and then fell dead into the ditch, with his banner. The five Texans who accompanied him fell corpses into the fort. The Ohio brigade, Col. Fuller, then rose and delivered six volleys in succession and cleared the front of the enemy. The supporting rebel brigade now advanced as the first had done, and made a rush upon the 63d Ohio, who were ready to receive them. A terrific hand-to-hand combat ensued of scarcely a minute, during which the uproar was hideous and the carnage dreadful of the maddened combatants, who used bayonets, clubbed muskets, and even their fists, in their rage. This was the final struggle. The rebels then flung away their arms and fled, pursued to the woods by the 11th Missouri and 27th Ohio.

The Union forces engaged in this fight numbered 15,700; those of the rebels, 38,000. Gen. McPherson, arriving at Corinth with five fresh regiments from Gen. Grant, now pressed after the retreating enemy, who was struck by another division from Gen. Grant, under Ord, at the Hatchie River, and narrowly escaped destruction. Gen. Rosecrans now followed McPherson to Ripley with most of his army, eager to pursue and capture the demoralized enemy; but he was directed by Gen. Grant to desist and return to Corinth, where he remained until the 25th October, when he was directed to report at Cincinnati, to take command of the Army of the Ohio and Department of the Cumberland, superseding Buell. Gen. Rosecrans reported his total loss at Corinth and in the subsequent pursuit at 2,359—315 killed, 1,812 wounded, and 232 missing. The rebel loss was 1,423 killed, 5,692 wounded, and 2,248 prisoners. 14 flags, 2 guns, and a large number of small arms were among the Union trophies.

On the 22d September a proclamation from the President of the United States appeared, abolishing slavery in all the States that should be in rebellion on the 1st January, 1863. Hitherto the war had been prosecuted, on the part of the Union, with the desire and expectation that it would be closed without seriously disturbing the institution of slavery; and most of the commanding army officers, especially those educated at West Point, believing that slavery should be protected under the Federal Constitution, imbued their orders with this spirit.

Gen. Butler early declared the slaves to be contraband of war—a most wholesome position; and shortly afterwards Gen. Fremont issued his memorable General Order, confiscating the property of the enemy, real and personal, to the public use, and declaring "their slaves, if any they have, free men," which was ordered by the President to be modified to accord with the act of Congress of Aug. 6, 1861, whereby only slaves used for military purposes were so freed. On May 9, Gen. Hunter, commanding at Hilton Head, in a general order declared free the slaves of the three States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, embraced within his Department, which order was shortly rescinded by the President. Gens. Halleck, Buell, and McClellan were especially imbued with a pro-slavery feeling, and many instances of cruel slave-hunting were tolerated by them within their lines, even after the time when the anti-negro prejudice of a portion of the Union rank and file had been converted by experience near the fields of slavery into a hearty desire for its abolition. On July 7, 1862, directly after his retreat from the Chickahominy, Gen. McClellan indited a letter to the President, recommending a policy which he thought should be adopted, the chief features of which were, no confiscation of the property of the enemy, and no emancipation of their slaves. But the public mind was now slowly and steadily gravitating towards the conclusion that the Rebellion was vulnerable chiefly through slavery, and that the latter was destined to fall with the quelling of the former. President Lincoln, anxious that the Union should retain its hold on the border Slave States, in his first annual message had proposed, and Congress had appropriated $100,000 towards a system of colonization, and a few wretched blacks were taken to Cow Island, a sandspit near Hayti, in consequence.

On June 19, 1862, the President approved the act, which had passed Congress, by which slavery was abolished and prohibited in every territory of the Union. This Congress, the 37th, also passed a bill to punish officers and privates of the army for arresting, detaining, or delivering persons claimed as fugitive slaves. It also abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, and enacted a bill confiscating the slaves of the rebels; and in accordance with the suggestion of President Lincoln, proposed to co-operate, by pecuniary compensation, with any State which might adopt the gradual abolishment of slavery. Further important bills, all tending towards the destruction of slavery, and stubbornly contested, were passed. One establishing diplomatic intercourse with Liberia and Hayti; one requiring equality in education and punishment between whites and blacks in the schools of the District of Columbia; one conceding the right of search on the African coast. The fugitive slave act was also repealed; confinement of suspected slaves in Federal jails, the holding of slaves on national vessels, and the coastwise slave trade, were forbidden, and color was declared no impediment to giving testimony.

On the day appointed, Jan. 1, 1863, when at length he saw that the time had arrived for him, both as commander of the armies, and as a civil magistrate, to strike slavery, President Lincoln consummated the great event of the nineteenth century, and issued his memorable Proclamation of Freedom.

During November, 1862, Morgan, Wheeler, and other rebel leaders of cavalry, made several small raids upon the Union rear and supply trains in Rosecrans' department, at Mitchellsville, Lavergne, Nolensville, and other places, being speedily driven away, in most cases, by Union forces. On Dec. 7, Col. A. B. Moore, 104th Illinois, was surprised and captured at Hartsville by Morgan, at the head of 1,500 cavalry, his own force, carelessly disposed, being about that number. Dec. 11, Wheeler attacked a Union brigade under Col. Stanley Matthews, which was foraging between Nashville and Murfreesboro, but was gallantly driven off.

At the close of December, Gen. Rosecrans, having reorganized at Nashville the army to whose command he succeeded, and secured his communications, proceeded to move against the enemy under Bragg, who had now reappeared in his front at Murfreesboro. On Dec. 26, his three grand divisions, the right under Gen. McCook, the centre under Gen. Thomas, and the left commanded by Gen. Crittenden, moved on the roads leading south and south-west from Nashville. On the 29th the enemy was discovered in position along the bluffs across Stone River, near Murfrees-

boro. Harker's brigade of Crittenden's division crossed the river under the erroneous information that the foe was retreating, and making a gallant dash, drove back a rebel regiment, but discovering that Breckinridge's entire corps was in that neighborhood, Harker withdrew without loss.

On Dec. 30, the Union army, amounting to about 40,000, took position near Stone River, a little west of Murfreesboro, along a line of three or four miles and about half a mile from the rebel lines. The right of the latter rested on and across the river, which was fordable at all points, although heavy rains were now falling. Gen. Johnson commanded the right of McCook's division, Gen. Davis the centre, and Gen. Sheridan the left. Upon this division, at 7 A.M., Dec. 31, the enemy under Hardee, seconded by Bishop Polk and McCown's division, burst from the thickets. They instantly crushed its extreme right, capturing its guns, and a large portion of the men. Davis's command was then struck by them, and pressed back in confusion over the field. A concentrated assault was then made upon the lines of Sheridan and Davis, who at this point repulsed several determined attacks on their front, during one of which, while leading a successful charge, Gen. J. W. Sill was killed. The rebel columns then bore down heavily on Sheridan's flank, compelling him to move towards Negley on the centre. Halting, he placed his batteries and troops at a strong point facing south and west. Dense masses of the enemy now assailed his position and three times were they compelled to fall back, when his ammunition was exhausted. The rebels triumphantly pressed on, reaching a position which gave them an advantageous fire on Thomas's corps. At 11 A.M. the greater portion of McCook's command had been routed, and several batteries of the enemy were concentrated on Negley's division of Thomas's corps, compelling him to recoil. At this juncture, Gen. Rosecrans, apprised of his disaster, pushed up Gen. Rousseau with the reserves and Van Cleve's division from the left to withstand the triumphant progress of the enemy at this point. Van Cleve having fallen, he led in person a charge of the latter's troops, which repelled the rebel advance. Rousseau then desperately charged the enemy in his front and pressed them back into the cedar woods, taking many prisoners. The ground here taken was held, and the concentration of the Union batteries at this point of the line repelled every rebel advance with great slaughter. On the recoiling of Negley, Palmer's division, the right of the Union left wing, retired for a space to avoid a rebel flank advance, while Hazen, commanding the left extremity, fell back to a low wooded hill between the Nashville road and the railroad, which he held till the battle ended. Gen. Wood, commanding the division of the left in front of Breckinridge, nobly held his ground through the day, commanding in person till evening, though severely wounded in the foot early in the day. While the rebel attack was being concentrated on Palmer's and Wood's divisions, Gen. Rosecrans visited that portion of the line, and by his directions and encouragement created great enthusiasm here, as elsewhere during the day, among the Union troops. And here his chief of staff, Gareschè, was struck and decapitated while riding at his side, by a shell from the enemy.

The day closed, leaving the Unionists masters of the original ground, but with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, and 28 pieces of artillery in the hands of the enemy. Throughout the following day, New Year's day, both armies maintained their respective positions, with some artillery firing, while both were engaged in constructing new defences. The rebel cavalry had already attacked the Union line of communication, cutting off his supplies and ammunition, but Gen. Rosecrans determined to stay and give battle in the same spot with what ammunition he had. At 8 A.M., Jan. 2, the rebel batteries opened fire in front of the Union centre and left, under which Hascall's division suffered severely, but being spiritedly replied to, after an half hour the enemy ceased to fire. At 3 P.M., three grand columns of assault, comprising the entire rebel right wing, under Breckinridge, bore down upon that portion of Van Cleve's division which had been sent across the stream during the morning. In a few moments, both the first and second Union lines were swept back by the overwhelming advance, until within cover of fifty-eight cannon massed by Rosecrans on an eminence. With this terrible battery he enfiladed the rebel columns as they approached, while the divisions of Negley and Jeff. C. Davis pressed forward to the rescue. In turn, the enemy was now hurled back, the Union forces charging them with loud cheers for half a mile, capturing four of their guns and a large number of prisoners. Darkness and rain prevented extensive pursuit, but Crittenden's entire corps passed over the stream, and with Davis's division occupied the ground which was thus won. The next day was passed in quiet, beneath a pouring rain. At 11 P.M. thereof, Bragg stealthily evacuated Murfreesboro, his retreat not being discovered till too late for effective pursuit. During the battle, the rebel cavalry under Wheeler passed around the Union army, destroying a large amount of its supplies at Lavergne, and returning to cover Bragg's retreat on the 4th and 5th January. About the same period, Forrest, who had been sent by Bragg to cut the Union communications in West Tennessee, was routed at Parker's Cross-roads by Col. C. L. Dunham and Gen. J. C. Sullivan. Gen. J. H. Morgan also made a simultaneous raid into the heart of Kentucky, capturing Elizabethtown, inflicting considerable other damage, and returning with little loss. On the other hand, and also about the same period, the Union Gen. H. Carter made a successful raid from Winchester, Ky., into East Tennessee.

The Union forces engaged in the battle of Murfreesboro were about 40,000. Those of the enemy, about 60,000. The Union loss was 1,533 killed, 7,245 wounded, with about 2,800 missing. The killed and wounded of the enemy amounted to 14,560 men.

During the early months of 1863, numerous raids and small engagements took place in this department. In February, Gen. Wheeler proceeded, with 4,500 rebel cavalry from Franklin, as far as Dover, near Fort Donelson, where he was successfully resisted by Col. A. C. Harding, with only 600 men, who held his ground till some gunboats arrived on the river and rescued him. Wheeler then returned to Franklin. On March 5, 1,300 Unionists under Col. John Coburn, being assailed by six brigades of rebel cavalry under Gen. Van Dorn, after a stout resistance were compelled to surrender to the latter. March 20, Col. A. S. Hall with 1,323 men was assailed at Milton by the rebel Gen. Morgan with a vastly superior force, but being skilfully posted, defeated the latter. On April 10, Van Dorn attacking Gordon Granger at Franklin, was also successfully resisted. On April 29, Col. A. D. Streight was despatched by Gen. Rosecrans to the rear of Gen. Bragg. He proceeded into North-western Georgia, inflicting considerable loss on the rebels. Near Rome, after a running fight with Forrest for nearly 100 miles, he was captured with his force, amounting to 1,365 men. Having been sent with his officers to Libby prison, Richmond, he escaped therefrom to the Union lines about a year afterwards.

The capture of the important post of Vicksburg, commanding the navigation of the Mississippi, was the object of a plan initiated by Gen. Grant at the close of November, 1862. Gen. Sherman was to move his army from Memphis upon Vicksburg, while Gen. Grant himself was to prevent the enemy at Jackson City from reinforcing the place. On November 28th, Gen. Grant moved through Holly Springs to Oxford, making the former place his temporary depot of supplies, and leaving it in charge of Col. R. C. Murphy, 8th Wisconsin, with 1,000 men. On December 20th, this commander unnecessarily surrendered the place, with some 2,000 men, including a large hospital full of sick and wounded, and $4,000,000 worth of property, to the rebel Gen. Van Dorn, who shortly burned the latter. By this disaster the co-operation of Gen. Grant in the expedition against Vicksburg became impossible. He was compelled to fall back to Grand Junction and thence to Memphis, while the rebel Gen. Pendleton at Granada was left free to reinforce Vicksburg, where he shortly took the command. Gen. Sherman left Memphis on the 20th December with 30,000 men, and on the 26th entered the Yazoo, and ascended it to Johnston's Landing, near Haines' Bluff. Here he disembarked his army, and moved down on Vicksburg. On the 26th, the gunboats of Com. Porter opened fire upon the batteries on the Bluff, and during the 27th and 28th the army pressed forward towards the city, notwithstanding the ground and obstacles to traverse were of a most difficult nature. Gen. Blair's brigade was debarked between Gen. Morgan's and Gen. M. L. Smith's division, and accompanied by two regiments of Morgan, crossed, beneath a heavy fire of artillery, the Chickasaw bayou, where an intricate abattis covered both banks, between which was a quicksand bed of 300 feet in width, with 15 feet of water, 3 feet deep in its middle. He then carried two lines of rifle-pits at the base of the centre hill, on which the city lay; Thayer's and De Courcey's brigades also shared in this perilous assault. But the city was impregnable, and the storming party was forced to retire, Blair's brigade losing 636 men, Thayer's 111, Morgan's di-

vision 875, and Stuart's brigade 55; a total of 1,734. Gen. Pemberton reported his total loss at 207. Gen. Sherman now saw that the task of reducing the city was hopeless, and having buried his dead under a flag of truce, he re-embarked his army and was about starting for Milliken's Bend, when he was superseded by Gen. McClernand.

The latter shortly proceeded with his forces, accompanied by Admiral Porter with his gunboats, up White River, and thence to the Arkansas, towards Fort Hindman, or Arkansas Post, which was the key to the extensive country whence rebel forces were constantly sent to operate on the Mississippi River, and was commanded by Col. Churchill. On the 9th January, McClernand arrived at a bend of the Arkansas, three miles from the fort, where, though furiously bombarded, he shortly landed, and expended the remainder of the day in investing the rebel works, the forces at night lying on their arms, without fires or tents, in position for a general assault the next morning. At daylight the Union gunboats moved up to within four hundred yards of the fort and opened fire, to which the latter replied. But the united fire of the land and river batteries gradually overwhelmed that of the fort, and at 3 P.M. had entirely silenced it. In the meanwhile, several partial attempts were made by the Union forces to scale and carry it by assault, which failed, the division of A. J. Smith bearing the brunt of the conflict therein. Gen. McClernand now ordered a general assault, but before it was effected, a white flag was raised from the ramparts. Seven stand of colors, 5,000 prisoners, 17 cannons, 3,000 small arms, and large quantities of munitions were the fruits of this victory. The total Union loss was 977. Having destroyed the works, Gen. McClernand returned to Milliken's Bend. About this time the Union rams *Queen of the West* and *Indianola* were captured by the rebels, but the latter being deceived by a counterfeit ram, made of a flat-boat, with smoke-stacks of pork-barrels and furnaces of mud, sent floating down the river by Com. Porter from above Vicksburg, they blew up the *Indianola* and hurried the *Queen* up the Red River.

Gen. Grant now assumed the immediate command of all the forces of his department, concentrating them towards the last of the month at Milliken's Bend and Young's Point, with the purpose of proceeding below Vicksburg and advancing upon it from the south. For six weeks he employed his army in endeavoring to complete the canal which Gen. Williams had failed in cutting the year before across the bend of the Mississippi at Young's Point, and by which he proposed to pass below Vicksburg. Failing in this project, he attempted to open another route, through Lake Providence, Swan Lake, the Tensas, Black and Red rivers, which latter effects a junction with the Mississippi below Natchez. The Mississippi floods opened this route for a short period, when they fell, and it also had to be abandoned. Gen. Grant now made a third trial to flank the Vicksburg defences on the eastern side of the Mississippi, 150 miles north of Vicksburg, through Moon Lake, by the Coldwater and Tallahatchie rivers, thence by the Yazoo to the Mississippi. 5,000 of his forces under Gen. Ross, in transports, accompanied by seven gunboats, attempted this passage, encountering snags and fallen trees, and the boughs of standing ones, and making a progress of less than a quarter of a mile an hour. At the village of Greenwood, near the junction of the Tallahatchie with the Yallabusha, the rebels, already informed of the expedition, had erected works, commanding the Tallahatchie's channel. During March 13th and 14th the Union gunboats endeavored to silence these batteries, but without success, whereupon this expedition returned, and this route was also abandoned. Gen. Grant then made an attempt to reach the rear of the batteries on Haines' Bluff, by the Sunflower River, Steele's Bayou, and the Yazoo. Similar difficulties to those of the former routes were experienced in this one, and it was also given up.

It was now determined to run the gunboats and transports past the rebel batteries, which extended for eight miles along the Mississippi, and to march the army by an inland route to New Carthage, below Vicksburg. On March 25, Gen. McClernand started from Milliken's Bend with the 13th Army Corps, directly followed by Gen. McPherson with the 17th. The roads were extremely bad, mostly covered with water, or mere beds of deep mud, and the advance was very slow and laborious. On approaching New Carthage, it was found that a break in the levee uniting the Mississippi with the Bayou Vidal, had transformed the village site into an island. Gen. Grant then decided to strike the river at Perkins, twelve miles farther; and, upon arriving at the latter place and finding a want of transportation, the army marched to Hard Times, seventy miles from Milliken's Bend. On the night of April 16, eight gunboats, under Com. Porter, moved down the river in single file. When fairly opposite the city they were heavily fired upon. They promptly responded, and finally effected a passage unharmed. Three transports then followed the gunboats, two being destroyed by the fire of the enemy, and one, the *Silver Wave*, passing unscathed. On the night of April 22, six more transports were sent down, shielded by twelve forage barges. The whole fleet, with the exception of the transport *Tigress*, and half of the barges, passed in safety.

On the 29th April, Com. Porter made a naval attack on the rebel batteries of Grand Gulf; but after five hours' bombardment, seeing that the works could not be reduced from the water, Gen. Grant decided to discontinue the assault. The gunboats and transports then ran the Grand Gulf batteries without injury, while the army marched down the Louisiana bank to a point opposite Bruinsburgh. On April 30, Gen. McClernand's corps was pushed forward towards Port Gibson, in the rear of Grand Gulf, and found the enemy posted on two roads, about four miles from the former place. While Grand Gulf was being thus invested, Gen. Sherman executed a feint against the rebel works at Haines' Bluff, by landing his troops as if to storm, and thus prevented Pemberton, commanding at Vicksburg, from reinforcing Grand Gulf. Having accomplished this, Sherman sent Blair's division to Milliken's Bend as a garrison, and hurried the remainder of his army down the west bank of the Mississippi to join Gen. Grant. On May 1st, McClernand advancing on the right, and Osterhaus on the left, engaged the enemy before Port Gibson. The rebels were defeated with heavy loss, and pursued towards the latter place. As the Union army advanced, Port Gibson and Grand Gulf were in turn evacuated by the enemy.

Gen. Grant had expected to remain some time at Grand Gulf, to co-operate with Gen. Banks in the reduction of Port Hudson, but the latter had not yet invested that place. Gen. Grant accordingly changed his plans, and boldly resolved to march rapidly against the superior forces of the enemy and beat them in detail. He accordingly at once dispatched McPherson's corps to the north-east, while Sherman and McClernand followed the Black River, the three divisions being within supporting distance of each other. On May 12, McPherson encountered a force of the enemy near Raymond, shortly driving them through the latter place after a spirited battle; the Union loss being 442, and that of the rebels 103 killed, with 720 wounded and prisoners. The enemy then retreated towards Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, losing heavily in prisoners. On May 14, after a heavy rain, McPherson came up with a strong force of them under Gen. W. H. T. Walker, who made a stand before Jackson. The whole Union line then swept forward in perfect array, and drove the enemy within range of the guns which formed the defences of Jackson, while the Union batteries poured a deadly fire into the routed masses. Thus pressed by McPherson, and threatened in the flank by the other Union commanders, the enemy abandoned the State capital. Leaving Gen. Sherman here to destroy the railroads and military factories of the enemy, Gen. Grant moved the rest of his troops westward towards Edwards' Station, as Gen. Jo. Johnston, now commanding the rebel department, had ordered Pemberton to march out from Vicksburg and assail the Union rear. Learning that the force of the enemy thus threatening him was near Champion Hills, and 25,000 strong, Gen. Grant concentrated his army with great rapidity near Edwards' Station, and ordered Sherman to leave Jackson at once and hasten forward to that rendezvous. On the 16th May, Hovey's division of McClernand's corps, and McPherson's corps, with the exception of Ransom's division, were drawn up before the enemy; but Gen. Grant delayed the order of attack till he could hear from McClernand, who had not yet arrived with the rest of his divisions. At 11 A.M. the battle was precipitated by the enemy upon Hovey, who for hours gallantly resisted superior numbers. While he was thus contesting the ground, Logan's division worked around to the left and rear of the rebels, and so weakened their efforts against Hovey, that he finally ordered a charge, under which they gave way and disappeared over the ridge. The pursuit was continued till after dark. In this victory 1,000 prisoners and two batteries were captured by the Unionists. The Union loss was about 2,500, that of Hovey's division alone being 1,202—one-third of its force. At daylight on the 17th, the pursuit of the enemy was renewed, and McClernand, in the advance, soon overtook them strongly posted on both sides of the Black River. On the west they

rested upon a wooded bluff, and on the east upon an open bottom, which was protected by a shallow, muddy bayou. Across this bayou, amidst shot and shell, Lawler's brigade of Carr's division charged so suddenly upon the enemy, with fixed bayonets, that the whole force there were routed, and fled across the railroad bridge and temporary army bridge over the Black, leaving 18 guns and 1,500 prisoners. The rebels on the western side then burned these bridges, and retreated towards Vicksburg. Sherman now reached Bridgeport, and crossed the river by pontoons, while McClernand and McPherson built floating bridges during the night.

On the 18th the whole army was closing in on Vicksburg. On the 19th Sherman's right reached the Mississippi, within view of the Union gunboats, and Haines' Bluff was hastily evacuated by the enemy. On the same day, at 2 P.M., the army moved to the assault of the place under a terrible fire, but only a portion of Sherman's corps, Blair's division, gained any advantage, and at night the troops were recalled. The two following days were devoted to bringing up the supplies, and at 10 A.M. on the 22d another grand assault was attempted, which, though gallantly and desperately essayed for hours, resulted mainly in the slaughter of the Union forces at all points. The Union loss was aggravated by a continuance of the assault, resulting from Gen. McClernand's overestimating the successes of the Union troops at his portion of the line.

Vicksburg was now completely invested; on the Mississippi by Porter's fleet of gunboats, of which, however, one, the *Cincinnati*, was sunk on the 27th by the rebel batteries; and on the east by Gen. Grant, whose rear was protected from any attack of Johnston's forces by the Big Black River, and by a large force under Gen. Sherman detailed to watch that rebel leader. Day by day, the Unionists dug their way towards Vicksburg, and soon reached positions whence shells could be thrown into the city. On the 25th a mine was sprung, shattering one of the rebel forts opposite the Union centre and a bloody struggle ensued for its possession, which resulted in a Union victory. Thenceforward fort after fort of the outer works was mined, while counter-mines were run by the enemy, the opposing forces often hearing the sound of each other's picks. At length, on the 3d July, after 45 days of besiegement, having been pressed by extreme famine and without hope of relief, Gen. Pemberton proposed a surrender, which was effected on the 4th; his troops, some 27,000, being duly paroled and marched out of the lines, and the national ensign hoisted over the city.

Immediately upon the surrender of Vicksburg, Gen. Grant pressed his army forward to the Big Black upon Johnston, who was shortly driven into Jackson, and thence during the night of July 16 across Pearl River, through Brandon to Morton, pursued by Sherman as far as Brandon. During the siege of Vicksburg, a Union force of 1,000 men, mostly negroes, left in charge of Milliken's Bend, under Gen. E. S. Dennis, was attacked by 3,000 rebels from Richmond, La., under Gen. Henry McCulloch, with heavy and about equal loss to each side. Helena, Ark., well fortified, and under the command of Gen. B. M. Prentiss, also was attacked on the 3d July by Lieut.-Gen. Holmes with a force of about 8,000 rebels, and with Gens. Price, Parsons, and Marmaduke as subordinates. The rebels were defeated with the heavy loss of 1,636.

On the 24th December, Gen. Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf, despatched the 42d Massachusetts, Col. Burrill, to Galveston, Texas, Commander Renshaw having held that place since Oct. 8, with four steam gunboats. On Jan. 1, the rebel General Magruder, commanding in this region, made an assault upon the Massachusetts troops encamped on the wharf, and recaptured the place, Col. Burrill and his 265 men being killed or taken prisoners. In co-operation with Magruder, three powerful rebel rams attacked the Union fleet blockading the bay, and after a short but fierce fight captured the *Harriet Lane*, and forced the commander of the flag-ship *Westfield*, Renshaw, to blow her up, in doing which he lost his own life. On Jan. 21, 1863, the two gunboats blockading the mouth of the Sabine were attacked and captured, after a feeble resistance, by two rebel gunboats fitted out in the river above for that purpose. On Jan. 12, the blockade of Galveston being re-established under Com. Bell of the *Brooklyn*, he despatched the gunboat *Hatteras*, Lieut.-Com. Blake, to overhaul a stranger in the offing. Approaching the latter, Blake discovered her to be the Confederate privateer *Alabama*, and at once attempted to close with and board her, but the *Hatteras* was sunk in the attempt, the crew being rescued by the victors.

On the 11th of January, Gen. Banks despatched Gen. Weitzel with a land force of 4,500 men to Bayou Teche, the artillery and cavalry moving up the bayou by land, and the infantry carried on four gunboats under Com. McKean Buchanan. At Carney's Bridge, the enemy, about 1,100 strong, was attacked and beaten on the 14th, and the rebel gunboat *Cotton* near that place was so disabled, that she was fired and destroyed by her commander. The Union loss was about 30, among the killed being the gallant Buchanan.

The next month was occupied by Gen. Banks in attempting to open the Atchafalaya, but early in March he concentrated his troops at Baton Rouge, to co-operate with Admiral Farragut in an attack upon Port Hudson. On the night of March 14th, Farragut proceeded to run the rebel batteries at the latter place for the purpose of attacking above. At 11 P.M. his fleet was discovered, and each of his vessels as it came within range of the extensive batteries received the fire thereof and spiritedly replied thereto. At 1 A.M., the flagship *Hartford* and her consort, the *Albatross*, in the advance had safely passed, but the remaining gunboats failed. The frigate *Mississippi*, armed with 21 guns and 2 howitzers, ran aground abreast of the heaviest rebel battery, and after remaining a target thereof for an half hour, was fired and abandoned by her commander and crew. Gen. Banks, deeming the force holding Port Hudson too strong for him, made no attack and shortly returned to the Atchafalaya. On the 11th April, his main column, commanded by him in person, moved from Berwick City, while Gen. Grover's division moved up the Atchafalaya in transports, passing into Grand Lake to cut off the retreat of the enemy under Taylor. Here the rebel ram *Queen of the West* was destroyed by the Union gunboats. Gen. Grover then moved up Grand Lake to Irish Bend, above Fort Bisland. Landing, he was attacked by the enemy, whom he beat off. The rebels then evacuated Fort Bisland and retreated on Opelousas, losing heavily in prisoners, and burning the bridges of the region. On May 2d, Banks entered Opelousas, the Union gunboats having in the meanwhile opened the Atchafalaya to Red River, and established communication with Admiral Farragut at the mouth of that stream. Taylor now retreated on Shreveport, and was thence pursued by a portion of Banks's force, under Gen. Weitzel, as far as Grand Ecore, where further pursuit of the virtually dispersed enemy was deemed useless. On the 8th of May, Banks reached Alexandria, an important and strongly fortified place, which had surrendered to Admiral Porter's gunboats. Gen. Banks reported his captures in this campaign at 2,000 prisoners and 22 guns. He also seized or destroyed 10 rebel steamers and 3 gunboats.

On the 10th of May, Gen. Banks was apprised by Gen. Grant of the latter's entrance upon the campaign against Vicksburg and invited to co-operate, but was obliged to decline from the lack of transportation, and the demands of his department. On the 14th, he proceeded to move down from Alexandria on Port Hudson, by way of Simmsport, to invest it on the north, while Gen. C. C. Augur, with 3,500 men from Baton Rouge, invested it on the south. On the 25th, after some resistance of the enemy, the junction of the two forces was effected in the rear of the rebel works, and on the 27th an assault was made thereon by the land forces, while the Union gunboats under Admiral Farragut, from below the rebel river batteries, threw shot and shell within the fortifications. The fighting was of the most desperate and heroic character upon the part of the besiegers, and the colored troops engaged therein were especially commended for their noble bearing. The Union loss in this unsuccessful attempt was 293 killed and 1,549 wounded, while the rebel loss was scarcely 300. Banks now pushed his batteries nearer and nearer to the rebel works, and on Sunday morning, June 10th, a second general assault was made thereon, Farragut again co-operating with his gunboats. This attack was also fruitless, and accompanied with severe loss to the besiegers. It was continued until 11 A.M., when such as could retire fell back. A third assault was being planned by Gen. Banks, when the news of the surrender of Vicksburg caused Gen. Gardner, the commander of Port Hudson, which was already severely pressed by famine, to surrender on July 8. About 6,000 prisoners, fifty-one pieces of artillery, two steamers, and a large quantity of ammunition here fell into the hands of the Unionists. The Mississippi was now opened in its entire length, and the Southern Confederacy cut off from its large supplies of men and animals, which it had constantly received from the country west of the Mississippi.

Upon the withdrawal of Gen. Banks from the Red River, Gen. Richard Taylor collected a new force of several thousand men,

and reoccupied Alexandria and Opelousas. He then proceeded against Brashear City, which he captured on June 23, it having been shamefully defended. The Unionists here lost 1,000 prisoners, 10 heavy guns, and $2,000,000 of supplies; while many thousands of blacks, who had been liberated by Banks's advance, were forced back into slavery. On June 28 Taylor's van, under Green, assaulted Donaldsonville, but three gunboats, sent thither by Farragut, soon put the rebels to flight with severe loss. Upon the fall of Port Hudson, Taylor abandoned the country east of the Atchafalaya.

On Sept. 5, Gen. Banks, in accordance with the views of the authorities at Washington, despatched Gen. Franklin with 4,000 men, and four gunboats, under Lieut.-Com. Crocker, to seize Sabine City, situated on the Sabine River. The forces were not landed from the transports, and two of the gunboats, the *Clifton* and *Sachem*, which were of inferior strength, were disabled and captured, with all on board, in the naval engagement which ensued, and the expedition shortly returned to New Orleans. On Sept. 30 the Union force of Gen. Dana at Morganzia, some 600, were surprised by the rebel Gen. Green, and about 400 captured. On Nov. 3, a portion of Gen. C. C. Washburne's force, who had been ordered to the Teche from Opelousas, was surprised by Taylor and Green near Bayou Bourbeaux, and a loss of 716 sustained, the rebel loss being about one-half of that number. At the commencement of November an important expedition was made by Gen. Banks into Texas. The rebel garrison at Fort Esperanza, in Matagorda Bay, abandoned their works at the approach of the Union forces, and by the 9th of November Brazos Island, Point Isabel, and Brownsville were captured. The army then proceeded north-east to Aranzas, capturing 3 guns and 100 prisoners. All Texas west of the Colorado was thus virtually abandoned by the rebels, none being found by expeditions sent in various directions from Brownsville. Gen. Banks now proposed to move inland and contest the mastery of the State, but he was overruled. The expedition was abandoned, and Banks shortly returned to New Orleans, followed by Gen. A. J. Hamilton, who had been appointed Military Governor of Texas, and had accompanied the army there. Shortly thereafter Banks was relieved from command.

On Nov. 8, 1862, Gen. Burnside reluctantly assumed command of the Army of the Potomac, and immediately commenced a rapid march to Fredericksburg, to capture it and cut off Lee's retreat towards Richmond, thus compelling the latter to a battle in the field. Owing to a misunderstanding between Gens. Halleck and Burnside, the pontoon trains did not arrive from Washington, and the army was unable to cross the river at the expected time. This enabled Gen. Lee to penetrate Burnside's design, and furnished him with ample time to counteract it. Most of the rebel army was concentrated on the heights of Fredericksburg, when the Union army was ready to cross the river there. These heights rise in successive terraces, and some three miles below the city, where they are heavily wooded, curve towards the river. At this latter point the right of Lee's army, under Stonewall Jackson, was placed, and there confronted by the Union left wing, under Gen. Franklin. The city was now subjected to a severe bombardment, which, while it nearly destroyed the place, failed to completely drive out the rebel sharpshooters there, who hindered the laying of the pontoons. Volunteers from the 7th Michigan and 19th and 20th Massachusetts thereupon crossed in boats and accomplished that work. The pontoons being laid, the Union army, including Franklin's corps, crossed over the river on Dec. 11 and 12, unmolested, Lee being unable to reach the pontoons with his batteries, owing to the height of the banks of the river. Although heavy and random artillery firing took place in the morning, the battle did not commence until about 11 A.M., when the fog cleared away. Couch's division of the right of the Union army then emerged from among the ruins of Fredericksburg, and moved swiftly to the assault across the plain and up Marye's Hill, in three massive columns, their ranks ploughed and torn by the rebel batteries from sixteen direct and enfilading points, tier above tier rising to the crest of the hill. At the foot of the hill they were stopped by a stone wall, four feet in height, behind which the Confederate infantry securely poured upon them the fiery sleet of their musketry. Still the line undulated along the slope, and the slaughtered brigades were succeeded by others, to be mowed down in turn. Two-thirds of Meagher's Irish brigade fell on the way up these impregnable heights, and other brigades of Sumner's and Hooker's grand divisions successively moved up, only to be strewn upon the bloody ground. And thus the slaughter was maintained on the right, with vain sacrifice and heroic valor, till after dark, when the terraces and slopes upon the hill were piled with the Union dead. On the left but a portion of Franklin's command, which comprised one-half of the Union army, was engaged during the day, Smith's corps, 21,000 strong, not having been sent in. The two corps of Reynolds, some 16,000 men, with Sickles' division of Hooker's command, kept up the contest against Jackson till nightfall. Here the loss was also severe, Gen. Meade alone losing 1,760 out of 6,000 of his command.

The Union losses during this bloody day were 1,652 killed, 9,101 wounded, and 3,234 missing—total, 13,771. Among the killed was Major-Gen. Geo. D. Bayard, commanding Franklin's cavalry, and many brigadiers and other officers of high rank. The loss of the enemy, though at first reported by Gen. Lee at 1,800, was subsequently ascertained to have been over 5,000. The Union army engaged in this conflict numbered about 100,000, that of the enemy 80,000. Gen. Burnside proposed the next morning to renew the attack, but was prevented by the remonstrances of Gen. Sumner and other officers. Some skirmishing and cannonading followed on the 14th and 15th, and on the night of the latter day the entire army was withdrawn across the river, the pontoons removed, and the campaign against Fredericksburg ended. Gen. Burnside soon planned another advance movement, and actually commenced it on Jan. 20, 1863, but abandoned it in consequence of severe storms which then set in, and the campaign in Virginia was practically closed for the season. Having prepared a general order dismissing some of his officers from the army for fomenting discontent therein, he submitted it to the President for his approval. Instead of giving this, the latter decided, on Jan. 28, to relieve Gen. Burnside from his command.

During this winter and spring numerous raids were made in Virginia by Gens. Stuart, Fitzhugh Lee, Moseby, and others, in which small and isolated bands of Unionists or poorly-guarded supply-trains were often captured.

Gen. Hooker, who succeeded Gen. Burnside, at once devoted himself to reorganizing and improving the discipline of the Army of the Potomac, and by the opening of spring it numbered about 100,000 effective infantry, with 13,000 cavalry, and 10,000 artillery, in all respects well appointed. On April 27, 1863, Gen. Hooker dispatched Gen. Stoneman, with most of the Union cavalry, to cut the railroads in the rear of Gen. Lee and of Fredericksburg. He also directed Gen. Sedgwick, with some 20,000 men, to cross in front of Fredericksburg and carry the intrenched heights, while, by throwing his army suddenly over the river above that place, he should compel Lee either to attack him or retreat towards Richmond to save his communications.

On Saturday, May 2d, Gen. Hooker established his headquarters at a house named Chancellorsville, at the intersection of the Gordonsville and Orange County roads, and was there surrounded by about 70,000 of his army, while Sedgwick had also succeeded in crossing the Rappahannock three miles below Fredericksburg. Upon learning the passage of the main Union army above him instead of below him, as he had expected, Gen. Lee left a small body in his works on Fredericksburg Heights, and hastened his main body, some 50,000 men, about half-way down the Gordonsville road towards Chancellorsville. On Saturday afternoon, May 2, he despatched Stonewall Jackson to execute a flank movement on the Union extreme right, which was commanded by Howard. Just at evening Gen. Jackson, with 25,000 men, burst from some thick woods upon the exposed flank of that corps, and drove it back, panic-stricken, upon Sickles in the centre of the army, in spite of Gen. Howard's frantic exertions to rally and reform it. In this crisis, Gen. Hooker moved up Berry's division. Sickles and Howard then rallied a portion of their commands, and the progress of the enemy was arrested. Thirty pieces of artillery were now massed in front of Berry's position. Upon these, while darkness was falling, three charges were made by the rebels. Each time the latter were repelled with great slaughter, the constant discharges of canister sweeping whole ranks of them away. Towards midnight a cessation of the conflict took place. In front of these batteries, between 9 and 10 P.M., fell the great rebel general T. J. Jackson (Stonewall), mortally wounded by the mistaken fire of his own men, which was delivered in accordance with his general orders respecting the approach of suspicious bodies of horse. This disaster to the enemy was almost equivalent to a victory for the Unionists.

At 5 A.M., May 3d, the enemy renewed the attack, and were met by Berry's and Birney's

divisions, supported by Whipple and Williams, the artillery of the latter commanding all the approaches by the plank road, on which the enemy mainly advanced. The latter were mowed down by hundreds, but fresh regiments constantly succeeded the shattered ones, until Gen. Sickles was forced to send to Hooker for assistance. The messenger found the latter at Chancellorsville, stunned and insensible. A cannon ball had but just struck a pillar against which he was leaning, and an hour passed ere he was able to give an order, and Sickles was again compelled to recoil, after repelling five fierce charges and capturing eight flags. The battle thus raged in fearful earnestness until about noon, when the rebels withdrew. During this day Gen. Sedgwick had stormed and carried the heights of Fredericksburg. He then moved out on the Chancellorsville road, in the rear of the rebel army. At 5 P.M. Gen. Lee turned his attention to the advance of Sedgwick, and sent Gen. McLaws, with a constantly augmenting force, to stop the former's progress, the fighting continuing till dark. The next morning, May 4, the rebels concentrated a still heavier force upon him, and striking him in flank, drove him down to the river, and during the night across it, at Banks's Ford, with the heavy loss of 5,000 men. The rebels also reoccupied the heights of Fredericksburg. On the same night Hooker recrossed the Rappahannock unmolested, and returned to his old camp at Falmouth. The Union loss in this tremendous conflict was 17,197 men. It is significant that no official statement of the rebel losses was ever made, but it is estimated that they were fully equal to those of the Unionists. The raid of Gen. Stoneman to the rear of Gen. Lee's army was rendered ineffective by the scattering of his forces. Though these various detachments succeeded in cutting the railroads at various points, the injuries were easily and quickly repaired.

In April the rebel General Longstreet, with a force of 40,000 men, had advanced on Suffolk, an important railroad junction covering the approaches to Norfolk, and held by Gen. Peck with 15,000 men. After some serious engagements, Longstreet sat down before it in a regular siege, which he prosecuted with no decided success until May 3d, when he raised the siege, and proceeded to join Lee at Fredericksburg.

On June 3 a portion of Gen. Lee's army moved up the northern bank of the Rappahannock to Culpepper Court-House, and shortly afterwards Gen. Hooker dispatched Gen. Pleasanton, with cavalry and infantry, to observe this movement of the enemy on his right. The latter soon discovered that the most of the rebel army was in this region, and on the march westward. At Beverley Ford, on June 9, he engaged the rebel cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart, and after a spirited contest fell back to avoid overwhelming numbers, the losses on each side being about equal. On the 11th Gen. R. H. Milroy, commanding a force of 7,000 men at Winchester, received orders from the department commander, Schenck, to withdraw to Harper's Ferry. Failing to obey, he remained, only to shortly ascertain, on June 13, that Ewell's and Longstreet's entire armies were advancing rapidly upon him. He nevertheless still remained, and the next day four batteries opened upon him, and 10,000 of Ewell's infantry swept over his outer breastworks a mile from the town. Attempting to storm the main fort the assailants were repulsed and desisted for a time; but at 1 A.M., June 15, Milroy called a council and decided to evacuate the town and fall back on Harper's Ferry. Spiking his guns, his troops marched forth on the Martinsburg road, and found a rebel division four miles out, who shortly routed and dispersed them. One part of the fugitives under Milroy reached Harper's Ferry in safety, and another, some 2,700, fled as far as Bloody Run, Pa. But many hundreds were made prisoners, and the loss of artillery and wagons was extensive.

On June 13 Gen. Hooker began to move his army northward, passing through Dumfries to Centreville. On June 15 the rebel advance of Ewell entered Chambersburg, Pa., and shortly afterwards the whole rebel army forded the Potomac, Hill's and Longstreet's corps uniting at Hagerstown, and following Ewell, on June 27, towards Chambersburg. The latter still pushed forward his advance to Kingston, which is but 13 miles from Harrisburg. The most intense excitement now existed throughout the North. The President called on the nearest States for militia, and was promptly responded to by New York and Pennsylvania chiefly. On the 27th Hooker occupied Frederick City. Cavalry engagements had taken place all along the march of the rebel army, at Beverley's Ford, Brandy Station, Upperville, and other places, which, however, did not impede its advance.

On the 28th Hooker was superseded in the command of the army by Gen. Geo. S. Meade, though such a change of commanders was an extraordinary measure to take on the brink of a great battle. Lee was now well advanced into Pennsylvania. On the 28th a portion of Ewell's army, under Early, reached York, on which borough he levied a large sum of money. On the 29th Meade had advanced as far as South Mountain, threatening the communications of Lee, who thereupon directed Longstreet and Hill to march from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, and Ewell, who was at Carlisle, to hasten toward that rendezvous. Gen. Meade, hearing of these movements, at once ordered Gen. Reynolds, with the 1st and 11th corps, to occupy Gettysburg. On arriving at the latter place, July 1st, with the advance of his command, he found that Gen. Buford, with a division of the Union cavalry, had there encountered the van of the rebel army, under Gen. Heth, of Hill's corps, marching in on the Cashtown road. Reynolds' 1st corps, under Gen. J. S. Wadsworth, at once rushed through the village, and, driving back the enemy, occupied the ridge overlooking the place from the northwest. At the commencement of this action Gen. Reynolds fell, mortally wounded, and the command of the 1st corps devolved on Gen. Doubleday. Wadsworth, severely pressed, now fell back, and during the movement the rebel advance, some 800, under Archer, were enveloped by the right of the Union division and made prisoners. At 11 A.M. Gen. Howard arrived with the 11th corps and assumed command, whereupon the struggle was renewed with spirit, the Unionists having the best of the fight, until at 1 P.M. Ewell's army from York came rapidly into the battle, outflanking Howard's line. The two corps, the 1st and 11th, now fell back through the streets of the village, losing many prisoners, and were rallied on Cemetery Hill, just south of the place. Sickles, with the 3d corps, arrived shortly afterwards and came into position on Howard's left, but was shortly pressed back with severe loss. Gen. Meade, who was at Taneytown, 10 miles distant, hearing of the events at Gettysburg, at once ordered Hancock to proceed there and take command. At 3 P.M. the latter reached Cemetery Hill, to find Howard rallying his forces behind it. The enemy now approached the ridge, but were met by a fierce artillery fire, against which they vainly struggled to advance, until night coming on the conflict ended. Hancock now reported the state of affairs to Gen. Meade, and the latter determined to fight a defensive battle on the morrow at this place. At 11 P.M. he arrived on the field to direct the important events to ensue, having dispatched orders to all the different corps to march with the utmost speed thereto. On the morning of July 2 the Union line of battle extended nearly five miles, from Cemetery Hill in its middle, along a row of heights in the shape of a horseshoe, Howard holding the centre, with the 1st and 12th corps on his right under Slocum, and Hancock's 2d corps and the 3d corps of Sickles on his left. Gen. Sedgwick's 6th corps, on its way from Manchester, 30 miles distant, did not arrive till 2 P.M. of this eventful day. Ewell commanded the left, Hill the centre, and Longstreet the right of Gen. Lee's army. It was not until evening that the latter directed Longstreet to advance against the Union left, under Sickles, for the purpose of flanking Cemetery Hill. A mile and a half of battle lines then suddenly swept up on Sickles, who had advanced beyond the general line, and hurled him back with severe loss. A bloody struggle now ensued for the possession of Round Top, an eminence on his left. Sickles was here struck in the leg by a cannon ball and carried off the field; but the enemy was repelled by Sykes' 5th corps, while Hancock closed in from the right with portions of the 1st, and Sedgwick's 6th corps, and was driven to the ridge from which they had expelled Sickles, thus leaving the Union line where Meade had intended to place it. On the Union right Slocum had been crowded back during the day by Ewell, who seized some of his rifle-pits. Early next morning, July 3, Slocum pushed forward to retake these, and for six hours the struggle was most desperate. At 11 A.M. the enemy receded, Slocum re-establishing his line and resting upon it. A pause in the conflict now took place. Lee, who had tried to break both of the Union wings and failed, now brought forward 125 heavy guns to Hill's and Longstreet's fronts, and concentrated their fire on Cemetery Hill, the Union centre, a little behind the crest of which was Meade's headquarters. At 2 P.M. this terrible battery opened, and for two hours shot and shell fell and burst upon this hill, while 100 Union guns made constant reply. About 4 P.M. a grand charge was ordered by Gen. Lee upon Cemetery Hill, and more especially on Han

cock's (2d) corps. Hancock was now wounded, and Gibbon succeeded to his command. The rebel lines advanced three deep till within point-blank range. Before the fire of 18,000 muskets the first rebel line literally melted away. But the second line swept onward and over the Union rifle-pits to the guns, bayoneting the gunners and waving the rebel flags in victory. Then a storm of grape and canister from the Union guns on the western slope of Cemetery Hill, which enfiladed the spot, fell upon this line. It reeled back, and in a moment the Unionists leaped forth upon what was now but a disordered mass. Whole regiments surrendered, and the battle was over, thus ending in a bitter, crushing defeat of the rebels.

Gen. Meade reported the Union losses in the battles of Gettysburg at 2,834 killed, 13,709 wounded, and 6,643 missing; total, 23,186. 41 flags and 13,621 prisoners were captured by him. Gen. Lee gave no return of his losses, which were probably 18,000 killed and wounded, with 10,000 unwounded prisoners.

During the 2d and 3d July, the cavalry of both armies were not seriously engaged, but in a dash of the Union cavalry under Merritt, to strike the rebel right flank, Gen. Farnsworth, commanding the supporting brigade, was killed. No immediate effective pursuit of the rebel army, who at first retired slowly and cautiously, was attempted, Gen. Meade having no reserves and scarcely any ammunition left. Lee then recrossed the Cumberland Mountains and pressed rapidly towards the Potomac. Sedgwick, with the 6th corps, moved towards that river on the east side of the mountains, to intercept the rebel march, while the Union cavalry continually harassed the enemy's rear, capturing trains and prisoners. Arriving at the Potomac, Lee found the river so swollen by recent rains that all the fords were impassable. For four days Lee remained at Williamsport strengthening his position, but before he had completed his preparations to cross the river, Gen. Meade's army, strengthened by French's divisions and Couch's militia, arrived there, July 13, ready to assail him. But, unfortunately, Gen. Meade deferred his own judgment to the advice of a majority of his corps commanders, and refrained from ordering an assault, and Lee was thus permitted to withdraw across the Potomac during the night, without a blow being dealt him, to the intense disappointment of the nation. The cavalry under Kilpatrick took a few prisoners at Falling Waters, and Gregg's cavalry was involved in a spirited contest at Sheperdstown with Fitzhugh Lee's force. On the 18th Meade crossed the Potomac and moved down the Loudon valley on Lee's flank, with the purpose of striking his line at some point. Two days were lost by the Union army in passing through Manassas Gap, where a brigade of Ewell's men, holding the pass, engaged a portion of the Union forces under Gen. F. B. Spinola. During this time Lee moved rapidly southward, passing around the right flank of the Union army towards the Rapidan. At the close of July, the latter again took up its old position on the Rappahannock.

During Lee's movement towards the North, Richmond was left a portion of the time defended by but a single brigade under Gen. Wise. On July 1, Gen. Keyes was sent by Gen. Dix, commanding at Fortress Monroe, to make a demonstration on the rebel capital, but he shortly returned therefrom without having accomplished anything. Various detachments of the Union cavalry under Buford, Kilpatrick, and Pleasanton, during the months of August and September, made raids and reconnoissances into the enemy's country across the Rappahannock. During the latter month, Lee sent considerable reinforcements to Bragg in Tennessee, and the 11th and 12th corps, under Hooker, were sent to the aid of the Union army at Chattanooga. Oct. 12, Meade crossed the Rappahannock in force, but shortly recrossed, having been completely outflanked by Lee. During the retreat a fierce cavalry conflict between the opposing forces took place at Brandy Station, in which the Unionists proved decidedly superior.

Meade retreated as far as Centreville, closely followed by the enemy's cavalry under Stuart. The latter, on the night of Oct. 13, got ahead of the Union 2d corps, Gen. Warren, acting as rear-guard, but adroitly escaped from his perilous position. The next day, A. P. Hill's corps found itself in a similar position, and giving battle to the 2d corps, was defeated, and retreated, leaving 6 guns and losing many prisoners. Lee now destroyed the Orange and Alexandria Railroad from the Rapidan to Manassas, and returned to his former position. On the 7th November, Gens. French and Sedgwick attacked the enemy at Kelly's Ford, taking 500 prisoners, and then moved against the enemy's works at Rappahannock Station, where, after a short and desperate close combat, Gen. David A. Russell leading the charge, the Unionists took 1,600 men, four guns, and eight battle flags.

On the 26th November, Gen. Warren, with the 2d corps, crossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford, and moved against the enemy, but Gens. French and Sykes, who were to co-operate, failed to arrive at the concerted time. On the evening of the 27th, Newton with the 1st corps, and Sedgwick with the 6th, came up, but the enemy had retreated as far as Mine Run, where they were next found in strong position. After one or two days expended in reconnoissance and manœuvring, it was resolved that a grand assault on the rebel fortifications should take place at 8 A.M., Nov. 30; but the force and position of the enemy were found ere that time to be such as to make the attempt too hazardous, the opportunity for flanking him having been lost. Gen. Meade then decided to abandon the expedition, and on the night of Dec. 1 brought his troops back across the Rapidan, and now retired to winter quarters.

During the year 1863 several minor military operations took place in West Virginia. July 13, a profitless raid was made by Col. John Toland with 1,000 Unionists from Browntown on Wytheville. Aug. 26, Gen. W. W. Averill engaged a rebel force at Lewisburg, under Col. Geo. S. Patton, the Union loss being 207, that of the rebels 156; and on Nov. 6, Gen. Averill with 5,000 men met a rebel force under Gen. Echols, and drove the latter with heavy loss from Droop Mountain, in Greenbrier County, into Monroe County. In the month of December, Averill destroyed a portion of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Salem, and a large amount of other rebel property found there and in the vicinity.

July 3, 1863, the successful rebel raider, Morgan, with 2,000 men, crossed the Cumberland River near Burkesville, and on that day partially sacked Columbia, having pushed back Col. Wolford's cavalry, which had advanced to impede him. July 4, he attacked 200 of the 25th Michigan, under Col. O. H. Moore, and after a desperate fight of some hours, drew off, badly worsted. July 5, he captured Lebanon, after a sharp fight in which his brother Thomas was killed; whereupon in revenge he burned some twenty houses. He then proceeded to Springfield, compelling his prisoners captured at Lebanon to run the whole distance of ten miles in ninety minutes, and knocking out the brains of a sergeant who gave out on the way. At Springfield he robbed and paroled his prisoners. July 7, Morgan reached Brandenburg, on the Ohio, which he plundered. He there seized the steamers *Alice Dean* and *McComb*, in which he crossed the river, and then burnt the former vessel. The pursuing force of Unionists, under Gen. Hobson, arrived at Brandenburg just as he left. He then passed through Corydon, to Salem, Ind., where he captured 300 Home Guards of Corydon, who had fallen back before him. At Corydon, he broke up the railroad, burnt the depot, and levied a ransom of the mills and factories. He then proceeded to Old Vernon, and demanded its surrender, but being opposed, decamped. He then passed through Versailles and sweeping around Cincinnati at a short distance therefrom, struck the Ohio below Parkersburg. Along the route he levied on property, even f the meanest kind, but the sharp pursuit of 50 miles a day gave him no time to do extensive mischief, though the line of his march and retreat was strewn with an extraordinary assortment of domestic goods. At Miamiville he overturned a railroad train and burned 50 Government wagons. On the 15th, reaching Winchester, he robbed the mail, and stole $35,000 worth of property and fifty horses, driving with shouts and laughter, through the streets, captured mules, whose tails were tied up in fragments of the Union flags found in the place.

Gen. Judah with a strong force was now moving up the Ohio from Portsmouth, while gunboats patrolled the stream to intercept the raiders. Opposite Buffinton Island, below Parkersburg, Judah came upon them, and at the same time Hobson attacked them from the rear, and the gunboats from the river. In desperation, Morgan divided his forces, one part of which rushed for the river, but were driven back by the fire of the gunboats. A running fight now ensued, the main body of the raiders fleeing up the river. At Belleville and Hawkinsville they again unsuccessfully attempted to cross, and scattered into wandering detachments. Some 200 escaped into South-western Virginia. Morgan himself, with another portion, struck into Columbiana County, where he surrendered to Col. Shackleford. Over 2,000 were captured or killed. Morgan and several of his officers were then confined in the penitentiary at Columbus, whence, on Nov. 26, seven of them, including Morgan, escaped and ultimately reached Richmond, Va. Returning to service in

East Tennessee, Morgan was killed the next year.

On June 24th, 1863, having completed his preparations at Murfreesboro, Gen. Rosecrans advanced towards Shelbyville, Tullahoma, and Chattanooga, where divisions of Bragg's powerful army, of some 40,000 men, were strongly fortified. He crossed the Cumberland Mountains by four different routes, and on June 27th a portion of his forces, under Gordon Granger, advanced on Shelbyville, which was evacuated by the enemy, after a short resistance. June 30th, Tullahoma was also evacuated by the enemy there, who rapidly fled before the advance of Rosecrans' light troops. The main Union army moved directly on Chattanooga, the remaining rebel stronghold in Tennessee, and on Aug. 21st its columns drew up on the banks of the Tennessee, in front of the place. 3d September, leaving 7,000 men with Gen. Hazen to deceive Bragg with feints in the front, Gen. Rosecrans took his main army over the river, a few miles below Chattanooga, and marched up the Lookout valley, west of Lookout Mountain. In danger of being cut off from his base of supplies, Gen. Bragg hastily evacuated Chattanooga by the valley traversed by Chickamauga Creek. Gen. Rosecrans supposing that Bragg was in full retreat to Rome, at once ordered Gen. Crittenden, who had taken possession of Chattanooga, to pursue the enemy. Crittenden fortunately delayed, and Rosecrans, to his astonishment, ascertained that the foe had faced about and was rapidly concentrating around Lafayette the most effective rebel army which had ever appeared in this region, with the plain purpose of marching back on Chattanooga. Rosecrans now hastened to concentrate his scattered forces, of whom Crittenden was in the Chickamauga valley, Thomas was crossing the mountains by way of Steven's Gap to support the former, while McCook was over the Lookout Mountain flanking Bragg's position far to the south. Bragg now ordered Gen. Polk to attack Crittenden in his isolated position, and Gen. Hindman to occupy the Gap, and resist the advance of Thomas. He also instituted measures to intercept McCook on his way to Thomas. Neither Polk nor Hindman succeeded in executing their part of the rebel plan, while McCook evaded the trap by recrossing Lookout Mountain, and hastening down the Lookout valley, and thence by Steven's Gap, reaching Thomas. A race now took place between the two opposing armies in the Chickamauga valley, moving in parallel lines back to Chattanooga, the enemy endeavoring to outflank Rosecrans and force him to battle. On the 18th, the Union lines were still ten miles from Chattanooga, and some twelve miles in length. On that day all the fords on the Union left were fiercely assaulted and captured by the rebels. On the morning of the 19th September, Thomas held the Union left, Crittenden the centre, and McCook the right of the Union lines, which extended, 55,000 strong, from Gordon's Mills along the creek towards Chattanooga. The entire rebel army was also firmly established on the same side of the creek, having rendered it useless as a Union line of defence by crossing during the night at the fords which they held.

About 10 A.M. the battle commenced. Croxton's brigade on the left, which had been sent towards the river to reconnoitre, was furiously assailed, and Brannan and Baird, commanding the left and centre of Thomas' wing, moved to its succor. Soon the engagement rolled down the line to Reynolds, holding the right of Thomas, and the whole Union left wing was thus engaged with the rebel right under Polk. The rebels in front of Baird were shortly hurled back, badly cut up, but being reinforced, again advanced, two for one, and Baird in turn was driven before them. Johnson's division of McCook's corps, and Palmer's division of Crittenden's, then came in on Baird's right, giving a clear superiority to the Union lines, which now outflanked the enemy and drove him back in disorder, and with fearful loss, upon his reserves, posted near the creek, and enabling the broken divisions of Brannan and Baird to rally and reform. A lull in the conflict now ensued from 4 to 5 P.M., when the enemy once more charged Thomas' right and the Union left centre, with such impetuosity as to throw them into disorder. But Gen. W. Hazen, of Crittenden's corps, massing twenty guns on a ridge commanding the Rossville road, poured a cross fire into the charging columns of the enemy till they turned and retreated in confusion. At sunset Johnson's front was again assailed with a division of Hill's corps, under Gen. Pat Cleburne, but night closed the conflict without the rebels gaining any advantage thereby.

On the Union right, during the morning, cannonading chiefly took place. About 3 P.M. Stuart attempted to advance, without success; and Hood pushed forward two of his divisions upon Jeff. C. Davis, of McCook's corps, but Davis maintained a stout resistance, and being reinforced, drove the enemy back as the day closed. The two armies now stood confronting each other on ground which gave no advantage to either, the entire force of the rebels being about 70,000, while that of Rosecrans was not over 55,000. Both armies passed the cold night without fires, the Union army in addition suffering from the want of water. During the night Rosecrans shortened his lines nearly a mile, withdrawing his right from Gordon's Mills and resting it on Missionary Ridge; and Bragg moved Breckinridge's division of Hill's corps from his left to his right. At 8 A.M. on the following morning, the 20th September, the fog lifted and Breckinridge advanced his fresh troops across the Rossville road, covered by a terrific fire of the rebel artillery, in a resolute charge upon the breastworks of logs and rails which Thomas had thrown up during the night. Line upon line of gallant men crumbled to fragments before the fire of the latter, and still fresh troops were advanced by the rebel leaders. While the tide of battle before Thomas ebbed and flowed with frightful carnage, the Union left centre was also desperately and indecisively assailed, but Bragg's attempt to turn the Union flank was baffled by Thomas's firmness. About noon Rosecrans ordered Wood, of the Union centre, to leave his position and support Reynolds, who was severely pressed on the left. This order lost the battle to the Unionists. Wood attempted to execute the order by passing in the rear of Brannan and between him and Reynolds. Into the gap thus opened in the Union front Longstreet at once threw Hood's command, supported by an advance of Bucknerl on the Union right flank. The charge was terribly decisive. Davis, from the right, attempted to close the fatal opening, but he was torn in pieces by the rebel shock. Brannan on the left, and Sheridan, of Crittenden's corps, were struck, and, cut off from the Union army, were pushed to the right and rear, with a loss of one-half their numbers. Like the centre, the whole right wing now crumbled into a disordered mass, flying towards Rossville and Chattanooga. Gens. Rosecrans, McCook, and Crittenden were borne backwards in the wild rout. At Rossville, McCook, with Sheridan and Davis, attempted to rally and reform the wrecked divisions, while Rosecrans, cut off from Thomas, who was still stoutly fighting and holding his own on the left, hastened to Chattanooga to make preparations to save it from prospective capture. It was now that the few divisions of Gen. Thomas were compelled to withstand the assault of the whole rebel army of 70,000 men. Battalion after battalion swept up on his front, to be melted and scattered by his steady fire. Unable to force his front, the enemy, at 3 P.M., gained a low ridge running at right angles to the right extremity of his line, and poured into a gorge directly in his rear. The moment was critical, but Gen. Gordon Granger, commanding a small reserve corps at Rossville, who had been inspired during the morning, though without direct information or orders, to start his columns towards the scene of conflict, arrived at this very moment at Thomas's position. Gen. Steedman, commanding Whitaker's and Mitchell's brigades, seizing the flag of a regiment, headed the charge, and in twenty minutes the rebel Hindman's forces had disappeared, and the Union forces held both the gorge and the ridge. At 4 P.M. the storm burst again with greater fury. Longstreet's veterans were now sent to retake the position from which Hindman had been driven, and shortly all but a fraction of the entire rebel army invested the ridge whereon Thomas, with but three divisions of the Union army, rested. Again and again the rebels charged the front, but Steedman's two immortal brigades stood in their position like towers. The baffled enemy now advanced on the left, and as the heavy column approached, Reynolds charged upon it with such vigor as to rout it, capturing 200 prisoners, who were taken off the field in the Union retreat. Night was now approaching, and the ammunition of Thomas was nigh exhausted, but the latter again ordered a bayonet charge upon the rebels, who were rallying for a final assault. It was successful, and the struggle was over. The field was shortly covered with darkness. Thomas fell back, unpursued and in good order, on Rossville, where a new line of battle was formed of McCook's and Crittenden's rallied corps. The enemy, however, did not advance, and on the night of Monday, September 21st, the Union army was withdrawn in order and unmolested, to the position assigned it by Rosecrans in front of Chattanooga.

The Union losses in the battle of Chickamauga were 1,644 killed, 9,262 wounded, 4,945 missing, exclusive of a cavalry loss of about 500; total, 16,351. 36 guns, 20 cais-

BATTLE OF CHICAMAUGA — LT VAN PELT DEFENDING HIS BATTERY.

sons, and 8,450 small arms fell into the hands of the enemy. Gen. Bragg reported a loss of 18,000; 16,000 killed and wounded, and 2,000 prisoners. Though Bragg, on September 23d, appeared in force and sat down before Chattanooga, he wisely did not attempt to take it by assault. On October 19th, while thus invested here, Gen. Rosecrans received an order relieving him from command.

March 30, 1863, in the Department of the Ohio, at Somerset, Ky., a force of 2,500 mounted rebels, under Gen. Pegram, was routed and driven thence across the Cumberland into Tennessee, by Gen. Q. A. Gilmore, with 1,200 men. In June, Gen. Burnside, commanding the Department, despatched a cavalry force, under Col. H. S. Saunders, into East Tennessee, which burned important rebel bridges, captured 500 prisoners, and also destroyed a large quantity of Confederate stores. Aug. 16, Burnside advanced with 20,000 men from Camp Nelson, near Richmond, Ky., against Knoxville, Tenn., which was held by Buckner with a small force. Rapidly approaching the place he met no opposition. On Sept. 1 his cavalry advance, and on the 3d his main body, entered the town and were received by the loyal East Tennesseeans with enthusiastic expressions of intense joy at this deliverance from the sufferings of rebel rule. Buckner left behind a large quantity of quartermaster's stores in evacuating the place. Burnside also pressed on to Kingston, where he met the pickets of Rosecrans, and he also visited Loudon. The rebel garrison at Cumberland Gap, of 2,000 men, was cut off, and on the 9th surrendered to Burnside's forces. The Union cavalry then moved rapidly eastward, pursuing a small rebel force under Gen. Sam Jones, into Virginia. Nov. 6, Col. Shackleford's force was attacked at Rogersville, by 1,200 mounted rebels under Gen. W. E. Jones, who routed it, taking 750 prisoners; but a singular panic then took place on both sides, the Unionists fleeing to Bull's Gap, 18 miles distant, while Gen. Jones' force moved as rapidly in the opposite direction. Bragg now dispatched a large force under Gen. Longstreet to strike Burnside and recover Knoxville. At Philadelphia, Col. Wolford with 2,000 Unionists was assailed by an overwhelming force of about 7,000 of Longstreet's men, and after a severe fight of several hours, was forced to cut his way out, leaving his battery and 32 wagons, but saving the most of his command. Gen. Burnside now concentrated his forces at Campbell's Station before the advance of the enemy, and was joined by his own corps, the 9th, from Vicksburg. At Campbell's Station he was closely pursued by the enemy, but slowly fell back to Knoxville, with an exhibition of creditable generalship. Nov. 17, Longstreet besieged him at Knoxville, and on the 28th assaulted Fort Sanders, a part of the Union works, but was repulsed with a loss of 800, that of the Unionists being about 100. Dec. 5, Longstreet raised the siege and moved eastward to Russellville, Virginia, unmolested.

On the defeat of Rosecrans at Chickamauga, the 11th and 12th Army Corps, under Gen. Hooker, were ordered from the Army of the Potomac to the Tennessee, and Oct. 23d concentrated at Bridgeport. Meanwhile, a large cavalry force, under Wheeler, was despatched by Bragg across the Tennessee to destroy the Union communications. Oct. 2, at Anderson's Cross-roads, Wheeler burned a train of 800 wagons, destined for Gen. Thomas at Chattanooga. He next burned a large quantity of supplies at McMinnville, and then swept down to Warren, destroying Union stores and communications. He was spiritedly attacked at Murfreesboro and Farmington by inferior Union forces, and finally recrossed the Tennessee River near the mouth of the Elk, having lost about 2,000 men in the raid, but having destroyed a million of dollars' worth of government property.

Oct. 18, Gen. Grant assumed command of the Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee, and shortly thereafter arrived in Chattanooga. In the meanwhile, Gen. Sherman with his whole army had moved from the neighborhood of Vicksburg to Memphis, and thence to Athens, Ala., repairing the railroads as he moved, and depending on the adjacent country for supplies. On the 27th October, Brown's Ferry, three miles below Lookout Mountain, was secretly occupied by 4,000 Union troops, under Gen. Hazen, and the next day the whole of Hooker's 11th corps crossed the Tennessee and encamped in Lookout Valley. Geary's division of the 12th corps bivouacked at Wauhatchie, and at 1 P.M., Oct. 29th, was suddenly attacked in the moonlight by overwhelming numbers, under Laws, of Longstreet rebel corps, holding Lookout Mountain. Schurz's division of Howard's corps, near Brown's Ferry, was at once ordered to his relief. Tyndale's brigade charged and carried a hill on the enemy's left, from whence they were suddenly enfiladed; while Orlan Smith's thin brigade, the 73d Ohio and 33d Massachusetts, made a bayonet charge up the side of a difficult hill 200 feet high, completely routing over 2,000 of the enemy from their barricades on the top. The fighting before Geary continued to be desperate, but at length, 4 P.M., the enemy were completely pushed back, and compelled to take refuge on Lookout Mountain. The Union forces being now firmly established at Brown's Ferry, the army in Chattanooga was relieved from the fear of starvation, and Grant resolved to wait until Sherman arrived ere assuming the offensive. Nov. 15, the latter reported in person, and by the 24th his command had arrived and encamped on both sides of Chickamauga Creek, near the extremity of Missionary Ridge, the extreme north point of which, unoccupied by the enemy, was at once seized by him. Gen. Grant now had Sherman's army above and Hooker's army below him, and both on the same side of the Tennessee, while Thomas lay in front of Chattanooga. On the 24th, Hooker moved against Lookout Mountain, building bridges to cross the creek. He then swept irresistibly down the valley, and climbed the steep sides of the mountain with marvellous celerity and skill, driving the enemy before him. About noon, Geary's advance rounded the peak of the mountain, and still pressed on. Just as the Union forces reached the summit, whence they were still moving forward, making hundreds of prisoners and pressing the rest of the rebels down the precipitous eastern declivity of the mountain, the thick fog which had rested thereupon rose and disclosed the victory to the rest of the Union army on the plains below. At 2 P.M., a thick and black cloud lowered upon the mountain, rendering further movement perilous; and at 4 P.M. Hooker had firmly established and fortified his line along the eastern brink of the precipice. On the morning of the 25th, the Union army was stretched in an unbroken line from the north end of Lookout Mountain to the north end of Missionary Ridge. Gen. Hooker now moved down from Lookout Mountain, and crossed Chattanooga Valley towards Missionary Ridge, where the entire rebel army was now concentrated, Osterhaus moving upon it eastward, Geary on the west, and Cruft directly upon it. At the same time, Sherman attacked the rebel position in his front, Gen. Case leading the advance across a deep valley covered with a forest and bristling with breastworks and abattis. The battle was thus fairly opened and swayed backward and forward, but with the gradual advance of the Union lines. Though Sherman was checked at one time by a sudden and heavy artillery fire, still he lost no ground. The battle raged most furiously before him, for this northern position of the rebels was a vital one to them, by losing which their rear and base of supplies at Chickamauga would be threatened. At 2 P.M., Gen. Grant, still awaiting advices of Hooker's advance, found that Bragg was weakening his centre to support his right. Thomas, of the Union centre, was at once ordered to advance straight towards the steep face of the mountain in front. All along the crest of the ridge the enemy's artillery opened, but the gallant line still charged steadily and in order over the enemy's rifle-pits at the base, and up the difficult ascent. Their progress was onward without wavering until at about dark the summit of the ridge was carried. The resistance on Thomas' left being overcome, the enemy by midnight were in full retreat, and the whole of their strong position on Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga Valley, and Missionary Ridge fell into the possession of the Union army, with six thousand prisoners, 40 pieces of artillery, and 7,000 stand of small arms.

The next day Sherman and Hooker pursued the enemy. At Ringgold a stand was made by Gen. Pat Cleburne, commanding the rebel rear, but, after a spirited contest on both sides, he was compelled to continue his retreat. Granger's and Sherman's corps were shortly despatched from Chattanooga to the relief of Burnside, who was now severely pressed by Longstreet at Knoxville. By extraordinary marches, these reinforcements reached the latter place on Dec. 6, compelling Longstreet to at once raise the siege and decamp.

The Union losses in these struggles were reported at 757 killed, 4,529 wounded, and 330 missing; total, 5,616. The rebel killed and wounded was not reported.

Jan. 8, 1863, Springfield, in Missouri, was attacked by the rebel Marmaduke, with 4,000 men, but they were successfully resisted by Gen. E. B. Brown, of the Missouri militia, with a force of 1,200 men, losing some 200 men, to a Union loss of 163. On Jan. 10th a spirited fight took place between Marmaduke's forces and a Union force under Col. Merrill, 21st Iowa, at Hartsville, where the former were repulsed. At Batesville Marmaduke was attacked and routed, Feb. 4, by

the 4th Missouri Cavalry, Col. G. E. Waring. March 9, Gen. Curtis was relieved from the command of the Department of Missouri, and, May 13, was succeeded by Gen. Schofield. March 28, the steamboat *Sam Gaty* was attacked by a party of guerillas, who robbed and murdered a number of white and black persons on board. Such of the latter as were taken in attempting to escape were drawn up in line by the side of the boat, and shot, one by one, through the head. April 18, Fayetteville was attacked by 2,000 mounted rebels under Gen. Cabell, who was shortly compelled to retreat across the Boston Mountains to Ozark. April 26, Marmaduke attacked Cape Girardeau, a large depot of Union army stores, but was driven off by a force of 1,200 men with six guns, under Gen. John McNeil. May 20, Fort Blunt, in the Cherokee Nation, was struck at by 3,000 rebels under Col. Coffey. Col. Wm. A. Phillips, commanding there, with 800 men and a regiment of Creek Indians, drove them across the Arkansas. July 1, Standwatie, the Cherokee rebel chief, with a force of 700 Texans and many Indians, on Cabin Creek, met the 1st Kansas colored, 800 strong, and 500 Indians. Standwatie was defeated, the rebel Indians proving worthless.

July 17, Gen. Blunt, with 3,000 men and 12 light guns, attacked 6,000 rebels under Gen. Cooper, near Fort Blunt, and routed them with a loss of 400. Coffey attacking Pineville, Aug. 13, was beaten off by Col. Catherwood, 6th Missouri Cavalry, with a loss of 200.

On the morning of Aug. 21, a band of 300 rebel guerillas, under one Quantrell, surprised the inhabitants of Lawrence, Kansas, while the latter were still in their beds. Resistance was useless. Banks, stores, and private dwellings were robbed. The court-house and many of the best residences were fired. Every negro and German, as well as many other citizens, were killed wherever found. At 10 A.M., 140 men having been murdered and 185 buildings burned, the miscreants fled. About 100 of them were overtaken and killed in the subsequent pursuit; the rest, including Quantrell, finally escaping. In August, Gen. F. Steele, with 6,000 men of Gen. Grant's army, and Gen. Davidson, with about the same number from Missouri, advanced on Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, and at 7 P.M., Sept. 10, having driven the enemy under Marmaduke and Tappan before them, and taken about 1,000 prisoners, occupied the place. Numerous other minor engagements took place in Missouri and Arkansas. Oct. 25, Pine Bluff, Ark., was successfully defended by Col. Powell Clayton with 350 men for five hours against Marmaduke with 2,500 men. At Arrow Rock, Oct. 12, Gen. E. B. Brown attacked a united rebel force under Shelby and Coffey, and put them to flight, inflicting a loss of 300. Dec. 18, Standwatie and Quantrell were repulsed by Col. Phillips at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory.

During the year 1862 several bands of the Sioux of Minnesota had openly made war upon the whites; the chief of these attacks at Yellow Medicine, New Ulm, Cedar City, Fort Ridgely, and Fort Abercrombie, were made by Little Crow's band, who butchered some 500 persons, mainly defenceless women and children. At Wood Lake, Little Crow was routed, Sept. 22, 1862, by Gen. H. H. Sibley: 500 of the savages were captured, and 300 convicted of murder. Their sentence was deferred by President Lincoln, and the most of them ultimately escaped punishment. In the summer of 1863, Gen. Pope assumed the command of this department; and in July, Gen. Sibley, at Dead Buffalo Lake and other places, overtook the hostile savages, killing many, and dispersing the others. Gen. Conner, commanding in Utah, attacked some 300 hostile and depredating Shoshonees on Bear River, Idaho, on Jan. 29, 1863, and killed 224.

Soon after the capture of Port Royal by the Unionists, Gen. Q. A. Gillmore proceeded, by sharp fighting and hard work, to plant batteries of mortars and rifled guns on the Big Tybee Island, south-east of Fort Pulaski, for the purpose of reducing this important rebel fort of 40 heavy guns, which was some two miles distant. He also succeeded in placing a battery at Venus Point, on the north-east. On the morning of April 10, 1862, Major-Gen. Hunter, commanding the department, opened fire on the fort from these works, and at 2 P.M., it being evident that the fort was fast becoming a ruin beneath the steady fire therefrom, it was surrendered by its commander, C. H. Olmstead, with 385 men.

Jan. 23, 1862, a large number of old hulks collected at the North and loaded with stone, were sunk in Charleston Harbor, to impede the navigation thereof by blockade-runners, a proceeding which was designated as barbarous by the British owners of the latter. Feb. 28, Com. Dupont, with an extensive naval force, together with a land force under Gen. Wright, moved down from Port Royal and took possession of the whole coast as far as St. Andrews and Cumberland Sound. May 9, Pensacola, Fla., was evacuated by Gen. T. N. Jones, who burnt all the combustible works there, and retreated inland. Successful Union expeditions now took place from Port Royal under Capt. Steedman and Gen. Brannan, to St. John's and Jacksonville. Two negro regiments, on March 10, proceeded, under Col. T. W. Higginson, to the latter place, and being reinforced by two white regiments, held it for a short while. When left, the place was wantonly fired and destroyed by some soldiers of the 8th Maine.

On February 11, Gen. T. W. Sherman took possession of Edisto Island, and the Union gunboats shortly advanced to a point on the Stono River, three miles from Charleston. On June 16, 1862, Gen. H. S. Wright advanced with 6,000 men against the rebel works at Secessionville, on the east side of James Island, commanded by Col. J. S. Lamar. Nothing was accomplished, and after a bloody engagement of a half hour the Union forces fell back, with the heavy loss of 574, leaving their dead in the hands of the enemy, whose loss was about half that number. On October 21, 1862, Gen. J. M. Brannan, with 4,448 men, pursued the enemy as far as Pocotaligo, whence, after a considerable artillery fight, Brannan returned at night to Hilton Head. About this time Col. Bates, with 400 men, advanced to Coosawhatchie, and engaged the enemy, dispersing a trainful of rebel reinforcements from Savannah. January 31, 1863, some rebel iron-clads, under Capt. D. N. Ingraham, stole upon the blockading fleet off Charleston, disabling two, the *Mercedita* and *Keystone*, whereupon the rebel authorities undertook to declare the blockade of that port to be duly raised.

February 27, 1863, the rebel steamer *Nashville* was discovered aground off the Ogeechee, and destroyed by Com. Worden, in the iron-clad *Montauk*. March 3, the rebel Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee, was unsuccessfully attacked at long range by the Union iron-clads; and on June 7, the rebel steamer *Isaac Smith* was sunk by the gunboat *Wissahickon*, while attempting to escape from Charleston Harbor. April 7, 1863, Com. Dupont proceeded to assail Fort Sumter with a fleet of nine iron-clads. Full 300 rebel cannons lined the channel to be traversed thereto, on Morris and Sullivan Islands, Cumming's Point, and other places. At noon, April 7, the fleet moved steadily up, passing Morris Island and reaching a point opposite Battery Bee, on Cumming's Point, before a gun of the enemy was fired. As the *Weehawken*, Com. John Rodgers, in the advance, with a torpedo machine attached to her bows, was sounding to pass into the harbor, a general fire opened from the batteries, and from Forts Sumter and Moultrie. Suddenly the *Weehawken's* advance was stopped by an immense hawser stretching from Sumter to Moultrie, which was buoyed by empty casks and attached by nets, cables, etc., to torpedoes below. This at once entangled her propeller, and rendered her unmanageable. An attempt was then made by other vessels of the fleet to pass westward of Fort Sumter, but here they were met with row upon row of piles rising ten feet above the surface of the water, and by the constant fire of three rebel iron-clads. The flagship *Ironsides* now refused to obey her rudder, and drifting towards Fort Moultrie, got foul of the *Catskill* and *Nantucket*, whereupon Com. Dupont signalled the rest of the fleet to act as they deemed best. The *Keokuk*, Lieut. Rhind, then ran within 500 yards of Sumter, and there remained, pouring a constant fire upon the fort for a half hour, when she withdrew, fast settling in the water. Six of the fleet were thus severely injured. The *Nahant* was struck thirteen times, the turret of the *Passaic* was knocked to pieces, that of the *Nantucket* so deranged that her port could not be opened, the *Catskill* was pierced with rifled shot, and the *Ironsides* had one of her port-shutters shot away. The *Keokuk* was struck ninety times, both of her turrets being riddled, and nineteen holes made through her hull. At 8 P.M. she reached Lighthouse Inlet, where she sank, Com. Dupont having three hours previously given the signal for a general withdrawal from the contest.

On June 17, 1863, Capt. John Rodgers, in the *Weehawken*, attacked the powerful rebel iron-clad *Atlanta*, in Wilmington River, at 300 yards range, and after five destructive shots at her with a 15-inch gun, in fifteen minutes caused her to surrender, with four guns and 165 men. June 12, Gen. Gillmore relieved Gen. Hunter in command of the land forces of the department, and on July 6, Com. Dahlgren succeeded to Com. Dupont, the naval commander. On the 10th July, Gillmore surprised the rebels in the fortifications on the south end of Morris Island, and cap-

tured 200 prisoners, eight batteries, and three mortars. The next day, Gen. Strong, with a force of 2,000 men, attempted to carry Fort Wagner by assault, withdrawing after a spirited effort without success, but with moderate loss. July 18, another more formidable assault was attempted by Gen. Strong's brigade. Gen. Gillmore had now placed a semicircle of batteries about 1,800 yards from the fort, and the land attack was assisted by the iron-clads under Dahlgren. About noon the bombardment opened, and was kept up till 8 P.M., when the grand assault was undertaken. The 54th Massachusetts, colored, Col. Shaw, led. Every foot of the advance was swept by the guns of the fort, and after half an hour's bloody combat before and upon the latter, the remains of the assaulting brigade fell back, Gen. Strong being mortally wounded and every commanding officer being wounded or killed. Col. Shaw fell on the parapet of the fort, and in a short time Cols. Chatfield, Barton, Green, Jackson, and many other noble officers fell, killed or wounded. In this fearful assault the Union loss was fully 1,500 men, while that of the rebels did not exceed 100.

Gen. Gillmore now resolved to reduce the fort by a regular siege, and for that purpose steadily pushed his works towards it, opening parallels and constructing trenches under a constant fire of the enemy. In a marsh westward of Morris Island, five miles from Charleston, he established a battery of 37 guns, including one monster 300-pounder, called the Swamp Angel, and intended to reach Charleston with its fire, while the range of the rest of the battery reached Fort Sumter, 2½ miles distant.

On the 17th August, fire was opened from the battery on Sumter, while the fire of Wagner was diverted by the fleet under Dahlgren. Com. G. W. Rodgers, of the *Catskill*, was killed during the day, and his vessel withdrew from the fight. For seven days the bombardment of Sumter was kept up, until the fort was reduced to ruins, with the exception of the casemates, where a small garrison kept the rebel flag still flying. Gen. Gillmore having duly demanded the surrender of Charleston, now threw shells from the Swamp Angel into the middle of the city. On Sept. 1 another unsuccessful engagement took place between the Union iron-clads and the fort, but day by day Gillmore was slowly approaching Fort Wagner by sap and mine, until on Sept. 6 he was within a short distance of the ramparts. At 9 A.M., Sept. 7, Gen. Terry advanced in three columns to the assault, when the garrison evacuated, leaving 18 guns in Wagner and 7 in Battery Gregg near by. On the night of the 8th, a party in boats from Admiral Dahlgren's fleet, under Com. Stephens, attempted to carry Fort Sumter by assault, but failed, most of the storming party being killed or forced to surrender. Forts Wagner and Gregg were now strengthened, and other works erected on this end of the island, which was a mile nearer to Charleston than the marsh battery, whose Swamp Angel had burst at its thirty-sixth discharge. Under the renewed bombardment, Charleston was abandoned by most of its inhabitants, and a large portion of the buildings suffered severely. Dec. 6, the *Weehawken* foundered in a gale, as she lay off Morris Island.

The military events in North Carolina during 1863 were confined chiefly to an unsuccessful attempt of Gen. D. H. Hill to retake Newbern, on March 14, and to his siege of Washington, in that State, from which he was driven away by Gen. Foster on April 17th. On May 21, a Union force captured some rebel works at Gum Swamp, taking 165 prisoners; and a Union cavalry raid on July 3 to Warsaw, and another soon after to Rocky Mount, on the Weldon and Wilmington Railroad, proved quite successful.

Jan. 9, 1863, the French Emperor made a formal offer of his services as mediator. During this winter the national cause was in its greatest peril, and the separation of the North and South seemed almost inevitable. The reduced Republican majorities in the State elections of 1863 seemed to indicate an opposition on the part of a majority of the voters of the North to the Administration, and to the prosecution of the war on the anti-slavery basis of the President's recent proclamations.

April 16, 1862, the rebel Congress had passed a sweeping Conscription Act; and on March 3, 1863, the 37th Federal Congress passed a similar one, which intensified the opposition to the administration, certain State Judges even assuming to declare the act unconstitutional. On Sept. 15, Pres. Lincoln issued a proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus, the opposition to the national cause having become alarmingly overt on the part of many persons of the North. May 4, C. L. Vallandigham, a prominent peace Democrat of Ohio and rebel sympathizer, was arrested by order of Gen. Burnside for resistance to the Government, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to close confinement during the war. The President modified the sentence to banishment beyond the Southern lines, and this sentence was duly executed by Gen. Rosecrans. This case excited the most vehement denunciation of the Government by the Democratic press. Vallandigham was nominated for the Governorship of Ohio by the Democracy of that State, and demands were made upon the President for a revocation of his banishment. Meetings of the Democracy were held in various parts of the Union, at which Vallandigham's arrest was denounced as a lawless outrage, and a purpose to resist the Federal Government in its execution of war measures, especially that of conscription, was clearly indicated thereat. Notwithstanding the victories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the prospect during the summer of 1863 was gloomy indeed. The pressure of a mighty war indebtedness was now beginning to be severely felt. On July 13th, riots broke out in the city of New York, ostensibly in resistance to the inequality of the draft. The offices of the provost-marshals charged with the enrolment were burned, telegraph wires cut, railroads torn up, the mayor's house sacked, the Colored Orphan Asylum burned, and many most atrocious and fiendish outrages of murder and lingering torture perpetrated upon the colored race by the rioters, who were mostly ignorant Irish laborers and thieves. For three days, the organized militia of the city being at the front defending the nation, these riots were kept up. All business was stopped, and a revolution at the North seemed in successful progress, for simultaneous and subsidiary riots in Boston, Jersey City, Troy, and Jamaica, N. Y., took place. The news of the Union successes at Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and other places, together with a return to the city of a portion of the militia, finally restored order in New York and other places, but not until hundreds of lives had been lost, both of rioters and their victims, and some $2,000,000 of property destroyed in New York alone. Although the Democratic press still continued to fulminate against the draft and the other war measures of the Administration, the logic of the military successes of the North was of more power. The draft was generally adjudged valid, and a great reaction took place in the fall elections, in which the Republicans and friends of the Administration generally triumphed by overwhelming majorities, plainly indicating the fixed resolve of the people to end the rebellion and slavery together.

Various measures were passed during 1863 by the 37th Congress, having reference to the employment of negroes as soldiers; among others, one ordering a general enrolment regardless of color. The arming of the blacks was generally denounced by the Democratic press, and the Confederate Congress passed an act decreeing death to any Federal officer captured in command of negroes, and Union commanders authorizing the use of negro soldiery had been in many cases declared outlaws by the Confederate authorities, although since the commencement of the war the latter had made use of negroes in aid of the rebellion. In the exchange of prisoners the Confederates refused to recognize negroes as prisoners of war, which necessitated an order from President Lincoln, dated July 30, 1863, declaring that a rebel soldier would be executed for every United States soldier killed in violation of the laws of war, and a rebel soldier placed at hard labor on the public works for every one enslaved by the enemy. The organized work of arming the blacks went on in spite of all opposition. May 22d, a bureau was established having especial reference to this matter, and shortly recruiting stations for black soldiers were opened in various States South as well as North. In December, 1863, over 50,000 were enlisted and in actual service, and this number was largely increased during the subsequent year. Though in the average they were found during the war inferior to the white soldiery, yet in numerous military qualifications they were equal, and in some superior. Their fighting was noticed by their commanders in many instances with well-deserved commendation. During the month of November, 1863, the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, for the burial of the soldiers who fell there, was consecrated with great ceremony. In December, the 38th Congress met, Schuyler Colfax being elected Speaker of the House. To his annual message transmitted thereto, President Lincoln appended a proclamation of amnesty, offering a free pardon to all rebels except former Federal Congressmen, judges, or army and navy officers and certain others, on condition of taking an oath to support the Federal Constitution and Union. A second proclamation was also published at the same time, proposing to re-admit any one of the rebel States into the Union, upon one-tenth of the

citizens thereof having declared for the Union and taken the oath of amnesty.

Early in February, 1864, an expedition under Gen. Truman Seymour left Port Royal for Jacksonville, Florida. It was composed of 5,000 troops, on 20 steamers and 8 schooners. On the 7th, it arrived at and took possession of Jacksonville. Col. Henry, leading the cavalry, then pushed on, pressing back the rebel force under Gen. Finnegan, through Baldwin and Sanderson, to Lake City, where Finnegan took a strong position; whereupon Henry waited for Gen. Seymour with the infantry then at Sanderson. Gen. Gillmore, who had accompanied the expedition, having returned to Hilton Head, had left Gen. Seymour in command, and the latter now undertook to advance inland, without supplies, to cut the enemy's railroads. Three miles from Olustee he came in close proximity to Finnegan's force. Hamilton's battery was placed barely 150 yards from the rebel front, and its gunners were thus at the mercy of the latter's sharpshooters. In twenty minutes, half of the men, horses, and two of Hamilton's four guns were lost. The conflict raged with great ferocity; Gen. Seymour, with reckless gallantry, was in the thickest of the fight, urging his men to what was but a vain self-slaughter. From 2 o'clock till dusk, the different regiments that came into position were met by a murderous fire. Seymour then retreated to Jacksonville, leaving his dead in the enemy's hands and bringing off his wounded. The Union loss was fully 1,000 men, that of the rebels about 700. Soon after the battle, the rebel Gen. Patton Anderson most honorably sent in a complete list of Union prisoners in his hands, with a description of the injuries of each of the wounded.

During the winter of 1863–64, extensive salt-works, valued at $3,000,000, belonging to the Confederates, were destroyed in Florida by the Unionists, but no other event of any importance occurred in that State during the year. In South Carolina, a useless, wasteful fight took place near Legarèville, on John's Island, in which the 26th U. S. Colored made five spirited but unsuccessful charges upon a well-placed rebel battery. Long-range firing took place irregularly during most of the year around Charleston. In North Carolina, Feb. 1st, Gen. Pickett threatened Newbern, after capturing an outpost at Bachelor's Creek, taking 100 prisoners. A part of his force boarded the gunboat *Underwriter*, lying near the wharves of Newbern, and destroyed her by fire. On April 17th, Gen. Hoke with 7,000 men, assisted by the rebel ram *Albemarle*, made an attack upon Plymouth, held by Gen. Wessels with 2,400 men. The rebel ram soon disabled the three Union gunboats stationed there, and after three days, occupied in spirited fighting at the outposts of the town, the latter was surrendered by Wessels on April 20th, with 1,600 prisoners, 25 guns, and some valuable stores. April 28th, Washington was evacuated by the Union Gen. Palmer, and on May 5th the *Albemarle*, accompanied by two rebel gunboats, engaged the three remaining Union gunboats in these waters. After a fierce cannonade at short range, in which most of the vessels engaged were severely injured, the ram was beaten off, and up the Roanoke, by the Union boats, leaving one of the rebel gunboats as a trophy. Oct. 27th, Lieut. Cushing approached the *Albemarle*, barricaded at a dock eight miles up the Roanoke, and affixed to her a torpedo which completely destroyed her. He then succeeded, by swimming beneath a heavy fire, in escaping to the Union vessels in the offing. Oct. 31st, Plymouth was retaken by a fleet under Com. Macomb. During the summer several unimportant raids were made by the Unionists, by which, however, numerous slaves were liberated.

On the 4th March, a free State government for Louisiana was inaugurated, with Gov. Hahn at its head, before an immense and enthusiastic multitude in Lafayette Square, New Orleans. Early in the same month, Admiral Porter, with a large fleet of gunboats and transports, carrying 10,000 of Sherman's troops under Gen. A. J. Smith, proceeded up the Red River as far as Simmsport, on the way to Alexandria, where Gen. Banks' army of some 15,000 men was to join them in an expedition to capture Shreveport, and attack the rebel army of Gen. Kirby Smith, stationed in this region. On the way up the river, Fort De Russy was captured, with 10 guns and 283 prisoners, by Gen. Smith, the main rebel force there of 5,000 men, under Gen. Walker, retreating up the river. Alexandria was surrendered to Porter without a struggle on March 16th, and the army of Banks shortly joined the Union forces there. The army and gunboats then moved up the river towards Shreveport. At Sabine Cross-roads, near Mansfield and about 40 miles from Shreveport, the rebels made a stand, the Union cavalry coming up with them on the 8th April. The advance of the Union army, the rest of which was scattered over the country far to the rear, was here suddenly confronted by a force of 20,000 men under Kirby Smith. Lee's cavalry, and Ransom's infantry, were first engaged, and soon outflanked by an overwhelming force. Ten of Ransom's guns and 1,000 prisoners were shortly lost, and by 5 P.M. a disorderly rout of the Union forces engaged took place, the ranks being broken by the fleeing supply-train of Lee's division. At this moment Franklin's division arrived, and by the great gallantry of both commander and men, the victorious progress of the enemy was for a moment checked, but his forces were soon borne back with the rest in complete disorder. Gen. Emory, who was advancing behind Franklin and was advised of the rout, drew up his forces in line of battle, and allowing the flying columns to pass to his rear, to reform if they would, breasted the hostile wave, till night put an end to the conflict. During the night Banks fell back fifteen miles to Pleasant Hill, where Smith had arrived with his veterans and posted himself. The next day the confident rebels here renewed the attack upon Emory, who was posted in front of Smith. After some heavy fighting, the former gave way, and was slowly pushed back on Smith's reserves. Suddenly volleys of the latter's artillery and musketry swept the crowding rebels, and before they could recover from their surprise, they were charged by Smith's Western veterans, headed by Gen. Mower, and were driven back with great slaughter, leaving two batteries and many prisoners. Notwithstanding this victory, Banks thought it best, from the want of water, to resume the retreat, which was continued to Grand Ecore and Alexandria without further serious molestation. Banks reported his losses in these engagements at 289 killed, 1,541 wounded, and 2,150 missing. No report was ever made of the rebel losses. The forces engaged at Pleasant Hill, were 15,000 Unionists against 22,000 rebels. Upon being informed of the retreat of Banks, Porter, who had advanced his gunboats with great difficulty up the river as far as Springfield Landing, at once turned back, and from the unusual lowness of the river and the presence of the enemy in great numbers all along its banks, danger of destruction to his fleet seemed imminent. Many determined attacks were made upon it above Alexandria by large forces of the enemy, but they were invariably beaten off with great slaughter by the raking fire of the boats. One or two of the latter, which had run fast aground, were destroyed by Porter, but after much annoyance from the obstructed navigation and the enemy, the greater portion of the fleet shortly reached Alexandria. On April 23d Gen. Banks marched rapidly from Grand Ecore against Gen. Bee, who had taken a strong position at the crossing of Cane River, 40 miles below, with 8,000 men and 16 guns. Striking the enemy suddenly, Banks caused them to abandon their works and retreat in disorder southwestward towards Texas.

The river was now so low that the gunboats could not pass the falls near Alexandria, and unless the army remained to protect them, their destruction seemed inevitable. At this juncture Lieut.-Col. Joseph Bailey, engineer of the 19th corps, obtained leave to build a dam across the river, of timber and sunken coal-boats filled with stone, whereby the depth of water in the channel on the rapids might be sufficiently increased for the passage of the gunboats. After eight or nine days' labor, on the 9th May the work was near completion, and the water was rapidly rising, when a portion of the dam gave way. The gunboats *Lexington* and *Neosho* were hastened down the chute, and succeeded in passing with one hole only knocked in the bottom of the latter, caused by her frightened pilot stopping her engines as he approached the abyss. Encouraged by this partial success, Bailey renewed his efforts, with the whole army assisting him, and by constructing wing dams to relieve the pressure of the water on the main dam, his exertions were crowned with complete success, and by the 13th May the entire fleet had passed into the navigable waters below the falls. Bailey was rewarded for this work with a generalship. At Dunn's Bayou, 30 miles below Alexandria, the gunboats *Signal* and *Covington*, convoying the transport *Warner*, were attacked by a large rebel force on May 5. The *Signal* and *Warner* were forced to surrender, with most of 400 soldiers on board, and the *Covington* was burned. Most of the Union posts on the coast of Texas were now evacuated and their garrisons came around to reinforce Gen. Banks. On the departure of the fleet from Alexandria, Banks moved to Simmsport, on the Atchafalaya, having a cavalry skirmish at Mansura on the way. Porter's fleet moved down the Red River parallel with the army,

and shortly resumed its patrol of the Mississippi.

This expedition, which was most disastrous to the military reputation of its commander, also brought much odium upon the Government, who permitted cotton speculations to take place under its protection; and in these speculations Admiral Porter was to a certain extent implicated.

Gen. Steele, commanding in Arkansas, who was to co-operate in the movement on Shreveport, taking it in the rear, and keeping Price in Arkansas from joining the rebel forces in Louisiana, moved southward with some 12,000 men simultaneously with Banks' advance from Alexandria. At Prairie d'Anne, April 12, he was attacked by Price with a considerable force, whom he beat off. Receiving news of Banks' defeat, on April 15, he turned to the left and entered Camden. Shortly thereafter his wagon-train was cut off and destroyed at Mark's Mill, and on the 27th he was in full retreat, with the whole rebel force of Louisiana and Arkansas left free to operate against him. At Jenkins' Ferry, on the Sabine, he was assailed by the enemy in great force, led by Kirby Smith. But turning upon them, he gave battle with such fury, that they were completely and brilliantly repulsed, the Union loss being 750 killed and wounded, that of the enemy 2,300, including three generals. During the rest of his retreat he was unmolested, and though nearly overcome by fatigue and hunger, his forces reached Little Rock on May 2.

During the year 1864, numerous minor conflicts, partisan encounters, and raids took place in Arkansas. June 27, Gen. Carr worsted the rebel Shelby. About the same time Gen. Dobbins, with a superior rebel force, attacked Col. Brooks, with 400 blacks, on Big Creek, but gained no advantage. Aug. 23, Shelby, with 2,000 men, captured the most of the 54th Illinois, between Duvall's Bluff and Little Rock. Early in 1864 a Union State government was formed in Arkansas; and in March a Union Constitution, prohibiting slavery, was ratified by a vote of the people. Members of Congress and permanent State officers were at the same time elected. At the close of the year after Steele's reverses, most of the State, however, was again under rebel rule.

On Jan. 28, 1864, Gen. Rosecrans assumed command of the Department of Missouri, and shortly afterwards discovered an extensive treasonable organization, called the Order of the Sons of Liberty, whereof the grand commanders were Gen. Sterling Price in the South and C. L. Vallandigham in the North. The officers and leading members of the organization within his department he promptly arrested and lodged in prison, where they were kept for some time. In July, a rebel outbreak took place in Platte County, and numerous guerilla outrages also occurred in the west of the State. At the close of September, Gen. Price advanced from Arkansas into Missouri with 10,000 men. On the 27th, he was resisted at Pilot Knob by Gen. Hugh S. Ewing, with about 1,200 men. The latter blew up his works, and escaped during the night to Rolla. Price then moved north to the Missouri River, threatening St. Louis and Jefferson City. Gen. A. J. Smith, with 4,500 infantry and 1,500 cavalry, vigilantly followed him. About this time a rebel detachment under Shelby, after a prolonged fight, captured Glasgow. On Oct. 18 Price reached Lexington, driving before him Gen. Blunt with a force from Kansas, who retreated on Independence. On the Little Blue, Price flanked the Kansas men, now commanded by Curtis, compelling them to fall back to the Big Blue. On the latter, Oct. 23, a fight was maintained between him and the forces of Curtis and Pleasanton, until at 1 P.M. the rebels were routed and fled southward, pursued beyond Little Santa Fé. In the meanwhile, Smith, with 9,000 infantry and 5 batteries, by a false move to Lexington and Independence, had opened a door of escape to Price. Pleasanton's cavalry, however, overtook the latter on the Little Osage, Oct. 25, and in a spirited conflict there, captured 8 guns and 1,000 prisoners, including Gens. Marmaduke, Cabell, and other officers. At Newtonia, Price was again struck by Blunt with some Kansas forces and Sanborn's brigade, and was there routed. He was then chased by Curtis to Fayetteville, Ark., and this ended the last rebel invasion of Missouri. Though Price obtained about 6,000 recruits from rebel sympathizers in the latter State, still the rising was not so extensive as he had expected.

Congress having revived the military grade of Lieutenant-General, previously held by Gen. Washington alone, on March 2, 1864, Gen. Grant was confirmed by the Senate as the President's nominee for the place, the popular judgment having decided that he was the fittest person to grasp and carry out a successful plan of the war, and to command all the forces of the Union. Gen. Grant fixed his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, which was still commanded by Gen. Meade, and Gen. Sherman took command of the Department of the Mississippi, with the experienced McPherson, Hooker, Thomas, Howard, Hurlbert, Lyon, and Schofield as his subordinates. The Army of the Potomac was reorganized into three corps, commanded by Warren, Hancock, and Sedgwick, and Gen. Burnside was ordered to unite his 9th corps to that army, raising its strength to over 100,000 men. Gen. Grant's plan was to move these two grand armies simultaneously, the one east and the other west of the Alleghanies, Richmond and Atlanta being the objective points. Thus the field of his designs stretched 5,000 miles, over which his forces were scattered, while 600 vessels of war with 4,000 guns lay on the rivers and coasts for 2,500 miles.

Early in February, Gen. Butler, commanding at Fortress Monroe, having heard that Richmond was weakly garrisoned, started an expedition to capture it and liberate the prisoners there, but it failed, from the enemy being apprised thereof.

Feb. 27 Gen. Carter, with 1,500 cavalry, made a raid, flanking the rebel army in Virginia, pushing nearly to Charlottesville, and returning March 2. He thus masked a simultaneous raid of greater importance by Kilpatrick, who passed across the Rapidan and rapidly to the rear of Lee's army, and pushed on, cutting the enemy's communications to within 3½ miles of Richmond, inflicting on the rebels serious losses. He then proceeded across the White House Railroad, and thence down the peninsula until near New Kent, where he met a force sent up to his aid from Fortress Monroe by Gen. Butler. A portion of his command, some 400, under Col. Ulric Dahlgren, mistook their way, but ultimately reached and charged the outer works of Richmond. They then made the circuit of that city, but in striking for King and Queen C. H. they were stopped at Dabney, and Dahlgren was killed by the militia of that place, while his force was scattered, 100 being made prisoners. His body was treated with ignominy by the enemy.

On May 4, the preparations being completed, Gen. Meade's army crossed the Rapidan at Germania and Ely's Fords, and proceeded to a tract of broken table-land near Spottsylvania Court-House, called the Wilderness, which stretched from Chancellorsville to Mine Run, where Lee lay intrenched. On Thursday, May 5, advancing through this imperfectly known country, Warren's corps, with whom Gens. Grant and Meade made their headquarters, moved as far as the Old Wilderness Tavern, Sedgwick being on their right towards the ford. Hancock was directed to move forward from Chancellorsville to Shady Grove Church, further down the river, while Sheridan's cavalry swept still further south-west in a reconnoissance. Presently, finding an unlooked-for battle imminent, Grant ordered Hancock to close up with Warren and form the left wing. At 3 P.M. Lee attempted to get between Hancock and Warren, whereupon Grant ordered Mott's division of Hancock's corps, with Getty's on Warren's left, to charge into the dense woods and underbrush and hold the enemy in check. Two hours of stubborn and bloody conflict with musketry alone, the nature of the ground entirely forbidding the use of cavalry or artillery, now ensued, resulting in great loss to both sides, and without advantage to either, though the rebels claimed 1,000 prisoners to the Unionists' 300 for this day. During the night Burnside's corps arrived by a forced march, and at early dawn on Friday, May 6, the whole Union front advanced. At 5 A.M. Sedgwick attacked on the right, gallantly moving on Ewell, while Hancock on the left pushed forward, crowding back Hill and taking many prisoners, until he had moved nearly two miles on the Brock road. Here Longstreet arrived, and threw the Union front into confusion; but some of Burnside's corps sustaining it, Longstreet was in turn pressed back, he himself falling severely wounded. A second desperate attack at 11 A.M. pressed the 2d corps back to its intrenched line, the Brock road, near which Gen. James S. Wadsworth fell, shot through the head. A lull now took place, during which Burnside's corps was placed between Hancock and Warren. Suddenly the united forces of Hill and Longstreet fell on the Union left and left centre. For three-quarters of an hour the battle here raged with terrible ferocity, the rebels gaining ground, when Hancock despatched Carroll's brigade to strike the foe in flank, a movement which succeeded, and drove the enemy back with heavy loss, and enabled Hancock to gain his former position.

Just after dark the enemy, under Gordon, struck swiftly and heavily the Union right, surprising and routing the brigades of Truman Seymour, and Shaler, and taking Sey-

mou: and some 4,000 other prisoners. Gen. Sedgwick succeeded, however, in restoring his lines, and the second day's fighting of this series of bloody struggles closed. The next day, Saturday, May 7, the attack of Lee was not renewed, and the day was spent in reconnoissances and skirmishes. Being now convinced that the enemy was preparing to retreat, Grant determined to move in a night march towards Spottsylvania, to cut him off from Richmond. Lee was soon made aware of this movement, and at once despatched Longstreet by a parallel road, who reached the goal before the Union army, having the shortest distance to go. At 8 A.M. on Sunday, May 8, Warren's corps came full upon the forces of Longstreet, whose guns were posted on the ridge across the rivulet Ny, before Spottsylvania Court-House, and swept the Union columns as they advanced. Robinson's division on the left, confronted by an overwhelming force, gave way in disorder. Gen. Warren, however, seized a division flag, and rallied the troops by his gallant bearing. After four hours' severe contest the enemy was driven back with great loss. Towards evening, a part of the Union 6th corps coming up, the assault on the enemy's position was renewed, and after an hour and a half of severe fighting, the first line of their breastworks was carried, with heavy loss on both sides.

The next day, Monday, May 9th, the Union lines were entirely clear of the Wilderness, and advanced to within three miles of Spottsylvania Court-House, and well intrenched. During the day, while placing a battery and pleasantly bantering a soldier for his nervousness at the whistle of a passing bullet, Gen. Sedgwick was struck in the face by the ball of a sharpshooter, and instantly fell dead. The next day Gen. H. G. Wright succeeded to the command of the 6th corps. No general engagement took place during the day, both armies being fearfully exhausted. On Tuesday, the 10th, at 6½ P.M., Gen. Grant again assaulted the enemy's works after a day's cannonading, and after Barlow's division had been fiercely attacked and had rescued itself, while recrossing the Po from an isolated position. Wright's 1st division, Col. Upton, and 3d division, Gen. D. A. Russell, rushed over the first line of rebel defences, in the face of three rebel batteries, Cowan's, McCartney's, and Rhodes', and took 900 prisoners and 12 guns. But the assault on the rest of the front resulted in a terrible and useless slaughter of the assailants. The Union losses of the day were fearful. The next day, May 11th, was expended in skirmishing and reconnoitring, the afternoon being rainy. At nightfall Hancock changed his position, and moved silently to the left, between Wright and Burnside. Between 4 and 5 A.M., May 12th, in the midst of a pouring rain, Barlow's and Birney's divisions advanced against a salient angle of the enemy's works, held by Ed. Johnson's division of Ewell's corps, Miles' brigade leading. The enemy were overwhelmed in their trenches, and Gens. Johnson and G. W. Stewart and 3,000 other prisoners and 30 guns, were captured. Hancock now pursued the enemy in his front nearly a mile, when they rallied, and a long and bloody fight ensued. Charge followed charge in quick succession, and the mutual carnage was fearful. Wright's corps was sent to aid Hancock, who was now pressed with the savage determination of the enemy to recover the position which they had lost to him, and before his position the struggle and slaughter were awful. The rain set in again at noon, but the fighting continued till midnight, when it ceased, and Hancock still held his prize. Lee now fortified and held a line immediately in Hancock's front, and several days of manœuvring ensued without much fighting. On the 18th, an assault on the enemy's lines by Gibbon's and Barlow's divisions was repulsed with heavy loss; and on the 19th, Ewell assaulting Tyler's force on the Union right, was gallantly repulsed. On the 21st Gen. Grant advanced by a flank movement from Spottsylvania to the North Anna, towards Richmond. Gen. Meade reported his losses up to this time at 39,791, including many officers of high rank. The rebels, fighting on the defensive, suffered less, but still heavily. Among their killed were Gens. Sam. Jones, Jenkins, Daniels, Perrin, and J. M. Jones.

Notwithstanding the heavy depletion of the Union ranks, Gen. Grant announced his intention "of fighting it out on this line, if it took all summer." Heavy reinforcements were hurried to him from Washington, and the base of supplies was changed to Fredericksburg from the original one north of the Rapidan. To the former place the Union wounded and sick were transported from the front, and were tenderly cared for by the Government, aided by the Sanitary and Christian associations.

On May 9th Sheridan was despatched from the Wilderness on a raid to sever Gen. Lee's communications with Richmond. He soon reached the enemy's rear, destroying ten miles of the Virginia Central Railroad, and a large quantity of supplies, and liberating 400 Union prisoners. He then moved on until he actually entered the first line of works around Richmond, near which he encountered Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, who was mortally wounded in the ensuing conflict, as was also the rebel Gen. Gordon. He then proceeded to Haxall, and thence, by White House and Hanover Court-House, returned to the Army of the Potomac.

In co-operation with Gen. Grant, Gen. Butler, on 4th May, having been reinforced by Gen. W. F. Smith's (18th) corps, and Gen. Gillmore's (10th) corps, from South Carolina, with 25,000 of his command, in transports, accompanied by iron-clads under Admiral Lee, moved up the James River to City Point and Bermuda Hundred, which he occupied and commenced to intrench on the 6th. The gunboats moved slowly and cautiously, removing the torpedoes in the river, but on the 6th, one of the latter, containing 2,000 pounds of powder, exploded under the *Com. Jones*, destroying the vessel and half of her crew. Col. R. West, with 1,500 cavalry, moved simultaneously with Butler up the north bank of the James, while Gen. Kautz, from Suffolk, operated against the roads south of Petersburg and Richmond. On the 7th Butler made a reconnoissance against the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad, destroying a portion of it after some fighting. On the 13th and 14th he carried a portion of the enemy's front line of defences at Drury's Bluff, with small loss. In the meantime Beauregard had collected his forces in North and South Carolina, and brought them to the defence of Petersburg and Richmond. On the 16th the enemy, under Beauregard, attacked Butler in front of Drury's Bluff, and forced him back to his intrenchments between the forks of the James and the Appomattox rivers. In this assault, made before daylight, in a heavy fog, Butler lost about 4,000 men, Heckman's brigade being overwhelmed. A quantity of telegraph wire placed in front of Gen. Smith's line, held by Brooks' and Weitzel's divisions, and intertwisted among the trees, threw the assailants to the ground, where hundreds of them were killed, and the rest made to recoil from the attack. Beauregard now erected a line of works across the peninsula in front of Butler, by which a small force of the enemy could impede any advance by the latter northward except by transports, or by crossing the rivers.

On May 25, approaching the North Anna, Gen. Grant found Gen. Lee planted across that stream, in a fine position, covering the Virginia Central Railroad. The enemy having divined Grant's intention, had moved with silence and celerity from Spottsylvania on a shorter line. Warren, on the Union right, crossed Jericho Ford at 5 P.M. on May 23, and soon an attack was made on Griffin's division by a portion of Hill's corps of rebels. Griffin held his position, when, being repulsed in his front, the rebel leader attempted to flank him. Griffin then hurried Bartlett's brigade to the rescue of his right. The 83d Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. McCoy, ran upon the rebel brigade, and one of the Pennsylvanians seized Brown, the rebel leader, by the collar and dragged him from his horse a prisoner, while nearly a thousand of his command shared a similar fate, and the rest were routed. Hancock, on the left, was meanwhile desperately engaged on the north side of the stream. A strong fortification here, protecting a bridge, held by McLaws' division of Longstreet's corps, at 6 P.M. was stormed and carried by Pierce's and Egan's brigades of Birney's division, with a loss of but 100 men. The bridge was secured, on which Hancock's corps immediately crossed, while Wright's corps crossed at Jericho Ford and took position in the rear of Warren. On the night of the 26th, Gen. Grant being satisfied that the position of the enemy was impregnable, recrossed the North Anna, and moving around Lee's right flank, crossed the Pamunkey at Hanovertown. Sharp fighting occurred before a lodgment was effected on the opposite bank, and on the 28th Sheridan had a severe cavalry engagement with Fitzhugh Lee, whom he routed, the Union loss being 400, while that of the rebels was 800. The whole army now rapidly advanced to the Chickahominy, and Gen. Grant transferred his base from the Rappahannock to the White House. Here Gen. W. F. Smith, with the 18th corps, who had been ordered by Gen. Grant to leave Butler at Bermuda Hundred and join him, arrived on June 1, having been brought around in transports. Energetic reconnoissances made by Gen. Grant now revealed the enemy in front in full force and strong position, and an attempt of Warren to possess the Mechanicsville pike failed. Gen. Grant next determined to flank the enemy

and seize Cold Harbor, for the purpose of forcing the Chickahominy at that point. Cold Harbor was an important focus of numerous roads leading to Richmond. On May 31, Sheridan seized it, and the next day the 6th corps and Gen. W. F. Smith's force came up, and on June 2 a sharp conflict ensued in an advance at 4 P.M. from this point, towards the Chickahominy. The advance was held, the Union forces bivouacking on the ground they had gained at a cost of 2,000 killed and wounded. Grant resolved that the rebel lines on the Chickahominy should be forced at sunrise on the next day, June 3, and he rearranged his lines during the night.

At early dawn, which was clouded and rainy, the assault was swiftly made by the whole Union front, and as swiftly repulsed with terrible slaughter. Hancock, on the left, first came up to the enemy's works. Barlow's division dislodged the enemy in his front from their position, taking three guns and several hundred prisoners; but it was shortly driven back by a heavy force under Hill. Gibbons, on Barlow's right, gained the rebel works, but was unable to hold them; a portion of his men—some 800—however, retained a position for hours within fifteen yards of the enemy's lines, and resisted every attempt to dislodge them until they were rescued by a zigzag sap. Wright's and Smith's assaults were less bloody than Hancock's, while Warren and Burnside were content to hold their long lines with a heavy artillery fire. The assault was scarcely twenty minutes in duration, but in that short period 10,000 Unionists lay before the rebel works killed and wounded.

During the day artillery firing continued, and occasional firing was heard along the lines, especially on the left, where the two armies were in close proximity, Barlow being on one side of a ridge, and the enemy on the other, not more than fifty yards apart. Just after dark, the enemy, in turn, charged the Union intrenchments, but were repulsed with terrible slaughter, and the next day and next night made partial assaults, which also failed.

The total Union loss at Cold Harbor was 13,153; 1,705 killed, 9,042 wounded, and 2,406 missing, including many generals and other officers among the killed and wounded. The rebel loss was not reported.

On June 7th, Sheridan's cavalry proceeded around Lee's left, striking and destroying the Virginia Central Railroad at Trevilian's. They then returned by way of Spottsylvania to White House with 370 prisoners, having routed a body of rebel cavalry under Wade Hampton. On the 12th Grant silently withdrew from the enemy's front, crossing the Chickahominy far to Lee's right. Smith's corps was embarked and returned to Butler at Bermuda Hundred. The rest of the Union forces crossed the Chickahominy at Long Bridge and Jones' bridge, and by different roads stretched forward to the James, without serious molestation. By pontoons and ferry-boats the passage of this river was made on June 14th. Grant now hastened to Bermuda Hundred to impel the forces under Butler to the immediate capture of Petersburg. On June 8th Gen. Butler had despatched Gens. Gillmore and Kautz against Petersburg, the former to attack by the north, the latter by the south-west, but the combination failed. Gilmore concluded to recoil when within two miles of the city. On June 15th, Gen. W. F. Smith's corps advanced to within three miles south of Petersburg. He did not commence the assault till near sundown, when he cleared the enemy's rifle trenches in front of the main defences by mere skirmish lines, and captured 16 guns and 300 prisoners. But though the night was one of clear moonlight, Smith fatally rested till morning, and during the night Petersburg was reinforced with Lee's veterans. Hancock also came up during the night, and Warren and Burnside on the next day, June 16th, when at 6 P.M. a general assault was made, Lee having by this time arrived with the most of his army. Birney, of Hancock's corps, carried a ridge in his front during the night, and at daylight Burnside captured the outworks in his front, taking 4 guns and 400 prisoners. The rest of the forces, though struggling nobly, gained no advantage, and at night of the 17th the Unionists were driven out with heavy loss from the advanced position gained in Burnside's front. During the attack on Petersburg, on the 16th, Butler dispatched Terry to Walthall Junction from Bermuda Hundred to seize and hold the railroad there, but Terry was overpowered by Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps and was hurled back.

On the 18th Gen. Grant ordered another general assault on Petersburg, and at 3 P.M. it was made, and three times the Union troops moved steadily up in the face of a deadly fire, to be swept down by thousands, without gaining any advantage. Gen. Grant now intrenched in front of Petersburg, and sent Meade with the 2d and 6th corps to seize and hold the Weldon Railroad on the enemy's right. This movement was baffled by A. P. Hill, and on the 23d, after a loss of 4,000, mainly prisoners, it was given up. About this time Gens. Wilson and Kautz, with 8,000 Union cavalry, made a raid on the enemy's railroads, striking the Weldon at Ream's Station and tearing it up, and the Danville at Burkesville; but they were shortly surrounded by large forces of the enemy, and returned with difficulty to the line before Petersburg, by a long circuit, after having been attacked and severely defeated at Stony Creek. Gen. Butler now occupied Deep Bottom, ten miles from Richmond, and threw a pontoon bridge over the James at that point. On June 25th Sheridan had a successful cavalry fight on the peninsula, and about this period several minor engagements took place along the lines in front of Petersburg. But now, after eight weeks of incessant fighting, in which fully 70,000 of the Union army had been lost, a quiet ensued. These enormous losses, however, were quickly made up by reinforcements from various quarters, and the army still maintained its integrity and morale.

On July 26th, Hancock crossed the James, and Miles' brigade, of Barlow's division, carried a rebel outpost at Deep Bottom, capturing four guns. On the morning of July 30th a mine which had been run from Burnside's lines under a fort in his front was sprung, annihilating its garrison of 300 men, and leaving an immense hollow, while the Union guns opened all along the front. The ensuing assault, indispensable to success, resulted in a disaster to the Union forces, the assailants failing to advance promptly from the crater to the ridge beyond, and thus enabling the enemy to rally from his surprise and mow down the negro division of Burnside, which subsequently attempted to charge through the crater. The Union loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was 4,400, while that of the enemy was not 1,000.

Aug. 12th, Hancock again attacked the rebel left at Deep Bottom, but without material success; and Gen. Gregg's cavalry with Miles' infantry advanced on the Charles City road about the same time, but without gaining any advantage, and the movement was shortly abandoned, with heavy losses on both sides. Aug. 18, Warren reached the Weldon Railroad, three miles distant from the Union flank. Here he was severely assailed, but stood his ground and fortified it. Both his own and other Union forces near him were attacked at various times during the next three days, but he still held his position, though with the total loss of 4,455 men, while the enemy's was scarcely half that number. On Aug. 21, Hancock struck the Weldon road at Ream's Station, four miles in the rear of Warren. Here he was attacked by Hill and forced to retreat, with the heavy loss of 2,400 out of 8,000 men, and five guns, Hill's loss being nearly as heavy. Sept. 29, Butler, advancing on the right towards Richmond, assaulted and captured the enemy's outpost, Fort Harrison, with 15 guns. The rebels under Gen. Field attempted to retake it, but failed. Oct. 1, Warren on the left advanced as far as Squirrel Level road, intrenching his newly gained ground. On Oct. 27, a further advance of the Union forces was made toward Richmond and upon the enemy's works at Hatcher's Run and the Boydton plank-road, but after considerable protracted fighting and heavy loss, Egan successfully contending with the rebel Heth and Hancock repelling Wade Hampton, though with barren results, the whole army was shortly back in its intrenchments before Petersburg, covering the Weldon Railroad, and Vaughan and Squirrel Level Highways.

The campaign of 1864 against Gen. Lee was now practically ended, the net losses therein of the Unionists being over 70,000, while that of the rebels was not over 40,000. With all the desperate fighting during this campaign, the Army of the Potomac took but 32 guns and lost but 25. The campaign ended without apparent advantage, but it eminently contributed to break the power of the rebellion. The losses sustained by the rebels during it they never recovered from.

There were several minor engagements in Western and Northern Virginia during the early part of 1864. Among others, on Jan. 2, the rebel Gen. Sam. Jones captured Major Beer and 300 Illinoisans and three guns at Jonesville, after a smart contest. At the close of the month, Rosser made a raid into West Virginia from Early's position, doing some damage, but was shortly chased away by Gen. Averill; and in February Col. Gallup surprised Ferguson, a rebel guerilla, in Wayne County, and captured him with a portion of his force. On May 1, 1864, Gen. Sigel with 10,000 men moved up the Shenandoah Valley to New-Market, where he was encountered on May 15 by Gen. Breckinridge with a

large force of rebels. The latter, by a resolute charge, routed Sigel, driving him to Cedar Creek, and capturing 700 men, 6 guns, and part of his train. On May 10, Gen. Averill, dispatched with 2,000 cavalry by Gen. Crook on the Kanawha, to destroy the lead mines at Wytheville, was there beaten by a heavy cavalry force under John Morgan. About this period, near Dublin Station, Gen. Crook with 6,000 men beat off an inferior force under Gen. McCausland.

At Piedmont, June 5, Gen. Hunter, who had succeeded Sigel, met Gen. W. E. Jones, with most of the rebel force of this department. The rebels were routed, leaving 1,500 prisoners, 3 guns, and 3,000 small arms, after losing many in killed and wounded, among the former being their leader, Gen. Jones. Hunter, joined by Crook and Averill at Staunton, which he had taken, then advanced on Lynchburg, attacking it on June 18; but it had been heavily reinforced by Lee, and Hunter was forced to retreat across the Alleghanies to Meadow Bluff, in West Virginia, sharply pursued and suffering severely.

On July 2d, Gen. Early, commanding the corps sent from Richmond to the relief of Lynchburg, appeared northward on the Potomac, causing Sigel to retreat with heavy loss of stores from Martinsburg to Maryland Heights. The rebels then destroyed a portion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, occupied Hagerstown, and raided into the border of Pennsylvania, creating great excitement at the North. Gen. Wallace, confronting the invaders on the Monocacy, with a force of 3,000 Maryland Home Guards and a brigade of the 19th corps under Gen. Ricketts, was attacked near Frederick, July 9. He was repeatedly charged, and each charge was repelled by a fierce and bloody struggle, until at 4 P.M. he was forced to retreat. The Union loss in this action was 1,959; that of the rebels somewhat less. Early's cavalry advance under Gen. Bradley T. Johnson now approached Baltimore, and robbed a Philadelphia mail train and passengers at a short distance therefrom. On the 12th, Early's entire army was within six or seven miles of Washington, at which point he lost 280 killed and wounded in a skirmish. But his force, now reduced to 15,000, being confronted by one of 40,000, he precipitately retreated across the Potomac near Poolesville, with vast herds of cattle and other plunder. Gen. Wright followed in pursuit to the Shenandoah, where, near Island Ford, on July 19, Early drove back the Union advance, inflicting a loss of 500 men. Near Winchester, Averill had an engagement, July 20, with a division of the rebels, defeating it with heavy loss and capturing four guns. On the 24th, Early, concentrating a large force, fell on the troops of Crook and Averill, driving them into Maryland with a loss of 1,200, including among the killed Gen. Mulligan, the defender of Lexington, Mo., and thus became master of the southern shore of the Potomac from Williamsport to Shepardstown. On the 30th, McCausland recrossed the Potomac, and moved upon Chambersburg, Pa., demanding thereof a ransom of $500,000, which being refused, he fired the town, destroying two-thirds of it. The rebel raider John S. Moseby now appeared in an insignificant raid on Adamstown. Retreating towards Cumberland, McCausland's and Johnson's forces defeated Col. Stough at Oldtown, but were in turn routed near Moorefield by Averill, on Aug. 4. Early now proposed to hold the Shenandoah till after the harvest, and made a large requisition for grain on the inhabitants.

On Aug. 7, the Middle Department, composed of those of West Virginia, Washington, and Susquehanna, was created, and Gen. Sheridan assumed the command. On the 10th the latter moved his forces up the valley, when the enemy retired to Strasburg. Moseby now attacked and burned Sheridan's supply-train at Berryville, whereupon Sheridan fell back to Charlestown. There Early engaged him in an indecisive conflict, which lasted six hours. Sheridan then fell back to Bolivar Heights, where he was confronted for several days by Early. At the close of August, Early again moved up the valley, followed by Sheridan, but no important engagement took place till Sept. 19, when Early, strongly posted on the Opequan Creek, near Winchester, was assailed by the pursuing army, Gen. Grant having finally permitted Gen. Sheridan to risk a general engagement. At 10 A.M., Sheridan having arrived at a desired point on the rebel right, ordered a general advance, and the artillery opened along the whole line. Grover's and Rickett's division carried the enemy's first line; whereupon, being assailed by two fresh divisions of the latter, they were pushed back in disorder, and with great loss. But Capt. Rigby, 24th Iowa, followed by a sergeant and twelve men, formed a rallying nucleus, with face to the front, and a new line was speedily formed. Torbert's cavalry shortly struck the enemy's left in flank, and the whole Union centre charged. The rebel lines crumbled into fragments, and their whole army precipitately retreated through Winchester to Fisher's Hill, eight miles south thereof. Early left behind his dead and wounded, and nearly 3,000 prisoners, together with five pieces of artillery and nine battle-flags. The Union loss was about 3,000, including Gen. David A. Russell among the killed. The total rebel loss was undoubtedly much greater. Among their killed were Gens. Rhodes and Godwin.

Sheridan sharply followed the enemy, and again attacked them at Fisher's Hill on the 19th with such vigor that they again broke, and now fled towards Woodstock, leaving 1,100 prisoners and 16 guns. Sheridan closely followed the retreating mass, devastating the valley as he moved. The Southern press proposed retaliation for this by burning one of the large cities of the North, and an unsuccessful attempt was actually made by rebel emissaries a few weeks thereafter in New York, in various hotels, with petroleum. Sheridan pursued as far as Brown's Gap, in the Blue Ridge, eight miles south-east of Port Republic, where Early assumed a formidable position. Sheridan then returned down the valley, and was attacked on the 9th October by the rebel Gen. Rosser, with a large body of cavalry, but defeated him, taking 300 prisoners and 11 guns, and causing him, in his retreat, to "jump for 26 miles." Sheridan now left his army for a short visit to Washington. Early, who had been reinforced by 12,000 men, hearing of Sheridan's absence, resolved to attack his army before his return. On the night of the 18th, leaving Fisher's Hill, and knowing the ground thoroughly, he crossed the mountains and forded the north fork of the Shenandoah. Marching with the utmost secrecy and celerity, he stole down upon the flank of the Union position on Cedar Creek, near Middletown. There his forces arrived and stood for an hour, shivering with cold, within 600 yards of the Union camps. At daybreak a deafening yell, and the blaze and crash of 10,000 muskets, took place, and charging through the fog, the rebels were upon the surprised and panic-stricken army before any line of battle could be formed, and in fifteen minutes the Army of West Virginia, commanded by Crook, became a flying mob, pressing back to a second hill, a half mile distant, where lay the 19th corps, under Emory. This corps in turn was flanked, and fled with the rest towards a third hill, on which lay the 6th corps, under Gen. Wright, with Torbert's cavalry supporting its right flank. The 24 guns which had been captured by the rebels they now turned upon the Unionists, enfilading the entire line of the latter. Repulsing a tremendous charge of the enemy, Wright was enabled to cover the fugitive crowd, and while the enemy were hesitating, a part being engaged in plundering the captured camps, he retreated in good order towards Middletown. But he was soon terribly assailed on the left flank, in the wooded fields near that place; and from the adjacent heights Early's batteries poured a terrible fire on the uncovered army as it passed within range.

Gen. Sheridan, returning from Washington, was leisurely proceeding on his way to the front from Winchester, where he had slept the night before. He heard the thunder of the artillery, and met the frightened fugitives of the Union army. Past these and the cheering wounded lying along the road side, he now fled himself, but it was towards instead of from the front, which he reached at 10 A.M., just as Wright had halted and the enemy ceased to pursue. By the inspiration of his presence and the homely assurances of his sanguine nature that his forces were now going "to lick the enemy out of their boots, and get the tightest twist on them ever seen," the retreat was stopped, and in a short time a new line of battle was formed, and the crestfallen, shattered battalions were converted into fresh men, excited and eager for victory. At 1 P.M. Emory's new line was again attacked, but the enemy were shortly repulsed. At 3 P.M. the order was given for the entire Union line to advance, and in an instant it moved swiftly and solidly on the enemy's position, before a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry, the Unionists having but few cannon to respond to the former. The assailing lines were thus torn and fell back; but again roused by the gallant efforts of their commander, one grand overwhelming charge was made, and the rebel front gave way, and the whole late victorious army of the enemy was now in turn pursued, a disordered, panic-stricken mob, up to and through Strasburg, by infantry and cavalry; and thence to Woodstock, 15 miles beyond, by the latter. The Union army slept that night, as it had

fought that day, without food. In this Union defeat transmuted to victory by the reinforcement of a single man, the Union loss was nearly 3,000, including among the killed Gen. D. D. Bidwell and many other officers. The rebel loss was heavier, including Gen. Ramseur among the killed, 1,500 prisoners, and 23 guns, besides the 24 guns lost and recovered by the Unionists. After this notable affair there was no engagement of any moment in the Shenandoah Valley.

During the latter part of 1863 and the early part of 1864, numerous raids and desultory conflicts took place between Virginia and the Mississippi, which contributed very little, however, to a settlement of the grand issue. Aug. 16, 1863, 1,600 cavalry, a portion of the Union army in West Tennessee, under Col. J. J. Phillips, raided to Grenada, Miss., where they destroyed 50 locomotives and 500 cars. In December, 1863, the rebel Forrest, with 4,000 cavalry, operated upon West Tennessee, horse-stealing being his main object. Dec. 24, a small Union force, under Col. Prince, 7th Illinois, was routed at Somerville by the rebel Richardson's cavalry. In February, 1864, Gen. Sherman, with a portion of the Union forces at Vicksburg, advanced to Meridian, destroying a great amount of railroad property, and returning with 400 prisoners, 1,000 white and 5,000 negro refugees. Feb. 22, Gen. W. S. Smith with 7,000 men was attacked at Okolona by a larger force of rebel cavalry, and beaten back to Memphis with a loss of 200 men and 5 guns, having however destroyed a large amount of rebel property. March 5th, Col. Osband with a Union force was attacked at Yazoo City by a far superior rebel force under Richardson and Ross, which nearly carried the town, but was finally driven off by Union reinforcements. Shortly afterward Yazoo City was ordered to be evacuated by the Unionists. In March, Gen. Palmer with the 14th corps operated against a portion of Hardee's corps of the rebel army, and had inconsiderable collisions therewith at Tunnel Hill and Rocky Face Ridge.

March 16, Forrest with 5,000 cavalry raided rapidly from Mississippi, through West Tennessee, capturing Union City from Col. Hawkins, who tamely surrendered. He also captured Hickman, but was driven off from Paducah, Ky., with heavy loss, and fell back into Tennessee. In his operations before Paducah, Forrest was guilty of numerous dastard and cowardly acts, such as violating a truce and using women and children as shields. April 12, at sunrise he attacked Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, garrisoned by 557 men, including 262 blacks, under Major L. F. Booth. The gunboat *New Era* aided in the defence. A sharp conflict ensued until 9 A.M., when Major Booth was killed. Major Bradford, 13th Tennessee cavalry, then assumed the command, and withdrew his men into the inner works. Shortly after noon the fight slacked, and Forrest sent to Major Bradford a summons to surrender within twenty minutes, which the latter declined. During this negotiation many of the rebels stole unperceived towards the fort, and the moment Major Bradford's answer was received, a rush was made, with cries of "No quarter." The fort was taken and the garrison were driven down the bank to and into the river. An indiscriminate slaughter then ensued, in which was spared neither age nor sex, white nor black, soldier nor civilian. Women and children were hacked to death or coolly shot down. Some of the sick and the wounded were made to stand up and be shot. Others were burned with the tents wherein they had been fastened to the floor. The scene of bloody atrocity continued till dark, and was even renewed the next morning. Major Bradford was murdered in cold blood after having been captured several miles from the fort. The whites were here massacred because they were loyal Southerners or "home-made Yankees," and the negroes because they were "niggers." The miscreants then fled from the scene of this achievement into Mississippi, ineffectively pursued by Gen. S. D. Sturgis.

At Guntown on the Mobile Railroad, on June 10, Sturgis found Forrest's force, and an engagement ensued, in which the former was disgracefully beaten and driven back to Ripley, where on the next day a second fight ensued, by which Forrest's pursuit was checked. Sturgis then returned to Memphis, having lost a third of his force of 12,000. At Tupelo, July 14, a Union force of about the same number, under Gen. A. J. Smith, advancing on Forrest was thrice assailed by the latter, who had there concentrated and fortified his command. He was each time repulsed, and finally fled with heavy loss, leaving his killed and wounded on the field; but Smith made no further advance, leaving the miscreant to escape. On Aug. 18, flanking the Union army by night, Forrest appeared with 3,000 men in the streets of Memphis, but shortly fled therefrom without having time to do any damage. Various insignificant contests took place towards the close of the year at Bean's Station, Charleston, Mossy Creek, Dandridge, and Maryville, in East Tennessee. June 1, 1864, the rebel raider Morgan started with 2,500 men for East Tennessee, on another raid by the way of Pound Gap into Kentucky. He shortly captured Mount Sterling, Paris, Cynthiana, and Williamstown, doing much damage. At a bend in the Licking, 300 of his force entrapped and captured Gen. Hobson, with 1,600 well-armed Unionists. June 12, Gen. Burbridge, with a Union force in pursuit of Morgan, found him near Cynthiana, killed and wounded 300 of his command, captured 400 men and 1,000 horses, and liberated some of Hobson's men. Morgan succeeded in escaping with the rest of his followers to Southwestern Virginia; but on Sept. 3 he was surprised with a small band at Greenville, East Tennessee, and killed by Gen. Gillem. Sept. 19, an attempt was made on the Union prison camp on Johnson's Island, Lake Erie, by certain rebel agents and refugees from Canada. They seized a steamboat in which they had taken passage at Malden, Canada, but were shortly compelled to run it ashore near Sandwich, Canada, where they escaped. Oct. 2, Burbridge advancing on the rebel salt-works at Saltville, was beaten off by Breckinridge, with considerable loss. Oct. 28, Gen. Gillem routed a rebel force at Morristown, but on Nov. 13 was in turn surprised and utterly beaten there, in a night attack by Breckinridge.

Early in May, 1864, simultaneously with the advance of Gen. Grant upon Richmond, Gen. Sherman commenced his parallel campaign against Atlanta. His army amounted to about 100,000 men, with 554 pieces of artillery, being composed of the Army of the Cumberland, Gen. Thomas, 60,773; the Army of the Tennessee, Gen. McPherson, 24,465; and the Army of the Ohio, Gen. Schofield, 13,559. The rebel army opposing him, under Gen. J. Johnston, amounted to about 60,000 men, and was divided into three corps, led by Hardee, Hood, and Polk. Johnston lay in and about Dalton, strongly fortified. Dalton was covered by a mountain called Rocky Face Ridge, but this was traversed by Buzzard-Roost Gap, through which ran the railroad. May 7, Thomas made a feint against Dalton, and shortly a vigorous attack, in which Newton's division of Howard's corps, and Geary's division of Hooker's, carried a portion of the ridge. McPherson, in the meantime, had advanced through Snake Creek Gap to strike the rebel flank. May 10, Sherman moved over the most of his forces to McPherson, which compelled Johnston to evacuate Dalton and retreat to Resaca, 18 miles south of that stronghold. Howard, who had been left at Dalton, now followed on the enemy's track. May 15, Johnston attacked Hooker and Schofield in his front, and on his left, at Resaca, but was bloodily repulsed, losing four guns and many prisoners. During the night he abandoned Resaca, and retreated across the Oostenaula River, partially destroying the bridge. The whole Union army at once pressed rapidly in pursuit over the rough country, the army divisions often being necessarily wide apart. On the 17th, Newton's division had a sharp artillery contest at Adairville; and on the 18th, after some vigorous skirmishing, Clinton was captured. Rome was also taken by Jeff. C. Davis' division of Thomas' corps, which destroyed there mills, warehouses, and foundries of great importance to the enemy. Johnston now took up a strong and fortified position covering the Allatoona Pass, near Dallas. On the 23d, Sherman having rested a few days to bring up his supplies, advanced towards the latter place, more or less fighting taking place on the way. Near New Hope Church, Hooker came upon the enemy in strong force, and attacked him on May 25th, gaining some ground. On the 28th, Johnston suddenly attacked McPherson at Dallas. Two unsuccessful assaults were repulsed by the latter, the rebels losing 3,000 men and the Unionists about 1,000. On the 1st June, Sherman sent McPherson around to the left on another flank movement, compelling the enemy to evacuate Allatoona Pass and his neighboring fortifications, and fall back to Kenesaw Mountain. Allatoona Pass was now made a secondary base and garrisoned by Sherman, and the railroads were repaired up to that point. On the 11th June, the army again advanced on the enemy's lines, which now covered Kenesaw, Pine, and Lost Mountains, and were actively being strengthened each hour. Sherman now attempted to force a passage between Kenesaw and Pine Mountains. On the 14th, during a sharp cannonade, Gen. Polk was struck by a three-inch shot and killed. The next morning Pine Mountain was discovered to be abandoned. On the 17th, Lost Mountain was also abandoned by the enemy, who con-

centrated his position on Kenesaw. A few days now elapsed with constant cannonading and heavy rains, the Union forces advancing steadily but slowly on the enemy's position. On the 22d, Hood made a sudden and fierce attack on Hooker's corps, but failed, with a loss of 800 men. Sherman now unwisely determined to assault in turn, and on the 27th the two armies of Thomas and McPherson attacked at two different points, but were fearfully repulsed, with the severe loss of 3,000, Gens. Harker and Dan. McCook, and many other valuable officers, being included among the Union killed. After having buried his dead under a flag of truce, Sherman sent McPherson towards the Chattahoochee River, far in the rear of Kenesaw Mountain. By this simple movement Johnston was at once compelled to evacuate his strong position on Kenesaw, and Sherman rode into Marietta on July 2. On the 4th and 5th July, the enemy succeeded in crossing the Chattahoochee in safety; but by the 9th Sherman had skilfully managed to secure three available points for crossing the river, when the enemy reluctantly abandoned again his line of defence and fell back to Atlanta. The Union army now rested for a few days within sight of the steeples of Atlanta. In the meanwhile, Gen. Rousseau, with 2,000 cavalry, had proceeded around Atlanta and destroyed the railroad at Opelika, Ala., cutting off Johnston's supplies. Johnston was now removed from his command, and Hood put in his place, and the latter at once adopted the policy of an impetuous offensive. On the 20th July he suddenly assailed with his entire army the yet unformed lines of Sherman, in a new position about five miles from Atlanta. Newton's division of Howard's corps, and Johnson's of Palmer's corps, and Hooker's corps, the latter being entirely uncovered, received and gallantly withstood the shock. Hood failed to break through the Union lines and fell back to his intrenchments, after a brief and fierce engagement, in which he lost full 5,000 men, including among the killed several generals, while the Union loss was about one-half that number. On the 22d, Sherman advanced to within two miles of the city, when he was stopped by an extensive and strong line of works. Hood now massed his entire army against McPherson on the left, who had advanced on the city from Decatur. Blair was first struck, but soon the whole line of the Army of the Tennessee became engaged. A heavy force pressed to the Union rear and captured 12 guns, while in the front the rebels dashed up to the Union breastworks, and for a half hour the two armies fought face to face with their battle colors flying from the same works. Logan, of the centre, soon massed his troops and charged, Wood's division leading, by which all but two of the lost guns were retaken. In this stubborn contest the Union loss was 3,722, including among the killed Gen. McPherson, who was shot dead while riding through a piece of woods. Gen. Logan reported the rebel dead at over 3,000, and the total rebel loss was estimated at 12,000, including 1,700 prisoners. 18 stand of colors and 5,000 small arms were also captured. The next day, Garrard returned from a successful railroad-destroying raid to Covington, in the rebel rear; and Stoneman with 5,000 cavalry, supported by A. D. McCook with 4,000 infantry, was shortly despatched to capture Macon and cut the railroad there. This expedition failed; McCook was hemmed in by a superior force, but succeeded in cutting his way out, while Stoneman, appearing before Macon, was obliged to hastily withdraw therefrom. He was then shortly surrounded by Iverson, who commanded an inferior force, and was deceived into a surrender.

July 27th, Howard succeeded McPherson, and Hooker resigned his position in consequence. On the 28th Hood again desperately flung his army upon the Army of the Tennessee, which had been shifted from the extreme left of the Decatur road to Proctor's Creek, on the extreme right, and was protected by rail breastworks. Six times the rebels advanced against this, only to be cut down, to break and flee. The conflict continued from noon till 4 P.M., when the assailants gave it up and retreated. The enemy's loss, in this brave attack, was estimated at 6,000, while the Union loss was scarcely one-tenth of that number. Five stand of colors and 2,000 muskets were captured. Hood now permitted Sherman to advance without interruption, but sent Wheeler's cavalry to break up the railroad, whereon Sherman depended for subsistence. Learning the absence of Wheeler, Sherman at once dispatched Kilpatrick's cavalry to break up the West Point and Macon railroads in Hood's rear; and on Aug. 26th the whole Union army, save the 20th corps, was behind Atlanta, co-operating in the work of destruction, before Hood knew what Sherman was doing. Hood was now completely cut off north and east, and his alternative was either a successful assault or the abandonment of Atlanta. On August 31st S. D. Lee and Hardee fell on Howard near Jonesborough, and a fierce battle followed. At 4 P.M., Davis's corps, on Thomas's right, closed up with Howard, and charged the enemy's lines, capturing an entire brigade, with its general and eight guns. Again the rebels were defeated, losing 5,000 men. During the night of August 31st Hood hastily evacuated Atlanta, blowing up magazines and stores, and destroying seven locomotives and eighty-one cars, and a large amount of cotton. On September 1st, Slocum, who was seven miles north, on the Chattahoochee, with the 20th corps, moved into the city. Hood was now pursued for thirty miles to Lovejoy's, where he was found strongly fortified. But on the 5th Sherman returned to Atlanta, to permit his army to rest awhile at this important point, which it had so nobly won. Establishing his headquarters here, Sherman ordered the removal of the citizens to the North or the South, as they should prefer. This measure was denounced by Hood and other Southerners as an act of the most studied and ingenious cruelty, while it was defended by Sherman as a military necessity. During the campaign, Pillow, Wheeler, and others, with forces of rebel cavalry, operated upon the Union rear at Lafayette, Dalton, and in Southern Tennessee, doing considerable damage, but influencing little the issue of the campaign. At the close of September, Hood flanked Sherman's right, and his cavalry proceeded as far as Big Shanty, where they destroyed the railroad; while French's division of rebel infantry, on September 28th, invested and assaulted the Union depot of supplies at Allatoona, held by Gen. Corse with 1,944 men. Corse held out against this vastly superior force until he lost one-third of his men, refusing to leave his post of duty though seriously wounded himself. Gen. J. D. Cox with the 23d corps then came to his rescue, when the enemy drew off, leaving 231 dead and 411 prisoners. Hood now endeavored to draw Sherman out of Georgia by crossing Sand Mountain and marching towards the Tennessee. In this he failed. The latter at once entrusted Gen. Thomas, reinforced by A. J. Smith's forces from Missouri, with the defence of Tennessee. He then concentrated all his remaining forces near Atlanta, and destroying the foundries, mills, and other works at that place and Rome, and dismantling the railroads, he detached himself from his communications, and prepared to march to the sea.

When the rebel commander found himself north of the Tennessee, and that Sherman had left him there, he determined to advance north and attack Nashville. September 23d, Forrest's cavalry captured Athens, Ala., held by Col. Campbell with 600 men. He then proceeded north to Pulaski, but was driven off eastward by a Union force under Gen. Rousseau. He shortly afterwards divided his forces, sending Buford with 4,000 men to capture Huntsville and Athens, Ala., again, while he with 3,000 proceeded north-west to Columbia. His plans in both cases failed, as large Union forces were gradually concentrating upon both him and Buford. They both, however, succeeded in withdrawing across the Tennessee. October 26th, Hood made a feint against Decatur, Ala., where he had a slight conflict with Gordon Granger. During this his vanguard crossed the river near Florence. Forrest now advanced upon Johnsonville, Tenn., an important supply depot for Nashville, and defended by 1,000 men under Col. C. R. Thompson, with the aid of three gunboats. Several days' fighting ensued here, but the enemy finally withdrew at the approach of Gen. Schofield with the 23d corps from Nashville. The Union vessels here were fired by their commanders, to prevent their capture by the enemy, and the flames extended to the depots of supplies, involving a loss of $1,500,000. About November 17th the entire army of Hood crossed the Tennessee. 24th, Gen. Schofield fell back and concentrated at Columbia, while Gen. Granger retired on Stevenson. Hood now pressed Schofield severely at Duck River, and the latter marched swiftly for Franklin, situated on a bend of the Harpeth River, eighteen miles from Nashville, to avoid being disastrously cut off by Hood from crossing that river. Hood raced and fought with him the whole way. Schofield, though crippled by his immense train, won this race and got into position at Franklin on the 30th. Hood arrived later on the same day, and was not ready for battle till 4 P.M. He then threw himself impetuously upon Schofield's centre, under Wagner, forcing it back with the loss of two guns, and obtaining the possession of the first line of Union works at a terrible sacrifice of life. By the efforts of Cox, Stanley, Wagner, and Opdyke, the lines were reformed, and at sunset a savage struggle, in which bayonets and clubbed muskets were used,

took place for the mastery of the ground which had been lost. It was retaken by the Unionists, together with the lost guns, 10 rebel battle-flags, and 300 prisoners. At 10 P.M. the battle ceased, the rebel loss having been over 6,000 men, including four general officers killed, six wounded, and one captured. The Union loss was 2,300. During the night Schofield fell back to Nashville.

Gen. Thomas at Nashville was now, Dec. 1, reinforced by the command of A. J. Smith from Missouri, and by 5,000 troops and a negro brigade from Chattanooga. Eight Union gunboats, with the iron-clad *Neosho*, came up the Cumberland, and protected the city on the river side, but Hood advanced his lines around the city, and effectually cut off all communications south. Forrest in the meanwhile had been sent to operate against Murfreesboro, co-operating with Bates' division of Cheatham's corps. These were repulsed in their attack, Dec. 4, on the block-house at Overall's Creek, five miles north of Murfreesboro, and shortly afterwards were driven with considerable loss from before Fort Rosecrans, held by Gen. Rousseau.

From want of a cavalry force Gen. Thomas delayed in assuming the offensive, thereby causing some solicitude to Gen. Grant, but the latter's confidence in the man was shortly restored. On the 15th December, the temperature having moderated, though a glaze of ice covered the country, three corps—A. J. Smith's, the 16th, on the right; Wood's, the 4th, next on his left; with Schofield's 23d corps on Wood's left as a reserve—were concentrated on the rebel left. At daylight, while Steedman, with a mixed body of troops, threatened the rebel right, the two corps of Smith and Wood made the onset upon the enemy's left. This disappeared before them and was thrown in confusion upon the rebel centre. Wilson's cavalry now swept round the right and attacked the rear and flank of the rebels, thus heaped on their centre. With his left gone and his centre thus imperilled, Hood threw over troops from his right, and succeeded in holding through the day his strong position; but when night closed, the day's work had given to the Unionists 16 guns, 1,200 prisoners, and 40 wagons, while their losses were trivial. During the night Hood took up a new position two miles in his rear, shortening his lines from six to three miles. On the following morning, Wood advanced over the enemy's deserted works upon his centre, while Steedman again attacked his right, and Smith and Schofield engaged his reformed left. But the main attack was delayed until Wilson's cavalry, which had been sent to his rear by a wide circuit, could be heard from. This news came about 4 P.M., when the whole Union line had advanced to within 600 yards of the enemy. The latter, duly prepared, received the assault of Wood with volleys of musketry and artillery, and the assailing columns were repulsed with fearful slaughter in their attempts to overcome the abattis strewed upon Overton's Hill, which was the enemy's centre. But Wood speedily reformed his line, while Smith and Schofield's men swept over the enemy's work on the left. A second time Wood and Steedman advanced up Overton's Hill, sweeping all before them, capturing the commanding forts and nine pieces of artillery. The rebels now abandoned their batteries at all points, and fled in dismay through the Brentwood Pass. A portion of Wilson's cavalry pursued, but night put an end to the conflict. While the Union army rested upon the field, the remnant of the enemy retreated through the darkness to Harpeth River. The next day the pursuit was renewed, and was kept up for several days; but the country was now flooded by incessant rains, and in the absence of pontoons the roads were scarcely passable in the rear of the fleeing enemy. After being severely pressed at Franklin, Hood succeeded in crossing the Harpeth, Rutherford's Creek, and Duck River. At Columbia Forrest's cavalry rejoined his army, and formed a strong rear-guard for it. On the last of the month Hood crossed the Tennessee with what remained of his forces, and Jan. 23, 1865, was relieved from command at his own request.

While Hood was before Nashville, a portion of his cavalry under Gen. Lyons made a feeble raid upon the Louisville Railroad in Thomas's rear. They were chased out of Tennessee, all but Lyons and about 100 men being killed or captured. On Dec. 6 Stoneman started from Knoxville after a rebel force under Duke, who was retreating to Virginia. At Kingsport he dispersed this command, capturing 300 prisoners. At Wytheville, about Dec. 16, some rebel cavalry under Vaughan were routed, and the lead-works, railroad, and other valuable rebel property in the neighborhood destroyed. Breckinridge, commanding in this region, now retreated across the mountains into North Carolina, abandoning the important salt-works at Saltville to Stoneman, who utterly destroyed them.

Gen. Thomas reports the captures of his campaign from Sept. 7, 1864, to Jan. 20, 1865, at 11,857 men, including one major-general, 7 brigadiers, and many other officers, together with 72 pieces of artillery and 3,079 small arms. The total Union loss in killed, wounded, and missing was about 10,000, while that of the rebels was over 20,000.

The State elections and the Presidential canvass of 1864 reflected the aspects of the war. The Democratic party nominated Gen. G. B. McClellan as its candidate for the Presidency, and Geo. H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated President Lincoln for a second term, with Andrew Johnson, of Tenn., for Vice-President. A small party of discontented Republicans nominated Gen. Fremont for President, and John Cochrane for Vice-President, but they soon declined. The policy signified by the Democratic platform was separation, or re-establishment with slavery. The letter of acceptance of Gen. McClellan was for the latter only, while the Republican candidate was pledged to the re-establishment of the Union without slavery. The political blunder of the Democrats, and the Union successes of Sherman and Farragut, assured the success of Pres. Lincoln. The October elections were overwhelmingly Republican, and Maryland now adopted a Constitution abolishing slavery. In the November elections the electoral votes of but three States—New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky—21 in all, were cast for McClellan and Pendleton; the remainder, 212, being for Lincoln and Johnson. The vote of the soldiers was nearly 4 to 1 in favor of the latter. Kentucky, though thoroughly Union, was equally pro-slavery; and the Act of Congress providing for the enrolment of slaves as soldiers caused great dissatisfaction there, and ensured the State vote in favor of McClellan.

June 30, 1864, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, resigned his post, after having discharged its duties with great ability. Upon his entrance thereupon, the Federal credit was in a most depressed condition. In Dec., 1861, the banks of the loyal States and the Federal Treasury suspended specie payment, and acts were shortly passed by Congress making Treasury notes a legal tender. A depreciation of the currency at once took place, and continued throughout the war, the price, in currency, of gold reflecting to a certain extent the various phases of the war. At one time, in July, 1864, immediately following the Union failures in Virginia, it stood at 290. Various acts were promptly passed, from time to time, by Congress, in conformity with the Secretary's plans, to raise the immense sums necessary for the prosecution of the war, and to induce the people to become lenders. A comprehensive system of internal taxation was reluctantly resorted to, and a National Banking law was passed, which forced the State banks to become National banks, and thus required them to absorb a large amount of Government securities. Various means were also taken to prevent speculators from forcing up the price of gold, and a system was inaugurated of selling the Government surplus gold derived from the Customs, and applying it to the purchase of the Government paper. The following is an exhibit of the growth of the national debt during the war:

1860.....	$64,769,703
1861.....	90,867,828
1862.....	514,211,371
1863.....	1,097,274,360
1864.....	1,740,036,689
1865.....	2,423,437,001
1866.....	2,749,491,745

This sum, together with the State and local debts, made the total expenditure in prosecuting the war over four billions—an incredible sum—the most of which was raised from the loyal people themselves. The rebels also were obliged to issue irredeemable paper, but it shortly became worthless, and they then maintained their army chiefly by requisitions.

During the year 1864 two attempts were made to negotiate a peace, by unauthorized parties from each side, one by Horace Greeley, who met at Niagara Messrs. Clay, Holcombe, and Sanders, rebel refugees in Canada. The following missive from Pres. Lincoln terminated this negotiation:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, *July* 18, 1864.

"*To whom it may concern:*

"Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal

terms on substantial and collateral points; and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

(Signed) "ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Another attempt was made by Col. Jacques and Mr. Gilmore, who were permitted to approach President Davis, at Richmond, but this effort also terminated in complete failure.

Dec. 6, 1864, the 38th Congress reassembled, and during the evening session, passed, by the required two-thirds vote, the 13th amendment of the Federal Constitution, abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery throughout the United States, and by the subsequent ratification of more than two-thirds of the States, it became a part of the Constitution.

In Feb., 1865, rebel commissioners, conditionally authorized by the Confederate authorities, met Pres. Lincoln and Sec. Seward at Fortress Monroe, to negotiate a peace, but not being authorized to concede the re-establishment of the Union, they shortly departed as they had come.

March 4, 1864, the second inauguration of Pres. Lincoln took place, when he delivered an address, memorable for its grandeur of thought and tenderness of feeling; a fitting memory-piece for the rising youth of this country, as were also the remarkable impromptu words which, shortly before, Nov. 19th, 1863, fell from his lips at the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg.

On the 5th August, 1864, Adm. Farragut, with a fleet of four iron-clads and fourteen wooden ships of war, moved up the entrance to the spacious Mobile Bay, which was defended by the strong forts, Morgan and Gaines and Powell, by a channel lined with torpedoes, and by a considerable rebel fleet, under Franklin Buchanan, including a powerful ram, the *Tennessee*. A land force of 5,000 men under Gen. Gordon Granger co-operated with Admiral Farragut, and was landed on Dauphin Island in rear of Fort Gaines; the wooden ships were lashed two and two. The *Brooklyn* with her port consort, the *Octorara*, leading, much against the inclinations of the Admiral, who, however, followed next, lashed in the maintop of the flagship *Hartford*. The monitors advanced between the wooden fleet and Fort Morgan. The iron-clad *Tecumseh* led, and at a quarter to seven fired the first gun, and Fort Morgan presently replied. The *Brooklyn*, being then directly under the guns of the fort, opened on the fort with grape. Presently the *Tecumseh*, which was a short distance ahead of the *Brooklyn*, was blown up by a torpedo, and instantly sunk, carrying down Com. Craven and most all of the others on board. But 17 out of 130 were saved by one of her own boats and a boat sent from the *Metacomet*, in the midst of the terrible fire. The *Brooklyn*, fearing more torpedoes, now recoiled, and awaited the rest of the fleet, whereupon Farragut, seeing the delay, took the lead, followed by the other ships, "their officers believing they were going to a noble death with their commander-in-chief." At ten minutes past eight he was past the fort, when suddenly the rebel ram *Tennessee* dashed out to run him down, but he simply returned its fire and kept on, receiving the fires of the three rebel gunboats ahead, the *Morgan*, the *Gaines* and the *Selma*. The *Hartford* now cast off her consort, the *Metacomet*, with orders to go after these boats, whereupon, after an hour's fight, the *Gaines* fatally injured, was run ashore and burned, the *Morgan* escaped up the bay, while the *Selma* was captured. The admiral, supposing the fight to be over, now signalled his fleet to come to anchor, but suddenly the rebel ram bravely stood out from under the guns of the fort to attack the whole fleet. The stronger Union vessels immediately closed upon her. The *Monongahela* struck her first, carrying away her iron prow and cut-water. The *Lackawanna* came next, crashing in her own stem, but only effecting a heavy list of the rebel monster. The ram then avoided the blow of the *Hartford*, and riddled the sides of the latter with shot and shell. Presently the second blow of the *Lackawanna*, intended for the ram, was received by the *Hartford*, doing much damage to both vessels, but the *Chickasaw* kept battering the stem of the ram, while the *Manhattan* sent a shell through her plating. Her smokestack, steering gear, and port shutters were now destroyed, and as the *Ossipee* was about to strike her, she hoisted the white flag. The fight was over, and at 10 A.M. Farragut anchored the fleet within four miles of Fort Morgan. During the night Fort Powell was evacuated and blown up, and the next day, Fort Gaines was severely shelled by the *Chickasaw*, and on the following morning it was surrendered by its commander, Col. Anderson, in a highly honorable manner, though he was strongly censured by his superior, Gen. Page, who commanded Fort Morgan. But when the latter was invested and fired upon, by Granger from the landward and the fleet in front, Page held out no longer than Anderson, did, and his surrender was accompanied by several dishonorable acts of spite, such as the spiking of guns, and the hiding of swords to avoid their surrender. The defences of Mobile Bay thus captured, closed that port against blockade-runners henceforth. The shallowness of the water prevented the approach of the fleet to within shelling distance of the city, and it was not attacked. The Union losses in this conflict were 165 killed, and 170 wounded. 104 guns and 1,464 men were captured.

Great skill was evinced during the war in the construction of iron-clads, and in torpedo operations, by the rebel naval commanders, who were mostly recreant U. S. officers; but their chief notoriety, or rather that of British sympathizers, lay in the career of several privateers, which preyed most disastrously on the Northern commerce, especially the British blockade-runner *Oreto*, under the name of the *Florida*, and commanded by John N. Maffit, and the *Alabama*, built in England, and commanded by Raphael Semmes, subsequent to his adventures with the *Sumter*. These vessels were manned by British sailors, and did a vast amount of damage to the Union commerce, in the form of capture, robbery, and destruction by fire of scores of unarmed vessels, great and small, amounting, with their cargoes, to many millions of dollars in value. Another British steamer, called the *Japan*, became the privateer *Georgia*, but after a brief career, in which she destroyed a number of valuable ships, she was stopped, Aug. 15, 1863, by the *Niagara*, Capt. Craven, who made her his prize. Three other British corsairs, during the year 1864, were added to the list, the *Tallahassee*, *Olustee*, and *Chickamauga*. Oct. 7, 1864, the *Florida* was captured in the Brazilian port of Bahia by Capt. Collins, in the *Wachusett*, and was afterwards sunk, in a collision, while being brought into Hampton Roads. The United States Government subsequently disavowed the act. During 1863, a privateer, under one C. W. Read, did much damage along the coast, and June 24, he entered the harbor of Portland in the captured schooner *Archer*, to which he had transferred himself, and stole the revenue cutter, *Cushing*. Volunteers shortly proceeded to sea in pursuit of him, and presently captured him and his companions, who were placed in prison. Dec. 6, 1863, the steamer *Chesapeake*, running between New York and Portland, was seized by sixteen rebels, disguised as passengers, who killed one of the engineers for scalding them. They then ran into Sambro harbor, Nova Scotia, and the civil authorities at Halifax shortly restored the steamboat to her owners. On Sunday morning, June 19, 1864, the *Alabama*, under Capt. Semmes, after due preparation, steamed out of the French port of Cherbourg to fight the U. S. gunboat *Kearsarge*, under Capt. Winslow, who was watching the exit of the former. The vessels were well matched in size and equipment, but a British tender, the steamer *Deerhound*, Capt. Lancaster, lent the moral aid of its presence to the pirate. At 12¼ P.M., after about an hour's conflict, seven miles from the shore, the firing of the British gunners of the *Alabama* being far inferior to that of the Americans, the *Alabama*, with her engines disabled, and large holes torn in her sides, attempted to flee to the neutral shore, but presently sank. Boats were then sent from the *Kearsarge* to rescue her crew from drowning, but the *Deerhound* picked up a large number, among them Capt. Semmes and his officers, and ran off with them.

On Nov. 11, 1864, having sent his final messages by the telegraph connecting with the North, Gen. Sherman cut that also, and, living on the country, moved forward from Atlanta in four columns, two of the right wing, consisting of the 15th and 17th corps, under Howard, and the two of the left wing, composed of the 14th and 20th corps, under Slocum. The latter's forces moved on different roads, destroying the rail-track as they advanced through Decatur, Covington, Madison, and Eatonton, while Howard advanced by McDonough, Monticello, Clinton, and Gordon, the chief obstacle to the progress of both being the badness of the roads. On the 21st, Slocum reached Milledgeville, the capital of the State, and Howard arrived there on the following day. In the meanwhile, Kilpatrick, with his cavalry, swarmed the country in the vicinity of the march. At Lovejoy's, he charged and scattered 3,000 militia, and at Bear Creek encountered Wheeler's cavalry, whom he forced back to Macon, where quite a rebel army was concentrated, and strongly fortified. This place Kilpatrick threatened, while Howard crossed the Ocmulgee at Griswoldville, ten miles beyond. At this place a part of the 15th corps

was left to protect the Union rear, which was shortly attacked by three brigades of militia, from Macon. These assailants were repelled, with a loss of a thousand men. The Georgia Legislature, sitting in Milledgeville, hastily adjourned at the approach of the Union army. The latter had thus far lived on the plenty of the country through which it had moved, and accumulated much more. At Milledgeville the trains were stored with forty days' rations, and after a brief rest Sherman again moved on towards the sea. On the 26th November, the rebel Wheeler was found at Sandersville, and driven away to Wayneston by Kilpatrick, where, attacking in turn, he was repulsed with a loss of 200 men. Nov. 30, Millen was reached, a place on the Central Railroad, from whence both Augusta and Savannah were threatened. Up to this point the railway tracks were destroyed as the army moved. After a short halt at Millen, Sherman moved down towards Savannah on six different roads, protected on his flanks by the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers, and passing through a wild country of forests and swamps. On December 9, about ten miles from Savannah, the left wing struck the Charleston Railroad, coming upon the skirmishers of Hardee, who commanded the rebel forces at Savannah.

On the 10th, Savannah was completely beleaguered, while the signal guns from the Union fleet in Ossabaw Sound had been heard, and Capt. Duncan sent by Howard in a canoe past Fort McAllister to communicate with Admiral Dahlgren. Dec. 12, Sherman despatched Gen. Hazen to capture Fort McAllister, which had twice repulsed an attack of the Union iron-clads, and commanded the entrance of the Ogeechee River, effectually preventing the co-operation of the Union vessels in the capture of Savannah. On the 13th, while Gens. Sherman and Howard watched the operations from the top of a rice-mill, three miles distant, and a Union gunboat entered the mouth of the Ogeechee, Hazen's division marched over torpedoes and abattis, in the face of a volley of grape, and after a brief but desperate struggle before and upon the parapet, captured the fort. Sherman met Dahlgren on board the flagship, *Harvest Moon*, the next day, and arranged with Gen. Foster to send some siege ordnance from Hilton Head. On the 17th, the guns having arrived and been placed, he summoned the surrender of Savannah, which was refused by Hardee. He then proceeded to complete the investment of the city, during which, on Dec. 20, he started to pay a flying visit to Hilton Head. On his way he was met by an army tug, with a message from his adjutant, Capt. Dayton, stating that Hardee, with his force of 15,000 men, had succeeded in evacuating the city on the night of the 20th, and had retreated towards Charleston. He immediately turned back, and on the 22d he rode into Savannah, where he found 150 rebel pieces of ordnance, a large amount of ammunition, and 38,000 bales of cotton. Thus his march to the sea ended in complete success, though failure had been generally predicted for it by military men, as being contrary to all precedent in thus cutting an army loose from its base, and depending for supplies on forage alone for weeks in a hostile country.

On November 25th, Gen. Dana, who had been despatched upon a railway-destroying expedition from Vicksburg, after doing much damage, encountered a large rebel force on the Big Black, which he defeated. About the same time Gen. Davidson moved out from Baton Rouge to Tangipahoa and destroyed much rebel railroad property. December 21st Gen. Grierson, with 3,500 cavalry, made a most destructive raid to the rear of Hood's army, destroying at Verona 32 cars and 8 warehouses filled with ordnance and supplies. At Egypt he routed a large force, taking 500 prisoners. He finally returned to Vicksburg, bringing in many prisoners and much property, after having destroyed an immense amount of the latter. December 1st Gen. Hatch, with 5,000 men, who had been dispatched by Gen. Foster to seize the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, near Grahamsville, was defeated with a loss of 746. December 6th Foster seized the rebel works at Pocotaligo and the railway crossing of the Coosawhatchie and Tullifinny.

Gen. Sherman, having rested his army at Savannah, on the 15th January, 1865, dispatched the 17th corps, Gen. Blair, in transports, to Pocotaligo, where it threatened Charleston. But the rest of his army did not move, owing to incessant rains, till February 1st, when it started forward in four corps, on as many different roads, Columbia, S. C., being its objective point. Gen. Slocum, with the left wing, and with Kilpatrick's cavalry, moved up the Savannah to Sister's Ferry, threatening Augusta. By this strategy Sherman kept the rebel armies at Charleston and Augusta from uniting to resist him on the line of the marshy Salkehatchie. Slocum and Kilpatrick were detained a fortnight at Sister's Ferry by the extraordinary floods, which widened the Savannah at this point three miles. When the water had subsided to waist deep, the columns moved rapidly over the inundated fields, and thence, about February 7th, northward. Kilpatrick in the meantime pushed towards Augusta, diverting from Slocum the attention of the enemy's forces in the vicinity.

Howard moved from Pocotaligo on January 31st, crossing the Salkehatchie at Rivers's bridge. Wading a swamp of three miles, at Rivers's bridge, from one to four feet deep, Gens. Mower and Giles A. Smith led their divisions of Blair's corps, and drove the rebel brigade guarding the bridge behind the Edisto at Branchville, with the small Union loss of 90. On the 7th this portion of Sherman's army reached the South Carolina Railroad, and at once commenced to destroy the track, and by the 11th Slocum had also reached and commenced to tear up this railroad further towards Augusta. Thus the enemy's communication between Charleston and Augusta was completely severed. Sherman now rapidly moved his right wing upon Orangeburgh, crossing the South Edisto River at various points for 15 miles, and driving the scattered enemy before him into Columbia. The whole 17th corps shortly reached Orangeburgh, flanking the main rebel forces at Branchville on the right, and thus rendering the abandonment of Charleston by the enemy a military necessity. All the Union columns were now aiming for Columbia. The 15th corps was feebly resisted at the Congaree, but the army met with scarcely any obstacle except the innumerable swamps which were to be traversed. On the 16th, Slocum reached the Saluda, a few miles above Columbia, only an hour or two after the arrival of Howard further to the west, and at 11 A.M., on the 17th, the capital of South Carolina was surrendered, by its mayor, to Col. Stone, of Logan's corps, who was soon posted in the city. A high wind was prevalent during the day, and a conflagration of the city took place, which, in spite of the labors of the Union soldiers, reduced a great part of it to ashes. Gen. Wade Hampton, the rebel commander, had ordered the destruction, by fire, of the cotton in the place, ere he fled from it. The smouldering fires were rekindled by the rising wind and communicated to the buildings. Hampton, however, accused Sherman with having ordered the conflagration. Though the main portion of the Union army did not enter Columbia, pillaging gangs of blacks and whites, stragglers and riffraff, soon spread throughout the city, and these no doubt assisted in spreading the fire, to aid the work of plunder and cruelty, which they were permitted to indulge in. The extensive work of foraging which had been a necessary part of the plan of Sherman's march, necessarily involved devastation. The practice of this was also heightened in South Carolina by the general desire of visiting retributive justice upon the originators of the rebellion.

The fall of Columbia involved that of Charleston, and all its harbor defences. On the 16th, Hardee fired the cotton and stores accumulated there and marched out to effect a junction with Beauregard's remaining forces, and with Cheatham, who, with Hood's shattered forces from North Mississippi, was endeavoring to reach the front of Sherman. A great portion of Charleston, also, was destroyed by fire, and the horror of the conflagration was heightened by the ignition and explosion of a large amount of powder stored in the North-western Railroad depot, caused by boys accidentally laying a train therefrom to the burning cotton in the street, by carrying handfuls to throw upon the latter. 200 lives were lost by this explosion. On the 18th, after nearly two years of besiegement and bombardment, the mayor surrendered the city to Gillmore, with all the surrounding forts. A colored regiment, wearing the national uniform, and bearing the national flag, first marched into its streets. 450 pieces of ordnance were captured in Charleston and its defences. Georgetown was also hastily evacuated, and Beauregard fell back on Charlotte, towards which Sherman pushed on in a heavy rainstorm. On the 23d he suddenly faced eastward, and leaving Charlotte far in the rear marched rapidly towards Fayetteville, N. C., crossing the Catawba unmolested, and the Pedee, at Cheraw, where he captured 25 guns from a feeble force of the enemy.

Hampton's and Wheeler's cavalry, of Hardee's advance, had already had engagements with Kilpatrick on the region lying towards Charlotte, at Williston's Station and Aiken, and they now attempted to reach Fayetteville in advance of the Unionists. Kilpatrick endeavored to intercept them by holding three roads near Solemn Grove. On one of these he was surprised, March 8, by Hamp-

ton and routed, leaving most of his guns. While the enemy were plundering his camp, he suddenly emerged from the swamp into which he had been driven with the most of his men, and retook his headquarters, guns, and captured men, and caused the enemy to flee in panic from the place.

At Cheraw, the right and left wings of the Union army met and marched together on Fayetteville, which they reached on the 12th. At the same time a steam tug reached the place, announcing that Wilmington had been captured about a fortnight previous, and that Gen. Schofield, who had been brought around from Tennessee to Newbern, in conjunction with Com. Porter, was preparing to join the Union army at Goldsboro. The forces of Beauregard, Hardee, Cheatham, and others were now united in North Carolina, under Gen. Jo. Johnston, comprising 40,000 veterans. On March 15, Sherman made a feint on Averysboro, threatening Raleigh, with a portion of his left wing under Slocum, while he moved the rest of his army towards Goldsboro. Near Averysboro, Kilpatrick discovered Hardee with 20,000 men occupying an intrenched position. On the 16th Ward's division of the 20th corps, with Slocum, advanced to the attack amid torrents of rain, and drove the enemy from their works. The rebels retreated, leaving 108 dead on the field, 217 prisoners and 3 guns. Kilpatrick, who had advanced to the Goldsboro road, was there vehemently assailed by McLaws' rebel division, but the whole Union line finally advanced, and during the night the enemy retreated on the road to Smithfield. The Union loss in the engagement was about 600. The next day Slocum crossed South River and took the road to Goldsboro. On the 18th both wings were within a few miles of this place.

Near Bentonville Slocum was suddenly confronted by the whole of Johnston's army. Couriers now arrived from Schofield and Terry, who were on their way to Goldsboro, and several divisions of the right wing were hurried to the relief of the outnumbered left, under Slocum, who was ordered to stand in the meanwhile on the defensive. At the first onset Carlin's division was hurled back on the main body with the loss of three guns. A portion of Davis's corps, the 14th, and Williams's corps, the 20th, behind frail barricades, then stopped the rebel advance. Six assaults of Johnston's army were received by the Unionists in less than an hour, but without loss of ground, and with heavy loss of men to the assailants, when night fell. During the night the wagon-train with its guard of two divisions, and Hazen's division of the 15th corps, came up on Slocum's right, rendering his position secure. The next day Howard came up and connected with his left. March 21 Schofield entered Goldsboro, and Terry advanced to the Neuse at Cox's bridge, in Johnston's rear, while Mower in a noisy battle worked around his flank to the right, and nearly reached Mill Creek bridge, the only line of his retreat. During the night Johnston hastily decamped towards Smithfield. The total Union loss in this engagement was 1,643. 267 rebel dead were buried, and 1,625 prisoners were taken by the Unionists.

Gen. Sherman, after visiting Terry at Cox's bridge and Schofield at Goldsboro, temporarily turned over his army to the latter, and hastened, on March 27, to City Point to consult with the President and Gen. Grant. Thus in complete success ended his great march of nearly 800 miles across the State of Georgia, and thence from Savannah to the middle of North Carolina.

During the month of December, 1864, an expedition proceeded from Hampton Roads against Fort Fisher, the seaward defence of Wilmington, N. C., which was the last port of the Confederacy remaining accessible to blockade-runners. The land force of some 6,000 men was commanded by Gen. B. F. Butler, and the fleet of 73 vessels, carrying 656 guns, by Admiral Porter. Gen. Butler, having read of the explosive effects of a large amount of powder at a village in England, had devised the plan of loading a boat with 250 tons of powder, which should be exploded near the fort, and thus blow it and its garrison into the air. After some delay, on account of the weather, the place of rendezvous at New Inlet, near Fort Fisher, was finally reached on the 24th, and on the morning of that day Com. A. C. Rhind, having during the night towed the powder-boat to an anchorage within 400 yards of the fort, exploded it, but it proved to be quite harmless in its effects, and Col. Lamb, the commander of the fort, supposed it to have been merely the bursting of one of the great guns of the fleet. On the 25th a landing was effected of the troops, who pushed up towards the fort, headed by Gen. Weitzel, but Gen. Butler shortly ordered their re-embarkation, and after two days of heavy bombardment from the fleet he further ordered the return of the expedition. Gen. Butler was soon afterwards superseded in the command of his department by Gen. Ord.

January 6th, a second expedition against Fort Fisher, composed of some 8,000 men, under Gen. A. H. Terry, left Fortress Monroe, and arrived off Wilmington on the 12th. The troops were disembarked the next day, and on the day thereafter a reconnoissance was made to within 500 yards of the fort. On Sunday the 15th, after a terrible fire of three days from the 400 guns of the fleet, the assault was made upon the works, which were already badly damaged. A force of marines and sailors, some 2,000 in number, assaulted from the sea side, while Gen. Ames advanced on the land side. At 3 o'clock the three brigades of the latter, led by Curtis, Pennypacker, and Bell, rushed forward upon the fort, while the guns of the fleet were diverted to the batteries on its left and above it. The enemy were shortly driven from the heavy palisading on the land face. Eleven traverses were carried, and at 9½ P.M. a lodgment was effected on the parapet, and the fort was soon won. On the sea side the marines had simultaneously dashed forward, but had been repulsed with great carnage, though a large number of them had gained the ditch, and some even climbed the parapet. About midnight Gen. Whiting and Col. Lamb, the commanders, with the garrison, some 2,000 men, surrendered. 169 guns fell into the Union hands, besides equipage and stores. The Union loss, in killed and wounded, was 646, among the killed being Cols. Bell and Moore, while Cols. Curtis and Pennypacker were severely wounded. On the next morning the magazine blew up, killing 200 of the victors and wounding 100.

Thomas's army in Tennessee was now broken up, A. J. Smith's command being sent to Gen. Canby at New Orleans, and Schofield's corps brought East and sent to Fort Fisher and Newbern. North Carolina was created a department, and placed under Schofield. On February 11th, the latter pushed forward, with about 20,000 men, on Fort Anderson, on the west bank of Cape Fear River, and by a flank movement compelled the enemy, under Gen. Hoke, defending it and the lines adjacent, to hastily abandon their works on the 19th, and fall back behind Tower Creek; here they were assailed the next day by Gen. Terry, while Gen. Cox struck them in flank and rear, capturing 375 men and 29 guns. Cox then moved on, threatening to cross the Cape Fear above Wilmington. Hoke then hastily burned the cotton stores and steamers, including the privateers *Chickamauga* and *Tallahasse*, at the latter place, and evacuated it. The next morning, February 22d, the Union army had possession of the place, having sustained a loss of about 200 men in gaining it, while the enemy lost about 1,000 men and 65 guns. Cox's and Couch's divisions shortly afterwards advanced towards Kinston. Two regiments sent by Cox, under Col. Upham, 15th Connecticut, to seize and hold the crossing of South-west Creek, were surprised by Hoke and 700 were captured. March 10th Hoke attacked Roger's division of Cox's left, but was repulsed with heavy loss. Hoke then hastened to Smithfield to join Johnston, and on the 14th Schofield crossed the Neuse and entered Kinston. On the 21st he reached Goldsboro, simultaneously with the arrival there of Sherman.

During the winter of 1864–5, demonstrations were made both from the north and south upon Alabama. From the north, on March 22d, Gen. James H. Wilson, with 13,000 cavalry and 6 batteries, was sent by Gen. Thomas from the Tennessee to raid into Northern Alabama. On the 31st he encountered the enemy in force at Montevallo, under Roddy, whom he routed. Proceeding in the work of destroying rebel property in various directions, Long's and Upton's divisions, 6,000 in number, came upon Forrest, with 5,000 men well barricaded, at Boyle's Creek. Dismounting, they charged the latter with such vigor as to put them to headlong flight, and took 2 guns and 200 prisoners. April 5th, Wilson, with 9,000 of his force, reached Selma. Its outer defences were assaulted and soon taken by Gen. Long, who was killed while leading the attack. The rebels then rallied on a new line, but were shortly driven from that by Upton, and the city soon taken, with 32 guns, 2,700 prisoners, and vast stores of all kinds. Forrest and Roddy, with 3,000 followers, escaped in the night. Wilson then destroyed the extensive rebel arsenal, foundries, cotton, etc., here, and the town was sacked by his troopers. On the 12th he reached Montgomery, which was promptly surrendered. A rebel force under Buford was then routed by a portion of his command under Lagrange, and Columbus, with 1,200 prisoners and 52 guns, was taken by Wilson on the night of the 16th. Here the rebel ram *Jackson*, and a large

amount of railroad and other property, were destroyed. On this same day Lagrange reached West Point, defended by Fort Tyler, which he shortly assaulted and captured with its garrison of 265, having killed Gen. Tyler, its commander. On the 21st Wilson entered Macon, where on the 30th he was joined by Croxton, who had surprised Tuscaloosa on the 5th, and had moved during 30 days 650 miles in an irregular route, destroying much rebel property. At Macon 1,200 militia and 5 generals were surrendered by Gen. Howell Cobb.

On the 20th March Gen. Canby commenced his movements against Mobile, now held, under Gen. Richard Taylor, by Gen. Maury, with 15,000 men. The 16th corps, Gen. A. J. Smith, proceeded from Fort Gaines, by water, to Fish River; the 13th corps, under Gen. Gordon Granger, moved from Fort Morgan and joined the 16th on Fish River. Both moved thence on Spanish Fort, one of the main defences of Mobile, and invested it on the 27th. In the meanwhile Gen. Steele's command advanced from Pensacola and cut the railroad leading from Tensas to Montgomery. Steele then effected a junction with the forces before Spanish Fort, and partially invested Fort Blakely, the other strong defence of Mobile. On April 8, after a severe bombardment of Spanish Fort, a part of its line was carried, and during the night the fort itself was evacuated by the enemy. On the 9th Fort Blakely was carried by assault, under a furious fire of grape and canister, the Union right, under Gen. Hawkins, being composed mostly of blacks, who fought nobly. At 7 P.M. Fort Blakely was taken, with 3,000 prisoners and 32 guns. The Union loss here was 1,000 killed and wounded; that of the rebels, in killed and wounded, was about 500. Mobile was thus won, for on the 11th Maury fled therefrom with 9,000 men up the Alabama, leaving 5,000 prisoners to the Unionists, who entered the city on the 12th. Four gunboats, including two ironclads and one transport of Admiral Thatcher's fleet, who assisted in the investment of Mobile, were destroyed by torpedoes. The powerful rebel rams *Huntsville* and *Tuscaloosa* were scuttled by Maury before he evacuated the place, and on April 24 the rebel ram *W. H. Webb*, in attempting to escape down the Mississippi into the Gulf, was blown up by her commander to avoid capture.

The campaign in Virginia during the winter of 1864–65 was chiefly characterized by quiet. Dec. 7, 1864, Warren, from Meade's left, moved down the Weldon Railroad as far as the Meherrin, destroying about 20 miles of the track. Jan. 23, three rebel iron-clads, the *Virginia*, *Fredericksburg*, and *Richmond*, accompanied by five wooden steamers and three torpedo boats, attempted to move down from Richmond, past the Union works on the James. The *Drewry*, one of the wooden steamers, was destroyed, and the *Virginia* disabled, at the lower end of Dutch Gap, and after a day's contest the fleet returned to Richmond. Feb. 5, an attack was made on the rebel lines at Dabney's Mill by the 5th and 2d corps, the former attempting to flank the enemy's right, while the 2d assailed his front. A portion of the Union forces were repulsed, but considerable ground was won and held by the 2d corps, under Humphreys, by which the Union left was permanently extended to Hatcher's Run.

In Northern Virginia, Jan. 11, the rebel Rosser surprised the garrison of Beverley and took 400 prisoners, besides securing much spoil. Feb. 21, Lieut. McNeil captured Gens. Kelley and Cook in their beds at Cumberland, Md., and carried them to Richmond.

Gen. Sheridan left Winchester on Feb. 27th with two divisions of cavalry numbering about 10,000 men. March 1, he secured the bridge, which the enemy attempted to destroy, across the middle fork of the Shenandoah, at Mount Crawford, and entered Staunton on the 2d. He then drove the enemy before him to Waynesboro, where he found them in force and intrenched, under Gen. Early. He made an immediate attack and carried their position, and 1,600 prisoners, 11 pieces of ordnance, 200 loaded subsistence wagons, and 17 battle-flags were captured. He then proceeded to Charlotteville and destroyed the railroads and bridges in the neighborhood thereof while awaiting his trains. On the 6th he divided his force into two columns, one of which proceeded to destroy the James River canal from Scotsville to Newmarket, and caused the enemy to burn the bridges at Duiguidsville and Hardwicksville. The second column moved towards Lynchburg, destroying the railroad as far as Amherst Court-House, 16 miles therefrom, and then united with the other column at Newmarket. The river being too high for the pontoons, and the bridges having been here destroyed by the enemy, Sheridan now concluded to strike a base at White House. Following and destroying the canal from Newmarket towards Richmond, to within eight miles of Goochland, he rested one day at Columbia and communicated by scouts with Gen. Grant He next moved eastward and crossed the Annas, destroying the railroads and bridges within reach, and then proceeded down the Pamunkey, reaching White House on the 19th. After four days' rest he moved to the James, which he crossed at Jones' Landing, and joined the Army of the Potomac, in front of Petersburg, on the 27th.

Gen. Grant had ordered a forward movement of his army to take place on the 29th, but on the morning of the 25th the enemy assaulted the 9th corps, holding the Appomattox River on the Union left, and carried Fort Steadman and a part of the lines adjoining. They then turned the guns of the fort upon the Unionists, but the latter stood firm on both flanks until reserves were brought up, when the enemy was driven back with heavy loss in killed and wounded, and 1,900 prisoners. The Union loss was only 68 killed. The 2d and 6th corps were then ordered to advance, who shortly captured the enemy's picket line in their front and 834 prisoners. Gen. Grant had agreed with Gen. Sherman that the latter should feign to move up the Neuse towards Raleigh, and then hasten north to the Roanoke. Grant now feared that Lee would evacuate Petersburg and Richmond by the Danville road and effect a junction with Johnston. He therefore determined to carry out, on the 29th, his original plan of proceeding around the enemy's right flank, and destroying the Danville road. On the night of the 27th he despatched Gen. Gibbons, with two divisions of Ord's corps, Gen. Birney, with one division of the 25th corps, and McKenzie's cavalry, to take up a position at Hatcher's Run. On the 29th, Sheridan reached Dinwiddie Court-House, and the left of the Union infantry line extended to the Quaker road, near its intersection with the Boydton plank-road. The general position from right to left was as follows: Sheridan, Warren, Humphreys, Ord, Wright, and Parke. From the 29th to the 31st the rain fell in torrents. During the 30th, Sheridan advanced from Dinwiddie Court-House towards Five Forks, where he found the enemy in force. The latter was now found confronting the Union lines at every point from Richmond to the extreme Union left. Conceiving the rebel lines to be thus weakly held, Gen. Grant now resolved to reinforce Sheridan with a corps, to enable him to turn the enemy's right flank, while the other corps advanced to the direct assault. On the 31st, Sheridan obtained possession of the Five Forks, and Warren advanced to seize the White Oak road. The latter moved with but one (Ayer's) division, instead of his whole corps, and was driven back on his second division (Crawford's) by superior numbers, ere he had time to form. This was in turn borne back on the third division, under Bell, when the enemy's advance was checked. A division of the 2d corps was immediately sent to his support, the enemy driven back with heavy loss, and the White Oak road seized. The enemy, at Five Forks, reinforced with cavalry, now forced Sheridan back towards Dinwiddie Court-House. The latter here displayed great generalship by deploying his cavalry on foot, compelling the enemy to scatter over a vast extent of broken and wooded country, and making their progress slow. McKenzie's cavalry and three divisions of the 5th corps (Warren's) were now ordered to Sheridan's assistance. On the morning of the 1st April Sheridan, thus reinforced, drove the enemy back on Five Forks, where, later in the evening, he assaulted and carried the rebel position, capturing all the artillery thereof, and between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners. During the conflict, Gen. Sheridan, being impatient at Gen. Warren's slowness of movement, removed the latter from his command and gave it to Gen. Griffin. Fearing that the enemy would concentrate on Sheridan, to open a way of retreat, Gen. Grant despatched Miles' division of Humphreys' corps to him, and ordered a bombardment to be kept up on the enemy's lines during the night.

At 4 A.M. the next day, Sunday, April 2d, Grant ordered a general assault. Wright swept everything before him, and to his left, towards Hatcher's Run, capturing many guns and several thousand prisoners. He then joined the corps of Ord, and the two corps swung to the right, closing the enemy there in Petersburg. Humphreys then joined Wright on the left with two divisions. Parke carried the enemy's main line in his front, but failed to penetrate the inner line. A portion of Gibbons' corps most gallantly charged and captured two strong inclosed works, the most salient south of Petersburg, and thus materially shortened the line of its investment. The enemy south of Hatcher's Run retreated westward to Sutherland's Station. There Miles' division engaged them in

a severe contest, when, at the approach of Sheridan and a division sent from the front of Petersburg by Gen. Meade, they broke in the utmost confusion, leaving their ordnance and many prisoners. The rebel general, A. P. Hill, on Lee's left, during this day, ordered Gen. Heth to recover some of the works carried by Parke. Heth was repulsed, and Hill was killed while reconnoitring. At 11 A.M. a telegram from Gen. Lee reached Jefferson Davis, while in church at Richmond, containing these words: "My lines are broken in three places. Richmond must be evacuated this evening." During the night both Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated, and the enemy retreated towards Danville. On the morning of the 3d the pursuit was commenced. Sheridan pushed for the Danville road, followed by Meade with the 2d and 6th corps, while Ord rapidly moved along the South-Side Railroad, towards Burkesville, the intersection of the Danville and South-Side railroads. Towards the same point, Lee, north of the Appomattox, with a shattered force of scarcely 20,000 men, was moving, straining every nerve to reach it first. On this morning, Weitzel, with a portion of the Army of the James left under his command, north of the James River, comprising many colored troops, marched into Richmond. The enemy had fired and plundered a part of the city, destroyed the bridges over the river, and left 1,000 prisoners, and 500 pieces of ordnance.

On the 4th, Gen. Sheridan struck the Danville road, near Jettersville, where he learned that Gen. Lee was at Amelia Court-House. Gen. Ord reached Burkesville on the evening of the 5th. On the morning of the 6th it was found that Gen. Lee was moving west of Jettersville, towards Danville. Gen. Sheridan moved with his cavalry to strike Lee's flank, followed by the 6th corps, while the 2d and 5th corps pressed after, forcing him to abandon several hundred wagons and several pieces of artillery. Gen. Ord advanced from Burkesville towards Farmville, sending two infantry regiments, and a cavalry squadron, under Gen. Theodore Read, to reach and destroy the bridges. This advance met the head of Lee's column near Farmville, which it attacked and detained, until Gen. Read was killed and his small force overpowered. In the meantime Ord, with the rest of his corps, arrived, on meeting which the enemy began to intrench himself. In the afternoon Sheridan struck the enemy south of Sailor's Creek, capturing 16 pieces of artillery and about 400 wagons, and detained him until the 6th corps arrived, when a general attack of infantry and cavalry was made, which resulted in the capture of 6,000 or 7,000 prisoners, among whom were Gens. Ewell, Custis, and other officers of high rank. Lee now moved to the west, but the pursuit was so sharply kept up, that it was evident his escape was hopeless. On the 7th, having reached Farmville, Gen. Grant addressed a note to him, asking his surrender, to avoid the further useless effusion of blood. On the 8th, the pursuit was continued, Gen. Meade's advance having considerable fighting with the enemy's rear-guard. Late in the evening Gen. Sheridan struck the railroad at Appomattox Station, drove the enemy from there, and captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital train, and four trains of cars, loaded with supplies for Lee's army. He thus intercepted Lee's flight. On the morning of the 9th, Gen. Ord's command, and the 5th corps, reached Appomattox Station just as the rebel army of Virginia was making its last charge—a desperate effort to break through the Union cavalry. The Union infantry was at once thrown in. Soon after a white flag was received, requesting a suspension of hostilities, pending negotiations for a surrender. A correspondence, initiated by Gen. Grant's note, had in the meanwhile ensued between him and Gen. Lee, in which the latter at first offered to treat on the subject of peace, and not upon the surrender of his army. The acceptance of this offer Gen. Grant declined as beyond his authority. The two commanders now met in the parlor of Mr. W. McLean's farm-house, near the Appomattox Court-House, and the result of the interview is set forth in the following final notes:

"APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VA.,
"*April 9th*, 1865.

"GENERAL:—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you, of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate; one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked, stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles, and the laws in force where they may reside.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-General.

"General R. E. LEE."

"HEAD QUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VA.,
"*April 9*, 1865.

"GENERAL:—I received your letter of this date, containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

"R. E. LEE, General.

"Lieut.-Gen. U. S. GRANT."

Gen. Gibbons' command, the 5th corps under Gen. Griffin, and McKenzie's cavalry remained at Appomattox Court-House until the paroling of the surrendered army was completed. The remainder of the army returned to Burkesville, and shortly afterwards to Petersburg and Richmond.

The surrender of Gen. Lee was soon followed by that of most of the forces in the Shenandoah Valley, to Gen. Hancock, who commanded there. On the 17th, Moseby surrendered his command.

On receiving advices from Gen. Grant, dated April 5th, Gen. Sherman had moved directly against Joe Johnston, who retreated rapidly on and through Raleigh, which place Gen. Sherman occupied on the morning of the 16th. The day preceding, news of Lee's surrender reached him at Smithfield. On the 14th, a correspondence was opened between Sherman and Johnston, which resulted, on the 18th, in an agreement for a suspension of hostilities, with a memorandum or basis for peace, subject to the approval of the President. This ridiculous memorandum, which looked to an immediate rehabilitation of the States in rebellion under rebel rule, to a general amnesty, and to the protection of slavery, was promptly rejected by the President, and his instructions to Sherman to resume hostilities at once were communicated to the latter by Gen. Grant in person, on the 24th, at Raleigh. Gen. Johnston was then notified of the termination of the truce. Gen. Stoneman, who, in accordance with the comprehensive plans of Gen. Grant, had been sent east from Knoxville, Tenn., on the 20th March, and had succeeded in destroying railroads and supplies, and in capturing many pieces of artillery and prisoners, defeating Gen. Gardiner near Salisbury, was now but a little over one hundred miles west of Raleigh, and on the line by which Johnston received his supplies, and by which he must retreat. On the 25th, another meeting between Sherman and Johnston was agreed upon, which took place on the 26th, and terminated in the surrender and disbandment of Johnston's army, together with all the rebel forces between him and the Chattahoochee, upon substantially the same terms as were given to Gen. Lee.

Jefferson Davis, who had fled with his cabinet and the archives of his government, on the night of the 2d, from Richmond to Danville, proceeded thence, by way of Greensboro, N. C., Abbeville, S. C., towards Georgia. He finally reached the neighborhood of Irwinsville, in that State, after a difficult journey, accompanied by scarcely any one but his P. M., Gen. Reagan, and the members of his own family. Gen. Wilson, commanding at Macon, hearing of his flight, had sent out forces to pursue him. At early dawn, May 11, Davis's camp near Irwinsville was surprised by the command of Lieut.-Col. Pritchard and Lieut.-Col. Harden, who fired into each other through mistake, killing two and wounding several Union soldiers. Davis was then taken, partially clothed in woman's attire, and was subsequently sent to Fortress Monroe, where he was long and rigorously confined. Reagan and Vice-President Stephens, who were captured about the same time, were sent to Fort Warren.

On the 4th May Gen. Dick Taylor surrendered to Gen. Canby all the remaining rebel forces east of the Mississippi. Gen. Sheridan, with a force sufficient to insure an easy triumph over the enemy under Kirby Smith west of the Mississippi, was promptly sent to Texas, but, on the 26th May, and before Sheridan reached his destination, Gen. Smith surrendered his entire command to Gen. Canby, after some foolish efforts to induce it to sacrifice itself by resistance, and after exhibiting some bad faith, by first disbanding his army and permitting an indiscriminate plunder of public property.

The last actual conflict of the war on land took place May 27, on the Rio Grande, where Col. Barrett was driven with a loss of 80 men into Brazos, by Gen. Slaughter, who commanded a superior force. On the sea, the pirate *Shenandoah* cruised in the Pacific Ocean, capturing numerous Union merchantmen and whalers, until November, when she proceeded to the Mersey and there surrendered to an English man-of-war.

On the day of Lee's surrender, President Lincoln, who had been at City Point since March 24th, in constant communication with Gen. Grant, and more recently in Richmond, returned to Washington, and there made a considerate address on the reconstruction of the late rebellious States, before a vast concourse, at the Executive Mansion. On the 13th, anxious to take the first step for peace, he caused the Secretary of War to issue an order stopping further drafting, recruiting, and purchase of war material, and announcing the speedy removal of restrictions on trade and commerce. On the 14th, the anniversary of the surrender to the rebels of Fort Sumter, its old flag was carried to and raised over that fortress, and the whole country was at this moment engaged in loyal rejoicing. At 8 P.M. the President, his wife, and two others proceeded to Ford's Theatre, to which he and Gen. Grant had been publicly announced as visitors. At half-past ten P.M. an actor, John Wilkes Booth by name, entered the vestibule of the President's private box, fastened the door thereof behind him with a short plank, and then stole behind the President, who was at that moment intent upon the play, and shot him. The ball pierced his skull, behind the left ear, and after traversing the brain lodged behind the right eye. At 7.22 the next morning the President expired, having until then from the moment of his assassination given no signs of intelligence. The assassin, in accordance with well-laid plans, leaped upon the stage, and brandishing a dagger, shouted "*Sic semper tyrannis.*" He then fled through a stage-door into the street, and mounting a horse brought there for his use, sought refuge in southern Maryland. But in jumping from the President's box, his spur had caught in the American flag, with which the box was adorned. This flung him heavily on the stage and so crippled his flight, that a clue was afforded to the detectives, who were soon on his trail. On the same night, Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, was attacked in his sick-bed by Louis Payne, a fellow-conspirator of Booth, and dangerously wounded. Booth was captured in a barn in Maryland, where he was so severely wounded that he died a few hours afterwards. His fellow-conspirators were also shortly captured, arraigned and convicted before a military court, when the existence of a plot to murder the most prominent of the Union authorities was developed. Harrold, Payne, Atzeroth, and Mrs. Surratt were hanged therefor on the 7th July. Others were imprisoned for life or a term of years. Under the belief that Jefferson Davis and other prominent men of the South were implicated in the plot, large rewards were offered for their apprehension.

The obsequies of Mr. Lincoln were celebrated with befitting grandeur and solemnity, and while the entire nation mourned with deep and genuine grief it fain would not blame the muse of history for perfecting such a grand life with the glory of martyrdom.

During the war, the whole number of men called into the national service from time to time was 2,688,523. Of these about 1,500,000 were in effective service, and about 300,000 were killed or died from disease. The numbers of the rebel forces were fully as many, and their losses by death were no doubt greater, from their inferior hospital service. The Union cause was greatly assisted in this service by the organized Sanitary and Christian Commissions, which disbursed millions in mitigation of the hardships and horrors of the strife, often for both friend and foe. While the brothers and sons on both sides heroically endured death and the privations of the field, the mothers and sisters were as generally prompted to ministering efforts and sacrifices. Proof of a sincere patriotism among those who espoused both the rightful and the mistaken cause are not wanting in the war's records, and the finer virtues so often displayed on both sides will perchance ultimately cast into oblivion the rarer instances of wrong-doing and barbarity, and in particular the horror of Andersonville prison.

On May 23d and 24th an imposing review of the two main Union armies took place at Washington, when some 200,000 bronzed veterans, the voluntary defenders of their nation, passed before the presence of the President, Cabinet, and Foreign Ministers. On June 2d Gen. Grant issued an order, thanking the soldiers for their services, and by October 15, 785,000 men were mustered out of service. Though with the proud consciousness of having done a glorious duty, they gladly became simple citizens again.

CHAPTER XXXII.

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Vice-President of the United States, took the oath of office as the constitutional successor of Mr. Lincoln, on the morning of the 15th of April, 1865. The ceremony was very private, and was carried out at the Kirkwood House, in Washington, then the residence of Mr. Johnson.

The President did not change anything in the constitution of the Cabinet; for the whole year, the secretaries of the divers Departments, who had worked so patriotically with Abraham Lincoln, were maintained in their offices. To many delegations from white and colored citizens who called upon him, Andrew Johnson reiterated his views, which were then nearly alike to those of his predecessor, as to the manner of reconstructing the Union. As Lincoln had done himself, when he consented to have at Hampton Roads a conference with some Southern chiefs, in the hope of terminating the war, Andrew Johnson indicated from the beginning his conciliatory tendencies, in saying that he did not believe every man down South to be a rebel at heart, and that many of the Confederates had been forced to take arms in the war against the Union. He expressed that idea to a colored delegation, when he said: "I fear that leading colored men do not understand and appreciate the fact that they have friends on the south side of the line. They have; and they are as faithful and stanch as any north of the line."

This the majority of Congress did not believe, and hence can be traced, from the very beginning of Andrew Johnson's administration, the principal cause of disagreement between him and Congress—a disagreement which was to culminate in the impeachment proposition two years after. On one side stood the President, animated with, perhaps, a too conciliatory spirit toward the ex-rebels; on the other side stood the Congress, which went, perhaps, to the other extreme, by keeping a spirit of hatred and of mistrust towards the guilty but now repenting sons of the country. This problem of reconstruction gave rise to the fiercest conflict between the executive and the legislative powers; many nations older than the United States would have gone down under the weight of such a deadly fight; but America weathered that constitutional storm without imperilling the existence of the country and its republican institutions.

By a proclamation of President Johnson, the 1st of June, 1865, was ordered to be observed as a day of humiliation on account of the death of Lincoln; and a few days after the above proclamation, another one was issued for the arrest of Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, George N. Saunders, Tucker, Clay, and Cleary, as being the promoters and supporters of Booth and his confederates; one hundred thousand dollars were offered for the arrest of Jeff. Davis, and only $25,000 and $10,000 for others of the party. At the same time, foreign nations were notified that the United States would refuse hospitality to any one of them which would give hospitality to the rebel cruisers. These measures once adopted, it was thought no more necessary to exact a passport from travellers entering the United States, and the previous order to that effect was rescinded.

By his proclamation of May 29th, the President states the terms on which the Southerners could be restored to their civil rights, and he determines the form of the oath of fidelity to be taken. The proclamation indicates also the officers and diplomatists of the rebellion who were excepted from the benefits of his proclamation. Provisional Governors were immediately appointed for the Southern States, with the power of calling State conventions. Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas having been already sufficiently reorganized by President Lincoln, did not receive any Provisional Governor. Some dissatisfaction was shown by a portion of the people at the course of affairs, which they thought too lenient. Complaints were made that ex-rebels had freely returned to their homes in the North, and paraded in the streets with their Confederate uniform. Secretary Stanton applied to Attorney-General Speed for his opinion as to the interpretation to be given to the terms of the capitulation signed between Gens. Grant and Lee. The Attorney-General answered that the ex-rebels had no right to come up North and reside there, under the protence that they had a home there, and that the capitulation had allowed them to return to their homes. It was decided by Mr. Speed that, "as a matter of course, residents of the territory

in rebellion cannot be regarded as having homes in the loyal States; for a man's home and his residence cannot be distinct the one from the other."

For the first time there was a decisive attempt to secure to the emancipated negroes an equality of civil and political rights with the whites. Political rights have been granted since, but the question of civil rights has not yet been fully settled. The first step taken systematically to secure that double kind of rights for the former slaves, was at a public meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in June, 1865; the resolutions adopted conveyed most of the ideas which Mr. Phillips had expressed at the Annual Convention of the New England Anti-Slavery Society; that is, immediate suffrage for the negro, and civil equality with the white man. President Johnson was not a warm partisan of those plans, and he said so in his address, on the 10th of October, to the First Colored Regiment of the District of Columbia, whilst a few days before he had expressed his kindly sentiments toward the South to a Virginia delegation which had called on him.

In 1862, the Congress had voted the famous Test Oath bill, by which all persons in the Southern States, who had directly or indirectly been engaged in the rebellion, were excluded from holding any office under the Federal Government; and almost immediately after the opening of the December session, the Senate requested Andrew Johnson to communicate information respecting the condition of affairs in the South—an indirect way to ascertain how the President was executing the law relative to the Test Oath. Mr. Johnson, in his answer, made a rose-colored picture of the condition of things at the South, asserting that "sectional animosity was surely and rapidly merging itself into a spirit of nationality." He transmitted a report from Gen. Grant, who also wrote that "the mass of thinking men of the South accepted the present situation of affairs in good faith." Congress took another view of the question, inasmuch as the reports of Carl Schurz and others were at variance with the assertions of Grant and Johnson.

The amendment of the Federal Constitution abolishing slavery, having been ratified by 27 States, Secretary Seward officially announced the fact, in his proclamation of the 18th of December, 1865. The colored people held many conventions during the latter part of the year, in order to discuss the important problems relative to the new situation in which the abolition of slavery had placed them. For the first time began the regular and public movement to reduce the hours of manual labor for a day's work. Meetings were held in many parts of the country, and the principle of the eight hours was at first favorably accepted by the public. It could not be expected that the financial system of the nation could be of a fixed character, amidst the warlike troubles which had threatened the very existence of the country. Congress was only feeling its financial ways, and modifying at its session the rough and hasty financial measures which ever-changing circumstances compelled the representatives to take, with the view of providing funds for the Treasury.

While the work of reconstruction proceeded slowly at home, in spite of the differences of opinion between the President and the Congress, the work of reaffirming abroad American nationality was successfully pursued by President Johnson, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward. On the 2d of June, 1865, Earl John Russell recognized officially that the war of secession was at an end, and the British Admiralty received orders not to treat the rebel cruisers as belligerents. But as the withdrawal of the 24 hours' rule, formerly granted by England to rebel craft before she could be chased by Union vessels, was not being made absolute by Lord Russell's note, Mr. Seward directed that the customary courtesies should not be exchanged between American and English men-of-war. The stern attitude taken by the Washington cabinet brought the British cabinet to terms, and a quick restoration of intercourse was effected on the American basis. On the 6th of November, the real feelings of the English Foreign Office came to a test, for the ex-Confederate cruiser, *Shenandoah*, arrived at Liverpool. She was given up, on the 10th, to the American consul at that port.

As soon as the rebellion had collapsed, a notorious Southerner, Dr. W. M. Gwin, established in Mexico, and favored by Emperor Maximilian, extended his former plans, and invited a large emigration of the ex-Confederate soldiers to Mexico, where they would fight against Mexican independence, under the flag of the Austrian emperor, and of his best ally, France. Mr. Romero, the Mexican Minister of Juarez at Washington, entered a protest against such a scheme, and Mr. Seward, in his dispatches of July, September, November, and December, notified the French Government not to favor the plan of Dr. Gwin. On the 18th of July, Seward denied to receive a letter from the Emperor Maximilian, though this letter was given to him through the Marquis de Montholon, Ambassador of France at Washington. In his dispatch of the 6th of December, addressed to Mr. Bigelow, American Minister at Paris, the Secretary of State advises him that the American Government refuses to listen to the proposition made by Napoleon III., that he would withdraw his troops from Mexico provided the United States should promise not to interfere with the consolidation of Maximilian's throne. On the 16th of December, Mr. Seward reverts to the same subject; he says that the United States do not recognize any other government but that of Juarez in Mexico; and he declares that the maintenance of French troops in that country is liable to endanger the peaceful relations then existing between France and America.

In Canada, Mr. Seward was unsuccessful in his demand for the extradition of Young and his confederates, who had perpetrated, in 1864, the St. Albans raid. The court at Montreal refused to allow the extradition of the guilty parties.

When Congress reassembled in December, 1865, the popular disapprobation of the conciliatory measures advocated by President Johnson took a tangible form. The latter felt bound, in the beginning of 1866, to refuse his approbation to the act known as the "Civil Rights Act," and to another one for the extension of the "Freedmen's Bureau." But these two bills were passed over the Presidential veto. Mr. Johnson declared afterwards, in a conversation with Senator Dixon, of Connecticut, that an amendment having already been added to the Constitution, and abolishing slavery, he considered it quite useless to make similar acts tending to an analogous purpose. He reiterated his declarations, in a speech delivered as an answer to colored deputations which, being led by Frederick Douglass, Mr. Downing, and other prominent men, had called on him. It was on this occasion that he made his famous declaration, that "he would be the Moses of the black, to lead him from bondage to freedom, even through the Red Sea,"—an allusion to the red sea of blood shed during the late war, but that "he was not willing to adopt a policy which will result in great injury to the white as well as to the colored man." He refused, therefore, to acknowledge that the negroes should not be "satisfied with an amendment abolishing slavery, and that they wished it enforced with appropriate legislation." On the 10th of February, he repeated again the same declaration, to a committee of the Virginia Legislature, which had come to congratulate him relative to his formerly expressed sentiments.

The personal policy of the President, as to the civil and political status of the negro, was therefore very plain. He took care to express his ideas relative to the reconstruction of the South, in a speech delivered on the 22d of February, as an answer to a committee delegated to the White House, by a public meeting held at Washington, and at which the course of the President had been endorsed by a series of resolutions. Mr. Johnson, in his reply to the delegation, condemned in severe terms the political measures of Congress, and the creation of the famous Committee of Fifteen. "They assume," he said, "that a State is out of the Union, and to have its practical relations restored before the House can judge of the qualifications of its own members. What position is that? You have been struggling four years to put down a rebellion. You contended at the beginning of that struggle that a State had not a right to go out. You said it had neither the right nor the power, and it has been settled that the States had neither the right nor the power to go out of the Union. And when you determine by the executive, by the military, and by the public judgment that these States cannot have any right to go out, this Committee turns round and assumes that they are out, and that they shall not come in. I am free to say to you as your Executive that I am not prepared to take any such position." It is in the course of the same speech, that, alluding to the leaders of the anti-Presidential party in Congress and in the country, he uttered his famous sentence: "Suppose I should name to you those whom I look upon as being opposed to the fundamental principles of this government, and as now laboring to destroy them. I say Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania; I say Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; I say Wendell Phillips, of Massachusetts." And as, amidst the cheering, a voice cried aloud, "Forney," the President retorted contemptuously the celebrated "I do not waste my fire on dead ducks!"

After the delivery of such sentiments, which were met on the other side with no

less sharp invectives, the chasm was fairly opened between the President and Congress, a chasm which was not to be bridged over until the Republican party and the legislative power could have accomplished their designs in spite of the opposition of the Executive. The Supreme Court decided with Johnson, and decided against the constitutionality of the test oath; so that Wendell Phillips could say, a little afterward, in the name of the whole Radical party, that "Congress was alone to fight for the nation against the Supreme Court and the President, leagued in the service of rebeldom."

It required but a spark to set on fire all this combustible material; first, in Illinois, where, at public meetings, resolutions were adopted asking the House of Representatives to take measures to cause the impeachment of the President. His friends were not slow at placing themselves on the defensive. The first National Union Club was formed at Washington, with the view of resisting the majority of Congress, and their adherents in the country, at whose heads was hurled, for the first time, the name of Radicals.

Soon after a general convention of the National Union Club was proposed to be held at Philadelphia; but this call having been supported by all the Democratic members of Congress, and by prominent Southerners, and being indirectly approved of by President Johnson, led to the resignation of Messrs. Harlan, Denison, and Speed, members of the Cabinet. On the 14th of August the National Union Convention assembled at Philadelphia. Gen. John A. Dix was chosen temporary president, and Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, the President of the Convention. One of the striking features of the first day's doings was the entrance of the delegates from Massachusetts and South Carolina arm in arm. Henry J. Raymond, of the New York *Times*, read, on the third day, the address prepared by the committee, which having been approved by the convention, was followed by a series of resolutions. The copies of both were presented to the President, at Washington, by Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland.

It was not to be expected that the original Union League would remain inactive, in presence of the efforts made by its enemies. On the 22d of August the Union League of Philadelphia adopted a series of counter-resolutions embodying the sentiments then entertained by Radicals with reference to the Presidential policy.

Soon after, Andrew Johnson left Washington, on the 28th of August, on his trip to Chicago, where he went to attend, on the 6th of September, the inauguration of the Stephen Douglass monument. He was called at many places, on his route, to deliver speeches; and in every one of them he maintained his former views, and assailed the majority of Congress. Then the conflict descended from the official regions to more popular ones. The stanch Unionists of the South, who had kept fast by their principles during the war, held a convention at Philadelphia. This was soon followed by conventions of Northern soldiers, and of Southern soldiers. A convention of a more quiet character was held at Baltimore, by workingmen, asking, as they did last year, that a law should be passed for limiting to eight hours a day's work.

In spite of these political quarrels the vitality of the American nation showed itself strong in financial matters. In December, 1865, Mr. McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, had foreseen in his estimate a deficiency of 112 millions of dollars. Instead of that, there was, from the 1st of October, 1865, to the end of the fiscal year, in 1866, a surplus of nearly 133 millions of dollars. In the face of such a prosperous situation the Secretary recommended the return to specie payment. The items which had given, comparatively, the best results to the Union exchequer were the stamps for bank-check receipts, and the one-cent stamps for match-boxes. Still, the consequences of the war were too near at hand not to have an effect upon the general situation of the country, and it was not surprising that there was a decrease of prosperity in the various branches of industry, which decrease was especially felt by the shipbuilding interests.

In foreign affairs the Mexican question took the lead, as in the previous year. On the 5th of April, 1866, M. Drouyn de L'Huys, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that France intended soon to evacuate Mexican territory. Soon after, Mr. Seward caused the President to issue a proclamation denying to Maximilian the right of declaring in a state of blockade the port of Matamoras, and the power of enforcing *de facto* such a blockade. At the same time, Mr. Campbell, American Minister at Mexico, received peremptory orders not to recognize the government of the Austrian Archduke. Mr. Seward ordered also Mr. Motley, American Minister at Vienna, to protest against the intended forwarding of Austrian recruits to Mexico.

A party of Irish-Americans, under the command of Spear, effected a raid in Canada. But the diplomatic difficulties which resulted from this raid were soon pacified, for it was easily shown, by American diplomacy, that the intent and practical results of the raid had not been fairly reported, and were grossly exaggerated.

The struggle for the interpretation of the 14th Amendment, in a sense favorable to the forcible admission to citizenship and the ballot of the negroes in the Southern States, kept up and was manifested in the beginning of 1867. On January 11th, a national Equal Rights League Convention of colored men assembled at Washington, and adopted an address to Congress, which referred it to the Reconstruction Committee. Congress did not need, however, to be urged on its work, for it had voted many acts requiring the elective franchise for the negroes, and passed those acts over the veto of the President. The bills for the admission of Colorado and Nebraska specified that these Territories could not be received as States if they did refuse "the elective franchise, and any other right, to any person by reason of race or color, excepting Indians not taxed." The President vetoed these bills because they were, according to his views, "in clear violation of the Federal Constitution, under the provisions of which, from the very foundation of the government, each State has been left free to determine for itself the qualifications necessary for the exercise of suffrage within its limits." Congress, notwithstanding the veto, passed the bills, and moreover extended their provisions to all Territories by the Territorial Bill.

But Congress could not reach the internal laws of States as easily as it could with Territories, for an amendment to the Constitution would have been necessary. To overcome the difficulty, Congress, on the 2d of March, assimilated ten Southern States to so many military Territories, under the pretext that "no legal State government, or adequate protection for life or property, were existing in those States." Andrew Johnson declined to sign the bill; still it was passed over his veto.

Moreover, and in order to keep the Executive under the unsleeping watch of the legislative power, it was decreed that the Fortieth Congress should assemble and commence its session at the same day and hour at which the session of the Thirty-ninth closed.

That Congress was still more opposed than the preceding one to the conciliatory policy of Andrew Johnson, and still more determined to give all the political privileges to the negroes. On the 23d of March, an act was passed to the effect that "all persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States." The same act refused the electoral franchise to many categories of men among those who had upheld the late rebellion. The President vetoed the bill, which was, nevertheless, passed by Congress; and Andrew Johnson complied with the requisites of the act, by appointing military commanders to the ten Southern States declared to be still under martial law. Applications to the Supreme Court were soon made by some of the Southern States in order to bring to a test the constitutionality of the reconstruction laws. The Supreme Court denied the motion on the ground that it would be powerless to enforce its decision.

Congress adjourned from the 30th of March, 1867, until the 3d of July, and it found that the President was about to exercise the only privilege left to him as constitutional commander-in-chief of the army; that was to remove the military chiefs of the five Southern districts, and to appoint in their places men whom he thought would work more in accordance with his own views. The first dismissal was that of General Sheridan, commander of the Fifth Military District. All the other commanders of the four remaining districts were changed previous to the close of the year. On the 12th of August the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, was himself suspended from his office by order of the President, and Gen. Grant authorized to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*.

On the 20th of August Andrew Johnson declared, by a proclamation, that peace, order, tranquillity, and civil authority existed throughout the whole State of Texas, which could not, therefore, be kept under military rule. Another proclamation issued on September 17th, relieved nearly all the whites of the Southern States from the political bondage in which they were held.

The financial problem continued to be agitated throughout the year, and to be dis-

cussed in many conventions called for examining the subject of returning to specie payments or of enlarging the federal currency. No decisive action was taken by Congress upon that all-important subject; still, the reduction of the debt was on an average of ten millions of dollars per month. The aggregate business of the country, as compared with that of the previous year, did not show any falling off, as compared with 1866; on the contrary, there was a slight increase. Gold fluctuated little during the year; it was quoted in average at 141, with a few variations from 132 to 146.

As to foreign matters, the year 1867 witnessed the opening of negotiations for the settlement of the Alabama Claims. On January 12th, Secretary Seward sent to Mr. Adams, American Minister in England, a dispatch covering and explaining fully the American side of the question. In his answer, dated March 9th, Lord Stanley declined to continue in a discussion of the case, and seemed to abide by the idea of arbitration, as suggested by Mr. Seward. But, after the exchange of a few more despatches, the proposal to arbitrate failed.

The proposal of a friendly arbitration, on the part of the United States, between Spain and the South American States, was respectfully declined on the ground that the parties themselves desired to choose their arbitrator, instead of leaving that choice exclusively to the President of the United States.

Negotiations were concluded so far for the purchase of the islands of St. Thomas and St. John from the Danish Government, that King Christian IX. issued his proclamation, on the 25th of October, calling the islanders to the polls, where they would have to vote in favor of, or against, annexation to the United States.

The Mexican imbroglio was definitely settled by the declaration of Napoleon III., forwarded through Gen. Dix, American Minister at Paris, on February 19th, that French troops were actually leaving Mexico, the territory of which would be entirely evacuated in March.

The year 1868 was not remarkable as regarded finances and foreign politics, but it witnessed the impeachment trial of the President and the ratification of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the country. The amendment removed all distinction of color in citizenship; it was adopted by three-fourths of the States.

In the first days of January, new difficulties arose from the removal of Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War. The Senate, after having required from the President, according to the Tenure of Office Act, a statement of the motives for which he dismissed Mr. Stanton, refused to approve of the suspension. On hearing this, Gen. Grant, who was War Secretary *ad interim*, resigned his duties, through a letter he addressed to the President, on the 14th of January. Mr. Andrew Johnson appointed Major-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas to the vacant place still claimed by Secretary Stanton. The Senate, on being apprised of the fact by a Presidential message, laid aside its routine business, and went immediately into executive session. After an exciting debate, the Senate adopted a resolution to the effect that the President had legally and constitutionally no power to remove the Secretary of War.

The President attempted in vain to explain his conduct, through a communication sent to the Senate on the next day; he and Congress were too much at loggerheads to attempt conciliation, especially when there existed a fact and a tangible question over which both parties could fight it out. Secretary Stanton refused bluntly to vacate the War Office; and, moreover, he applied to the courts for the issue of a writ ordering the arrest of Gen. Thomas, who was, in fact, arrested on the 22d of February, but immediately released even without giving bail. Gen. Thomas was not the man aimed at by Congress; that man was Andrew Johnson, and the last measure was taken against him, on the same day on which had been arrested his Secretary of War, Gen. Thomas, whom the President was accused of making his military leader against Congress.

Throughout the country an intense excitement prevailed, when it was known that the House of Representatives had adopted a resolution impeaching Andrew Johnson for high crimes and misdemeanors. It was the anniversary day of the birth of the Father of the country. The Governors of Illinois and Pennsylvania telegraphed their approbation to Congress, whilst meetings were held in New York and Philadelphia to support the President. On the 26th March the President was acquitted. The Attorney-General, Mr. Stanberry, resigned, and Mr. William M. Evarts was appointed his successor.

The work of reconstructing the Southern States did not proceed rapidly; the majorities favorable to the reconstructing laws of those States could not be obtained. Congress decided, therefore, that the constitutions to be submitted to the people of the unreconstructed States should not be adopted by a majority of the voters as registered, but that a majority of the votes cast should be sufficient for the adoption of the Constitution. Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas having failed, notwithstanding those facilities, to complete their reorganization, were considered as not being in the Union, and were excluded from taking part in the Presidential election.

As early as February, the different political organizations of the country issued their calls for conventions to nominate the Presidential candidates. On May 19th the name of U. S. Grant was for the first time officially mentioned for the Presidency, in the resolutions adopted, on May 19th, by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention held at Chicago. The National Republican Convention, which assembled the day after, with Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, as chairman, unanimously nominated Gen. Grant, who polled the 650 votes of the convention. The ballot for the nomination of the Vice-President was not so easy-going, neither unanimous, though it resulted in quite large figures—522 votes for Schuyler Colfax. On the 29th of May, Gen. Grant addressed to Mr. Hawley a letter, by which he accepted formally the nomination, and approved of the resolutions passed by the National Union Republican Convention. Mr. Schuyler Colfax wrote his letter of acceptation the day after the candidate for President had written his.

The Democrats, being in cognizance of the game of their adversaries, commenced their own campaign in earnest. In June, a few prominent gentlemen from New York asked Andrew Johnson whether he would agree to run as a candidate. He answered affirmatively, and, at the same time, Frank P. Blair became very prominent as the probable Democratic candidate for the nomination to the Vice-Presidency. But the National Democratic Convention which assembled in New York on July 4th, was to decide the question. Just as the Republicans had done at Chicago, the Democrats wanted to do at New York. They also had their Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, sitting at the same time, and in the same city, as the purely political body of the party. Major-Gen. Franklin presided over the Democratic Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, just as Gen. Logan (and after him Fairchild) had presided over the Republican Convention of Soldiers and Sailors. The entire vote of the National Democratic Convention, 317 in number, was cast, after much balloting, for Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, as Vice-President. The candidature of Mr. Chase for the nomination was tossed about, among affirmations and contradictions.

The final result of the Presidential election was not much to be doubted when the result itself of the September and October State elections was known. In nearly every State those elections were so unfavorable to the Democratic party, that one of their papers in New York demanded the withdrawal of Mr. Seymour's name at the head of the ticket. But this proposition was rejected by the party, inasmuch as President Johnson had just written a letter indorsing the candidature of Horatio Seymour. All this was of no avail against the popular tide, which rolled 5,716,082 votes for U. S. Grant—that is, a majority of 309,684.

During the year the financial condition remained about the same as the year before; but the evil effects of the war kept continually decreasing, and the material prosperity of the country was much improved. This was due also to a large reduction of internal taxes, especially on manufactures. The debt of the Government on the 1st November of this year amounted to $2,527,129,552. The discussions in the press and in Congress, as to the best way of funding and paying that debt, either by returning to specie payment or by authorizing further issues of bonds or notes, continued as usual, but without coming to a definite financial policy. On July 25, 1868, the Funding Bill was passed, which did a great deal of good, but was not of a sufficiently general character. Section 2 of that bill appropriated annually the sum of $135,000,000 out of the duties derived from imported goods, these to be applied to the payment of the interest and a proportionate reduction of the public debt.

The diplomatic relations of the United States with other nations did not offer much interest during the year. No new question arose; and the discussions relative to former difficulties were within the bounds of purely diplomatic notes. On the 7th of March the question of the Alabama Claims was agitated in the House of Commons; and every orator,

from Mr. Shaw Lefevre to Messrs. Forster, Stuart Mill, Stanley, and Gladstone, acknowledged that the American Minister, Mr. Adams, had pressed his claim in a very skilful and dignified manner. But the general sentiment expressed on the part of the British Government and orators was, that the Queen was ready to arbitrate, and submit all questions but the great point of recognizing the belligerent rights of the South. Mr. Reverdy Johnson, who replaced Mr. Adams as American Minister in England, did not succeed in reaching a solution of that vexed question.

An Extradition Treaty was signed with China, through the able intervention of Anson Burlingame, formerly American Minister at Pekin, and who had been appointed by the Chinese Government as Envoy Extraordinary to America and Europe. The Berlin Government agreed to the principle that all German naturalized Americans could not be prosecuted or punished, on their return to Germany, for having not complied with the military laws before their emigration to America. In Paraguay, Mr. Washburn, United States Minister, having harbored in the legation at Asuncion certain persons implicated in a plot to help the cause of the enemies of Paraguay, some of these persons were forcibly seized; and Mr. Seward wrote, under the date of November 11, that an apology and a promise of reparation were to be exacted. The Paraguayan Government was already half destroyed by the Allies, and it complied with the request of the United States.

The Fifteenth Amendment, passed on the 25th of February, 1869, proclaimed—

"SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of color or previous condition of servitude.

"SEC. 2. The Congress, by appropriate legislation, may enforce the provisions of this article."

This amendment was duly ratified in the course of the year by the required majority of States.

On the 10th of February the Congress proceeded to the official counting of the Presidential vote. Gen. Grant was declared to be the President elect, and a committee, composed of Senator Morton and Representatives Pruyn and Wilson, was instructed to call on Gen. Grant to apprise him of his election.

Of course, no change in the financial system of the country could be expected to take place at the end of an administration which never had enjoyed the confidence of the legislative power. The great financial measures destined to the clearing off of the national debt, and to the fostering of the economical interests of the United States, were purposely delayed by Congress until the completion of Andrew Johnson's administration. The only progress which the legislative power was willing to make was that a more rigid responsibility was exacted from the officers of the Treasury, and that a large portion of the receipts was applied to a reduction of the national debt.

The Alabama Claims question continued to follow its normal course. No foreign complication was raised before the 4th of March, except, perhaps, that, for the first time, a strong pressure was brought to bear on the American Government in favor of a recognizance of the independence of Cuba.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

ULYSSES S. GRANT was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1869. His inaugural address was all that could be expected from one who had never any pretension to speech-making, and who was anxious to please. His first sentences were calculated to define his political standing. He took care to say that he had taken the constitutional oath "without mental reservation," and added: "The office has come to me unsought. I commence its duties untrammelled. I bring to it a conscientious desire and determination to fill it to the best of my ability to the satisfaction of the people. On all leading questions agitating the public mind, I will always express my views to Congress, and urge them according to my judgment. . . . I shall, on all subjects, have a policy to recommend, but none to enforce against the wishes of the people. . . ." He then recommended, but not in a very clear or very strong manner, the necessity of paying the national debt in gold, "unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract." This did not commit him to a definite policy on the financial question. "How," added he, "the public debt is to be paid, or specie payments resumed, is not so important as that a plan should be adopted and acquiesced in." In regard to foreign policy, his declarations were unimportant, but he was more explicit in reference to the great question of the day—home politics. He rallied emphatically to the policy adopted by Congress in regard to the status of the colored people. "The question of suffrage," said he, "is one which is likely to agitate the public so long as a portion of the citizens of the nation are excluded from its privileges in any State. It seems to me very desirable that this question should be settled now, and I entertain the hope, and express the desire, that it may be by the ratification of the Fifteenth article of Amendment to the Constitution."

On the 5th of March, President Grant submitted, for the approval of the Senate, the following names of the members of the cabinet: E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, Secretary of State; A. T. Stewart, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; I. D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; John M. Schofield, of Illinois, Secretary of War; J. A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. Objections were raised as to the constitutionality of the appointment of A. T. Stewart. It was argued that an act of Congress passed in 1789 forbade any person already engaged in business pursuits to hold the office of Secretary of the Treasury. The President forwarded to Congress a message in which he asked that an exception should be made in favor of the largest merchant of the United States, and even of the world itself. Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, supported the demand of Gen. Grant, and Sumner opposed it. The Senate delayed the discussion of the motion; and in the interval, Mr. Stewart declined to accept the office tendered to him by the President.

The Secretaryship of the Treasury was then offered to and accepted by George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts. At the same time Mr. Washburne was appointed Minister to France, and his place was taken by Hamilton Fish, of New York. General Schofield was also replaced at the War Office by John A. Rawlins, of Illinois, who died on September 6, and had for successor William B. Belknap, of Iowa. Mr. Borie, having also retired from the office of Secretary of the Navy, was succeeded by George M. Robeson, of New Jersey.

The President put himself at the work of settling the affairs of the three States, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, which had not yet been reconstructed, and which had been, consequently, forbidden to take part in the Presidential election. Congress, acting on his message of the 7th of April, passed an act, providing that the President might, at such time as he deemed best for public interest, submit the constitution of either of the three non-reconstructed States to the registered voters of such States for their ratification or rejection. The conditions under which those three States were to be readmitted into the Union were made very stringent, and Congress reserved for itself the right of deciding upon the final admission, even after the States should have voted the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, and gone through any other formality imposed on them by Congress. During the year Virginia alone underwent all these formalities, and in December a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives providing for the admission of the State; but as considerable debate ensued, the bill could not be voted that year, and Virginia was not admitted until the 26th of January, 1870.

The Fifteenth Amendment, which gives practically the uncontrolled right of suffrage to the negroes, was not ratified during the year by 28 States, as required by the Constitution, and it was only in the beginning of 1870, after Mississippi and Texas had ratified it, that the constitutional number of ratifications having been obtained, the Amendment became a part of the Constitution. Not satisfied with that progress, a sixteenth amendment, providing for the woman suffrage, was brought before Congress by Mr. Julian, of Indiana. It failed to be taken into consideration by the House, though the discussion of it and its merits were much agitated in the press and in conventions throughout the country. In this session Congress refused to alter the preamble of the Constitution so as to contain a recognition of a Supreme Being.

The movement for the reduction of the daily hours of labor, which had commenced two years before, gained a practical result. On the 19th of May the President issued a proclamation, ordering that workmen employed in Government works should receive the same wages for an eight-hours' day's work as they did formerly for a ten-hours'. The President joined, in that case, with the laboring masses against the interpretation put, by a former attorney-general, upon the act of Congress. The year before, indeed, Congress had yielded to the eight-hours'

movement, and fixed, at eight hours, the day's work in the United States' workshops. But wages had been diminished proportionally, so that the workmen had gained nothing in reality. The President interfered actively in the battle raging between the partisans and the opponents of the eight-hours' law, by directing that there should be no reduction in the wages paid by the Government by the day, on account of a reduction of the hours of labor, ordered by an act of Congress.

Many questions of general importance, though resting only on personal cases and lawsuits, were brought before the Supreme Court, which, in its judgment, decided great political questions. Thus, the majority of the Supreme Court again arrayed itself against the policy of exclusion pursued by Congress, and declared that Texas, though not yet readmitted by Congress, was still a State in the Union. Mr. Justice Grier was the only one to hold the dissenting opinion which supported the Radical doctrine, according to which, States had gone really out of the Union, and that they could re-enter the Union only on the conditions imposed by Congress. Other judicial cases, relative to private monetary transactions concluded during the war, were brought before the Supreme Court, whose judgment in such cases had of course a political bearing on the more important and broader questions debated in Congress and in the Cabinet. Thus, the Court ruled that, the Confederacy having been a *de facto* government of the second degree, the Confederates were substantially in the same condition as inhabitants of a country occupied and controlled by an invading belligerent. All contracts were therefore to be settled, now and hereafter, in conformity with the principle that all moneys due were to be paid in lawful money of the United States, at the rate of the value of the Confederate notes when those moneys fell due, or the transaction was entered upon. The Court decided also that the States had no right either to tax the obligations of the United States, known as certificates of indebtedness, or the United States notes.

The more important question, in a national point of view, whether the law making United States notes a legal tender had reference to State taxes, was settled in the negative by the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Chase said expressly, on delivering the opinion of the Court, "that the clause making United States notes a legal tender for debts, has no reference to taxes imposed by State authority, but relates only to debts, in the ordinary sense of the word."

As it might have been expected, the pressure of personal ambitions and of political or social organizations, was brought to bear, as it is usual at the beginning of a Presidential year, on the Executive and Legislative powers, to press upon them, by way of so-called national conventions, the adoption of the principles and personal ideas entertained by individuals or by organized bodies of citizens. The colored population held a convention at Washington, presided over by Frederick Douglass, in which, after having refused to accept President Roberts, of Liberia, as an honorary member of the convention, the colored people endorsed Grant as their future Moses, more reliable than Andrew Johnson, and pronounced against emigration to Liberia. The Irish National Republican Convention, held at Chicago, in July, attempted to enlist for the new Government the sympathies of the Irishmen. A resolution was adopted requesting Congress to pass a law for the naturalization of foreigners, after one year of residence in the United States. In August, the National Labor Convention met at Philadelphia, and reaffirmed the principle of the eight-hour system for a day's work, at the same time attacking, in the final resolutions, the rate of interest and several financial measures which had been adopted by the Government and Congress. A Temperance convention was held at Chicago, looking to a political organization; but it failed to organize a national political party having the prohibition of liquor-selling for its distinct object. Even local interests and local jealousies had their conventions, as for instance, the "National Capital Convention," which assembled in October, at St. Louis, with the view of agitating the country to effect a removal of the national capital from Washington, and to transfer it to some Western city. At this time, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was chosen President of the "National Woman Suffrage Convention," an organization having in view the elevation of woman to the rank of a political elector. The Coolie labor was submitted to the learned discussion of a convention which met at Memphis for that purpose. This long array of conventions closed on December 10, by the meeting at Washington of a National Colored Labor Convention, the real and practical aim of which was to counterbalance, in some way, the indifference which had been evidenced by the National Labor Convention of Philadelphia. The negroes of the Washington Labor Convention sent a delegation to congratulate President Grant, and to offer him the support of all colored laborers, because he had opened to them the gates of the navy yard and of other departments where skilled labor was employed. The colored deputation also, through Mr. Stella Martin, asked the President to see to the securing of land for the laborers of the South, so that they might become permanent settlers and independent citizens. The orator pointed especially to eight millions of acres of land which, according to him, could be used by Congress to secure these results. The President promised to bestow his greatest attention on the subject.

It was in the course of the year that the first official action was taken by the Government, in the matter of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific. Up to that time, many projects had been put forward, among which the most prominent, with their distances, are the following:—

ROUTE.	MILES.
Isthmus of Tehuantepec	198
Nicaragua, from San Juan del Norte to Brito	194
Chagres to Panama (Columbia.)	51
Chepo to San Blas	30
San Miguel to Port Escoces (Caledonia Bay)	39
Atrato Valley, by Napipi and Cupica	172

A treaty, having in view the cutting of a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, was made with the Columbian authorities. This was rejected by the Senate of Bogota. In the mean time, however, an expedition, under the general superintendence of Rear-Admiral Davis, was allowed to proceed with its survey and scientific work.

The financial condition of the country was a favorable one for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869; there was an excess of receipts over expenditures, including interest on the public debt, of $49,453,149.46. Out of that sum only about $12,000,000 had been received prior to the first of March; the balance, $36,000,000, were received after the inauguration of the President, and the funds were used from time to time to purchase five-twenty bonds. The direct taxes and the duties on imports, the latter being paid in gold, carried a large quantity of coin into the National Treasury; it was comparatively easy for the Government to purchase five-twenty bonds to the amount of $75,476,800, till the end of the year, at an average price in coin of $88\frac{55}{100}$ per cent. In spite of this real prosperity, since the receipts of the Government continued on the increase, and the debt was a little reduced during the year, the currency kept on its downward course. In this condition of affairs, the Secretary of the Treasury advanced the opinion that he ought to be allowed to reduce the circulation of United States notes about $2,000,000 per month. He also recommended the funding of the whole amount of the five-twenty bonds, except about $250,000,000, out of the $1,450,000,000, which were to remain in the hands of the public creditors on July 1, 1870. He then started the project of a loan for an amount not exceeding $1,200,000,000, to be offered in three classes of $400,000,000 each, the first class should be paid in twenty years, the second in twenty-five, and the third in thirty years. The principal and interest to be paid in coin; European subscribers to receive their interest in European money markets; the five-twenty bonds to be received in exchange for new bonds; the rate of interest not to exceed four and a half per cent. per annum; and bonds, both principal and interest, to be free from any State or Federal taxation. This plan was based on the re-established prosperity of the country, in which the minimum annual rate of increase in population was estimated at 1,100,000. The public debt, on December 1, 1869, less cash in the Treasury, was $2,453,559,735.23, making a total reduction, since 1865, of $304,129,836.20.

The diplomatic history of the first months following Grant's inauguration is quite void of interest. The Senate had rejected the Clarendon-Johnson Treaty relative to the *Alabama* claims, and the exchange of correspondence to settle the question upon another basis had not yet fairly begun. The Administration sympathized with the Cubans, but did not yield to the entreaties of Cuban leaders in committing itself to any overt act. It was wrongly stated that Minister Sickles had offered the mediation of the United States; he had hardly spoken of the "good offices" of the United States, as able to bring a settlement between the contending parties in Cuba. Still, that offer was declined by the Regent of Spain. The diplomatic note was withdrawn by the American Government, whose attention was called soon after

to the case of two American citizens, who, having unintentionally embarked in a Cuban vessel, the *Grapeshot*, were executed by the Spanish authorities. The Madrid authorities promised a prompt reparation, reserving to themselves the choice of the opportunity.

One of the first and most important political events which occurred in the year 1870 was the ratification, by twenty-nine States, of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the wording of the message of President Grant notifying the promulgation of the Amendment. This notification was an unusual formality, but, says the President in his Message, "I deem a departure from the usual custom justifiable. A measure which makes at once four million people voters, who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not citizens of the United States, nor eligible to become so, ... is indeed a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind, from the foundation of our free government to the present day." For some time there were many discussions in Congress relative to amendments which were proposed to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment itself, and to secure the freedom of suffrage to the male colored population of each State. A bill to that effect was passed by Congress, and many elections were held during the year, under the working of the new law; the negro vote was strongly—though not universally—Republican in all of these elections. Still, there were some who were not satisfied with the progress made in favor of the colored race, and in answer to a serenade given to him by some negroes at Washington, Charles Sumner declared that equality of rights should be secured to the colored race in the common-school system, and that the word "white" should be struck from the naturalization laws of the United States.

Some changes occurred, in June, in the composition of the cabinet. Mr. Columbus Delano, of Ohio, succeeded to J. D. Cox, who resigned his office of Secretary of the Interior; and Mr. E. Rockwood Hoar, having also resigned his position, was succeeded by Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, in the office of Attorney-General.

The reconstruction of the Southern States was finally accomplished by the admission in Congress of the Representatives from Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas.

A very important constitutional case, of interest to all the commercial and banking community, came up before the Supreme Court. It was to determine whether the act of February 25, 1862, so far as it makes United States notes a legal tender in payment of debts contracted prior to its passage, is constitutional and valid. The Chief-Justice, in delivering the opinion of the Court, decided in the negative, asserting that "the Government of the United States is one of limited powers, and that no department possesses any authority not granted by the Constitution," which is opposed to such retroactive equalization between coin and United States notes. Three Justices, Messrs. Miller, Swayne, and Davis, entertained the dissenting opinion.

Next to this important decision came up the question whether Congress had authority to tax the circulation of State banks. That was decided in the affirmative, by the majority of the Supreme Court, with the dissenting votes of Justices Nelson and Davis. The investments of administrators in Confederate bonds were considered as having been made improperly, and as being inoperative as a discharge from responsibility; the Court ordered new settlements to be made.

The work of reorganizing the country, and especially the South, so deeply distracted commercially and industrially, progressed during the year. The second annual Southern Commercial Convention assembled at Cincinnati on the 4th October, and debated all questions relative to the best means of reviving trade and industry in the southern and western sections of the United States. The Convention advocated direct trade with Europe from Southern cities, the adoption of a homestead law, and a fair and equitable schedule of rates for freight and passenger transportation.

The labor movement was agitated, and the National Labor Congress, held in August at Cincinnati, voted the immediate formation of an independent political organization, to be known as the "National Labor Reform Party." The North-western movement against the maintenance of the national capital at Washington was continued by the assembling at Cincinnati of a convention, in which were reaffirmed the anti-Washington resolutions adopted at the National Capital Convention, held in St. Louis the year before. Cincinnati also had the honor of giving hospitality to an "Irish National Congress," which, without eliciting openly any Fenian proclivities, had for its object the union of the various Irish organizations of the United States.

Ku Kluxism was taken in hand by the Senate after the reception of a Presidential message calling the attention of Congress to the case of North Carolina. The majority report of the Senate committee admitted that the Ku Klux organization did exist, had a political purpose, and was composed of members of the Democratic or Conservative party; that it had sought to carry out its purpose by murders, whipping, intimidations, and violence against its opponents. Senators Blair and Bayard submitted to the Senate a minority report.

The message of President Grant at the commencement of the third session of the Forty-first Congress, December 5, 1870, was a longer document than was expected. It was filled more especially with a lengthened review of foreign questions, and contained a strong recommendation for the annexation of San Domingo.

The financial progress of the country during this year was not so great as it was natural to expect from the continued increase in its receipts. The breaking out of the Franco-German war prevented the Secretary of the Treasury from putting on the money-markets his intended loan, the proceeds of which were to realize the equalization and the funding of the public debt. By an act of Congress, approved July 14, 1870, the views of the Secretary of the Treasury were endorsed by Congress, which authorized him to issue, in sums not exceeding $200,000,000, coupon or registered bonds of the United States, redeemable in coin, at the pleasure of the United States, after ten years, and bearing 5 per cent. interest, also payable in coin, also to issue $300,000,000 bonds, payable after fifteen years, and bearing 4½ per cent. interest; also $1,000,000,000 of like bonds, payable after thirty years, and bearing 4 per cent. interest. The proceeds of the sale of those bonds, at not less than their par value for coin, was to be applied exclusively to the redemption of any outstanding five-twenty bonds of the United States, at their par value; or the new bonds might be exchanged for five-twenty bonds par for par. Every preparation was made—even a portion of the paper was manufactured—in order to be prepared to throw that gigantic loan on the market as soon as the Franco-German war, which was declared two days after the approval of the act of Congress, should cease. But the war lasted longer than expected, and the Secretary of the Treasury was compelled to ask authority to issue $300,000,000 additional of bonds, bearing 5 per cent. interest, and payable quarterly. On the last day of November, 1870, the principal of the public debt, not deducting moneys on hand, was $2,418,673,044.43, showing a still larger reduction than at the end of the fiscal year, when on July 1st, 1870, the reduction of the public debt for the fiscal year had been officially figured at $107,779,786.13. The difference between gold and currency declined from 32.9 premium in 1869, to 15.2 in 1870, which was an improvement of about 17 per cent. in the United States paper currency. The surplus of receipts over expenditures, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1870, was $101,601,916.88, which were applied, as usual, to the payment of the public debt. Some measures were adopted by Congress to increase somewhat the circulation of the National Banks, and for a reduction of $77,000,000 of internal taxes, as compared with those of the previous year. The decline of ship-building and the American carrying-trade were so significant, that a special committee was appointed by Congress to visit New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Portland, to ascertain what remedy could be brought about to stay the decline of so important an item of national prosperity. The report showed that, in 1850, 75 per cent. of the total exports and imports were shipped in American vessels. In 1855, the situation had remained the same; but in 1869, 34 per cent. only were shipped in American vessels, to 66 per cent. in foreign bottoms. Nearly 70 per cent. of the imports at New York were in foreign steamers. The committee suggested many remedies, but they were not tried.

One of the most important diplomatic questions raised during the year, was that relating to the war which broke out in Europe in the middle of July, 1870. On August 22d, the President issued a proclamation of neutrality, enjoining American citizens not to take any part in the Franco-German conflict. On the 8th of October, some French men-of-war having appeared off New York, as with the intention of practically blockading that port against German merchantmen, the President issued another proclamation declaring that such frequenting and use of American waters would not be tolerated from either of the belligerents. The making of American ports depots for materials of war was also prohibited; and

Mr. Fish thought necessary to thank Prussia, because, while her navy was then yet in its infancy and quite useless, she had declared to adhere to the principle formerly advocated by the United States, that private property on the high seas should be exempt from seizure. No discussion arose between the United States and France in the first half of the year; on the contrary, very cordial and familiar relations had been established between the Imperial family and the American Minister at Paris, Mr. E. B. Washburne. Nevertheless, he hastened to recognize, according to American diplomatic tradition, the establishment *de facto* of a Republican government. Mr. Washburne had frequent and friendly interviews with Jules Favre, French Minister of Foreign Affairs; but the United States Government declined the prayer made by Jules Favre to bring about the end of the war through the good offices of the American Government. Immediately after the declaration of war, and during the siege of Paris, Mr. Washburne took charge of the interests of the Germans in the French capital, and, though authorized to do so by the State Department, he was accused by the Frenchmen —wrongly, of course—of entertaining German sympathies. On one day, a battalion of the National Guard called on Mr. E. B. Washburne, to thank him for his hasty recognizing of the Republic; and later, another manifestation was directed against him, on account of his pretended Prussian sympathies. Some Americans, among whom the benevolent and philanthropic Dr. Thomas W. Evans was a chief laborer, established an ambulance in Paris, and the American name went out gloriously from all the wrecks and ruins of the siege of that unfortunate city.

In China and Corea, the American influence was greatly increased through energetic action against the Coreans and the pirates of the southern Chinese seas. Mr. Low, Minister of the United States, took in hand the cause of the French and Russians murdered at Tien-tsin, and exacted the punishment of the murderers. A few more notes were exchanged relative to the *Alabama* Claims question, just before the death of Lord Clarendon. The Canadian authorities having revoked the system of fishing-licenses, and authorized British officers to seize any vessel actually fishing within three miles of Canadian waters, some American vessels were thus seized, which fact led to an active diplomatic correspondence between the State Department and the British Government. The Northwest Boundary question was raised for the first time, and a joint commission was formed, with English and American commissioners, to arrive at a definite settlement of the frontier near Pembina. In Japan, Mr. De Long, United States Minister, was instructed to protest against a decree of deportation issued against 3,000 native Christians; the Japanese Government complied with the request. The question of the indemnity of United States citizens against Spain, claims arising from the Cuban war, caused a frequent interchange of diplomatic notes between Secretary Fish and Don M. Lopez Roberts, Minister of Spain at Washington. The American Government succeeded in asserting the claims of its citizens, as well as in obtaining the release of the *Lloyd Aspinwall*, a vessel which was seized by Spanish authorities, on the ground she was engaged for the Cuban cause.

The year 1871 opened with other changes in the President's Cabinet. Attorney-General Akerman resigned his office, and was succeeded by ex-Senator George H. Williams, of Oregon. President Grant dismissed Gen. Pleasanton, who had declined, upon the request of the President, to tender his resignation as Commissioner of Internal Revenue. In April, the Supreme Court decided that the Federal Government had not the right to tax the salary of a judicial officer of a State. Soon after, the same Court reversed the decision at which it had arrived, in 1870, relative to the bearing of the Legal Tender Act of Congress. The court had judged that United States notes were not a legal tender for debts contracted before the passage of the bill. But only seven judges sat on the bench on that occasion, and two vacancies having been filled in the interval, a rehearing of the case was demanded by the Attorney-General; and by five voices against four, the court decided that United States notes were a legal tender, even with retroactive effect, and that they could pay any debts contracted previous to the passage of the act. Chief Justice Chase maintained the opinion held by him on the first hearing of the case, and voted with the minority of the court.

The Ku Klux bill was passed by Congress, after a lengthened and strong discussion, during which some Senators—Mr. Trumbull and others—declared that the adoption of such a bill amounted to putting an end to State Government, and introducing an unwise change in our government system. Senator Schurz was still more explicit, and he said that "the passage of this measure marks the enlargement of the national jurisdiction at the expense of local governments, and sets up a constructive rebellion, in order to invest the President with discretionary power to suspend the *habeas corpus* laws." At any rate, the measure was such a sweeping and an extraordinary one, that President Grant thought necessary to issue first, on the 4th of May, a proclamation intended to enlighten the people of the United States as to the constitutionality, the necessity, and the innocuous character of the bill. Later, in October, he put in practice the aforesaid bill, and proclaimed the suspension of the *habeas corpus* laws in some districts of North Carolina said to be infested with Ku Kluxism. In November, a proclamation to the same effect was issued, as applicable to Union County, in South Carolina.

The Civil Service Reform question commenced to be agitated; on the 3d of March, Congress voted an appropriation to defray the expenses of a newly constituted Board, called the Civil Service Commissioners, the members appointed by the President being Messrs. George William Curtis, Alexander G. Cattell, Joseph Medill, Davidson H. Walker, E. B. Ellicott, Joseph H. Blackfan, and David C. Cox. Soon after, these gentlemen proposed the new rules to be applied to candidates for the civil service of the United States.

Early in April, 1872, the Democratic members of Congress issued an address to the people of the United States, in which they protested against the manner in which the Adminstration had discharged its duties. At the end of the same month, President Grant made a visit to Indianapolis, and, at the public reception which was tendered to him, Senator Morton answered indirectly the address of the Democratic Congressmen, reasserted the Republican principles, and broached the idea of the re-election of Grant. Almost immediately after, in a private meeting held at Cincinnati by some prominent Republicans, the idea of the Liberal Republican programme was launched, on the basis of general amnesty, civil service reform honestly carried on, specie payments, and a revenue tariff. It was decided afterwards, in a meeting of more than 100 very prominent Republicans, that a split was necessary in the party, and a call issued from Missouri for a Republican National Convention to be held at Cincinnati, on May 1, 1872, in opposition to the nomination of General Grant.

At the same time, the Democratic party, under the initiative of Vallandigham himself, supported by John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and even by Salmon P. Chase, took what was called a "new departure" from its former doctrines. Jefferson Davis attempted, in a speech at Atlanta, Ga., to maintain the Democratic phalanxes in the old path, but his efforts were of no avail. The end of the year found the two great parties of the country, Republican and Democratic, divided among themselves, and the victory was left for the strong Administration party to accept.

Meantime, many other conventions were held by the National Labor organization, by the negroes, by the Female Suffrage partisans, and by the heads of police departments and chiefs of police of the cities of the United States. Most of these conventions made their headquarters at St. Louis, just as in the year previous Cincinnati had enjoyed the honor and profit of harboring them. The resolutions adopted by these conventions of 1871, were nearly the same as those voted in the meetings of the previous year.

The figures and statistics of the United States census of 1870 were published in this year; the population of the country was 38,-113,253, showing an increase, during the decade, of 22.22 per cent., that is, of 6,929,509 inhabitants.

The financial situation of the United States was good in 1871, though not so appreciated in Europe, where the funding loan could not be placed. The best evidence of the prosperity of the country was in the fact that the receipts were in excess of expenditures to the figure of $91,146,756.64; that the public debt was kept decreasing as announced in former estimates, and that the premium on gold kept equally and steadily falling.

The average premium on gold for the year

1868, was.....	39.54	per cent.
1869,.....	32.56	" "
1870,.....	14.83	" "
1871,.....	12.1	" "

This steady decrease in the premium on gold, and consequent appreciation of the national paper money, was due especially to the re-establishment of confidence in the credit of the Government, which confidence led to an increased demand for paper money in the business affairs of the country. The revenue from customs for the fiscal year 1871 was greatly in excess of the estimates, and

amounted to $206,270,408.05. The receipts from internal revenue were about $4,000,000 less than the estimates, and reached the total of $143,098,153.63. In January, Congress passed an act increasing to $500,000,000 the $200,000,000 bonds, bearing five per cent., previously authorized to be issued. The loan was offered both in Europe and in this country; here, a large portion of it was taken, but it failed in Europe, and that was the cause of some complaints which were made in Congress against the financial policy of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The correspondence and relations with Great Britain, form, during the year 1871, the most important and about the only point of interest in the diplomatic affairs of the United States. The joint commission was proposed in January by Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington. After the exchange of a few notes, the project of a joint commission which would examine all cases in dispute between the two countries, was adopted. The Commissioners assembled at Washington on February 27th, under the presidency of Secretary Fish. On the 4th of May was read the statement prepared by Lord Tenterden and J. C. Bancroft Davis, who had been appointed joint protocolists, and, after an earnest discussion, the Washington Treaty was signed. At the end of May, the arbitrators who were to be appointed, according to the Treaty, were designated. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, was appointed arbitrator on behalf of the United States, with Mr. James S. Frazer as Commissioner of Claims. Sir Alexander Cockburn was appointed by England; M. Staempfli, for Switzerland; Count Sclopis, for Italy; and Baron Itajuba, for Brazil. The first meeting of the international tribunal, thus composed, was held at Geneva, in December, 1871; Mr. Bancroft Davis prepared the American case and he laid it before the Tribunal.

The year 1872 witnessed, in its beginning, another change among the members of the Supreme Court of the United States: Justice Nelson retired on account of his age; and ex-Governor Ward Hunt, from New York, succeeded him. The most important decision rendered by the Court was the one establishing the principle, that citizens in the Territories have rights of self-government cognate to those enjoyed by citizens in the States.

A scheme of great national interest, intending to place the telegraph system of the country in the hands of the Government, was brought before Congress, but failed to be endorsed by the representatives of the nation; yet Congress passed an act creating an immense public park, near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River.

On the 2d of February, the number of Representatives in Congress had increased to 283, and by an Act approved on May 30th, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, and Florida, were authorized to send one representative to Congress, in addition to the number apportioned by the previous act.

The Presidential campaign commenced early in the year. The first convention held for the purpose of nominating candidates was that of the Labor Reform Party, which met at Columbus, Ohio, in February, and which nominated David Davis, of Illinois, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, for President, and Joel Parker, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. But, both of them having declined the nomination, a convention of workingmen was held at Philadelphia, and nomidated Charles O'Conor, of New York, for President; no Vice-President was nominated. The National Colored Convention, which assembled in New Orleans, did not nominate any candidate, but it strongly endorsed Grant's administration, and at the same time, tendered its thanks to Charles Sumner for his continued efforts in favor of the colored race. The Liberal Republican party began in earnest its own canvass, under the direction of Carl Schurz, of Missouri. On May 1st, a convention was held in Cincinnati, which nominated Horace Greeley for President, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President. Some leaders of the movement, like Carl Schurz and Jacob D. Cox, being dissatisfied with those nominations, attempted, in a conference held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York, to split the Liberal party by nominating Mr. Groesbeck for President and Frederick L. Olmsted for Vice-President, but this movement failed completely. The regular Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore on July 9th, endorsed the nominations made at Cincinnati by the Liberal Republicans; and thus Horace Greeley and Gratz Brown were the candidates both for the Democrats and the Liberal Republicans. Some dissatisfied Democrats attempted in vain, in a convention held at Louisville, to place before the people of their party the names of O'Conor and of John Quiney Adams, as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. This movement had no importance. Some dissenting negroes led by W. N. Saunders, of Maryland, attempted also to secure the negro vote, by endorsing at their convention assembled at Louisville the nomination of Greeley and Gratz Brown. This action of the colored minority was not attended with success.

The regular Republican Convention was held at Philadelphia, on June 5th, under the Presidency of Thomas Settle, of North Carolina. With acclamation, it renominated Grant for President, and chose Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. These two gentlemen were duly elected by the popular suffrage in November, and the majority of Grant over Greeley was of 762,991 votes.

This year witnessed the act by which the last restriction placed upon the liberties of the Southern people were taken off. Congress voted, on May 22, the abolition of all political disabilities imposed by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment. Still these disabilities were maintained as to some who had been the leaders in the rebellion.

Financially, the year 1872 proved a successful one. The national debt was reduced by $99,960,253.54, although there was a reduction in the rate of taxation. The decline of the American carrying trade continued, and nearly three-fourths of the foreign trade with the United States was carried under foreign flags. The Secretary of the Treasury again called the attention of the people to the future financial policy of the country, and asserted the good results of the protective system, which had brought about the steady reduction of the national debt.

Two great diplomatic successes for the United States are to be registered during the year 1872. The Emperor of Germany, accepted as arbitrator, in order to determine the true boundary line of the Northwestern frontier between the United States Territory and the British possessions adjoining Van couver's Island, confirmed and established the claim of the American Government.

The *Alabama* Claims question was also settled by the Geneva Tribunal of arbitration, in a manner satisfactory for the United States. Mr. Bancroft Davis, on the 21st September, transmitted to Secretary Fish the award of the Tribunal in favor of the United States, which award was paid afterwards without any discussion by the British Government. In the settlement of this great question the Government of the United States retained the services of William M. Evarts, Caleb Cushing, and Mr. Waite, afterwards appointed Chief Justice of the United States to succeed Mr. Chase.

In the beginning of the year 1873, Congress increased salaries of the officers of the government as follows:

	Old Salary.	New Salary.
President of the United States	$25,000	$50,000
Vice-President	8,000	10,000
Chief Justice of Supreme Court	8,500	10,500
Justices of Supreme Court	8,000	10,000
Circuit Judges	6,000	6,000
Speaker of the House of Representatives	8,000	10,000
Members of the Cabinet	8,000	10,000

The salaries of Members of Congress were also increased by the same Act, but such objection was raised throughout the country, that the members began by refusing, individually, to draw their increased pay, and afterwards the portion of the bill relative to the salaries of Congressmen was repealed. On the 4th of March, 1873, President Grant and Vice-President Wilson were inaugurated. It was the coldest day which had been experienced in Washington since its foundation; some cadets of the Naval School went on the sick list on returning to Annapolis. The general observations made by the President, in his inaugural, were few, and rather too precise on certain topics. "When my first term of the office of Chief Executive began," he said, "the land had not recovered from the effect of an internal revolution, and three of the former States of the Union had not been restored to their Federal relations. It seemed to me wise that no new questions should be raised so long as that condition of affairs existed; therefore, the past four years, so far as I could control events, have been consumed in the effort to restore harmony, public credit, commerce, and all the arts of peace and progress. It is my firm conviction, that the civilized world is tending towards republicanism, or government of the people through their chosen representatives, and that our own great republic is destined to be the guiding star to all others." The President then reviewed rapidly the different questions of immediate interest to the United States, saying that "the effect of the late civil war has been to free the slave and make him a citizen. Yet, he is not possessed of the civil rights which citizenship should carry with it. This is wrong, and should be corrected. To this correction I stand committed, so far as Executive influence can avail." President Grant continues his Message, by making an apology, for having worked

so earnestly as he did for the purchase of San Domingo, which purchase had been condemned by Congress. He said, "In the future, while I hold my present office, the subject of acquisition of territory must have the support of the people before I will recommend any proposition looking to such acquisition." After having "acknowledged the obligations he is under to his countrymen," for his re-election, the President recalls that "he had scarcely a respite in his labors since the eventful firing on Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, to the present day;" and he ends his Message by those words of personal interest: "Notwithstanding this [the roll-call of his services], throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office, in 1868, to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equalled in political history, which to-day I feel I can afford to disregard, in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

The changes immediately made in the Cabinet were limited to the appointment of William A. Richardson as Secretary of the Treasury, *vice* George S. Boutwell, who resigned his office. The internal postal system of the United States was improved by the adoption of the free-delivery system in all cities containing 20,000 inhabitants, and by the introduction of the postal cards.

Among the many conventions which assembled during the year, the most important ones were that of the "Patrons of Husbandry," who are so familar to every American under their popular name, the Grangers; and the National Cheap Transportation, which organized in New York in May, 1874. Both of these organizations had nearly the same view; that is, to bring Congress to legislate for the better government of railroad corporations. Early in January, 1874, a report was made to Congress on the question, by its Committee on Railroads and Canals. The people asked that a law should be enacted, regulating commerce by railroads between the several States. No action was taken on that point, which had been thoroughly examined by George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Chairman of the Committee on Railroads and Canals.

This year, except 1872, when 449,483 immigrants landed in America, witnessed a larger exodus from Europe to this country, than any one previous. In 1873 there were 437,004 immigrants who arrived in the United States, making a whole total of 8,808,141 since 1820.

Financially, the year 1873 would have been as prosperous as the previous ones, but for the incredible panic which seized the country in September. Never has been more strongly illustrated the special character of a panic, especially of a financial one; rumors and fears caused all the trouble. It began at the national capital, and at the First National Bank, managed by Jay Cooke & Co., who enjoyed the confidence of the Government. It was immediately rumored that the United States Treasury itself was concerned in the Jay Cooke failures, though there was not an atom of truth in the saying. The fiscal year ending June 30, 1873, produced in the shape of excess of receipts over expenditures, almost exactly what had been estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury in his financial report of the previous year. The surplus, which amounted to $43,392,959.34, was devoted as usual to the payment of the national debt. But the panic having settled deep into all commercial, industrial, and financial enterprises of the country, having broken down many of the moneyed institutions, and closed up the majority of workshops, the national financial status of the second part of 1873 was not so satisfactory as that of the first half of the year. The best evidence that the financial panic did not rest upon any real, sound motives, is that the shipbuilding trade, which had been depressed for so long a time, began to revive. Still, the panic exercised a tremendous influence over ordinary mercantile and industrial transactions, and the sufferings of the people were so acute, that they are now (August, 1874) not yet healed.

No diplomatic question of importance, except that pertaining to Cuba, arose during the year 1873. Foreign nations, as the Argentine Republic and Austria, admit, or declare their intention to admit, in order to settle their quarrels with other countries, the principle of arbitration recognized and practised by the United States. The Chinese Emperor agreed to relinquish the old system of the Court of Pekin, and to receive Foreign Ministers in his celestial presence.

The *Virginius*, an American schooner, having been seized on the high seas by a Spanish man-of-war, and brought into the port of Santiago, as guilty of being an insurgent Cuban vessel, many of the passengers and crew were shot by the Spaniards. The State Department at Washington insisted that an apology should be made, that the *Virginius* should be remitted to the United States Government, and that an indemnity should be paid to the families of the victims. The first two conditions were soon complied with; and the third one is now (August, 1874) the subject of diplomatic communications.

In the beginning of the year 1874 Governors of several States were inaugurated: among them Governor Kemper, of Virginia; Dix, of New York; William Allen, of Ohio. The President withdrew the nomination he had made of Mr. Cushing as Chief Justice, and Mr. Morrison R. Waite's nomination to that office was afterwards confirmed by the Senate. In February, the President sent a message to Congress, asking in general terms a handsome support of the centennial enterprise. His nomination of Mr. Cushing as Minister at Madrid having been confirmed by the Senate, Mr. Cushing sailed for Spain in March. On the 8th of the same month ex-President Fillmore was carried to the grave; and three days after, Charles Sumner died at Washington, after having seen his former censure by the Massachusetts Legislature rescinded by that body. In May the President determined to suppress the warfare which was carried on in Arkansas by Brooks and Baxter, both of whom pretended to be the legal Governors of the State. Fighting continued for weeks, at Little Rock especially, and also in the neighboring counties, while powerful moral assistance was given to each of the contestants by different Members of Congress. The President, acting on the advice of the Attorney-General, recognized Baxter as Governor of Arkansas, and warned Brooks and his fellow-insurgents to disperse. On May 23d the Senate passed the Civil Rights Bill. General Bristow was unanimously confirmed by the Senate, on June 1st, as Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Richardson, the then incumbent, was also, on the same day, confirmed as Judge of the Court of Claims. Another change was rendered necessary in the Cabinet, by the resignation of Postmaster-General Cresswell on the 24th of June. After having offered the situation to several who declined to accept it, the President nominated Mr. Jewell, then Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg; this choice was confirmed by the Senate.

During the first half of 1874 there were labor riots in different places in the country; near New York, at the Bergen Tunnel, but especially in Pennsylvania. In the month of March, the workmen of the Erie Railway took forcible possession of the company's works at Susquehanna; they were driven away, however, without bloodshed, by the State troops forwarded there by the Governor of Pennsylvania. The famous French exile, Rochefort, arrived in New York on May 30th, and delivered a lecture at the New York Academy of Music, but without exciting any trouble, and but little curiosity on the part of the people. Early in the year, the temperance movement, characterized by bar-room prayer-meetings, began in the West. In June and July, the country was visited by various disasters. In Minnesota, the locusts caused considerable damage to the crops. A reservoir burst at Middlefield, Massachusetts, destroying a great amount of life and property; and a terrible rainfall occasioned a flood, on the 27th July, at Pittsburg, Pa., where many lives were lost. A fire raged in Chicago on the 14th of July, and destroyed a large part of the city.

Early in August the steamer *Pat Rogers* was destroyed by fire on the Ohio river, and twenty-five lives were lost. On the night of the 7th of the same month the steamer *Henry Ames* sank near Waterproof, Miss. A heavy frost prevailed throughout northern New England on the same night, and a snow-storm occurred in New Hampshire.

Congress debated for many months the financial measures proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury. The Conference Currency Bill was at first defeated in the House, on June 13th; then it passed on the 20th, and the President signed it two days after. The new five per cent. loan was placed on the market July 25th; and on the 27th Secretary Bristow accepted the bids tendered by foreign bankers.

The passport system was abolished in France, for American travellers; but it amounted to little, for travellers were still obliged to prove their identity when requested to do so. A new Postal Treaty was signed with France, and went into operation the 1st of August, 1874. By this convention the postage on single letters of half an ounce transmitted between France and the United States was nine cents, prepaid.

Adelbert Ames, Governor of Mississippi, called upon the President of the United States for National troops to suppress a threatened political outbreak in that State between the Republicans and Democrats. The President refused the appeal of the governor, and did not send the troops.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

It is easy to understand that the United States, with such a well-irrigated territory, can produce in the valleys of the Hudson, the Missouri, the Ohio, etc., splendid agricultural crops, besides the cotton crop, which is mentioned elsewhere. It can be said of the whole country what has been said about a small part of it—California. That State was, at first, considered as being only able to give a gold crop, while it is evident now that wheat and corn are the true wealth of the still called Golden State. People were not wanting, either, to proclaim that the United States was but a cotton-producing country, and that its fountain of wealth had been ruined by the disorganization of the Cotton States. The prophecy has proved to be a wrong one, even with regard to cotton itself, which, plenty as before, brings very nearly the same amount of money as the full crops of 1858, '59, '60 produced themselves. And it will be seen by the statistics given below, that the true wealth of the United States is to be found in their wheat, corn, barley, rye, and other cereals.

The number of farms in America, in 1850, was 1,449,075, comprising 113,032,614 acres of improved land, and 180,528,000 acres of unimproved land. In 1860 these figures run up to 163,261,389 farms, comprising 246,508,244 acres. During the same period, the moneyed value of the farms increased by more than 100 per cent., and it was rated in 1860 at $6,650,872,507.

In 1849 the whole production of wheat was 100,495,744 bushels; in 1859, 171,183,381 bushels, or an increase of 71 per cent. The States of Illinois and Wisconsin were the most prominent in this increase. From September 1, 1861, to September 1, 1862, 2,672,515 barrels of flour, and 25,754,709 bushels of grain, were exported to Great Britain. During the same period, the exportations to other European countries amounted to 2,412,047 barrels of flour and 17,186,976 bushels of wheat.

Corn production increased between 1849 and 1859 by more than 40 per cent., and it was 830,451,707 bushels in the latter year. As to the exportation of corn, it was not developed as extensively as that of other agricultural products, because the voyage across the Atlantic produces a damaging effect upon the flavor of that article, and because the more corn America exported, the less wheat —which pays better—would have to be sent to Europe. Besides, the corn which might otherwise be exported is consumed at home in feeding cattle, and especially pork, which is itself sold in Europe in larger quantity. This pork, which enters into the trade of America, was reckoned in 1860 at about 325,000,000 pounds.

The produce of dairies, including milk, butter and cheese, in 1860, amounted to more than $260,000,000, of which two-thirds was developed in the States of New York and Pennsylvania.

Tobacco is one of the most important agricultural products of the United States. In 1840, 219,163,319 pounds were produced, against 199,752,655 in 1850, and 428,121,000 in 1860. Exportation was carried on upon a large scale, inasmuch as the tobacco consumed in Europe is composed of the American production in the proportion of two-fifths. France alone consumes three-fourths or four-fifths of United States tobacco. The value of the exportation of American tobacco to Europe was as follows:

$14,712,468	in	1855.
12,221,843	"	1856.
26,652,772	"	1857.
17,009,767	"	1858.
21,074,038	"	1859.
15,906,547	"	1860.

The study of tobacco statistics, and of Custom-House entries and clearances relative to it, would teach cigar-smokers in what quantity the Connecticut tobacco enters into the fabrication of "real imported Havana cigars." A large quantity of the "Connecticut seed" is sent to Cuba, where it is manufactured into cigars or re-exported to the States as genuine Cuba tobacco. Generally, the outside envelope, or leaf of a real Havana cigar is of Connecticut origin.

Maple sugar, sorghs, and honey, though not forming an important branch of United States exports, constitute a good trade at home. Lately, strong efforts have been made in Ohio and California to introduce wine culture. M. Longworth has succeeded in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, and the Catawba and California wines have become rather popular. Still, the special flavor of American wine prevents its exportation to foreign countries, especially to Europe; and, on another hand, skilled wine-growers are not yet numerous enough in the country to encourage capital in undertaking vine-culture in greater proportions than is already carried on, inasmuch as those proportions are already greater than would have been expected in the early days of the country. Quite recent statistics demonstrate that, in California especially, the culture of the native grape and the industry of wine-growing have been developed on a large scale within the past few years. The State is reported to have some 30,000,000 of vines, covering 45,000 acres of land, valued in the aggregate at about $4,500,000. At least one-fourth of the land in some parts of California is better adapted to wine-growing than to other purposes, and every year the land planted in vines grows more and more valuable. That which is worth at the present market price two dollars and a half per acre, is valued at one hundred dollars per acre when covered with vines. The sunny slopes of the Californian hills must be well adapted to the culture of the grape, which grows wild and in great abundance, and every year of cultivation will be likely to improve the quality of the wine. Good California wine is now worth about one dollar per bottle, or five dollars per gallon, and many wine-growers can get one-half that sum per gallon by selling it in casks. We have here an enormous industry for the future, and it is probably the beginning of the solution of the temperance problem. With good and cheap wine at hand people would cease drinking alcoholic liquors.

Agricultural implements are mentioned under the head of manufactures. As to the living agricultural implements and products, horses and other animals, the United States is one of the wealthiest countries in the globe; the increase is 100 per cent. at least, every tenth year. In 1849 the number of meat-producing animals killed was 111,703,142, against 212,871,653 in 1859. A special feature of agriculture in America is, that the number of animals employed in agricultural purposes is larger than the number of the laborers. In 1860 there were in the United States:

Horses	7,300,972
Mules and donkeys	1,296,349
Milk cows	8,728,862
Oxen	2,240,075
Other cattle	18,018,409
Sheep	24,823,566
Pigs	39,023,172

The whole represented a total value of about $2,000,000,000. The increase in pork only, for one year, amounted to 37 per cent., and in the single winter of 1861–62, the number of hogs killed for the market rose to 2,872,666.

One of the articles of American commerce, which would have been hardly prophesied fifty years ago, is the ice trade. The United States can be considered as the sole purveyors of the world for that article, for every country except Europe and its immediate vicinity. The success in this branch of industry is principally due, not so much to the cold winters of the north of the United States, or to their proximity to the almost-ever ice-bound Canadas and Northern Lakes, as to the spirit of enterprise in Americans, the swiftness of their clippers, which carry so rapidly and so cheaply their ice cargoes to South America or the East Indies, and to the almost scientific manner by which ice is gathered, stored, and shipped. The ice trade was inaugurated as early as 1805, for the West Indies consumption, by a Bostonian, Mr. Frederic Tudor. In 1833 he shipped his first cargo for the East Indies, and the year after he sent another ice-laden ship to Brazil. In 1846 the exportation of that article from Boston amounted to 65,000 tons, and in 1856 to 146,000 tons. The increase in this kind of exportation has kept steadily ahead, and it brings a good source of revenue to the agricultural population, which can so much more easily attend to it, as ice is gathered in a season during which agricultural labor is almost at a standstill.

Though produced only in very few Southern States, and especially in North Carolina, turpentine shows a fair record in the agricultural statistics of America. The exportations, in 1860, were 4,072,023 gallons, valued at $1,916,289, for turpentine essence alone. The crude article was exported, in the same year, to the amount of 770,652 barrels, valued at $1,818,238. To England the exportations amounted to 12,323 tons in 1858, and 12,833 tons in 1859. The civil war put a check to that commerce, which now (August, 1874) is beginning again to revive.

The census of 1870 shows that there are in the United States 5,922,471 persons engaged in agricultural pursuits. Of these, 2,885,996 are agricultural laborers; 3,550 dairymen and dairywomen; 2,977,771 are

farmers and planters; 1,085 are florists; 31,485 are gardeners and nurserymen; 6,588 are stock-raisers; 9,771, stock-drovers and stock-herders; 136 are apiarists; 361 are turpentine farmers; 2,117 are turpentine laborers; 1,112 wine-growers.

The census of 1870 gives the following figures, showing the most recent particulars relative to all branches of agriculture:

Number of farms: improved	188,921,099
" " unimproved, woodland	159,310,177
" " other unimproved	59,503,765
Cash value of farms	$9,262,803,861
" farming implements	336,878,429
Wages paid during the year	310,286,285
Total value of all farm products	2,447,538,658
Orchard products	47,335,189
Produce of market gardens	20,719,229
Forest products	36,808,277
Value of home manufactures	23,423,332
Value of animals slaughtered, or sold for slaughter	398,956,376
Value of all live stock	1,525,276,457
Number of horses	7,145,370
" mules and asses	1,125,415
" milch cows	8,935,332
" working oxen	1,319,271
" other cattle	13,566,005
" sheep	28,477,951
" swine	25,134,569
Wheat (spring) bushels	112,549,733
" (winter) "	175,195,893
Rye "	16,918,795
Indian corn "	760,944,549
Oats "	282,107,157
Barley "	29,761,305
Buckwheat "	9,821,721
Rice lbs.	73,635,021
Tobacco "	262,735,341
Cotton bales	3,011,996
Wool lbs.	100,102,387
Peas and beans bushels	5,746,027
Potatoes (Irish) "	143,337,473
" (sweet) "	21,709,824
Wine gallons	3,092,330
Butter lbs.	514,092,683
Cheese "	53,492,153
Milk gallons	235,500,599
Hay tons	27,316,048
Clover bushels	639,657
Grass "	583,188
Hops lbs.	25,456,669
Hemp tons	12,746
Flax lbs.	27,133,034
Flaxseed bushels	1,730,444
Silk (cocoons) lbs.	3,937
Sugar (cane) hhds.	87,043
" (sorghum) "	24
" (maple) lbs.	28,443,645
Molasses (cane) gallons	6,593,323
" (sorghum) "	16,050,089
" (maple) "	921,057
Bees (wax) lbs.	631,129
" (honey) "	14,702,815

COTTON.

If cotton is no more a "king," it is still a powerful prince, who helps considerably in the progress and wealth of the United States, and keeps a goodly part of the world under their domination. It is impossible that it should be otherwise, for the soil of America is, through a special gift of Providence, the best adapted to cotton cultivation. It produces, at the same time, the highest quality of long silky Sea Island cotton, and the largest quantity on a given area of ground. The most conclusive evidence of the superiority of the United States in the matter of cotton production over Egypt, China, Brazil, and East Indies, is to be found in the fact that, during the late war, cotton, though smuggled at the rate of a few bales on every blockade-runner, was still sufficient to provide the Confederacy with money, the nerve of war, and that, at present, the whole country, though producing yet less cotton than before 1861, sells it for nearly the same amount of money as it did previously.

The climax of cotton production was reached in 1859, but in the early days of the colonization, American cotton had asserted its superiority. As early as in the year 1748, an inferior quality of cotton shipped from Charleston, realized upon the English market, £3 11s. 5d. per bag. But the British could not believe that America would ever become a cotton-producing country; in 1784, seven bales having been sent to England, were seized by the Custom-House authorities, who declared *ex cathedrâ* that the invoice was not *bonâ fide*, for America could not produce such a quantity of the white crop. Still, they had to be reconciled to the idea that such a fact was possible; and the English importations ran to 14,109,389 pounds and even 842 bales, at the time when the war for Independence broke out. About at the same time the Sea Island cotton, the pride of American production, was first raised on the Georgia coast, especially at Hilton Head, along the swampy shores of South Carolina. It was sold at prices which forebode the cotton famine prices between 1861 and 1865, that is to say, 47 cents a pound, whilst other cotton brought only 27 cents. The fibre was even so long, that the English manufacturers, whose machinery was entirely adapted to short Surat cotton, took to cutting in two the newly imported Sea Island, before spinning it. Soon after the success won by the Hilton Head cotton, the Edisto cotton was sold, in 1805, at more than one dollar a pound; and it reached, in 1828, two dollars a pound, the highest price ever paid for cotton.

In 1857, one bale sent from the same county of Edisto, was sold at the rate of $1.35 a pound, for that staple was considered quite superior to the cotton which had given the famous thread No. 900, so much admired at the London Universal Exhibition of 1851.

Between 1849 and 1859, the cotton production was nearly doubled; 2,445,793 bales of 400 pounds each, in 1849, and 4,675,770 bales in 1859. The rumors of war had already exercised their influence upon the crop of 1860-'61, which reached only to 3,656,086 bales.

The area occupied by the cotton lands in America might be called the slavery area, for it occupies just the same ground as that institution occupied. The northern belt of the cotton-producing country is marked by the parallel 36°, the one so famous under the name of Mason and Dixon's line, which had been stretched out as a limit beyond which slavery was told: "Thou shalt not go farther!" Thirteen States produce cotton, but only eight of them, bordering the Atlantic Ocean and the Mexican Gulf, are engaged in the culture of the seed on a large scale. In taking all of the thirteen States together, the average productive capacity of the soil amounts to one-half bale per acre, as shown by the statistics of 1872.

The principal ports of exportations, according to the statements of 1872-'73, are:

	Bales for foreign ports.	Bales for domestic ports
Charleston, S. C..	160,169	225,016
Galveston, Texas.	210,438	133,304
Mobile, Ala.....	132,130	197,131
New Orleans	1,177,058	228,968
Savannah, Ga....	375,895	248,752

Added to these figures must be cotton shipped at smaller ports, and also the interior movement of cotton to northern mills and markets, through the rivers and over the railroads, up the valley of the Mississippi. This movement amounted, in 1873, to 402,296 bales.

The following table will show the progress of cotton cultivation and exportation during the few years previous to the war, which put a momentary check to that branch of national wealth:

The crops were in

1851-52	of	3,015,029 bales.
1852-53	"	3,262,882 "
1853-54	"	2,930,027 "
1854-55	"	2,847,339 "
1855-56	"	3,527,845 "
1856-57	"	2,939,519 "
1857-58	"	3,113,962 "
1858-59	"	3,851,481 "
1859-60	"	4,675,770 "
1860-61	"	3,656,086 "

The home consumption during the same years varied between 700,000 bales and 900,000. In 1857-58, only 595,562 bales were for home consumption, and in 1859-60, American manufacturers employed 978,043 bales. The lowest and highest figures of exportation for the same period were the following: 987,833,106 pounds in 1853-54, against 1,767,686,338 pounds in 1859-60. The average price of cotton jumped suddenly from its highest figure of 9.85 cents in former years to 12.55 per pound in 1856-57; 11.72 in 1857-58; 12.72, in 1858-59; 10.85, in 1859-60; 12.50, in 1860-61. After the opening of the civil war, cotton increased in value in proportion with the decrease in production, so that, on the 1st of January, 1863, the extent of the crop being estimated at the fourth of what it amounted formerly, the value of it was nearly equal to the value given precedently for a full crop.

It is impossible to get at any reliable statistics of the production of cotton during the civil war, which disturbed the administrative machinery of the United States. In the year which followed the termination of the war, the cotton crop was in—

1865-66	of	2,269,316 bales.
1866-67	"	2,097,254 "
1867-68	"	2,519,554 "
1868-79	"	2,366,467 "
1869-70	"	3,122,551 "
1870-71	"	4,362,317 "
1871-72	"	3,014,351 "
1872-73	"	3,930,508 "

The home consumption during these years increased steadily, as the following figures will show, commencing at 1865-66 inclusive:

1866.....	666,100 bales.
1867.....	770,030 "
1868.....	906,636 "
1869.....	926,374 "
1870.....	865,160 "
1871.....	1,110,196 "
1872.....	1,237,330 "
1873.....	1,201,127 "

A sudden increase in home consumption is thus shown within the last three years. It must be noticed also that the bales mentioned in the statistics of recent years are larger than the bales were before the year 1840, when they weighed no more than 395 or 397 pounds, whilst they are reckoned now at 440 and even at 464 pounds per bale. Foreign exportations kept about in the same ratio as formerly, being larger when the cotton crop was large itself and prices proportionately low, and being smaller when the crop decreased; the foreign manufacturers adopted American cotton in preference to any other, and their wants were the same after the American civil war as previous to it. It is a fact worth while to be borne in mind, that the superiority of the cotton of the United States has been demonstrated precisely by the eclipse through which the American staple passed during the war. All the energy and the whole moneyed power of England was brought to bear on the production of the Indian cotton, with the hope of finding in the East Indies a substitute for the American staple. These efforts were of no avail; no other article could take the place of the cotton of the United States, and immediately after the war foreign manufacturers called again at their former source of supply. The exportation following the close of the war would have been still larger if the home consumption had not increased at the same time, and thus enhanced the market price of cotton while it diminished the available exporting matter.

The prices paid for cotton since the war stand as follows:

	Per pound in New York market.
1865–66	43.20 cents.
1866–67	31.59 "
1867–68	24.85 "
1868–69	29.01 "
1869–70	23.98 "
1870–71	16.95 "
1871–72	20.48 "
1872–73	18.15 "

The nine Southern States which, before the war, were the most prominent for their cotton crops, have kept their position amongst the thirteen cotton-growing States since the war. In closing this subject of cotton-producing it may be important to state that statistics cannot be obtained of mathematical accuracy, for the small planters do not always report the state of their crops with a rigorous exactitude, and because a small portion of the cotton is consumed upon the plantation itself, without any record being made after the picking season to the county statistician. That explains to a certain degree why some authors put 4,861,292 bales as the largest crop acknowledged to have been gathered in the United States, that is, in 1859–60, whilst others put it at 4,300,000 bales; and a third author, the one we have adopted, puts the whole crop between the two former figures, that is, at 4,675,770 bales for 1859–60.

COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

The climax of navigation and shipbuilding was reached, in the United States, in June, 1861, when the American tonnage was 5,539,812 tons. That was the natural consequence of the development of American crops, and especially of the cotton crop, which had to be transported to Europe and other countries. The wheat and corn crops had been very good for some years, and cotton production attained in 1859–60 its highest figure, 4,675,770 bales; all this formed an immense amount of freight, which gave employment to any vessels which the American shipyards could send to sea. War and depression of trade came afterwards, and caused the American flag almost to disappear from the ocean. It is only within the last few months that shipbuilding has recovered some of its former activity, and the present embarrassment caused in England to that branch of industry by the demands of the workmen for increased wages tends to diminish English competition. America built more ships and steamers in the beginning of 1874 than she had done for the ten corresponding periods of previous years, and never was American superiority in shipbuilding shown better than in the magnificent steamers *City of Pekin* and *City of Tioko*, constructed by Roach & Sons, and launched from the Chester shipyards on the Delaware. These steamers, the largest afloat after the *Great Eastern*, belong to the Pacific Mail Steamship line.

It is quite natural that the mercantile marine of the United States should have progressed so remarkably, and should be called to a splendid prosperity in the future, for not only is America stretched along more than 6,000 miles of ocean shores, but its internal system of rivers is the most extensive and the best naturally-arranged of all countries, together with immense treasures in her forests and in her mines, to help the building of wooden and iron ships. As early as 1670 the North American Colonies were already so much developed, as to industry, that Sir Joshua Childs wrote: "Our American plantations employ nearly two-thirds of our English shipping, and thereby give constant subsistence to, it may be, 200,000 persons here at home." The American tonnage of that time was nearly 40,000 tons. One hundred years later, just on the eve of the Independence War, the vessels built in the Colonies averaged 20,000 tons. In 1820 the tonnage had not increased, as it did after the American crops enlarged through the agency of machinery and by a steady clearing of the West by an unceasing flow of immigration.

In 1820, there were			47,780	tons.
1830,	"	637 vessels, and	58,094	"
1840,	"	872 "	118,309	"
1850,	"	1,360 "	272,218	"
1855,	"	2,034 "	583,450	"
1856,	"	1,703 "	469,393	"
1857,	"	1,334 "	278,804	"
1858,	"	1,225 "	242,286	"
1859,	"	870 "	126,601	"
1860,	"	1,701 "	212,892	"
1861,	"	1,143 "	233,194	"

The war in the South put a momentary stop to this great industry of the United States. The amount of registered and enrolled tonnage sold to foreigners in 1861 is stated to be 26,649 tons. Amount condemned as unseaworthy, 7,964 tons. The amount lost at sea, 59,567 tons. The net increase of tonnage for the year 1861 was 185,944 tons.

In forty-seven years, ending in 1861, the decrease of shipbuilding, and of ships and tonnage belonging to the United States, was 42.75 per cent. During the ten years preceding 1861, the same decrease went down to only 25 per cent. on the whole, or about 2.72 per cent. yearly, covering a loss of 1,821,827 tons. This is an insignificant loss when compared with the 3,589,300 tons built between 1852 and 1862; the yearly increase from 1854, until the war, amounted to 340,571 tons, not less than 264 steamers were constructed in the only year 1859–60. Shipbuilding was confined, at that time, almost exclusively to New York and New England; a few vessels were built at Baltimore, whose industry in that line received a severe blow from the war and from the competition of the Delaware shipyards. In 1855, the value of the tonnage built in New England was $20,000,000, whilst the South built only $1,160,000, and the West not even one million dollars. There were in the North nearly 11,000 workmen exclusively employed in this branch of industry, on an average of $500 each for annual wages. In 1856, the North built 1,205 vessels with a tonnage of 376,647 tons; in 1857, 983 vessels with 294,472 tons; in 1858, 739 vessels with 170,570 tons. The business was fostered by the bounties of the Federal Government paid to the fishermen for every ton on the vessels engaged in the fisheries. The amount of bounty paid in the twelve years ending in 1859, was of more than four millions of dollars, of which Massachusetts received two-thirds. New York State, being engaged more especially in the construction of other vessels larger than the fishing smacks, hardly received any bounty, but took the lead in shipbuilding.

On the 5,539,812 tons which formed in June, 1861, the entire tonnage of the United States, New York could claim 1,740,940 tons, that is, nearly 30 per cent. of the general total. And, as to shipbuilding alone, the State of New York constructed 46,359 tons, that is, nearly 20 per cent. of the whole tonnage, for the same year, ending June 30, 1861. In the three years, 1859, 1860, 1861, the State of Maine built 156,115 tons; Massachusetts, 101,937; Pennsylvania, 60,845, and the balance of the States built 189,183 tons. If each ton is reckoned at a valuation of $40, the tonnage of the State of New York was in June, 1861, 1,740,940 tons, valued at $59,637,600; and the tonnage of all the other States was 3,798,872 tons, valued at $151,954,880.

If we compare the figures of American vessels, before the war, that is, 5,539,812 tons, in June, 1861, with the figures of the last three years, a very large difference is to be found, showing to what extent the Rebellion crippled the industry and commerce of the United States.

In 1870, there were 7,825 vessels and 2,400,407 tons entered in the mercantile service belonging to America. In the same year, that which belonged to English trade with the United States was represented by 23,165 vessels and 5,993,153 tons.

But, in 1872, those figures were altered, and American commerce begins to recover. It numbers 7,092 vessels and 2,279,120 tons, whilst England decreases and is represented by 19,182 vessels and 5,468,327 tons.

There are motives, therefore, to expect that the United States will soon recover their

ost mercantile prestige on the seas. Nobody will deny that, at least in American waters, American ships were predominant, just before the war, when the following figures are remembered:

In 1861, for the fiscal year ending June 30, the whole number of American vessels entered from foreign countries was	11,251
Whole number of foreign vessels entered from foreign countries was	10,709
Whole number of American vessels cleared for foreign countries was	11,079
Whole number of foreign vessels cleared for foreign countries was	10,586
Tonnage of American vessels entered from foreign countries was	5,023,917
Tonnage of foreign vessels entered from foreign countries was	2,217,554
Tonnage of American vessels cleared for foreign countries was	4,889,313
Tonnage of foreign vessels cleared for foreign countries was	2,262,042

Such figures demonstrate sufficiently the strong vitality which shipbuilding and foreign commerce possessed in America, and they showed that if such a trade was temporarily prostrated by a five years' war, and by financial embarrassments likely to follow as a consequence, it would soon come again to life and prosperity. So has it been. Nobody could take from Americans their peculiar and superior science of shipbuilding, which has been evidenced to the world by the superior sailing qualities of the clippers, an exclusively American invention, and by the victories won by the American yachts in the Cowes races in 1869, and by the *Enchantress*, a New York yacht, which, in July, 1874, arrived first in the English Channel race. As to steamships, the glorious memory of the Collins line, which made such fast trips between New York and Liverpool, between 1855 and 1860, has not yet been eclipsed in the mind of the nautical world by the splendid passages of the White Star or Inman lines of transatlantic steamers. In 1861, there were but six different steamship lines; they carried 69,307 passengers, and 78,823 in 1862. At present, there is more than a score of these lines, and the United States, which did not own a single one, can boast of possessing the American line from Philadelphia to Liverpool, while they almost monopolize the carrying trade of the Pacific, between California and the coasts of Japan and China.

As to the Navy, the United States keep the lead, if not as to the quantity, at least as to the seagoing qualities of their ships. The art of building men-of-war was entirely changed in the making of the *Monitor*, No. 1. American iron-clads were the first to go to sea, and to support successfully the wear and tear and the dangers of long voyages. Just as Fulton was the first to navigate practically a steamboat on the Hudson, so now an American has demonstated to the astonished world, in the waters of Hampton Roads, that an iron-clad could navigate, and be, at the same time, a good, staunch and redoubtable man-of-war.

A country endowed, like the United States, with an immense territory, and with nearly every natural product of northern and southern climates, could hardly help being successful in general commerce. So it has been, from the very days of the colonization down to our own time, as is shown below by the statistics of the year ending April 30, 1874. Exportations from the country have nearly always been equal to the importations from abroad. In 1700 the exportations from New England and the North Atlantic colonies were of £395,000 against £344,000 of importations.

In 1860 the exportations amounted to $400,122,296, and the importations to $362,-162,941. The principal articles of exportation for 1861 were as follows:

Maritime products: whalebone, salt fish, oil, etc	$4,451,515
Forest products: bark, timber	10,260,809
Agricultural products: tobacco, raw sugar, cotton, pork	149,492,026
Specie and bullion	23,799,870

The exportations of home manufactures were valued at $228,699,486; of foreign articles at $20,645,427.

During the same year, 1860, the principal importations were coffee, tea, copper, raw silk, silk goods.

A question which is of the utmost importance to American commerce was temporarily solved in 1854 by the Reciprocity Treaty concluded with England. This treaty provided that certain specified articles were to be exchanged free between the United States and the Canadas, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The great West found thus, for its products, an easy outflow into the British Provinces, as shown by the following figures: For the year ending June 30, 1861, American merchandise exported to those Provinces was valued at $208,825,783, while the importations from the same localities only reached $150,347,355. This was, as compared with 1853, an increase of $103,735,603 for exportations, and of $80,194,546 for importations.

The figures given below will show that American commerce and navigation begins, though slowly, to retrace their steps. This is due, in a great part, to what may be called the *personnel*, or the personal agencies which are at work to develop the resources of the United States under the head of Commerce, Navigation, and Transportation. The census of 1870 shows a population of 28,228,945 over the age of ten years, of which number 13,-970,079 are females. Out of this number we can enumerate, under the head of Commerce, Trade, and Navigation: 10,499 agents; 10,631 bankers and brokers (15 females); 14,362 barkeepers (70 females); 21,332 boatmen and watermen (30 females); 31,177 bookkeepers and accountants in stores (293 females); 7,338 canalmen (10 females); 222,-504 clerks in stores (6,194 females); 120,756 draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.; 154,027 employés of railroad companies (not clerks); 5,103 employés of street railroads (not clerks); 8,316 employés of telegraph companies (not clerks); 17,362 hucksters; 14,882 laborers; 3,728 milkmen and milkwomen; 473 mule-packers; 2,002 newspaper criers and carriers (7 females); 2,738 officials of banks; 1,902 officials of railroad companies; 72 officials of telegraph companies; 384 pawnbrokers; 16,975 pedlars; 3,649 pilots; 16,631 porters in stores and warehouses; 56,663 sailors; 14,203 salesmen and saleswomen (2,775 females); 3,567 shippers and freighters; 7,975 steamboatmen and women (40 females); 100,406 traders and dealers (not specified, of which 2,833 are females); 1,939 dealers in agricultural implements; 3,392 in books and stationery; 7,019 in boots and shoes; 4,087 in cabinet-ware; 8,234 in cigars and tobacco; 7,595 in clothing; 4,143 in coal; 2,493 in coal and wood; 1,701 in cotton; 1,765 in crockery, china, and stoneware; 17,369 in drugs and medicines; 39,790 in dry goods (661 females); 6,402 gold and silver-ware and jewelry; 74,-410 groceries (1,197 females); 3,375 in hats and caps; 1,464 in ice; 9,003 in iron, tin, and copper wares; 2,261 in leather, hides, and skins; 11,718 in liquors (106 females); 7,723 in live stock (5 females); 9,440 in lumber (4 females); 1,455 in newspapers and periodicals; 11,809 in produce (63 females); 7,528 in provisions; 8,933 in real estate; 3,152 in sewing machines; 1,996 undertakers (20 females); 926 weighers, gaugers, and measurers; 93 wreckers.

The latest report on hand, published by the Bureau of Statistics, and which gives figures and data as recent as the 30th September, 1873, presents some interesting particulars relative to the trade of the United States with different countries in Asia and in Europe. A report from the Consul-General in London indicates that the exportation from that port to the United States, for the year ending September 30, 1873, was £1,092,911, or twelve and one-half per centum less in value than that of the preceding year. The total value of the imports entered for consumption into the Dominion of Canada for the fiscal year ending June, 1872, amounted to $107,709,116, being an increase of $20,-761,634, or nearly twenty-four per centum over the imports of the previous year. The exports for the same period amounted to $82,639,663, being an increase over the year 1871 of $8,466,045, or nearly eleven and one-half per centum. The imports into Canada from the United States, entered for home consumption, amounted, during the above period, to $34,217,969, being an increase over 1870 and 1871 of $5,195,582. The exports to the United States for the same period amounted to $31,896,816—$921,174 more than the previous year, while during the year ending June 30, 1871, the exports from Canada to the United States exceeded the imports from this country by $1,953,255; during the corresponding period of 1871 and 1872 the reverse was the case by $2,321,153.

The Consul at Marseilles has furnished statements of the imports and exports of France for the first eight months of 1873 in advance of the annual official report. Those statements promise an increase for the past year of over $130,000,000 as compared with the imports and exports of 1870. The aggregate value of the declared exports to the United States from the Consular districts of this Government in France is reported as amounting to $69,077,562 in 1872. This is an increase of 18,752,888 over the year 1871.

The declared value of the exports to the United States from the Consular districts of this Government in Germany, for the year 1872, is estimated at $37,177,000, this amount exceeding that for 1871 by more than $4,000,-000.

The political disturbances in Spain do not

appear to have produced a decline in the commerce of that Republic. Indeed, the official statement shows an increase of more than $40,000,000 in the value of the imports for the first six months of 1873, as compared with the imports for the corresponding period of 1872. The Minister at Madrid reports that he believes the returns of the exports will afford even a more favorable exhibit.

During the five years ending with 1872, the commerce between the United States and Switzerland has doubled. The value of watches exported to this country in 1872 is reported as having amounted to $3,600,000.

The direct import and export trade of China with the United States appears to be very small, but the American inland and coast trade is reported to exceed that of any other nation. The entire American trade, foreign and coasting, forms nearly thirty-seven per centum of the whole foreign trade of China, and contributes more than twenty-three and a half per centum of the revenue collected by the foreign customs departments.

We will end this chapter with a general view of the state of Trade and Shipping of the country, taken from a recent point of view. The latest report, issued by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, includes the ten months ending April 30th, 1874, and it shows that for the period indicated above the United States imported $495,304,376 in 1874, against $556,567,409 in the corresponding period of 1873:

	Dom. Exports.	For. Exports.
1874.....	$518,951,386	$18,702,172
1873.....	485,457,353	22,105,593

The specie movement included in the above statistics is, relatively, of an inconsiderable value; for in 1874 the United States imported a little over $25,000,000, and they exported $39,175,676 of specie and bullion.

In making allowance for the differences in the warehouse amount, the exports in the same period are in excess for 1874 of the imports to the extent of nearly $30,000,000, while for 1873 the imports exceeded the exports by $68,411,617.

The carrying trade stands as follows:

For 1874—In American vessels, about	$290,000,000
In Foreign vessels.....	780,000,000
For 1873—In American vessels.....	284,000,000
In Foreign vessels.....	811,000,000

That shows that, of the total trade by water, 74 per cent. was carried by foreign vessels in 1873, and 73 per cent. in 1874.

For the twelve months ending April 30, the tonnage and number of vessels stood as follows:

		Tonnage.
1873—American vessels ent'd..	11,073	3,609,420
Foreign vessels ent'd....	19,655	7,831,577
American vessels cl'd....	11,227	3,743,497
Foreign vessels cl'd.....	19,875	7,875,011
1874—American vessels ent'd .	11,808	3,877,634
Foreign vessels ent'd....	21,023	9,147,504
American vessels cl'd....	12,032	3,984,661
Foreign vessels cl'd.....	20,989	9,071,316

IMMIGRATION.

There is, in the first half of the year 1874, a slight decrease in immigration figures, as compared with those of former years, but this is due especially to the financial crisis which burst over the country in September, 1873, and prevented many immigrants already settled in America from forwarding sufficient funds to their friends and relatives to enable them to emigrate. This momentary decrease was also due to the stringent measures taken by Germany against emigration, and by disheartening advices circulated by other European governments relative to the business situation of the United States.

Some two or three thousand emigrants landed in the North American Colonies, before the arrival of the Pilgrims, but they perished miserably, except 60 of them; they had neither the faith nor the courage and persevering spirit of the Puritans. When the example of the latter had shown that colonization and emigration could be successful in America, a number of Germans came over, and settled in Pennsylvania, at the end of the 17th and in the beginning of the 18th century. The Dutch settled in New York, the Swedes in Delaware, and the French in Louisiana and Canada. But the tide of emigration began in earnest in 1820, and especially in 1849. An Act of Congress, passed March 2, 1819, ordered that statistics of emigration should be kept. The total of emigrants landed from 1790 to 1817 was estimated at about 6,000; and, in 1817 alone, more than 20,000 emigrants arrived in the United States; but it was an exceptional year, and no reliable statistics were kept for the 21 months which elapsed from January 1, 1818, to September 30, 1819. From this latter date to the present time, the following table will give all information relative to emigration.

From the commencement of the Government to December 30, 1870, 7,803,865 immigrants have arrived in the United States from foreign countries. The following table, compiled from the special report of the Statistical Bureau, Treasury Department, on immigration, will show the increase during each decade since 1820:

Prior to 1820		250,000
From 1820 to 1830, inclusive....		151,824
" 1831 to 1840,	"	599,125
" 1841 to 1850,	"	1,713,251
" 1851 to 1860,	"	2,598,214
" 1861 to 1870,	"	2,491,451
Total		7,803,865

From the above it will be seen that the tide of immigration has steadily increased during each decade, with the single exception of the one beginning 1861 and ending 1870. During the War of the Rebellion immigration to this country was partially checked. The following table will show the number of immigrants arrived during each year of the decade. It will be seen that during 1862, probably the darkest period of the war, the tide of immigration reached its lowest point:

June 30, 1861.....	140,528
" 1862.....	69,449
" 1863.....	130,060
" 1864.....	193,754
" 1865.....	180,667
" 1866.....	330,704
" 1867.....	298,967
" 1868.....	282,189
" 1869.....	352,768
" 1870.....	387,203
Total	2,366,289

The above statement shows the number of immigrants that arrived during each fiscal year, whereas the first statement given of the total arrivals since the formation of the Government shows the number during the decade by calendar years. This will account for the apparent difference in the totals for the same decade in the two statements.

The British Isles have furnished nearly one-half of all the immigrants. England, since the formation of the Government, has sent 516,192; Ireland, 2,900,493; Scotland, 84,623; Wales, 12,435; Great Britain, not specified, 544,107; or a total of 3,857,850 from the British Isles. Germany has sent 2,267,500; Prussia, 100,983; omitting those that became paupers or criminals, or through idleness have turned out non-producers, we may safely estimate the capital value of our foreign immigration during 1870, at $200,000,000. As a subject of peculiar interest, and in order to remove the impression entertained by many that the large majority of immigrants arriving in this country are without a trade or profession, we append a carefully prepared statement of the occupations of those who arrived in the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1870:

Professional Callings.

Actors	4	Physicians	2[illegible]2
Chemists	43	Priests	10
Clergymen	285	Reporters	2
Dentists	3	Surgeon	1
Engineers	551	Surveyor	1
Farriers	7	Teachers	4[illegible]
Lawyers	77	Professions not stated	1[illegible]1
Musicians	289		
Naturalists	3	Total	2,1[illegible]2

Artists.

Architects	3	Photographers	3
Carver	1	Artists not stated	1[illegible]0
Engraver	1		
Image-maker	1	Total	2[illegible]0
Lithographer	1		

Skilled Workmen.

[illegible]akers	9[illegible]0	Masons	2,1[illegible]6
Barbers	21	Millers	2[illegible]8
Blacksmiths	2,3[illegible]8	Milliners	17
Block-makers	3	Millwrights	1
Boiler-makers	8	Miners	4,7[illegible]3
Bookbinders	1[illegible]	Moulders	2
Braziers	3	Nail-makers	1[illegible]
Brewers	3[illegible]2	Painters	7[illegible]6
Brick-makers	3	Pilot	1
Butchers	727	Plumbers	7
Cabinet-makers	6	Potter	8
Carpenters	4,421	Printers	180
Caulkers	6	Packers	2
Chandler	1	Rope-makers	3
Cigar-makers	228	Saddlers	1[illegible]7
Confectioners	6	Sail-makers	1[illegible]
Coopers	101	Sawyer	1
Curriers	10	Scale-makers	2[illegible]5
Cutlers	5	Shipwrights	9
Distillers	2	Shoe-binder	1
Divers	2	Shoemakers	1,5[illegible]5
Dressmakers	21	Soap-makers	2
Dyers	111	Spinners	1[illegible]
File-makers	2	Stone-cutters	1[illegible]2
Fuller	1	Tailors	1,703
Furrier	1	Tanners	1[illegible]2
Gilders	3	Telegraph operator	1
Glaziers	2	Tinners	26
Gunsmiths	2	Tobacco	8
Hatters	58	Weavers	1,1[illegible]8
Hoe-maker	1	Wheelwrights	2[illegible]
Instrument-maker	1	Wire-worker	1
Iron-workers	3	Mechanics not stated	8,061
Jewellers	409		
Joiners	3[illegible]3	Total	3[illegible],[illegible]84
Locksmiths	13		

Miscellaneous Occupations.

Agents	37	Manufacturers	9[illegible]
Brokers	2	Merchants	7,0[illegible]3
Caterer	1	Nuns	3[illegible]
Clerks	1,611	Nurses	6
Consuls	4	Officers	16
Contractors	4	Operatives	2[illegible]
Cooks	73	Overseer	1
Druggists	51	Peddlers	6
Editors	3	Refugees	49
Farmers	25,056	Retired	1
Firemen	22	Sailors	1,420
Fishermen	3[illegible]1	Servants	14,961
Gardeners	51	Shepherds	3[illegible]
Grocers	2	Soldiers	117
Hotel-keepers	25	Stewardess	1
Hunter	1	Students	18[illegible]
Interpreters	1	Teamsters	6
Jugglers	2[illegible]	Travellers	15
Laborers	84,577		
Laundresses	7	Total	145,782
Lumbermen	6		

Recapitulation.

Professional callings	2,132
Artists	200
Skilled workmen	31,964
Miscellaneous occupations	115,782
Occupation not stated	190,596
Without occupation	16,529
Total	387,203

The above statement covers a single year. When we consider that this stream of immigration has been going on for years and is still increasing in volume, and that the acquisitions to our industrial interests, as shown by the table given, are not exceptional, but the rule, as proven by the experience of years, we can form a faint idea of the immense wealth that this living tide of humanity brings to our nation.

A subject of such vast importance may well command the attention of our leading statesmen. Each year has seen some improvement in the system of transportation between this country and Europe. Old abuses are gradually wearing away. Swift-sailing steamers are taking the place of the old immigrant ships, reducing the trials of the steerage from weeks to days. Better provisions, better ventilation, purer water, better accommodations, more humane treatment, are being exacted by the enlightened sentiment of the age. Yet the field for improvement is large. Abuses still exist. Vessels are overcrowded, provisions are not what they should be, ventilation is imperfect, the immigrant is still subject to deprivations and abuses that tend to injure his character and undermine his health. We have made progress in ocean reform, but the work is far from completed. The stranger who comes to our shores, bringing his muscle or talents to add to our country, has a right to be protected on his way here, to the best of the ability of the Government. This is what has been understood by Congress, which has imitated the conduct of the British Parliament, and voted laws to protect the immigrants, especially on their landing in America. Another law gave to every one of them, willing to stay at least five years, a grant of land of 160 acres. Another advance was made by the extinction of the Know-Nothing spirit, which, a few years ago, had taken hold of the minds of some Americans, who dreaded the flooding of the country by the foreigners.

In 1871, 321,350 immigrants arrived, and in 1872, 204,806.

EDUCATION.

In 1860, there were about 5,000,000 scholars in the private and public schools of the United States. This figure is sufficient to support the opinion, generally entertained throughout the world, that the United States people are one of the best, if not the best educated peoples among all nations. There are very few persons now living in the New England, Middle, and Western States who do not know how to read and write; and since the termination of the civil war, the Southern States have fairly entered into competition with their more learned brethren of the Northern section of the country. In the West, before laying the foundation of any township, two sections of public lands (each containing 640 acres) are laid aside for the exclusive support of public schools. Beside that, the Federal Government comes itself often, by other donations of public land, to the help of the States, in view of increasing their facilities for the extension of the public school system. More than fifty millions of acres had thus been distributed, for that purpose, by the Federal Government, before the census of 1860.

The regulation of all matters pertaining to education is left in America to the initiative of each State, but all of them have that general feature, so that instruction is provided by law for all persons of the school age, without any charge for tuition. Though attendance has not yet been made obligatory, there is a strong tendency toward such a regulation; and some States have already passed laws requiring parents to send their children to school during a specified period. Public schools are supported partly by funds derived from the sale of government lands, partly by voluntary taxation, and also by gifts of individuals. The whole area of the United States is divided into school districts, which number 11,350 in the single State of New York, and 167,800 for the whole country. A Board of Education and a Superintendent are appointed in the larger cities, for the purpose of directing and controlling the system of education, and in smaller cities a Board of Trustees, elected by the inhabitants, fulfil the same duty.

The school age varies in different States, ranging from four to twenty-one years, and every branch of instruction is taught. In the grammar schools, French, German, and vocal music are added to the ordinary course of studies. The pupils who enter the high schools are taught ancient languages, higher mathematics, philosophy, etc. In 1872, vocal music was taught in schools of all grades; German in schools of 76 cities, and French in those of 73 cities. In the rural districts and smaller cities, the same schools are attended by both sexes; but in larger cities boys and girls have different departments. Law does not provide for the establishment of separate schools for colored pupils; but usage has done it. Nearly every State is provided with a normal school, for the training of future teachers; these schools numbered 101 in America, in 1872, with 773 instructors and 11,778 students; still that is not sufficient to supply the demand for teachers, for 120,897 new ones are annually wanted in the United States, inasmuch as teachers do not continue in service on the average more than three years. There are annual conventions of teachers held in every State, and also an annual meeting of the National Educational Association, which is composed of the foremost teachers in every branch. The 13th annual session of that body was held in 1873; it comprises four departments: elementary, normal, superintendence, and higher education.

There are many evening schools for the accommodation of those who cannot attend the day schools. Of 141 cities having more than 10,000 inhabitants, 51 had, in 1872, 218 evening schools, with 1,350 teachers and 60,297 pupils. Of 82 cities with a population of between five and ten thousand inhabitants, 7 had 14 evening schools, with 20 teachers and 555 students; of 103 cities with a population below 5,000 inhabitants, 7 reported 9 evening schools, with 312 pupils.

Besides the public schools, there are many private institutions of learning, among which the "Séminaires," or Roman Catholic schools kept by priests, are very numerous. There are also, in the United States, about 100 collegiate institutions called Universities, but they have no feature in common with the *Universités* of Continental Europe,—they are not under the direction or patronage of the government, and many of them are purely higher denominational colleges, belonging to some sect. Harvard, Yale, Brown University, Columbia College, Cornell, and two or three others, are the only ones having some similarity to Universities, in the European meaning of the word. The only schools directly under the management or supervision of the United States Government are the Military Academy at West Point, and the Naval Academy at Annapolis, with the Artillery School of Fortress Monroe, Virginia.

The establishment by Congress of a Bureau of Education dates only from 1867. The commissioner at the head of this bureau has nothing to do with the management of schools. He is appointed only for "the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education shows that in 1872 the total school population of America was 12,828,867, and the enrolment 7,379,656. The average attendance was 4,110,525, for 28 States and 4 Territories; the number not registered in 34 States and 6 Territories reporting was 4,608,803. For 18 States and 5 Territories, there were 364,283 pupils in private schools. The number of teachers for 33 States and 7 Territories was 217,239; and the total expenditure for educational purposes was $70,891,981. 295 cities reported their school population at 2,123,889; 292 reported the number of schools at 7,917; and in 315, the number of teachers was 23,194.

The census of 1870 shows that 7,209,938 persons of from 5 to 24 years of age, that is, more than one-third of the population of school age, were receiving instruction. The total number of instructors was 221,042, of whom 93,329 were males, and 127,713 females. The total expenditure of schools was $95,402,726, of which $3,663,785 was from endowment, $61,746,039 from taxation and public funds, and $2,992,902 from other sources including tuition.

More than 17 per cent. of the adult males, and 23 per cent. of the adult females, are illiterate. But this is due to the ever-increasing flood of European immigrants, and to the ignorance of the emancipated slaves; for in those figures, the illiterate persons of foreign birth are numbered at nearly 800,000, and the colored people at nearly three millions. But the following table, compiled by the Bureau of Education from the census

of 1870, will throw more light on that important subject, which touches the national pride of the United States:

Aggregate population	38,558,371
Total population, 10 years old and over	28,238,945
Illiterate population, 10 years old and over	5,658,144
Male population, 10 years old and over	14,258,866
Illiterate males, 10 years old and over	2,603,838
Female population, 10 years old and over	13,970,079
Illiterate females, 10 years old and over	3,054,256
Percentage of total illiterates to total population of same age	20.04
Percentage of male illiterates to male population of same age	18.26
Percentage of female illiterates to female population of same age	21.87
Total population in 1870, 10–21 years old	9,692,945
Illiterate population, 10–21 years old	1,942,948
Male population, 10–21 years old	4,815,865
Illiterate males, 10–21 years old	984,741
Female population, 10–21 years old	4,877,080
Illiterate females, 10–21 years old	958,207
Percentage of illiterates, 10–21 years old, to population of same age	20.05
Percentage of male illiterates to male population, both 10–21 years old	20.05
Percentage of female illiterates to female population, both 10–21 years old	19.65
Total male adults, 1870	9,443,001
Male adult illiterates	1,619,147
Total female adults	9,092,999
Female adult illiterates	2,096,049
Percentage of male illiterate adults to total adults	17.15
Percentage of female illiterate adults to total females	23.05

One of the important features in all questions of public education is the one which more especially relates to liberal professions, or instruction given outside, and above the ordinary course of grammar and high schools. The following summary of educational institutions in the United States is reported by the Bureau of Education for 1872:

Institutions.	No.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Normal schools	101	773	11,778
Business colleges	66	263	8,451
Academies	811	4,501	98,829
Colleges	298	3,040	45,617
Institutions for superior instruction of females	175	1,617	11,288
Schools of science endowed by national grant of lands	38	411	2,971
Schools of science (including collegiate departments) not so endowed	32	313	2,443
Theological schools	108	435	3,351
Law schools	42	151	1,976
Medical schools, regular	61	607	4,887
" " eclectic	3	25	259
" " homœopathic	6	72	585
Dental "	59	58	199
Pharmaceutical schools	13	36	650
Institutions for the blind	27	513	1,856
" " deaf mutes	36	267	4,337
Reform schools	26	331	4,230
Orphan asylums	77	852	10,324

There are medical and law departments in the larger part of American Universities; but it is generally admitted that on this ground the United States are inferior to Continental Europe, where, at any rate, most of the young Americans who intend to be doctors or lawyers, go in order to become efficient in their avocations. Agricultural schools were founded in the United States in 1857, when the State Agricultural College of Michigan was opened with seven professors and a farm of 676 acres. In 1862 Congress passed an act providing for the establishment of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts in all the States and Territories, endowing them with about eight million acres of public lands; and nearly all the States have organized agricultural colleges, pursuant to the act of Congress. Commercial schools are yet left entirely to individual initiative, and commercial education, in a practical way, is given only in the private business colleges, so numerous in every city of the United States. There are polytechnic schools at Boston, Troy, Philadelphia, and Hoboken, in which technology and some industrial sciences are taught especially. There is not yet in the country a single veterinary school. Every country of Europe is provided with one at least. But the deficiency will soon be supplied in America, where there are more horses and cattle than in any other country in the world.

MINING.

Gold mining was, of course, the most important item in that branch of national wealth, a few years ago, after the discovery of the California golden fields. But California herself is at present richer with her agricultural than with her golden harvest; and the discovery of iron ore, of copper, and of petroleum in many regions of the United States has considerably diminished the former pre-eminence of gold-mining. Still this branch of industry was carried to the highest limits of prosperity immediately after it opened, for at that time the stock of gold was very low for the whole world, amounting only to about $175,000,000, and the yearly production hardly replaced the wear and tear.

The gold placers of North Carolina were discovered before those of the Pacific State. In 1825 a gold vein was worked in Montgomery County (North Carolina), and some other discoveries were made in Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina; but the entire product of those States never amounted to more than about one million dollars annually. It decreased still more after the discovery of the California placers; and, at present, it is only in some out-of-the-way places in the North Carolina mountains that gold mining is still going on at a slow rate.

Everybody in the United States is familiar with the history of gold discovery and gold mining at the beginning of the California settlement. The names of Captain Sutter and of Marshall recall to American memories the most dazzling remembrances. In 1862 the Report of the Land Office Commissioner enlarged theoretically the area of the golden region of the United States, by stating that it covers 17 degrees of latitude, or a breadth of more than 1,000 miles by a length nearly the same. Still the gold district is practically large enough to have produced, in 1853, $70,000,000, that is four times as much as the total production of gold throughout the balance of the other countries of the earth. In 1862 it was estimated that Washington Territory alone would produce from the mines of Salmon River nearly $20,000,000. In Colorado the quartz gives $12 per ton, on the average, though some veins recently worked have given as much as from $20 to $500. In almost every Western State or Territory of the United States, discoveries are made as to mining prospects, and the golden crop has been valued at nearly $100,000,000, on which a primage of 10 per cent. is raised by the United States Government.

Silver mining was of very little account in America before the discovery of the Washoe mines in the Western States. This is carried on with great success.

Copper mining is more important, though almost exclusively concentrated in the Lake Superior region. As early as 1844 explorers went to ascertain whether there was really native copper to be found in the vicinity of the lake. The exploration was successful, but it was not until 1854 that the working of those copper mines fairly began. From $1,603,915, the product of these mines reached $2,679,218 in 1856. In the year following a magnificent block of native copper, weighing 500 tons, was discovered. There are some other copper mines in different parts of the United States, but their products are very small, except in Tennessee, when compared to the products of the Lake Superior district. In 1860 there were 14,432 tons of copper extracted, of a value of $3,316,516.

Iron is found in every State and Territory of the United States. In 1856 the iron furnaces produced 841,550 tons, valued at $23,148,845. In 1860 the production of pig-iron was 888,474 tons, valued at nearly $20,000,000. The rolled and otherwise manufactured iron was estimated at 406,293 tons, valued at $22,248,796, that is, an increase of 39 per cent. over the statistics of 1850; which increase was raised to 44 per cent. for the production of pig-iron. Pennsylvania is the State which took the lead in the iron manufacture.

Pennsylvania also produces the largest quantity of coal, though that article is to be found in nearly every State of the Union. In 1860 the increase in value of coal was 169 per cent. more than ten years before; in 1850 Pennsylvania produced coal valued at $5,268,351; and in 1860 it produced bituminous and anthracite coal of a total value of $14,703,433.

The same State again is the most prominent for petroleum production. Though its existence was known to the first colonists of Pennsylvania, petroleum began to be generally used in 1858, when the oil was considered as good for something else than medicine. Titusville, Venango, Oil Creek, Petrolia are at present names familiar to every American. The exportations, in 1862, were for seven months of 9,607,924 gallons, which compensate sufficiently for the decrease of whaleships, whose trade was crippled by the discovery of the so-called, at first, *Stone-oil*, from the now adopted Greek word of the same meaning, "Petroleum."

Lead mining is progressing in many States of the Republic, but on a relatively small scale, and the article produced is not exported, but almost entirely consumed at home.

The total production of native salt in the United States was of 12,376,000 bushels in 1857, and of 13,386,447 in 1860. Still the

importation of that article reached 14,000,000 bushels, so great were the necessities of agriculture.

According to the census of 1870 the mining industries stood as follows in the United States:

Establishments	7,974
Steam engines	4,133
Horse power	109,111
Water-wheels	134
Horse power	2,247
Hands employed	154,328

Of these there were:

Men above ground	66,178
Men under ground	77,221
Boys above ground	6,916
Boys under ground	4,013
Capital	$222,384,834
Wages	74,464,044
Materials	14,275,691
Products	152,598,994

NEWSPAPERS.

The first printing press in the American Colonies was established at Cambridge, Mass., in 1629; and the second was started at Philadelphia, in 1686 In New York, it was not until 1692, that Mr. Bradford established a press. The first journalist who has left a name was Benjamin Franklin, who bought, at Philadelphia, the *Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences*, and changed the title to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which he continued until 1765, when it passed into other hands. In 1810, Pennsylvania had seventy-one papers; in 1828, one hundred and twenty-eight; in 1840, one hundred and eighty-seven; in 1856, four hundred and forty-eight, of which thirty were daily.

A comparison of the newspaper press of the country, from an early day to the census year of 1870, will develop many interesting facts. The number of newspapers published in the United States in 1725 was 5; in 1775, 34; in 1801, 200; in 1810, 359; in 1726, 630; in 1828, 852; in 1830, 1,000; in 1834, 1,265; in 1840, 1,401; in 1850, 2,302. It will be seen by the foregoing that the increase in thirty years—from 1810 to 1840—was 1,042, while the increase in the last thirty years—from 1840 to 1870—was 4,470; the total number of publications reported in the census of 1870 being 5,871, or one for every 6,561 of the population.

The first attempt to establish a newspaper in the Colonies, as near as can be ascertained, was made in Boston, in 1690. It was suppressed by the Colonial Legislature upon its first appearance. In 1704, the *Boston News-Letter* was established by John Campbell. This paper was more successful, and its publication was continued for a number of years. Its size was 8 by 12 inches, and printed in pica type. In 1719 *The Boston Gazette* made its appearance, and the *American Weekly Mercurie* was started in Philadelphia the same year. In 1721 James Franklin (brother to Ben) started the fourth American newspaper at Boston, *The New England Courant*. *The New York Gazette* appeared in 1725. In 1765 the British Parliament imposed a stamp duty of one half-penny on the Colonial newspapers, which, meeting with great opposition, was removed after two years.

The first semi-weekly newspaper in the United States was started in Boston in 1788, and the first daily was started in Philadelphia in 1784. It will be seen by the foregoing that immediately after the Revolutionary war, which secured our independence as a nation, newspapers sprung up in different parts of the Union.

King James instructed the Governor of the Province of New York, in 1686, not to allow a printing press within his jurisdiction; consequently the Knickerbockers were dependent upon Massachusetts and Philadelphia until 1693. Previous to 1765 eight papers were started in the city of New York. No daily paper was issued until 1788. The first paper in the Province of New York outside the city was started in Albany in 1772. In 1810 New York State had sixty-six journals, of which fourteen were published in the city; in 1832 there were sixty-four in the city, and two hundred and fifty-eight in the State. In 1851 the press of New York State was: daily, fifty-six; other than daily, four hundred and two; total, four hundred and fifty-eight.

The first paper in New England, outside of Massachusetts, was started in Rhode Island in 1732. No newspaper was printed in Connecticut until 1755. In 1775 there were four; in 1810, eleven, all weekly; 1840, two daily and twenty-seven weekly; in 1850, eight daily, six tri- and semi-weekly, and thirty-two weekly.

The first newspaper was started in New Hampshire in 1756. In 1856 it had a total of forty-eight; three daily, two monthly, and forty-three weekly.

In 1810 there were fourteen papers in Vermont. In 1856 it had three daily and thirty-three other than daily.

In 1801 there were five papers published within the limits of Maine. In 1810, while the State of Maine was part of Massachusetts, it had eight papers. In 1856 it had seven daily and seventy other than daily.

The first paper in the Middle States, after New York and Pennsylvania, was started at Annapolis, Md., 1727. The first paper was started in Baltimore in 1773. In 1810 Maryland had twenty-one papers; in 1828, thirty-seven; in 1856, eighty-five, of which nine were daily.

In 1761 Delaware had one paper; in 1810, two; in 1828, four; in 1856 it had three semi-weekly and nine weekly.

The first regular paper in New Jersey was started in Burlington in 1777. In 1856 the State had a total of seventy-seven; seven daily and seventy other than daily.

The Governor of the Colony of Virginia, sixty-four years after its settlement, thanked God that it had no free schools or printing presses. His predecessor, in 1683, had been expressly ordered not to allow a printing press within his jurisdiction. In 1736 a newspaper was started at Williamsburg, called the *Virginia Gazette*, and was printed on a half sheet of foolscap. This paper was anti-republican, and in 1766, Thomas Jefferson and others issued an "independent paper, open to all parties, but influenced by none." This period was, as Mr. Jefferson said, "at the beginning of Revolutionary disputes."

In 1765 Virginia had but one newspaper; in 1775, two; in 1810, twenty-three; in 1840, four dailies, thirty-five weeklies and twelve semi-weeklies. It had, in 1856, sixteen daily and one hundred and forty-seven other than daily.

Two papers were printed in North Carolina when the Revolutionary war commenced. In 1810, ten; in 1828, twenty; in 1856, four dailies, and ninety-one other than daily.

In 1765 there were three papers in South Carolina; in 1775, two; in 1801, ten; in 1828, twenty; in 1856, eight daily, and fifty-seven other than daily.

In 1775 Georgia had one journal; in 1810, thirteen; in 1828, eighteen; in 1840, five daily, forty-four weekly, five semi-weekly. In 1856, seven daily, and sixty-six other than daily.

The first newspaper in Tennessee was printed at Knoxville in 1793. In 1810 Tennessee had six journals; in 1828, eight; in 1856, nine daily and ninety-two other than daily.

At Natchez, in 1809, the first paper was printed in Mississippi. In 1810 Mississippi had four journals; in 1856, seventy weekly, and six semi- and tri-weekly.

The first paper published in Louisiana was in 1704. In 1810, there were ten; in 1840, eleven daily, twenty-one weekly and two semi-weekly; in 1856, twelve daily, and ninety other than daily.

In 1828 Alabama had ten papers; in 1840, twenty-eight, and in 1855, daily six, weekly eighty, and semi- and tri-weekly five.

Arkansas had two papers in 1828; nine in 1840; in 1856, one daily, twenty weekly, three semi- and tri-weekly.

In 1828 Florida had two journals; in 1840, ten; in 1856, eighteen weekly, and three semi- and tri-weekly.

In 1830 Texas had but one newspaper; in 1841, eleven; in 1856, fifty-six.

The District of Columbia had, in 1810, one daily, three tri-weekly, one semi-weekly, and one weekly. In 1856, six daily, and nineteen other than daily.

The first published in the Northwest Territory was issued at Cincinnati in 1793. In 1810 Ohio had fourteen papers; in 1828, sixty-six; in 1856, thirty-one daily, and three hundred and seventy-two other than daily.

In 1787 the first paper was printed in Kentucky. In 1810 Kentucky had seventeen journals; 1828, twenty-three; 1840, five daily, seventy-six weekly, and seven semi-weekly; in 1856, nine daily; other than daily, one hundred.

The first newspaper was printed in Indiana about the year 1800; in 1828, Indiana had seventeen papers; in 1840, seventy-three; in 1856, three daily, and one hundred and seventy-eight other than daily.

The first paper in Michigan was published at Detroit in 1810; in 1828 Michigan had two journals; in 1840, six daily and twenty-six weekly; in 1856, seven daily, and ninety-eight other than daily.

In 1840 Wisconsin had six papers; in 1854, eighty-six papers, ten of which were daily.

In 1854 Illinois had one hundred and fifty-four papers. In 1828 it had four; in 1856, seventeen daily and two hundred and twenty other than daily.

In 1828 Missouri had five journals; in

1840, six daily, twenty-four weekly, and five semi-weekly; in 1856 it had five daily, and one hundred and five other than daily.

Iowa had four weekly papers in 1840. In 1856 it had four daily, and sixty-eight other than daily.

According to the census of 1850, Minnesota had no newspaper. In 1856, she had four daily, and twenty-two other than daily.

In 1850 California had seven papers, according to the census; in 1856 there were eighteen daily and seventy-seven other than daily.

The first paper was started in Nebraska in 1854, and in Kansas about the same time or shortly after.

We have thus briefly given, so far as we have been able to gather facts, the introduction and progress of newspaper printing in the several States. To show the actual progress made up to 1780, we subjoin the following table from the census:

States and Territories.	Whole numb'r.	Daily.	Circulation.	Copies issued annually.
Alabama	89	9	91,165	9,198,980
Arizona	1	....	280	14,560
Arkansas	56	3	29,830	1,824,360
California	201	33	491,903	47,472,756
Colorado	14	4	12,750	1,190,600
Connecticut	71	16	203,725	17,454,740
Dakota	3	....	1,652	85,904
Delaware	17	1	20,860	1,607,840
District of Columbia	22	3	81,400	10,092,800
Florida	23	....	10,545	649,220
Georgia	110	15	150,987	15,539,724
Idaho	6	....	2,750	200,200
Illinois	505	39	1,722,541	113,140,492
Indiana	293	20	363,542	26,964,984
Iowa	233	22	219,090	16,403,380
Kansas	97	12	96,803	9,518,176
Kentucky	89	6	197,130	18,250,160
Louisiana	92	7	84,165	13,755,690
Maine	65	7	170,690	9,867,680
Maryland	88	8	255,450	33,497,778
Massachusetts	259	21	1,692,124	129,691,266
Michigan	211	16	255,774	19,686,978
Minnesota	95	6	110,778	9,543,656
Mississippi	111	3	71,868	4,703,356
Missouri	279	21	522,866	47,980,422
Montana	10	3	19,580	2,860,600
Nebraska	42	7	31,600	3,388,500
Nevada	12	5	11,300	2,572,000
New Hampshire	51	7	173,919	7,237,588
New Jersey	122	20	205,500	18,625,740
New Mexico	5	1	1,525	137,350
New York	835	87	7,561,497	471,741,744
North Carolina	64	8	64,820	6,684,950
Ohio	395	26	1,388,267	98,548,814
Oregon	35	4	45,550	3,657,300
Pennsylvania	540	55	3,419,765	241,176,540
Rhode Island	32	6	82,050	9,781,500
South Carolina	55	5	80,900	8,901,400
Tennessee	91	13	225,952	18,360,844
Texas	112	12	55,250	4,214,800
Utah	10	3	14,250	1,578,400
Vermont	47	3	71,790	4,055,300
Virginia	114	16	143,840	13,319,578
Washington	14	1	6,785	396,500
West Virginia	59	4	54,432	4,012,100
Wisconsin	190	14	343,385	28,762,920
Wyoming	6	2	1,950	243,200
Total	5,871	574	20,842,475	1,508,548,250

Of the 5,871 periodicals, with an annual issue of 1,508,548,250 copies, 574 are daily; 107 three times a week; 115 semi-weekly; 4,295 weekly; 96 semi-monthly; 622 monthly; 13 bi-monthly; and 49 quarterly.

They are devoted to: Advertising, 79; agriculture and horticulture, 93; benevolent and secret societies, 81; commercial and financial, 142; illustrated, literary, and miscellaneous, 503; nationality, 20; politics, 4,333; religion, 407; sporting, 6; technical and professional, 207.

The foregoing table includes nothing but regularly issued periodicals, and when we add to this the immense number of books annually put out by the press of this country, the mass of reading matter becomes truly prodigious.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Statement of November 30, 1873.

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN.

Title of Loan.	Authorizing Act.	Rate of Interest.	When Redeemable.	When Payable.
Loan of 1858	June 14, 1858	5 per cent.	After Jan. 1, 1874	
Loan of February, 1861 ('81's)	February 8, 1861	6 per cent.		Dec. 31, 1880.
Oregon War Debt	March 2, 1861	6 per cent.		July 1, 1881.
Loan of July and August, 1861 ('81's)	July 17 and August 5, 1861	6 per cent.	After June 30, 1881	
Five-twenties of 1862	February 25, 1862	6 per cent.	After May 1, 1867	May 1, 1882.
Loan of 1863 ('81's)	March 3, 1863	6 per cent.	After June 30, 1881	
Ten-forties of 1864	March 3, 1864	5 per cent.	After March 1, 1874	March 1, 1904.
Five-twenties of March, 1864	March 3, 1864	6 per cent.	After Nov. 1, 1869	Nov. 1, 1884.
Five twenties of June, 1864	June 30, 1864	6 per cent.	After Nov. 1, 1869	Nov. 1, 1884.
Five-twenties of 1865	March 3, 1865	6 per cent.	After Nov. 1, 1870	Nov. 1, 1885.
Consols of 1865	March 3, 1865	6 per cent.	After July 1, 1870	July 1, 1885.
Consols of 1867	March 3, 1865	6 per cent.	After July 1, 1872	July 1, 1887.
Consols of 1868	March 3, 1865	6 per cent.	After July 1, 1873	July 1, 1888.
Funded Loan of 1881	July 14, 1870, and January 20, 1871	5 per cent.	After May 1, 1881	

Title of Loan.	Interest Payable.	Amount Outstanding.	Interest due and unpaid.	Accrued Interest to date.
Loan of 1858	January and July	$20,000,000	$96,950 60	$416,666 67
Loan of February, 1861 ('81's)	January and July	18,415,000	87,479 00	460,375 00
Oregon War Debt	January and July	945,000	6,734 75	23,625 00
Loan of July and August, 1861 ('81's)	January and July	189,321,350	462,011 29	4,732,033 75
Five-twenties of 1862	May and November	172,658,350	2,849,526 78	863,291 75
Loan of 1863 ('81's)	January and July	75,000,000	155,716 05	1,875,000 00
Ten-forties of 1864	March and September	194,567,300	270,852 71	2,433,091 25
Five-twenties of March, 1864	May and November	946,600	2,173 33	4,733 00
Five-twenties of June, 1864	May and November	58,081,200	314,081 94	290,406 00
Five-twenties of 1865	May and November	152,711,350	2,224,895 25	763,556 75
Consols of 1865	January and July	202,633,100	1,070,873 41	5,065,827 50
Consols of 1867	January and July	310,654,200	2,076,804 02	7,766,355 00
Consols of 1868	January and July	37,474,000	147,874 00	936,850 00
Funded Loan of 1881	February, May, etc	283,234,100	1,224,636 83	1,180,142 08
Total		$1,716,641,550	$10,940,419 46	$26,811,963 75

DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED SINCE MATURITY.

Title of Loan.	When Matured.	Amount Outstandi'g.	Interest Accrued.
Old Debt	At various dates prior to January 1, 1837	$57,665 00	$64,174 81
Mexican Indemnity Stock	At various dates in 1851 and 1852	1,104 91	85 74
Loan of 1847	December 31, 1867	1,650 00	22 00
Bounty Land Scrip	July 1, 1849	3,500 00	226 60
Texan Indemnity Stock	December 31, 1864	174,000 00	9,450 00
Loan of 1860	January 1, 1871	10,000 00	625 00
Five-twenties, 1862 (called)	December 1, 1871, and at subsequent dates	19,645,600 00	174,050 62
Treasury Notes prior to 1846	At various dates from 1838 to 1844	82,575 35	2,670 76
Treasury Notes of 1846	At various dates in 1847 and 1848	6,000 00	206 00
Treasury Notes of 1847	At various dates in 1848 and 1849	950 00	57 00
Treasury Notes of 1857	At various dates in 1858 and 1859	2,000 00	108 00
Treasury Notes of 1861	March 1, 1863	3,150 00	378 00
Seven-thirties of 1861	August 19 and October 1, 1864	19,250 00	1,408 24
One-year Notes of 1863	At various dates in 1865	80,495 00	4,036 85
Two-year Notes of 1863	At various dates in 1866	55,600 00	3,755 92
Compound-interest Notes	June 10, 1867, and May 15, 1868	451,170 00	90,035 33
Seven-thirties of 1864 and 1865	August 15, 1867, June 15 and July 15, 1868	263,200 00	21,894 97
Certificates of Indebtedness	At various dates in 1866	5,000 00	313 48
Temporary Loan	October 15, 1866	78,560 00	7,243 80
Three per cent. certificates (called)	February 28, 1873	5,000 00	394 31
Aggregate of debt on which interest has ceased		$20,946,570 26	$381,867 42

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.

Title of Loan.	Rate.	When Payable.	Interest Pay'ble.	Amount.	Past due Int.	Accr'd Int.
Navy Pension Fund	3 per ct.	Interest applied to pensions.	Jan. and July	$14,000,000		$175,000
Cert. of Indebtedness of 1870	4 per ct.	Payable September 1, 1875.	March and Sept.	678,000	$40 00	6,780
Aggregate of debt bearing interest in lawful money				$14,678,000	$40 00	$181,780

DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.

Title of Loan.	Authorizing Acts.	Amount.
Old Demand Notes	July 17, 1861, and February 12, 1862	$79,667 50
Legal Tender Notes	February 25, 1862, July 11, 1862, and March 3, 1863	366,922,018 00
Certificates of Deposit	June 8, 1872 (Clearing-House Certificates)	20,150,000 00
Fractional Currency	July 17, 1862, March 3, 1863, and June 30, 1864	48,041,349 95
Coin Certificates	March 3, 1863	30,220,600 00
Unclaimed Interest		22,664 84
Aggregate of debt bearing no interest		$465,476,300 29

RECAPITULATION.

Description of Debt.		Amount.
Debt bearing interest in coin	Bonds at 6 per cent	$1,218,840,150 00
	Bonds at 5 per cent	497,801,400 00
Debt bearing currency interest	Certificates of indebtedness at 4 per cent	678,000 00
	Navy Pension Fund at 3 per cent	14,000,000 00
Debt on which interest has ceased		20,946,570 26
Debt bearing no interest	Old Demand and Legal Tender Notes	367,001,685 50
	Certificates of Deposit	20,150,000 00
	Fractional Currency	48,041,349 95
	Coin Certificates	30,220,600 00
Total principal of debt		$2,217,679,755 71
Add interest unpaid and accrued		38,338,725 47
Total debt		$2,256,018,481 18
Cash in the Treasury—Coin	$83,709,987 11	
Currency	1,296,440 28	
Special deposit for redemption of certificates of deposit	20,150,000 00	105,156,427 72
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, December 1, 1873		$2,150,862,053 46
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, November 1, 1873		2,141,833,476 62
Increase of debt during the past month		$9,028,576 84
Decrease of debt since December 1, 1872		$8,705,976 86

This final settlement is very little altered by the last five per cent. loan issued in July, 1874, by Secretary Bristow, and taken by the foreign bankers.

The statement of the Public Debt would not be complete without a parallel statement of the gold premium, which had such a great influence in the financial affairs of the country.

PUBLIC DEBT.

In order to form a right idea of the extent of the Public Debt of the United States, and how it was formed, during the past few years, it is necessary to compare the figures of 1873 with those of the Debt under the different administrations.

The Public Debt, at the close of each administration, was:

Washington (first term) ending 1793	$80,352,634 04
——— (second term)	82,064,479 33
John Adams	83,038,050 80
Jefferson (first term)	82,312,150 50
——— (second term)	57,023,192 09
Madison (first term)	55,962,827 57
——— (second term)	123,491,965 16
Monroe (first term)	89,987,427 66
——— (second term)	83,788,432 71
John Quincy Adams	58,421,413 67
Jackson (first term)	7,001,698 83
——— (second term)	3,308,124 07
Van Buren	13,594,480 73
Tyler	15,925,303 01
Polk	63,061,858 69
Fillmore	59,803,117 70
Pierce	28,699,831 85
Buchanan	90,580,873 72
Lincoln	2,680,647,869 74
Johnson	2,588,452,213 94
Debt, less cash in Treasury, March 1, 1873	2,157,380,700.53

The outstanding of the public debt of the United States, since the end of the civil war, on the 1st of July of each year, is shown as follows by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, December 4, 1871, and public debt statement of same, July 1, 1872:

1865	$2,680,647,869 74
1866	2,773,236,173 69
1867	2,678,126,103 87
1868	2,611,687,841 19
1869	2,588,451,213 94
1870	2,480,672,427 81
1871	2,353,211,332 32
1872	2,253,251,328 78

The preceding tables, which are a correct statement of the Public Debt, as appears from the books and Treasurer's returns in the Department of Treasury, November 30, 1873, will show the details of the Debt, and how it was and will be paid.

The following table shows the lowest and highest prices of gold at New York for each month in the last twelve years. The left-hand column in each year shows the lowest price, and the right-hand column the highest:

Date.	1862.		1863.		1864.		1865.	
January	par	105	134	160¾	151½	160	197¼	234½
February	102⅛	104⅜	153	172½	157⅜	161	196	216¼
March	101⅛	102⅛	139	171¼	159	169¾	148¼	201
April	101¼	102⅛	146	159	166¼	187	144	160
May	102¼	104⅛	143½	155	168	190	128⅝	145¾
June	103⅜	109	140⅛	148⅞	189	251	135¾	147⅛
July	109	120⅛	123¼	145	222	285	138	146¾
August	112⅜	116¼	122⅞	129⅛	231½	262	[illegible]	[illegible]
September	116⅜	124	127	143¼	185	255	142¾	145
October	122	137	140⅛	156¾	189	229	144	149
November	129	133⅛	143	154	209	260	[illegible]	148⅜
December	130	134	147	152¾	211	244	144½	146¾

Date.	1866.		1867.		1868.		1869.	
January	136¼	144⅝	132	137⅛	133¼	142¼	134⅝	136¾
February	135⅞	140½	137¾	140½	139⅝	144	130⅞	135⅛
March	125	136½	133⅝	140⅜	137⅞	141⅜	130¼	132⅝
April	125	129½	132⅝	141⅞	137¾	140⅜	131⅛	134¼
May	125⅛	141½	134⅞	138⅞	139⅛	140½	134⅛	144¾
June	137⅝	167¾	136⅜	138¾	139⅛	141¼	137	139⅝
July	147	155¾	136⅜	140¾	140¼	145⅜	134	137⅞
August	146½	152¼	139⅞	142⅜	143½	150	131¼	137⅝
September	143¼	147⅛	141	146⅜	141⅛	145⅛	130¾	162½
October	145⅝	154⅜	140¼	145⅜	133¾	140½	128⅛	131¼
November	137⅛	148⅝	137⅞	141¼	132⅛	137	121⅛	128⅜
December	131¼	141¾	133	137⅞	134⅜	136¾	119¼	124

Date.	1870.		1871.		1872.		1873.	
January	119⅝	123¼	110⅛	111¼	108⅛	110⅛	111⅝	114¼
February	115	121½	110¾	112¼	109½	111	112⅞	115⅛
March	110¼	116⅜	110⅛	111⅝	109¾	110½	114⅝	118½
April	111½	115⅝	110⅛	111¾	109⅞	113¼	116¾	119⅛
May	113¾	115½	111	112¼	112⅛	114⅜	116⅝	118⅝
June	110⅞	114¼	111¾	113⅛	113	114¾	115	118⅛
July	111⅛	122¾	111¾	113⅜	113½	115¼	115	116⅜
August	114¾	122	111⅝	113¼	112⅛	115⅝	114⅜	116¼
September	112¾	116¾	112¾	115⅛	112¾	115⅛	110⅞	116⅛
October	111⅛	114¼	111⅛	115	112¼	115⅛	107⅝	111¾
November	110	113½	110⅜	112⅜	111⅜	114¼	106⅛	110½
December	110¼	111⅜	108⅜	110⅜	111⅜	113½	108⅜	112⅜

In August, 1874, the price of gold fluctuated between 109 and 110½.

RAILROADS.

There is not a country in the whole world which has made such progress in building railroads as the United States. Long ago the iron horse was heard snorting from every city to the smallest village, in New England, in the Middle States, and on the Western prairies; but the Southern States were systematically opposed to building railroads in their midst. At present, although, the more Southern States are not yet as much interwoven with railways as the North and West, it can be safely asserted that the network of the railroad system in the whole country has reached perfection, as to the principal lines. The prediction, uttered years ago, that New York would be connected with San Francisco by a railroad, which would become the great route from Europe to China and Japan, is fulfilled, and the Pacific Railroad already looks as a thing of the past, and other similar lines are thought of. Tea comes now from Shanghai, and silk from Yokohama, and they reach London or Paris by way of the iron belt, which has scaled the Rocky Mountains. At the time we are writing, August, 1874, the Italian Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary acredited to Japan has arrived from France, on his way to the Far East, from Italy, via New York and San Francisco, instead of via Suez, or the Peninsular Oriental Company steamships.

Still, it must not be thought that the infancy of railroad building was too rapid, or without difficulties, even in America, where so many advantages paved for them the way to success. Railroads for the transport of stone and coal came into operation in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania in 1826 and 1827, and increased in number for general traffic up to 1848, when 6,000 miles of railroad were completed throughout the States. Since that stage in their history, they have considerably increased, and been pushed to great distances towards the interior. In 1853 the length of railways in actual operation in the United States was 14,494 miles, nearly one-half of which was in the New England States, and in the State of New York. The number of railroads in these States, and also in Pennsylvania, surprised every traveller from Europe. They were seen radiating in several directions from every city, interlining and crossing and sending out branches, so as to bring every seat of population of any importance into ready communication with the chief marts of commerce. In Massachusetts alone, in the early part of 1853, there were about 1,200 miles of railway. At the same period, New York had 2,123 miles; Pennsylvania, 1,244 miles; and Ohio, which was by comparison a newly settled State, 1,385 miles. Large extensions were made in all; and the entire railway system of the United States two years afterward comprehended nearly 18,000 miles, with several thousand miles in course of construction. The principle pursued in organizing this marvellous system of transportation has been, in the first place, to rest satisfied with single lines until the resources of a district were so far opened up, and capital thereby created, as to warrant the construction of double tracks. Only a few had attained the dignity of double lines. Therefore American railways were almost all only single tracks, and did not admit of trains passing each other, except at appointed stations.

Of the considerable railway enterprises of the country, the first which appears to have been commenced was a portion of the now Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the first stone of which was laid on the 4th of July, 1828. This road, was originally planned for a horse track only; but the introduction of steam locomotives from England encouraged the attempt to run them on the line; and in 1830 a small engine, constructed at Baltimore, was put upon the road. Although the traffic was great, the engine appears to have been only partially worked, the trains having also been moved by horses.

This road was constructed of longitudinal rails pinned down to wooden or cross-stone ties, imbedded in the ground; and upon the rails were fastened flat bars of iron, ½ inch and ⅝ inch thick, and 2½ to 4½ inches wide, by spikes, heads countersunk in the iron. This method, which was generally adopted upon the early American railroads, from considerations of economy, and with a view of extending the lines to the utmost limit of the capital provided, was soon found to involve great danger and consequent expense. The ends of the rails became loose; and, starting up, were occasionally caught by the wheels, and thrust up through the bottoms of the cars. It was found necessary to run the trains with great caution upon the roads thus constructed, and the passenger traffic was seriously diverted from those lines that acquired a notoriety for snake-heads.

In 1830 the "Hudson and Mohawk Railroad," from Albany to Schenectady, was commenced. In October, 1831, the number of passengers on it was stated at 387 a day, and in 1832 a locomotive "with a load of eight tons, travelled on it at the rate of thirty miles an hour." "In 1831, twelve different railroad companies were incorporated;" and "from this time railroad enterprises were multiplied with great rapidity."

In Pennsylvania, it is stated, sixty-seven railroads were in operation in 1833; and in that year were commenced the most important lines of Massachusetts and New Jersey. The outlay upon the American lines has

been from £8,700 up to £15,000 per mile, whilst the average cost in Great Britain has been nearly £40,000 per mile.

In 1838 there were only 1,843 miles of railroad in the United States; in 1848, 6,491, and in 1860, 31,185 miles. Most of those railways were originally *single track* lines. But soon the necessities of traffic compelled the companies to lay double tracks; in 1860 the relation of every State, as to railroads, was as follows:

NUMBER OF MILES OPEN IN EACH STATE.

State.	Miles Open.
Ohio	3057
Pennsylvania	2943
Illinois	2925
New York	2809
Indiana	2058
Virginia	1805
Georgia	1401
Massachusetts	1314
Tennessee	1283
South Carolina	978
Wisconsin	937
North Carolina	887
Missouri	813
Michigan	807
Mississippi	798
New Jersey	627
New Hampshire	658
Alabama	643
Connecticut	608
Vermont	575
Iowa	549
Kentucky	531
Maine	476
Maryland	406
Louisiana	328
Florida	326
Texas	294
Delaware	137
Rhode Island	104
California	70
Arkansas	38

This table will illustrate the extent to which railway enterprise has been developed in the North-Western States, especially in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. The Illinois Central Railroad, which passes through 706 miles of that State, was endowed with alternate sections of land for a width of three miles on each side of its track, the State reserving each other section It thus acquired 2,595,000 acres in an excellent farming region; and from the sale of these lands the expenses of construction, etc., have been or will be met. The effect of this policy in the development of the State has already been referred to.

Remarkable as has been the rapidity with which the American railroads have been constructed, and great as is the total mileage already made, the railroad accommodation of the United States is not to be regarded as by any means meeting the requirements of the country. The rapid growth of the system has only been co-equal with the rapid growth of the population; the extent of mileage is attributable to the vast extent of territory settled, and the great distances between the seats of population.

In many parts of the States, indeed, the existing railways are quite insufficient. In the South, the system is very imperfectly developed. Whilst slaves existed, there was a determined hostility in the Southern States to the expansion of any general railway system, arising from the apprehension that it would be used for the escape of slaves. Any one who glances at a railroad map of the United States will observe, that whilst the Northern States are covered with lines, the Southern have only a few main trunk roads, and that the greatest care has been taken to prevent those lines from communicating with the Free States. It will be necessary to correct all this, and to bring the South into much more intimate communication with the North than she stands at present.

From West to East, also, the present railways are quite insufficient for the growing traffic. The lines of communication from the West by canal, etc., which existed previously to railways, have not been affected by their construction. The produce of the Western States has, in fact, increased faster than the means of transport, and additional facilities for the conveyance of goods were early and urgently required. It was of the utmost importance to the development of the West, that no time should be lost in making this additional provision.

Another extension of the railway system was felt by all the people of the United States to be most essential. Every one appreciated the importance of establishing railway intercourse across the continent from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific. Four different routes had been projected in different parts of the Continent, and eventually, there can be little doubt they will all be made; only one is at present constructed. The great object, of course, was to connect San Francisco with New York.

The construction of that stupendous road progressed with a rapidity which astonished the world, and the through connection by rail, between New York and San Francisco, was established, at the time appointed, 1869. The Federal Government came to the help of the States and of private enterprise. The amount of this help is shown in the following table:

CURRENCY BONDS ISSUED TO THE PACIFIC RAILROADS.
(*Not Included in the Public Debt as above stated.*)

Name of Railroad.	Authorizing Acts.	Rate of Int.	When Payable.	Interest Payable.
Central Pacific	July 1, '62 & July 2, '64	6 per cent.	30 yrs. fm. date.	January & July
Kansas Pacific	July 1, '62 & July 2, '64	6 per cent.	30 yrs. fm. date.	January & July
Union Pacific	July 1, '62 & July 2, '64	6 per cent.	30 yrs. fm. date.	January & July
Central Branch, U. Pacific	July 1, '62 & July 2, '64	6 per cent.	30 yrs. fm. date.	January & July
Western Pacific	July 1, '62 & July 2, '64	6 per cent.	30 yrs. fm. date.	January & July
Sioux City and Pacific	July 1, '62 & July 2, '64	6 per cent.	30 yrs. fm. date.	January & July

Name of Railroad.	Principal Outstanding.	Interest accrued & not yet paid.	Interest paid by United States.	Int. repaid by trans. mails, &c.	Bal. of Int. paid by U. States.
Central Pacific	$25,885,120	$647,128 00	$7,921,483 27	$732,295 40	$7,189,187 87
Kansas Pacific	6,303,000	157,575 00	2,347,533 09	1,173,682 45	1,173,850 64
Union Pacific	27,236,512	680,912 80	8,615,943 21	2,601,483 02	6,014,460 19
Central Branch, U. Pacific	1,600 00	40,000 00	589,808 26	21,893 27	567,914 99
Western Pacific	1,970 560	49,264 00	485,912 94	9,367 00	476,545 94
Sioux City and Pacific	1,628 320	40,708 00	487,305 49	6,731 89	480,573 60
Totals	$64,623,512	$1,615,587 80	$20,447,986 26	$4,545,453 03	$15,902,533 23

The foregoing is a correct statement of the Public Debt, as appears from the books and Treasurer's Returns in the Department at the close of business, November 30, 1873.

In January, 1861, the capital invested for the "*cost and equipments*" of the 31,168 miles of railroads constructed in America amounted to $1,177,994,828. The cost of *maintenance* of American railroads is much higher than in England. This explains the fact that while the English roads exhibit an extraordinary amount of first cost, on account of damages paid to landowners, it does not appear that the general expenditures have been in much larger proportion than in the United States.

To end with this important subject of railroads, and to sum up, in a few lines, all the explanations and observations given above, as well as in order to give the latest data, it is only necessary to add that, commencing no longer ago than 1830 with 23 miles, the number of miles constructed up to January, 1872, was 60,852. During 1869, the mileage constructed was 4,999; in 1870, 6,145; and in 1871, 7,453; making in the three years a total of 18,597 miles. The largest mileage in any previous year was in 1856, when it reached 3,643. During the four years of our civil war but 3,273 miles were built. The State of Massachusetts has one mile of railway to 4.86 square miles of territory. A similar ratio would give to the States of New York and Pennsylvania 10,000 miles of line respectively, and to Illinois 11,000 miles, or more than twice its present mileage. The cost of railroads in this country will average $50,000 per mile—the total for the 60,852 miles being, in round numbers, $3,000,000,000. The cost of mileage constructed in 1871, at $30,000 per mile, was about $225,000,000, while at least $50,000,000 were expended in new works and equipments on old roads, making a total expenditure for the year of $275,000,000. The rapidity of the increase of business of the railroads of the United States, and the quantity and value of their gross tonnage traffic is still more remarkable than the rapid progress of these works. In 1851 the total earnings from passengers were, for 8,838 miles, $19,274,254, and from freights $20,192,100—an aggregate

of $39,466,358. In 1861 the total earnings were $130,000,000; and in 1871, $454,969,000. The tonnage of all the railroads in 1861 is estimated at 39,000,000 net tons for 31,256 miles; while, in 1871, the net tonnage was 100,000,000 tons on 60,852 miles. The net tonnage reduced to pounds of all the railroads of the country, in 1851, equalled 464 lbs. to the head of population; in 1861, 1,912 lbs.; and in 1871, 5,000 lbs. per head. The value of this tonnage per head, in 1851, equalled $35.34; in 1861, $116.92; and in 1871, $375 per head. The increase of mileage of railways constructed from 1851 to 1861 was at the rate of about 20 per cent. per annum. From 1861 to 1871 the rate of annual increase was about 10 per cent. The increase of tonnage from '51 to '61 was 50 per cent. per annum; from '61 to '71, at the rate of 23 per cent. per annum. The increase of population from '51 to '61 was at the rate of 3.5 per cent. per annum. From '61 to '71, at the rate of 2.3—10 per cent. per annum.

The cost of transporting Indian corn and wheat over ordinary highways is about 20 cents per ton per mile. At such rate the former will bear transportation only 125 miles to market, while its value is equal to 75 cents per bushel; the latter only 250 miles, while its value is $1.50 per bushel. With such highways only our most valuable cereals will have no commercial value outside of circles having radii of 125 miles and 250 miles respectively. Upon a railroad the transportation equals 1¼ cents per ton per mile, thus increasing the circle within which corn and wheat, at the prices named, will have a marketable value to radii of 1,600 and 3,200 miles respectively. The area of a circle having a radius of 125 miles is 49,987 square miles, while that of a circle drawn upon a radius of 1,600 miles is about 160 times greater, or 8,042,406 square miles. Such a difference, enormous as it is, only measures the value of the agencies at present employed in transportation, and the results achieved compared with the old.

The following table shows the mileage of railroads in the several States at the various periods noted, from January 1, 1842, to January 1, 1872:

	1842.	1845.	1848.	1851.	1854.	1857.	1860.	1863.	1866.	1869.	1872.
Alabama	46	46	46	183	304	454	628	805	805	953	1,671
Arkansas								38	38	86	258
California						23	23	23	214	468	1,013
Connecticut	102	176	202	402	496	590	601	630	637	637	820
Delaware	39	39	39	39	39	79	127	127	134	165	227
Florida			38	21	21	56	290	402	416	437	466
Georgia	271	452	609	643	962	1,165	1,371	1,420	1,420	1,575	2,198
Illinois	22	22	22	111	759	2,235	2,781	2,998	3,157	3,440	5,904
Indiana			42	228	1,209	1,807	2,014	2,175	2,217	2,600	3,529
Iowa						254	533	731	891	1,523	3,160
Kansas									40	648	1,760
Kentucky	28	28	28	78	167	268	534	567	567	813	1,123
Louisiana	40	40	40	80	89	249	295	335	335	335	559
Maine	11	62	62	245	334	429	472	505	521	560	871
Maryland and D. C.	259	259	259	259	327	327	277	408	446	595	820
Massachusetts	373	585	718	1,055	1,105	1,264	1,264	1,285	1,297	1,425	1,606
Michigan	138	206	270	342	431	501	737	853	941	1,199	2,235
Minnesota									213	572	1,612
Mississippi	14	26	60	75	96	413	698	862	898	898	900
Missouri					38	144	724	838	925	1,354	2,580
Nebraska									122	920	2,143
Nevada										402	593
New Hampshire	53	92	175	467	644	657	661	661	667	667	700
New Jersey	186	186	185	206	347	485	536	633	864	978	1,265
New York	538	715	764	1,361	2,387	2,629	2,679	2,728	3,002	3,329	4,470
North Carolina	87	87	87	283	420	694	937	937	984	1,097	1,190
Ohio	36	84	274	575	1,200	1,807	2,812	3,101	3,321	3,398	3,740
Oregon								4	19	19	159
Pennsylvania	754	798	1,006	1,240	1,404	1,925	2,442	3,006	3,728	4 398	5,113
Rhode Island	50	50	68	68	68	108	108	108	125	125	136
South Carolina	204	204	204	289	652	848	973	973	1,007	1,076	1,201
Tennessee					291	511	963	1,253	1,296	1,436	1,520
Texas						71	284	451	465	513	805
Vermont				290	506	529	546	562	587	605	675
Virginia	223	223	303	384	752	951	1,501	1,379	1,401	1,464	1,490
West Virginia	61	97	97	97	241	241	352	361	365	365	485
Wisconsin				20	71	276	856	961	1,010	1,235	1,725
Total miles	3,535	4,477	5,598	9,021	15,360	22,020	28,789	32,120	35,085	42,245	60,852

TABLE V.—*Tons of Lumber, Agricultural Products, Manufactures, Merchandise and Miscellaneous Articles coming to the Hudson River from the* CHAMPLAIN *Canal, for thirty-four Years.*

YR.	LUMBER.	AGR'L.	MAN'F.	MD'SE	MISCEL.	TOTAL.
1839	191,992	8,703	1,879	94	13,193	215,861
1840	181,125	7,933	2,010	78	10,551	201,697
1841	211,575	4,320	5,113	13	20,793	241,814
1842	194,739	5,249	5,609	42	10,788	216,477
1843	176,588	7,172	5,951	67	11,738	201,515
1844	188,328	7,388	3,902	9	19,651	219,278
1845	187,740	17,173	6,628	47	33,765	245,353
1846	195,162	15,869	11,515	1,575	30,928	255,049
1847	220,138	22,352	25,777	4,141	40,623	313,031
1848	196,290	11,702	20,353	6,047	29,176	263,568
1849	223,441	33,591	19,948	5,668	80,574	313,222
1850	349,812	50,479	16,604	6,904	55,389	479,188
1851	360,923	35,293	22,430	4,333	45,495	468,474
1852	437,211	73,901	11,638	5,714	61,659	590,123
1853	504,957	36,517	15,719	6,331	90,835	654,359
1854	364,651	20,422	13,002	8,497	114,478	521,050
1855	308,725	29,327	21,685	6,159	108,982	474,878
1856	349,366	49,106	30,247	6,704	100,916	536,399
1857	295,558	45,139	31,786	8,872	118,633	499,988
1858	278,963	72,439	38,056	9,166	89,834	488,455
1859	346,752	105,313	39,561	10,628	168,085	670,339
1860	323,481	76,166	46,026	8,070	125,072	578,816
1861	261,262	62,524	18,668	7,047	181,034	530,535
1862	261,470	64,812	25,913	3,522	129,898	485,615
1863	367,314	88,342	30,324	2,439	138,579	627,038
1864	390,131	77,495	23,257	1,643	166,097	658,623
1865	444,527	76,620	24,315	3,121	123,237	651,820
1866	521,834	54,967	15,240	4,289	185,613	781,943
1867	521,706	43,729	27,230	3,263	207,656	803,583
1868	547,765	42,043	26,393	2,670	243,353	862,234
1869	579,988	31,173	17,356	3,175	206,761	939,453
1870	509,378	25,128	18,821	9,286	302,991	865,604
1871	530,330	32,510	16,734	4,856	261,646	846,076
1872	577,725	9,668	19,943	4,216	365,987	977,539

It thus appears that lumber constitutes over one-half of the produce brought to tidewater by the Champlain canal, and one-third of that from the Erie.

TABLE VI.—*Average Cargo of Boats, Time necessary to make a Passage, and Cost of bringing a Barrel of Flour from Buffalo to Albany; Lockages at Alexander's Lock, and total Tons Delivered at Tidewater from the Erie Canal.*

YEAR.	Average Cargo of Boats.	Days' time between Buffalo & Albany.	Toll and freight on a Barrel of Flour.	Lockages at Alexander's Lock.	Tons delivered at tidewater from Erie Canal.
1841	41	9	71c.	30,320	532,520
1844	49	7½	60	28,219	799,816
1847	67	10½	77	43,957	1,431,252
1848	71	9	58	34,911	1,184,337
1849	68	8¾	56	36,918	1,266,724
1850	76	9	58	38,444	1,554,675
1851	78	8½	49	40,396	1,508,677
1852	80	9	53	41,572	1,644,699
1853	84	9	56	42,967	1,851,438
1854	94	8½	52	35,981	1,702,693
1855	92	8½	52	30,873	1,420,715
1856	100	8¼	60	31,223	1,587,130
1857	100	8¼	46	22,182	1,117,199
1858	126	8½	34	23,473	1,496,687
1859	143	8½	31	20,274	1,451,333
1860	140	8½	42	32,439	2,276,061
1861	157	8½	46	31,179	2,449,609
1862	167	8½	48	34,977	2,917,094
1863	177	9	45	30,071	2,647,689
1864	150	10	57½	28,742	2,146,634
1865	160	10	51	26,037	2,078,361
1866	170	10	52	29,882	2,523,664
1867	156	10	48	28,654	2,226,112
1868	148	10	48	32,107	2,378,572
1869	183	10	51	24,625	2,257,689
1870	161	10	33	25,124	2,290,698
1871	178	11	40	29,725	2,648,877
1872	190	11	42	28,035	2,670,405

CANALS.

At the moment we are about to give a synopsis of the progress of canals in the United States, the former system of canal boating is revolutionized by the introduction of steam canal boats. This amelioration, like every other introduced hereto, in America, will work marvels, and soon supersede entirely the old system.

The first canals constructed in the United States were those of South Hadley and the Montaigue Falls, built in 1792, built by a Massachusetts company. They were, the first two miles and the second three miles long. In 1825 the Erie Canal was completed. It is 363 miles in length, and cost $7,602,000. Its width was increased to 70 feet at the level, and 42 feet at the bottom, with 7 feet depth of water, and 14 feet hauling way. During the season of 1864 the Erie Canal transported 2,300,000 tons of corn, valued at $70,000,000; the average cargo was 163 tons by each trip.

There were, in 1858, in the United States, 3,188 miles of canals, the cost of which amounted to $90,000,000. That value reached $100,000,000 in 1862 on account of the widening of the Erie and Champlain canals, and also of the extension of the Virginia and Illinois canals.

The following tables give the latest data and information relative to the carrying trade, and to the working season, of the most important canals of the United States:

TABLE VII.—*Dates of the Opening and Closing of the Erie Canal for Twenty-eight Years.*

YEAR.	OPENED.	CLOSED.
1846	April 16	November 25
1847	May 1	November 30
1848	May 1	December 9
1849	May 1	December 5
1850	April 22	December 11
1851	April 15	December 5
1852	April 20	December 16
1853	April 20	December 20
1854	April 1	December 3
1855	April 1	December 10
1856	April 5	December 4
1857	April 6	December 15
1858	April 28	November 30
1859	April 15	December 12
1860	April 25	December 12
1861	May 1	December 10
1862	May 1	December 10
1863	May 10	December 8
1864	April 30	December 8
1865	May 1	December 12
1866	May 1	December 12
1867	May 4	December 9
1868	April 23	December 8
1869	May 6	December 10
1870	May 10	December 8
1871	April 24	November 29
1872	May 13	December 4
1873	May 15	November 20

MANUFACTURES.

The progress of manufactures in the United States has been more than 100 per cent. greater than the increase of population, especially for the last twenty years. Thus, the total value of home-manufactured products, including the fisheries and the mining, was $1,019,206,616 in 1850. Ten years after, in 1860, it was figured at $1,900,000,000; that is an increase of about 86 per cent. in ten years, and an augmentation of 123 per cent. as compared with the increase of the white population. So every man, woman, and child in the United States produced, on an average, sixty dollars and sixty-one cents; and to this should be added the product of machinery, of an annual value below $500, for which no official statistics can be obtained.

The cotton manufacture was, and is still, one of the most, if not the most important, in the United States. It began as early as 1786 and 1788, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In 1800 hardly 300 bales of cotton were used, against 10,000 in 1810, and 90,000 in 1815. Nearly 100,000 operatives were employed, and $24,000,000, representing the value of 81,000,000 yards of cotton cloth, went into the coffers of the New England manufacturers. Still, the American market was glutted with foreign imported goods, and the tariff acts of 1826, 1828, and 1832, which imposed an *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent. upon imported cotton goods, cleared the way for an astonishing progress in New England manufactures. The first cotton-mill was erected in 1822, at Lowell, and soon the Lawrence mills were built; and instead of the 240 cotton factories in the United States in 1810, there were 1,240 mills in 1840, with 2,284,631 spindles, and 129 dyeing and printing establishments. All these employed 72,119 hands, and produced goods valued at $46,350,430, with an invested capital of $51,102,359. The protective tariff of 1842 contributed again to the increase of cotton manufacture in America, and then the Southern States began to build the first regular mill south of the Delaware River. This Southern manufacture progressed well until the beginning of the civil war, though its strides could not bear comparison with the advance of the Northern manufacturers. Between the years 1840 and 1850 the product in the South was about $1 per head of the population, a larger ratio than that of the North in 1820, at a time, though, when cotton machinery was quite in its infancy. In 1859 the Southern spinners consumed 98,000 bales of cotton, that is an increase of 50 per cent. over the quantity used in 1850. But in that year, 1859, the Saluda Mills, and the other factories erected afterwards in the real Southern States, were not in operation, so that the principal part of the manufacturing was done in Maryland, at Ellicott's Mills, or in some other northward Southern State.

In 1850 there were 1,074 cotton mills in America. These mills were larger, had a more improved machinery, and consumed 641,240 bales, of 400 pounds, of cotton each, and manufactured goods amounting in value to $65,501,687. Out of the 1,074 factories, 213 belonged to the South and West. In 1860 the number of mills had declined still more, but the production kept increasing, and reached a value of $115,237,926. Then, out of the 915 factories remaining in America, and every one of them in a high state of prosperity, and on a high scale of efficiency, 194 belonged to the Southern and Western States, and the balance to Northern States. From 1860 to 1870 the same decrease in the number of factories, and the same increase in manufacturing, was noticeable; the falling off in the number of establishments during the decade was of 12⅞; but the number of looms was 24½ per cent., and the number of spindles more than 28 per cent. greater in 1870 than in 1860. The capital employed increased also 30 per cent., and the increase amounted to about 43 per cent.

From 1860 to 1870 there was also a decrease in the quantity of raw cotton consumed, amounting to nearly 25,000,000 pounds, or 6 per cent.; still higher prices increased the value of manufactured goods to nearly $55,000,000, or more than 94 per cent. The same increase was to be observed in the total cost of labor and raw material, amounting to about $70,000,000, or 85 per cent. The value of the goods was increased also, to the figure of $62,000,000, about 53 per cent. more in 1870 than in 1860. Through recently adopted improvements in machinery, a greater quantity of goods has been produced from a smaller amount of raw material. There was also not only a great saving in the improvement of machinery, but an increase of operatives, amounting to 13,000 hands. The annual wages went up also, from $196 in 1860 to $288 per head in 1870, an increase of $92 or 47 per cent. Each hand produced, of course, more in 1870, that is, $1,341 against $948 in 1860, an increase in value of $363 per head, or 38½ per cent.

The woollen manufactories were of small account in the United States until the year 1820, when they produced a value of $4,418,068. In 1830, $14,528,166; in 1840, $20,696,699, and more than 21,000 workmen were employed. In 1850 the carpet industry was introduced, and American weavers produced as good articles as foreign. The woollen manufacture rose in value to $41,588,033, which figure does not include goods in which cotton was mixed with wool. In 1860 the number of woollen mills decreased under the operation of the same economical laws which had caused a decrease in the cotton factories. There were in that year 638 woollen mills less than ten years before, but the value of the products reached $68,865,963. In 1870 the increase was enormous, and reached $155,405,058 as the value of the woollen products of the United States.

The iron manufacture continually increased in the United States, and kept pace with the newly discovered ore mines of the West, and the coal mines also. There is hardly a single country in the world which can produce ore of as good quality as the American; and there are no countries, even without excepting England, in which industrial fabrication has been more improved than the United States. With ore at discretion, as at Pilot Knob Mountain, in Missouri, with the unexhausted coal-beds of Pennsylvania, and with the inventive genius of American workmen applied to puddling and blasting furnaces, it was next to impossible that the manufacture of iron should not become one of the most prosperous industries of the land. In 1830 there were 239 furnaces in operation, making 191,536 tons, valued at $13,326,769, and employing 29,254 workmen. Seven years later the number of tons had risen to 250,000. In 1850 the State of Pennsylvania alone produced 564,575 tons of pig-iron. In 1856 the whole iron production was 841,550 tons, of which 812,917 was pig-iron; more than 60,000 people were employed in that industry, the value of which was more than $50,000,000. The importation into the United States of crude iron was nearly half a million tons, so that the native amount of iron produced in the furnaces of the United States was 1,950,548 tons.

In 1860, the production of pig iron reached 902,316 tons, valued at $46,117,550, besides this 395,536 tons of rolled iron were produced, having a value of $21,710,681; which gives a grand total for pig and rolled or manufactured iron of $67,828,231.

Leather manufactories numbered 6,528, in 1850, throughout the United States, and gave employment to 22,575 workmen; the value of such products was nearly 38 millions of dollars. For the year ending June 30, 1860, the leather manufacture had increased nearly one hundred per cent., but in 1850 the fabrication alone of boots and shoes amounted to nearly $54,000,000, and the saddlery to nearly 10 millions. The Northern States, and especially Massachusetts, were the largest manufacturers of shoes and boots; for the Lynn and Boston manufactories were the almost exclusive marts for the sale of these articles to the Southern States. The introduction of Coolie labor, the increase exacted by white workmen, the rules imposed on bosses by the Crispin association, drove from Massachusetts and New England, a small part of their monopoly in this trade. Still, in 1859, the port of Boston alone exported shoes to the amount shown by the table below, which gives an interesting view of the trade carried on between New England and the South before the abolition of slavery:

CASES OF SHOES EXPORTED FROM BOSTON, 1859.

	First quarter.	Second quarter.	Third quarter.	Fourth quarter.	Total year.
To Baltimore	14,228	9,585	24,707	13,924	62,461
" Charleston	4,233	1,484	9,579	1,581	17,177
" Louisville	7,870	2,673	8,872	2,004	21,119
" Lexington	768	269	968	160	2,168
" Memphis	1,515	552	1,011	220	3,338
" Mobile	807	279	618	1,261	2,949
" Nashville	4,302	921	7,267	1,291	18,781
" Natchez	2	9	41	45	97
" Paducah	184	96	689	177	1,146
" Pittsburgh	23	72	331	101	629
" Pine Bluff, Ark.	358	77	199	41	683
" Richmond	681	...	219	522	1,462
" San Antonio	157	186	434	23	760
" Savannah, Geo.	610	468	1,323	135	2,526
" St. Louis	24,246	4,347	28,966	8,215	55,774
" Vicksburg, Miss.	76	82	227	37	371
" New Orleans	9,490	6,290	12,470	9,436	37,686
Total	66,559	27,070	97,766	39,182	233,567
" Other Southern towns					17,901
Total direct South.					261,358
" Philadelphia	17,242	9,688	23,635	4,604	56,119
" New York	29,238	46,469	55,208	22,237	182,207
" All others					228,307
Total cases	216,836	136,612	260,329	106,714	717,991

The decline in the quantities shipped in the fourth quarter is very marked. The total value sent South directly in that year was about $12,000,000; but a large portion of those cases that were sent to New York and Philadelphia were to supply the Southern market; at least half the whole quantity was taken South, and the returns of the last quarter of the year show a decline of 154,615 cases; and the depression in the shoe trade, leading to the great strike, resulted from the diminished business.

Agricultural implements were manufactured, in 1850, on a large scale in the United States, which have, at present, almost the monopoly of that article for the world. In 1860, the value of agricultural tools and machinery manufactured in the United States was nearly three times as great as their value in 1850, when they amounted to nearly 7 million dollars, while, ten years after, they were valued at nearly 19 millions. The States of New York, Ohio, and Indiana took the lead in that kind of manufacture. In 1860, agricultural steam implements alone in the United States, reached more than $46,000,000 in value.

In 1850, the production of flour was rated in value at $136,056,736, and it employed nearly 24,000 people. In 1860, another advance was made, and the flour manufactured in the United States realized $221,000,000.

The same increase was observable from 1850 to 1860, in the timber trade and sawing mill industry. The products of this nature were valued at nearly $59,000,000 in 1850, at $93,651,000 in 1860.

Of a grand total of 2,707,421 individuals engaged in manufactures, mechanical and mining industries, we copy from the census of 1870 the numbers of those engaged in the most special and important branches: 3,811 agricultural implement-makers, including 25 females; 1,169 artificial flower-makers (951 females); 15,302 apprentices, not specified (200 females); 27,680 bakers; 3,297 basket-makers; 141,774 blacksmiths; 9,104 bookbinders and finishers; 171,127 boot and shoe-makers (9,642 females); 11,246 brewers; 20,070 brick and tile-makers; 7,511 builders and contractors; 42,835 cabinet-makers; 344,596 carpenters and joiners; 15,669 carpet-makers; 42,464 carriage and wagon-makers (32 females); 3,834 charcoal and lime-burners (5 females); 3,534 cheese-makers; 28,286 cigar-makers (1,844 female); 1,779 clock-makers; 693 comb-makers; 41,789 coopers; 111,606 cotton mill operatives (64,398 females); 28,702 curriers, tanners and finishers (60 females); 7,558 daguerreotypists and photographists; 2,874 distillers and rectifiers; 20,242 employés in manufacturing establishments (not specified); 34,233 engineers and firemen; 4,266 engravers; 27,106 fishermen and oystermen (35 females); 9,518 glass-works operators; 18,508 gold and silver workers; 8,184 gun and locksmiths; 33,817 harness and saddle-makers (50 females); 12,625 hat and cap makers; 962 hoop-skirt makers; 22,141 iron and steel works operatives (not specified); 34,245 iron foundry operatives; 17,249 iron and steel rolling mill operatives; 17,752 lumbermen and raftsmen; 54,755 machinists; 42,877 manufacturers; 25,831 marble cutters; 89,710 masons, brick and stone; 41,582 millers (239 females); 92,084 milliners, dress and mantua makers (1,604 male); 152,107 miners (46 females); 164 needle-makers; 3,803 oil well operators; 85,123 painters and varnishers; 12,469 paper-mill operatives; 2,535 piano-forte makers; 23,577 plasterers; 11,143 plumbers and gas-fitters; 5,060 potters; 575 powder-makers; 39,860 printers (1,495 females); 47,298 saw-mill operatives (35 females); 3,881 sewing-machine factory operatives; 15,900 ship-carpenters; 161,820 tailors, tailoresses and seamstresses (97,207 females); 30,524 tinners (17 females); 20,942 wheelwrights; 8,388 wood-choppers; 7,947 wood-turners and carvers (44 females); and 58,836 woollen-mill operatives (22,776 females).

The following figures give the latest and most complete information as to the actual status of manufactures in the United States:

Manufacturing establishments, number	252,148
Steam-engines, horse-power	1,215,711
" number	40,191
Water-wheels, horse-power	1,130,431
" number	51,018
Hands employed, total number	2,053,996
Males above 16	1,615,598
Females above 15	323,770
Youth	114,628
Capital	$2,118,288,769
Wages	775,584,343
Materials	2,488,427,242
Products	4,232,325,442

In the grand totals, the most important *mechanical and manufacturing industries* figure as follows:

Establishments for agricultural implements number	2,076
Blacksmithing	26,364
Boots and shoes	23,428
Bread, crackers, etc	3,550
Brick	3,114
Carpentering and building	17,142
Carriages and sleds, children's wagons	11,847
Cheese	1,313
Clothing, children's	20
" men's	7,838
" women's	1,847
Cooperage	4,961
Dentistry, mechanical	650
Drugs and chemicals	292
Flouring and grist-mill products	22,573
Furniture (not specified)	5,423
" chairs	529
Gas	390
Gunsmithing	610
Hardware	585
" saddlery	155
Hats and caps	483
Hosiery	248
Iron, pigs	386
" castings	2,328
" stoves, etc	326
" forged and rolled	
Leather, tanned	4,237
" curried	3,083
Lime	1,001
Liquors, distilled	719
" malt	1,972
" vinous	398
Lumber, planed	1,113
" sawed	25,817
Machinery (not specified)	1,739
Monuments and tombstones	1,044
Masonry, brick and stone	2,268
Millinery	1,667
Painting	3,040
Patent medicines	319
Photographs	1,090
Plastering	691
Plumbing and gasfitting	705
Printing and publishing (not specified)	311
" " book	40
" " newspaper	1,199
" " job	609
Pumps	465
Saddlery and harness	7,607
Salt	282
Sash doors and blinds	1,605
Shipbuilding	762
Soap and candles	614
Starch	195
Stone and earthenware	777
Sugar and molasses	713
Tin, copper, and sheet-iron ware	6,646
Tobacco and cigars	61
" chewing, smoking, and snuff	513
" cigars	4,631
Trunks, valises	222
Upholstery	609
Vinegar	181
Washing-machines & clothes-wringers	64
Watch and clock repairing	1,103
" " cases	40
" " materials	10
Wheelwrighting	3,613
Willowware	168
Woolenware	269
Wood pulp	8
" turned and carved	733
" miscellaneous articles	117
Wool-carding and cloth-dressing	1,001
Woolsey goods	1 938
Worsted goods	102
Zinc, smelted and rolled	11
" statuary and building ornaments	2

A NARRATIVE

OF THE INDIAN WARS

IN NEW ENGLAND,

BY WILLIAM HUBBARD, A. M.

PREFACE.

The gracious hand of divine Providence in the preservation of the New England colonies in their infant state, gloriously appears from the facts, briefly, but faithfully transmitted down to us, by one of our venerable forefathers in the following narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England, a very numerous and barbarous people, dispersed through the wilderness in every part of the land.

These savages began a war with the first English adventurers, while they were few in number, yea very few, and strangers in the land. This rendered their deliverance an event truly great and memorable.

They were saved indeed as by fire: Their loss of men and substance, compared with their numbers and ability, was very great, and long severely felt.

Heavy as the public expenses were to support the war, these were but a very inconsiderable part of the burdens and charges to which particular towns, families and individuals were necessarily subjected, in guards, garrisons, and watchings in their own defence.

The whole country was the seat of war, and every man procured his bread in jeopardy of his life.

Like Nehemiah's builders, each one toiled with his weapon of war in one hand, and his instrument of labour in the other; exposed every moment to death, from a watchful unseen foe.

In the frequent alarms which spread from town to town, some escaping from danger, ran into greater: others met their own fate in their attempts to relieve their neighbours, in the same, or different scattered settlements.

This was the deplorable state of the New England colonies, a very few towns excepted; a distress, more easily conceived than expressed, and indeed scarcely conceivable by the greater part of the present generation, since the then hideous wilderness is become a fruitful field, and well settled towns overspread the land.

The reader unacquainted with this country in its uncultivated state, may here inquire, Why the first settlers thus exposed themselves, by making disjoined and very distant settlements? Necessity led to this: The lands near the sea coasts were generally less fertile and found hard to subdue: therefore, for present subsistence in their feeble conditio they were obliged to seek the borders of rivers and streams, for the sake of intervals and meadows, both on account of their fertility, and of their being open and prepared for immediate improvement.

They were also encouraged in making these scattered settlements by the general friendly disposition of the natives, who freely sold their lands, for which a valuable consideration was paid, without exception, where a claim was made.

The Indians perceived their interest in admitting their English neighbours, as they furnished them with means of much easier subsistence; and the utmost care was taken by the several governments of the united colonies, to prevent any occasion of distrust.

The Pequod war was confined to the westerly parts of Connecticut.*

Philip's war, as it is called, began in Plymouth colony,† but spread through Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Province of Maine, in extent above 300 miles. And within the compass of one year, the numerous tribes of savages within the limits of New England, were drawn into this war against us, a very few excepted.

Surely we may say, had not the Lord been on our side, when men thus rose up against us, they had quickly swallowed us up.

Our fathers indeed had come out of great tribulation, into this wilderness, which, under providence, was a means of improving them in faith, fortitude and patience, to endure hardships beyond a parallel, until they obtained deliverance: And some of the first adventurers lived to see the wilderness become a fruitful field.

But this was not their intended rest: They had sublimer views; They looked for another and better country, that is an heavenly. And however they may have been misrepresented, by ignorant or ill designing persons, they were men of whom the world was not worthy.

The cruel charges of peculiar bigotry, and a persecuting spirit, wantonly alleged against them, are founded on facts not truly stated.

According to the natural course of things in this depraved and mutable state their descendents at this day, as might be expected, have in a measure, departed from that simplicity of manners, by which their renowned ancestors were justly distinguished; But notwithstanding it may with truth be asserted, that no instance can be produced, in the present or any past age, among like numbers, where good order has so universally prevailed, as in the New England colonies, even in populous and opulent towns, especially our capital.

We of this province, with inconsiderable intermissions, from that early period, at unknown expense and loss, have been called to defend our lives and properties against the incursions of more distant savages. Our trust hath been in the name of the Lord our fathers' God and Deliverer; and hitherto he hath delivered us. May we never be unmindful of of his signal benefits!

We are now under the smiles of divine Providence increased to a multitude of people.

Our many frontier settlements are continually exposed to savage invasion: And though we trust not to our own bow; yet as prudence directs, we are all armed and prepared for a defensive war. And yet having the worm wood and the gall still in remembrance, no people more ardent, wish and pray, that wars may forever cease, and peace on earth, and good will among men universally prevail.

Boston, May 20, 1775.

* Not far from New London.
† His Head Quarters were at Mount Hope, now Bristol.

CHAPTER I.

A NARRRATIVE

OF THE INDIAN WARS IN NEW ENGLAND, &c.

KNOWN unto God are all his works from the foundation of the world, though manifest to us, only by the events of time, that fruitful mother of all things, which in the former age did bring forth, at least did bring to light the knowledge of this western world, called America, that in all foregoing times and ages, lay hid in this obscure and remote region covered with a veil of ignorance, and locked up from the knowledge of all the rest of the inhabitants of the earth. To whom the honour of its investigation doth of right more properly belong, is sufficiently declared by the history and reports of such as were eye witnesses thereof and not intended to be any part of the present disquisition. The most considerable part of all the north side of America, is callel, New England. In the fertility of the said salubriousness of the air, and many other commodious advantages, most resembling the country from whence it borrowed its appellation. For the knowledge thereof the world is most beholding to the discoveries of the English, under the conduct of Sebastian Cabot, a famous Portuguese, sent out under the commission of Henry the VIIth, about the year, 1497, though since much perfected by the industry and travels of Capt. Gosnold, Capt. Hudson, Capt. Smith, and others of the English nation. North America, this posthumous birth of time, is as to its nativity, of the same standing with her two elder sisters, Peru and Mexico, yet was suffered to lie in its swadling clothes, one whole century of years, nature having promised no such dowry of rich mines of silver and gold to them that would espouse her for their own, as she did unto the other two, which possibly was the reason why she was not so hastily courted by her first discoverers, nor yet so early secured by any of the princes of Europe, lying wholly neglected as it were until a small company of planters, under the command of Captain George Popham, and Captain Gilbert, were sent over at the charge of Sir John Popham in the year 1607, to begin a colony upon a tract of land about Sagadehock, situate on the south side of the river Kennebeck and about that called Shipscot river and about twenty miles south west from Pemmaquid, the most northerly bound of all New England. But that design within two years expiring with its first founder, soon after some honourable persons of the west of England, commonly called the Council of Plymouth, being more certainly informed of several navigable rivers and commodious havens, with other places fit either for traffic or planting, newly discovered by many skilful navigators, obtained a grant by patent, under the great seal, from King James, of all that part of North America, called New England, from the 40 to the 48 deg. of north latitude. From which grant and original patent, all other charters and grants of land from Pemmaquid to Delaware bay, along the sea coast, derive their lineage and pedigree. Thus was that vast tract of land, after the year 1612, cantoned and parcelled out into many lesser divisions and parcels, according as adventurers presented, which said grants being founded upon uncertain, or false descriptions, and reports of them that travelled thither, did many of them interfere one upon another, to the great disturbance of the first planters, and prejudice of the proprietors themselves, as is too well known by any that have had occasion to stay ever so little among them, many of whom are yet surviving. For notwithstanding the great charge and vast expenses the first adventureres were at, the first proprietors of the whole Province of Maine and others, (reaching from the head of Casco Bay north east, to the mouth of Piscataqua river about sixty miles westward) and the hopes they might have conceived of being the first founders of new colonies, and of enlarging their estates and inheritances by those new acquired possessions and lordships, there was little profit reaped from thence after the rich fleeces of beaver were gleaned away, nor any great improvement made of those large portions of lands, save the erecting of some few cottages for fishermen, and a few inconsiderable buildings for the planters which were on those occasions drawn over the sea, to settle upon the most northerly part of New England.

But whether it were by the imprudence of the first adventurers, or the dissoluteness of the persons they sent over to manage their affairs, or whether for want of faithfulness or skill to manage their trust, they were by degrees in a manner quite deserted almost of law and government, and left to shift for themselves; by which means at last they fell under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony, not by usurpation, as is by great mistake suggested to his majesty, but by necessity, and the earnest desire of the planters themselves; to accept of whom, those of the Massachusetts colony were the more easily induced; in that they apprehended the bounds of their own patent, by a favourable interpretation of the words describing the northern line (three miles beyond the most northerly branch of Merimac river) do reach somewhat beyond Pemmaquid, the most northerly place of all New England.

This was the first beginning of things in New England, at which time they were not unlike the times of old, when the people of Judah were said to be without a teaching priest, and without law; and no wonder things were no more successfully carried on.

In the year 1620, a company belonging to Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, in Holland, although they had been courteously entertained by the Dutch, as strangers sojourning amongst them, yet forseeing many inconveniences like to increase, and that they could not so well provide for the good of their posterity, under the government of a foreign nation, they resolved to intreat so much favour from their own sovereign prince King James, as to grant them liberty under the shelter of of his royal authority, to place themselves in some part of New England, then newly discovered; wherefore having obtained some kind of patent or grant, for some place about Hudson's river, they set sail from Plymouth in September, for the southern parts of New England but as they intended to bend their course thitherward, *per various casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, they were at last cast upon a bosom of the Massachusetts bay, called cape Cod, about the 11th of November, from whence the winter so fast approaching, they had no opportunity to remove; and finding some encouragement from the hopefulness of the soil, and courtesy of the heathen, they resolved there to make their abode for the future which they did, laying the foundation of a new colony, which from the remembrance of the last town in England, they sailed from, they called New Plymouth; containing no very considerable tract of land scarce extending an hundred miles in length through the whole cape, and scarce half so much in breadth where it is the broadest. The first founders of that colony aiming more at religion than earthly possessions, aspiring not to any large dimension of land in their settling upon those coasts.

At Weymouth also was a plantation begun by Mr. Weston in the year 1622, but it came to little.

The north and south border of Massachusetts bay being thus planted, the middle part was the more easy to be filled up, which was thus brought about. Some gentlemen and others, observing how it fared with those of New Plymouth, were desirous upon the like ground to make the same attempt for themselves, wherefore having by a considerable sum of money purchased of some gentlemen that had a grant for the council of Plymouth all their right and interest in a plantation begun in the Massachusetts bay, and having attained a confirmation thereof by patent from King Charles, in the year 1628, they sent over a governor with several other persons to lay some foundation of another colony in the Massachusetts bay: And in the year 1630 more of the persons interested in the said patent (thence commonly called patentees) with several other persons, intended to venture their lives and all with them, transported themselves and their families into the said Massachusetts, who did in a short space of time by the accession of many hundreds, who every year flocked after them, make such an increase, that in the space of five or six years, there were twenty considerable towns built and peopled; and many of the towns first planted became so filled with inhabitants, that that like swarms of bees they were ready to swarm, not only into new plantations, but into new colonies, insomuch that in the year 1635, a new colony began to be planted upon Connecticut river, partly by combination amongst themselves, removing from some towns about the Massachusetts bay, and party by the interest of a patent purchased of that honourable gentleman, Mr. Fenwick, agent for the lord Say, and lord Brook, the lords proprietors of the said river Connecticut, at the mouth of which river they built a fort, (called after their own titles, Say Brook fort) commanding the passage of the said river. Yea, such was the confluence of people making over into those parts, that in the year 1637, a fourth colony began to be planted, bear the name of New Haven, from the first town erected therein, seated near the midway betwixt Hudson's river and that of Connecticut. The sea coast from the pitch of cape Cod, to the mouth of Connecticut river, inhabited by several nations of Indians, Wampanoogs (the first authors of the present rebellion) Narragansets, Pequods, Mohegins, as the more inland part of the country by the Nipnets (a general name for all in

land Indians betwixt the Massachusetts and Connecticut river.) The sea coast south west from Plymouth was first possessed by some discontented with the government of Massachusetts colony, from which some being exiled, others of their friends accompanying them, settled themselves upon a fair Island to the south west of cape Cod, now called Rhode Island; others settled upon the main at a place called Providence, and so by degrees planting towards Narraganset bay, made another plantation called Warwich, which places are since by patent conferred upon the inhabitants of Rhode Island; the rest of the country from Pequod river to the river Connecticut, falling within the bounds of Connecticut colony have since by patent also, been confirmed to the said colony. Things had been very prosperously and successfully carried on in all the aforesaid colonies and jurisdiction, from the year 1620, to the year 1636, at which time the war with the Pequods began. The following account was either left under the hands of such as commanded in chief, or is taken from the mouths of faithful witnesses, that were not only then present but personally concerned and engaged in the service.

There was a nation of the Indians in the southern parts of New England, called Pequods, seated on a fair navigable river, twelve miles to the eastward of the mouth of the great and famous river of Connecticut; who (as was commonly reported about the time when New England was first planted by the English) being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike people than the rest of the Indians, came down out of the more inland parts of the continent, and by force seized upon one of the goodliest places near the sea. and became a terror to all their neighbours. on whom they had exercised several acts of inhuman cruelty; insomuch that being flushed with victories over their fellow Indians, they began to thirst after the blood of any foreigners, English or Dutch, that accidentally came amongst them, in a way of trade, or upon other accounts.

In the year 1634, they treacherously and cruelly murdered Capt. Stone, and Capt. Norton, who came occasionally, with a bark into the river to trade with them. Not long after, within the compass of the next year, they in a like treacherous manner, slew one Mr. Oldham (formerly belonging to new Plymouth, but at that time an inhabitant of Massachusetts) at Block Island, a place not far from the mouth of their harbour, as he was fairly trading with them: Besides some other such like acts of perfidious cruelty towards some of the Dutch that had formerly been trading up Connecticut river; by which practices perceiving that they began to stink in the nostrils of their neighbours whose revenge they now began to fear, and not willing to to have to deal with too many enemies at once, they imitated the subtlety of the children of Ammon, when they began to stink before David; endeavouring to strengthen hemselves with alliance of some of those they had formerly provoked, that by their assistance they might defend themselves against the rest, not doubting but to make their part good with their foreign enemies, if they could be reconciled to their Indian neighbours, the Narragansetts or other home-bred enemies, and could but fortify themselves by a league of friendship with any of their foreign neighbours that were newly come to plant in these parts. To this end they sent messengers with gifts to the Massachusetts in the latter end of the same year 1634; the first messengers were dismissed without an answer: But they being sensible of their own danger, and and of the great importance a peace with the English of the Massachusetts might be, pursued the business very earnestly, sending messengers a second time, who offered much Wampam (Indian's money) and beaver, with these second messengers: The governor and council of the Massachusetts had much conference many days; and at last after the best advice they could take among themselves, concluded a peace and friendship with them. upon these conditions.

1. That they should deliver up to the English those persons amongst them that were guilty of Capt. Stone's death, and the rest that were with him.

2. That if the English desired to plant in Connecticut they should give up their right to them.

3. That if the English should henceforward trade with them as their friends, which was a chief thing aimed at; the said Pequods being at that time at war with the Dutch, and the rest of their neighbours, on the reasons forementioned. To these conditions they readily agreed, and also cunningly insinuated their desire that their new confederates, the Massachusetts, should mediate a peace for them with the Narragansetts; intimating likewise their willingness that a part of the present which they promised to send should be given to them, standing so much upon their honour, that they would not be seen to give any thing themselves; such was the pride and height of spirit lodged in this company of treacherous villians, the dregs and lees of the earth, and the dross of mankind.

As for Capt. Stone's death they slily evaded the guilt of it, falsely adding that there were but two left that had any hand therein, and that it was a just quarrel wherein he was slain: For, said they, he surprised some of our men, and would by force have compelled them to shew him the way up the river, whereopon the said Stone coming ashore, with two more, was watched by nine of our men (say they) who finding them asleep in the night, slew them to deliver our own men, one of whom going afterward to the bark, it was suddenly blown up: Whereas the truth of the matter was thus.

The said Capt. Stone formerly belonging to St. Christophers in the West Indies, occasionally coming to these parts as he passed between this place and Virginia put in at that river, where the Indians after they had often been on board his vessel to trade with him, at the last came friendly on board as they used to do, but finding the capt. asleep in his cabin, took the opportunity to murder him as he lay, casting a covering over him that he might not be discerned by the rest whom they presently after dispatched one after another, all but Captain Norton who made stout resistance, for a long time defending himself in the cook room of the bark till the gunpowder which he had set in an open vessel, to be more ready for his use, accidentally took fire, by which fatal accident he was so burned, and his eyes so blinded that he could not make any longer resistance, but forthwith fell into the hands of these cruel and blood thirsty wretches, who after they had taken away his life made a prey of all that was in the vessel.

As for Mr. Oldham, he was murdered at an Island called by the Indians, Manisses (since known by the name of Block Island) but those that murdered him (probably inhabitants of said Island) fled presently to the Pequods, by whom they were sheltered, and so became also guilty themselves of his blood.

In the year 1636, the death of this Mr Oldham* was so manifest that it could neither be concealed nor excused, the discovery whereof being remarkable, is here inserted.

One John Gallop, with one man more, and two boys, coming from Connecticut, and intending to put in at Long Island, as he came from thence, being at the mouth of the harbor was forced by a sudden change of the wind to to bear up for Block Island, or Fisher's Island, where, as they were sailing along, they met with a pinnace which they found to John Oldham's, who had been sent to trade with the Pequods, (to make trial of the realty of their pretended friendship after the murder of Captain Stone they hailed the vessel, but had no answer, although they saw the deck full of Indians (14 in all) and a little before that had seen a canoe go from the vessel full of Indians likewise, and goods, whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, who had only only two boys and two Narraganset Indians in his vessel besides himself, and the rather because they let slip, and set up sail (being two miles from the shore, the wind and tide coming off the shore of the Island, whereby they drove toward the main land of Narraganset) therefore they went ahead of them, and having nothing but two pieces, and two pistols, they bore up near the Indians, who stood on the deck of the vessel ready armed with guns, swords and pikes; but John Gallop, a man of stout courage, let fly among them, and so galled them, that they got all down under the hatches, and then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter, and almost overset her, which so affrightened the Indians, as six of them leaped overboard, and were drowned, yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as stemming her the second time, they bored her bow through with their anchor; and sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through the sides of her, and so raked her fore and aft (being but inch board) as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians; but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her, and then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea, and were likewise drowned; whereupon there being but four left in her, they boarded her; when an Indian came up and yielded; him they bound and put into the hold: then another yielded; him they also bound, but Gallop, being well acquainted with their skill to unloose one another, if they lay near together, and having no place to keep them asunder, flung him bound into the sea; then looking about, they found John Oldham under an old sail, start naked, having his head cleft to the brains; his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off; yet warm:

* The account of Mr. Oldham's death is added to this edition from Mr. Hubbard's Mass. History of New England, from its beginning to 1659

so they put him into the sea; but could not well tell how to come at the other two Indians who were in a little room underneath with their swords) so they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the boat away, but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried her to the Narraganset shore, where they left her.

On the 26th of the said July, the two Indians which were with John Oldham, and one other Indian, came from Canonicus (the chief sachem of the Narragansets) with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify what had befallen John Oldham, and how grievously they were offended: and that Miantonimo (the second sachem of the Narragansets) was gone with 17 canoes and 200 men to take revenge. But upon examination of the other Indian, who was brought prisoner to them, they found that all the sachems of the Narragansets, except Canonicus and Miantonimo, were contrivers of John Oldham's death, and the occasion was because he went to make peace, and trade with the Pequods last year; the prisoner said also that Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it; but because they were sent as messengers from Canonicus, they would not imprison them: but the governor wrote back to Mr. Williams, to let the Narragansets know, they expected they should send home John Oldham's two boys, and take revenge upon the Islanders, and withal gave Mr. Williams caution to look to himself, if there should be occasion to make war with the Narragansets (for Block Island was under them) and the next day he wrote to Canonicus, by one of those Indians, that he had suspicion of him that was sent, and yet he had sent him back, because he was a messenger; but did expect, if he should send for the two Indians, he should send them to him.

Four days after John Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonimo's men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, that Miantonimo had caused the sachem of Niantic to send to Block Island for them, and that he had near 100 fathom of peak, and much other goods of Oldham's which should be reserved for them. And three of the seven that were drowned were sachems, and that one of the two which was hired by the Niantic sachem, was dead also. So they wrote back to have the rest of those which were necessary to be sent, and the rest of the goods, and that he should tell Canonicus and Miantonimo that they held them innocent, but the six other sachems were guilty.

Lieut. Gibbons and Mr. Higginson were sent after, with Cushmakin the sachem of the Massachusetts, to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of John Oldham. They returned with acceptance and good success of their business; observing in the sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers; and in the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbours of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.

The English of Massachusetts, after the peace concluded with the Pequods, sent a bark thither for trade, that trial might be made of the reality of their friendship, but they found them treacherous and false, and that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, insomuch as they took up a resolution never more to have to do with them; which the said Indians perceiving, made no account of the former peace, but took all advantage to do us mischief, not only by harbouring those who had murdered Mr. Oldham, but surprising many of the English in the year 1636, when Connecticut river began first to planted, divers of whom were killed (nine at one time in April, 1637) by them about Wethersfield, when the plantation there first began, so as they could not pass up and down the river without a guard, but they would be in danger of being cut off or carried away, as two maids were said to be; thirty men have been killed by them in all; those who fell into their hands alive, were cruelly tortured, after a most barbarous manner, by insulting over their prisoners in a blasphemous wise, when in their dying agonies under the extremity of their pains (their flesh being first slashed with knives, and then filled with burning embers) they called upon God and Christ with gasping groans, resigning up their souls into their hands; with which words these wretched caitiffs used to mock the English afterwards, when they came within their hearing and view.

About the same time, some agents sent over by the lord Say and the lord Brook, built a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, wherein was placed one Lieutenant Gardiner, and a convenient number of soldiers to secure the place, intended soon after to be planted, but all the winter following, being the end of the year 1636, they were little better than besieged by the said savages, not daring to stir out of the command of the fort, but they were ready to be seized by these barbarous enemies: at one time the lieutenant himself, with ten or twelve of the soldiers, marching out of the fort with intent to pass over a neck of land, to burn the marshes; as soon as they had passed over the streight of the neck, they espied a company of Indians making towards the said isthmus, which if they could not recover, they saw they must all perish; whereupon returning back with all speed, they narrowly escaped, and were two or three of them killed notwithstanding, before they could get back to the fort, which was presently surrounded with multitudes of them; but the discharging of a piece of ordnance gave them warning to keep further from the walls. Sometimes they came with their canoes into the river in view of the soldiers within the fort, and when they apprehended themselves out of the reach of their guns, they would imitate the dying groans and invocations of the poor captive, which English soldiers were forced with silent patience to bear, not being then in a capacity to requite their insolent blasphemies. But they being by these horrible outrages justly provoked to indignation, unanimously agreed to join their forces together, to root them out of the earth, with God's assistance.

The governor and council having soon after assembled the rest of the magistrates, and the ministers, to advise with them about doing justice for Oldham's death, they all agreed it should be done with all expedition; and accordingly on the 25th of August following, 80 or 90 men were sent out under the command of Capt. Endicot of Salem, who went to the Pequod country by water, with commission to treat with the said Pequods, first offering terms of peace, if they would surrender the murderers of the English, and forbear further acts of hostility, or else fight them.

The captain aforesaid coming ashore with his company, by a message sent them by an interpreter, obtained little speech with a great number of them at a distance; but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a hill, they presently ran away into the woods and swamps, where there was no pursuing of them: however, one discharging a gun among them as they were taking their flight, stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them at that time.

Winter approaching, and no encouragement presenting further to pursue them at that time, it was resolved better to return back for the present, and wait a further season, when more forces could be gathered together to pursue the quarrel to the utmost.

Miantonimo soon after sent a message to them with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify that they had taken one of the Indians, who had broken prison, and had him safe for them, when they should send for him (as they had before sent to him for that end) and that the other had stolen away (not knowing it seems that he was their prisoner) and that according to their promise they would not entertain any of that Island, which should come to them; but they conceived it was rather in love to him whom they concealed, for he had been his servant formerly, but when they sent for those two Indians, one was sent them, but the other was said to be dead before the messenger came: but the Pequods harboured those of Block-Island, and therefore justly brought the revenge of the English upon them.

Amongst those soldiers that were sent under Capt. Endicot, were twenty that belonged to Saybrook-fort, land were appointed to stay there, to defend the place against the Pequods: after the said capt and the rest were departed, those twenty lay wind bound in the Pequod harbour, and in the meanwhile went all of them ashore, with sacks to fetch some of the Pequods' corn; and having fetched each man one sack full to their boat, they returned for more, and having loaded themselves the Indians set upon them, so they set down their corn, and gave fire upon the Indians, and the Indians shot their arrows against them; the place was open about the distance of a musket shot; the Indians kept the covert, save when they came forth at a time and discharged their arrows: the English put themselves in a single file, and ten only that had pieces that could reach them, shot, the others stood ready to keep them from breaking in. So they continued most part of the afternoon; the English, as they supposed, killed divers of them, and hurt others; and the Indians wounded but one of the English, who was armed, all the rest being without: for they shot their arrows compass-wise, so as they could easily see and avoid them standing single, then always gathered up their arrows: at the last the Indians being weary of the sport, gave the English leave to retire to their boat.—This was in October, 1636.

About two days after, five men of Saybrook went up the river about four miles to fetch hay out of a meadow on the Pequod side: the grass was so high as some Pequods hiding

themselves in it, set upon the English before they were aware, and took one that had hay on his back, the rest fled to their boat, one of them had five arrows in him, yet recovered: he that was taken was a goodly young man, whose name was Butterfield: whereupon the meadow was ever after called Butterfield's meadow.

Icarus Icariis nomina dedit aquis.

About fourteen days after, six of the soldiers were sent out of the fort to keep an house which they had set up in a corn-field, about two miles from the fort. Three of them went forth a fowling, which the lieutenant had strictly forbidden, two had pieces, and the third only a sword, when suddenly about an hundred Indians came out of the covert and set upon them, he who had the sword brake through, and received only two shot, and those not dangerous, and so escaped to the house which was not above a bow shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow, but they stayed still, till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces.

Soon after they beat down the said house, and out houses, and hay stacks, and within a bow shot of the fort, killed a cow, and shot diverse others, which came with arrows sticking in them.

After Mr. Endicot's departure, the Pequods perceiving that they had by several late injuries and outrages, drawing upon themselves the hatred of all the English, as well as of their own people by former wrongs, and distrusting their own ability to deal with them all at once, did at the last by all subtle insinuations and persuasions, try to make their peace with the Narragansets, using such arguments as to right reason seemed not only pregnant to the purpose but also (if revenge, that bewitching and pleasing passion of man's mind had not blinded their eyes) most cogent and invincible: but they were, by the good providence of God, withheld from embracing those counsels, which might otherwise have proved most pernicious to the design of the English, viz. That the English were strangers, and began to overspread the country, which would soon be possessed by them to the depriving the ancient inhabitants of their right, if they were not timely prevented; and that the Narragansets would but make way for their own ruin, by helping to destroy the Pequods; for after themselves were subdued, it would not be long ere the Narragansets themselves, would in the next place be rooted out likewise: whereas if they would but join together against the English they could demonstrate how the English might easily either be destroyed or forced to leave the country, and that without any danger to themselves: telling them also that they never need come to any open battles, they might destroy them only by firing their houses, and killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary occasions; which course, if it were pursued, they said their new and unwelcome neighbours could not long subsist; but would either be starved with hunger and cold, or forced to forsake their country.

Machiavel himself if he had sat in council with them could not have insinuated stronger reasons to have persuaded them to a peace.

It is said that so much reason was apprehended in these motives, that the Naragansets were once wavering, and were almost persuaded to have granted an ear to their advice and persuasion and joined all against the English; but when they considered what an advantage they had put into their hands by the strength and favour of the English, to take a full revenge of all their former injuries, upon their inveterate enemies, the thought of that was so sweet, that it turned the scale against all other considerations whatsoever.

Soon after this, Miantonimo, sachem of the Narragansets, came to Boston, (being sent for by the governor) with two of Canonicus's sons, and another sachem, and near 20 of their men, whom they call Sannaps. The governor, having notice by Cushamakin, the Massachusetts sachem, sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury to meet them. They came to Boston about noon, where the governor had called together all magistrates and ministers to give countenance to their proceedings, and to advise about the terms of peace. After dinner, Miantonimo declared what he had to say to them in several propositions, which were to this effect, that they had always loved the English, and now desired a firm peace with them, and that they would continue war with the Pequods, and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired the English would do so to: Promising to deliver their enemies to them, or kill them, and two months after to send them a present. The governor told them that they should have an answer the next morning, which was done, upon articles subscribed by him, and they also subscribed with him, wherein a firm peace was concluded, but because they could not make them well understand the articles, they told them they would send a copy to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret the same to them. So after dinner they took leave, and were conveyed out of town by some musketeers, and dismissed with a volley of shot.

The Articles here follow.

I. A firm peace betwixt them and their friends on either part (if they consent) and their confederates (if they will observe the articles) and their posterity.

II. Neither part to make peace with the Pequods without the other's consent.

III. Not to harbour any of the Pequods.

IV. To put to death, or deliver up any of the murderers of the English.

V. To return fugitive servants.

VI. The English to give them notice when they got out against the Pequods, and the other to send them guides.

VII. None of them to come near the English plantations during the war with the Pequods without some Englishman or known Indian.

IX. To continue to the posterity of both parties.

These Articles were indifferently well observed by the Narragansets, till the Pequods, their mortal enemies, were totally subdued; but then they began to grow insolent and treacherous, especially this Miantonimo himself; as will appear in the sequel.

Cushmakin also, the sachem of Massachusetts, subscribed these articles with the English.

The report of the unheard of cruelties forementioned, which had been perpetrated by the Pequods filling the ears of the English throughout the country; it was agreed by the joint consent of the English throughout the three colonies to unite all their forces together for suppressing the common enemy, early in the spring, A. D. 1637, who were also moved thereunto by their own necessities as well as by the earnest request of their friends at Connecticut.

Those of Plymouth being written unto by the governor of the Massachusetts, appeared very cordially willing thereunto, to which end they agreed to send fifty men at their own charge, with as much speed as the matter required, with sufficient leaders appointed, and a bark provided to carry them provisions, and tend upon them on all occasions; but before they could be dispatched away the next spring, news was brought that the enemy was wholly routed, so as their journey was stopped, and their good will accepted for the deed; as if they really had been there to have borne their part in the service; their non-appearance in time and place being not to be imputed to any backwardness in their minds, but to their too late invitation to the service; the motion fetching a large compass from the Connecticut down to the Massachusetts; from whom in the last place they were solicited thereunto. And for the other two colonies, those of Connecticut being quickened by the spur of necessity, and present sense of the insolence daily acted at their very doors, were soonest upon their march, and by the good hand of God upon them, they had given the main stroke before the friends of the Massachusetts could come up with them, yet there was no repining for the want of the glory of the victory, nor was there any cause, those that were the chief actors therein being forward to give God the glory of the whole, and not willing to pocket up any thing thereof themselves, acknowledging that they never saw more of God, or less of man in any business of that nature, as may more fully be understood by particulars ensuing.

The colony of the Massachusetts determined to send an hundred and sixty, of whom an hundred and twenty were ordained under the conduct of Capt. Patrick of Watertown, and Capt. Trask of Salem, Capt. Stoughton of Dorchester being to command in chief; with whom was sent that holy man of God, Mr. John Wilson, (pastor of the church of Boston) the chariots and horsemen of our Israel, by whose faith and prayer, as sometimes was said of Luther, (in reference to Germany) the country was preserved, so as it was confidently believed that no enemy should break in upon a place whilst he survived, which as some have observed accordingly came to pass.

The matter requiring good expedition, and it being long before the whole company could be dispatched away, Capt. Patrick with forty men were sent beforehand, to be sure to meet with those of Connecticut in case they should be in action, before the rest of our forces could get into a readiness, which accordingly came to pass; for the main business in taking the fort was over, even before the said Patrick could get thither. Capt. Underhill was sent by Mr. Vane the governor to Saybrook the winter before to strengthen the garrison

there. The assaulting and surprising of this Indian fort being the most remarkable piece of service in that whole expedition; take it as it was delivered in writing by that valiant, faithful and prudent commander, Capt. Mason, chief in the action, who lived long after to reap the fruit of his labour, and enjoy the benefit of that day's service, having an inheritance given him in that part of the country, as a just reward of his faithful service on that day as well as at other times. Wequash, a Pequod by nation, but disgusted by the sachem, proved a good guide to the English, by whose direction they were led to a fort near Mystic river, some miles nearer than Sassacous's fort, which they first intended to assault.

On the second Wednesday of May, being the tenth day of that month, we set sail with ninety men of the English in one pink, one pinnace, and two boats, towards the Pequods, with seventy river Indians; having somewhat a long passage to Saybrook fort, about forty of our Indians desired to go down by land on Saturday, but on Monday they went forth from the fort, and meeting seven Pequods and Nianticks they slew five outright, took one prisoner, and brought him into Saybrook fort, where he was executed by Capt. Underhill, the other escaped.

On Monday we landed at Saybrook fort, and stayed there until Tuesday; Capt. Underhill joining nineteen men with himself to us: Whereupon we sent back twenty of ours to strengthen our plantations; and so set sail on Thursday towards Narraganset, and arrived there on Friday.

On Saturday, myself, with Capt. Underhill, and Lieut. Sealy, with our guard marched to Canonicus by land, being about five miles distant, where we were kindly entertained after their manner: Having had party with him, we sent to Miantonimo, who would give no present answer; and so our sabbath being on the morrow, we adjourned our meeting until Monday, at which time there assembled Miantonimo with the chiefest of them about two hundred men; and being solemnly set for consultation after their manner, told them we were now going, God assisting, to revenge the wrong committed and bloodshed by their and our enemies, upon our native countrymen, not any way desiring their aid, unless they would voluntarily send, which they did exceedingly approve of: Moreover we told them that the English and they had always been friends for aught we knew, and so were we with the Indians that had not wronged Englishmen, which they acknowledged, and so made a large description of the Pequod's country, and told us they would send men with us; so we resolved there to keep our rendezvous at Canonicus's plantation, on the morrow night, being Tuesday; but the wind being stiff, we could not land our men until five or six of the clock in the afternoon, at which time I landed on Narraganset shore with thirty-two men, and so marched to the place of rendezvous formerly appointed: Capt. Underhill and my lieut. landed the rest, and came up to me that night. About two hours before day, came an Indian with a letter from Capt. Patrick, being then at Robert Williams's plantation with forty men, who desired us to stay for his coming and joining us, not intimating when that would be: which being considered and debated, we thought it could not be our safest course to wait for him, (though his present assistance was much desired) for these reasons.

1. "Because the day before when he had absolutely resolved to go, the Indians plainly told us they tho't we were but in jest, and also that Englishmen did talk much, but not fight; nay, they concluded they would not go on; and besides, if we should defer, we feared we should be discovered by reason of the frequent recourse between them by certain squaws (who have mutual intercourse) whereupon we were constrained to set forward towards the Pequods, with seventy-seven English, and about sixty river Indians, and as I suppose near two hundred Narragansets, and marched that night to the eastern Nianticks, where we kept our rendezvous that night: the sachem of the place adding about an hundred of his men unto us.

We set forward and marched about ten miles, where making an alta (or halt) there we held a consultation with the Indians, who desired to know what we intended? We told them that we resolved to assault Sassacous's fort, at which they were all stricken and as it were amazed with fear, as they plainly confessed; after a long debate and pressing of them, taxing them with cowardice, some of them resolved to go along with us, though I supposed they had no such intention, as appeared afterward; some of them left us to the number, as I suppose of an hundred or less; and marching on five miles further, we made another alta, where they told us we had near a dozen miles to Saccacous's fort, as we gathered by their relation; we were constrained to alter our resolution, and resolved to attempt that fort, which they had formerly described to be three or four miles nearer; and also one of Capt. Underhill's men failing put it out of doubt. But whosoever saith that Capt. Underhill had any falling out about that or any thing else, doth speak an untruth; for we both resolved to attack Saccacous's fort, as we concluded in our consultation at Narraganset, and so continued our resolution till we received the former reasons as grounds sufficient to persuade us to the contrary, and to prosecute that which was most likely to be accomplished.

They drew a plot of the situation of the Pequods, and described Saccacous's fort to be the nearest, which was the chief cause we determined to assault that first, and had no reason leaning till our last alta, where, upon the reasons formerly mentioned, we changed our resolution: This greatly pleased the Indians that were with us, as it was what they much desired; for it was dreadful to them to hear the name of Sassacous.

From thence we marched two or three miles where we kept our rendezvous, supposing we had been within one mile of the fort: an Indian having been sent beforehand, brought us news that they were secure, having been fishing with many canoes at sea, and divers of them walking here and there.

About two hours before day we marched toward the fort, being weary and much spent; many of us having slept none at all.

And as we began to march towards the fort, the Lord being pleased wonderfully to assist and encourage us, after a tedious march of three or four miles: about break of day we came in fair view of the fort, standing on the top of an hill not steep; the Indians all falling back, were suddenly vanished out of sight, so we made an alta, and sent back for our guide who had promised to go with us to the fort, but his heart we saw much failed him; we asked him what they intended who promised to wing us, and to surround the fort; he told us they were much afraid; but he, seeing our resolution, went to them and prevailed with divers of them to come up to us; we told them their best course would be to flank the fort on both sides, and having no time longer to confer, we proceeded; Capt. Underhill to the western entrance with one division, myself to the eastern as silent as possibly we could: so it pleased God we came up within two rods of the palisado, before we were dicovered, at which time a dog began to bark, and an Indian cried out, but not being myself rightly informed by the Indian guide, of the right entrance, though there was a little postern door, which I had thought to have attempted to break down with my foot; but the Lord directed me otherwise for the better; for I then feared we could not there enter with our arms, which proved true. So I suddenly hasted to the palisado, and putting in the muzzle of my piece, and discharged upon them, and so did the rest with all celerity; we then suddenly hastened on toward that side which stood toward the water; where I concluded there was an entrance, and instantly fell upon it, being only barred with two forked boughs, or branches of some trees, and hastening over them, I drew one after me: my lieutenant drawing the other outward. We suddenly fell upon the wigwams; the Indians cried out on a most hideous manner, some issuing out of their wigwams, shooting at us desperately, and so creeping under beds that they had. We had resolved awhile not to have burned it, but seeing we could not come at them, I resolved to set it on fire, after divers of them were slain, and some of our men sore wounded; so entering one of their wigwams, I took a fire brand [at which time an Indian drawing an arrow had killed him, but one Davis, his sergeant cut the bowstring with his cutlass] and suddenly kindled a fire in the matts wherewith they were covered, and fell to a retreat and surrounded the fort; the fire increasing violently, insomuch that they were constrained to climb to the top of the palisado; from whence they were soon fetched down I suppose to the number of an hundred and forty. Many of them issuing forth were suddenly slain by the English or Indians, who were in a ring without us; all being dispatched and ended in the space of an hour, having two of our men slain, and sixteen wounded.

Being very hot and dry, we could very hardly procure any water, we continued there one hour not knowing what course to take or which way to go, our pinnaces not being come in, neither did we know how far or which way to go them, our interpreter, being an Indian, we could hardly come to speak with him: when we did, he knew nothing of what his countrymen intended, who were all hurried and distracted with a few hurt men, but chiefly as I conceive with fear of the enemy

"The enemy approaching, they began to cleave unto us, and I verily think durst not leave us.

"Our pinnaces then coming in view with a

fair gale, being guided as it were to serve our necessity by the good hand of God, which I think was never more eminently seen in a matter of like moment, and less of man in several passages. Then we set our men in order, and prepared for fight, and began to march toward the harbour where the pinnaces were to ride: the enemy approaching, Capt. Underhill, with divers Indians and certain English, issued out to encounter them, but they would not stand to it, for the most part they lay behind rocks, trees and bushes. We marched on, they still dodging of us; sometimes hazarding themselves in open field, where some of them were slain in open view, and as we hear, many wounded. I was somewhat cautious in bestowing many shot upon them heedlessly, because I expected a strong opposition; and thus they continued to follow us till we came within two miles of our pinnaces, where they wholly left us, which was nearly six miles as I conceive, it being then about two miles more to the river.

"Four of our wounded men we were forced to carry ourselves, while at length we hired the Indians to bear them both in this and all the following enterprises against the Pequods."

This service being thus happily accomplished by these few hands that came from Connecticut; within a while after, the forces sent from the Massachusetts under the conduct of Capt. Stoughton as commander in chief, arrived there also, who found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the surprisal of the Pequods' fort as aforesaid, which was yet but the breaking of the nest, and unkennelling those savage wolves; for the body of them, with Sassacous the chief sachem (whose very name was a terror to all the Narragansets) were dispersed abroad all over their dispersed abroad and scattered all over their country, yet so far were the rest dismayed, that they never durst make any assault upon the English, who in several parties were scattered about in pursuit of them.

It was not long after Capt. Stoughton's soldiers came up, before news was brought of a great number of the enemy, that were discovered by the side of a river up the country, being first trappanned by the Narragansets, under pretence of securing them, but were truly hemmed in by them, though at a distance, yet so as they could not, or durst not stir, from the place, by which means our forces of the Massachusetts made an easy conquest of some hundreds of them, who were there cooped up as in a pound; not daring to fight, nor able to fly away, and so were all taken without any opposition. The men among them to the number of 30, were turned presently into Charon's ferryboat under the command of skipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbour; the females and children were disposed of according to the will of the conquerors, some being given to the Narragansets, and other Indians that assisted in the service.

The rest of the enemy being first fired out of their strong hold, were taken and destroyed, a great number of them being seized in the places where they intended to have hid themselves, the rest fled out of their own country over Connecticut river, up towards the Dutch plantation Our soldiers being resolved by God's assistance to make a final destruction of them, were minded to pursue them which way soever they should think to make their escape, to which end in the next place, our soldiers went by water towards New Haven, whither they heard, and which in reason was most likely, they bent their course: soon after they were informed of a great number of them, that had betaken themselves to a neighbouring place not far off, whither they might hope it was not likely they should be pursued; but upon search, they found fifty or sixty wigwams, but without an Indian in any of them, but heard that they had passed toward the Dutch plantation; whereupon our soldiers that were before, all embarked for Quillepiack, afterwards called New Haven, and being landed there, they had not far to march unto the place where it was most probable they should either find or hear of them; accordingly in their march they met here and there with sundry of them, whom they slew or took prisoners, amongst whom were two sachems, whom they presently beheaded; to a third that was either a sachem or near akin to one, they gave his life upon condition that he should go and enquire where Sassacous was, and accordingly bring them word: this Indian, overlooking all other national or natural obligations, in consideration of his life that was received on that condition, proved very true and faithful to those that sent him; his order was to have returned in three days, but not being able within so short a time to make a full discovery of the business, and also to find a handsome way to escape, he made it eight days before he returned, in which something fell out not a little remarkable; for those he was sent to discover, suspecting at the last by his withdrawing himself, that he came for a spy, pursued after him, so he was forced to fly for his life, and getting down to the sea side, he accidentally met with a canoe a little before turned adrift, by which means he paddled by some shift or other so far out of the harbour, that making a sign he was discerned by some on board one of the vessels that attended on our soldiers, by whom being taken up, he made known what he had discovered. But after he was gone, Sassacous suspecting (and not without just cause) what the matter was, made his escape from the rest, with 20 or 30 of his men to the Mohawks, by whom himself and they that were with him, were all murdered afterward, being hired thereunto by the Narragansets, as was confidently affirmed and believed.*

Thus this treacherous and cruel villian with his companions, having against his faith and promise, as well as contrary to the laws of nature and nations, murdered several others, both of the Dutch and English nation, is in the same manner himself, against the laws of hospitality murdered by those to whom he fled for refuge. *Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, I will repay it.*

It is worthy our observation, this that Sassacous, the chief sachem of the Pequods, as afterwards Philip of Mount Hope (both of them in their several times and places the contrivers of many bloody and cruel mischiefs, yet) escaped the hands of those whom they had so many ways provoked to the utmost degree of indignation, that so they might not too much gratify their own spirit in taking revenge; but it must be brought about by those means by which the glory of divine vengeance and justice shall more eminently shine forth, that it might be truly said of them, as Adonibezek confessed of himself, As I have done, so God hath requitted me.

But to return: The rest of the Pequods from whom Sassacous had made an escape, shifted every one for himself, leaving but three or four behind them (when a party of soldiers according to the direction of him that was sent as a spy came upon the place) who would not or could not tell them whither their company were fled; but our soldiers ranging up and down as Providence guided them, at the last, July 13, 1637, they light upon a great number of them, they pursued them to a small Indian town seated by the side of an hideous swamp (near the place where Fairfield or Stratford now stands) into which they all slipt, as well Pequods as natives of the place, before our men could make any shot upon them. having placed a sentinel to give warning, Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason with half a score of their men happened to discover this crew Capt. Patrick and Capt. Trask with about an hundred of the Massachusetts forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given; such commanders as first happened to be there gave special orders that the swamp should be surrounded (being about a mile in compass) but Lieut. Davenport belonging to Capt. Trask's company, not hearing the word of command, with a dozen more of his company, in an over eager pursuit of the enemy, rushed immediately into the swamp, where they were very rudely entertained by those evening wolves that newly kennelled therein, for Lieut. Davenport was sorely wounded in the body, John Wedwood of Ipswich in the belly, and laid hold on by some of the Indians; Thomas Sherman of said Ipswich in the neck; some of their neighbours that ventured in with them were in danger of the enemy's arrows that flew very thick about them, others were in as much hazard of being swallowed by the miry boggs of the swamp, wherein they stuck so fast, that if Sergeant Riggs, of Roxbury, had not rescued two or three of them, they had fallen into the hands of the enemy: but such was the strength and courage of those that came to their rescue, that some of the Indians being slain with their swords, their friends were quickly relieved and drawn out of the mire and danger.

But the Indians of the place, who had for company sake run with their guests the Pequods into the swamp did not love their friendship so well as to be killed with them also for company sake, wherefore they began to bethink themselves they had done no wrong to the English, and desired a parley, which was granted, and they presently understood one another by the means of Thomas Stanton, an exact interpreter then at hand. Upon which the sachem of the place with several others and their wives and children, that liked better to live quietly in their wigwams than to be buried in the swamp, came forth and had their lives granted them: After some time of further parley with these, the interpreter was sent in to offer the like terms to the rest, but they were possessed with such a spirit of stupidity and sullenness that they resolved rather to sell their lives for what they could get there; and to that end began

* Sassacous's scalp was sent down to the English.—*Hubbard's Massachusetts History.*

to let fly their arrows thick against him as intending to make his blood some part of the price of their own; but through the goodness of God toward him, his life was not to be sold on that account, he being presently fetched off.

By this time night drawing on, our commanders perceiving on which side of the swamp the enemies were lodged, gave orders to cut through the swamp with their swords, that they might the better hem them round in one corner which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time, by which means many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to so narrow a compass, that our soldiers standing at twelve feet distance could surround it, the enemy kept in all the night; but a little before day-break (by reason of the fog that useth to arise about that time, observed to be the darkest time of the night) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy broke through the besiegers, and escaped away into the woods, some by violence and some by stealth cropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit; the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their self-willedness and madness sit still to be shot or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm, that in the morning entering into the swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them; so, besides those that were found dead (near twenty it was judged) many more were killed and sunk into the mire and never were minded more by friend or foe; of those who were not so desperate or sullen as to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male children were sent to the Bermudas, of the females some were distributed to the English towns, some were disposed of among the other Indians, to whom they were deadly enemies as well as to ourselves.

This overthrow given to the Pequods struck such a terror into all the Indians in those parts (some of whom had been ill affected to the English before) that they sought our friendship, and rendered themselves to be under our protection, which they then obtained, and have never since forfeited it any of them, till the late rebellion of Philip, the subject of the following discourse. Amongst the rest of the prisoners special notice was given of the wife of a noted Indian called Mononotto, who with her children submitted herself, or by the chance of the war fell into the hands of the English: it was known to be by her mediation that two English maids (that were taken from Weathersfield, upon Connecticut river) were saved from death, in requittal of whose pity and humanity, the life of herself and her children was not only granted her, but she was in special recommended to the care of that honorable gentleman Mr. John Winthrop at that time being the worthy governor of Massachusetts; who taking notice of her modest countenance and behavior, as well as of her only request (not to suffer wrong either as to the honor of her body or fruit of her womb) gave special charge concerning her, according to his noble and christian disposition.

After this slaughter at the swamp, the Pequods being upon every turn exposed to the revenge of the Mohegins on one side, and the Narragansets on the English,* by whom they were put, some under the Mohegins and some under the Narragansets, which at last proved the occasion of the present quarrel as is conceived, through the ambition of Miantonimo, as will be hereafter related.

On the 12th of July, 1637, one Aganemo, a sachem of the Niantick Indians (who were a branch of the Narragansets) came to Boston with seventy of his own men: he made divers propositions to the English, which they took into consideration, and promised to give him an answer the next day: but finding that he had rescued divers of the Pequods, submitted to him since the last defeat, they first demanded the delivery of them, which he sticking at, they refused further conference with him: But the next morning he came and offered what they desired. So the governor referred him to the captains at the Pequod country, and writ instructions to them how to deal with him. So receiving his ten fathoms of wampum, they friendly dismissed him.

In July 1638, Uncas the sachem of the Mohegins, having entertained some of the Pequods, came to the governor at Boston with a present, and was much dejected because it was not first accepted: But afterwards the governor and council being satisfied about his innocency they accepted it, whereupon he promised to the order of the English, both touching the Pequods he had received, and as concerning the differences betwixt the Narragansets and himself, and confirmed all with this compliment; this heart, said he, (laying his hand upon his heart) is not mine but your's, command me any difficult service and I will do it, I have no men but they are all your's, I will never believe any Indian against the English any more; and so he continued for ever after, as may be seen in the following transactions between the Indians and the English: whereupon he was dismissed with some small reward, and went home very joyful, carrying a letter of approbation for himself and his men, through the English plantations.

This was the issue of the Pequod war, which in the day of it here in New England was as formidable to the country in general as the present war with Philip; the experience of which, because it may administer much comfort and encouragement to the surviving generation as well as of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God, from all those who have thus long quietly enjoyed the benefit and reaped the fruit of their labour and courage who engaged therein, the more pains hath been taken to search out the broken pieces of that story and thus put them together, before the memory thereof was buried in the ruins of time, and past the recovery and knowledge of the present age.

* Seven hundred of them were thought to be destroyed.

After subduing the Pequods in the year 1637, the Narragansets, the most numerous of the other Indians, either out of discontent, that the whole sovereignty over the rest of the Indians was not adjudged to belong to them, or out of envy, that Uncas the chief sachem of the Mohegin Indians, had insinuated further than themselves into the favour of the English, were observed to be always contriving mischief against them, notwithstanding a firm agreement was made between the English and the said Narragansets in the year 1637, when they had helped to destroy the Pequods, and also notwithstanding the triple league between the said Narragansets, the Mohegins, and the English at Hartford (the chief town of Connecticut) made in the year 1638, wherein the said Indians were solemnly engaged not to quarrel with the Mohegins or any other Indians, until they first asked the advice of the English, to whose determination, they had likewise obliged themselves to stand in all following differences among them. They carried it subtilely and underhand for some years, and were pretending quarrels with the said Uncas, against whom they had always an inveterate malice, ever since the agreement made about distributing the Pequods, after the war with them had ended, expecting in all probability that all should have been left to their sole arbitrament. The Mohegins on the other side, though not so numerous, yet a more warlike people and more politic, always made their recourse to the English, complaining of the insolence of the Narragansets, contrary to their league, so as they would hardly be kept from making open war against them, when they saw all other attempts to kill and destroy Uncas the Mohegin sachem, by treachery, poison and sorcery prove ineffectual. Inasmuch that at last the malice of Miantonimo and his Narragansets grew to that height, that they began to plot against the English themselves, for defending Uncas.

The Narragansets were animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of Miantonimo, the heir apparent of all the Narraganset people, after the decease of the old sachem, Canonicus, who was his uncle. This Miantonimo was a very goodly personage, of tall stature, subtle and cunning in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs. It was strongly suspected that in the year 1642, he had contrived to draw all the Indians throughout the country into a general conspiracy against the English: For, the first of September, 1642, letters came to the court of Connecticut, and from two of the magistrates there, that the Indians had conspired to cut off the English all over the country: Mr. Ludlow certified as much from the place where he lived near the Dutch. The time appointed for the assault, was said to be after harvest; the manner to be by several companies, entering into the chief men's houses, by way of trade, and then to kill them in their houses, and seize their arms, and others should be at hand to prosecute the massacre: This was also confirmed by three Indians that were said to reveal it in the same manner, and at the same time, to Mr. Ludlow and to the governor of New Haven. It was added also that another Indian should discover the same plot to Mr Haines of Connecticut by some special circum-

stances, viz. that being much hurt by a cart (which usually there are drawn with oxen) he should send for Mr. Haines and tell him, that Englishman's God was angry with him, and sent Englishman's cow (meaning the oxen in the cart, or wayne) to kill him because he had concealed a plot against the English, and so told him all as the other Indians had done.

Upon this, their advice from Connecticut was, that we should begin with them and enter upon a war presently, and that if Massachusetts would send 120 men to Saybrook, at the river's mouth, they would meet them with a proportionable number. This was a very probable story, and very likely it was, that the Indians had been discoursing of some such business among themselves. But the general court of Massachusetts when called together, did not think those informations to be a sufficient ground whereon to begin a war. Although the governor and magistrates as many as could convene together before the court ordered that all the Indians within their jurisdiction should be disarmed, which they willingly yielded unto: and upon all the enquiries and examinations which were made by the court when assembled together, they could not find any such violent presumption of a conspiracy, as to the ground of a war. Besides, it was considered, that the reports of all Indians were found by experience to be very uncertain, especially when it may be raised and carried by such as are at variance one with another; who may be very ready to accuse one another to ingratiate themselves with the English. Miantonimo, sachem of Narraganset, was sent unto, and by his readiness to appear, satisfied the English that he was innocent as to any present conspiracy; though his quarrel with the Mohegins (who bordered upon Connecticut colony) might very probably, as was judged, render him the subject of such a report, or an occasion of it.

The said Miantonimo when he came before the court peremptorily demanded that his accusers might be brought before him face to face, and if they could not prove it, then to be made to suffer, what himself, if he had been found guilty, had deserved, i. e. death, his reasons for which were very plausible. He urged very much the prosecuting such a law against his accusers; alleging, that if the English did not believe it, why did they disarm the Indians round about: and if they did believe it, equity required, that they who accused him should be punished according to the offence charged upon himself. He offered also to make it good against Uncas, sachem of the Mohegins, that the report was raised either by him or some of his people. The English answered, that divers Indians had robbed some of the Englishmen's houses, which might be a sufficient ground to disarm; and with that he was something satisfied. The Connecticut men were hardly prevailed with to forbear the war against them, but at last they were overcome with the allegations of the Massachusetts to lay it aside.

Miantonimo when he was at Boston was very deliberate in his answers, shewing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal; but though his words were smoother than oil, yet, as many conceived, in his heart were drawn swords. It was observed also, that he would never speak but when some of his counsellors were present, that they might, as he said, bear witness of all his speeches at their return home.

They spent two days in the treaty, wherein at last he gave them satisfaction in all things, though he held off long about the Nianticks, of whom he said they were as his own flesh, engaging on their behalf, that if they should do any wrong, so as neither he nor they could satisfy without blood, then he would leave them to the mercy of the English. At his departure he gave his hand to the governor, telling him, that was for the magistrates that were absent.

While he was at Boston one of his own followers had been a principal evidence against him; he however promised to deliver him to the Mohegin sachem whose subject he was; notwithstanding which promise, going homeward he cut off his head to prevent his telling more tales. And with great discontent, as he was going home said, he would come no more to Boston, wherein he proved a truer prophet than he himself believed when he uttered the words, for in the end of the same year, 1643, making war upon Uncas, he was taken prisoner by him, and soon after by the advice of the commissioners of the four colonies (at that time firmly united into a league offensive and defensive, on which account they were after that time called the united colonies of New-England; though since that time they are reduced to but three colonies; that of New Haven and Connecticut by the last patent being united in one) his head was cut off by Uncas, it being justly feared, that there would never be a firm peace, either betwixt the English and the Narragansets, or betwixt the Narragansets and the Mohegins, while Miantonimo was left alive: However, the Narragansets have ever since that time bore an implacable malice against Uncas, and all the Mohegins, and for their sakes secretly against the English, so far as they durst discover it.

In the year 1645, and 1646, they grew so insolent, that the commissioners of the united colonies were compelled to raise forces to go against them, but when they perceived that the English were in good earnest, they began to be afraid, and sued for piece, submitted to pay tribute to satisfy the charges of preparation for the war, but were always very backward to make payment until the English were forced to demand it by new forces, so that it appeared they were unwilling to hold any friendly correspondence with the English, yet durst never make any open attempt upon them, until the present rebellion, wherein they had no small hand, is too evident, notwithstanding all their pretences to the contrary, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

Thus it is apparent upon what terms the English stood with the Narragansets, ever since the cutting off Miantonimo, their chief sachem's head by Uncas, it being done with the advice and counsel of the English, Anno 1643. As for the rest of the Indians, ever since the suppression of the Pequods, in the year 1637, until the year 1675, there was always in appearance amity and good correspondence on all sides, scarce an Englishman was ever known to be assaulted or hurt by any of them, until after the year 1674, when the son of one Matoonas, who, as was supposed being vexed in his mind that the design against the English, intended to begin 1671, did not take place, out of mere malice and spite against them, slew an Englishman travelling along the road, and the said Matoonas being a Nipnet Indian, which Nipnets were under the command of the sachem of Mount Hope, the author of all the present mischiefs.

Upon a due enquiry into all the preceding transactions between the Indians and the English, from their first settling in these coasts, there will appear no ground of quarrel that any of them had against the English, nor any provocation upon one account or another; for when Plymouth colony was first planted, within three months after their first landing, March 16, 1620, Massasoit, the chief sachem of all that side of the country, repaired to the English at Plymouth, and entered into a solemn league upon sundry articles, (printed in New-England's Memorial, 1689) which are as follows, viz.

1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.

4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they should aid him, and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. That he should send to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might likewise be comprised in these conditions of peace.

6. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms (which were then bows and arrows) behind them.

7. That in so doing, their sovereign lord, King James, would esteem him as their friend and ally.

This league the same sachem, September 26, 1630, a little before his death, coming with his eldest son, afterwards called Alexander, did renew with the English at the court of Plymouth, for himself and his son, and their heirs and successors: And after that he came to Mr. Brown's, who lived not far from Mount Hope, bringing his two sons, Alexander and Philip with him, desiring there might be love and amity after his death, between his sons and them, as there had been betwixt himself and them in former times: yet it is very remarkable that this Massasoit, called also Woosamequen, (how much soever he affected the English) was never in the least degree well affected to the religion of the English, but would in his last treaty with his neighbours at Plymouth, when they were with him about purchasing some land at Swanzey, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his people from their old pagan superstition, and devilish idolatry, to the christian religion, and did much insist upon it till he saw the English were resolved never to make any treaty with him more upon that account, which when he discerned, he did not further urge it: but that was a bad omen, that, notwithstanding whatever his humanity was to the English, as they were strangers, (for indeed they had repaired his former kindness to them, by protecting him afterwards against the inso-

lences of the Narragansets) he manifested no small displacency of spirit against them, as they were christians; which strain was evident more in his son that succeeded him, and all his people, insomuch that some discerning persons of that jurisdiction have feared that nation of Indians would all be rooted out, as has since come to pass. The like may be observed concerning the Narragansetts, who were always more civil and courteous to the English than any of the other Indians, though never have as yet received the least tincture of the christian religion, but have in a manner run the same fate with their neighbours of Mount Hope, there being very few of them left standing. Nor is it unworthy the relation, what a person of quality amongst us hath lately affirmed, viz. One much conversant with the Indians about Merrimac river, being Anno 1660, invited by some Sagamores or sachems to a great dance, (which solemnities are the times they make use of to tell their stories, and convey the knowledge of some past and most memorable things to posterity) Passaconaway, the great sachem of that part of the country, intending at that time to make his last and farewell speech to his children and people, that were then all gathered together, addressed himself to them in this manner:

"I am now going the way of all flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever met together any more: I will now leave this word of counsel with you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English, for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed, and rooted off the earth if you do; for I was as much an enemy to the English, at their first coming into these parts, as any one whatsoever, and did try all ways and means possible to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them sitting down here, but I could no way effect it, therefore I advise you never to contend with the English, nor make war with them:" And accordingly his eldest son Wanalancet by name, as soon as he perceived that the Indians were up in arms, withdrew himself into some remote place, that he might not be hurt by the English, or the enemies, or be in danger by them.

This passage was thought fit to be inserted here, it having so near an agreement with the former, intimating some secret awe of God upon the hearts of some of the principal amongst them, that they durst not hurt the English, although they bear no good affection to their religion, wherein they seem not a little to imitate Balaam, who, whatever he uttered, when he was under the awful power of divine illumination, yet when left to himself, was as bad an enemy to the Israel of God as ever before.

But to return.

After the death of this Woosamequen, or Massasoit, his eldest son succeeded him about 20 years since, Alexander by name, who notwithstanding the league he had entered into with the English, together with his father, in the year 1639, had neither affection to the Englishmen's persons, nor yet to their religion, but had been plotting with the Narragansets, to rise against the English; of which the governor and council of Plymouth being informed, they presently sent for him to bring him to the court; the person to whom that service was committed, was a prudent and resolute gentleman, the present governor of the said colony, who was neither afraid of danger, nor yet willing to delay in a matter of that moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten stout men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the said Alexander's dwelling, distant at least forty miles from the governor's house, but by a good providence, he found him whom he went to seek at a hunting-house, within six miles of the English towns, where the said Alexander, with about eighty men, were newly come in from hunting, and had left their guns without doors, which Major Winslow with his small company wisely seized and conveyed away, and then went into the wigwam, and demanded Alexander to go along with him before the governor, at which message he was much appalled, but being told by the undaunted messenger, that if he stirred or refused to go he was a dead man; he was by one of his chief counsellors, in whose advice he most confided, persuaded to go along to the governor's house, but such was the pride and height of his spirit, that the very surprisal of him, so raised his choler and indignation, that it put him into a fever, which notwithstanding all possible means that could be used, seemed mortal; whereupon entreating those that held him prisoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promising to return again if he recovered, and to send his son as hostage till he could do so; on that consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died before he got half way home. Here let it be observed, that, although some have taken up false reports as if the English had compelled him to go further and faster than he was able, and so he fell into a fever, or as if he was not well used by the physician that looked to him, while he was with the Englisa; all which are notoriously false; nor is it to be imagined that a person of so noble a disposition as is this gentleman (at that time employed to bring him) should himself, or suffer any one else to be uncivil to a person allied to them, by his own, as well as his father's league, as the said Alexander also was; nor was any thing of that nature ever objected to by the English of Plymouth, by the said Alexander's brother, by name Philip, commonly for his ambitious and haughty spirit nicknamed King Philip, when he came in the year 1662, in his own person with Sausaman and secretary and chief counsellor, to renew the former league that had been between his predecessors and the English of Plymouth; but there was as much correspondence betwixt them for the next seven years as ever had been in any former times. What can be imagined, therefore, besides the instigation of Satan, that envied at the prosperity of the church of God here seated, or else fearing lest the power of the Lord Jesus, that had overthrown his kingdom in other parts of the world, should do the like here, and so the stone taken out of the mountain without hands, should become a great mountain itself, and fill the whole earth; no cause for provocation being given by the English! For once before this, in the year 1671, the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning, had so filled the heart of this savage miscreant with envy and malice against the English, that he was ready to break out in open war against the inhabitants of Plymouth, pretending some trifling injuries done him in his planting land, but when the matter of controversy came to be heard by divers of the Massachusetts colony, yea, when he himself came to Boston, as it were referring his case to the judgment of that colony, nothing of that nature could be made to appear, whereupon in way of submission, he was of necessity by that evident conviction forced to acknowledge that it was the naughtiness of his own heart, that put him upon that rebellion, and nothing of any provocation from the English; and to a confession of this nature with a solemn renewal of this covenant, declaring his desire, that this covenant might testify to the world against him, if ever he should prove unfaithful to those of Plymouth, or any other of the English colonies therein, himself with his chief counsellors subscribed in the presence of some messengers sent on purpose to hear the difference between Plymouth and the said Philip. But for further satisfaction of the reader, the said agreement and submission shall here be published.

Taunton, April 10, 1671.

"Whereas my father, my brother, and myself have formerly submitted ourselves and our people unto the king's majesty of England, and to this colony of New Plymouth, by some solemn covenant under our hand; but I having of late through my indiscretion, and the naughtiness of my heart violated and broken this my covenant with my friends, by taking up arms, with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly; I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my covenant with my ancient friends, and my father's friends abovementioned, and do desire this may testify to the world against me if ever I shall again fail in my faithfulness towards them (whom I have now and at all times found kind to me) or any other of the English colonies; and as a real pledge of my true intentions, I do freely engage to resign up unto the government of New Plymouth, all my English arms, to be kept by them for their security, so long as they shall see reason. For true performance of these premises, I have hereunto set my hand together with the rest of my council.

The mark *P.* of *Philip*,
chief sachem of *Pakanoket*,
The mark *V.* of *Tavoser*,
The mark *M.* of Capt. *Wispoke*,
The mark *T.* of *Wookaponchunt*,
The mark 8 of *Nimrod*"

In presence of
WILLIAM DAVIS,
WILLIAM HUDSON,
THOMAS BRATTLE.

Philip also in the same year signed the following *Articles:*

1. "We Philip and my council and my subjects, do acknowledge ourselves subject to his majesty the king of England, and the government of New Plymouth, and to their laws.

2. "I am willing and do promise to pay unto the governor of Plymouth, one hundred pounds in such things as I have: But I would intreat the favour that I might have three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present.

3. "I do promise to send unto the governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolves heads, if I can get them: Or, as many as I can procure, until they come to five wolves yearly.

4. "If any difference fall between the English and myself, and people, then I do promise to repair to the governor of Plymouth, to rectify the difference amongst us.

5. "I do promise not to make war with any, but with the governor's approbation of Plymouth.

6. "I promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the governor of Plymouth.

"For the true performance of the said sachem, Philip of Paukamakett, do hereby bind myself and such of my council, as are present, ourselves, our heirs, our successors, faithfully, do promise, in witness thereof, we have hereunto subscribed our hands, the day and year above written."

The mark *P.* of *Philip*,
the sachem of *Pokanoket*,
The mark [of *Uncomdaen*,
The mark ‡ of *Wocokom*,
The mark 7 of *Samkama*."

In the presence of the court and divers of the magistrates and other gentlemen of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

To which, for the further clearing the justice of the present war the result of the debate of the commissioners of the united colonies about the matter of the war shall be here inserted.

At a meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies held at Boston, September 9th, 1675.

"We having received from the commissioners of Plymouth, a narrative, shewing the rise and several steps of that colony, as to the present war with the Indians, which had its beginning there, and its progress into Massachusetts, by their insolencies and outrages, murdering many persons, and burning their houses in sundry plantations in both colonies. And having duly considered the same, do declare that the said war be both just and necessary, and its first rise only a defensive war. And therefore we do agree and conclude that it ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the united colonies, and the charges thereof to be borne and paid as is agreed in the articles of confederation.

JOHN WINTHROP,
JAMES RICHARDS,
THOMAS DANFORTH,
WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
JOSIAH WINSLOW,
THOMAS HINCKLEY."

But whatever his submission was before, or his subjecting himself and his people to our king, or his engagement to pay a sum of money in part of the charges then occasioned by him (and notwithstanding the English in or about Plymouth, since, or before that time were never any ways injurious to him, or any of his people) all which are fully declared in a narrative given by the commissioners of the the colony of Plymouth, wherein they also signified that the settlement and issue of the former controversy between Philip and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the mediation, and inposed advice and counsel of the other two confederate colonies, and also in a letter under the governor's hand, in the following words:

"I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors: nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are in their straits easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law that none should purchase or receive by gift, any land of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our court, and penalty of a fine, five pounds per acre, for all that should be so bought or obtained. And lest yet they should be straightened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of the best land in the colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands, or else they would have sold them long since. And our neighbours at Rehoboth and Swanzy, although they bought their lands fairly of this Philip and his father and brother, yet because of their vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own cost set up a very substantial fence quite across that great neck between the English and the Indians, and payed due damage if at any time an unruly horse or other beast broke in and trespassed.

"And for divers years last past (that all occasion of offence in that respect might be prevented) the English agreed with Philip and his, for a certain sum yearly to maintain the said fence, and secure themselves. And if at any time they have brought complaints before us, they have had justice impartial and speedily, so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in shewing them over much favour.

JOS. WINSLOW."

Marshfield, May 1, 1676.

Yet did this treacherous and perfidious caitiff still harbour the same or more mischievous thoughts against the English than ever before, and hath been since that time plotting with all the Indians round about, to make a general insurrection against the English in all the colonies which, as some prisoners lately brought in have confessed, should have been put in execution at once, by all the Indians rising as one man, against all those plantations of the English, which were next to them. The Narragansets having promised, as was confessed, to rise with four thousand fighting men in the spring of 1676. But by the occasion hereafter to be mentioned about Sausaman, Philip was necessitated for the safety of his own life to begin the rebellion the year before, when the design was not fully ripe. Yet some are ready to think, that if his own life had not now been in jeopardy by the guilt of the murder of the aforesaid Sausaman, his heart might have failed him; when it should have come to be put into execution, as it did before in the year 1671, which made one of captains, of far better courage and resolution than himself, when he saw his cowardly temper and disposition, fling down his arms calling him a white livered cur, or to that purpose, and saying that he would never own him again, or fight under him; and from that time hath turned to the English, and hath continued to this day a faithful and resolute soldier in their quarrels.

That the Indians had a conspiracy amongst themselves to rise against the English, is confirmed by some of the Indians about Hadley, although the plot was not come to maturity when Philip began, the special providence of God therein overruling the contrivers: for when the beginning of the troubles first was reported from Mount Hope, many of the Indians were in a kind of amaze, not knowing well what to do, sometimes ready to stand for the English, as formerly they had been wont to do; sometimes ready to strike in with Philip, (which at the last they generally did) which if it had been foreseen, much of that mischief might have been prevented that fell out in several places, more by perfidious and treacherous dealing than any other ways; the English never imagining that after so many obliging kindnesses received from them by the Indians, besides their many engagements and protestations of friendship as formerly, they would have been so ungrateful, perfidiously false and cruel, as they have since proved.

The occasion of Philip's so sudden taking up arms the last year was this—there was one John Sausaman a very cunning and plausible Indian well skilled in English language, and bred up in a profession of the christian religion, employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, the Indian town, who upon some misdemeanor fled from his place to Philip, by whom he was entertained in the room and office of a secretary, and his chief counsellors whom he trusted with all his affairs and secret counsels: but afterwards, whether upon sting of his own conscience, or by the frequent solicitations of Mr. Elliot, that had known him from a child and instructed him in the principles of our religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit he was at last prevailed with to forsake Philip, and return back to the christian Indians at Natick, where he was baptized, manifesting public repentance for all his former offences, and made a serious profession of the christian religion; and did apply himself to preach to the Indians, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian nation, as he was observed to conform more to the English manner than any other Indian; yet having occasion to go up with some others of his countrymen to Namasket; (now Middleborough) whether the advantage of fishing, or some such occasion, it matters not; being there not far from Philip's country he had occasion of being in the company of Philip's Indians, and Philip himself; by which means he discerned by several circumstances, that the Indians were plotting anew against us; which out of faithfulness to the English, the said Sausaman informed the governor of, adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent testimonies from others making it the more probable, that there was a certain truth in the information, some inquiry was made into the business, by examining Philip himself, and several of his Indians, who although they would own nothing, yet could not free themselves from just suspicion.—Philip therefore soon after contrived the said Sausaman's death, which was strangely discovered notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him met him upon the ice on a great pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the ice, yet leaving his gun and hat upon

the ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the ice and was drowned; but being missed by his friends, who finding his hat and gun, they were thereby led to the place, where his body was found under the ice.—When they took him up to bury him, some of his friends, particularly one David, observed some bruises about his head, which made them suspect that he was first knocked down before he was put into the water, however they buried him near the place where he was found, without making any further inquiry at present: nevertheless David his friend, reported these things to some English at Taunton (a town not far from Namasket) which occasioned the governor to inquire further into the business, wisely considering that as Sausaman had told him that if it were known that he related any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains: wherefore, by special warrant the body of Sausaman being digged again out of his grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed and not drowned. And by a strange providence, an Indian was found, that by accident standing unseen upon a hill, had seen them murdering the said Sausaman, but durst never reveal it, for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the court at Plymouth, or before the governor where he plainly confessed what he had seen. The murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable testimony, and other remarkable circumstances, and so were all put to death, being three in number; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, that his father (one of the counsellors and special friends of Philip) was one of the two that murdered Sausaman, himself only looking on. This was done at Plymouth court, held in June, 1675, insomuch that Philip apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never used any further means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about Sausaman's death; but by keeping his men continually about him in arms, and gathering what strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in arms, both while the court sat as well as afterwards. The English of Plymouth, hearing of all this, yet took no further notice than to order a military watch in all the adjacent towns hoping that Philip, finding himself not likely to be arraigned by order of the said court, the present cloud might blow over as some others of like nature had done before: but in conclusion, the matter proved otherwise, for Philip finding his strength daily increasing by the flocking of neighbouring Indians unto him, and sending over their wives and children to the Narragansets for security (as they used to do when they intended war with any of their enemies) they immediately began to alarm the English at Swanzey (the next town to Philip's country) as it were daring the English to begin; at last their insolencies grew to such an height, that they began not only to use threatening words to the English, but also to kill their cattle and rifle their houses; whereat an Englishman was so provoked, that he let fly a gun at an Indian, but did only wound not kill him; whereupon the Indians immediately began to kill all the English they could, so that on the 24th of June, 1675, was the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth colony, when eight or nine of the English were slain in or about Swanzey; they first making a shot at a company of English as they returned from the assembly where they were met in a way of humiliation on that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others, and then likewise they slew two men on the highway, sent to call a surgeon; and the same day barbarously murdered six men in and about a dwelling-house in another part of the town; all which outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no time to make any resistance: for on the 14th day of the same month, besides endeavours used by Mr. Brown, of Swanzey, one of the magistrates of Plymouth jurisdiction, an amicable letter was sent from the council of Plymouth shewing their dislike of his practices, and advising him to dismiss his strange Indians, and not to suffer himself to be abused by false reports, concerning them that intend him no hurt; but no answer could be obtained, otherwise than threatening of war, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when things seemed too look with as bad a face as they then did.

However, the governor and council of Plymouth, understanding that Philip continued in his resolution, and manifested no inclination to peace, they immediately sent up what forces they could to secure the towns thereabouts, and make resistance as occasion might be; and also dispatched away messengers to the Massachusetts governor and council, letting them know the state of things about Mount Hope, and desiring their speedy assistance; upon which care was immediately taken with all expedition to send such supplies as were desired: But in the meantime two messengers were dispatched to Philip, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloody enterprize, so as to have prevented the mischief since fallen out, hoping, that as once before, viz. in the year 1671, by their mediation a stop was put to the like tragedy, so the present war might by the same means have been now turned aside: For in the said year Philip had firmly engaged himself, when he was at Boston, not to quarrel with Plymouth until he had first addressed himself to Massachusetts for advice and approbation: But the two messengers aforesaid, finding the men slain in the road, June 24, as they were going for the surgeon, apprehended it not safe to proceed any further, considering also, that a peace now could not honourably be concluded after such barbarous outrages committed upon some of the neighbour colony: Wherefore, returning with all speed to Boston, the Massachusetts forces were dispatched away with all imaginable haste, as the exigence of the matter did require, some of them being then upon, or ready for their march, the rest were ordered to follow after, as they could be raised. The sending forth of which, because it was the first engagement in any warlike preparations against the Indians, shall be more particularly related.

On the 26th of June, a foot company under Capt. Daniel Henchman, with a troop under Capt. Thomas Prentice, were sent out of Boston towards Mount Hope: It being late in the afternoon before they began to march, the central eclipse of the moon in Capricorn happened in the evening before they came up to the Neponset river, about twenty miles from Boston, which occasioned them to make a halt, for a little repast, till the moon recovered her light again. Some melancholy fancies would not be persuaded, but that the eclipse falling out at that instant of time was ominous, conceiving also that in the centre of the moon they discerned an unusual black spot, not a little resembling the scalp of an Indian: As others not long before, imagined they saw the form of an Indian bow, accounting that likewise ominous (although the mischief following were done by guns, and not by bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what Marcus Crassus the Roman general, going forth with an army against the Parthians, once wisely replied to a private soldier, that would have dissuaded him from marching that time, because of an eclipse of the moon in Capricorn, that he was more afraid of Sagitarius than of Capricornus, meaning the arrows of the Parthians (accounted very good archers) from whom as things then fell out, was his greatest danger. But after the moon had waded through the dark shadow of the earth, and borrowed her light again, by the help thereof, the two companies marched on towards Woodcock's house, thirty miles from Boston, where they arrived next morning; and there retarded their motion till afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of volunteers, under the command of Capt. Samuel Moseley, which accordingly came to pass, so that on June 20, they all arrived at Swanzy, where, by the advice of Capt. Cudworth the commander in chief of Plymouth forces, they were removed to the head quarters, which for that time was appointed at Mr. Miles's house, the minister of Swanzey, within a quarter of a mile of the bridge, leading into Philip's lands. They arriving there some little time before night, twelve of the troops, unwilling to lose time passed over the bridge, for discovery, into the enemies territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten Indians firing upon them out of the bushes, killing one William Hammond, wounding Corporal Belcher, his horse being also shot down under him; the rest of the troopers having discharged upon those Indians, who run away after the first shot, carried off their two dead and wounded companions, and so retired to their main guard, for that night pitching in a barricado about Mr. Miles's house. The enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold assault or two at first; but their hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces both engaging them: for the next morning they shouted twice or thrice, at half a mile's distance, and nine or ten of them showing themselves on this side of the bridge, our horsemen, with the whole body of the volunteers under Capt. Mosely, not at all daunted by such kind of alarms, and not willing to lose the bridge, ran down upon them over the said bridge, pursuing them a mile and a quarter on the other side: Ensign Savage, that young martial spark, scarce twenty years of age, had at that time one bullet lodged in his thigh, another shot through the brim of his hat, by ten or twelve of the enemy discharging upon him together, while he boldly held up his colours in front of his company: But the weather not suffering any further action at

that time, those that were thus far advanced were compelled to retreat back to the main guard, having first made a shot upon the Indians, as they run away into the swamp near by, whereby they killed five or six of them, as was understood soon after at Narraganset: This resolute charge of the English forces upon the enemy made them quit their place on Mount Hope that very night, where Philip was never seen after; till the next year, when he was by a divine mandate sent back; there to receive the reward of his wickedness where he first began his mischief: The next day Major Savage that was to command in chief over the Massachusetts forces being come up with other supplies, about six o'clock over night the whole body intended to march into Mount Hope, and there beat up the enemy's quarters, or give him battle, if he durst abide it: But the weather being doubtful, our forces did not march till near noon, about which time they set out, with a troop of horse in each wing, to prevent the danger of the enemy's ambuscadoes; after they had marched about a mile and a half, they passed by some houses newly burned: Not far off one of them found a bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered about, the enemy, in hatred of our religion therein revealed; two or three miles further they came up with some heads, scalps, and hands cut off from the bodies of some of the English, and stuck upon poles near the highway, in that barbarous and inhuman manner bidding us defiance; the commander in chief giving order that those monuments of the enemy's cruelty should be taken down and buried; The whole body of the forces still marched on two miles further, where they found divers wigwams of the enemy, among which were many things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty flight of the owners; half a mile further, as they passed on through many fields of stately corn, they found Philip's own wigwam; every place giving them to perceive the enemy's hasty departure from thence; after they had marched two miles further they came to the seaside, yet in all this time meeting with no Indians, nor any signs of them, unless of their flight to some other places. The season being likely to prove very tempestuous and rainy, Capt. Cudworth with some of the men of Plymouth passed over to Rhode-Island. The forces under Major Savage were forced to abide all night in the open field, without any shelter, notwithstanding the abundance of rain that fell, and in the morning despairing to meet with an enemy on Mount Hope, they retreated back to their head quarters at Swanzy, in their way meeting with many Indian dogs that seemed to have lost their masters. That night Capt. Prentice's troops for conveniency of quarters as also for discovery, were dismissed to lodge at Seaconk or Rehoboth, a town within six miles of Swanzy. As they returned back in the morning, Capt. Prentice divided his troops, delivering one half to Lieut. Oakes, and keeping the other himself, who as they rode along, espied a company of Indians burning a house: but could not pursue them by reason of several fences, that they could not go over till the Indians had escaped into a swamp. Those with Lieut. Oakes had the like discovery but with better success, as to the advantage of the ground, so as pursuing of them upon a plain, they slew four or five of them in the chase, whereof one was known to be Thebe, a sachem of Mount Hope, another of them was a chief counsellor of Philip's; yet in this attempt the lieutenant lost one of his company, John Druce by name, who was mortally wounded in his bowels, whereof he soon afterward died, to the great grief of his companions. After the said troops came to head quarters at Swanzy, they understood from Capt. Cudworth that the enemy were discovered upon Pocasset,* another neck of land lying over an arm of the sea more towards Cape Cod: However it was resolved that a more narrow search should be made after them, both upon Mount Hope and upon the ground between Swanzy and Rehoboth to scout the swamps and assault them if they could find where they were entrenched. Capt. Henchman and Capt. Prentice were ordered to search the swamps, while Capt. Mosely and Capt. Paige with their dragoons attended on Major Savage, should return back into Mount Hope, that they should be sure to leave none of the enemy behind them, when they should remove to pursue them elsewhere.

About ten o'clock the next morning, July 4th, Capt Henchman, after a long and tedious march, came to the head quarters, and informed that he came upon a place where the enemy had newly been that night, but were escaped out of the reach: But the following night before they were determined on any other motion, Capt. Hutchinson came up from Boston with new orders for them to pass into Narraganset, to treat with the sachems there that if it might be so to prevent their joining with Philip. Capt. Cudworth by this time was come up to the head quarters, having left a garrison of 40 men upon Mount Hope neck. The next morning was spent in consultation how to carry on the treaty; it was then resolved, that they should go to make a peace with a sword in their hands, having no small ground of suspicion that the said Narragansets might join with the enemy, wherefore they thought it necessary to carry all the Massachusetts forces over to the Narraganset country, to fight them if they should be needed; Capt. Mosely passed over by water to attend Capt. Hutchinson in his dispatch; the other companies with the troopers riding round about. As they passed they found the Indians in Pomham's country (next adjoining to Philip's borders) all fled, and their wigwams without any people in them.

After they came to the Narraganset sachems, three or four days were spent in a treaty, after which a peace was concluded with them by the messengers of Connecticut colony (who were ordered to meet with those of Massachusetts (and the commanders of the forces sent against Philip: Hostages were also given by the said Naragansets for the performance of the agreement. A copy of the said agreement, and the articles on which a peace was concluded, here follow. It being always understood, that Plymouth colony was included in the said agreement, although their forces were not then present, but remained at home near the enemy's borders, to secure their towns, and oppose Philip as there might be occasion, if he offered to make any new attempt in the meantime.

Articles, covenant and agreements had, made and concluded by, and between Major Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, in behalf of the government of Massachusetts colony, and Major Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith, on behalf of Connecticut colony the one party; and Agamang, Wampash *alias* Corman, Taitson Tawageson, counsellors and attorneys to Canonicus, Ninigret Matataog, old queen Quiapen, Quananshit and Pomham, the six present sachems of the whole Narraganset country on the other party, referring to several differences and troubles lately risen between them; and for a final conclusion of settled peace and amity between the said sachems, their heirs and successors forever, and the governors of the said Massachusetts and Connecticut, and their successors in the said governments forever.

I. That all and every of the sachems shall from time to time carefully seize, and living or dead deliver unto one or other of the above said governments, all and every of sachem Philip's subjects whatsoever, that shall come, or be found within the precinct of any other lands, and that with great diligence and faithfulness.

II. That they shall with their utmost ability use all acts of hostility against the said Philip and his subjects, entering his lands or any other lands of the English, to kill and destroy the said enemy, until a cessation from war with the said enemy be concluded by both the abovesaid colonies.

III. That the said sachems, by themselves and their agents, shall carefully search out and deliver all stolen goods whatsoever taken by any of their subjects from any of the English, whether formerly or lately, and shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the estate of any of the subjects of the several colonies, according to the judgment of indifferent men, in case of dissatisfaction between the offenders and the offended parties, or deliver the offenders.

IV. That all preparations for war or acts of hostility against any of the English subjecti, shall forever for the future cease; together with all manner of thefts, pilferings, killing of cattle, or any manner of breach of peace whatsoever shall with the utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a guard round about the Narraganset country, for the English inhabitants safety and security.

V. In token of the abovesaid sachems' reality in this treaty and conclusion, and for the security of the several English governments and subjects, they do freely deliver unto the abovesaid gentlemen, in the behalf of the abovesaid colonies, John Wobequod, Weowthim, Pewkes, Weenew, four of their nearest kinsmen and choice friends, to be and remain as hostages in several places of the English jurisdictions, at the appointment of the honourable governors of the abovesaid colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as prisoners, but otherwise at their honour's discretion, until the abovesaid articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several governments, the departure of any of them

* The main land over against the easterly end of Rhode Island, where now Tiverston is, was called Pocasset.

in the meantime to be accounted a breach of the peace, and of these present articles.

VI. The said gentleman in the behalf of the governments to which they belong, do engage to every the said sachems and their subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either of the abovesaid English governments, or to Mr. Smith inhabitant of Narraganset, Philip Sachem alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive for their pains, forty trucking cloth coats, in case they bring his head, they shall have twenty like good coats paid them: For every living subject of said Philip's so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two coats, and for every head one coat, as a gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to satisfaction, that the heads or persons are belonging to the enemy, and that they are of their seizure.

VII. The said sachems do renew and confirm unto the English inhabitants or others, all former grants, sales, bargains or conveyances of lands, meadows, timber, grass, stones, or whatever else the English have heretofore bought or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them, and their heirs, and assigns forever; as also all former articles made with the confederate colonies.

Lastly, The said counsellors and attornies do premeditately, seriously, and upon good advice covenant, and conclude and agree all abovesaid solemnly, and call God to witness they are, and shall remain true friends to the English governments, and perform the above said articles puntually, using their utmost endeavour, care and faithfulness therein: In witness whereof they have set their hands and seals.

Petaquamscot, July, 15, 1675.

Tawageson, his C mark
Tayston, his D mark.
Agamoug, his T mark.
Wampsh alias *Corman*, his X mark.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us underwritten, being carefully interpreted to the said Indians before sealing.

DANIEL HENCHMAN,
THOMAS PRENTICE,
NICHOLAS PAIGE,
JOSEPH STANTON, *Interp.*
HENRY HAWLAWS,
PECOE BUKOW,
JOB NEFF.

During this treaty of peace with the Narragansetts, Capt. Cudworth with the forces from Plymouth, under his command, found something to do nearer home, though of another nature as it proved, viz. to make war whilst the others were (as they thought) making peace: in the first place therefore he dispatched Capt. Fuller (joining Lieut. Church together with him in commission) with fifty in his company to Pocasset, on the same account, as the other went to Narraganset; either to conclude a peace with them, if they would continue friends, and give hostages for the confirmation thereof, or fight them if they should declare themselves enemies, and join with Philip; himself intending to draw down his forces to Rehoboth, to be ready for a speedy march to Taunton, and so down into the other side of the country, upon the news that some of the enemy were burning and spoiling Middleborough and Dartmouth, two small villages lying in the way betwixt Pocasset and Plymouth. Upon Thursday, July 7th, Capt. Fuller and Lieutenant Church went into Pocasset to seek after the enemy, or else as occasion might serve to treat with those Indians at Pocasset, with whom Mr. Church was very well acquainted, always holding good correspondence with them. After they had spent that day and most of the night, in traversing the said Pocasset neck, and watching all night in a house which they found there, they could hear no tidings of any Indians; insomuch that Capt. Fuller began to be weary of his design: Mr. Church in the meanwhile assuring him that they should find Indians before it were long, yet for greater expedition they divided their company, Capt. Fuller taking down toward the sea side, where it seems, after a little skirmishing with them wherein one man only received a small wound, he either saw or heard too many Indians for himself and his company to deal with, which made him and them betake themselves to a house near the water side, from whence they were fetched off by a sloop before night, to Rhode Island. Capt. Church (for so he may well be styled after this time) marched further into the neck, imagining that if there were Indians in the neck, they should find them about a pease field not far off. As soon as they came near the said field he espied two Indians among the pease, who also at the same time espied him; and presently making some kind of shout, a great number of Indians came about the field, pursuing the said Capt. Church and his men in great numbers to the sea side: there being not above fifteen with Church, yet seven or eight score of Indians pursuing after them. Now was fit time for this young captain and his small company to handsel their valour upon this great rout of Indians, just ready to devour them: but victory stands no more in the number of soldiers, than verity in the plurality of voices: and although some of these fifteen had scarce courage enough for themselves, yet their captain had enough for himself, and some to spare for his friends, which he there had an opportunity of improving to the full. When he saw the hearts of any of his followers to fail, he would bid them be of good courage and fight stoutly, and (possibly by some divine impression upon his heart) assured them not a bullet of the enemy should hurt any one of them: which one of the company more dismayed than the rest could hardly believe, till he saw the proof of it in his own person, for the captain perceiving the man was not able to fight, made him gather rocks together for a kind of shelter and barricado for the rest, that must either of necessity fight or fall by the enemies. It chanced as this faint hearted soldier had a flat stone in his arms, and was carrying to the shelter that he was making upon the bank, a bullet of the enemy was thus warded from his body by which he must else have perished, which experience put new life into him, so as he followed his business very manfully afterward, insomuch that they defended themselves under a small shelter hastily made up, all that afternoon, not one being either slain or wounded, yet it was certainly known that they killed at least fifteen of their enemies: and at the last when they had spent all their ammunition, and made their guns unserviceable by often firing, they were fetched all off by Capt. Goldings sloop and carried safe to Rhode Island in spite of all their enemies: yea, such was the bold and undaunted courage of this champion, Capt. Church, not willing to leave any token behind of their flying for want of courage, he went back in the face of his enemies to fetch his hat, which he had left at a spring, whither the extreme heat of the weather, and his labour in fighting had caused him to repair for the quenching of his thirst an hour or two before. It seems in the former part of the same day, five men coming from Rhode Island, to look up their cattle upon Pocasset neck, were assaulted by the same Indians; one of the five was Capt. Church's servant, who had his leg broke in the skirmish, the rest hardly escaping with their lives: this was the first time that ever any mischief was done by the Indians upon Pocasset neck. Those of Rhode Island were hereby alarmed to look to themselves, as well as the rest of the English of Plymouth, or the Massachusetts colony.

This assault rather heightened and increased than daunted the courage of Capt. Church; for not making a cowardly flight, but a fair retreat, which providence offered him by the sloop aforesaid, after his ammunition was spent, he did not stay long at Rhode Island, but hastened over to the Massachusetts forces, and borrowing three files of men of Capt. Henchman with his lieutenant; Mr. Church and he returned again to Pocasset, where they had another skirmish with the enemy, wherein some few of them (fourteen or fifteen) were slain, which struck such a terror into Philip, that he betook himself to the swamps about Pocasset, where he lay hid till the return of the rest of the forces from the Narragansets, like a wild boar kept at bay by this small party till more hands came up.

Thus were the Plymouth forces busied, during the time of the treaty with the Narragansetts, which being issued as it was:

On Friday July 15, our forces marched for and arrived at Rehoboth, where having no intelligence of the enemy nearer than a great swamp on Pocasset, eighteen miles from Taunton; they marched next day twelve miles to a house at Metapoiset (a small neck of land in the bottom of Taunton Bay, in the midway between Mount Hope and Pocasset Neck) from whence they marched for Taunton, July 17, whither after a tedious march of 20 miles, they came in the evening, and found the people generally gathered into eight garrison houses.

On Monday, July 18, they marched 18 miles before they could reach the swamp where the enemy was lodged: as soon as they came to the place, Plymouth forces being now joined with them, our soldiers resolutely entered in amongst the enemies, who took the advantage of the thick under-wood, to make a shot at them that first entered, whereby five were killed outright, seven more wounded, some of whose wounds proved mortal: after the first shot, the enemy retired deeper into the swamp, deserting their wigwams (about 100 in all) newly made of green bark, so as they would not burn: in one of them they found an old man, who confessed that Philip had been lately there. Having spent some time in searching the swamp, and tired themselves to no purpose, (yet it was said that one half hour more would have at that time utterly subdued Philip and all his power) the commander in chief, night drawing on apace, not thinking it safe to tarry longer in so dangerous

a place, where every one was in as much danger of his fellows as his foes, being ready to fire upon every bush they saw move, supposing Indians were there, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that they might have time to dispose of their dead and wounded men, which accordingly was attended to;* Plymouth forces who had entered in the rear, returning in the front, it was judged that the enemy being by this means brought into a pound, it would be no hard matter to deal with them, and that it would be needless charge to keep so many companies of soldiers together to wait upon such an inconsiderable enemy, now almost as good as taken; whereupon most of the companies belonging to Massachusetts were drawn off, only Capt. Henchman with 100 foot being left there together with the Plymouth forces, to attend the enemy's motion, being judged sufficient for that end. Major Savage, Capt. Paige, with Capt. Mosely and their companies returned to Boston: Capt. Prentice with his troop were ordered towards Mendham, where it seems, about the middle of July, some Indians, wishing well to Philip's design, had made an assault upon some of the inhabitants, as they were at labour in the field, killing five or six of them; as soon as they had done, flying away into the woods, so as they could not easily be pursued. The inhabitants of the same village, lying in the heart of the enemy's country, began to be discouraged, so as within a little time after, they forsook the place, abandoning their houses to the fury of the enemy, which by them were soon after turned into ashes. But to return to King Philip, who was now lodged in the great swamp upon Pocasset neck, of seven miles long: Capt. Henchman and the Plymouth forces kept a diligent eye upon the enemy, but were not willing to run into the mire and dirt after them in a dark swamp, being taught by late experience how dangerous it is to fight in such dismal woods, when their eyes were muffled with the leaves, and their arms pinioned with the thick boughs of the trees, as their feet were continually shackled with the roots spreading every way in those boggy woods. It is ill fighting with a wild beast in his own den.—They resolved therefore to starve them out of the swamp, where they knew full well they could not long subsist: to that end they began to build a fort, as it were to beleaguer the enemy, and prevent his escape out of the place, where they thought they had him fast enough. Philip in the meantime was not ignorant of what was doing without, and was ready therein to read his own doom, if he tarried much longer there, he knew he should fall into their hands, from whom he could expect no mercy: the case therefore being desperate, he resolved with an hundred or two of his best fighting men to make an escape by the water, all passages by the land being sufficiently guarded by the English forces. The swamp where they were lodged being not far from an arm of the sea, coming up to Taunton, they taking the advantage of a low tide, either waded over one night in the end of July, or else wafted themselves over upon small rafts of timber, very early before break of day, by which means the greatest part of his company escaped away into the woods, leading into the Nipmuck country, altogether unknown to the English forces that lay encamped on the other side of the swamp. About one hundred more of the women and children which were likely to be rather burdensome than serviceable, were left behind, who soon after resigned up themselves to the mercy of the English. Philip's escape thus from Pocasset could not long be concealed after the day appeared, there being much champaign land through which he was to pass, and being discovered by the inhabitants of Rehoboth, they presently followed him, together with a party of the Mohegins, that a little before came to Boston, offering their services against Philip, and were sent into those parts to be ordered by Capt. Henchman, but before they came to him were easily persuaded to go along with any of the English that were engaged in the pursuit of Philip. News also thereof was carried to Capt. Henchman, who as soon as he could get over with six files of men (rowing hard all or most part of the day to get to Providence) followed after the enemy. The Mohegins with the men of Rehoboth, and some of Providence came upon their rear over night slew about 30 of them, took much plunder from them, without any considerable loss to the English. Capt. Henchman came not up to them (pursuing them only by the track) till the skirmish was over, and having marched 22 miles that day, was not well able to go any further that night; on the other hand, the forces that came from Rehoboth and those belonging to Plymouth, having left their horses three miles off, could not go back to fetch them without much loss of time, and therefore looking at it altogether bootless to go after them in the morning, returned back the next day, leaving Captain Henchman with his six files, and the Mohegins to pursue the chase to Nipsachet, which he did the next morning. Capt. Henchman, that he might the better engage the Mohegins to march with him 30 miles, gave them half his provision, and was himself recruited again by the care of Capt Edmunds of Providence, Lieut. Brown who brought provision after him to the Nipmuck forts. Mr. Newman the minister of Rehoboth, deserved not a little commendation for exciting his neighbours and friends to pursue thus far after Philip animating of them by by his own example and presence: but why Philip was followed no further, it is better to suspend than too critically inquire. This is now a third time when a good opportunity of suppressing the rebellion of the Indians, was put into the hands of the English; but time and chance happeneth to all men, so that the most likely means are often frustrated of their desired end. All human endeavours shall arrive at no other success, than the counsel of God hath pre-ordained, that no flesh might glory in their own wisdom, but give unto God the praise of all their successes, and quietly bear whatever miscarriages he hath ordered to befal them. It appears by the issue of these things, that although this wound was not incurable, yet much more blood must be taken away before it could be healed. But by this means Philip escaped away to the westward, kindling the flame of war in all the western plantations of the Massachusetts colony wherever he came, so that by this fatal accident the fire that was in a likely way to be extinguised, as soon almost as it began, did on a sudden break out through the whole jurisdiction of Massachusetts colony, both eastward and westward, endangering also the neighbouring colony of Connecticut, which hath also suffered somewhat by the fury of this flame, though not considerable to what the other colonies have undergone.

While things after this manner proceeded in and about the colony of Plymouth, the commissioners of the rest of the colonies were consulting and advising what was to be done to prevent the mischief threatened from spreading any further, fearing, (as indeed there was too much cause) that although Philip only appeared to make the first attempt, yet more either already were, or soon might be persuaded to join with him in acting this bloody tragedy.

It hath been already declared what hath been done for the securing of the Narragansets, those that were sent as messengers on that errand, always reported that the elder people were in appearance, not only inclinable to peace, but seemed very desirable thereof, insomuch as their two elder sachems expressed much joy when it was concluded; but as since hath appeared, all was but to gain time, and cover their treacherous intents and purposes, that they might in the next spring fall upon the English plantations all at once, as some prisoners lately brought in have owned and confessed; nor have any of those Indians with whom the present war hath been, ever regarded any agreements of peace made with the English, further than necessity and slavish fear compelled thereunto, as may be seen by the records of the united colonies from the year 1643 to the present time, notwithstanding all their fair pretences; for Ninigret, the old sachem of the Narragansetts, who alone of all the rest of that country sachems disowned the present war, and refused to have any hand therein, had threatened, as was proved to his face before the commissioners, in the years 1646 and 1647, that they would carry on the war against the Mohegins, whatever were the mind of the commissioners, and that they would kill the English cattle, and heap them up as high as their wigwams, and that an Englishman should not stir out of his door but they should kill him; all which he could not deny, yet this old fox made them promises of peace, when the dread of the English ever since the Pequod war moved him thereunto; forseeing as he is said to have told his neighbours, that they would all be ruined if they made war with the English, as is since come to pass. However, the good hand of God was seen in so ordering things, that the Narragansets were for the present restrained from breaking out into open hostility against the English, at the time when Philip began; which if they had then done, according to the eye of reason, it would have been very difficult, if possible, for the English to have saved any of their inland plantations from being destroyed. Thus, although God hath in his wisdom suffered so much of the rage of the heathen to be let loose against this people here, as sorely to scourge them, that by the wrath of men praise might be yielded to his holy name, yet hath he in his abundant goodness restrained the remainder that it should not consume.

The next thing in order to be related is the calamity that befel the village of Brookfield,

* The English lost fifteen men in this expedition—Hutchinson.

which, notwithstanding all the care that was taken, fell into the hands of the perfidious Nipnet Indians, as shall here in the next place be declared; only as we pass along, to remind the reader in a few words, what was the issue of Capt. Henchman's pursuit of Philip. The Plymouth forces being returned home, as was said before, Capt. Henchman with his six file of men, and the Mohegin Indians, having continued in the pursuit of Philip till they had spent all their provision, and tired themselves, yet never coming within sight of him, the Mohegin Indians in their company directed them to Mendham, and then leaving them, returned also to their own country. Capt. Henchman in his march towards Mendham, or at Mendham, met with Capt. Mosely coming to bring him provision, and advertising him of what success he had met with in his pursuit, they altered their course, for Capt. Henchman was sent down to the governor and council, to know what they should do: They presently remanded him to Pocasset, and ordered him to stay there if there was need, or else to draw off, surrendering the fort he had been building to the Plymouth forces, which last was chosen by those of Plymouth, whereupon Captain Henchman returning to Boston, was ordered to disband his men. Captain Mosely was ordered to march to Quabaog or Brookfield, where he continued awhile, with the other captains sent up for the relief of the people there, and to seek after the enemy in those woods; but after some time spent in ranging the country thereabouts, not meeting with any of the infidels, he with his company came downwards, searching the woods betwixt Lancaster (where a man and his wife with two children were slain on the Lord's day, Aug. 22) and Marlboro', where also a lad keeping sheep was shot at by an Indian that wore a sign, as if he had been a friend: the Indian was supposed to belong to the Hassanemesit Indians, at that time confined in Marlborough, where they had liberty to dwell in a kind of fort. The next day the inhabitants sent to demand their guns; Capt. Mosely acquainted therewith, marched to the fort and found much suspicion against eleven of them, for singing and dancing, and having bullets and slugs, and much powder hid in their baskets; insomuch that eleven of them were sent down prisoners to Boston, upon suspicion that they had had a hand in killing the four at Lancaster, and shooting at the Marlborough shepherd: But upon trial, the said prisoners were all of them acquitted of the fact, and were either released, or else were, with others of that fort, sent for better security, and for preventing further trouble of the like kind, to some of the islands below Boston toward Nantasket.

About this time Capt. Mosely was sent with a company of soldiers to some Indian plantations upon Merrimac river, as high as Pennycook, but they found no Indians there; those that belonged to the place having withdrawn themselves from their native place, that they might not meddle in the present quarrel, as is confidently believed that Woonalonset the sachem of that company had so resolved. That coast being clear of the enemies, Capt. Mosely soon after was sent up with his men to the towns westward about Hadley, if it might be, to subdue the enemy, who a little before, and at that time, was doing all the mischief he could in those western plantations, both by fire and sword.

But to return and pursue the rebellious Indians, and keep pace with them in our history, though our forces as yet could never overtake them in the woods. The governor and council of Massachusetts were sensible of as much danger from the Nipnet Indians, as from the former; they being the inland part of the country betwixt the sea coast and Connecticut river westward, and the towns about the Massachusetts bay eastward, whereupon some persons that used to trade with the said Nipnets, were sent to sound them, and find how they stood affected, for which also there was the more reason, because they were always in subjection to the sachem of Mount Hope, and so were the more like to engage in the present quarrel; of which there had been sufficient proof already; when 14th of July, some of the Nipnet Indians next bordering on Philip's country set upon some of the inhabitants of Mendham,* where they killed four or five persons, which was the first mischief done upon any of the inhabitants within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, acted as was said by one Matoonas, who was father to him that had committed a murder soon after Philip's first rebellion, Anno. 1671. The messenger that was sent thither, brought word back that they found the said Indians wavering: the young men very surly and insolent, the elder ones shewing some inclination to maintain the wonted peace. Soon after, July 28, 1675, Capt. Wheeler was sent to assist Capt. Hutchinson with a party of 20 horse to treat further about the peace, who going first to Quabaog, or Brookfield, (a town situate about 60 or 70 miles from Boston, in the road of Connecticut, lying about 25 miles from the said river, and not far distant from the chief seat of the Nipnet Indians) the inhabitants of the said Brookfield had been so deluded by those treacherous villains, that fearing no danger, they obtained of those Nipnets, the promise of a treaty upon the 2d of August; whereupon some of the chief of the town rode along unarmed with the said Wheeler and Hutchinson, with their party of horse, until they came to the place appointed; but finding no Indians, so secure were they, that they ventured along further, to find the infidels at their chief town, never suspecting the least danger, but when they had rode four or five miles that way, they fell into an ambush of two or three hundred Indians, laid in such a narrow passage, betwixt a steep hill on the one hand, and an hideous swamp on the other, that it was scarce possible for any of them to escape, eight of them being shot down upon the place (whereof three were of Brookfield) and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. Hutchinson was one; Capt. Wheeler was also near losing his life, whose horse was shot down under him and himself shot through the body, so that all manner of hopes to escape had been removed from him, had it not been for his son, who was, by God's good providence, near or next unto him, this son being of undaunted courage, (notwithstanding his own arm was broken with a bullet) with great nimbleness and agility of body dismounted himself, and speedily mounted his father upon his own horse, himself getting upon another, whose master was killed, by which means they both escaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had those that were left alive to recover Brookfield, which in all probabilty they would never have done (the common road being waylaid with Indians on every side as was afterwards known) had it not been for one well acquainted with those woods, who led them in a by path, by which means they got thither a little before the Indians, who quickly came flocking into the town, with full intent to destroy it with fire and sword. But by special providence the inhabitants were all gathered to the principal house of the village (there being scarce 20 in the town) before the barbarous miscreants came upon them, immediately setting fire upon all the dwelling houses with most of the other buildings in the town, save that one into which the inhabitants were retired which they several times attempted to burn, but were almost miraculously defeated of their purpose by the immediate hand of God In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen. For when they had for two days assaulted that poor handful of helpless people, both night and day pouring in shot upon them incessantly with guns, and also thrusting poles with fire brands, and rags dipt in brimstone tied to the ends of them to fire the house; at last they used this devilish stratagem, to fill a cart with hemp, flax and other combustible matter, and so thrusting it backward with poles spliced together a great length, after they had kindled it; but as soon as it had begun to take fire, a storm of rain unexpectedly falling, or else all the poor people, about 70 souls, would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey.

Thus was that distressed company strangely delivered, who have forever cause to say with the Psalmist, blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth, our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers, the snare is broken and we are escaped. For the next night Major Willard, by accident, hearing of the danger the people were in, came with forty-eight dragoons to their relief. The occasion which brought Major Willard, and Capt. Parker of Groton with forty-six more, so timely to their relief, was this; Major Willard in pursuance of his commission from the governor and council, was upon Wednesday, August 4th, in the morning, marching out after some Indians to the westward, to secure them: just as they were setting forth, some of the people of Marlborough, who had intelligence (by those that were going to Connecticut, and forced to return) what distress Brookfield was in, and knowing of Major Willard's purpose to go out that morning from Lancaster, sent a post to acquaint him therewith, which, though it did not find him in the town, yet overtook him before he had gone four or five miles from the place: whereupon, conceiving it more needful to succour Brookfield in so imminent danger, than to proceed further upon his intended design, he altered his course and marched directly thither, being about 30 miles distant when the tidings were brought him; so he arrived there that night very seasonably, about an hour after it was dark, or else in all probability they had all

* A town situate northward from Mount Hope, within 36 miles of Boston.

perished before the relief sent up from Boston could have reached them, which was not till three days after. The providence of God likewise in bringing in the said major so safely, as well as seasonably to their relief was very remarkable: for the Indians had subtly contrived to cut off all relief sent before it could come at them, by laying ambushes, and placing their scouts at two or three miles distance round the town: about an hundred of them were lodged at an house not far off in the way toward Boston, to cut off any succour that might come from thence; but it is supposed they were so intense upon the project they were about for firing the house, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not mind their business of watching, or made such a noise for joy thereof, that they did not hear their centinels when they shot off their guns, at two miles distance. It is said that another party of the Indians let the major and his company purposely pass by them, without any opposition, waiting for the blow to be given at their first approach near the house, purposing themselves to have fallen upon their rear, and so to have cut them all off, before the besieged understood any thing thereof. But it pleased God so to order things in providence, that no notice was taken of them by the besiegers, nor were they at all discerned by them, till they had made themselves known to their friends; and were admitted within the court of God. When the enemy had notice of it they poured in their shot abundantly upon them; but they were now sheltered from the danger thereof; only it seems their horses were exposed to their fury, as many of them were maimed and killed, as were most of the cattle belonging to the inhabitants of the place soon after. This honoured person, Major Willard, continued at Brookfield, after this famous exploit for the preservation of the poor besieged there, divers weeks, to order such companies as were sent up that way for the securing the plantations on that side of the country; and not long after he went himself also to Hadley upon the like service of the country in the present war; but after sometime spent in those parts, he returned back to his own place, to order the affairs of his own regiment, much needing his presence, and leaving the forces about Hadley under the command of the major of that regiment.

But to return to what was in hand before: after the Indians understood that succours were come in to the besieged, they fired all that they had left standing for their own shelter, while they had besieged the place before mentioned, and ran all away into their own dens, in the neighbouring woods: however, it was confessed by one of themselves, that the enemy had 80 of their men killed and wounded in this business. But ere we pass any further in pursuit of the history of these matters, it will not be amiss to let the reader understand the horrible, perfidious and treacherous dealings of those Nipnet Indians, who although of all other they had the least reason as to any pretence of injury, yet did most deceitfully and barbarously join with Philip and his Indians, after they had been several times sent unto by the governor and council of Massachusetts, by the advice of Plymouth, to have prevented their rising, as well as the rising of the Narragansets, and also had faithfully promised not to meddle in the quarrel, as may more fully appear by the engagement under the hands of their sachems, sometime before Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler were sent up to them, which by reason of the haste and unskilfulness of the messengers on that behalf sent, is not so fit for public view: but the account of it from their return, was under their hand and oath, July 24, 1675, when Lieut. Ephraim Curtice spake with five of the Nipnet sachems, four too many to govern so small a people, but lying upon the head of the principal Indian territories they were, divided into so many small parties, two of whom, viz. Sam, sachem of Weshacum, and Netaump, were executed together afterwards at Boston. All of them did at that time solemnly renew their covenant and promise under their hands to come to Boston to speak further with the governor; instead of which, what they perfidiously did against Captain Hutchinson and others, hath already been declared.

Upon the report of this sad disaster that befel the inhabitants of Brookfield, forces were sent up under the command of Capt. Lathrop and others, to pursue after those Indians harbouring about those places, and if it might be to prevent them from joining with the Indians upon Connecticut river, who as yet had not discovered themselves as willing to espouse Philip's interest, but rather made some semblance to the contrary. There was much time spent by Major Willard, and several companies of soldiers left under his command, about the Nipnet country, but all to no purpose, for partly by the treachery of some of the Indians that came to their assistance, that seemed to favour the English, but rather acted in behalf of the enemy, partly by the subtleties of the enemies themselves, who could easily by their scouts discern the approach of our soldiers, and by the nimbleness of their feet escape them, our soldiers could never meet with any of them, but only by that means driving them further westward, they gathered all the Indians they could to their party about Pecomptuck, alias Deersfield, Swanscot, and Squeakeag, where some plantations of the English newly began, whom they assaulted in the next place, and did what mischief they could upon them.

It is here to be noted, that although that worthy patriot and experienced soldier, Major Willard, hearing of the distress of Brookfield by some that were travelling to Connecticut, was the first that relieved the distressed people of Quabaog or Brookfield, yet Major Pynchon of Springfield also by accident hearing of their calamity, had not only sent word thereof to Hartford, (from whom he received a supply of 25 or 30 soldiers under Capt. Watts, but did also send a band of men under Lieut. Cooper (afterwards villainously slain by the Springfield Indians) who, with those sent from Hartford, and some Indians belonging to Springfield) seemingly forward to help the English) made up four score or thereabouts: these marched down to Brookfield the same day that Capt. Lothrop and Capt. Beers came up from Massachusetts who having spent sometime in searching the woods about Springfield, and finding none of the Indians did the next day march up to a place called Meminimisset by the Indians, where Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler were assaulted, and finding no sign of any Indians amongst those woods and swamps, the company that came from Springfield, left the soldiers (who returned to their quarters at Brookfield) and and went up themselves further northward, at least 20 miles from the said Brookfield, and finding no track of Indians in all those woods, they returned back to Springfield, leaving enough to defend the people of Brookfield, and the garrison there.

By this it appears, that the Indians by this occasion were driven more westward into the woods between Hadley and Squakhead,* where they soon effected their design, viz. to leaven the Indians on that side the country with the same prejudice and malice against the English, with which they themselves were (though without cause) embittered; for in a few days the device took place amonst the Hadley and Deerfield Indians, and was presently put in execution by the said Indians withdrawing form the English and assisting Philip and the Nipnets to spoil and destroy all the towns westward, as soon after came to pass: yet at the first some of the Hadley Indians pretended real friendship to the English, and offered themselves to fight against Philip, but the Mohegin Indians that came afterward from Hartford began to suspect the treachery of the other, and told the English plainly, that no good would be done, while any of that company went along with them in pursuit of the enemy, for as was said, they would always give some shout when they came near the enemy, as if they should thereby wish them to look to themselves: insomuch that the said Hadley Indians fell into great suspicion with the English, and for a proof of their idelity, they were required to bring in their arms to the English, but that very night they fled away from their dwellings which was in a wooden fortification, within a mile of Hatfield, whereby they plainly discovered that they had secretly plotted to join with Philip's party, as far as they had secretly plotted to join with Philip's party, as far as they had an opportunity to do them any eminent service. Some think the English failed in point of prudence, not managing that business so warily as they might, which if they had done, their defection had been prevented, but it is most probable that Philip had hired them to his own quarrel, by sending them gifts in the spring; and that the body of the said Indians were most readily inclined thereunto: but the sachems and the elder ones of them, seemed loth at first to engage against the English. In the conclusion, when they had so falsely left their dwellings, and were running after Philip and the Nipnet Indians (at that time harboured in those woods) the English were so provoked that were under Capts. Lothrop and Beers, that they pursued after them very early the next morning, and overtook them about ten miles above Hatfield, at a place called Sugarloaf hill, and had a small skirmish with them, wherein there were nine or ten of the English slain, and about 26 Indians: yet the rest escaped, and so joined with Philip and his compresently after which accident, they were so emboldened, that upon the first of Sept. about seven days after, they set upon Deerfield, killed one man, and laid most of the houses in ashes. About two or three days after they fell upon Squakeag, another new plantation.

* Northfield, fifty miles up the river from Hadley.

fifteen miles higher up the river, above Deerfield, where they killed nine or ten of the people, the rest hardly escaped into the garrison house.

The next day, this disaster not being known, Capt. Beers, for fear of the worst, with 36 men, was sent up to the said Squakeag, with supplies both of men and provisions to secure the small garrison there, but before they came very near the town, they were set upon by many hundreds of Indians out of the bushes by a swamp side. By this sudden surprisal, Capt. Beers (who was known to fight valiantly to the very last) with about 20 of his men, were slain, the rest flying back to Hadley. Here the barbarous villains showed their insolent rage and cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the heads of some of the slain, and and fixing them upon poles near the highway, and not only so, but one (if not more) was found with a chain hooked into his under jaw, and so hung up on the bough of a tree, (it is feared he was hung up alive) by which means they thought to daunt and discourage any that might come to their relief, and also to terrify those that should be the spectators of so sad an object; insomuch that Major Treat, with his company, going up two days after to fetch off the residue of the garrison, were solemnly affected with that doleful sight, which made them make the more haste to bring down the garrison, not waiting for any opportunity to take revenge upon the enemy, having but 100 with him, too few for such a purpose. Capt. Appleton going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have persuaded them to have turned back, to see if they could have made any spoil upon the enemy, but the greater part advised to the contrary, so that they were all forced to return with what they could carry away, leaving the rest for a booty to the enemy, who shall ere long, pay a sad reckoning for their robberies and cruelties, in the time appointed: but the sufferings of the English were not as yet come to their height, for after they were come to Hadley, the commander in chief taking counsel with the officers of the soldiers, ordered them that were then present, to garrison the towns about; some to be at Northampton, Hatfield and Deerfield, and some to remain at Hadley, where were the head quarters of the English. But perceiving that little good was to be done upon the enemy in those parts, it was agreed that what corn was left at Deerfield, being threshed out as well as they could in those tumults (above 3000 bushels was supposed to be there standing in stack) should be brought to Hadley, and to wait further time to fight the enemy. It came to Capt. Lothrop's turn, or rather it was his choice with about 80 men to guard several carts laden with corn and other goods. The company under Capt. Mosely then quartering at Deerfield, intended that day to pursue after the enemy. But upon Sept. 18, that most fatal day, the saddest that ever befel New England, as the company under Capt. Lothrop were marching along with the carts, (it may be too securely) never apprehending danger so near, they were suddenly set upon and almost all cut off, (90 killed, teamsters included) not above 7 or 8 escaping: which great defeat came to pass by the unadvised proceedings of the captain who was himself slain in the first assault) although he wanted neither courage nor skill to lead his soldiers; but having taken up a wrong notion about the best way and manner of fighting with the Indians (which he was always wont to argue for) viz. that it were best to deal with the Indians in their own way, *i. e.* by skulking behind trees, and taking their aim at single persons, which is the usual manner of the Indians fighting one with another; but herein was his great mistake, in not considering the great disadvantage a smaller company would have in dealing that way with a greater multitude: for if five have to deal with one, they may surround him, and every one take his aim at him, while he can level at but one of his enemies at a time: which gross mistake of his, was the ruin of a choice company of young men, the very flower of the county of Essex, all culled out of the towns belonging to that county, none of which were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate: their dear relations at home mourning for them, like Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted, not only because they were not, but because they were so miserably lost. The like mistake was conceived to be the reason of the loss of the former persons slain with the said Lothrop, pursuing the Indians that ran away from Hadley, and of the 20 slain with Capt. Beers, men, who betook themselves, at first to the trees, and at the last a few got to their horses soon after the captain was shot down. For had he ordered his men to march in a body, as some of his fellow commanders, advised, either backward or forward, in reason they had not lost a quarter of the number of them that fell that day by the edge of the sword. For the Indians, notwithstanding their subtlety and cruelty, durst not look an Englishman in the face in the open field nor were they ever yet known to kill any man with their guns, unless when they could lie in wait for him in ambush, or behind some shelter, taking aim undiscovered; so that it was judged by those that escaped, that there were 7 or 800 Indians at least that encountered the company of 80 English, yet if they had kept together in a body, and fought marching, they might have escaped the numbers of the enemy, with little loss in comparison of what they sustained. For the valiant and successful Capt. Mosely, and his lieut. coming (though too late) to their rescue, marched through and through that great body of Indians, and yet came off with little or no loss in comparison of the other. And having fought all those Indians for five or six hours upon a march, lost not above two men all that while, nor received other damage except that 8 or 9 were wounded, who were carried to their quarters at night at Hadley, whereas if these had proceeded in the same way of fighting as Capt. Lothrop did in the morning, they might have been surrounded, and so have been served as the former were: but God had otherwise determined in his secret counsel, and therefore that was hid from the one, which was a means to preserve the other company.

Other relief was also seasonably sent in, viz. a company of English and Mohegin or Pequod Indians under the command of Major Treat, who was in the morning marching another way, viz. up toward Squakeag to seek after the enemy that way, with about 100 soldiers, Indians and English, upon whose approach, the enemy, pretty well acquainted by this last encounter with the valour of the English, immediately went clear away, giving Major Treat and Capt. Mosely, who returned to Deerfield that night, an opportunity to bury the slain the next day. As Capt Mosely came upon the Indians in the morning, he found them stripping the slain, amongst whom was one Robert Dutch, of Ipswich, having been sorely wounded by a bullet that raised to his skull, and then mauled by the Indian hatchets, was left for dead by the savages, and stript by them of all but his skin; yet when Capt. Mosely came near, he almost miraculously, as one raised from the dead, came towards the English, to their no small amazement; by whom being received and clothed, he was carried off to the next garrison, and is living and in perfect health at this day. May he be to the friends and relations of the rest of the slain an emblem of their more perfect resurrection at the last day to receive their crowns among the rest of the martyrs that have laid down and ventured their lives, as a testimony to the truth of their religion, as well as love to their country.

This sore defeat of Capt. Lothrop and his men, was the more to be lamented, in that (falling out so soon after two other of the like nature) it so emboldened the enemy, that they durst soon after adventure upon considerable towns, though well garrisoned with soldiers, and gave them occasion of most insolently braving the garrison at Deerfield the next day, hanging up the garments of the English in sight of the soldiers, yet on the other side of the river. However, it pleased God, who is always wont to remember his people in their low estate, to put such a restraint upon them, that when they passed very near the garrison house at Deerfield, wherein were not left above 27 soldiers) their captain using this stratagem, to cause his trumpet to sound, as if he had another troop near by to be called together, they turned another way and made no attempt upon the house where that small number was, which if they had done with any ordinary resolution, so small a handful of men could hardly have withstood the force of so many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What loss the enemy sustained by the resistance of Capt. Lothrop and his men, (who no doubt being all resolute young men, and seeing they should be forced by the hard law of the sword to forego their lives, held them at as high a rate as they could) is not certainly known. It hath since been confessed by some of the Indians themselves, that they lost 96 of their men that day. Capt. Mosely's men coming suddenly upon them when they were pillaging of the dead, fell upon them with such a smart assault, that they drove them presently into a swamp, following them so close, that for seven miles together, they fought them upon a march, charging them through and through. Perez Savage, and Mr. Pickering, his lieutenants, deserve no little part of the honour of that day's service, being sometimes called to lead the company in the front, while Capt. Mosely took a little breath, who was almost melted with labouring, commanding, and leading his men through the midst of the enemy.

The Indians gathered together in those parts, appearing so numerous, and, as might justly be supposed, growing more confident by some of their late successes, and the number of our men being after this sad rate dimin-

ished, recruits also not being suddenly expected, at so great a distance as an hundred miles from all supplies, the commander in chief with the officers, saw a necessity of fighting that garrison at Deerfield, employing the forces they had to secure and strengthen the three next towns below upon Connecticut river. And it was well that counsel was thought upon; for now those wretched caitiffs begin to talk of great matters, hoping that by degrees they might destroy all the towns thereabouts, as they had already begun: their hopes, no doubt, were not a little heigthened by the accession of the Springfield Indians to their party, who had in appearance all this time stood the firmest to the interest of the English of all the rest in those parts: but they all hanging together, like serpent's eggs, were easily persuaded to join with those of Hadley (there being so near alliance between them, for the sachem of the Springfield Indians was father of Hadley sachem) not only by the success of their treacherous and blood thirsty companions, but by the same inbred malice and antipathy against the English manners and religion.

The inhabitants of Springfield were not insensible of their danger, and therefore had upon the first breaking forth of those troubles been treating with their Indians, and had received from them the firmest assurance and pledges of their faithfulness and friendship that could be imagined or desired, both by covenant, promises, and hostages given for security, so as no doubt was left in any of their minds: yet did these faithless and ungrateful monsters plot with Philip's Indians to burn and destroy all Springfield, as they had done Brookfield before. To that end they sent cunningly and enticed away the hostages from Hartford, where they were perhaps too securely watched over, a day or two before: then receiving about three hundred of Philip's Indians into their fort, privately in the night time, so as they were neither discerned or suspected. Yea so confident were such of the inhabitants as were most conversant with the Indians at their fort, that they would not believe there was any such plot in hand, when it was strangely revealed by one Toto, an Indian at Windsor, (about 18 or 20 miles below Springfield, upon the same river) better affected to the English, and so by post tidings brought to Springfield the night before, insomuch that the lieutenant of the town, Cooper by name, was so far from believing the stratagem, that in the morning himself with another would venture to ride up to the fort, to see whether things were so or not. The fort was about a mile from the town; when he came within a little thereof, he met these bloody and deceitful monsters, newly issued out of their *Equus Trojanus* to act their intended mischief; they presently fired upon him, divers of them, and shot him in several places through the body, yet being a man of stout courage, he kept his horse till he recovered the next garrison house, his companion they shot dead upon the place; by this means giving a sad alarm to the town of their intended mischief, which was instantly fired in all places where there no garrisons. The poor people having not an officer to lead them being like sheep ready for the slaughter, and no doubt the whole town had been totally destroyed, but that a report of the plot being carried about over night, Major Treat came from Westfield time enough for their rescue, but wanting boats to transport his men, could not do so much as he desired. Major Pynchon coming from Hadley with Capt. Appleton and what forces they could bring along with them, 32 houses being first consumed, preserved the rest of the town from being turned to ashes, in which the over credulous inhabitants might now see (what before they would not now believe at the burning Major Pynchon's barns and stables a few days before, to the very great damage of the owner) the faithless and deceitful friendship among these perfidious, cruel and hellish monsters.

Among the ruins of the said dwellings, the saddest to behold was the house of Mr. Pelatiah Clover, minister of the town, furnished with a brave library, which he had but newly brought back from a garrison wherein it had been for some time before secured, but as if the danger had been over with them, the said minister, a great student, and an *hilluo librorum*, being impatient for want of his books, brought them back to his great sorrow, fit for a bonfire for the proud insulting enemy. Of all the mischiefs done by the said enemy before that day the burning of this town of Springfield did more than any other discover the said actors to be the children of the devil, full of all subtlety and malice, there having been for about 40 years so good correspondence betwixt the English of that town and the neighbouring Indians. But in them is made good what is said in the Psalm, That though their words were smoother than oil, yet were they drawn swords.

After some little time spent in garrisoning the place, and helping the inhabitants to secure what they had left, the English soldiers most of them returned back to Hadley, their head quarters, and Major Pynchon being so full of incumbrances, by reason of the late spoils done to himself, and his neighbours at Springfield, could not any longer attend the service of commanding in chief as he had done before, wherefore being according to his earnest request of the council eased of that burden; Capt. Samuel Appleton was ordered to succeed in taking the charge of the soldiers left in those upper towns, by whose industry, skill and courage, those towns were preserved from running the same fate with the rest, wholly or in part so lately turned into ashes. For the enemy growing very confident by the late successes, came with all their fury the 19th of October following upon Hatfield, hoping no less than to do the like mischief to them, they had done to Springfield. But according to the good Providence of Almighty God, Major Treat was newly returned to Northampton, Capt. Mosely and Capt. Poole were then garrisoning the said Hatfield, and Capt. Appleton for the like end quartering at Hadley, when on a sudden 7 or 800 of the enemy came upon the town in all quarters, having first killed or taken two or three scouts belonging to Capt. Mosely's company: but they were so well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the town, that they found it too hot for them. Major Appleton with great courage defending one end of the town, and Capt. Poole the other end; that they were by the resolution of the English instantly beaten off, without doing much harm. Capt. Appleton's serjeant was mortally wounded just by his side, another bullet passing through his own hair, by that whisper telling him that death was very near, but did him no other harm. Night coming on, it could not be discerned what loss the enemy sustained, divers were seen to fall, some run through a small river, others cast their guns into the water, it being their manner to venture as much to recover the dead bodies of their friends, as to defend them when alive.

At last after burning of some few barns with some other buildings, the enemy hasted away as fast as they came on, leaving the English to bless God who had so mercifully delivered them from the fury of their merciless foes, who had in conceit without doubt, devoured them all: But this resolute and valiant repulse, put such a check upon the pride of the enemy, that they made no further attempt upon any of those towns for the present, but winter drawing on, they retired all of them to their general rendezvous at Narraganset, plotting their general design of accomplishing their intended mischief against the English the next spring.

Our western plantations upon Connecticut river, the stage whereon were acted the most remarkable passages of this barbarous war hitherto, was soon after removed into many other places of the country in the winter and spring following, whither our discourse must in the next place pursue it. There was not any great matter acted by the enemy amongst the plantations upon the great river during the winter, after the assault made upon Hatfield, October 19th. It is evident that the body of them returned to Narraganset upon the approach of the winter, which set in more early than it used in other years. Where Philip bestowed himself in the winter season is not so certain; some say that he repaired further westward, to try his fortune with those Indians that lie towards Albany near the Dutch river: Others more probably conceive that he lay hid in some part of the Narraganset country; for though he was not certainly known to be about the fort at Narraganset, when it was taken by our forces in the winter, yet as soon as ever they were driven out of the country in February, he was found amongst them that did the mischief at Lancaster in that month.

Some straggling parties of them remained about Northampton, Westfield and Springfield sometime after their defeat at Hatfield: Seven or eight of the inhabitants of Northampton in the end of October, venturing to fetch in some of their harvest, that was left somewhere out of town, were in danger of being surprised, having laid their arms under their cart, so that being destitute of means to make their defence, they were glad to fly away with the horses out of their carts, leaving what they were about to the pleasure of the Indians that assaulted them. Major Treat upon hearing the alarm, presently repaired thither, but could not come time enough to destroy any of the enemy, nor yet to prevent their burning of four or five houses, with two or three barns that stood somewhat out of the town. Within a little time after they killed three of the same town, as they were at work in a meadow not far from the town: They intended also to have burned the mill, but it was too well guarded by two files of musketeers lodged there for the purpose, who put them beside their intent Six or seven persons

from Springfield soon after going to the mill at Westfield (that which belonged to their own being burned October 5th) and venturing without arms, three of them were killed by some of the enemy; who took the advantage also to burn four or five houses that belonged to the said Westfield: But by the end of November the coast was pretty clear of them, except some few of them that lay lurking in the swamps thereabouts all the winter, doing some small mischief upon some out dwellings of Springfield.

The expedition into the Narraganset country following in order in the next place to be related; but before we come thither, a little notice must be taken by the way, of an unsuccessful attempt upon the Indians about Hassanemesit* and Popachuog, whither Capt. Henchman was sent in the beginning of November; where also Capt. Still was ordered to meet him with another company from Cambridge, with intent to have beat up the Indian quarters in those parts: They being known to have had an hand in the outrages committed upon those that belonged to Marlborough and Mendham, cutting off the scalp of a miller's boy, who is yet alive.

November 1*st*, 1675.—Capt. Henchman marched out of Boston, intending to visit the Indians about Hassanemesit: The third day they saw some fires of the Indians, yet could not meet with those that made them: The 4th day they marched to some part of the Indian plantations called Hassanemesit: The captain would have taken up his quarters a mile on this side but some of his officers overruled him, to whose importunity he gave way, and marched a mile further towards the enemy, and by that means saved the miller's youth, taken the week before from Marlborough; for in the morning, very early, as the scouts were looking out they spied a wigwam, where some Indians that had carried away the youth, had lodged all night, or in some wigwam near by. When the Indians saw our soldiers, they hasted away and left the Marlborough youth behind them, who by that means escaped their hands. Our men under capt. Henchman marched on to Poppachuog, and finding the Indians all fled, (although they perceived by a messenger, accidentally sent back, that the Indians followed them all the way they marched) they came back to Mendham to settle things in that town. Some of the inhabitants informed them of some wigwams about ten miles off: The captain with Philip Curtice, his lieut. resolved to give them a camisado in their wigwams that night: To that end they mounted 22 upon horses, riding up ten miles into the woods, and when they came near the wigwams, they dismounted, and intended presently to march up, and give an assault upon them, after they had first gave a shout to fright the enemy: They ordered one half to follow the lieutenant, the other to follow the captain, when they came within a quarter of a mile of the place, their dogs began to bark, at which they stopped, and by marching again, intended presently to fire it upon them, but the captain's foot slipping, he could hardly recover himself, when suddenly looking benind him, he saw no man following him: The lieutenant had five behind him, who with those five resolutely fired on that side he was appointed to make the assault upon; but they were repulsed by the Indians, who firing out of their dens, shot down the lieutenant and another, the rest presently ran awav to a fence: The captain with all vehemency urged them to stay; they replied, they went back only to charge, yet went clear away by which means, together with the cowardice of the former, so sad a loss befel the company, as could not easily be repaired: However the enemy presently deserted the wigwam and gave our men the next day an opportunity to fetch off their two dead men, and bury them, and so with grief and shame they were constrained to return to their quarters at Mendham, to whose inhabitants they gave notice of 200 bushels of corn belonging to the Indians, that might have been preserved, which for want of hands was lost by the fire, that the enemy might not be benefitted thereby. It appears by the foregoing passage that the time of our deliverance was not yet come, and that God had further trials to acquaint us with before he would turn his hand upon our enemies. But it pleased the Lord so to order things that they themselves fell into that pit they were digging for others, as shall appear more fully in what follows.

The English plantations about Hadley being for the present set a little at liberty by the Indians drawing off, like seamen after a storm, counted it their best course to repair their tackling against another that may be next coming, wherefore the inhabitants concluded it the safer way to make a kind of barricado about their towns, by setting up pallisadoes or cleft wood, about eight feet long, as it were to break the force of any sudden assault which the Indians might make upon them; which counsel proved very successful; for although it be an inconsiderable defence against a warlike enemy, that hath strength enough and confidence to besiege a place, yet it is sufficient to prevent any sudden assault of such a timorous and barbarous enemy as these were, for although they did afterwards in the spring break through these pallisadoes at Northampton, yet as soon as ever they began to be repulsed, they saw themselves like wolves in a pound, that they could not fly away at their pleasure, so they never ventured to break through afterwards upon any of the towns so secured.

As for those of Springfield they were now and then alarmed with a few skulking Indians lurking about in the adjacent woods; as once at the Long Meadow, where half a score of them were seen about an house remote from the town, who were pursued by a party of the English towards Windsor, and so escaped, after the English had made one shot upon them, not knowing certainly how many they killed. So at another time, a few of those barbarous wretches killed a poor man belonging to Springfield, as he was going to his house to look after his corn, on the other side of the river, and after they had killed the man they burnt down his house; yet attempted no further mischief on that part of the town that had escaped the fury of the flames, October 5. By which it is evident, that all the number of Indians that had assaulted them before, had withdrawn themselves now to their winter quarters, some to the Dutch river, but the greatest number of them to be sure were found in the winter at the Narraganset fort, where we shall leave them for the present till the forces of the united colonies shall fire them out of their nests.

The soldiers continuing some time at Hatfield after this victory, as we may well call it, (for it seems to have given the first check to the rage of the heathen within the jurisdiction of the united colonies, they have been observed ever since to have been on the losing hand, seldom or ever daring to meet our soldiers in the open field, unless when they had very great advantage as to their numbers or covert of the woods and bushes: Although like some raging beasts they have done much mischief several times since, when they were ready to expire, or when the pangs of death were coming upon them) our forces were all called home, save some left for garrisoning the towns thereabouts.

The commissioners of the united colonies taking into serious consideration the present state of things, viz. that there were before this time so many hundreds gathered together into one body, and that there was great reason to fear, if they were let alone till the next spring they might all rise together as one man round about us and that one after another might easily be destroyed, before any help could be despatched to them. On the one hand, the sharpness of the winter in these parts was well weighed, so extreme that it might hazard the loss of a thousand men in one night, if they were forced to lodge abroad in the open field; as also the difficulty, if not impossibility of sending any relief to them at any distance, the depth of snow usually making the ways impassable for divers months together.

On the other hand it was considered, that if the enemy were let alone till the next summer, it would be impossible to deal with them or find them any where, but they might waste one company of soldiers after another, as was seen by the experience of the former year Considering also that the Narragansets, the most numerous of all the rest, and the best provided for provision of all the other Indians, had now declared themselves our enemies, who if they were let alone till the winter was over, we should be unable to deal with so many enemies at once, that could on any occasion spread themselves like grasshoppers all over the country.

It was therefore finally agreed upon by the general consent of all, to fall upon the winter quarters of our enemies, by a more considerable army (if I may so call it) gathered out of all the three colonies, and that with all expedition, at farthest not to exceed the 10th of December, before they should have a thousand men in arms, ready for the design.

As for the late league made or rather renewed with the Narragansets, it was sufficiently evident and known, that they had all along from the first day when it was confirmed, broken every article of it, especially in not delivering up the enemies, which had sheltered themselves with them all this while, which though they did not positively deny, yet did nothing but find excuses, to defer it one week after another, till at last they would be excused till the next spring upon pretence that they could not before that time get them together. And besides the favouring of those that fled to them, and supplying the whole body of the

* Sometimes called Hassanamisco, now Grafton.

enemy with victuals, upon all occasions. It was likewise strongly suspected that in all the late proceedings of the enemy, many of their young men were known to be actually in arms against us, many of whom were found either wounded amongst them in their wigwams, or elsewhere occasionally seen returning back, after exploits abroad, to be healed of their wounds at home. Also some of our men's guns that were lost at Deerfield, were found in the fort when it was fired. Therefore all scruples as to the justness and necessity of the war being removed, the only question was, whether it were feasible and expedient in the winter. The exigence was very great, and the choice very hard: But as David when he was straitened with many difficulties at once, chose rather to fall into the hands of God whose mercies were great, though he might be provoked to cause his jealousy to smoke against those of his own heritage for a time; so in this exigence it was generally conceived to be most expedient for the country to cast themselves upon the providence of a merciful and gracious God, rather than by delays to expose themselves to the treachery and cruelty of a perfidious enemy.

A war, therefore, speedily to be carried on in the very depth of winter, being agreed upon, care was taken for supplies, as the difficulty of such an affair so circumstanced did require, though possibly not with so much necessary care and so suitable provisions, as had been desired, if what came afterwards to pass could have been forseen (which peradventure might be the reason things went on so heavily for want of well oiling the wheels) in the meantime a small army of a thousand fighting men, well appointed, were ordered by the commissioners to be gathered by proportion out of all the colonies, of which number the share of Massachusetts was to be 527, the rest were to be supplied out of Plymouth and Connecticut colonies: All other supplies were taken care for, as well as the suddenness of the expedition, and difficulty of the season would allow. The said thousand men besides some volunteers of Indian friends, were by the time and place appointed as near as could be had, called together, and a commission granted to the honourable Josiah Winslow, Esq. the present governor of Plymouth colony, a man of known ability and integrity, every way so well qualified with courage and resolution, as well as prudence and discretion, as might have preferred him to the conduct of a far greater army than ever is like to be gathered together in this part of the world, in this or the following generations. And indeed, as he was the first governor over any of the united colonies in New England, of them that were born in the place, so may be, he will pass for a pattern to the succeeding race, that may come after.

Under him as commander in chief, were ordered six companies from Massachusetts, under the command of Major Appleton, Captains Mosely, Gardiner, Davenport, Oliver, and Johnson; five companies from Connecticut under Major Treat, Captains Siely, Gallop, Mason, Watts, and Marshall; two companies from Plymouth under Major Bradford, and Captain Gorum.

Under the governor of Plymouth, as commander in chief in this expedition, were sent as major of the forces belonging to each colony; Major Robert Treat for the forces belonging to Connecticut, and Major Bradford for those of the colony of Plymouth, and Major Samuel Appleton, for those of Massachusetts, to whom by the honourable major-general of the colony, were six companies of foot; Delivered at Dedham, December the 9th, 1675, containing in number 465 fighting men, besides a troop of horse, under the command of Capt. Thomas Prentice, attending upon them. That night they marched to Woodcock's, about 27 miles from Dedham. The next night they arrived at Seaconk; Capt. Mosely and his company went from thence with Mr. Smith by water; the rest ferried over the water to Providence.

The next day, December 12th, they passed over Patuxet river, and then marching through Pomham's country, at night they met with Capt. Mosely and his company, at Mr. Smith's in Wickford, the place intended for their head quarters. Capt. Mosely in his way thither had happily surprised 36 Indians, one of whom he took along with him as a guide, Peter by name, that was at that time under some disgust with his countrymen, or his sachem, which made him prove the more real friend to our forces in that service, wherein he faithfully performed what he promised, and without his assistance our men would have been much at a loss to have found the enemy, until it had been too late to have fought them.

Two days after, December 14th, five files of men sent out under Serjeant Bennet, and another upon the scout killed one man and one woman, and brought in four more by one o'clock: The whole company marched after into some of the country, where they burnt 150 wigwams, killed 7 of the enemy, and brought in 8 prisoners when they returned at night.

The next day an Indian called Stone-wall John, pretended to come from the sachems, intimating their willingness to have peace with the English, yet could the messenger hardly forbear threatening, boasting of their numbers and their strength, adding withal that the English durst not fight them: Whatever were pretended by this treacherous fellow, some of his crew as he went home met with some of Capt. Gardiner's men, that were straggling about their own business, contrary to order, and slew his sergeant with one or two more. Two also of Capt. Oliver's men were killed in like manner; a solemn warning for soldiers not to be too venturous in an enemy's country. For preventing the like mischief upon other companies, more care was taken as they passed to the head quarters, some of the companies being lodged three miles therefrom. Capt. Mosely's, Capt. Davenport's, and Capt. Oliver's companies being also sent about that time to bring Major Appleton's to the general quarters, a few desperate Indians creeping under a stonewall near the place, fired twenty or thirty guns at Mosely in particular, a commander well known amongst them, but the rest of the company running down upon them, killed one and scattered the rest.

The next day Capt. Prentice with his troop, being sent to Pettyquamscot, returned with the sad news of burning Jerry Bull's garrison-house and killing 10 Englishmen and 5 women and children, but two escaped in all. This is the chance of war which they who undertook must prepare to undergo.

The next day brought from the same place a little better news, though not enough to balance the sorrow of their former, viz. that Connecticut forces were come thither with three hundred English, and an hundred and fifty Mohegins, ready fixed for war on the behalf of the English against the Narragansets, their mortal enemies; and by the way meeting a party of the enemy, they slew five or six of them and took as many prisoners. The whole number of all our forces being now come, the want of provision with the sharpness of the cold, minded them of expedition, wherefore, the very next day, the whole body of the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces marched away to Pettyquamscot, intending to engage the enemy upon the first opportunity that next offered itself: to which resolution those of Connecticut presently consented, as soon as they met together, which was about five o'clock in the afternoon. Bull's house, intended for their general rendezvous, being unhappily burnt down two or three days before, there was no shelter left either for officers or private soldiers, so as they were necessitated to march on toward the enemy through the snow in a cold stormy evening, finding no other defence all that night, save the open air, nor any other covering then a cold and moist fleece of snow. Through all these difficulties they marched from the break of the next day, December 19th, till one of the clock in the afternoon, without even fire to warm them, or respite to take any food, save what they could chew in their march. Thus having waded fourteen or fifteen miles through the country of the old Queen or Snake Squaw of Narraganset, they came at one o'clock upon the edge of the swamp, where their guide assured them they should find Indians enough before night.

Our forces chopping thus upon the seat of the enemy, upon a sudden, they had no time either to draw up in any order or form of battle, nor yet opportunity to consult where or how to assault. As they marched, Capt. Mosely and Capt. Davenport led the plan, Major Appleton and Capt. Oliver brought up the rear of Massachusetts forces: Gen. Winslow with the Plymouth forces marched in the centre; those of Connecticut came up in the rear of the whole body: but the frontiers discerning Indians in the swamp, fired immediately upon them, who answering our men in the same language, retired presently into the swamp, our men following them in amain, without staying for the word of command, as if every one were ambitious who should go first, never making any stand till they came to the sides of the fort, into which the Indians that first fired upon them betook themselves.

It seems that there was but one entrance into the fort, though the enemy found many ways to come out, but neither the English or their guide well knew on which side the entrance lay: nor was it easy to have made another; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led Israel sometimes by the pillar of fire and the cloud of his presence, a right way through the wilderness, so did he now direct our forces upon that side of the fort, where they might only enter through, not without the utmost danger and hazard. The fort was

raised upon a kind of island of five or six acres of rising land in the midst of a swamp; the sides of it were made of pallisadoes, set upright, which was compassed about with an hedge of almost a rod thickness, through which there was no passing, unless they could have fired a way through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the Indians used ordinarily to enter themselves, was upon a long tree over a place of water, where but one man could enter at a time, and which was so waylaid that they would have been cut off that had ventured there: but at one corner there was a gap made up only with a long tree, about four or five feet from the ground, over which men might easily pass: but they had placed a kind of block-house right over against the said tree, from whence they sorely galled our men that first entered, some being shot dead upon the tree, as was Capt. Johnson; and some as soon as they entered, as was Capt. Davenport; so as they that first entered were forced presently to retire, and fall upon their bellies, the fury of the enemy's shot was pretty well spent, which some companies that did not discern the danger, not observing, lost sundry of their men, but at the last two companies being brought up, besides the four that first marched up, they animated one another, to make another assault, one of the commanders crying out, they run, they run, which did so encourage the soldiers that they presently entered amain. After a considerable number were well entered, they presently beat the enemy out of a flanker on the left hand, which did a little shelter our men from the enemy's shot, till more came up, and so by degrees made up higher, first into the middle, and then into the upper end of the fort, till at last they made the enemy all retire from their sconses, and fortified places, leaving multitudes of their dead bodies upon the place. Connecticut soldiers marching up in the rear, being not aware of the dangerous passage over the tree, in command of the enemy's block-house, were at their first entrance many of them shot down, although they came on with as gallant resolution as any of the rest, under the conduct of their wise and valiant leader, Major Treat.

The brunt of the battle, or danger that day, lay most upon the commanders whose part it was to lead on their several companies in the very face of death, or else all had been lost; all of them with great valour and resolution of mind, not at all afraid to die in so good a cause, bravely led on their men in that desperate assault; leaving their lives in the place as the best testimony of their valour, and of love to the cause of God and their country. No less than six brave captains fell that day in the assault, viz. Capt. Davenport, Capt. Gardiner, Capt. Johnson, of Massachusetts, besides Lieutenant Upham, who died some months after of his wounds received at that time. Capt. Gallop also, and Capt. Sieley, and Capt. Marshall were slain, of those belonging to Connecticut colony. It is usually seen that the valour of the soldiers is much wrapped up in the lives of their commanders, yet it was found here, that the soldiers were rather enraged than discouraged by the loss of their commanders, which made them redouble their courage, and not give back after they were entered a second time, till they had driven out their enemies: so after much blood and many wounds dealt on both sides, the English seeing their advantage, began to fire the wigwams where was supposed to be many of the enemy's women and children destroyed, by the firing of at least five or six hundred of their smoky cells.

It is reported by them that first entered the Indians' fort, that our soldiers came upon them when they were ready to dress their dinner, but our sudden and unexpected assault put them beside that work, making their cook rooms too hot for them at that time, when they and their mitchin fried together: and probably some of them eat their suppers in a colder place that night: most of their provisions as well as their huts being then consumed with fire, and those that were left alive forced to hide themselves in a cedar swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend themselves from the cold but boughs of spruce and pine trees: for after two or three hours fight, the English became masters of the place, but not judging it tenable, after they had burned all they could set fire upon, they were forced to retreat, after the daylight was almost quite spent, and were necessitated to retire to their quarters, full fifteen or sixteen miles off, some say more, whither with their dead and wounded men they were forced to march, a difficulty scarce to be believed and not paralleled in any former age.

It is hard to say who acquitted themselves best in that day's service, either the soldiers, for their manlike valour in fighting, or the commanders for their wisdom and courage, leading on in the very face of death.—There might one have seen the whole body of that little regimental army, as busy as bees in a hive, some bravely fighting with the enemy, others hauling off and carrying away the dead and wounded men (which I rather note) that none may want the due testimony of their valour and faithfulness, though all ought to say, not unto us, but unto thy name, O Lord, &c.

For though there might not be above three our four hundred at any time within the fort at once, yet the rest in their turns came up to do what the exigence of the service required in bringing off the dead and wounded men: the Massachusetts regiment, together with Capt. Mosely, was very serviceable, for by that means the fort being clear of the dead bodies, it struck a greater terror into the enemy, to see but eight or ten dead bodies of the English left, than to meet with so many hundreds of their own slain and wounded carcasses. The number of the slain was not then known on the enemy's side, because our men were forced to leave them on the ground: but our victory was found afterwards to be much more considerable than at first was apprehended; for although our loss was very great not only because of the desperateness of the attempt itself (in such a season of the year, and at such a distance from our quarters, whereby many of our wounded men perished, which might otherwise have been preserved, if they had not been forced to march so many miles in a cold snowy night, before they could be dressed) yet the enemy lost so many of their principal fighting men, their provision also was by the burning of their wigwams, so much of it spoiled at the taking of their fort, and by surprising so much of their corn about that time also; that it was the occasion of their total ruin afterwards: they being at that time driven away from their habitations, and put by from planting for the next year, as well as deprived of what they had in store for the present winter. What numbers of the enemy were slain is uncertain, it was confessed by one Potock, a great counsellor amongst them, afterwards taken at Rhode Island, and put to death at Boston, that the Indians lost 700 fighting men that day, besides three hundred that died of their wounds. The number of old men, women and children, that perished either by fire, or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell. There was above 80 of the English slain, and 150 wounded, that recovered afterwards.

There were several circumstances in this victory very remarkable.

First, The meeting with one Peter a fugitive Indian, that upon some discontent, flying from the Narragansets, offered himself to the service of the English, and did faithfully perform what he promised, viz. to lead them to the swamp where the Indians had seated themselves within a fort raised upon an Island of firm earth, in the midst of a swamp, whither none of the English could have piloted them without his assistance, the place being very near eighteen miles from the place where they were quartered.

Secondly, Their being by a special providence directed just to a place where they found so easy an entrance, which if they had missed, they could never have made a way through the hedge, with which they had surrounded the palisadoes of the fort, in half a day's time.

And Thirdly, If they had entered the way left by the Indians for a passage, they might have been cut off, before they could have come near their fortification.

Lastly, In directing their motion to begin the assault just at the day they did, for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell such a storm of snow the next day that they could not have passed through it in divers weeks after; and on a sudden, there fell such a thaw, that melted away both ice and snow, so that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no passage into their fortified place.

All which considerations put together, make it a signal favour of God to carry them through so many difficulties to accomplish their desired end. For after they had retired to their quarters, but sixteen miles from that place, there was so great a want of provision, the vessels being frozen in at the harbour about cape Cod, that should have brought them relief, and the frost and snow set in so violently, that it was not possible for them, with all the force they could make (so many of their ablest soldiers being slain and wounded) to have made another onset: But the goodness of the Almighty God was most of all to be admired, that notwithstanding all the hardships they endured that winter, in very cold lodgings, hard marches, scarcity of provision, yet not not one man was known to die by any disease or bodily distemper, save them that perished of their wounds.

Our forces being compelled by the aforesaid occasions, to lie still some weeks after hoping also that the enemy so sorely broken, would gladly have sued for peace: but as was said of old, God hardened their hearts to their own ruin and destruction afterwards: for as soon as our soldiers were able to march, find-

ing that all the enemy's overtures of peace, and prolonging of treaties, was only to gain time. that they might get away into the woods; they pursued after them, and sometimes came upon their rear, but then they would immediately fly an hundred ways at once into swamps, so as our men could not follow them, or if they did, could not see two of them together; so that now there was little good like to be done, unless they could take them at some advantage. At length having spent all their provision, and tired themselves in pursuing of them sixty or seventy miles, up through the woods towards Marlborough and Lancaster, towns that lie on the road to Connecticut, having killed and taken near 70 of them, our soldiers were ordered to return towards Boston, to recruit themselves supposing that the Narragansets, and those with them, were so enfeebled that they would have no mind suddenly to assault any of the English towns.

If any desire a more particular account of the loss which we sustained at the taking of the Narraganset fort, December 19th, 1675, they may take it as here follows:

Besides the six captains mentioned before, that either were slain in the assault, or died afterwards of their wounds, to whom may be reckoned Lieut. Upham, that died lately at Boston of the wounds he then received,

There were out of the company belonging to

	killed.	*wounded.*
Major Appleton,	3	22
Capt. Mosely,	9	10
Capt. Oliver,	5	10
Capt. Gardiner,	7	11
Capt. Johnson,	3	11
Capt. Davenport,	4	15
in all,	31	in all, 79

There were slain and wounded of

New Haven company,	20
Capt. Seiley's company,	20
Capt. Watts's company,	17
Capt. Marshall's company,	14
Plymouth company under Major Bradford and Capt. Gorham,	20
in all,	91

If there had not been so great a distance between the place of the fight and their quarters, and so much cold attending them in their retirement thereunto, some better account might have been given of that expedition, than now they were able to do. For a march of sixteen or eighteen miles is too much to breathe a fresh soldier, unless he were well mounted; but enough to kill the heart of them that have been wearied with a long and tedious fight. As for the coldness of the weather although it be a good besom to sweep the chamber of the air (which might be the reason there was no more diseases amongst them) yet it is an unwelcome companion to wearied, and especially to wounded men, in so long a retreat.

But the want of provision failing, in conjunction with the unseasonableness of the weather, and length of the way, our forces were hindered from any new attempt upon the enemy, which if they would have attended, it was thought it might have put an end to our troubles: but he that holdeth the scales of the victory in his hand turneth them to which side, and by what degrees pleaseth him best.

The rest of the winter was spent in fruitless treaties about a peace: both sides being well wearied with the late desperate fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining part of the winter, with the short slumber of a pretended peace, at least with a talk or dream thereof: our commanders aim therein was christian and if it had proceeded, i. e. to have prevented the shedding of more blood: and possibly some of the elder and wiser of the enemy, did really desire what was pretended by them all (for they had now full proof of the valour and resolution of the English, which some of them upon former successes might be ready to question) and they could not but see their destruction already begun, in the loss of our dwellings, and all their provisions, as well as the slaughter of the best part of their fighting men; but through consciousness of their barbarous treachery and falsehood, they could not trust others, and so were willing to run the utmost hazard, as people hardened to their own destruction. The particular passages of the treaty being carried on by the enemy only in pretence, (and by our men that soon discerned their fraud) rather out of necessity, to conceal their incapacity of engaging them anew, than any real expectation of a good effect, are not worthy the relating. However, though the foot were unable to do any service in the depth of the snow, and sharpness of the cold, the troop was sent out upon all occasions to scout about the country, who brought in daily much of the enemy's corn and beans, which they had hid in the ground under barns, or at least kept them from making use of their own provision, or spoiling the English cattle; now and then bringing in prisoners from their quarters, as they were straggling about to get victuals.

On the 27th of December, Capt. Prentice was sent into Bomham's country, where he burnt near an hundred wigwams, but found not an Indian in any of them.

On the 28th of December, a squaw was sent to them, who had been taken in the fight, with a proffer of peace, if they would submit to such terms as were propounded; the principal of which was, to deliver up all Philip's Indians, that were with them; the squaw returned, pretending that she was lame and unable to come again; but the 30th of December, an Indian came from the sachems, with with seeming thanks for the peace proffered, yet complained we made war upon them, and gave them no notice; but his mouth was soon stopped, by the answer they made him: he owned, as the squaw had said before, that they lost 300 of their best fighting men, and so did two prisoners of theirs, taken January 14th, whereof one being of Philip's company, was put to death. The messenger that was sent was fairly dismissed, with the express mention of what terms they must expect, if they desired a peace.

January 4th, there came two messengers from them, as they said to make way for a treaty of peace; who laid the blame upon Canonchet, who came to Boston in October last, to confirm the peace with the commissioners of the united colonies, as if he had misinformed them, viz. that they were not by by the former treaty to have delivered up the Wampanoogs, or Philip's Indians, until the aid Canonchet's brother, one of the hostages at Hartford, was released. This was but a mere pretence, for he and they too, better understood the particulars of the agreement: for by chance the articles which they had of the peace concluded with them, were found open (whether purposely or accidentally was not known) in a wigwam in the fort when it was taken, so they could not be ignorant of the articles of the agreement.

January 5th, an English child of about three or four years old, taken from Warwick, was sent in to put the better pretence upon the treaty mentioned.

January 8th, the messengers were sent back, and told what they must trust to. In the afternoon a messenger came from Ninigret, the old sachem of Narraganset, who brought a letter from Mr. Stanton, the interpreter, signifying the reality of the said Ninigret, in his friendship to the English, and the straits of the enemy, that corn was two shillings a pint with them. Yet notwithstanding all their difficulties, they rather delayed the time till they could get away, than really endeavour to make a peace, as was soon manifest: for that young and insolent sachem, Canonchet, and Panoquin, said they would fight it out to the last man, rather than become servants to the English.

January 10th, a fresh supply of soldiers came up from Boston, wading through a sharp storm of snow, that bit some of them by the heels with the frost. The next day one that came with them, going out with the scouts, fell amongst the Indians' barns, in one of which, as he was groping to find corn for the relief of his horse, he catched hold of an Indian's hair, under the leaves, who presently held up his hands, (when the soldier was drawing his sword,) to spare his life, which was granted, but after he was brought to the head-quarters, he would own nothing but what was forced out of his mouth, by the woolding of his head with a cord, wherefore he was presently judged to die as a Wampanoog.

January 12th, another messenger came from Cononicus, desiring the space of a month longer, wherein to issue the treaty, which so provoked the commander of our forces, that they resolved to have no more treaties with the enemy, but prepare to assault them, with God's assistance, as soon as ever the season would permit, and it was high time to take up for within a few days after they understood by some that were taken prisoners, that the enemy were gone, or going into the Nipmuch country.

Within a few days after, about the 16th of January, the scouts brought in one Joshua Tift, a renegado Englishman, of Providence, that upon some discontent among his neighbours, had turned Indian, married one of the Indian squaws, renounced his religion, nation, and natural parents, all at once fighting against them. He was taken by Capt. Fenner, of Providence, who with some of his neighbours were pursuing some Indians that had driven away their cattle. This Tift being one of the company was wounded in the knee, and so was siezed by the English; he had in his habit conformed himself to them amongst whom he lived. After examination he was condemned to die the death of a traitor. As to his religion he was found as ignorant as an heathen, which no doubt caused the fewer tears to be

shed at his funeral, by being unwilling to lavish pity upon him that had divested himself of nature itself, as well as religion, in a time when so much pity was needed elsewhere, and nothing left besides wherewith to relieve the sufferers.

January 21st, Capt. Prentice's troops being abroad, met with a party of the enemy, of whom they took two prisoners, and killed nine; in which exploit, something happened very remarkable, for one W. Dodge, of Salem, riding in company with another friend, they happened to meet with two Indians, the said Dodge being better horsed than his friend, made after the foremost, leaving his friend to deal with the hindmost, but his pistol missed firing, whereupon the Indian taking him by the leg, turned him off his horse, and getting upon him, was about killing him with his knife, which Mr. Dodge by chance espied, and came time enough to rescue his friend, and dispatch the Indian lying upon him, and yet overtook the first Indian he was pursuing, time enough to do his business also: by that means he did three good offices at once, saved the life of one friend, and slew two of his enemies. But within two or three days after, the weather much altering from what it was, induced our forces to take the first opportunity to pursue the enemy, who, as they understood by messengers from Providence, were now upon their flight into the Nipmuc country: But so many difficulties were cast in their way, that they could not be ready time enough to prevent the mischief they did at Warwick, as they took their farewell of their country: For,

January 27th, they despoiled Mr. Carpenter of two hundred sheep, and fifty head of neat cattle, and fifteen horses; all which they drove along with them, and were gone too far to be rescued before our forces set out. Two that belonged to the said Carpenter were wounded and one of the enemy slain. As they marched after the enemy, they found a good house burned, with a barn belonging to it. They perceived also that the enemy dealt much in horse flesh, meeting with no less than sixty horses heads in one place, which they had left behind them. Our soldiers in their pursuit came upon the rear, killed and took about seventy of them, yet never could come to charge them, for they would presently betake themselves into swamps, and not two of them running together, they saw it was an endless work to proceed further in the chace of such an enemy; but our forces having pursued them into the woods, between Marlborough and Brookfield, in the road toward Connecticut, were constrained to turn down to Boston, in the beginning of February, for want of provision, both for themselves and their horses, which gave an occasion to the loss of those lesser towns that were destroyed by the Nipnet Indians, who presently joined with the Narragansetts, upon their first approach, as shall be related afterwards.

About the 10th of February after, some hundreds of the Indians, whether Nipnets or Nashaway men is uncertain, belonging to him they call Sagamore Sam, and possibly some of the stoutest of the Narragansets that had escaped the winter hunt, fell upon Lancaster, a small village of about fifty or sixty families, and did much mischief, burning most of the houses that were not garrisoned: and which is most sad and awful to consider, the house of Mr. Rowlandson, minister of said Lancaster, which was garrisoned with a competent number of the inhabitants; yet the fortification of the house being on the back side, closed up with fire wood, the Indians got so near as to fire a leanter, which burning the house immediately to the ground, all the persons therein were put to the hard choice, either to perish by the flames, or to yield themselves into the hands of those cruel savages, which last (considering that a living dog is better than a dead lion) they chose, and so were 42 persons surprised by the Indians, above twenty of the women and children they carried away captive, a rueful spectacle to behold; the rest being men, they killed in the place or reserved for further misery: and many that were not slain in fighting, were killed in attempting to escape. The minister himself was occassionally absent, to seek help from the governor and council to defend that place, who returning, was entertained with the tragical news of his wife and children surprised, and being carried away by the enemy, and his house turned to ashes, yet it pleased God so to uphold his heart, comforting himself in his God as David at Ziklag, that he would always say, he believed he should see his wife and children again, which did in like manner soon come to pass within five or six months after; all all save the youngest, which being wounded at the first died soon after, among the Indians.

And such was the goodness of God to those poor captive women and children, that they found so much favour in the sight of their enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their persons save what they could not help, being in many wants themselves. Neither did they offer any uncivil carriage to any of the females, nor ever attempted the chastity of any of them, either being restrained of God as was Abimeleck of old, or by some other accidental cause which withheld them from doing any wrong in that kind.

Upon the report of this disaster, Capt. Wadsworth, then at Marlborough, with about forty resolute men, adventured the rescuing of the town that was remaining: And having recovered a bridge, they got over safe, though the planks were pulled off by the enemy, and being led up in a way, not discovered by them, they forced the Indians for the present to quit the place, after they had burnt and destroyed the better half of it. Yet afterwards it not being judged tenable, it was abandoned to the pleasure of the insulting foe.

Ten days after they were so flushed with this success, that two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to Medfield, a town twenty miles from Boston, westward from Dedham, which they surprised very early in the morning (and though there were one hundred and sixty soldiers in it, or more, besides the inhabitants) they burnt near one half of the town, killing about twenty persons, but by the resistance of the soldiers, as soon as they could be rallied together (it being at or before break of day, none in the least suspecting such an assault so early) they were quickly forced to forsake the place, and so (not without some loss) took their way to Plymouth colony.

The western towns above Connecticut were the chief seat of the war, and felt most of the mischief thereof, in the end of the year 1675; but the scene is now to be changed; and the other towns and villages that lie eastward, nearer Boston, must bear their part in the like tragedies: For as was said before, the Narragansets having been driven out of the country, fled through the Nipnet plantations, towards Watchuset hills, meeting with all the Indians that had harboured all winter in those woods about Nashaway, they all combined against the English, yet divided their numbers, and one of them were observed to bend their course towards Plymouth, taking Medfield in their way, which they endeavoured to burn and spoil, February 21, 1675, as their fellows had done Lancaster ten days before.

The surprisal of this Medfield, in regard of some remarkable circumstances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular relating as to the manner thereof: The loss of Lancaster had sufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighbouring villages, all to stand upon guard; and some had obtained garrisoned soldiers for their greater security, as was the case with them in the town of Medfield, within twenty-two miles of Boston. And at that time were lodged therein several garrison soldiers, besides the inhabitants; yet being billetted up and down in all quarters of the town, could not be gathered together till a great part of the town was set on fire and many of the inhabitants slain, which, how it could be effected is strange to believe: But most of those inland plantations being overrun with young wood (the inhabitants being very apt to engross more lands into their hands than they were able to subdue) as if they were seated in the midst of a heap of bushes: Their enemies took the advantage thereof, and secretly over night, conveyed themselves round about the town, some getting under the sides of their barns, and fences of their orchards, as is supposed, where they lay hid under that covert, till break of day, when they suddenly set upon sundry houses, shooting them that came first out of their doors, and then fired their houses: Some were killed as they attempted to fly to their neighbours for shelter. Some were only wounded, and some taken alive and carried off captives: In some houses the husband running away with one child, the wife with another, of whom the one was killed, the other escaped. They began at the east end of the town, where they fired the house of one Samuel Morse, that seems to have been a signal to the rest to fall in on other parts: Most of the houses in the west, or southwest end of the town were soon burnt down: And generally when they burnt any out houses, the cattle in them were burnt also. Two mills belonging to the town were burnt also: A poor old man of near an hundred years old, was burnt in one of the houses that were consumed by fire. The lieutenant of the town, Adams by name, was shot down by his door and his wife mortally wounded by a gun fired afterwards accidentally into the house. After the burning of forty or fifty houses and barns, the cannibals were frighted away out of the town, over a bridge that lies upon Charles river, by the shooting of a piece of ordnance two or three times: When they passed over the bridge they fired one end thereof, to hinder our men from pursuing them; there were thought to be above five hundred; there were slain and mortally wounded seventeen or eighteen persons, be-

sides others dangerously hurt. The loss sustained by the inhabitants amounted to above two thousand pounds. This mercy was observed in this sad providence, that never a garrison house was lost in this surprisal; nor any of the principal dwellings, so as the chiefest and best of their buildings escaped the fury of the enemy, who as they passed the bridge, left a writing behind them, expressing something to this purpose, that we had provoked them to wrath, and that they would fight with us these twenty years, (but they fell short of their expectation by nineteen) adding also, that they had nothing to lose, whereas we had houses, barns, and corn: These were some of the bold threats used by the barbarous crew, but their rage shall proceed no further than the counsel of God hath determined. The week before was heard a very hideous cry of a kennel of wolves round the town, which raised some of the inhabitants, and was looked upon by divers persons, as an ominous presaging of the following calamity. Another assault was feared, but as soon as the soldiers could be gathered together, they turned their backs, as if they never intended to visit them more: whither these Indians went when they left Medfield, is not certainly known; the soldiers in the town not having opportunity to pursue them over the river, by reason that the bridge was part of it burned: But it is most probable that they took their way toward Plymouth, and continued about that side of the country for the future, waiting opportunities to do what mischief they could to the English in those parts; for within a month after the assault at Medfield, there were six hundred of them seen about Patuxet and Providence, were Capt. Pierce, with about fifty of his men were lost, though with no great advantage to the enemy, who at that time lost above double that number: Our worthy captains in this and other exploits, being called to imitate Sampson, who was content to die with his enemies, that he might overthrow them thereby: It having so fallen out with many of our choice commanders and soldiers at Deerfield, Narraganset, Patuxet, and likewise not long after at Sudbury.

The governor and council of Plymouth perceiving by the report of these outrages committed upon the towns in Massachusetts, that they were like to be visited this spring by their old neighbours, sent out Capt. Pierce, of Situate, about the latter end of March with about fifty English and twenty christian Indians, about Cape Cod, who proved none of his worst soldiers, as the sequel of this his last expedition will declare.

Capt. Pierce, as is said before, being sent out to pursue the enemy, marched towards Patuxet, where he understood the Indians were many of them gathered together: He being a man of resolute courage, was willing to engage them, though upon never so great a disadvantage. Some say the Indians by counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of ambush; possibly more of them discovered themselves after he began to engage them than he was aware of; and being got over the river in pursuit of them, where he discovered so great a number of them, he drew down towards the side of the river, hoping the better by that means to prevent their surrounding him; but that proved his overthrow which he intended as his greatest advantage: For the Indians getting over the river so galled him from thence, that he was not able to defend himself; thus assaulted on all sides, and himself not being able to travel much on foot, was thereby hindred from retiring to any better place in time, so that he saw himself constrained to fight it out to the last, which he did with most undaunted courage; and, as is said, to the slaughter of an hundred and forty of his enemies, before himself and his company were cut off. It is said also, that being apprehensive of the danger he was in from the great numbers of the enemy, he sent a messenger timely enough to Providence, for relief, but as Solomon saith, a faithful messenger is as snow in harvest, another is as smoke to the eyes, and vinegar to the teeth. (Whether through sloth or cowardice, is not material,) this message was not delivered to them to whom it was immediately sent; by accident only some of Rehoboth understanding the danger, after the evening exercise (it being on the Lord's day, March 27th, 1676) repaired to the place, but then it was too late to bring help, unless it were to be spectators of the dead carcasses of their friends, and to perform the last office of love to them.

It is worth the noting, what faithfulness and courage some of the christian Indians, with the said Captain Pierce, shewed in the fight. One of them, whose name was Amos, after the captain was shot in his leg or thigh, so as he was not able to stand any longer, would not leave him, but charging his gun several times, fired stoutly upon the enemy, till he saw that there was no possibility for him to do any further good to Capt. Pierce, nor yet to save himself, if he stayed any longer; therefore he used this policy, perceiving that the enemy had all blackened their faces, he also stooping down pulled out some blacking out of a pouch he carried with him, discolored his face therewith, and so making himself look as much like Hobamackco, as any of his enemies, he ran amongst them a little while, and was taken for one of them, as if he had been searching for the English, until he had an opportunity to escape away among the bushes; therein imitating the cuttle fish, which, when, it is pursued, or in danger, casteth out of its body a thick humour, as black as ink, through which it passes away unseen by the pursuer.

It is reported of another of these cape Indians, (friends to the English of Plymouth) that being pursued by one of the enemy, he betook himself to a great rock where he sheltered himself for a while; at last perceiving that his enemy lay ready with his gun on the other side to discharge upon him, as soon as he stirred away from the place where he stood: In the issue he thought of this politic stratagem to save himself, and destroy his enemy, (for as Solomon said of old, wisdom is better than weapons of war) he took a stick, and hung his hat upon it, and then by degrees gently lifted it up, till he thought it would be seen, and so become a fit mark for the other that watched to take aim at. The other taking it to be his head, fired a gun and shot through the hat; which our christian Indian perceiving, boldly held up his head and discharged his own gun upon the real head, not the hat of his adversary, whereby he shot him dead upon the place, and so had liberty to march away with the spoils of his enemy.

The like subtle device was used by another of the cape Indians at the said time, being one of them that went out with Capt. Pierce; for being in like manner pursued by one of Philip's Indians as the former was, he nimbly got behind the but end of a tree newly turned up by the roots, which carried a considerable breadth of the surface of the earth along with it (as is very usual in those parts where the roots of the trees lie deep in the ground) which stood above the Indian's height, in form of a large shield, only it was somewhat too heavy too be easily removed; the enemy Indian lay with his gun ready to shoot him down upon his first deserting his station; but the subtle wit taught our christian Netop a better device for boring a little hole through this his broad shield, he discerned his enemy who could not easily discern him; a good musketer need never desire a fairer mark to shoot at, whereupon discharging his gun, he shot him down. What can be more just than that he should be killed, who lay in wait to kill another man? *neque enim lex justior alla est, quam necis artifices arse perire sua.*

Instances of this nature show the subtlety and dexterousness of these natives, if they were improved in feats of arms; and possibly if some of the English had not been too shy in making use of such of them as were well affected to their interest, they need never have suffered so much from their enemies; it having been found upon late experience, that many of them have proved not only faithful, but very serviceable and helpful to the English; they usually proving good seconds though they have not ordinarily confidence enough to make the first onset. But to return to the proceedings of the Indians towards Plymouth.

February 25th, they assaulted Weymouth, and burnt seven or eight houses and barns there, which Weymouth is a town lying towards Plymouth colony.

March 12th following, they assaulted the house of one Mr. Clarke, in Plymouth, cruelly murdering eleven persons that belonged to two families that lodged therein, and then fired the house. The cruelty towards these persons was the more remarkable, in that they had often received much kindness from the said Clarke. It is the custom of such debtors, to use them worst, of whom they have taken up much kindness upon trust beforehand.

March 17th, another party of them fell upon Warwick, a place beyond Philip's land, toward the Narraganset country, where they burnt down to the ground all but a few houses, which they left standing as a monument of their barbarous fury. The like mischief was acted by them upon the houses of the English remaining in the Narraganset country.

This 26th day of March, being the first day of the week, as the first of the year after our Julian account, seemed ominous at the first, on sundry accounts, threatening a gloomy time, yet proved in the issue, but as a lowering morning before a lightsome day.

For besides the burning of Marlborough, at least a great part of it, on the same day, a very sad accident fell out the same time at Springfield shall be specified hereafter; besides that which befel Capt. Pierce, which is already related, with whom fell so many of his soldiers on the same day also; yet had the enemy no cause

to boast, being forced by the valour of the English, to give so many of their own lives in exchange; Some few made their escape, as is said, by subtle devices; besides the three forementioned, another by a like shift, not only saved himself, but helped an Englishman to escape also, whom he ran after with his hatchet in his hand, as if he were about to kill him whereby both of them made a shift to get away; the rest were all lost (the unfaithfulness of the messenger being as was intimated before, the cause of their slaughter) save a few that hardly escaped by the advantage of the bushes giving them opportunity to pass unseen, yet it was confessed by a prisoner of the enemy, taken afterwards by the English, that they lost an hundred and forty in that encounter: and had not the said English by wading after the enemy over a river made their ammunition useless, there had not half so many of them been cut off. From thence they turned back towards Rehoboth, near Swanzey, when on March 28th, they burnt thirty barns and near forty dwelling houses, thereby as it were threatening the utter desolation of that poor town; and so proceeding on that side the country, they burnt the very next day about thirty houses in Providence, in their way toward Narraganset.

But it was now full sea with Philip's affairs, for soon after the tide of his successes began to turn about the sea coast, which made way for the falling of the water up higher in the country.

For about this time news came to Boston that our neighbours and friends of Connecticut colony, hearing of the attempts of the enemy on that side of the country, sent a party of their soldiers, under the command of Capt. George Denison, with some friendly Indians, part Mohegins and Pequods, part Niantics, belonging to Ninigret, a Narraganset sachem, who never engaged in this quarrel against the English; who in pursuit of the enemy, meeting with a considerable part of them about the Narraganset country, killed and took forty-five of them, without the loss of their own men. This victory was the more considerable, in that several of the chief captains of the enemy were at this time killed or taken; amongst whom was Canonchet (who came down to get seed corn to plant at Squakheag;) he was the chief sachem of all the Narragansets, the son of Miantonimo, and the heir of all his father's pride and insolence, as well as of his malice against the English, a most perfidious villain, who had the last October been at Boston, pretending to make a firm peace with the English, but never intending to keep one article thereof: Therefore, as a just reward of his wickedness he was adjudged by those that took him to die, which was accordingly put in execution at Sonington, whither he was carried; there his head being cut off, was carried to Hartford; the Mohegins and Pequods that had the honour to take him prisoner having the honour likewise of doing justice upon him, and that by the prudent advice of the English commanders, thereby the more firmly to engage the said Indians against the treacherous Narragansets. There are differing reports about the manner of his being taken, and by whom, whether the Indians or the English first took him; however, it was sufficient matter of rejoicing to all the colonies, of the English, that the ringleader of almost all this mischief, and great incendiary betwixt the Narragansets and us, died himself by that sword of war which he had drawn against others.

Concerning the Narragansets, this is further to be added here, that Mr. Thomas Staunton and his son Robert, who have a long time lived amongst them, and best acquainted with their language and manners of any in New England do affirm, that to their knowledge, the Narraganset sachems, before the late troubles, had two thousand fighting men under them, and nine hundred arms, yet they are at this day so broken and scattered, that there is none of them left on that side of the country, unless some few, not exceeding seventy in number, that have sheltered themselves under the inhabitants of Rhode Island, as a merchant of that place, worthy of credit, lately affirmed to the writer hereof. It is considered by what degrees they have been consumed and destroyed.

The first week in April, 1676, Canonchet, their chief sachem, having with this people been driven out of his own country, by the sword of the English, the winter before, breathed still nothing but rage and cruelty against them: yet as appeared in the issue, himself and they that escaped with him were not much preserved from the present calamity that befel those in the fort, being reserved to another and more ignominious death. For the whole body of the Indians to the westward, trusting under the shadow of that aspiring bramble, he took a kind of care of them upon himself: Wherefore foreseeing so many hundreds could not well subsist without planting, he propounded it in his council, that all the west plantations upon Connecticut river, taken from the English, should this last summer be planted with Indian corn; which was indeed in itself a very prudent consideration: to that end he resolved to venture himself with but thirty men (the rest declining it) to fetch seed corn from Seaconk, the next town to Mount Hope, leaving a body of men, not less than fifteen hundred to follow him or meet him about Seaconk the week after. The adventure brought him into a snare, from whence he could not escape: for Capt. George Denison, of Stonington, and Capt. Avery of New London, having raised forty seven English, the most part volunteers, with eighty Indians, twenty of which were Narragansetts belonging to Ninigret, commanded by one called Catapazet, the rest Pequods, under Cassasinamon and Mohegins, under Oneco, son of Uncas, being now abroad on their third expedition, which they began March 27th, 1676, and ended on the 10th of April following: they met with a stout Indian of the enemy's whom they presently slew, and two old squaws, who confessed Nanunttenoo, alias Canonchet (these chief sachems usually changing their names at every great dance, and by the name of Nanunttenoo was he then known) was not far off, which welcome news put new life into the wearied soldiers, that had travelled hard many days, and met with no booty till now; especially when it was confirmed by intelligence the same instant, brought in by their scouts, that they met with new tracks, which brought them in view of what is called Blackstone's river, the said sachem was at that moment diverting himself with the recital of Capt. Pierce's slaughter, surprised by his men a few days before, but the alarm of the English at that time heard by himself, put by that discourse, appalled by the suddenness thereof, as if he had been informed by secret item from Heaven, that now his own turn was come; for having but 7 men about him, he sent up two of them to the top of the hill, to see what the matter was, but they affrighted with the near approach of the English, at that time with great speed mounting over a fair champagna on the other side of the hill, ran by, as if they wanted time to tell what they saw; presently he sent a third, who did the like; then sending two more on the same errand, one of these last, endowed with more courage, or a better sense of his duty, informed him in great haste that all the English army was upon him; whereupon having no time to consult, and but little to attempt an escape, and no means to defend himself; he began to dodge with his pursuers; running round the hill on the contrary side; but as he was running so hastily by, Catapazet, with twenty of his followers, and a few of the English, lightest of foot, guessed by the swiftness of his motion, that he fled as if an enemy, which made them immediately take the chace after him, as for their lives; he that was the swifter pursuer put him so hard to it that he cast off first his blanket then his silver laced coat (given him at Boston, as a pledge of their friendship, upon the renewal of his league in October before) and belt of peag, which made them pursue as eagerly as the other fled; so that they forced him to take to the water, through which as he over hastily plunged, his foot slipping upon a stone, it made him fall into the water so deep that it wet his gun, upon which accident he confessed soon after, that his heart turned within him, so as he became as a rotten stick; void of strength, insomuch as one Monopoide, a Pequod, swiftest of foot, laid hold of him within thirty rods of the river side, without his making any resistance; though he was a very proper man, of goodly stature, and great courage of mind, as well as strength of body; one of the first English that came up with him was Robert Stanton, a young man that scarce had reached the 22d year of his age, yet adventuring to ask him a question or two, to whom this manly sachem, looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, replied in broken English, you much child, no understand matters of war: let your brother or your chief come, him I will answer; and was as good as his word; acting herein, as if by a Pithagorean metempsychosis, some old Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western Pagan; and like Attilius Regulus he would not accept of his own life, when it was tendered him, upon that (in his account) low condition of compliance with the English, refusing to send an old counsellor of his to make any motion that way, saying he knew the Indians would not yield; but more probably he was not willing they should, choosing rather to sacrifice his own, and his people's lives, to his private humour of revenge, than timely to provide for his own, and their safety, by entertaining the counsels of a peace, so necessary for the general good of all: he continuing in the same obstinate resolution, was soon after carried to Stonington, where he was shot to death by some of his quality, *sc.* the young sachem of the Mohegins, and two of the Pequods of like quality. This was the

confusion of a damned wretch, that had often opened his mouth to blaspheme the name of the living God, and those that make profession thereof. He was told at large of his breach of faith, and how he boasted he would not deliver up a Wampanoog, or the paring of a Wampanoog's nail, that he would burn the English in their houses; to which he replied, others were as forward for the war as himself: and that he desired to hear no more thereof. And when he was told his sentence was to die, he said, he liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or had spoken any thing unworthy of himself. He told the English before they put him to death, that the killing him would not end the war; but it was a considerable step thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his death, at least not in those parts; for after Sudbury fight, when the sun of their hopes was at its highest; April the 18th following, it visibly declined, till it set in a night of obscure and utter darkness upon them all, as is to be feared.

The inhabitants of New London, Norwich and Stonington, apprehensive of their danger, by reason of the near bordering of the enemy, and upon other prudent consideration, voluntarily listed themselves under some able gentlemen, and resolute soldiers, amongst themselves, Major Palmes, Capt. George Denison, Capt. Avery, with whom, or under whom, within the compass of the year 1676, they made ten or more several expeditions, in all which, at those several times, they killed and took two hundred and thirty-nine of the enemy, by the help and assistance of the Pequods, Mohegins, and a few friendly Narragansets; besides thirty taken in their long march homeward, after the fort fight, December 19th, 1675; and besides 16 captivated in the second expedition, not reckoned within the compass of the said number; together with fifty guns, and spoiling the enemy of an hundred bushels of corn.

In January they went again in pursuit, and took five men and a boy. Certain Nipnets intended to have sheltered themselves under Uncas; but he perceiving it would be distasteful to the English, soon shabbed them off, so as they were in the beginning of the winter brought into Boston, many of them by Peter Ephraim, and Andrew Pityme, with their fellows.

In all which exploits, neither they nor any of their followers sustained any loss by the sword of the enemy, or sickness; as is expressly declared by the reverend minister of Stonington, Mr. James Noyce, which is a matter very admirable to consider, engaging all that were any way concerned in such signal testimonies of divine favour, to be ready to pay their vows to the Most High, who alone teacheth the hands of his people to war, and their fingers to fight.

Not long after Capt. George Denison, of Stonington, with sixty-six volunteers, and a hundred and twelve Pequods, killed and took seventy-six of the enemy, amongst whom were two Narraganset sachems, one of whom was the grand-child of Pomham (who is accounted the most warlike, and the best soldier of all the Narraganset sachems) taking at the same time 160 bushels of the enemy's corn, no small damage to our enemies at that time, and all this without the loss of one man of the said captain's followers.

The greater mischief which after this time was done by the enemy in Plymouth colony, was by burning of houses and barns, which they might easily do, the inhabitants in most of those towns being repaired to garrison houses for their greater security: for about the 20th of April, fifty of the enemy burnt about nineteen houses and barns in Situate, but were so resolutely encountered by a few of the inhabitants, that they were driven away, and thereby prevented from doing further mischief.

Not long after, May 8th, they burnt about seventeen houses and barns in Bridgewater, a small town in Plymouth colony, twelve miles on this side Taunton; but it pleased God just at the time to send a thunder-shower, which put out the fire, or else it might have prevailed much further.

It is very remarkable, that the inhabitants of the said Bridgewater, never yet lost one person by the sword of the enemy, though the town is situate within Plymouth colony, yet they have helped to destroy many of the enemy. None knows either love or hatred by all that is before them in things of this nature; nor ought standers by that may escape, think themselves less sinners than those that perish by the sword of the enemy: yet about this time four of the inhabitants of Taunton were killed as they were at their work in the field, whereby it is said that thirty children were made fatherless: So unsearchable are the judgments of the Almighty and his ways past finding out.

During these calamities, God's dispensations have been various, as well in references unto towns and villages, as unto persons: as if some places have been by special providence marked out to preservation, as others unto destruction; of which no other reason can be rendered, than the good pleasure of God so to order and dispose of events, which sometimes, as Solomon says, are all one to the good, and to the clean and to the unclean.

And because special notice is taken of the town of Bridgewater, which although it is feared, as it were in the midst of danger, and hath often been assaulted by considerable numbers of the enemy, yet never lost any one of their inhabitants, young or old; a particular account shall here be given of the most remarkable passages of divine providence relating to that plantation since the war began. June 26th, 1675, when Philip's malice against the English, mixed with a particular prejudice against Governor Winslow, began to boil up to the height of an open rebellion; the people of Swanzey being likely to be distressed by the Indians, a post was instantly sent to the governor of Plymouth, the way lying through Bridgewater; the said post returned the next day, and about nine or ten o'clock, as he passed through the town, left an order from the governor for the raising of twenty men, well armed, and furnished with horses, to be forthwith dispatched away for the relief of Swanzey; seventeen were all that could be raised on the sudden, who were sent thither that night, and were the first that were upon their march in all the country; and possibly they fared not the worse for their forwardness: as Deborah, the prophetess, blessed God for them that offered themselves willingly among the people: those seventeen of Bridgewater, were, June 21st, ordered by Capt. Bradford of Metapoiset, a place at twelve miles distance from Swanzey, to strengthen the garrison at one Bourn's house, wherein were seventy persons, amongst whom were only four or sixteen men. After they had marched five miles of their way, having Mr. Brown's son for their pilot, they met with some Swanzey people, newly turned out of their houses (by which they were to pass) who having not as yet resisted unto blood, yet made doleful lamentations, wringing of their hands, and bewailing their losses, very much also persuading the Bridgewater men to turn back, because of the danger, but they having so clear a call, had also more courage than cowardice to desert the cause of God and his people, lest they should thereby betray the lives of so many of their friends into the enemy's hands; and so by the good hand of God towards them, came safe to Metapoiset that night.

The next day in the morning, a part of them went to guard Mr. Brown, their pilot, back to his quarters; in their return they came suddenly upon a party of Indians, about thirty in all; they were within shot of one another, but the English having no commission to fight till they were assaulted, and not being impeded in their passage they returned safe to their garrison at Metapoiset: the Indians presently drawing off and firing three guns (though not with intent to do them any hurt, as was conceived) gave a shout, and so left them. When this party of the English drew near to their garrison, they met with a company of carts going to fetch corn from an house deserted near by, about a quarter of a mile from Mr. Bourn's house, the soldiers gave them notice of the Indians which they discovered, and withal advised them by no means to venture any more, because of the danger; they were resolved notwithstanding these earnest persuasions of the soldiers to have another turn, which they soon found to be at the peril of their own lives, six of them being presently after killed right out, or mortally wounded, as soon as they came to the barn where was the corn; these six are said to be the first that were slain in this quarrel. The soldiers at the garrison hearing the guns, made what haste they could to the place, but being most of them in that interim gone to look for their horses, they could not come time enough for the relief of their friends, yet upon their approach, they who had done the mischief presently fled away: one Jones, hard pursued by two Indians, was by their coming delivered from the extent of the enemy's cruelty, but having his mortal wound, had only the favour thereby, to die in the arms of his friends, though by wounds received from his enemies.

The next week fifteen of those soldiers looking after their horses, fell into an ambush of twenty of the Indians, but being prepared for the encounter, they discharged their guns upon each other; but our men received no hurt, some of them felt the wind of the bullets passing by their faces; what damage the enemy received is uncertain, yet some of the English report they found some of their enemy's dead bodies in the place afterward.

Thus were they not only preserved in many perils themselves, but became instrumental also for the preservation of most of that garrison, who with their goods, by their means, with the help of a small party of Plymouth forces, sent thither after the six were killed

(as is mentioned before) were soon after transported safely to Read Island.

Many outrages were that summer committed upon their neighbours at Taunton and Namasket, yet it pleased God to protect the poor town of Bridgewater from any other hurt, till the beginning of April following, when themselves with their neighbours of Taunton and Rehoboth were strongly solicited to desert their dwellings, and repair down to the towns by the sea side, but God encouraged them to keep their stations, notwithstanding the extreme danger then presented. It is reported that Philip gave orders that Taunton and Bridgewater should not be destroyed till the last, which is all the favour to be expected from an enemy, but these things are only in the hands of God, and not to be determined by man.

April 9th, being Lord's day, a small party of the enemy came down upon the said Bridgewater, burnt an outhouse and barn, broke up and rifled several other houses in the same quarter of the town, which are notwithstanding yet remaining; they sent out a party of their men to pursue them that night and many days after, but could not hear of them.

May 7th, the Lord's day also (no doubt but the betterness of the day will increase the badness of their deed attempted thereon) they had intelligence of a great body of Indians dispersed that way, with intent to have fallen upon the town that very day, but were casually prevented by a great deal of rain that fell the night before; however, they were resolved not to miss the opportunity, wherefore on the next day (May 8th) about three hundred of them, one Tisguogen being their chief leader, at 8 or 9 in the morning made an assault upon the east end of the town, on the south side of the river: many of the inhabitants stayed at home that morning, because of the intelligence the day before, and so were the more ready to entertain them; some not taking that warning, ventured into the field about their occasions, were in danger of surprisal, but by the special favour of God escaped, and came time enough to help defend their own and their neighbours dwellings, being shot at, and hard pursued a considerable way.

The Indians presently began to fire the town, but it pleased God so to spirit and encourage several of the inhabitants, issuing out of their garrison houses, that they fell upon them with great resolution, and beat them off; at the same instant of time, the Lord of Hosts also fighting for them from Heaven, by sending a storm of thunder and rain, very seasonably which prevented the burning of the houses which were fired: The soldiers also fighting under the banners of God's special protection, were so successful in repelling the enemy, that none of the inhabitants were killed or taken, and but one wounded. The Indians by this stout resistance, being beaten off to the skirts of the town, made a fresh onset upon another quarter thereof, on the north side of the river, where they had done much more mischief but that God stirred up sundry of the people to venture out of their fortified houses, who fired upon the enemy, and beat them from their dwellings, so as in the evening they drew off to an outhouse, three miles distant from the town: The next day the inhabitants expected another assault, but the enemy having burnt the house and barn where they kept their rendezvous over night, and one house more not far distant, they marched all clear away for that time. Thus it pleased God so to order his dispensations toward this small town, as a brand plucked out of the fire, they did but just taste of this bitter cup, which others drank deeper of; yet had they not such mercy, as these had, mixed therewith: under God, the courage of the inhabitants was a great means of their preservation, for they fired so stoutly upon the enemy, that they durst not come very near some of the garrisoned houses, saluting them only at a distance. God was eminently seen upholding the spirit of all sorts, men and women, so as no consternation of mind was seen upon any of them, during the whole time of the dispute.

In this assault they lost but thirteen dwelling houses, whereof five only were in the town (the rest being outhouses, and deserted for the present) with some few barns, and some of their cattle; all which was a very inconsiderable loss, in comparison of what befel others, and themselves might endured, if God had not by his special favour prevented.

July 14th and 15th, another party of Indians came down upon the northwest side of the town, but with no better success; for they had no commission from the Lord of Hosts to touch any of the persons of the inhabitants, their power reaching only to the slaying of their cattle at this time.

July 18th, 19th, and 20th, they sent our parties after the enemy to pursue them by their track, who fell upon some of them. On the 20th they took sixteen, whereof two were men: On this day they had to assist them, it seems, some of the bay Indians, sent them from Capt. Brattle; some of the captives informed that there were but seventy or eighty in the company, and but ten or twelve men amongst them: But within a few days these Bridgewater men shall find better success in pursuit of their enemies, when Philip himself shall hardly escape their hands, as shall be seen afterwards.

While one party of the enemy thus acted their part about Plymouth colony and towards the sea coasts, other parties of them were not idle in the Massachusetts colony, where they assaulted many places, doing what mischief they could by firing of houses, and killing several persons in the inland plantations.

March 2d, they assaulted Groton; the next day over night Major Willard, with seventy horse came into the town; 40 foot also came up to their relief from Watertown, but the Indians were all fled, having first burnt all the houses in the town, save four that were garrisoned, the meeting house being the second they fired; soon after Capt. Still was sent with a small party of dragoons, of eight files, to fetch off the inhabitants of Groton, and what was left from the spoil of the enemy, having under his care about sixty carts, being in depth from front to rear about two miles, when a party of Indians lying in ambush, at a place of eminent advantage, fired upon the front and mortally wounded two of the first carriers, who both died the next night. Had God permitted, they would have done eminent damage to the whole body, it being full an hour before they could be drawn up, which was done with care and courage; but the Indians after a few more shot made, without doing harm, retired, and made no further assault upon them, being the same party of Indians which the day before had burnt some part of Chelmsford. Soon after this village was deserted and destroyed by the enemy; yet it was a special providence, that though the carts were guarded with so slender a convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.

The surprisal of Groton was after this manner: On March 2d, the Indians came in the night and rifled eight or nine houses, carried away some cattle, and alarmed the town.

On March 9th, about ten in the morning, a parcel of Indians having two days lurked in the town, and taken possession of three outhouses, and feasted themselves with corn, and divers swine and poultry, which they there seized, lay in ambush for two carts, which went from their garrison to fetch in some hay, attended with four men, two of which espying the enemy, made a difficult escape, the other two were set upon, and one of them slain, stript naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the highway, and laid on his back in a most shameful manner: the other taken captive and afterwards sentenced to death; but the enemy not concurring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God escaped by a bold attempt the night before he was designed to have been slaughtered, and fled to the garrison at Lancaster, the cattle in both towns wounded, and five of them slain.

March 13th was the day when the enemy came in a full body, by their own account four hundred, and thought by the inhabitants to be not many less. The town was at this time, (having been put into a fright by the sad catastrophe of Lancaster, the next bordering town) gathered into five garrisons, four of which were so near together, as to be able to command from one to the other, between which were the cattle belonging to those families, driven into pastures, which afterwards proved their preservation; the other was near a mile distant from the rest.

This morning the Indians (having in the night placed themselves in several parts of the town) made their onset; which began near the four garrisons, for a body of them having placed themselves in ambuscade, behind a hill, near one of the garrisons two of them made discovery of themselves, as if they had stood upon discovery. At this time, divers of the people, not suspecting that any such matter (for the day before, many had been upon discovery many miles, and found no signs of an enemy being so near) were attending their occasions, some foddering their cattle, some milking their cows, of whom the enemy might easily have made a seizure, but God prevented; they having another design in hand, as soon after appeared: These two Indians were at length espied, and the alarm given: whereupon the most of the men in the next garrison, and some also in the second (which was about eight or nine poles distant) drew out and went to surprize those two Indians, who kept their station till our men reached the brow of the hill, then arose in the ambush and discharged a volley upon them, which caused a disorderly retreat or rather a rout, in which one was slain, and three others wounded: Meanwhile another ambush had risen, and come upon the back

side of the garrison so deserted of men, and pulled down the pallisadoes: The soldiers in this rout, retreated not to their own, but passed by the next garrison, the women and children meanwhile exposed to hazard, but by the goodness of God made a safe escape to the other fortified house, without any harm, leaving their substance to the enemy, who made a prey of it, and spent the residue of the day in removing the corn and household stuff, (in which loss five families were impoverished) and firing upon the other garrison: Here also they took some cattle. No sooner was the signal given by the first volley of shot, but immediately in several parts of the town at once, did the smoke arise, they firing the houses.

In the afternoon they used a stratagem not unlike the other, to have surprised the single garrison, but God prevented. An old Indian passed along the street with a black sheep on his back with a slow pace, as one decrepid; they made several shot at him, at which several issued out to have taken him alive, but the watchman seasonably espying an ambush, behind the house, gave the signal, whereby they were prevented.

The night following, the enemy lodged in the town, some of them in the garrison they had surprised, but the body of them in an adjacent valley where they made themselves merry after their savage manner. The next morning they gave two or three vollies at Capt. Parker's garrison, and so marched off, fearing as was thought, that supply might be near at hand.

This assault of theirs was managed with their wanted subtlety and barbarous cruelty; for they stript the body of him whom they had slain in the first onset, and then cutting off his head, fixed it upon a pole, looking towards his own land. The corpse of the man slain the week before, they dug out of his grave, and cut off his head and one leg, and set them upon poles, and stript off his winding sheet. An infant which they found dead, in the house they first surprised, they cut in pieces, which afterward they cast to the swine. There were about forty dwelling houses burnt at that time, besides other buildings. This desolation was followed with the breaking up of the town, and scattering of the inhabitants, and removal of the candlestick after it had been there seated above twelve years.

Concerning the surprising of Groton, March 13, there was not any thing much more material than what is already mentioned, save only the insolence of John Monoco, or one eyed John, the chief capt. of the Indians in that design; who having by a sudden surprisal early in the morning, seized upon a garrison house in one end of the town, continued to it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that day; and at night did very familiarly in appearance, call out to Capt. Parker, that was lodged in another garrison house, and entertained a great deal of discourse with him, whom he called his old neighbour; dilating upon the cause of the war, and putting an end to it by a friendly peace; yet oft mixing bitter sarcasms, with several blasphemous scoffs and taunts, at their praying and worshipping God in the meeting house, which he deridingly said he had burnt. Among other things which he boastingly uttered that night, he said he burnt Medfield, (though it be not known whether he was there personally present or not) Lancaster, and that now he would burn the town of Groton, and the next time he would burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Boston, adding at last in their dialect, *what me will, me do*: Not much unlike the proud Assyrian (if his power had been equal to his pride) sometimes threatened against Jerusalem, but was by the remarkable providence of God, so confounded within a few months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred and four score (of which he now boasted) and only with a few more braggadocios like himself, Sagamore Sam, old Jethro, and the Sagamore of Quabaog, were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the gallows (through Boston streets, which he threatened to burn at his pleasure) with a halter about his neck, with which he was hanged at the town's end, Sept. 26th, in this present year, 1676. So let thine enemies perish, O Lord, and such contempt be poured on all them that open their mouths to blaspheme thy holy name.

Things looked with a disagreeable face about those parts at this time, yet though the righteous fall seven times, let not their enemies rejoice, for the righteous shall rise again, but their wicked enemies shall fall into mischief, and rise no more. It was ebbing water with New England at this time, and a while after; but God shall turn the stream before it be long, and bring down their enemies to lick the dust before them.

After this, April 17th, Capt. Still being appointed to keep garrison at Groton, some Indians coming to hunt for swine, three Indians drew near the garrison house, supposing it to have been deserted, two of them were slain by one single shot, made by the captain's own hands, and the third, by another shot made from the garrison.

The danger which these inland towns were like to be exposed to from the enemy, after they were driven out of the Narraganset country, was foreseen by the council of Massachusetts, yea, they had some intimation thereof from the enemy themselves; but they were not well able to prevent it in that unseasonable time of the year; no way fit for marching of soldiers, and transporting of provisions (the winter then beginning to break up in this country) for while our forces were up in the Narraganset country in the winter, a couple of christian Indians were sent as spies into the Nipnet and Narraganset country through the woods, in the depth of winter, when the ways were impassable for any other sort of people: These two, James and Job, ordered their business so prudently, as that they were admitted into those Indian habitations as friends, and had free liberty of discourse with them; they were at first a little jealous of them; but by the means of one eyed John (a great captain of the Indians, that afterwards led them that spoiled Groton, who having been a companion of one of the said spies, both in hunting, and in fighting against the Mohawks formerly, so esteemed of him, that he would not suffer any of the rest to touch him) they passed through all the Indian towns lying thirty miles distant from Quabaog, and twenty miles northward of the road to Connecticut.—One of the said spies returned about the 24th of January, informing them that sent him what he had observed, both the number of the Indians (about three hundred in all) also their several towns, and what provisions they had; plenty of venison, much pork from the Englishmen's hogs which they had taken; they confessed also that he and some of his party had killed the people at Nasaway, the last year, suspected to have been done by the Indians of Marlborough: He told them also they intended to burn Lancaster within three weeks after that time, which accordingly they did; adding moreover, that some Frenchmen were with them at Pocomptuck, encouraging of them to go on with their designs, promising them assistance, which made some ready to think the Indians were stirred up by the French to do all this mischief—but more of this afterwards.—What might be gathered from the foresaid promises is easy to conceive: whereupon new forces, with as much speed as the season would allow, were raised and sent into those parts, under the command of Major Savage in chief: They were dispatched away the beginning of March, and appointed to meet with such as should be sent from Connecticut colony, which they did about Quabaog, and so intended to march directly up to those Indian towns about Watchuset Hill, to the northwest; but the Indians were gone, and our forces in pursuit of them taking the wrong path, missed of them, yet ranging through those woods, they were at one time suddenly assaulted by a small party of Indians firing upon them, wounded Mr. Gershom Bulkly, by a shot in his thigh, and killing one of their soldiers; after which as they marched along they accidentally fell upon another small party of the enemy, of whom they slew some and took others to the number of sixteen, yet could not meet with the main body of the enemy, who it seems had passed over a great river by rafts, so that our men could follow them no further, wherefore turning down towards Hadley and Northampton, whither it was supposed the Indians intended to pass, they came very seasonably to the relief of the said towns, which else had been in danger of being lost. For,

March 14th, the enemy fell upon Northampton, and in three places broke through the fortification of pallisadoes, set up round about the town a little before, for their better security; but the town being at that time full of soldiers, they were quickly repulsed, after they had killed four men and two women, and fired four or five dwelling houses, and as many barns, with the loss of many of their lives, as was supposed.

While our forces under Major Savage continued on that side of the country, a sad accident fell out at Sprinfield, the certainty of which it is judged meet here to relate to prevent mistakes; the matter having through a great oversight been otherwise represented than indeed it was, not only to the prejudice of truth, but to the disadvantage of some persons concerned therein. While the soldiers were quartered at a place belonging to Springfield, called the long meadow, three miles from the town below, toward Windsor, several of the inhabitants having most of the winter kept from the public meeting on the Lord's day for fear of the enemy, were encouraged to adventure to the assembly on

the 26th of March, riding in the company of the troopers; but having heard of no Indians thereabouts a good while, were more secure than they had cause; for riding some of them with women behind them, and some with children in their arms, yet not so careful as to keep in the middle, but rather in the rear, and at some distance straggling from the rest of the company, a party of Indians lying in the bushes, as they rode along, fired upon the hindmost, and killed two, and wounded others: Those in the front having also women and maids behind some of them, were at a stand to know what to do, fearing they might expose those women they had in their company, if they should ride back (in that winding road through a woody place for near a mile or two together) to look after them that were behind; at the last, one that came riding up, told the foremost company there was no hurt, and that they were all coming: They that were before rode away with all speed to the end of the town, where setting down the women, the troopers returned back, but too late to recover two poor women, and two children, who upon the first assault were thrown off their horses, and immediately hauled into the bushes, and through a swamp on the other side of a steep bank, so as they could not be heard of all that afternoon, nor the next day till toward night, although they were diligently searched after by all the troopers in and about the town; at last when they were descried just by a swamp side, the cruel wretches endeavoured to kill them all, but in haste only wounded them with their hatchets, yet so as one of the poor creatures recovered; the other, with the children, died of their wounds before they were brought home, or within a little time after. They did not complain of any incivility toward them while they were in their power; but by the farewell given them at their parting, they found it true by their own experience, that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.

There happened no other matter of moment worthy the reporting while our forces tarried in those parts, and the commanders observing that the enemy was turned back again through the woods, towards Massachusetts bay, after a month's time retired back, yet could never meet with the enemy in their return through the woods, although while they were at the towns aforesaid, they understood of several attempts made upon Sudbury and Marlborough, the most part of the latter they destroyed March 26th, which made the inhabitants forsake their dwellings, leaving only a few houses garrisoned with soldiers, the better to secure a passage to the towns westward upon Connecticut river.

The inhabitants of Sudbury, with the soldiers under lieutenant Jacobs, of Marlborough, sufficiently alarmed by the late mischief done about these towns, resolved to try what work they could with the enemy in the night: whereupon going forth, March 27th, toward morning, they discerned where the enemy lay by their fire, (near three hundred of them) and within half a mile of a garrison house, near the place where they had done so much mischief the day before. Such was the courage and resolution of the English, though but forty in number, townsmen and soldiers, that they adventured to discharge upon them as they lay by their fires, when it was so dark that an Indian could hardly be discerned from a better man; yet God so directing, they discharged several times upon them; wounded thirty, fourteen of whom either died of their wounds the same day, or soon after, which had been chief agents in this present mischief against the English. Such was the success of this skirmish that the assailants came off without the loss of a man.

After this time the enemy began to scatter about in small parties, doing what mischief they could, about Massachusetts, killing a man at Weymouth, another at Hingham, as they lay skulking up and down in swamps and holes, to assault any that occasionally looked never so little into the woods: sometimes alarming the towns about Boston, by discharging the guns upon particular persons at Billerica, Braintree, and at Wrentham, near to which place, in the road to Rehoboth, they assaulted one Woodcock's house, killed one man and one of his sons, wounded another, and burnt his son's house.

Notwithstanding the little success of former attempts Philip and his men have one piece more to play in Massachusetts colony, before they go off the stage, and then we shall see their power visibly declining every where, until their final overthrow come upon them. There were several small parties of them scattered up and down all over the country, yet the main body of them was still lurking up and down in those woods that lie between Brookfield, Marlborough, and Connecticut river. Possibly they had some hopes of driving all the country before them to the towns upon the sea coast; for having burnt the deserted houses at Marlborough, April 17th, the next day they set upon Sudbury with all their might (hoping, 'tis probable,) to do there as they had done at the towns next beyond it. They did at the first prevail so far as to consume several houses and barns, and kill several persons ten or twelve of the English, that came from Concord to assist their neighbours at Sudbury, a town five miles distant from them, at the first hearing of the alarm, who unawares were surprised near a garrison, in hopes of getting some advantage upon a small party of the enemy that presented themselves in a meadow; a great number of the Indians that lay unseen in the bushes, suddenly rose up, and intercepting the passage to the garrison house, killed and took them all.

But our sorrows and losses that day are not yet come to their height; for on the same day, that resolute stout hearted soldier, Capt. Wadsworth (who not long before, with not above forty men, rescued Lancaster, when it was in danger to have been all lost at once) being sent from Boston with fifty soldiers to relieve Marlborough, having marched twenty-five miles and then understanding the enemy was gone through the woods towards Sudbury: This wearied company, before ever they had taken any considerable rest, marched immediately back toward Sudbury (that lies ten miles nearer Boston) and being come within a mile of the town, they espied a party of Indians not far from them, about an hundred, not more—as they conceived, these they might easily deal with; who retiring a while, drew Capt. Wadsworth and his company above a mile into the woods, when on a sudden a great body of the enemy appeared, about five hundred as was thought, who compassing them around, forced them to the top of a hill, where they made very stout resistance a considerable while; but the night drawing on, and some of the company beginning to scatter from the rest, their fellows were forced to follow them, so as the enemy taking the chase, pursued them on every side, as they made too hasty a retreat, by which accident, being so much overpowered by the enemy's numbers, they were most of them lost: The captain himself, with one Capt. Brocklebank (a choice spirited young man much lamented by the town of Rowley to which he belonged) and some others that fell into his company as he marched along, scarce twenty escaping in all so that another captain and his fifty men perished at that time, as brave soldiers as any ever employed in the present service.

Thus as in former attempts of the like nature, too much courage and eagerness in pursuit of the enemy, hath added another fatal blow to this poor country.

The same day another party of the English coming from Broofield, whither they were sent as convoy with provisions for the garrison, were in danger likewise of falling into the hands of the same Indians; yet riding upon a good speed, and keeping their guns always ready presented against them they met, they never durst fire at them; only three or four having unadvisedly first discharged their guns against the enemy, and falling too much in the rear of their company, were cut off and lost. It is reported by some that afterwards escaped, how they cruelly tortured five or six of the English that night: Yet whatever their success was this day, it was observed by some (at that time their prisoners, and since released) that they seemed very pensive after they came to their quarters, showing no such signs of rejoicing as they were wont to do in like cases; whether for the loss of some of their own company in that day's enterprise (said to be an hundred and twenty) or whether it was the devil in whom they trusted that deceived them, and to whom they made their address the day before, by sundry conjurations of their powaws? Or whether it were by any dread that the Almighty sent upon their execrable blasphemies, which it is said they used in torturing some of their poor captives (bidding Jesus come and deliver them out of their hands from death, if he could) we leave as uncertain, though some have so reported, yet sure it is that after this day they never prospered in any attempt they made against the English, but were continually scattered and broken, till they were in a manner all consumed. After this time, however they had braved it before, they seemed to apprehend that it was scarce feasible with them to withstand the power of the English, and therefore seemed more inclinable to a peace by several overtures made by them, if they knew how to have brought it about. For during these encounters they were willing to admit of some kind of treaty with the English, about the releasing of sundry of their captives, which they took at Lancaster and elsewhere: to this end sundry attempts were made by help of several of the praying Indians (as they were called) about the redemption of some of the women and children, which were at that time in their possession, and by degrees something was effected that way; possibly their own present sufferings and wants that were upon them,

might induce them thereunto: For by this time the spring of the year came on, their provision was all spent, and they were forced to live wholly upon ground nuts, and upon flesh of the English creatures, both horse and neat cattle, which they daily plundered. The ground nuts running up to seed in the summer, begin to grow so sticky, as they were scarce eatable; the flesh also of the English cattle proving unwholesome for their bodies, filling them with sundry diseases: one of them having eaten much horse flesh, complained that he had eaten much horse and now horse began to eat him, meaning some deadly disease growing upon his eating such rank flesh, unwholesome for their bodies, especially without salt, as their usual manner is. The fishing season also began to come in, wherein they used to take abundance of all sorts, with which those great rivers up the country are abundantly stored; they used to take thereof, and drying it in the smoke, make provision thereof for the greatest part of the year; and if the war continued, they could not but see they should utterly be cut off therefrom; and that if the planting season also were lost, they should be in great want of summer fruits, *sc.* beans and squash (besides their corn) with which they were wont to live all the latter part of the summer. Upon all considerations they seemed pretty inclinable to hearken to a peace, though some were apt to think they would never have kept it further than would stand with their own advantage, and their present desire thereof were only to gain time.

A person formerly acquainted with the Indians about Lancaster, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to go amongst them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the minister's wife, taken captive in February last, from Lancaster, and through the favour of him who has the hearts of all in his hand, inclines them as he pleases, obtained the desired end upon an inconsiderable sum, which gave encouragement to the council to send two messengers on the like errand the same week to procure the redemption of others, not without success: The former, viz. Mrs. Rowlandson being brought to Boston upon the election day, May 3d, it was generally looked at as a smile of providence, and doubtless was a return of prayer, and answer of faith with which her husband had been upheld, and supported from the day of her captivity; his two children also were returned back not long after, more by the overruling hand of God (that turns the captivity of his people as the streams of the south; and something inclining them to pity his servants, that are of themselves more cruel than the sea monsters) than by any contrivance of man's policy.

And yet notwithstanding motions of this nature about the redemption of some of our prisoners still in their hands, there was no cessation of arms between us.

About this time letters were sent down from Connecticut colony, informing the general court then assembled at Boston, that some of the Mohawks (a sort of fierce and savage Indians, yet mortal enemies to those we were at war with) had fallen upon some of Philip's party, and destroyed many of them: Likewise that many of them were destroyed by fevers and fluxes, and other distempers falling amongst them, which was some reviving to our hopes, that the foot of our enemy should slide in due time, and that destruction was hastening upon them though still they were permitted to do mischief in sundry particular places of the country, which must be minded as we pass along.

Those Indians that were our professed enemies, after they had been beaten out of the Narraganset country, February 1st, tarried a while at Winimazeag, a place two days journey north of Quaboag, where they divided themselves into two companies, one of them tarried on that side of the country, the other made toward Plymouth colony, taking Medfield in their way, from whence as they marched along they met with a notable repulse at Boggiston, a small hamlet, or company of farms not far from the said Medfield, where they attempted a garrison, but meeting with stout resistance they left the enterprise, and kept on their way towards Plymouth colony, where they scattered themselves up and down, waiting for opportunities to spoil and destroy the English plantations on that side of the country.

Besides what is already mentioned, on May, 11th, a party of them assaulted the town of Plymouth, burnt eleven houses, and five barns belonging thereunto: On the other side a small party of the English scouting about in pursuit of the Indians, fell upon a party of them that lay waiting in ambush, but being discerned by an Indian in the company of our men that gave timely notice, our soldiers had an opportunity thereby to make the first shot, and thereby not only prevented a mischief to themselves, but killed also some of the enemy (one of whom was observed to be of more note than his fellows, by his attire) the rest fled away from them that pursued, though but a small company; so that there was daily reciprocal acts of hostility in those parts.

Within a few days after this, seven houses and two barns more were burnt by the enemy in and about Plymouth; who did the like mischief about the same time to the remaining of Namasket or Middleborough.

About this time another sort of Indians that belonged to Wamesit, a place near Chelmsford, bordering upon Merrimack, (who had been provoked by the rash, unadvised, cruel acts of some of the English, about Oct. 27th, and Nov. 4th, had fired upon them several guns, both at Chelmsford and Woburn, killing some, and wounding others, upon suspicion that the said Indians were guilty of burning a barn and hay stack not far off) suddenly turned our enemies, after the winter was over; having first withdrawn themselves from the place assigned them, and where they had been relieved all the winter (some of them after a former revolt) and took their opportuty to fire Mr. Falconer's house in Andover town, early that spring, and wounded one Roger Marks, and killed his horse. Two more houses about Shawskin, beyond the said Andover, were burnt about March 10th: Also they killed a young man of the said town, April 8th, the son of George Abbot; and another son of his also was carried away the same day, who, notwithstanding, was returned some few months after, almost pined to death with hunger.

At the same time they killed some of their cattle, cutting out only the tongues of some of them for haste, being shot at by several of the inhabitants from their garrison.

March 10th, at Concord, two men going for hay, one of them was killed. At Chelmsford, the said Wamesit Indians, about March 18th before, fell upon some houses on the north side of the river; burnt down three or four that belonged to the family of Edward Colburn: the said Colburn, with Samuel Varnham, his neighbour, being pursued, as they passed over the river to look after their cattle on that side of the river; and making several shots against them, who returned the like again upon the said Indians, judged to be about forty; what success they had upon the enemy, was best known to themselves; but two of Varnham's sons were slain by the enemy, shot before they could recover the other side of the river. April 16th, also, were fourteen or fifteen houses were burnt there.

Not long before this, February 1st, 1676, Thomas Eames, that kept a farm at Sudbury, whose dwelling was three or four miles out of town, had his house assaulted and fired, his wife killed, and his children carried captive among the Indians.

Also two men were killed at a farm about Concord, Isaac and Jacob, about the middle of February and a young maid that was set to watch upon a hill, of about fifteen years of age, was carried away captive, who strangely escaped away upon a horse that the Indians had taken from Lancaster a little before. In the like strange manner did one of Eames' children escape away about May 3d last, travelling thirty miles alone in the woods without any relief till he came to an English town. Eames' house was assaulted when he was from home, by an Indian called Netus, not long after slain at Marlborough, which had been very familiar with the English, with nine or ten more of his company, as perfidious and barbarous as himself. They burned all the dwellings that belonged to the farm, corn hay and cattle, besides the dwelling houses with what was therein; it is possible those at Concord were killed by the same hands about a fornight after.

Many such like remarkable instances of special providences might be mentioned, if it were convenient to insert such particular passages into the general narrative of the late troubles with our barbarous enemies.

On May 3d a party of them killed a man at Haverhill, upon the edge of Merrimack river, and passing over the said river to Bradford, spoiled another family, killing one Thomas Kimball, and carrying his wife and five children captive, forty miles up into the woods; although it was questioned whether this last mischief was done by any of Philip's party but rather by some that belonged to the eastward Indians, of which there may be occasion God willing, to speak more of afterward.

For the suppressing these insolencies, several companies of fresh soldiers, both horse and foot, were raised in Massachusetts by the governor and council of that colony, and sent out to suppress the common enemy; the foot under the command of Captains Sill, Cutler and Holbrook; the horse under the command of Captains Brattle, Prentice and Henchman; the last of whom was commander in chief. These several companies modelled as aforesaid, were sent out April 26th, 1676, to range the woods towards Hassanamesit.

The 6th of May they met with a considera-

ble party of the enemy; they were first discovered by the Natick scouts pursuing a bear, and at first not discovering that the Natick Indian scouts belonged to our men, it gave some advantage to our forces; our horsemen falling upon them before they were aware, killed and took of the enemy about 16, which they took no notice of at the present, although it was confessed by themselves that they lost twenty in that encounter. It was reported that the sounding of a trumpet without order did much hurt, but the commander in chief affirmeth that it was no disadvantage to the service in hand, it neither being heard by our own foot, nor yet by the enemy. If any error was committed by the English companies, it was that the horse did not timely enough draw down from the top of the hill, whereby they came to be discovered by the enemy, who thereupon made the more haste to escape; however, it was no small loss to the enemy, some of the slain being known to be considerable persons; and it struck such a terror into them that they never durst face our men aftewards; for although after our men returned to their quarters at Medfield, they saw two hundred fires in the night, yet they could never come near them again to fight any company of them; but the season proving rainy hindered any further pursuit of them at that time. And soon after this the soldiers being visited with sickly distemper by reason of an epidemical cold at that time prevailing through the country, they were for the present released for the recovery of their health with intent to be called together again at a more convenient time; this was done the 10th of May.

During this interval of time, upon a report that a party of the enemy were discovered about Rehoboth, busy in fishing in a river thereabouts, Capt. Brattle was sent up about the 23 of May, who with the help of some of the inhabitants, killed 11 or 12 of them, without the loss of but one of our men. Had they not discovered some of ours on the opposite shore, it was conceived a greater spoil might have been made amongst them.

But in the next place we must take notice of the proceedings of the enemy about Connecticut. The greatest body of them made towards Plymouth colony early in the spring, as was said before, where we shall leave them for the present, and observe what the remaining part of them did westward.

Some scattering parties were skulking about Springfield and those lower towns, upon a small number of whom Capt. Holyoke (newly chosen captain of Springfield, in the room of his father lately deceased) handselled his office early in the spring; for having notice of some of them in those woods, he marched after them with ten or twelve young men, and waiting his opportunity, surprised them near the great river so that two or three or them were left dead upon the place; another mortally wounded got on an island in the river, where it is concluded he took his last night's lodging. The other being sorely wounded was taken alive and brought home to Springfield, where he confessed many things to one of the inhabitants that understood their language, owning the truth in many things against his own company, and died soon after of his wounds.

This was but a preparative to an higher piece of service which Capt. Holyoke was soon after engaged in and wherein he acquitted himself beyond expectation, and taking more pains than ordinary in making his retreat, he got a surfeit, which ended his days the September following, near Boston.

About the beginning of April likewise, some of the inhabitants about Hadley, attending their tillage at Hockanum, within three miles of the town, and having a guard of soldiers with them, yet three of the company were casually slain by a party of the enemy that lay in wait for such an opportunity. One of them was Mr. Goodman, a deacon of the church, that went a little beyond the command of the soldiers that came to guard them, to view the fence of his own land, and two others, that contrary to express orders would venture upon the top of an high hill near by, to take a needless and unseasonable view of the country, were shot down by the enemy before they could recover their corps du guard.

But the great company of the enemy that stayed on that side of the country, and about Watchuset hills, when the rest went towards Plymouth, though they had been disappointed in their planting by the death of Canonchet, were loth to lose the advantage of the fishing season then coming in; wherefore, having seated themselves near the upper falls of Connecticut river, not far from Deerfield, and perceiving that the English forces were now drawn off from the lower towns of Hadley and Northampton, now and then took advantage to plunder them of their cattle, and not fearing any assault from our soldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their fishing design, insomuch that a couple of English lads lately taken captive by the enemy, and making their escape, acquainted their friends at home how secure they lay in those places, which so animated the inhabitants of Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton, that they being willing to be revenged for the loss of their cattle, besides other preceding mischiefs, took up a resolution with what strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garrison soldiers, and partly of the inhabitants) to make an assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of supplies, expected from Hartford, might have proved a fatal business to all the sad Indians: yet was the victory obtained more considerably than at first was apprehended; for not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting men in their company, they marched above twenty miles silently in the dead of the night, May 18th, and came upon the said Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almost in a deep sleep, without any scouts abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home; for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and roast beef, having lately driven away many of their milk cows, as an English woman confessed that was made to milk them.

When they came near the Indians' rendezvous, they alighted off their horses, and tied them to some young trees at a quarter of a mile distance, so marching up, they fired briskly into their wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frighting others with the sudden alarm of their guns, and made them run into the river where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep fall, they perished in the waters, some getting into canoes (small boats made of the bark of birch trees) which proved to them a Charon's boat, being sunk, or overset by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger, the waters giving them thereby a passport into the other world: Others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords: Capt. Holyoke killing five young and old, with his own hands, from under a bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried out Mohawks, Mohawks, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the light soon notified them of their error, though it could not prevent their danger.

Such as came back spake sparingly of the number slain; some said they could not in reason be less than two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with such disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above 300 in that camisado, some whereof were principal men, sachems, and some of their best fighting men that were left, which made the victory more considerable than otherwise it would have been; nor did they seem ever to recover themselves after this defeat, but their ruin immediately followed upon it.* Yet such was the awful hand of providence in the close of the victory, mixing much bitter with the sweet that it might well be called a costly victory to the conquerors, that so no flesh should glory in itself.

The Indians that lay scattered on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were much disordered for want of the help of the eldest captain that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat: For some of the enemy fell upon the guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the rear, so that our men sustained very much damage as they retired, missing after their returns thirty eight of their men; and if Capt. Holyoke had not played the man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the flank and rear, at a fatal business to the assailants, our loss would have been still greater. The said Captain Holyoke's horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, but discharging his pistols upon one or two of them, whom he presently dispatched, and a friend coming to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the soldiers without any further loss. It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this engagement, that one told above an hundred Indians left dead upon the place; and another affirmed that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the falls, none of which were observed to get alive to the shore save one.

* There was but one of our men killed in the engagement: their loss following was owing to the report of a captain taken, who said Philip was near with 1000 men: word was then given for every man to shift for himself: a panic seized the men, who instantly fled in confusion.

The loss that befel our men in the retreat was occasioned principally by the bodily weakness of Capt. Turner, unable to manage his charge any longer, yet some say they wanted powder which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. Turner's order. It is also said by one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the rear of the English through haste, missed their way, it being a cloudy dark morning, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians' hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured. About seven days after this they had a mind to try the chance of war again, and see if they could not recover their loss by returning the like upon the English: For,

May 30th, a great number of them (supposed to be six or seven hundred) appeared before Hatfield, fired about 12 houses and barns without the fortification of the town; a number of houses in the centre of the town were surrounded with palisadoes; these were attacked in the daytime, when the men were all out in the fields, except one aged man; they drove away multitudes of their cattle and sheep, spreading themselves in the meadow near the town; which bravado so raised the courage of their neighbours at Hadley that twenty-five resolute young men ventured over the river to relieve Hatfield in this distress, who charged the enemy with such undaunted courage and resolution (*Audaces fortuna juvat*) that they beat down five or six at the first shot they made; so making way through the thickest of their enemies, that lay ready to take aim at them behind every tree as they passed by; yet they escaped all their shot till they came within a little of the town, where they lost five of their number.

The enemy being amazed at the resolution of our men, being but so small a handful, that they fled immediately from the town; having lost twenty-five of their men in the enterprise. The council of Massachusetts gathering by these proceedings of the Indians, that their desire of peace was only to gain time, ordered that the forces raised before April 27th, and for a time released, should be hastened out again to range the woods towards Hadley, and those parts, made an agreement with Hartford colony to send forces from thence to meet them about Brookfield, and so to scout along on both sides Connecticut, to disrest the enemy what they could, and keep them from fishing in those waters, their hope of planting being now almost over. To this end, about May 30th, 1676, the forces under Capt. Henchman were called together again, and sent to Brookfield, to meet with those expected from Hartford colony; in the way, ours by direction of Tom Doublet (a Natic Indian, who was a little before employed in the redemption of captives) following tracks of Indians, came upon a party of the enemy fishing in Weshacom ponds, towards Lancaster, of whom they killed seven, and took twenty-nine, mostly women and children; yet belonging to considerable persons, it made the success the more to be valued. Our forces being by this means retarded, could not meet with those of Connecticut at Brookfield, but followed them the week after; having first returned from Weshacom, to Marlborough to supply themselves with ammunition, and so marched directly towards Hadley, where they met with Connecticut forces: and from thence according to mutual agreement, ours marched on the east side of the river, and Connecticut forces to the west up towards Squakeag (now Northfield,) coming to Deerfield, and the great falls thereabouts, they sent up their scouts, but not hearing of the enemy, they marched up no higher, being in no good capacity to have gone further if there had been occasion, by reason of a tedious storm of rain which occasioned much damage in their ammunition and provision. While our forces lay about Deerfield, some of our soldiers ranging, lighted upon the body of Capt. Turner, about Green's river, in passing of which stream he was supposed to have received his mortal wounds.

While our forces continued thereabouts, they did the enemy some little spoil, in seizing much of their fish and goods stolen from the English, and hid in their barns under ground; conjecturing also that they found four or five places where some of the English had been tortured to death by cruel burning after they had been fastened between stakes set in the ground; but not meeting with any of the enemy, they all returned home, conceiving that having been forced from their quarters in those parts, they were drawn down lower towards the English plantations eastward viz. Plymouth and Massachusetts. What success Capt. Henchman's forces had in their retiring homeward, and what they observed of the motion of the Indians, may be seen in a letter of his dated June 30th: "Our scouts brought intelligence that all the Indians were in a continual motion, some toward Narraganset, others toward Watchuset shifting gradually, and taking up each others quarters, and lay not above a night in a place. The twenty-seven scouts brought in two squaws, a boy, and a girl, giving account of five slain. Yesterday they brought in an old fellow, brother to a sachem, six squaws and children, having killed five men, and wounded others, if not killed them, as they supposed, by the blood found in the way, and a hat shot through. These and the others, inform that Philip and the Narragansets were gone several days before to their own places, Philip's purpose being to do what mischief he could to the English. By advice I drew out a commanded party under the conduct of Capt. Sill, viz. sixteen files of English, all my troops, and the Indians, excepting one file, being all we could make provision for, for what with the falling short of the bread promised us, and a great deal of that we had, proving mouldy, the rest of the forces had but one biscuit a man to bring them to this place: This party was ordered towards Watchuset, and so to Nashaway and Washakem ponds, where we have notice Indians were, and so to return unto this place: whereby your honour's letters that came to me yesterday morning, I undestood that provision was ordered for us and which we found to our great relief, which we met with last night coming hither, weary and hungry. The commanded party we left at Quonsiquomon where they intended to stay a while for the last scouts we sent out: Eleven prisoners we had in all, two of the eldest by council we put to death, the other nine the commissary is ordered to convey to Boston, with the baggage, horses, and some of their attendants not fit for the service.

DANIEL HENCHMAN."

It plainly appears by the contents of the said letter, as by many other testimonies, that about this time the Indians, our enemies, who hitherto had been linked together as brethren in iniquity and cruelty were now strangely divided and separated the one from the other; some impute it to an assault made upon them by the Mohawks, who falling upon Philip with the inland Indians, slew about fifty of them; whereupon those of Philip's company resolved to return to their own country and do what mischief they could to the English thereabouts; this was reported by an Indian brought to Seaconk, June 29, 1776, taken at Providence.

Others are ready to think that it was upon some quarrel amongst themselves, occasioned by an evil spirit sent from God upon them, that thereby they might, being scattered, the more easily be taken and ruined by the English, now that the time of vengeance was come when they shall be called to an account for all their former outrages and cruelties; for now is the snare hastening upon them wherein they shall be hampered in their own devices so to be taken and destroyed. It cannot but be acknowledged as a very remarkable providence, that Capt. Henchman in his late expedition to Hadley, killed and took about 84 of the enemy, without the loss of any one of his own men; the like favourable success happened to Major Talcot in his passage from Norwich to Quabaog, as was said before, and soon after his return.

But by the time our forces were returned home as far as Sudbury, they were ordered, upon the solicitation of the governor of Plymouth, two companies of them at least, to march away immediately to Dedham, and so to Seaconk, or Rehoboth, to join Major Bradford in the pursuit of Philip, who was it seems with many hundreds of his barbarous followers fallen upon the English plantations thereabouts, and whither also a little before, Capt. Brattle with a troop of horse, and Capt. Mosely with a company of foot, were sent up from Boston to pursue after them, now flocking in great numbers to those woods. There was at this time no small hopes of surprising Philip; several reports being brought that he was seen in this and that place, not having above twenty or thirty men attending on him; but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accomplished all that mischief he was like to be suffered to do: For on the 1st of July, 1676, a party of his Indians committed a horrid and barbarous murder upon Mr. Hezekiah Willet of Swanzy, a hopeful young gentleman as any in those parts. They used frequently to keep a sentinel on the top of their house from a watch-house built thereon, whence they could discover any Indians before they came near the house, but not hearing of the enemy in those parts for a considerable time, that necessary piece of circumspection was omitted that day, whereby that deserving person was betrayed into their cruel hands; for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own door, within sight of his house, he was shot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound; they after their barbarous manner took off his head, and carried it away with them (which however was soon after recovered) leaving the trunk of his body behind, as a sad monument of their inhuman

cruelty. The same Indians, not being above thirty in number, took away a negro belonging to the same family, who being faithful to his master's and the country's interest, ventured his life to make his escape, which was the preservation of many others; for the said negro being a little acquainted with their language discovered to the English after his escape Philip's purpose to seize such and such places: in the first place to assault Taunton, which in all probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plots and purposes had not so wonderfully been made known beforehand. The said negro affirmed, that there was near a thousand of them; for he observed that although they killed twenty head of neat cattle over night, yet there was not any part of them left the next day at eight o' clock in the morning. By this special providence the enemy was defeated of their purpose, and never after had an opportunity of doing any considerable damage to the English in that part of the country. So, after this day, we may truly date the time of our deliverance, and beginning of revenges upon the enemy; now is their own turn come, when it shall be done unto them as they have done unto us: they that before led others into captivity must, henceforth go into captivity themselves: and they that killed with the sword must themselves be killed with the sword, as in the sequel of this narrative will abundantly be manifest: the history of which before we shall any further pursue, we must a little while wait upon our friends (those forces sent from Connecticut) in their return back into their own colony: before it be done, some things should be premised concerning the occasion of their coming, and the success that did attend them in their march thither.

Our friends and brethren of that colony, although they had never actually felt half of those miseries that befel the people of the other two, yet never denied their assistance to the suppressing of the common enemy, yea, sometimes they did offer it, before it was expressly desired, according to the tenor of the articles of confederation and rules of common prudence; considering that if the fire of this war was not timely extinguished it would endanger their own fabric; therefore according to agreement, the council of that colony ordered their sucessful commander, Major Talcot, to meet our forces at Quabaog, or Brookfield, in order to the pursuing of the enemy in those parts. In the way as they were marching from Norwich thither, divine Providence so far smiled upon the enterprise, as to give them an opportunity to surprize 51 of the enemy, of whom 19 were slain, without the loss of any one of their own company, which could not but much enhance the price of the victory to the conquerors. The like success had their friends which they left behind (the volunteers gathered out of three towns by the seaside, New-London, Stonington and Norwich) and who were some of them released by Major Talcot, when he first began his march, that they might better in the absence of the army guard their own towns; for before the return of their forces under Major Talcot to that side of the country, they had made two expeditions against their enemies, the Narragansets, that were skulking up and down on that side of the country, in one of which they killed and took above 30, the most of whom being men, are said to have been slain by them. In the other 45, the most of whom probably were women and children, but being all young serpents of the same brood, the subduing or taking so many, ought to be acknowledged as another signal victory and pledge of divine favour to the English. But to return, it was not without the special direction of Providence that those Hartford forces were sent to those western towns a week before those of Massachusetts could get thither; for otherwise one or more of those towns might have been lost; seeing that on the 12th of June, soon after, if not the next day after they arrived there, the enemy, as if resolved to try the utmost of their power, violently assaulted the town of Hadley, with a body of about 700 men, at five or six o' clock in the morning laying in ambush at one end of the town, while the greater part of them were alarming the other; but the Connecticut forces being at that time quartered in the towns thereabouts, (who were English, and friendly Indians, Pequods and Mohegins, about 500 in all) that were ready at hand, besides those that had been quartered there ever since March, who had been left by Major Savage when he left those parts under the command and charge of Captain Turner slain at the great falls, as is noted before, but since commanded by Captain Swain. These by their joint and ready assistance, wherein the fence of palisadoes surrounding the town was no little advantage, gave the Indians such a smart repulse, that they found the place too hot for them to abide it; for the soldiers or townsmen within firing a piece of ordnance, so affrighted the savages, or a party of them against whom it was discharged, that although they had just before surprised a house on the north part of the town, yet they instantly fled leaving some of their dead upon the place; nor did they any considerable mischief with all their numbers, save firing a barn about that end of the town and killing two or three of our soldiers, or two daring inhabitants, who would against express order, venture to go without the fortification.

It was accounted by some that were present near the time of that assault, a great oversight that having so fair an opportunity to chace the enemy upon so considerable advantage, it was let slip, and not improved, for Connecticut soldiers being all, or most of them furnished with horses, they might have been soon overtaken, and many of them destroyed, but God hid it from their eyes. The commander in chief, it is said, quartered at one end of the town, (Hatfield was then within the limits of Hadley) on the west side of the river, and did not apprehend the advantage till the season was over; nor was any such assault expected from the enemy so early in the morning; it being a general observation heretofore, that they seldom or ever used to make any attempts in the night; part of which could not but be improved in way of preparation for such a design. But the Lord of Hosts who is wise in council, and wonderful in working will find some other way to destroy our enemies, wherein the hand of his providence should more remarkably be seen, that so no flesh should glory in its own wisdom or strength, but tha salvation might appear to be from the Lord alone. The rest of this month was spent without any other matter of moment happening therein.

The governor and council of Massachusetts, taking into serious consideration the many merciful occurrences that had returned upon us, notwithstanding the mixture of many dispensations of a contrary nature, thought themselves bound to make some public acknowledgment thereof, to him whose name alone is worthy to be praised. The 29th of June was set apart as a day of public thanksgiving to God, who had thus remembered his people in their low estate. And that matter of thanksgiving might not be wanting at the day appointed, the very day before were most of our English captives brought back from the Indians, and many more soon after to the number of 16, whose mouths might then well be filled with laughter and their tongues with singing, both of themselves and all that were any way concerned in their welfare.

And as this day appointed for solemn and public thanksgiving was ushered in by several special mercies, so also was it followed with many remarkable benefits. For besides the preserving the town of Northampton, March the 14th, and Hadley June the 12th, by the timely sending our forces the very night before they were assaulted; the saving of the people of Marlborough from being cut off, was very observable, when Mr. Graves by occasionally going from the sermon with the extremity of the toothache, March 26th, discovered the Indians ready to assault the town, and the people might have been cut off had not the accident happened. It is certain that after the end of this month the power of the enemy began everywhere to fail; for the body of the enemy that lurked about Connecticut river all this spring, being visited with sundry diseases, disappointed of the fishing, and put by their planting, began to be at variance among themselves; the Hadley and Pocumtuck (now Deerfield) Indians quarrelling with Philip for bringing all this mischief about, and occasioning the English and them to fall out, with whom they had always good correspondence, and lived lovingly together, but now they were like to be ruined by the war. This quarrel proceeded to that height, that from that time forward, those several Indians that had for so long a time been combined together, resolved now to part, and every one to shift for themselves, and return to their own homes; Philip to Mount Hope, and the Narragansets to their own country again: the Nipnets and the river Indians bending their course westward, others northward, towards Pennicook, upon Merrimack, intending to shift for themselves as well as they could for the future; all which is like to be the real and true state of the case with the Indians which were our enemies; for the next news we heard of Philip, was that he had returned back to Mount Hope now like to become Mount Misery unto him and his vagabond crew, and that his friends and allies that had hitherto stood as neuters, waiting only which way the scale of success and victory would turn, began now to sue for mercy at the hands of the English: The Massachusetts' government having understood something of this nature, put forth a declaration, that whatsoever Indians should within fourteen days next ensuing, come in to the English might hope for mercy. Amongst sundry that came in, there was one that was one named James, the printer, the superadded title dis-

tinguishing him from others of that name; who being a notorious apostate, that had learned so much of the English as not only to read and write, but had attained likewise some skill in printing, (and might have attained more had he not like a false villain ran away from his master before his time was out) he having seen and read the said declaration of the English, did venture himself upon the faith thereof, and came to sue for his life; he affirmed with others that came along with him, that more Indians had died since this war began, of diseases (such as other times they used not not to be acquainted with, than by the sword of the English.

Not long after many of them came and offered themselves, to the number of near two hundred, men, women and children; and many more would have done the like; but their consciousness of guilt made them conclude that their cruelties and barbarous murders could never be forgotten by the English. But what occurrences happened next shall appear in their order. About the end of June news was brought to Boston that Philip with a small party of his men lurked about Swansy or Rehoboth, and that he might easily be taken; an Indian offering to bring them to the place where they might find him; whereupon soldiers were instantly sent away from Boston, who spent some time in searching all the woods on that side of the country, but at last were forced to return, having missed our soldiers upon the same account, under Major Bradford, who by the help of some Indians of Cape Cod, always true to the interest of the English, not only escaped an ambush laid for them, whereby most of them might have been cut off, but slew many those of that laid in wait for them, without any loss to themselves; yea further, a squaw sachem of Seaconet, one of Phillp's allies, having first sent three messengers to the governor of Plymouth, to sue for life and liberty, promising submission to their goverment on that condition; but understanding that Plymouth forces were abroad before her messengers returned, she with her people about ninety in number, rendered themselves unto Major Bradford, so that above one hundred and ten, on a moderate computation, were killed that day.

The Connecticut forces had the like success when sent into the Narraganset country under the command of the wonderfully successful Major Talcot, Capt. George Dennison, and Capt. Newbury, with other worthy commanders of the same forces; For, on the 2d of July, 1676, as the said commanders with the forces under them were pursuing the enemy in and about the Narraganset country towards Mount Hope, hearing that Philip with his regiment of Wampanoogs was thereabouts their Indian scouts from the top of a hill discovered a great number of the enemy that had newly pitched their station within the semicircle of a swamp. The English soldiers were all mounted on horseback, to the number of three hundred; wherefore the commanders ordered the Indians to be ready at the top of a hill, upon a signal given to run down rapidly upon the enemy who were securely lodged in the hollow of a swamp just opposite them, while the horsemen being divided into two squadrons to ride round the hill, so that at the same instant both the horsemen upon the two wings, and the Indians afoot rushing down suddenly upon the enemy, put them into a terrible fright, making a lamentable outcry, some getting into the swamp, the rest that were prevented by the horsemen and friendly Indians coming so suddenly upon them, were all taken prisoners; Capt. Newbury with his troop alighted from their horses ran into the swamp after them, where they killed at least an hundred, as was judged by some then present, taking also many prisoners out of those habitations of darkness, the enemy scarce daring to make any resistance; for none of the English, and but one or two of the Mohegins and Pequods were hurt in the assault; yet it was affirmed by a captain present on the place that with those they killed and took at Warwick neck on their return home, (which were not above sixty) that they killed and took of the enemy at that time above 3000 young and old. At the same time was taken the old squaw of Narraganset colony, called the old Queen.

They were necessitated with this booty to return homewards to gratify the Mohegin and Pequod Indians that accompanied them, who had done them very good service in the pursuit, having lost one or two of their men in the chase; but their return home was as it proved in the issue, more beneficial than their longer stay might have been, to have made a fruitless pursuit after Philip, (whose time was not yet come although hastening apace) for in their return they met 60 of the enemy, all of whom they slew and took, so as their sword returned not empty.

Among the prisoners then taken was a sprightly young fellow, seized by the Mohegins, who desired of the English commanders that he might be delivered into their hands, that they might put him to death in their own way, and sacrifice him to their cruel genius of revenge, in which brutish and devilish passion they most of all delight in. The English, though not delighted in blood, yet at this time were not unwilling to gratify their humour, lest by a denial they might disoblige their Indian friends, of whom they lately made so much use—partly also that they might have occular demonstration of the savage, barbarous cruelty of the heathen. And indeed, of all the enemies that have been the preceding narrative, this villain does most deserve to become an object of justice and severity; for he boldly told that he had with his gun dispatched 19 of the English, and that he had charged it for the 20th, but not meeting with another, and unwilling to lose a fair shot, he let fly at a Mohegin, and killed him; with which having completed his number he was fully satisfied. But as is usually said, justice vindictive hath iron hands, though leaden feet—this monster is fallen into the hands of those that will repay him seven-fold. In the first place therefore, making a great circle they placed him in the middle that all their eyes might at same time be pleased with the utmost revenge upon him; they first cut one of his fingers round in the joint, at the trunk of his hand with a sharp knife, and then broke it off, as was formerly the custom to do with a slaughtered beast before he is uncased; and then they cut off another and another after that till they had finally dismembered one hand of all its digits, the blood sometimes spirting out in streams a yard from his hand; which barbarous and unheard of cruelty the English were not able to bear, it forcing tears from their eyes, yet did not the unhappy victim ever relent or show any signs of anguish; for, being asked by his tormentors how he liked the war? he liked it very well, and found it as sweet as Englishmen do their sugar. In this frame he continued till his executioners had dealt with the toes of his feet as they had done with the fingers of his hands before; all the time making him dance round the circle, and sing till he had wearied both himself and them. At last they broke the bones of his legs, after which he was forced to sit down, which it is said he silently did, till they knocked out his brains.

Within a few days after, 200 of the enemy within Plymouth jurisdiction being distressed with famine and fear of danger, came and submitted themselves to the goverment there, but three of the company were presently detected of a cruel murder, and villanous assault upon one Mr. Clark's house of Plymouth by a well minded squaw that was among them (hoping that such a discovery would be pleasing to the English) and accordingly adjudged forthwith to undergo condign punishment, which the rest that surrendered themselves, did not in the least resent; such kind of villains being always exempted from acts of favour and mercy. Those 200 that had newly surrendered themselves, that they might give full proof of their fidelity, offered to lead a party of the English to a place not far off, where twenty more of the enemy might be surprised, amongst whom also was one known to be a bloody murderer of an Englishman the year before; accordingly 8 Englishman took 14 of the said Indians, and the next day brought in all the aforesaid 20 of the enemy together with; the said murderer, who was presently after executed, and the rest taken into favour.

It is affirmed also that five or six sachems of Cape Cod, towards the eastern part of it, came with 300 Indians to make peace with the English, on the 6th July, one of the said sachems earnestly desiring the English that none of them might be suffered to sell any strong liquors to the Indians, the trading of which, possibly both in a measure contributed to the present mischief.

The next day, July 7th, a small party of ours, with a few friendly or christian Indians with them, killed and took seven of the enemy in the woods not far from Dedham, one of which was a Narraganset sachem, who either himself informed, or by some other at that time certain intelligence was brought to Boston, that some of our enemy Indians had got to Albany, informing people there, that they might the more easily get powder and ammunition, that the English and they were now at peace.

One of the said Indians was the sachem of Springfield, a bloody and deceitful villain; it is hoped that he is now taken in the snare from whence he shall not be suffered to escape.

Philip by this time could not but think his ruin was near at hand; yet that he might, in imitation of him that stirred up all this mischief express the more wrath, because he knew his time was but short, intended if possible to destroy one more town before his overthrow came; wherefore on the 11th of July, with all the force he could get, or that he had left, he intended to set upon Taunton, having as was

conceived, many hundreds in his company; but his design being strangely discovered by a negro whom they had taken captive a little before, that having lived near the Indians before, understood much of their language, who making his escape from them, acquainted the inhabitants with the plot who having timely notice, furnished themselves with soldiers whereby they were able to repulse the enemy upon his first approach; so that he only fired two houses, and then fled away: Except the Lord keepeth the city the watchman watcheth in vain.

The 22d of this month of July, as is hinted before, the companies sent from Concord, May 30th, up toward Hadley, having spent much time and pains in pursuit of Philip all the country over (whom they could not overtake) having tired themselves with many long and tedious marches through the desert woods before they returned home, some of them were sent towards Mount Hope, yet their labour was well improved, and followed with good success at the last: For in ranging those woods in Plymouth colony, they killed and took (by the help of Capt. Mosely's company of Plymouth colony) an hundred and fifty Indians, without the loss of a man.

It was feared that Philip and his company would have returned into the Nipnet country, to prevent which several horsemen were sent to guard the passage; but he lurked about his own country in swamps and other secret places, where he was as yet hid from the sight of the enemy, although many times they happened to lodge very near him, insomuch as an Indian captive promised in two hours time to bring our soldiers to the very place where he was; but they not being able to pass the nearest way, came a little too late; for they being so closely pursued, hasted away leaving much of their treasure behind them; their kettles boiling over the fire, their dead unburied, and 20 of their party were overtaken, that fell into the English hands: Philip himself, and some few of his straggling followers making their escape by a raft over an arm of the sea, into another neck of land, on Pocasset side, not daring to trust himself any longer in Metapoiset woods, so full of our English soldiers, as those of Plymouth, as of Massachuchusetts colony, who almost every day meeting with some of his party, much lessened his number. Capt. Church, that active and unwearied commander of Plymouth colony, was at this as well as long before, out upon the chase with but 18 English, and 22 Indians that were friends, had four several engagements with Philip's party, wherein he spoiled 76 of the enemy, without the loss of one of his own men. In several of these skirmishes those Indians that upon submission had their lives given them, have done notable service in hunting out the enemy in all their lurking places.

At another time they took Philip's squaw, and one of his chief counsellors; and about the same time another sachem about Pocasset with forty Indians submitted himself to the government of Plymouth, on promise of life and liberty. It seemed that now the time of our deliverance was come, and the time also for the destruction of our enemies: For the last week in July, Massachusetts understanding that some Indians were seen roving up and down the woods about Dedham, almost starved for want of victuals, sent a small company of 26, with about 9 or 10 christian Indians, who pursued and took 50 of the enemy, without any loss to the English; at which time also a great quantity of wampampeag and powder were taken from the enemy. That which increased this victory was the slaughter of Pomham, who was one of the most valiant sachems that belonged to the Naragansets, whose courage and strength was so great, that after he had been mortally wounded in the fight so as he could not stand, yet catching hold of an Englishman that by accident came near him, had done him an injury if had not been presently rescued by one of his neighbours. Amongst the rest of the captives at that time was one of the said Pomham's sons, a very likely youth, and one whose countenance would have bespoke favour for him, had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an Indian as his father was.

These successes being daily spread abroad among the Indians, put many of them in a trembling condition, not knowing well how to dispose of themselves. Some that had been less active in these tragedies, and were rather led by others than any wise inclined to mischief themselves, of which number was one of the Nipnet sachems, called Sagamore John, who, July 27, came to surrender himself to the governor and council of Massachusets at Boston, bringing along with him 180 of the enemy Indians. This John, that he might the more ingratiate himself with the English, whose favour he was now willing to seek after, did by a wile get into his hands one Matoonas, an old malicious villain who was the first that did any mischief within Massachusetts colony, July, 14th, 1675; bearing an old grudge against them as is thought, for justice that was done upon one of his sons, 1671, whose head ever since hangs upon a pole near the gibbet were he was hanged up: The bringing in of this malicious catiff was an hopeful presage that it would not be long before Philip himself, the grand villain, would in like manner receive a just reward of his wickedness and murders.

Sagamore John, who came in the 27th of July, affirmed that he had never intended any mischief to the English at Brookfield the last year (near which village it seems his place was) but that Philip coming over night amongst them was forced, for fear of his own life, to join with them against the English. Matoonas also when he was brought before the council, and asked what he had to say for himself, confessed that he had rightly deserved death, and could expect no other, adding withal, that if he had followed their counsel, he had not come to this; for he had seemed to favour the praying Indians and the christian religion, afterwards discovered quickly that he no had part or portion in that matter.

About this time several parties of English within Plymouth jurisdiction, were willing to have a hand in so good a matter as catching of Philip would be, who perceiving that he was now going down the wind, were willing to hasten his fall. Amongst others, a small party went out of Bridgewater, July 31st, upon a discovery, and by providence were directed to fall upon a company of Indians where Philip was; they came up with them and killed some of his particular friends: Philip himself was next to his uncle that was shot down, and had the soldier that had choice which to shoot at, known which had been the right bird, he might as well have taken him, as his uncle; but it is said that he had not long before cut off his hair, that he might not be known: The party that did this exploit were few in number, and therefore not being able to keep close in the rear, that cunning fox escaped away through bushes undiscerned in the rear of the English: That which was most remarkable in this design, was that trembling fear appeared to be upon the Indians at this time, insomuch that one of them having a gun in his hand well loaded, yet was not able to fire it off, but suffered an English soldier to come close up to his breast, and so shot him down, the other not being able to make any resistance; nor were any of the English hurt at that time.

The like terror was seen in others at that time; for within two days after, Capt. Church, the terror of the Indians in Plymouth colony, marching in pursuit of Philip with about 30 Englishmen and 20 reconciled Indians, took 23 of the enemy, and the next day following them by their tracks, fell upon their head-quarters, and killed and took about 130 of them; losing only one man. In this engagement God did appear in a more than ordinary manner to fight for the English, for the Indians by their number, and other advantages of the place were so conveniently provided, that they might have made the first shot at the English and done them much damage, but one of their own countrymen in Capt. Church's company espying them, called aloud unto them in their own language, telling them that if they shot a gun they were all dead men; with which they were so amazed, that they durst not once offer to fire at the English, which made the victory the more remarkable. Philip made a very narrow escape at that time, being forced to leave his treasures, his beloved wife, and only son to the mercy of the English. Skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life. His ruin being thus gradually carried on, his misery was not prevented but augmented thereby; being himself acquainted with the sense and experimental feeling of the captivity of his children, loss of friends, slaughter of his subjects bereavement of all family relations, and being stripped of all outward comforts, before his own life should be taken away.—Such a sentence passed upon Cain, made him cry out, that his punishment was greater than he could bear. This bloody wretch hath one week more to live an object of pity, but a spectacle of divine vengeance, his own followers beginning now to plot against his life, that they might make the better terms for their own; as they did also seek to betray squaw Sachem of Pocasset, Philip's near kinswoman and confederate. For,

August 6th, an Indian willing to shift for himself, fled to Taunton, offering to lead any of the English that would follow him, to a party of Indians, which they might easily apprehend, which 20 persons attempted and accordingly seized the whole company, 26 in number, all but the squaw Sachem herself, who intending to make an escape from the danger, attempted to get over the river, or arm of the sea near by, upon a raft or some pieces of broken wood; but whether tired and spent with swimming or starved with cold and hunger, she was stark naked in Metapoiset, not far from the

water side, which made some think she was first half drowned, and so ended her wretched life just in that place where the year before she had helped Philip to make his escape; her head being cut off and set upon a pole in Taunton, was known by some Indians then prisoners, which set them into a horrible lamentation; but such was the righteous hand of God in bringing at last that mischief upon themselves, which they had without cause long acted against others.

Philip, like a savage wild beast, having been hunted by the English forces through the woods above an hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own den upon Mount Hope, where he retired with a few of his best friends into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast till the messenger of death came by divine permission to execute vengeance upon him, which was thus accomplished.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedness against the English, that despairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing should be suggested to him about a peace, insomuch that he caused one of his confederates to be killed for propounding an expedient of peace; which so provoked some of his company, not altogether so desperate as himself, that one of them fled to Rhode-Island, whither the brave Captain Church was newly retired to recruit his for a little time, being much tired with marches all that week, informing them that Philip was fled to a swamp swamp in Mount Hope, whither he would undertake to lead them that would pursue him. This was welcome news, and the best cordial for such martial spirits; whereupon he immediately, with a small company of men, part English and part Indian, began another march which shall prove fatal to Philip, and end that controversy between the English and him: For coming very early to the side of the swamp, his soldiers began to surround it, and (whether the devil appeared to him in a dream that night as he did unto Saul, foreboding his tragical end, it matters not) as he was endeavoring to make his escape out of a swamp, he was shot through the heart by an Indian of his own nation, as it is said, that had all this while preserved a neutrality until this time, but now had the casting vote in his power, by which he determined the quarrel that had been so long in suspense. In him is fulfilled what was said in the prophet, Wo to thee that spoilest and thou was not spoiled, and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee; when thou shall cease to spoil thou shalt be spoiled, and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously, with thee.

With Philip at this time fell five of his trustiest followers, of whom one was said to be the son of his chief captain, that had shot the first gun at the English the year before. This was done the 12th day of August, 1676, a remarkable testimony of divine favour to the colony of Plymouth, who had for the former success, appointed the 17th day of August following, to be kept as a day of solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God. There having been so strange a turn of Providence observed in the late successes obtained in and about Plymouth colony, it may not be amiss here to enquire into the progress and continuance thereof after the slaughter of Philip that grand rebel.

In the preceding narration mention hath been made of one Capt. Church, whom God hath made an instrument of signal victories over the Indians in that colony, and of great advantage in that respect to that whole jurisdiction. It happened that the said Capt. Church some time in June, of this present year 1676, passing over in a canoe from Pocasset to Rhode-Island, as he used frequently to do, (having had much employment upon the said neck of land so called) several Indians whom he had known before at Lackenham, a village near Plymouth, beckoned to him as if they had a mind to speak with him; he having had so much experience as well as others of their treachery, was not willing to adventure too hastily to come near them; but when they seemed to urge very much, and made signs to him, and at last laid down their guns in his sight, he began to think with himself there might be something in the matter more than ordinary, therefore he resolved to go a little nearer to the shore, and then he perceived they had a great mind to speak with him, using much importunity for that end, insomuch that he ventured to go ashore amongst them, having but one Englishman and two Indians with him; he directed them to keep off the canoe while he discoursed with the Indians on shore. As soon as he came among them, they told him they were weary of fighting, and that they had fought so long by Philip's instigation; but they could not tell for what end, and therefore resolved they would fight no longer, and all they desired of him was, that he would make way for them to the governor, that they might live quietly amongst the English as they had done before, and that they would deliver up their arms, or would go out with them if he pleased to accept of them, and fight for him; to that end they desired a time to parley with him further about that business at what time and place he would appoint: He told them he would meet them two days after at Seaconet, a place up higher on the said neck, about 12 o'clock; accordingly he came to the said place, found the same Indians with some others, and their Snake squaw, or chief woman of that plantation, there ready to meet him.

After they had fallen into discourse about the beginning of the war, as well as the success and mischief of it, they would have put the blame off from themselves, and laid it upon the English: But he presently convinced them by an undeniable evidence, that they first began the war: For, said he, upon this Pocasset July 7th, 1675, you first fought with some of Rhode-Island, whereof one was my own servant, whose leg you broke, and the same day you shot at myself and company, before we meddled with you. They were so fully convinced herewith, that they found nothing to reply, but fell into other discourse about a peace which they were very desirous to obtain upon any equal terms, as was said before. There were about fifteen of the Indians present, besides their Snake squaw (which is with us their governess or lady) in conclusion they engaged forever after to leave Philip, and to go out with him; which they did forthwith, as soon as he had obtained a peace for them with the governor.

It is here to be observed, that these were not properly Philip's Indians, but belonged to the Seaconet squaw, who was nearly related to Philip, and her subjects had hitherto fought in Philip's quarrel till they saw nothing but misery and michief like to be the issue of it to themselves, as well as their neighbours. About 20 or 30 of these Seaconet Indians have constantly gone out with Capt. Church ever since, and not only been faithful and serviceable to him, but very successful in every enterprize they have gone about, nor hath he lost any of them in any skirmish with the other Indians: And it is said that this act of these Indians broke Philip's heart as soon as ever he understood it, so that he never rejoiced after, or had any success in any of his designs, but lost his men one time after another, till himself at last fell into the hands of those under Capt. Church's command: For at the swamp, when Philip was slain, Capt. Church appointed an Englishman and an Indian to stand at such a place of the swamp, where it happened Philip was breaking away; the morning being wet and rainy, the Englishman's gun would not fire; the Indian having an old musket with a large touch-hole, it took the more readily, with which Philip was dispatched, the bullet passing directly through his heart, where Joab thrust his darts into rebellious Absalom.

Thus did divine vengeance retaliate on this notorious traitor, that had against his league and covenant risen up against the government of Plymouth, to raise up against him one of his own people, or one that was in league with him, as he was with the English: The Indian that did this execution was called Alderman of Seaconet, that had never done any act of hostility against the English. By these passages it is manifest, that as the hearts of all are in the hand of God, so he turns them as he pleases, either to favour his people, or to hate and deal subtly with his servants, as seems good to him. Since this engagement with the Seaconet Indians (to leave Philip, and to go with Capt. Church) it is credibly affirmed, that such hath been their success that since June aforesaid, to the end of October following, there have been 700 Indians subdued, either by killing or taking captive by means of Capt. Church and his company, (part Indians and English) besides 300 that have come in voluntarily to submit themselves to the government of Plymouth. It appears thus by the sequel of things, that after the Lord had accomplished his work upon his people, that he is beginning to call his enemies to an account, and punish them for the pride of their hearts, and for all their treachery and cruelty against his servants. Philip's captains have run the same fate with himself, some before and some since his own fall.

In June last one Tiashq, a great Captain of his, his wife and child, or children being taken though he escaped himself at first, yet came since and surrendered himself. The next noted captain of Philip's Indians that was brought in after Philip's death, was called Tespiquin, a notorious villain, next to Philip, he was called the black sachem's son; It was this Tespiquin that burnt so many houses in Plymouth lately. Capt. Church with his company were in pursuit of him in September last, two days before they could get near him; at the last, on the third day, they found the track made by the English orchards: This was something of a blind track, therefore they were forced to take up their quarters that night without discovering any place of their ren-

dezvous. The next morning about 9 o'clock they came to their first rendezvous, from which they were just gone: At 1 o' clock they came to the second, and missing them there, they soon after came to the third track, wherein, after they had marched a while, they perceived they grew very near them, by the crying of a child which they heard: The place was near Lackenham upon Pocasset neck, so full of bushes that a man could not see a rod before him: Capt. Church ordered his men to march up together in one rank, because he discovered the Indians were laid in one range by several fires, so that by that time they all came up into an even rank very near together, within a few yards of them as he had appointed; they all suddenly rushed together upon them, and catched hold of them, not suffering any to escape, there being about 50 of them in all: Tespiquin's wife and children were there, but he was absent, as also one Jacob, and a girl that belonged to that company. The captain's haste would not admit of his tarrying till they came in, (though the Indians said they might come that night) wherefore he thought upon this project, to leave two old squaws upon the place with victuals, and bid them tell Tespiquin that he should be his captain over his Indians if he was found to be so stout a man as they reported him to be; for the Indians had said that Tespiquin could not be pierced by a bullet, for, said they, he was shot twice but the bullets glanced by him and could not hurt him. Thus the captain marched away with his booty, leaving this trap behind him to take the rest: The next morning he came to see what his trap had catched, there he found Jacob aforesaid (a notorious wretch) and the girl he missed, before, but not Tespiquin: But within a day or two after the said Tespiquin upon the hopes of being made captain under Capt. Church, came after some of the company, and submitted himself in the captain's absence, and was sent to Plymouth, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promised a captain's commission under Capt. Church did depend) he was found penetrable by the English guns, for he fell down at the first shot and thereby received the just reward of his former wickedness. About a fortnight after the surprising of Tespiquin, was one Totoson's company taken, wherein were above 50 persons; but Totoson escaped, and is still out in rebellion, unless vengeance hath overtaken him.

The next that was seized was one Annawan, a very subtle, politic fellow, and one of Philip's chief counsellors; he had about twelve men, and as many women and children in his company, who were discovered by their shooting at the English horses, and cattle; some of whom being taken made know the rest. Church at that time had but five Englishmen and twenty Indians. The place where this Annawan had betaken, was a ledge of rocks inaccessible but at one place, which by a few hands might easily have been defended against a great number of assailants: But Capt. Church by direction got up to their wigwams before they were aware of it; and presently told Annawan that he came to sup with him; whereupon Annawan (who had fallen flat upon the earth, expecting to have his head cut off) looked up and cried *taubut*, in their language, thank you, as one being much affected with the generosity of our English captain; they found some of the English beef boiling in the kettle: After supper he had much discourse with the said Annawan, and they lay down to sleep together in the wigwam; Capt. Church laying one of his legs upon Annawan and the other upon his son, that he might have notice if any of them should offer to stir: After midnight Annawan rose up, and Capt. Church was presently awake, and intended to watch after his prisoner: He thought at first he might have gone forth upon some necessary occasion; but not long after he returned again, having fetched out of the swamp hard by, two horns of powder, and a large belt of peag, supposed to be Philp's belt, all which he delivered to Capt. Church, in a way of thankful acknowledgment of his courtesy. Amongst other discourses that passed betwen them concerning the occasion of the war, carrying it on, the Indian would fain have excused Philip, and laid the blame upon the praying Indians (as they are distinguished from others by that character) and others of the youngest sort of his followers, who coming with their several tales (which he likened to sticks laid on a heap) till by a multitude of them a great fire came to be kindled: They make much use of parabolical expressions: for so said Solomon, where no wood is there the fire goeth out; so where there is no tale-bearers, there the strife ceaseth, Prov. 26, 20. But Philip had had large and long experience of the gentleness and kindness of the English both to himself and to his people, so that unless he hadborne an evil and malicious mind against the English, he would never have hearkened to those stories, contrary to his faithful promises of allegiance.

The said Annawan confessed also that he did believe by all those late occurrences that there was a great God that overruled all; and that he had found that whatever he had done to any of those, whether Indians or English, the same was brought upon himself in after time. He confessed also that he had put to death several of the English which they had taken alive, ten in one day, and could not deny but that some of them had been tortured, and now he could not but see the justice of the great God upon himself, with many other things of a like nature. But whatever his confessions of this nature were, being forced from him by the power of conscience, after he was delivered up to authority, he was put to death, as he justly had deserved.

It is said that Philip when he first began his rebellion, had about 300 fighting men under him, besides those that belonged to his kinswoman, Wetamoe drowned about Taunton, that had almost as many under her; and one Quenoquin, a Narraganset sachem that lived near him, and joined with him in his quarrel with the English: But it is certain that there are scarce any that are now left, that belonged to either of them: So although the Almighty hath made use of them to be a scourge to his people, he hath now turned his hand against them to utter destruction and extirpation from off the face of the earth, peradventure to make room for others of his people to come in his stead.

As for the rest of the Narragansets that joined in Philip's quarrel, it is already declared what end they were come unto. As for the rest of the Indians, whether Nipnet, Nashaway, Pacomptuck, Hadley, or Springfield Indians, it is not so certain what has become of them; but after their separation one from the other about July last, it was observed by all the tracks in those woods they went still westward; and about the middle of August last, a great party of them were observed to pass by Westfield, a small town to the west of Springfield, and were judged to be about 200; News thereof being brought to Major Talcot, he with soldiers of Connecticut colony under his command, both Indians and English, pursued after them as far as Ausotunnoog river (in the middle way betwixt Westfield and the Dutch river, and Fort Albany) where he overtook them, and fought with them;* killing and taking 45 prisoners, 25 of whom were fighting men, without the loss of any one of his company save a Mohegin Indian: Many of the rest were badly wounded, as appeared by the bushes being much besmeared with blood, as was observed by those that followed them further.

It is written since from Albany, that there were sundry lost besides the 45 aforementioned, to the number of three score in all; and also that an hundred and twenty of them are since dead of sickness; so that vengeance seems to be pursuing of them as well as the rest. Several of their friends that belonged to Nashaway, and the places adjoining, repaired to Piscataqua, hoping to shroud themselves under the wings of some honester Indians about Quechecho, under pretence of a declaration sent out by the governor and Council of Massachusetts in the beginning of July last: But some of our forces under Capt. Hathorne and Capt. Sill, with the help of Major Walden, Capt. Frost, and others residing in those parts being in readiness, separated the vile and wicked from the rest, and sent them down to the governor at Boston, where 8 or 9 of the ringleaders, such as one eyed John, Sagamore Sam, of Nashaway, chief actors of the late outrages and bloody mischief, had justice done upon them soon after. As for the massacres and calamities that befel the English further eastward, they shall in the second part of this narrative be declared

The Indians being thus dispersed several ways, were strangely confounded and destroyed one parcel after a nother, until there was none left in the western or southern parts that durst make any opposition all the following part of the year. As for those that fled westward toward Albany, we shall there leave them for the present, wishing, we may never hear any more of them: A person of quality informs, that at Hartford in September last, he was present at the examination of one Choos, an Indian, formely of Connecticut, but of the Narraganset for the last winter, who confessed that he was one of that company of Indians that went westward the month before, toward Hudson's river; but after the fight at Ausotunnoog, he returned back to Connecticut for fear of the Mohawks; and that he lay hid about Farmington, till he was almost starved, and then he went to the seaside to make use of the oyster bank at Stratford for his relief, where he was espied by the Indians, and so brought to Hartford.

He affirmed that there were about 250 fighting men amongst those Indians that fled westward, besides women and children; and that

* [This battle was probably fought in Stockbidge, near where the meeting house now stands.]

near 200 of them passed the great river below Albany, and were sheltered by the Indians of that place, called Mohegaunders; but about 80 of them tarried on the hither side of that river, near a Dutch village (but he being convicted of fighting against the English, was condemned to die, and executed) about the Narraganset country the last fall, hoping to shelter themselves under Uncas, but he not willing to give them countenance against the mind of his friends at Connecticut, hath since abandoned them to shift for themselves, who have been most of them taken and brought in prisoners to the English this winter.

About the month of October last, Mr. Stanton chanced to come from Seaconet with 3 Indians in his company, Pequods or Mohegins, they hearing by a captive at one of the next towns, that there was a number of the enemy not far off, presently left Mr. Stanton and pursued after them, whom they soon after overtook, and made them all prisoners: Amongst them was an old man, not able to go their pace but promising to come after them, they spared his life: But as soon as the men returned at night from hunting, the old man told what had befel their women and children, whereupon the next morning they presently following after them, overtook them, and so recovered the prisoners, and slew one of the three that carried them away; the other two hardly escaped; one of them is called Major Symon, being part a Pequod and part a Narraganset, but of extraordinary strength and courage; he perceiving the danger they were in, challenged to fight hand to hand with any five of them with their hatchets: but they unwilling to hang their success upon the hazard of a single combat, came all towards him at once, whereupon first discharging his gun amongst the whole company, he broke through them all by force, and so escaped their hands, with one of his companions. This Symon hath been very active in killing and taking many of the enemy; some say that he with his own hands hath taken and killed above threescore, and either out of hatred to the enemy, or love to the English, is this last week gone with the soldiers to the eastward, in pursuit of our quarrel against them in those parts.

At another time not long before, when he was out against the enemy, he came suddenly upon a great number of them as they were spread under a steep bank, from whence leaping down into the midst of them he killed some and took others. Fighting it seems is a recreation to him, for he is seldom at home above four or five days together. Some say that in one of his former expeditions, being much wearied and spent he laid himself down to sleep, but towards morning he fell into a dream, wherein he apprehended the Indians were upon him, when suddenly rising up he espied the Indians coming toward him, but suddenly presenting his guns against them he so frightened them, that they gave him an opportunity to make an escape from a multitude of them.

Since the beginning of December last, news coming down to Boston that mischief was done about Seaconk and Rehoboth, by some remaining Indians thereabouts, killing their swine and horses, several persons of Medfield went out after them, and pursuing them by their tracks, came upon a small party, of whom they took three, one of which escaped while some of the company were going after the rest. Those that were taken confessed there was about 60 that were lurking up and down in those woods. The said two Indians were brought into Boston the 8th of January.

A commission was formerly granted to Peter Ephraim, an Indian of Natick, to go out in pursuit of them, with 29 of his company; a few of the English from Medfield went with him, who being soon tired with marching in the snow, returned. The Indians kept on in their design, and came across a considerable party of the enemy having traced them till they found where they lodged over night; they surrounded them early in the morning, as their manner is, and then offered them quarter if they would yield; eight resolute fellows refused who were instantly shot, the rest were all seized, the whole number was 42. This was done about the middle of January, since which several such exploits have been done by them. January 23d, the same company of Indians took 22 of the enemy, among whom were five able men, and five arms; they sent the prisoners home by five of their company, the rest went further in the chace.

January 26th, another parcel of the enemy were brought in, eight in number, of whom five were men, amongst whom was the Indian called Cornelius, who three years since was indicted for killing an Englishman's cow; upon which he was said to have uttered several threatning speeches, that he would kill Englishmen and their cows too; which was now remembered against him when he was in particular called to account or having a hand in killing some of the English and Indians also in league with us, for which he was sentenced to die, and was accordingly executed the 16th of February following.

Concerning the rest of the Indians either in the colony of Plymouth, Connecticut, or Massachusetts, there is no occurrence more of moment come to light since the end of August last, save what is last mentioned before; yet it is very remarkable, that although terms of peace were offered to all that would come in and surrender themseves (as appears by a declaration put out in July last) and that a Nipnet Sachem called John, did thereupon with a number of his company come in and offer themselves, and were accordingly secured of their lives and other concernments; yet did that treacherous villain make an escape this winter from Capt. Prentice's house (under whose charge he was put, about Cambridge village) and with about 20 more fled away into the woods to shift for himself amongst the rest of his bloody companions; they were soon after pursued, but had gone too fast and too far to be overtaken. Whether it were consciousness of their own guilt, that had a hand in the blood of the English, or whether not liking their manners so well as to be confined thereunto; wild creatures ordinarily love the liberty of the woods better than the restraint of a cage. They made none acuqainted with their design before they went away, and as yet little account can be given of them, only it is known that one or two of their families are entertained by Uncas, but what is become of the rest is uncertain, there were but seven of the company men, so they are not capable of doing any mischief. Some of late have travelled through the woods to Connecticut, but have met with no Indians, nor did they hear of any in their passing between this place and that.

And because in the present narrative there hath been frequent mention made of Uncas, the Mohegin sachem, and of his faithfulness to the interest of the English, I add in this place, that it is suspected by them that knew him best, that in his heart he is no better affected to the English or their religion, than the rest of his countrymen, and that it hath been his own advantage that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him as formerly against the Pequods, so of late against the Narragansets; yet hath he not long since been convinced of the truth of our religion, and vanity of his own, as himself hath solemnly confessed; which will evidently appear by the passage that follows, which I shall here represent just as it was from under the hand of that evrend person it relates unto, namely, Mr. Fitch, pastor of the church of Norwich, near unto Uncas's place. There was a great drought the last summer; but as it seems, it was more extreme in those parts than with us about Massachusetts; and although probably the English might have prayed for rain themselves without any motion from the Indians, yet their address to the said Mr. Fitch on such an account, with the consequences thereof, is very remarkable, which take in his own words:

"Concerning the drought, &c. true narrative of that providence is this: In August last such was the want of rain, that the Indian corn was not only dried and parched up, but the apple-trees withered, the fruit and leaves fell off as in autumn, and some trees seeming to be dead with that drought; the Indians came into town and lamented their want of rain, and that their powaws could get none in their way of worship, desiring me that I would seek to God for rain: I appointed a fast day for the purpose; the day being come it proved clear without any clouds until sunsetting when we came from the meeting, and then some clouds arose; the next day remained cloudy; then Uncas with many Indians came to my house, Uncas lamented there was such a want of rain: I asked whether if God should send us rain he would not attribute it to their powaws; he answered no, for they had done their utmost and all in vain; I replied, if you will declare it before all these Indians you shall see what God will do for us, for although this year he hath shewn his anger against the English and not only against the Indians, yet hath begun to save us, and I have found by experience twice in the like case, when we sought by fasting and prayer he hath given us rain, and never denied us. Then Uncas made a great speech to the Indians (which were many) confessing that if God should then send rain, it could not be ascribed to their powawing, but must be acknowledged to be an answer to our prayers. This day they spread more and more, and the next day there was such plenty of rain that our river rose more than two feet in height."

By all recorded in the foregoing narrative, there are none into whose hands it shall come, but will be sensible that the present time hath been a day of great rebuke and trouble to the poor people sojourning in this wilderness, upon whom sundry calamities have broke in at once, this last as well as to the former years: In many places they have been visited with sickness and mortality, more than in many years before, depriving them of many useful persons; amongst others the loss of

Mr. John Winthrop, the late worthy governor of the colony of Connecticut, is as it ought to be, much lamented by all, who died at Boston, the 5th of April, 1676, in the 73d year of his age, whither he was occasionally called the last winter, to sit with the rest of the commissioners of the united colonies to consult about the great affairs of them, now newly engaged in these troubles from the heathen. He was the eldest son of the famous governor of the Massachusetts, deceased March 26, 1649, *Proles similima parentii.* The memory of the father, though he died so long time ago, yet still lives in the minds of the surviving generation, and is like to continue much longer by the remembrance of the many eminent virtues found in this the eldest of his offspring, who being not long after, or about that time called to take up his residence in that colony, was by the importunity of the people there, prevailed with to accept of the governor's place, which for a long time after he sustained in that colony, though annually chosen thereunto; being so well furnished with many excellent endowments, as well moral as political and philosophical, which rendered him most fit to to be an healer of that people. Though we are dealing in another subject, yet shall not we pass by his tomb as we go along, without paying the homage due to the memory of so honorable a gentleman.

After all the forementioned calamities and troubles, it pleased God to alarm the town of Boston, and in that the whole country, by a sad fire accidentally kindled by the carelessness of an apprentice that set up too late over night, as was conceived; which began an hour before day, continuing three or four days, in which time it burned to the ground forty-six dwelling houses, besides other buildings, together with a large meeting house. Some mercy was observed mixed with the judgment for if a great rain had not continued all the time (the roofs and walls of the ordinary buildings consisting of such combustible matter) that whole end of the town had at that time been consumed. Whereby we see that God in his providence can turn our dwellings into ashes, without the help of either foreign or domestic enemies. Which consideration may awaken all from security and confidence in these uncertain and unstable possessions, that have no firmer foundation that may so soon after their first erection eaten up by the flames of the fire, before the iron teeth of time have had leisure to devour and feed upon them.

God grant that by the fire of all these judgments, we may be purged from our dross and become a more refined people, as vessels fitted for our master's use.

CHAPTER II.

A NARRATIVE OF THE INDIAN WARS IN NEW-ENGLAND, FROM PISCATAQUA TO PEMMAQUID.

The occasion, rise and progress of the war with the Indians in the southern and western parts of New-England, together with the issue and success thereof, hath in the former part of this narrative been already declared. Before an entrance be made into a relation of those troubles that befel the eastern and northern parts, it will be requisite to give some general description of the place, as being less frequented, and so more unknown than the other, like heralds that used to blazon the field before they meddled with the charge, as an historian once said, that so the reader may not miss the truth in a story, by being unacquainted with the places connected with the discourse. Briefly therefore, that more cost and pains be not spent in the surveying a barren and rocky country, than will quit cost (the list or border here being known to be worth more than the whole cloth) that whole tract of land being of little worth, unless it were for the borders thereof upon the sea-coast, and some spots and skirts of more desirable land upon the banks of some rivers, how much soever it be valued by them that know nothing thereof, by the uncertain and fallible reports of such as only sailed by the country or viewed some of the rivers and havens, but never passed through the heart of the continent. The whole being worth scarce those means that have been lost these two last years in hopes to save it.

This north part of New England, did first, like Zarah put forth his hand, thereby inviting the adventurers to twist the scarlet thread of their hopes about the same auspicious beginning they were ready to promise themselves prosperity in having that advantage before others to plant and people that part of the country. But that fair opportunity was almost quite lost by some fatal and mischievous accidents happening soon after that noble enterprise was first set on foot, as hath been already in part and may hereafter be more fully declared.

The first place that ever was possessed by the English, in hopes of making a plantation in those parts was a tract of land on the west side of the river Kennebeck, then called Sagatawock, since Sagadanock. Other places adjoining were soon after seized and improved for trading and fishing. The more remote and farthest northward at this time belonging to the English (Penobscot forty years since being surprised by the French, and by them held to this day) is called Pemmaquid, distant seven or eight leagues from Kennebeck and is the utmost boundary of New England, being about forty leagues distant from the mouth of Piscataqua river; Pemmaquid is a commodious haven for ships, and hath been found very advantageous to such as used to come upon these coasts to make fishing voyages; south west or south east from thence about six or seven leagues, lies an island called Monhiggon, of much use on the same account for fishing, it lying three or four leagues into the sea from Damarils's cove, a place of like advantage for stages of fishermen in former times. There have been for a long time seven or eight considerable dwellings about Pemmaquid which are well accommodated with pasture land about the haven for feeding cattle, and some fields also for tillage; all the land improvable for such uses being already taken up by such a number of inhabitants as is already mentioned.

In the mouth of the river Kennebeck lies a considerable island called Arowsick, some years since purchased by Major Clarke and Capt. Lake, two merchants of Boston, on which they built several large dwellings, with a ware-house and many other edifices near the water side, it being intended by the owners for a place of trading as well as planting; there being many of late seated there fit to carry on such design; where also was built a fort which if it had been carefully defended, might have proved the defence and security of all that side of the country, as it used to be their magazine. Up higher beyond the river Kennebeck, four leagues eastward towards Pemmaquid, is another considerable river called Sheepscot, upon the banks of which were many scattered planters, who lately flying from their dwellings for fear of Indians, left as was judged, a thousand head of neat cattle for the use of the Indians that made the late insurrection against the inhabitants of those parts, besides their fields and barns full of corn. There is a another river that issues into Kennebeck a little higher up in the country, called Pegypscot, that comes down from behind Casco bay. This Pegypscot is the seat of the Amoscoggin Indians, who have had a great, if not a principal hand in the late mischief.

Some few leagues to the south of Kennebeck lies the famous and spacious haven called Casco bay, the northeast cape of which is made by an Island called Saguin; the southern and opposite point of land is called cape Elizabeth. Within the bosom of this bay, being about eight or nine leagues over at the mouth of it, are a great number of small islands, many of them being inhabited by fishermen and others; one of the principal of those is called Jewel's island. There are many places about the bay fit to make commodious habitations, and on the south side of it is a small village called Falmouth; all or most of it lately destroyed by the Indians.

Not far from Casco, to the southward or south west still is a river called Spurwick, over against which lies Richmond island, not far from the main land, being divided therefrom by a small channel, fordable at low water; it hath for a long time been the seat of Mr. Jordan, in right of Mr. Winter, the former if not the first proprietor thereof, whose daughter he married.

The next plantation southward is called Scarborough, a small village seated upon Black point, over against which is another point, for distinction from the former, called Blue point. This Black point was lately the seat of Mr. Josselin, being a parcel of the province of Maine, on falling within the precinct thereof, and formerly by patent granted to the said Josselin or his predecessors, since purchased by Mr. Scotto, of Boston.

Saco river lies next in order to the Piscataqua, a navigable river, where Major Philips had a commodious situation lately; at the mouth of which river lies Winter harbour, encompassed on one side by a neck of land, formely the property of one Mr. Winter, whose name it still retains, but lately purchased by Major Pendleton, where he enjoyed a very comfortable seat and habitation.

There is another harbour lying a little southward of Saco, made by that which is called cape Porpoise; a convenient seat for fisherman, as are most of the other places abovenamed. Between cape Porpoise and Piscataquay there are but two small towns more, (though ambitious of great names) the one called Wells and the other York. Wells is seated upon a small river or creek, affording a small harbour fit only for barks and smaller vessels; on each side of which town lies a small river, the one is called Kennebunk, the

other Maguncuck. The other town, York, formely known by the name of Agmenticus, from a high hill of that name not far therefrom. The point of land which lies between the said towns, is called cape Nadduck, making a small harbour likewise, into which issues another pretty river on the banks of which is situate the town of York. All or most of the forementioned towns and plantations are seated upon and near some greater or less river whose streams are principally improved for driving of saw mills, those late inventions so useful for the destruction of wood and timber, especially of fir trees which do so abound in those coasts, that there is scarce a river or creek in those parts that hath not some of those engines erected upon them.

The upper branches of the famous river of Piscataqua being also employed all of them that way, namely, Sturgeon creek, Salmon falls, Newechewannick, Quecheco, Oyster river, Swamscot, Greenland, Lamprey Eel river, together with the towns of Esther and Dover, seated upon or near some of the main branches thereof, whose principal trade is in deal boards cut by those saw mills, since their rift timber is near all consumed. On each side of that fine navigable river of Piscataqua, down towards the mouth of it are seated on the north side, the town of Kittery, (a long scattering plantation made up of several hamlets) on the south side of the town of Portsmouth, to which belongs the great island lying in the mouth of the said river, a place of considerable trade of ate years, which together with Strawberry bank, the upper part of the said town of Portsmouth, are the magazine and chief or only place of trade and commerce for all the plantations betwixt it and the Casco bay. All the said plantations have in these two last years 1675 and 1676, felt more or less of the barbarous and perfidious Indians belonging to that side of the country, as shall more particularly be declared in what follows, after a short discourse of the first planting of the country, which may serve as a kind of prologue to the following tragedy.

This part of New England began first to be planted about the same time with Virginia, viz. in the year 1606. There the first letter patent granted by the king, for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from 34 to 44 degrees of north latitude, and was divided into two parts, namely the first and the second colony; the former was appropiated to the city of London, the other to the cities of Bristol, Exeter and the town of Plymouth, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government, and advancing their several plantations alike as saith Capt. Smith in his history of Virginia and New England. This second colony of New England, promising but little advantage to the undertakers, by reason of its mountainous and rocky situation, found but few adventurers forward to promote the planting thereof after the death of Sir John Popham, who was the first that ever procured men or means to possess it; for when the main pillars are removed, what can be suspected but that the whole building should fall to the ground. Yet notwithstanding the discouragements the first planters met with in their first winter seasoning in that cold and rocky desert (which made them all return home in the year 1608) Sir Francis Popham his son, having the ships and provisions which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing, of whose loss or gain, as saith my author, himself was best able to give an account; and some of the ships sent by him, and the Earl of Southhampton, with other noble adventurers, did bring home some of the natives of the place in one of the following years, by whose information some of the first undertakers were encouraged once more to try the verity of their hopes, and see if possibly they might find something that could induce a fresh resolution to prosecute so pious and honorable a work.

But in the mean time before there was yet any speech or endeavour to settle any other plantations in those parts, that about Sagadahock being thus abandoned for the present, by the first undertakers, the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits, being understood by those of Virginia, they discreetly taking into their consideration the inconveniences that might arise by suffering them to harbor there, Sir Samuel Argal was sent with a commission to displace them which he with great discretion, dexterity, and judgment, performed about the year 1613, which made way for the plantation at Nova-Scotia, granted afterwards by King James to Sir William Alexander, one of his majesty's most honorable council of Scotland. The said Argal seized the forts which the Frenchmen had built at Mount Mansel, St. Croix and Port Real, and carried away their ordnance and provisions to the colony of Virginia, to their great benefit. Th said places were held by the English many years after, till about the year 1695 by commission from the Scotch lord aforesaid; but how his right came afterwards to be alienated to any of the French nation, doth not concern us with reference to the business in hand, further to enquire.

Things remaining in this posture for the space of near seven years, some of the first adventurers apprehensive of better hopes of good that might ensue by a fresh attempt, resolved to set the design a foot a second time, to which end several ships were sent on that account in the year 1615, but with as bad success as the former; for in the year before, viz. 1614, Capt. Smith, desirous to promote the colony of New England, as well as that of Virginia, came thither with two vessels, and returned back to England in the least of them, with intent to be there again the next year to promote the said plantation; but after he was gone, one Thomas Hunt, master of the ship he left behind, like a dishonest man, to prevent the carrying on the plantation, that he and a few merchants might wholly enjoy the benefit of the trade of the country, after he had made his voyage, seized upon 24 of the poor innocent natives, that in confidence of his honesty, had put themselves into his hands, then clapping them under hatches, carried them away to Malaga, whither he was bound with the fish he had made upon the coast, for that market; but this vile act, although it deprived him forever after of any more employment in those parts, yet that was the least part of the mischief that attended this wicked practice; for upon the arrival of the adventurers ships the next year, two natives of the place that had been some years in England, and coming back unto the said ships, as soon as they understood the injury so treacherously done to their countrymen they contracted such a hatred against our whole nation, that although one of the said natives died soon after, yet the other called Epenow, studied how to be revenged, which he so far found means to effect that he frustrated this second attempt of settling a plantation in these parts.

Yet did not the adventurers cast off all hopes of carrying on their design. Wherein Providence within a few years so favoured them that one or more of the savages called Tisquantom and Samoset, carried away by Hunt, was brought back to Newfoundland, from whence he was soon after conveyed by the prudent endeavour of Capt. Mason (then governor of the plantation began upon Newfoundland) into the hands of some of the adventurers, by whose means they hoped to work a peace betwixt the said natives on that coast where the fire had been kindled before; for the adventurers employed Capt Thomas Darmer, a prudent and industrious gentleman, to settle the affair of the plantation now a third time revived again about Kentucky, about the year 1619. By his prudence and care a lasting peace was made betwixt the natives of the place and the English, who were but a little before so abhorred by them for the wrong formerly received, so that the plantation began at last to prosper, and continue in good liking, and assurances of the friendship of their neighbours that had been lately exasperated against them. This Tisquantum before mentioned, was most instrumental and helpful to the plantation begun at New Plymouth about the following years, 1620, in their weak beginnings, there being frequent mention of his name, as also of one Samoset, a native of the same place, by the like providence brought back to Kennebeck, and from thence with Tisquantum came to the new planters at Patuxet, or Plymouth, and brought them into acquaintance with Massasoit, the sachem about those parts, without whose friendship that new plantation would hardly have subsisted long.

This story premised, is the more to be observed in this place because the friendship upon the means and occasions aforesaid, confirmed between the Indians in these eastern parts and the English, had continued stedfast and constant to this year, when it was broken by another treacherous and wicked practice of a like nature, and parallel to that of the aforesaid Hunt, as may more fully be declared afterwards.

Possibly the like satisfaction may prove the more probable means to procure a settled peace. But to return whence this digression hath been made. Some years were spent to bring things to this issue: The adventurers were put to much care and pains before they could get their patent confirmed and renewed again: Many obstructions they met with from some interlopers who began to look into the trade of this country, and would irregularly have had a share therein, or grade it common to all traders, to which end they petitioned to a parliament then called to bring about their ends, but at the last it was settled firmly in the hands of sundry noble and worthy patentees, lords, knights, gentlemen, and merchants commonly known by the name of the council

of Plymouth, who had the absolute power under the king for making all grants, and disposing of all lands from the 40th to the 48th degrees north latitude; all which was accomplished about the year 1621. Some printed relations that speak of these transactions, write much of the flourishing state, and hopeful prosperity of this plantation, published about fifty years since, yet did it never appear by what followed, that any considerable advantage did ever accrue to the first undertakers, from this their new plantation of the eastern parts, unless by the trade of fish and firs, which latter continued not long; that managed it by their own particular flocks and personal endeavours; and if without offence it may be spoken, the multitude of patents soon after granted to gentlemen of broken fortunes, have provided but places of unhonorable exile or confinement, whither many deserving persons of better education than fortune, were sent to shift for themselves in a foreign land, without being further troublesome to those nearer home, on whom they had their hopes and dependance; yet it must not be denied but that some of the undertakers were at vast expence, casting their bread upon these waters, where none of their friends and relations have as yet had an opportunity to find it; The reason of which is not hard to give, in reference to all those lands and territories that lie to the eastward of Piscataqua river. One main cause had been the multiplicity of grants and patents for the dividing of the said tract of land for besides the strife that hath been occasioned by the intricacy and indistinctness of their liberties and bounds, (enough to have maintained a greater number of lawyers than ever were the inhabitants) if the grantees had been supplied with monies proportionable to their suits and controversies about their bounds and jurisdictions, which sometimes they have been ready to decide with their swords, witness those fatal names imposed on such accounts upon some places belonging to those parts, as Bloody Point, Black Point, Blue Point, and every considerable parcel of land being by patent granted to several particular persons hindered the erection of townships and villages, which if it had been otherwise disposed of, might have been full of towns, and well peopled, and thereby the inhabitants had been able to have stood upon their guard, and defended themselves against the common enemy, whereas now they were but like *scopae disolutae*, or like his arrows that being bound up in one bundle could not be broken by an ordinary force, but being loose, were easily snapped asunder by any single hand. Another reason might be, the employing of such agents and instruments as either wanted skill or fidelity to manage what they were entrusted with, which made many of the adventurers long ago complain, that instead of bills of exchange and other returns which they expected, they received nothing but large inventories of the wants of their several plantations, and the servants sent over to improve them, which were all the returns that many of them ever received for the large sums of money many disbursed for the carrying on their affairs. A third reason may be the several changes of government the inhabitants have passed under, which have occasioned not only much vexation and expence to such as were upon the place, but much discouragement to several others who by the commodiousness of the place would willingly have chosen stations in those parts, had they seen any hope of a settled government ever like to be obtained; which is not hard to demonstrate by giving a little touch as we pass along, on the several changes of government the places aforementioned have been moulded into, and the several proprietors that of late have claimed interest in the land. In the year 1624, a patent was granted by the council of Plymouth, thegrand proprietors,to Capt. Mason,for a large tract of land about Piscataqua, but it not being distinctly bounded, himself with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, obtained a joint patent in the year 1539, for the land betwixt the east of Sagadahock, and west of Namukeag, but that also interfering with the bounds granted before that time to sundry gentlemen merchants that had obtained a patent from the south of Charles river, to the northward of Merrimack, Capt. Mason's bounds were afterwards by consent (as is said) of his agent or agents, reduced to some branches about Piscataqua river (who yet could not agree with those that acted in the name of Shrewsbury men) but being wholly neglected by the pretended proprietor or his successor (till of late days) was by the desire of the inhabitants yielded up to the Massachusetts government near twenty years since.

In the year 1630 a patent was granted by said council of Plymouth (signed by the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and sealed with the common seal of the council aforesaid) to John Dy, Thomas Lupe, Grace Harding, and John Roach, of London, for a large tract of land on the south side of Sagadahock, forty miles square by the sea-side, and so up into the country: John Dy, aforesaid, and his partners took in another as partner and associate with them, Mr. Richard Dummer,of Newbury, in England, in the year 1633, to whom they delivered the original patent, with an order from them, and in their name to take up the land described in the patent, but he being denied opportunity to effect it, as also a ship formerly sent by the patentees for that end, not accomplishing their desire, they not long after sold all their interest in the said patent, to one Mr. Rigby, a Lancashire gentleman, who made Mr, Cleaves his agent to manage the business of his purchased interest in the said patent: to whom Mr. Dummer was ordered to deliver the original patent, which accordingly he did: What trouble was occasioned soon after between the said Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Umes, agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, is well known to the inhabitants of the place and need not here be mentioned; nor yet how the said Mr. Rigby came forward to lose his interest, at least with the inhabitants in the patent.

In the year 1632, Sir Ferdinado Gorges not trusting in the joint patent for himself and Capt. Mason, obtained a distinct patent for himself and got confirmed by King Charles the first, of blessed memory, for all that large tract of land from Sagadahock to Piscataqua river, and so about an hundred miles up into the country, by the name of the Province of Maine. What benefit and improvement was ever made thereof by his agent or successors, is best known to themselves; but for the inhabitants, who upon one account or another had been induced, either by any precedaneous grant or liberty from himself or his agents, to take up any land within the bounds of the said province; they finding much inconveniencies and trouble for want of an orderly and settled government, did at the last, petition the general court of Massachusetts to be taken under their jurisdiction and government (reserving the liberties and privileges of their former purchases and grants, as to the title, possession, and property of themselves) which was granted them, though not only and altogether upon the grounds on which it was desired by the petitioners. Yet notwithstanding all this, things were not settled either to the comfort or content of the inhabitants: For sometimes some demanded right of jurisdiction over them, by virtue of Sir Ferdinando's patent, sometimes commissioners employed by his Highness the duke of York, attempted to settle a government amongst the people; sometimes they tried what might be done by agreement amongst themselves, but after their return for England, by one mean or other the government relapsed again into the hands of Massachusetts, although a supersedas thereunto seems to have been put by an order from his majesty this last year.

By the several vicissitudes and changes of government,the flourishing of the said province hath been much obstructed, which else might have been advanced, and the inhabitants been put into a capacity to have secured themselves against the late barbarous incursions of the Indians,might thereby have been prevented, and so the mischief also which hath ensued might thereby have been averted: For a well ordered goverment would never have suffered those that now were connived at, which if they had been timely looked into by such as had absolute or positive and unquestioned power of rule in their hands, would have been otherwise ordered, the present mischief that is come upon those places, might thereby have been, if not prevented, yet more easily redressed, than now it is like to be.

As for the tract of land that lies eastward beyond Kennebeck betwixt that and Pemmaquid, it is said to have belonged to one Mr. Aldworth and his successors, who was alderman of Bristol, and on that had a patent thereof, and employed some as his agents, that did sometimes reside upon the place, and was lately settled in some order or goverment by his highness the duke of York's commissioners, by whom also was an agreement made betwixt the sagamores of the Indians in those parts and the English, at a court kept by their appointment in Kennebeck which if it had been observed, might in all probability have prevented in great measure the quarrel which is now fallen out between the English and Indians: For upon some jealousies of the rising of those Indians about twelve or thirteen years since, it was agreed that if any mischief should happen to be done by the English or Indians one against another, though it were to the killing any person, neither side should right themselves, but complaint should be made to the sagamores if the Indians did the wrong and to the court if it was done by the English: both which did promise that satisfaction should be made for the preventing any quarrel: The names of the sachems, as likewise of them that were in power at the court, do still remain upon public record. But matters of government in those parts being since collapsed, no authority more that

was merely voluntary, and persuasive being owned, things are now brought to that miserable state which follows next to be declared.

Ever since the first settling of any English plantation in those parts about Kennebeck, for the space of about fifty years, the Indians always carried it fair and held good correspondence with the English, until the news came of Philip's rebelling, and rising against the inhabitants of Plymouth colony in the end of June, 1675; after which time it was apprehended by such as had the examination of the Indians about Kennebeck, that there was a general surmise amongst them, that they should be required to assist the said Philip although they would not own that they were at all engaged in the quarrel. The like jealousies did appear in all the Indians that inhabited to the eastward of Piscataqua, which plainly show that there was a design of general rising of the Indians against the English all over the country (possibly as far as Virginia, the Indians there making insurrections the same year) and that many if not most of them were willing it should succeed, although the oldest and wisest of them, did not like it, fearing the issue as they had cause: But many of the young men about Casco bay, and Amoscoggin, were certainly known to flock thither the last year, and did sundry of them come short home: For herein they acted but like savages, as those of Virginia did but fifty years before, shewing themselves friendly and courteous to their new neighbours till they had opportunity to do them mischief. So that notwithstanding many of the inhabitants in the eastern, as in the western parts of the country, that were wont to trade with the Indians, were not willing to believe any such purpose among them, but were ready to think some of the ruder sort of the English, by their imprudent and irregular actions, have driven them into this rebellion; yet is it too evident that the said Indians (who naturally delight in bloody and deceitful actions) did lay hold of any opportunity that might serve as a pretence for their barbarous practices. Indians about Wammeset and Piscataqua, that had joined with their countrymen in their rising against the English the last winter, when they were pinched with hunger, in the cold winter following returned back to the English, and desired to make peace, and firmly engaged to continue their wonted friendship; yea, some of them, as if they were really sorry for the murders and cruelties, of their own voluntary motion came with the prisoners they had taken, and resigned them up to the English, yet when their own ends were answered and another opportunity was offered of doing further mischief of a like nature, they presently returned to their former practice, as is well known of Simon and Andrew, that had killed some, and led others captive the last spring from Bradford and Haverhill, who came in the end of June to Major Walden's, bringing home English prisoners with them, yet did the very same Indians within less than two months after join with Amoscoggin and Kennebeck Indians in committing the said tragedies that were last acted in those parts, yet was he and his partner suffered to escape for want of sufficient guarding the prison where they were put in order for further trial. But *sero sapriant phyrgee;* it is hoped that we shall after some few more experiences of this nature, learn to beware of this subtle brood and generation of vipers. Ever since enmity was put between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, it hath been the portion of her seed in every generation, and in every nation to meet with the sad effects of that enmity; nor can they ever expect to find better dealing from any of the other sort, further than either of their power or hope of benefit by their favour may induce them to another disposition, as we the inhabitants of New England have found by their late and sad experience in reference to these pagans in the west whom amogst whom our lot is cast, they proving, is one says of the Mahometans in the east, like a nest of hornets, that if any one of them chance to be provoked they will be all about his ears that comes near them. But it is time to begin with the particulars of the tragedy itself, that the reader account not the prologue too long. It was on the 24th of June 1675, when the first mischief was done by the Indians about Mount Hope, before 20 days were over, the first fire began to kindle in these more remote and northerly bounds of the said country, or two hundred and fifty miles distance, and upon this occasion, the 11th of July, 1675, a letter was brought to Kennebeck from one Henry Sawyer, an inhabitant of York, signifying the news of the Indians rising about Plymouth, and that a course was taken to disarm them along the shore. This rumour did so far awaken the inhabitants, that the very next day, at a general meeting of the English, at one Capt. Pattishal's house, several offered themselves as volunteers to go up the said river of Kennebeck, to make discovery of the Indians fidelity, or else to fight them if there was occasion. The third day after marching up the river, to Quegebeck, they met with the inhabitants of Sheepscot river, which is a river lying about twelve or fourteen miles to the northeast of Kennebeck. Divers of the Indians thereabouts by the persuasion of one Mr. Walker, that used to trade with them, brought down an inconsiderable part of their ammunition, as a few guns, a little powder and shot, with a few knives. About 7 of the Kennebeck Indians, and five of those called Amoscoggin Indians, about Pegypscot (a river more southward towards Casco) made this pretence of bringing their arms, Capt. Lake, Capt. Pattishall, with Mr. Wiswal in whose hands was settled a kind of military power for those parts, were sent for further to examine the said Indians, of whom upon examination they saw reason to suspect some if not all; whereupon they sent messengers a second time to the Amoscoggin Indians, and also a letter to Mr. Walker, to send down their arms and ammunition to them for their greater security. After Mr. Wiswal was returned home, the 5 Amoscoggin Indians aforesaid, brought in their guns, but probably with no good intent; for an Indian called Sowen, having an axe in his hand, struck at one Hosea Hallet, a Frenchman, but was prevented from doing him mischief; however, the said Indian was presently bound and put up into a cellar. Some of the English that used to trade with those Indians were ready to excuse the Indian, saying he was drunk, or that he was a distracted fellow. Mr. Wiswal with the other two examinents, looked upon those as mere excuses, and altogether groundless, for one of them to this day affirms that he was as rational and sensible as any of the rest.

The ancient Indians being asked what they thought was meet to be done in the said case, said he was worthy to die for such an affront, yet they would be glad if his life might be spared, offering to be jointly bound in his behalf, to pay forty beaver skins at next fall voyage, giving their hands in token of their fidelity, and also leaving their arms in the hands of the English as a pledge of their faithful keeping those articles of peace concluded on betwixt them. If they proved themselves honest men they were to have their arms again, which was accordingly performed the last of June, 1676; they having in the mean time carried themselves peaceably towards the English. The day after, an Indian called Robin-Hood, with great applause of the rest, made a dance, and sang a song to declare their content in what was transacted; and so they parted setting the Indians at liberty that had thus engaged for their friend Sowen, the Indian; but yet to this day not one skin of beaver was ever paid to the English, as was promised, the Indians all this while were well provided for victuals by Capt. Lake, with other supplies of rum and tobacco, even to the digusting of some English then present.

But the Indians left as hostages upon Sowen's account, however civilly they were treated, ran all away at the last, trusting more to the celerity of their own feet, than to the civility of their English friends, who after they were escaped, joined with a parcel of their fellows soon after, about 20 in all, in robbing the house of one Mr. Purchase, an ancient planter about Pegypscot river, and a known trader with the Indians, whatever wrong may be pretended by the said Indians, as done them in their trading, (of which more may be spoken afterwards) that will in nowise excuse their perfidious treachery and falsehood, in breaking covenant with the English, dissembling and seeking all advantages of cruelty against their English neighbours, of which in the following winter and summer, 1676, there will be a more full and undeniable discovery. This was done in the beginning of September, 1675. Those Indians that first assaulted Mr. Purchase's house, did no other mischief than plundering it of strong liquor and ammunition, also killing a calf or two, with a few sheep, but no more than what they ate, and spoiling a feather bed by ripping it open to turn out the feathers, contenting themselves with the case, which they might more easily carry away. They offered no incivility to the mistress of the house (her husband and sons being at that time from home) yet one of her sons approaching near the house and finding it possessed by those new inhabitants, he rode away with all speed, and yet no faster than there was need, for an Indian followed him with a gun under his coat to have got within the reach of his piece.

It is said that at the first they used fair words and spoke of trading, but as they went away, told those of the house, that there were others coming after that would deal far worse with them: which within a short time after came to pass, for these were but the messengers of death which was soon after inflicted, and that in a most barbarous manner upon sundry inhabitants of the neigboring plantations

The English in those parts being much incensed hereat, 25 of them soon after going up Casco bay in a sloop and two boats to gather Indian corn and to look to what they had upon the said bay, near Amoscoggin river; when they came near the houses they heard a knocking, and a noise about the houses, and presently espied two or three Indians, who as yet did not see them. The English being come a good way from their vessel, endeavoured to get between the Indians and the woods, which when they perceived they ran towards the water side, but the English in pursuit killed one of them and wounded another, who however escaped away in a canoe across the river, a third running back towards the woods fled to the other Indians and acquainted them with what was done, who presently came down and lay in wait to intercept the English, that thought of no danger, but scattered themselves all about the place to gather their corn and lade their boats therewith, but before they were ready to go away the Indians coming down fired upon them and forced them all into the sloop; had not some of them been better prepared than the rest, they might all have been cut off; for some little resistance being made by them that were ready with their guns, it gave the rest an opportunity to get all into the sloop, yet not without many wounds. So with much ado, they all escaped with their lives, leaving the two boats almost laden with corn, a prey to the Indians, who presently burnt one, and plundered the other of all that was therein; some are ready to think that the English did imprudently begin the quarrel, and not first enquire into what the Indians were about in the house, and seek redress according to the aforementioned agreement, made at the court at Bennebeek. But if this happened after what follows next to be related, viz. that which was done to old Mr. Wakely and his family, the English can be blamed for nothing but their negligence and security, in that having alarmed their enemies, they stood not better upon their guard, which is not very certain; for it is thought that within a few days after, or the next week, a more horrible outrage was committed upon the family of an ancient man, whose name was Wakely, an inhabitant of Casco bay, who had some discontent which afterwards he often bewailed, resolving either to have returned back, or else to have removed to some securer place, but he was arrested by the sons of violence before he could effect his purpose.

This old man, together with his wife, his son, and his daughter in law, (then far advanced in pregancy) with three grand children were cruelly murdered by those barbarbous savages at one time; another of his grandchildren was taken alive and led into captivity, a daughter of his was said to be carried to Narraganset, which shows that they joined with the southern Indians in the rebellion. When one these Indians had embrued their hands in English blood, they were emboldened to the like bloody attempts in the adjacent places.

This Wakely lived so far from his neighbours, or else was encompassed with creeks or rivers, that no relief could presently be sent to him; however, Lieut Ingersoll, of Casco, the next day with a file of men, repaired to the place where his house stood to see what was the reason of the fire they discerned the day before, where they found the house burnt to ashes, the body of the old man half consumed with the fire, the young woman killed and three of the grandchildren having their brains beat out and their bodies laid under some oaken planks not far from the house; one girl of about 11 years old, was carried captive by them, and having been carried up and down the country some hundreds of miles, as far as Narraganset fort, was this last June returned back to Major Waldern's by one Squando, the sagamore of Saco; a strange mixture of mercy and cruelty.

Soon after Capt. Bonithon's and Major Philips' dwellings were assaulted, one on the east, the other on the west side of Saco river. It is said they had seasonable notice of what was intended against them by their barbarous enemies, those Amoscoggin Indians, by the Indian of Saco, their neighbour, better minded than the rest of his countrymen, who observing a strange Indian coming to his wigwam in company with some of his acquaintance, one of whom informed him of the rest with the stranger were gone, that the said stranger came from the westward, and that his business was to persuade the eastern Indians to fall upon the English in their dwellings here, as the rest had done to the westward. Capt. Bonithon, either upon this information, or upon the knowledge of what was done a little before at Casco, had left his house, and was retired over the river with his family to Major Philips' garrison. Thus two are better than one, for otherwise both might have been destroyed; for upon the eighteenth of September following, being the seventh day of the week, about 11 o'clock those at Major Philips' garrison saw Capt. Bonithon's house on fire, which by the good providence of God was to them as the firing a beacon giving them notice to look to themselves, their enemies being now come; for otherwise they might, to their great disadvantage, have been too suddenly surprised, for within half an hour after they were upon them, when a sentinel placed in a chamber gave notice that he saw an Indian by the fence side near a cornfield; Major Philips, not willing to believe till he might see with his own eyes, ran hastily up, another of his men coming after cried, major what do you mean? do you intend to be killed? at which words he turned from the window out of which he was looking, when presently a bullet struck him on the shoulder, grazing only upon it without breaking the bone. The Indians upon the shot, thinking he had been slain thereby (as they had heard afterwards) gave a great shout, upon which they discerned that they were surrounded by them, whereupon they instantly fired on the enemy from all quarters, and from the flankers of the fortification, so as they wounded the captain of the Indians, who presently leaving the assault, retired three or four miles from the place, where he soon after died, as they were informed: He counselled them to leave the siege, but they were resolved not so to quit the place; nor were those within less resolute to defend it: one of the best men was soon after disabled from any further service, by a wound he received in one of the vollies, made by the assailants; but that did not in the least daunt the rest of the defendants, who continued still to fire upon the enemy: This dispute lasted about an hour, after which the enemy despairing to take the house by assault, thought upon a device how to burn it.

First, firing the house of one of his tenants, then his saw-mill, hoping by that means to draw them out of the garrison to put out the fire, but missing of their purpose in that, they called out, you English cowardly dogs, come out and quench the fire. They continued this sport all the afternoon continually firing upon them. The besieged hoped for relief from the towns but none came, the major still encouraging his men to hold it out which they manfully did all that night, when they were alarmed almost every half hour; and between whiles they could hear their axes and other instruments, knocking about the mills till the next day. Those within the house conceived they were preparing some engine wherewith to burn the house, which really was the case, for about four o'clock in the morning, at the sitting of the moon when he saw a cart with four wheels, having a barricado built in the forepart to keep off shot, and filled with combustible matter, birch rinds, straw, powder, and poles 20 feet long ready to fire the house; he bid them let them drive it within pistol shot, before they made any shot against them; his men were a little discouraged at the sight of this engine; but he bid them be of good courage, and use means, putting their trust in God, who, he was confident would relieve them. The cart when brought a little nearer became unwieldy by reason of the barricado planted in it, and being to pass through a small gutter, one wheel stuck fast in the slough, which brought the cart suddenly to the left whereby the drivers lay all open to their right flanker, when they fired upon them out of the said flanker, and having so fair a shot upon them, and not being above pistol shot from the place, they killed 6 of the enemy, and wounded 15, as they found afterwards, which no doubt made them too late to repent of their resolution, not to follow their captain's counsel and example in leaving the siege; for now they presently parted: so as at sunrise those within the house 40 of them marching away, but how many more were in the company they could not tell.

The Indians it seems went towards Blue Point where it is said they killed several persons, but those in the house feared, the major was called by the men to look out for more help, as they expected their return; but it seems their courage failed them as to another attempt upon an house so well garrisoned and manfully defended. Major Phillips sent to the town for help acquainting them with what had passed, but none was sent them either that day or the next, so having spent almost all their ammunitions, the people that were with him would not be perusaded to tarry longer than Tuesday morning, which constrained him and his family to remove to the town. About a fortnight after, the Indians hearing thereof, came and burnt down the empty house. There were 50 persons in the said house during the time of the siege, and but 10 able hands, they had five more that could do something, but through age or minority not able to make any great aisistance; yet it pleased God, in whose hands are all men's lives and limbs, who is never wont to fail them, who in time of danger are ready to confide in his power and goodness, as not to neglect the use of due means for

there own preservation, so to order things, that not one person of all those 50 was either killed or mortally wounded. Major Philips himself was wounded but not dangerously, at the beginning of the assault, his mills with other edifices were the first day burnt by the enemy, and so were all the houses at Saco, or most of them soon after, that were above the fishermen stages. One Mr. Hitchcock being carried captive by the enemy from the same place, died in the winter following by eating some poisonous root instead of ground nuts, as was reported by the Indians afterwards.

Much about the same time, five persons going up the river of Saco, were all killed by the same Indians.

These tragedies being thus acted at Casco bay and Saco, those barbarous enemies dispersed themselves in parties ; intending to do all the mischief they could to the English inhabiting about that side of the country. In the same month of September they came down towards Piscataqua, doing the like spoil upon the inhabitants of the several branches of that river which they had been doing elsewhere. In the first place they burnt the two Chestyes houses about Oyster river, and killed two men that were passing along the river in a canoe, and carried away an old Irishman, with a young man taken from about Exeter, who both of them soon after made an escape to a garrison at Salmon Falls in Kittery, by the help of an Indian better disposed than the rest, the first after seven weeks, the other after a month's captivity.

About the same time one Goodman Robinson, of Exeter, with his son, where travelling towards Hampton, where as they passed along, they were waylaid by three Indians, viz. John Sampson, Cromwell, and John Linde, who shot the old man, and left him dead upon the place ; his son, hearing the guns, escaped their hands by running into a swamp, whither the Indians pursued him, but could not overtake him, so he got safe into Hampton about midnight, where he related what had befel him by the way, and how narrowly he avoided the danger, intimating likewise that he feared his father was killed, which was found too true by Lieut. Sweet, who the next day with 12 soldiers of the town went to search these woods, where they found the poor old man shot through his back, the bullet having passed through his body, and was stopped by the skin on the other side. Another person of Exter, whose name was Foulsam, was at the same time driving a pair of oxen in the same road, where soon after he heared the report of the guns when Robinson was killed, he espied the three Indians creeping upon their bellies towards him, to do as much for him as they had done for Robinson, but leaving his oxen, he put on his horse with all speed, and so was delivered from the danger that the other fell into ; it is reported that one of the Indians made a shot at him : but he was either got out of their reach, or else they missed their aim at that time. The same Indians had a little before met with another Englishman in those woods, one Charles Randlet, whom they carried captive, although he soon after escaped out of their hands, by the help of another Indian called James. It is said there were four Indians out of that company, and that the fourth was sent away with Randlet, so thatthere were but three seen together at the killing and pursuing the other aforementioned. One of the said Indians, viz. John Sampson, was killed by some of Capt. Hathborn's soldiers at Casco bay, in September following, 1676, when the scouts of our forces came upon the Indians on a sudden, and had a small brush with them, but all the rest made a shift to get away : As for the other two, viz. Cromwell and John Linde, one of them it is said, is since killed, or taken and sold away, the other is at Kennebeck, whom vengeance may also in due time overtake, as it hath done the other.

Within a few days after that barbarous act at Oyster river, two Indians viz. one named Andrew, and the other Hopehood, the son of him called Robinhood, assaulted the house of one Tozer, at Newechewannick, wherein were fifteen persons, all women and children, who without doubt had all of them fallen into the merciless hands of the two cruel and barbarous caitiffs, had not a young maid of about 18 years of age, first espied them, who being endued with more courage than ordinarily the rest of the sex use to be (the blessings of Jael light upon her) first shut too the door, whereby they were denied entrance till the rest, within escaped to the next house, that was better fortified ; that young heroess kept the door fast against them so long, till the Indians had chopped it into pieces with their hatchets, when entering the house they knocked the poor maid down with their hatchets, and gave her many other wounds, leaving her for dead upon the place ; after which they passed on toward the next dwelling, in their way meeting with two children that had escaped the house first broken open by them, they killed one of them, of three years old, which could not follow fast enough or else they that carried it could not convey it over a fence soon enough to save themselves and it ; and carried away the other of seven years old, which however was returned safe within half a year after. The poor maid that had ventured her life so far to save many others, was by a strange Providence enabled to recover so much strength after they were gone, as to repair to the next garrison, where she was soon after healed of her wounds and restored to perfect health again.

The next day toward night more of the barbarous enemies being gathered together, they made an assault upon the neighbouring dwellings. The English as many as could be spared out of the garrison (not above 8 in number) pursued after them about half a mile, but night coming on, it was judged best to retreat, lest otherwise they might have been intercepted in their return home, by any of them lying in ambush, which is their usual way of doing mischief. After divers shots made on both sides, but 5 of the enemy appeared ; who yet took the advantage of Capt. Wincol's absence (whose dwelling was not far off) to burn his house and two barns more, wherein was much English corn, supposed to be above an hundred bushels in one of them. After they had done this mischief they fled away. The next day after, the same Indians or others of their fellows, came upon the other side of the river, from whence they shot over several times to some that were grinding in the mill, but after exchanging of many shot on both sides, the river betwixt them, six of the enemy showed themselves in the twilight, uttering several insolent and barbarous speeches, calling our men English dogs, &c. yet all this while out of reach of their shot, and then they run away like dogs after they had done barking.

After this those very Indians, as was supposed, burned five or six houses about Oyster river, and killed two men, viz. one William Roberts and his son-in-law. The inhabitants of Dover, with some other resolute young men, being much provoked by these many insolences and injuries done by the enemy, obtained liberty from the major of the regiment to try whether they could not meet with some of the Indians, by secret ambushes and skulking amongst the bushes and trees as the Indians used to do with them ; to which end about twenty divided themselves into small parties : Soon after as they were looking for the enemy, a party of ours espied five of the Indians, some gathering corn in the field, while the rest of them were busied in heating an oven to bake some of the fruit which they also gathered in the same field. The English were at such a distance that they could not make any sign to their comrades, without being discovered by the Indians in the field ; wherefore two of them crept as near as they could to the house, at one end of the field where they suddenly rushed upon two of the wretches, and knocked them down with the butt end of their muskets, which was not done so silently but the other three in the field took the alarm and fled away, who might else as easily as the other two have been surprised.

These outrages thus daily committed filled all the plantations about Piscataqua with fear and confusion ; scarce any place where there was not reason for some to complain either of the loss of their friends or burning of their houses ; which caused most of them that lived scatteringly, at any distance from neighbours, either to garrison their houses or else to desert their own dwellings, and to repair to their next neighbours that were better fortified than themselves ; but all the inhabitants in general were alarmed to stand upon their guard.

On the 7th of October following, being a day of public humiliation, a man was shot down as he was riding between two garrison houses about Newechewannick, and died of his wounds two months after ; the same instant of time two young men were shot dead about a mile from that place ; these two had their arms or guns with them, which were carried away by those who killed them, together with their upper garments : It is not said that these three last (though killed upon a day of humiliation) were surprised in their repairing to, or returning from the place of public worship, which would in a great measure have abated the sorrow of their sad funerals, if when they were suddenly arrested by the harbingers of death, they had been so doing. Soon after this they assaulted another house at Oyster river, notwithstanding it was garrisoned, and meeting with a good old man, whose name was Beard, without the garrison, they killed him upon the place, and in a barbarous manner cut off his head, and set it upon a pole in derision. Not far off about the same time they burnt another house and barn.

Upon the 16th of October, being Saturday about an hundred of the Indians were gathered together to assault Newechewannick ; they began with one named Tozer, half a mile

from the upper garrison, at Salmon falls: The said Tozer was presently killed, his son taken captive (but returned after some months restraint) several guns being shot at this assault, alarmed Lieut. Plaisted, at the next garrison, who like a man of public spirit, immediately sent out seven men from the garrison under his command, to see what the matter was, but being met by an ambush laid in the way as they went, lost 2 or 3 of the company, thereat hardly escaping back to the place from whence they came; whereupon the said Lieutenant Plaisted immediately despatched away a messenger to Major Waldern, at Quechecho, which, because it seems to be the last time that ever that good and useful man set pen to paper, the letter shall be here inserted.

Salmon falls, Oct. 16, 1675.

Mr. Richard Waldern and Lieut. Coffin, these are to inform you that just now the Indians are engaging us with at least an hundred men, and have slain four of our men already, Richard Tozer, James Barney, Isaac Bottes, and Tozer's son, and burnt Benoni Hodsdan's house: Sirs, if ever you have any love for us and the country, now shew yourselves with men to help us, or else we are all in great danger of being slain, unless our God wonderfully appears for our deliverance. They that cannot fight let them pray: nothing else, but I rest,

Yours to serve you.

ROGER PLAISTED,
GEORGE BROUGHTON.

What answer was returned to the importunate and pathetical letter is not fully known at present; most probably he that was most concerned in the contents of it was either absent from home or in no capacity to send the relief desired, which if it could have been had, might have prevented the sad mischief that fell out the next day; when Lieutenant Plaisted being more earnestly bent to perform that last office of love to his deceased friends, whom he could not by all his endeavours save from the danger of death, while they were in land of the living, would needs venture himself with 20 soldiers out of his garrison, to fetch off the dead bodies.

To that end he ordered a pair of oxen to be yoked to bring them to his garrison, in order to their christian burial, not considering that the Indians lay skulking thereabouts, waiting for such opportunities. They went first to the farthest place, where they found R. Tozer's body, and put it in a cart, but coming back to take up the other two bodies which were fallen in a little swamp near to the garrison, they were set upon by 150 of the enemy, who had hid themselves in the bushes, and under a stone wall, and logs in the way as they were to pass; by the sudden noise of the guns the cattle being frighted, ran away to the garrison with such of the dead as were first laid thereon (and possibly with one of them wounded at that instant) leaving their owners to fight it out with the enemy. Lieut. Plaisted being thus desperately assaulted, he with his twenty men were forced to retreat to a place of better advantage; but being there so warmly pursued, they were not able to abide it long, although they killed and mortally wounded several of the Indians, as themselves have since confessed; but they most of them being so much overmatched, took the opportunity of a fair retreat and so got safe to their garrisons, while Lieut. Plaisted out of the height of his courage, disdaining either to fly from or yield himself (for, 'tis said the Indians were loth to kill him, but desirous rather to take him prisoner) into the hands of such cursed caitiffs, did fight it out desperately, till he was slain upon the place; his eldest son and another man were slain in their too late retreat, and his other son was sorely wounded, so that he died in a few weeks after.

The Indians were contented with the mischief for the present and slunk away into the woods before the next day, when Capt. Frost came from Sturgeon creek, a few miles below the river, with a party of his friends and buried the dead. During these onsets the enemy also took the advantage to burn three houses and two barns before they left the place.

The latter end of the same month they burnt a mill near the same place belonging to Mr. Hutchinson, a merchant of Boston; from whence they came down towards Sturgeon creek, where they burnt one house and killed two men not far from Capt. Frost's dwelling, he escaping himself very narrowly, being shot at by the enemy, about ten in number, who might easily have burnt his house and taken all that was in it, being but three boys besides himself, had he not used this policy, to call out to some to march this, and the other way, to look after the Indians, as if he had many at hand to command, which under God was the means of his escape; for his house was neither fortified, nor well manned, although far from neighbours.

The next day the said Indians passed down the river on Kittery side, killed one man, whose house they first plundered, and then set it on fire; all this was done just over against Portsmouth, from whence out of a small battery was discharged a piece of ordinance, which by a good Providence was directed so to fling its shot, as it fell very near a party of the Indians, for they were so affrighted therewith (if none of them were killed) that they left a good part of their plunder near the place. They were pursued by some of the English before they could recover their home, and by the help of the snow that fell about that time, were traced till they were overtaken, but being near a swamp escaped, through haste leaving two of their packs behind.

Soon after they went up the river again to Quechecho, where they burnt a house and two or three barns. Another party of them got over or beyond the other branches of Piscataqua river, towards Exeter, and Lamprey Eel river, where they killed one man. Many of them were in the woods about Exeter, and between Hampton and Exeter, where they killed one or two men as they were travelling homewards, occasioning the people of those towns to stand continually upon their guard, which proved a great annoyance to the inhabitants.

But let us look a little back to the plantations more eastward from Piscataqua river, where these outrages of the Indians first began.

At Casco bay, Lieut. Ingersoll's son with another man, going out a fowling about this time, were both killed before they returned home, his father's house being burnt, with many others also thereabouts.

At Black point, Lieut. Augur with two more were assaulted by the Indians, where after many shot exchanged betwixt them, himself was so wounded, that he died soon after, and his brother also was killed within a few days after, not far from the same place.

When the rising of the Indians first began in those eastern parts (with us called the county of Yorkshire) Capt. Wincol of Newechewannick, with some others, having a sympathy for some of his neighbours, marched up that way with a small party of men. In his first skirmish with the enemy he chanced to lose two or three of his company; the rest not being above 11 in all, as they were marching along by the sea-side were assaulted by a great number of the Indians, judged to be 150; being hard beset with so great a number, they retreated to an heap of bolts that lay near the water side, by the shelter of which they lay safe from the enemy's guns, and so well played their few guns, that they slew many of the Indians, and put them all to a kind of rout at last; after which, by the help of an old canoe they recovered safe to the other side of the bank. But nine Saco men had worse success who came with a good intent to help their friends, upon the hearing of their guns; but as they came to rescue Capt. Wincol with his small party, they themselves fell into an ambush of the enemy and so were all cut off, with two other men also, near the place where the first skirmish was, for the Indians from the shore side could discern any that were coming towards them when they were at a great distance, and so might easily way-lay them before they could come up to them. Near upon seven houses were burnt about this time, and some persons killed at Black point.

Two persons were killed at Wells in the beginning of winter, one of them was a servant to Mr. William Symmonds (one of the principal men in the town aforesaid) the gentleman himself with his family were removed to a garrison house in the middle of the town. His servant going early in the morning to look after some business there, tarried longer than was needful to provide something for himself, the Indians invited themselves to breakfast with him making the poor fellow pay the shot when they had done with the loss of his life.

A week after one Cross was slain at Wells likewise, who was a kind of a distracted fellow. Also one Isaac Cousins was there killed in the beginning of winter, after there had been some overtures of peace between Major Waldern and the Indians.

With such kind of mutual encounters was the latter part of the year spent betwixt the Indians and the English from Piscataqua river to Kennebeck, from the beginning of August to the end of November, wherein many were slain on both sides; of the English in those parts were slain upwards of fifty; the enemy lost, as appeared afterwards by their own confession, above 90 partly in the aforesaid skirmishes, and partly in their joining with the Indians to the westward, whither it is said many were invited to repair, to help destroy the English, in hopes to enjoy their possessions afterwards; but God had otherwise determined, who did arise at last to save the meek ones of the earth, and plead the cause of his people.

The Governor and council of Massachu

setts had at this time their hands full with the like attempts of Philip and his accomplices at the westward, yet were not unmindful of the deplorable condition of these eastern plantations; having committed the care thereof to the majors of the respective regiments of the several counties on that side of the country but more especially to the care and prudence of the honourable Major D. Dennison, major general of the colony, a gentleman who by his great insight in, and long experience of all martial affairs, was every way accomplished for the managing that whole affair; he had to ease the other side of the country, drawn out a sufficient number of soldiers from the next counties, to have reduced all the Indians eastward to their obedience; but just as they were intended to march up to the head-quarters of the Indians, to fall upon them there, viz. at Ossapy and Pigwauchet, about an hundred miles up into the country northward, the winter setting in so sharp and severe in the beginning of December, and latter end of November, it was not possible to have marched a day's journey into the woods without hazarding all their lives that should venture up, the snow being found generally in those woods four feet thick on the tenth of December, so as it was not possible for any to have travelled that way unless they carried rackets under their feet, wherewith to walk upon the snow: This only consideration forced them to lay aside the design for the present, but soon after it was done to their hands; for the depth of the snow, and sharpness of the cold, were so extreme, that the Indians in those part were so pinched therewith, that being starved they sued for peace, making their address first to Major Waldern, on that account by whose mediations that whole body of Indians eastward were brought to an hopeful conclusion of peace, which was mutually agreed upon and possibly might have remained firm enough to this day, had there not been too just an occasion given for the breaking of the same, by the wicked pactice of some lewd persons which opened the door, and made way for the bringing in all those sad calamities and mischiefs that have since fallen upon those parts of the country as shall hereafter be declared.

In the latter end of June, 1676, the Indians that had made a general conspiracy against the English, were strangely dispersed and dispirited, so that from that time they began to separate one from another, and every nation of them to shift for themselves, as hath already been mentioned in the former part of this narrative. Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansets, distrusting the proffers of the English, was slain in the woods by the Mohawks, his squaw surrendering herself, by this means her life was spared.

Many of those about Lancaster, and the places adjoining thereto, did cunningly endeavour to hide themselves among those Indians about Piscataqua, that by Major Waldern's means had concluded a peace, yet could neither dissemble their nature and disposition from suspicion of mischief, nor yet so artificially conceal their passions, but they were easily discerned by such as in former times had any acquaintance with the eastern Indians by way of trade, or other converse: Whereupon the forces newly raised in Massachusetts under the command of Capt. William Hathorne and Capt. Joseph Still, designed for the subduing those Indians about the river of Merrimack and Piscataqua, that still stood out in hostility against the English, meeting with those under the command of Major Waldern aforesaid and Capt. Frost of Kittery; it was mutually agreed betwixt those several commanders to sieze upon all those Indians which at that time were met together about Major Waldern's dwelling at Quechecho; the design succeeded according to expectation, and all the Indians were handsomely surprised the 6th of September 1676, without the loss of any person's life, either Indian or English, to the number of near 400; by which device, after our forces had them all in their hands, they separated the peaceable from the perfidious, that had been our enemies during the late troubles; finding about 200 involved in the former rebellion more or less, they accordingly were sent down to the governor and council at Boston, who adjudged 7 or 8 of them immediately to die; such as were known to have had their hands in the blood of the English, or that had been shed by their means; the rest that were found only accessories to the late mischiefs, had their lives spared, but were sent into different parts of the world to try the difference between the friendship of their neighbours here, and their service with other masters elsewhere.

Those who had been always peaceable and true to the English, never intermeddling in the quarrel, as Wanalancet, the sagamore of Pennicook, and some others, were quietly dismissed to their own places. Besides those that were surprised at the time aforesaid, there were several others who had been the chief actors, that were taken up and down in those woods beyond Merrimack, and so were delivered up to justice; as John Monoco, Sagamore Sam, old Jethro with some others, as hath been already mentioned, yet young Jethro brought in 40 at one time. It was a special favour from God so to order it, that the Indians aforesaid, were so surprised; for had they continued their former rebellion, and had taken the opportunity to have joined with the eastern Indians, as some of them did a few months before, they would in all likelihood have utterly destroyed all the plantations of the English beyond Piscataqua river, as appears by the mischief that was lately done by means of a few, from too much connivance of some in those parts that entertained a better opinion of them than it seems they deserved. For whereas mention was formerly made of a small party of Indians, that on the 3rd day of May, in this present year, had murdered one Thomas Kembel, of Bradford, and carried away his wife and five children captive; yet two or three of the actors did, upon what consideration is not known, return the woman and children again within six weeks, and because of their voluntarily returning of them were dealt more favourably with; being only put into prison at Dover, for a time; yet possibly conceiving that a prison was but a preparation for a worse evil, they took an opportunity (two of the chief actors in the aforesaid mischief, one called Simon the other Andrew) to convey themselves out of the place of restraint, and afterwards going amongst the Amoscoggin and Kennebeck Indians, have joined with them in those bloody and cruel depredations lately made in those parts, which follow in order next to be related.

Some little colour or pretence of injury was alleged before those eastern Indians began their outrage, both in the former, as well as in the present year; the chief actor or rather the beginner of all the aforesaid mischiefs eastward, is one Squando, the sagamore of Saco Indians, whose squaw, as is said was abused by a rude and indiscreet act of some English seaman, the last summer, 1675, who either overset the canoe wherein the said squaw with her child were sailing in a river thereabouts, or else to try whether the children of the Indians, as they had heard, could swim as naturally as any other creatures, wittingly cast her child into the water; but the squaw immediately diving into the water after it, fetched it up from the bottom of the river, yet it falling out within a while after the said child died (which it might have done if no affront had been offered) the said Squando, father of the child, hath been so provoked thereat that he hath ever since set himself to do all the mischief he can to the English in those parts, and was never as yet, since that time, truly willing to be reconciled, although he is said to have sent home some that were taken captive the last year. Surely if their hearts had not been secretly filled with malice and revenge before they might have obtained satisfaction for the wrong done at an easier rate; more probably it is that this was only an occasion to vent this mischief they had formerly conceived in their hearts.

There is an injury of an higher nature mentioned as the ground of their quarrel with us who live about Pemmaquid, which happened the last spring, viz. one Laughton, with another person or more, who having obtained under the hand of Major Waldern, a warrant to seize any Indians eastward that had been guilty of any murder or spoil done to the English in those parts, did most perfidiously and wickedly entice some of the Indians about cape Sables (who never had been in the least manner guilty of any injury done to the English) on board their vessel, or else some other way, and then carried them away to sell them for slaves; which the Indians in those parts look upon as injury done to themselves, have alleged it to the inhabitants of Pemmaquid, as one of the principal grounds of their present quarrel: The thing alleged is too true as to matter of fact, and the persons that did it were lately committed to prison in order to their further trial. Yet all those Indians do, or may know full well, that they who did them that wrong, were liable to due punishment (or else their quarrel might be accounted just, and they considered as Indians, must have the more allowance) if they could be found, nor ever were any countenanced amongst us, that had done them any kind of injury, nor did those that take upon them the revenging of the injury, know that they were inhabitants of this country that did the wrong; nor was there ever any orderly complaint made thereof; but this cannot excuse their perfidiousness and cruelty. Some other pretenses alleged by the said Indians they yet do bear no proportion to the mention of a wrong, or injury, viz. because our traders were forbidden to sell any ammunition to any Indians whatsoever; which those Indians say they cannot live without; yet seeing they themselves, as the westward Indians have so ill improved that which they had be-

fore, there was little reason why they should quarrel with us for selling no more.

Further also, it is affirmed by some persons worthy of credit, that for divers years past have lived in those parts, that the Indians thereabouts need not have wanted powder and shot, only they wanted something wherewith to cloak their malicious and barbarons practices of late committed against us; but there being different opinions about this point, we shall leave it for the present. But this beingpremised in reference to the pretended ground or occasion of the quarrel, it remains that the effects therefore be now related.

Before the war with Philip was well ended to the southward, there was a fresh alarm sounded again to the eastward; for on the 11th of August, 1676, the very day before Philip's heart that had harboured so many mischievous and treacherous devices against the English, was by one of his own company shot through, a party of Indians began their outrages at Casco in a most perfidious and treacherous manner, killing and carrying away captive, to the number of 30 persons, and burning their houses; amongst whom was the family of one Anthony Bracket, an inhabitant of Casco who was thought to have been killed, but he himself, with his wife, and one of his five children carried away captive, with a negro did happily make an escape from their bloody and deceitful hands, in November next ensuing.

The manner how Anthony Bracket and his wife made their escape was very remarkable and therefore judged worthy to be here inserted, although out of due place. The Indians that had led them captive having brought them to the north side of Casco bay, news was brought to the said Indians of the surprizal of Arowsic's house in Kennebeck, with all the stores therein, which did so rejoice them, that they made all haste to share in the good things there to be had: Thus eager to be gone, they promised Bracket and his wife that they also should have a share therein if they would haste after them: The women having a little before observed an old birch canoe lying at the water side, hoped it was an opportunity Providence offered for their escape; whereupon she first prudently asked the Indians to let the negro, their own servant (at the same time carried captive by them) help them to carry their burthens, which was granted: then she begged for them a piece or two of meat, which was not denied them. Thus being furnished with help and provision, the Indians leaving them behind to some after with their several burthens, and a young child, they could not but look upon it as a *nutrus Divinus*, to bid them shift for themselves:. The woman also found a needle and thread in the house, with which she mended the canoe, while they tarried at that side of the bay, in which they soon ventured to get away, which prosperously succeeded; for in that old canoe they crossed a water eight or nine miles broad, and when they came on the south side of the bay, they might have been in as much danger of other Indians, that had lately been about Black point, and had taken it; but they were newly gone. So things on all sides thus concurring to help forward their deliverance, they came safely to the seat at Black point, where also by special providence they met with a vessel bound for Piscataqua, that came into that harbour but few hours before they came thither, by which means they arived safe in Piscataqua river soon after; all which circumstances are very worthy to be noted.

Amongst those Indians that siezed this Bracket's family, the chief was one Simon, who had but a little before escaped out of Dover prison, where he was not carefully overlooked; he had had his hand in the murder of sundry English, as he had confessed; not missing any, save one, on whom he had discharged his gun; but because he came in voluntarily, bringing in a woman and five children of the English, who had been carried captive a little before, it was questioned whether his last act of submission might not balance his former transgression, and therefore he was committed to that, not so secure a prison, till his cause might be further considered of. It is said that coming to Bracket's house over night, he pulled forth a counterfeited pass under the hands of some public officers, or men entrusted with that services making shew of all friendship; but in the morning, or soon after, he pulled off the visor of a friend, and discovered what he was; yet granting life to this person and his family, that did not or could not resist, which he denied to some of the neighbours not far off, who were many of them killed by this bloody villain and his partners.

There are some circumstances in the assault of Anthony Bracket's house very considerable, which, because it was the first outrage committed by the Indians in the second insurrection, 1676, are worthy of a more particular remembering.

This Indian before mentioned called Simon, after he had escaped out of the prison of Dover came to Casco, and either in the end of July or beginning of August, acquainted himself of this Anthony Bracket, and oft frequented his house. Upon the 9th of August some of the Indians having killed a cow of his, the Indian Simon coming to his house promised to bring the Indians to him that had killed his cow. In the meantime they of the place sent two men to Major Waldern's at Dover, to complain of this injury done by the Indians, but before their return, very early in the morning on the 11th of August, Simon with a party of Indians came to Anthony Bracket's house, and told him there were the Indians that had killed his cow; but as soon as they had said that, the Indians went further into his house and took hold of all the guns they could see: Bracket asked what was the meaning of that, Simon replied, that so it must be, asking him withal, whether he had rather serve the Indians, or be slain by them; which he answered, that if the case were so, he would rather choose to serve them than be killed by them: Simon replied, that then they must be bound which was presently done. The said Bracket, his wife and a negro were all bound by the Indians; his wife had a brother, who offering to resist was killed forthwith; the rest, with five children were led away prisoners.

Two hours after one Pike, that lived not far off, but knowing nothing of all this, went up in a canoe, toward one Robert Corban's house where he found one Humphrey Durham and Benjamin Atwel at work about their hay; after a little stay he left them, intending to go up higher with his canoe, but as soon as he was a little past, he heard the report of guns which made him with another man he had with him, presently return back; before he came beyond Corban's house he saw an English boy running with all haste which made him fear some mischief was at hand, and presently a volley of shot came against them, but the bullets flying over their heads, did them no hurt; presently Simon appeared, and called them to come on shore; but they liked not his courtesy, and turning their canoe into the stream, got out of the reach of their guns, hasting down to his own house with all speed; when he came near to his house, he called to the people to make haste away towards the garrison house, and bid the rest look to themselves, and fire upon the Indians that were coming against them: In the meanwhile the Indians passing from Anthony Bracket's to Corban's, killed Corban himself, together with Humphrey Durham and Benjamin Atwel, before mentioned; then passing on to the other houses, killed some, and carried others away captive. At one of the next houses the women and children got off into the water by a canoe; but one James Ross, his wife and children were carried away. Corban's wife, with one of the other men's wives, and the children of another, they carried away likewise.

In another side of the town as three persons were going to reap at Anthony Bracket's, passing from an house where they left their canoe met with John Mountjoy and one Wakely, to whom they told what had happened, soon after they heard two guns fired, whereby it seems two men were killed; wherefore coming back towards T. Bracket's, where they left their canoe, they saw him shot down by the Indians; one of the three not so well able to run, hid himself in the bushes in hopes to escape more conveniently afterwards, which accordingly he did; but in the mean time he saw the Indians carry away Thomas Bracket's wife and children. Soon after the three men aforesaid got safe to Mr. Mountjoy's garrison, but not trusting to the security of that garrison, they soon after repaired to an island in the bay, called James Andrew's island. One George Lewis and his wife tarried all this time in their house till the next day, when they had opportunity to get safe to the island aforesaid, together with the two men that were now returned from Major Waldern's; whither they had been sent but too late, to make complaint of the Indians that had counterfeited his pass to travel into those parts, and had done this mischief.

The day after, one George Felt, suspecting the worst by reason of a smoke he saw on the opposite side of town, took his wife and chilren in a canoe to see what the matter was, but when he came near a point of land not far off he found several of his neighbour's goods, which made him conclude their owners were killed, which was a sufficient warning to him likewise to fly for his life, which he did to the same island. After a number of them had escaped thither, they recollected that they had left powder behind them in one or two places: whereupon they determined to venture a party of them in the night, to prevent the Indians from having any advantage thereby, and for their own defence if occasion should

require; accordingly their attempt succeeded well, for they brought away a barrel of powder from one Wells's house, and likewise a considerable quantity out of a chest in a store house, which the Indians had been ransacking, and had taken things out of the other end of the chest, yet overlooked the powder. In this surprisal of the plantation in Casco bay, called Falmouth, there were 34 persons killed and carried into captivity.

That this was not a casual attempt, but a designed plot, will appear in that, just about the same time, the Indians at Kennebeck made the like insurrection whereby it is concluded, either that the Indians which escaped from Dover stirred them up thereunto; or that the said Indians finding them in a disposition tending that way, by reason of some injuries done those that dwell farther northward, they offered their service to help forward the design.

It is to be noted here that the Indians about Kennebeck were persuaded to continue their former amity with the English, notwithstanding the report of Philip's rising that year before, and the outrages committed the last autumn and winter following; yet which is more, they had lately renewed their league with the English in those parts, although they had often complained to those of Pemmaquid, of the injury they suffered in the withholding from them the trade of powder and shot, without which they said they could not subsist, and for want of which, it is alleged by themselves, that some of them perished the last winter.

But the quarrel of late fallen out betwixt the English and the Indians about Kennebeck and eastward thereof, being a matter of great importance, it shall, for the satisfaction of the reader, in what follows be more particularly described, it being the duty of every one that publish things of this nature, to do the right of an historian to all who are any ways concerned in what is made public. The information was received from a prudent person, an eye and ear witness of all that happened amongst the said Indians both the former and present year, and one that was more publicly concerned in those transactions than some others, therefore the more credit may be given thereto.

Mention is already made of what happened in September, 1675, to the company belonging to a sloop and two boats that went up Casco bay to gather corn, upon that accident it is said divers Indians on the east side of Kennebeck river repaired to their fort at Totonnock, (a place higher up in the country beyond Kennebeck and Sheepscot river) where was an English trading house: and the Indians eastward of said river, had as yet done no harm to any of the English, yet did Capt. Sylvanus Davis, agent for Major Clarke and Capt. Lake of Boston upon these overtures think fit to fetch down the powder and shot, with other goods from the said trading house, telling the Indians by the messenger sent up, he would have them come down and live below in that river to take off jealousies, and that he would then supply them with what was needful.—But the messenger told them in case they would not come down and deliver up their arms the English would kill them. *He that sendeth a message by the hand of a fool*, saith Solomon, *cutteth off the feet, and drinketh damage.* This message delivered by him as he afterwards confessed, but who put it into his mouth, or whether it was the device of his own heart does not at present concern us to inquire, but the damage that side of the country had sustained thereby is not easy to recount; for upon this threatening message the Indians forsook their fort and went further eastward and sent to John's river, and to the sea side, to get all the Indians they could together to come up Penobscot river.

A gentleman who at that time lived at Pemmaquid, a kind of superintendant over the affairs of that place, considering the sad state things were running into, laboured to obtain a parley with the said Indians, or with some of them, which after much trouble and cost he did accomplish. But in the meantime, such was the violence used by some refractory English in those parts, that they could scarce be restrained from offering violence to the persons he sent up as messengers, and others that lived quietly amongst them, and did also as violently set themselves up to oppose him or any others that acted with more moderation than the rest; protesting against them as those who, for gain, supplied the Indians with powder and shot, and said they would kill any Indian they met; others at Monhiggon offered five pounds for every Indian that should be brought, yet would not these persons that were so violent against the Indians in their discourse, be persuaded then or afterwards to fight the Indians in an orderly way, as appeared both by their security in not acting better upon their guard, and by their sudden flight afterwards, running away, like a flock of sheep at the barking of any little dog. Things being in this posture, what could be expected but a present war with the Indians, although as it seems there were few or none to be found willing to manage it in those parts. However, the person aforesaid understanding the general court at Boston had appointed a council of war at Kennebeck, applied himself to them, laying before them the desperate state things were fallen into; whereupon they issued out warrants to restrain all manner of persons meddling with the Indians without further orders, which within a few days should be had. In the meantime the sachems of the Indians met at Pemmaquid, where after many complaints made of the hard dealing of the English in Kennebeck river, they came to terms of peace, promising to keep true friendship with the English, and to hinder the Amoscoggin Indians from meddling with the English, if by any means they could, and also to return peaceably in the spring of the year. This gentleman aforesaid, having a long time wanted to go to Boston, was willing to take the opportunity of the present winter, hoping things were now pretty well settled in those parts between the Indians and the English, found soon after that he was cited thither to answer some complaints, though ill grounded, for selling powder and shot to the Indians contrary to order. But those false opinions being easily blown away by his appearance at Boston, and having despatched his business there, he returned before the winter was over to Pemmaquid, where hearing of a vessel that intended to take Indians in those parts and carry them to market, which he had many strong reasons to believe, (it being no hard matter to surprise many such, that suspecting no fraud, would easily be enticed aboard a vessel to trade, or may be to drink liquor) sent to both the master and the company, if they had any such intent, to forbear, seeing those Indians were at peace with us; and likewise to the Indians, to inform them of such a vessel, and to beware thereof; but yet it seems the master and company took several Indians eastward, who were also at peace with us, and to our great sorrow shipped them on board for a market.

The winter being now over, the aforementioned agent of Pemmaquid went to a meeting of the Indians eastward, to persuade them of the country's willingness to continue a peace with them. They seemed very joyful thereat, and in the spring brought some presents to confirm the peace, and to that end also delivered up an English captive boy to those of Kennebeck.—But when the summer came on, the said Indians having liberty to visit their friends as they used to do, they missed many of them who had in the winter been perfidiously carried away, and as is related, they fell into a rage against the English, making complaint thereof to the said agent, Mr. Earthy Mr. Richard Oliver, and others. They were told means should be used for bringing those back again which had been so transported. Those to whom the complaint was made did scarce believe it to be true, not having heard thereof from any other hand, and probably hoping none, especially after such solemn warning, would deal so perfidiously with heathens, to lay such a stumbling block before them.

The Indians being certain of the thing done, could not be easily pacified, being likewise incensed against the English for withholding the trade of powder and shot the last winter, saying they were frighted from their corn the last winter, by the people about Kennebeck, insomuch that many of them died in the following winter for want of powder, and wherewith to kill venison and fowl; adding withal that if the English were their friends, they would not suffer them to die for want thereof. However, the said agent making the best he could of a bad cause, used all means to pacify the complainants, and to that end promised them that if they would meet with any of the Amoscoggin Indians (who had all along the bitterest enmity against the English) he would give them a meeting to treat in order to a peace, Major Waldern having already concluded a peace with the Piscataqua and Casco Indians, and by that means, if they could conclude the like peace with the Amoscoggin men (that could not yet be found) there would be a general peace with all the Indians eastward of Piscataqua, which the Indians that were present at this discourse seemed very joyful at. Yet still by one fatal accident or another, jealousies still seemed to increase in their minds, or else the former injuries began to boil afresh in their spirits, and not being easily digested, whatever had been said or done to allay the offensiveness thereof. Soon after comes a post from Totonnock, to desire him to repair thither according to his promise, where they told him he should meet Squando, and divers Amoscoggin sachems, and the Major was sent post to fetch the said Squando. This gentleman mindful of his promise, went with the post to Kennebeck, finding

Capt. Lake at his house in Arowsick. It was judged meet that Capt. Sylvanus Davis should go with him, with instructions from the council then sitting in Kennebeck, how to carry on their treaty. After they had gone part of the way towards Totonnock, they came to an English house, where they were told that great jealousies of deceit in the Indians were upon their spirits, from what they had heard of Mug, and Tarumkin, an Amoscoggin sachem. Going further, to a place called Kedonucook, they met with Indians, who were very shy of telling them any thing; which added to their former intimation greatly increased their fears; but being resolved on their voyage, they proceeded in their way thither, yet falling short of the place on purpose, that they might finish their business with them the next day. When they came to their fort, they were saluted with a volley of shot, then brought into a wigwam where their sachems were: Madockawando sat as a chief, who now stiles himself their minister. Being set in council, they made Assiminasqua their speaker, whose adopted son was the said Madockawando: He told them it was not their custom, if any came as messengers to treat with them, to seize upon their persons, as sometimes the Mohawks did with such as had been sent to them: Captain Davis and the other gentleman, told them therein they dealt like men: answer was presently made them, you did likewise by our men, when fourteen came to treat with you, you set a guard over them, and took away their guns; and not only so, but a second time you required our guns, and demanded us to come down unto you, or else you would kill us, which was the cause of our leaving both our fort and our corn to our great loss.

It was without doubt no small trouble to their minds, in a treaty with those pagans, *hæc dici potuisse, and non potuisse refelli:* Yet to put the best constructions that might be on such irregular actions, which could not well be justified, they told them the persons who had so done, were not within the government, and therefore, though they could not call them to an account for so acting, yet they did utterly disallow thereof: we sent for you to Pemmaquid, and treated you kindly, and kept you, as you know, from the violence of the English; the Indians replied, we do but inform you, and will treat further in the afternoon; but when the afternoon came, our two messengers told them their business was to treat with the Amoscoggin sachems, and that they were sorry Squando was not there; then having confirmed peace with those eastward Indians they entreated the Amoscoggin men to speak, who likewise urged Tarumkin, the chief Amoscoggin sachem to speak, who after some pause said he had been to the westward, where he had found many Indians unwilling for peace; but says I found three sachems (whom he named though those he spake to knew them not) willing to have peace; and for my own part I am willing for peace, and gave them his hand with protestation of his continuing in friendship; so did seven or eight more of the Amoscoggin men; whose names they took, of whom Mug and Robinhood's son were two. After this Madockawando asked them what they should do for powder and shot, when they had eat up their Indian corn, what they should do for the winter, for their hunting voyages? asking withal, whether they would have them die, or leave their country, and go all over to the French? Our messengers told him they would do what they could with the governor; some might be allowed them for necessity: He said they had waited long already, and therefore would have them now, say yea or nay, whether they should have powder, as formerly or not? Our messengers then replied, you yourselves say many of the western Indians would not have peace, and therefore if we sell you powder, and give it to the western men, what do we but cut our own throats? Adding further, it is not in our power without leave, if you should wait ten years more, to let you have powder; at which words they seemed much to be offended.

But yet the next day they resolved to go down with them and speak with the western men, thereby, if it might be, to stop their further proceedings.

So going down with them the next day, they met with some Indians who had got strong liquor, with whom they fell a drinking; our messengers stayed at two places for them, and finding that still they tarried behind, not knowing what further to do, they went home, it being the sixth day of the week; but the next night save one, news came to Kennebeck, that the Indians had killed divers English in Casco, although it was not yet known at Pemmaquid: Upon this news Capt. Davis sent out one sentinel the next night; the rest (such was their security) went all to bed, and in the morning were all like Laish surprised: Thus might it be said *Invadaunt Æeden sommo (sino) vinoq; sepultam.* The particulars of the surprising of Kennebeck, and Arowsick house, are thus related by such as were acquainted therewith.

Upon the 13th of August, 1676, several Indians repaired in the evening to the house of Mr. Hammond, an ancient inhabitant, and trader with the Indians upon Kennebeck river, his daughter, or a maid that was servant in the house, either naturally afraid of the natives, or else from something she observed in the countenance or carriage, manifested so much fear, as made her run out of the house to hide herself in some place abroad; the Indians perceiving it, the more to dissemble their treachery, ran after her and brought her into the house, telling her, (although they could not persuade her to believe) that there was no reason to be afraid of them; presently after more of the barbarous villains coming into the house, she grew more afraid than before, being now more strongly persuaded that they came on purpose to kill or surprise those in the family, whereupon she suddenly made an escape out of the house, and presently passed into a field of Indian corn, whereby she might the better avoid the danger of any pursuer, and so run across over the land that night, ten or twelve miles, to give them notice that lived at Sheepscot river; it is said that after she got out, she heard a noise in the house as if they were fighting or scuffling within doors; but she did not count it wisdom to go back and see what the matter was, knowing before enough of their villainies, how well soever her mistress (that was more versed in the trade of the Indians) might think of them. Those of Sheepscot taking this warning, escaped away as soon as they could, leaving their cattle and dwellings as a prey to the Indians. What befel master Hammond and his family, is not yet certainly known: Reports pass up and down, that some who came down the river afterwards, saw some of the dead stripped upon the bank of the river, which make us fear the worst concerning all the rest; for certainly the whole family, 16 in number, were all at that time either killed or carried away captive, none save the maid aforesaid being known to make an escape to inform their friends, like Job's messengers, what befel the rest of the family.

The Indians having in this manner surprised Mr. Hammond's house, they pased down the river the same night, but going by another house, they meddled not with the people, only turned their canoes adrift, that they might not find means afterwards to escape themselves, or help others so to do: Possibly their chief aiming at Arowsick house, they would not for fear of being discovered make any attempt upon a place near by; wherefore the 14th of August, very early in the morning, having in the night, or before break of day, passed over on the island called Arowsick; several of them undiscovered lay hid under the walls of the fort, and behind a great rock near adjoining, till the sentinel was gone from his place (who went off it seems sooner than he should, considering the danger) when presently some Indians followed him in at the fort gate (as some report) while others of them immediately seized the port-holes thereof and shot down all they saw passing up and down within the walls, and so in a little time became masters of the fort, and all that was within it: Capt. Lake, joint owner with Major Clark of the whole island, hearing the bustle that was below betwixt the Indians and those that belonged to the place, was strangely surprised, yet himself with Capt. Sylvanus Davis and two more, understanding that the Indians had seized the fort, and killed divers of the English, apprehending it bootless, or rather heartless to stay, as not being able to stand upon their guard or make any resistance, made a shift to find a passage out of the back door, whereby they escaped to the water side, where they found a canoe, in which they all entered, and made away toward another island near by: This was not done so secretly but the Indians discerned them before they were gone far: four of them therefore hasted after those that had escaped in another canoe, and coming within shot discharged their guns upon them, whereby said Davis was badly wounded; yet making haste, as they generally use to do that fly for their lives, *timor addidit alas*, they got ashore before the Indians overtook them; it is said they were strangely dispirited, or else they might easily have defended themselves against their pursuers: but when once men's hearts are sunk with fear and discouragement upon a sudden surprisal, it is hard to buoy them up, to make any resistance. Capt. Davis being badly wounded, could neither trust to his legs to fly, nor yet make use of his hands to fight, yet was strangely preserved: Providence directing him to go into the cleft of a rock near by the place where he first landed; the Indians by the glittering of the sunbeams in their eyes as they came ashore, did not discern him; so that lying hid under the covert of the hand

of Providence for two days, he at last crawled a little above the water side, till he found a canoe, whereby he escaped with his life. The other two were better footmen, and parting with Capt. Lake, made their escape ten or twelve miles to the farther end of the island, and so escaped from the Indians, till they found means to get off. Poor Capt. Lake, who a few hours before slept quietly in his mansion house, surrounded with a strong fortification, defended with many soldiers, is now forced to fly away with none to attend him; and as the awful hand of Providence ordered things, was as some say, pursued by such Indians as were mere strangers to the place, that knew not the master from the man, but by one of whom he was shot down, as is supposed soon after he came ashore: Lieut. Davis heard two guns, by which it was thought and soon after was known to be by an Indian, who hath since confessed to Capt. Davis that he shot him that day Arowsick was taken, which he intended not to have done, but that he held up his pistol against him, whereas if he had but asked quarter, he should have had his life. Capt. Lake was slain at that time, although many hopes were for some time entertained that he was taken alive, and kept with other captives amongst the Indians; and it is said the Indians of those parts did not intend to kill him if they could have helped it: but it was known his hat was seen upon an Indian's head not long after, which made his friends conclude what had befallen that good man, who might emphatically be so termed, in distinction from them that may truly be called just men and no more: For it seems according to the just agreement betwixt himself and his part owner of Arowsick Island, it was not his turn this year to have been upon the place, but such was his goodness, that he yielded to the desire of his friend and partner, as in his room and stead to take upon himself that service in this time of danger; it is hoped his goodness in future time will not be forgotten by such as were any way concerned therein, or had advantage thereby.

This island (called Arowsick, from an Indian so named that formerly possessed it, and of whom it was purchased by one Mr. Richards, who sold it to Capt. Lake and Major Clarke) lies up ten miles within the mouth of Kennebeck river; it is some miles in length and contains many thousand acres of very good land; where meadow and arable ground are in a good proportion well suited together. Within the fort aforesaid, were many convenient buildings for several officers, as well for wares and trading, as habitations: six several edifices are said to have been there erected. The warehouse at that time was well furnished with all sorts of goods; besides a mill and other accomodations and dwellings, within a mile of the fort and mansion house; some inhabitants of which hardly made their escape upon the first surprisal of the fort.

All which considered, the loss that befel the proprietors at the surprisal of this island, seems to be very great, valued at many thousands; but those that were the owners, with others of late times, have found from their own experience, what Solomon said of old, there is a time to get, and a time to lose, a time to keep and a time to cast away; a time to break down as well as a time to build up.

The persons killed and taken at Kennebeck, at Mr. Hammond's and at Arowsick, are said to be 53.

Upon the report of the sad disaster, all the plantations of the English in those parts were soon after left, and forsaken by degrees. All the rest of the inhabitants of Kennebeck river, Sheepscot river, Sagadahock, and Damanicottee, fearing to be served in the same way, fled to the islands of cape Bonawagon and Damaril's cove.

On the second day at night a post was sent to Pemmaquid to inform them of what had happened, who being but eight or ten men, had a mind to go on the island called Monhiggon, having secured the best of their goods, but the wind taking them short, they were forced to turn into Damaril's cove where they found Mr. Wiswall, and Mr. Collicot; there they laboured two days to settle a garrison; but through the mutinous disposition of the people, and the want of provision nothing could be done to secure the Island, so that it was soon deserted. From thence they went to Monhiggon, resolving there to tarry till they heard from Boston, from whence Mr. Collicott and Mr Wiswall promised to do their utmost endeavour to send help. There they settled three guards and appointed 25 to watch every night not knowing but that the Indians might come every hour. But continuing there a fortnight, and finding no relief like to come, and seeing all the country burnt round about, (for after they had got all that could be saved from Pemmaquid, they saw all the other islands, Windgin's, Corbin's sound, New-Harbour, and Pemmaquid, all on fire in two hours time) then considering what was best to be done, they found no boats could be sent to sea for fear of weakening the island, and that most of those who were on it were strangers, coasters, and such as came from the main and ready to be gone upon every occasion, they laid an embargo for one week; after which a letter was received from Major Clarke, desiring their assistance in inquiring after Capt. Lake, if alive, saying, what could be had at Kennebeck, &c. but intimating nothing of any help like to come; besides, those that brought the letter told them it was in vain to expect any help from Boston, it being questioned there what they had to do with those parts. Upon which the inhabitants considered, that if they should tarry there and spend all their provision and neither be able to go to sea, nor yet to live or be safe ashore for want of help, it were better for them to remove while they had something to live upon, and seek employment elsewhere; so by consent they resolved forthwith to transport themselves and what they had saved of their goods, to some place of security, so they sailed the first opportunity, some for Piscataqua, some for Boston, and some for Salem, at one of which places they all safely arrived.

Having thus escaped at first, as Lot out of Sodom, but not counting themselves safe in that Zoar, where for a little while they made out to hide their heads, till they might escape to some sure place, there waiting for better times, when they may with peace and quietness return to their former habitations, or seek some other elsewhere.

When the aforesaid exploits were done by the Indians about Casco bay, several of the English removed to Jewell's island, where they hoped to be more secure from the Indians, but the barbarous enemy finding so little resistance made against them on the mainland, a considerable party of them came with their canoes to destroy the island, also, about three weeks after the aforementioned mischiefs.

There was a fortified house upon the said island, where the English that either kept upon the island, or repaired thither, hoped to secure themselves. But at that time the Indians assaulted the place many of the English were absent, and few left in the garrison but women and children. Some were gone to other places to fetch Indian corn, others were in a boat employed about fish, amongst whom was one Richard Pots with two more. The wife of said Pots was washing by the water side where she was surprised with her children; and carried away in sight of her husband, who was not a little distressed at that sad spectacle, but was incapable of affording any relief either to his wife or children. One of the little innocents espying his father in the boat, ran into the water, calling out for help; but an Indian was running after him to catch him up; the poor man in great agony, being within gun shot, was about to fire upon the Indian, but fearing he might wound or perhaps kill his child, which the villain had seized and was carrying off, he forbore, choosing rather to have him carried away alive, than expose him to the loss of his life or limbs, by shooting at the Indian.

It is said some of the Indians were killed by those in the garrison; it is mentioned that a lad at one shot killed two or three of them; some guns were found afterwards under the fort, which were supposed to have belonged to some of the Indians that were killed. Some that were abroad when the fort was assaulted, desperately broke in through the Indians, whereby at the last many people were preserved.—Some flying away to Jewell's island, in a canoe toward Richmond's island, met with a ketch, to which they made known the distress the people were in, thereupon went to the place and took all the people they found there, and carried them off to a place of more safety. Yet there were several persons said to be killed and carried away at that time, viz. three men, who were known to be killed, two woman and two children that are supposed to be yet alive, though in the enemy's power.

From thence they went to Spurwinks, where they assaulted one place, or more, and carried another away captive. Amongst those that were in danger of surprisal, one that could not run hid himself in a garden of cabbages, so that he was not found, yet was very near them, for he overheard several questions they asked him they took; by which means he was the better enabled afterward to prevent the danger two more were coming into, for the poor fellow they had taken, told them that one Gendal and another man, were to come that way by and by; whereupon this man that hid himself, meeting Gendal and the other man, gave them notice of the danger, whereby they were delivered out of the snare for that time. Not long after Mr. Gendal fell into their hands as shall hereafter be related. Within a while after the same time, another fatal accident befel six or seven persons belonging to Casco: For upon the 23d of September, some

persons that belonged to a sloop and a shallop, that were pressed into the service (one reason of which was to prevent their straggling, they being persons that belonged to those parts about Casco) were over desirous to save some of their provision, to which end they first made their address to Capt. Hathorne, (under whom they were ordered to serve) desiring they might be released; the captain told them he could not do it, but desired them to have patience for a while; they told him they must and would go, else their families would starve at home; the captain told them further of the danger, and bid them not stir at their peril. However, go they would, and soon after went to Mountjoy's island to fetch sheep where they landed seven men; but the Indians fell upon them, when they betook themselves to the ruins of a stone house, where they defended themselves as long as they could; but at last they were all destroyed either with stones cast in upon them or with the enemies' shot, except one who, though at the first it was hoped his wounds were not mortal, yet soon after died thereof. Amongst these was one George Felt, much lamented, who had been more active than any man in those parts against the Indians, but at last he lost his own life amongst them, in this too desperate adventure.

The Indians growing more bold by these attempts in those remote places, drew down nearer towards Piscataqua, for not long after a party of them came upon cape Nidduck, where they killed and carried away all the inhabitants of a few scattering houses, to the number of seven in all; and such was their savage cruelty exercised in this place, as is not usual to be heard of, for having dashed out the brains of a poor woman that gave suck, they nailed the young child to the dead body of his mother, which was found sucking in that awful manner, when the people came to the place. The day before a man and his wife were killed at Wells, and two more soon after. On the 12th of October following near 100 of the Indians made an assault upon Black point, all the inhabitants being gathered into one fortified place upon that point, which a few hands might have defended; but as it seems one called Mugg, was the leader of the Indians, one that had from a child been well acquainted with the English, and had lived some years in English families, who though a cunning fellow, and had succeeded much in his attempts, but as this time shewed more courtesy to the English, than according to former outrages could be expected from any of those barbarous miscreants, and was willing to make offer of a treaty to Mr. Josselin, chief of the garrison, to whom the said Mugg promised liberty for all that were there to depart with their goods upon the surrender of the place: The said Josselin reports that when he came back from his treating with Mugg, that all the people were fled away out of the garrison, having carried away their goods by water before his return, insomuch that having none but his household servants to stand by him, he was capable of making no resistance, and so surrendered.

When people have once been frighted with reports and sense of danger, they are ready to fly away like a hare before the hunter or his hounds; one of the inhabitants of the place affirmed he saw 250 Indians, which was more by an hundred than any body else ever saw near the fort. But when a place is consigned to ruin, every thing they take in hand shall tend that way.

The loss of Black point was accompanied with another sad accident that happened about the same time at Richmond's island: For young Mr. Fryer, with some others at Piscataqua, to whom it seemed grievous that the Indians should make all that spoil in every place in those plantations, ventured, upon the great importunity of Mr. Gendal, with a ketch, to try what they could save of such things as the Indians had left; but things were so ordered, that before they had loaded their ketch, coming too near the stage head, they presently found themselves in danger of a surprisal; for part of their company being ashore, seized by the Indians, or in danger thereof, whom they were not willing to leave behind; and besides the wind blowing in hard upon them they could not get out of the harbour, but were forced to abide the danger of an assault, the Indians getting many of them into the stage head, annoyed them so fast with their shot that not a man of them was able to look above deck, but he was in danger of being shot down; amongst the rest Mr. James Fryer venturing too much in view of the enemy, received a wound in his knee, which appeared not dangerous at first, but for want of better looking to than could be found amongst that black regiment, into whose hands he soon after fell, it proved mortal unto him within a few days after; he being by a strange accident brought home to his father's house at the great island in Piscataqua. Mr. Fryer being thus wounded the rest of the company defended themselves for a while with much courage and resolution till they were brought to the sad choice of falling into the hands of one of these three bad masters, the fire, the water, or the barbarous heathen, to whom at last they thought it best to yield in hopes of liberty afterwards, at least of lengthening out their lives a little longer for the Indians had manned out a canoe with several hands to cut their cable, and others stood ready within the defence of the stage head, by which means the vessel after the cable was cut, soon drove ashore; and then it was threatened to be presently burnt, if they did not all yield, to which they all at last consented.

The Indians, how barbarous soever in their own nature, yet civilly treated their prisoners, and upon farther discourse sent two of them to Piscataqua, to give them there an opportunity to ransom their friends. The persons sent home to procure a ransom, were to return with such quantity of goods as the Indians had desired, by such a precise time; but they that brought the things for their ransom, coming a day or two before the time, when those that sent them was gone up the river at Black point, and not returned: Some other Indians waiting for such an opportunity, seized the goods, at least that part which they most desired, and through mistake, killing one of the three men that brought them, dismissed the other two, without return of the prisoners as was expected.

As to what happened afterwards we are yet much in the dark, and for the present can write but by guess: For within a few days after the return of Mr. Gendal, and the other man that went to carry the ransom, before the 1st of November, Mugg himself came to Piscataqua, bringing Mr. James Fryer, who soon after died of his wound; one of the prisoners along with him complaining that without his knowledge some of the Indians had seized what was sent for the ransom of the rest, promising upon his faith, that he would make good his word for the sending home all the prisoners, and offered also in the name of the other Indians to confirm a new peace with the English for the future. The major general of the Massachusetts colony was then at Piscataqua, but not willing to transact a matter of that nature and moment by his sole authority, ordered the said Mugg (supposed to be the chief leader of the Indians) to be carried down to Boston to the governor and council there, to conclude the business, with whom he soon after agreed upon a firm peace with the English of Massachusetts, in the name of Madockawando the chief of all the Indians in the eastern parts about Penobscot, engaging also to remain himself as hostage, aboard the vessel (in which he was sent home from Boston, the 21st November following) until the prisoners (which are said to be fifty or sixty) that they have still in their hands be sent home, and the rest of the articles performed; the issue of which we as yet wait to hear in God's good time, this 12th day of December following, 1676, when they there have made an end of the reckoning, it is hoped we may have our rights again.

There are two principal actors amongst the Indians that have all along promoted these designs amongst them, one named Squando, sagamore of Saco, and the aforementioned Madockawando, the chief commander of the Indians eastward about Penobscot, who are said to be by them that know them, a strange kind of moralized savages; grave and serious in their speech and carriage and not without some show of a kind of religion, which no doubt but they have learned from the prince of darkness (by help of some papist in those parts) that can transform himself into an angel of light, under that shape the better to carry on the designs of his kingdom. It is said also, they pretend to have some visions and revelations, by which they have been commanded to worship the great God, and not to work on the Lord's day. We know where that fountain hath its rise, that sendeth forth at the same place sweet and bitter waters; and from whence their hearts are inspired, that join blessing of God with cursing and killing his servants.

It is reported by some that came lately from those parts, that the Indians there as yet refuse to have any peace with the English, and will not as yet return any of our captive friends till God speak to the aforesaid enthusiasts, that are their leaders, that they should no longer make war with us, and the like.

But not to trouble ourselves farther with those ministers of Satan, or those that are actuated by the angel of the bottomless pit, who possibly since their delusions are but twofold more the children of hell than they were before. We know better how to understand the mind of the great Lord of heaven and earth, than to depend on such lying oracles.

That God who hath at present turned their hearts to hate his people, and deal subtly with his servants, we hope in time, will either turn the stream, and cause them to deal

friendly and sincerely with his people as heretofore, or give us an opportunity to destroy them.

In the next place it remains, that some account be given of our forces, under Capt. Hathorne, and of their several expeditions into the eastern parts, since the middle of September last; first up towards Casco, by the sea side, then afterwards through the woods, directly northward, toward Ossapy and Pigwauchet, in hopes to have found the enemy at their head quarters.

Upon the first report of those devastations and spoils that had been made by fire and sword in those eastern plantations it was judged necessary to send some forces that way to put a stop to the current o those outrages, before the remainder of the southern Indians could have an opportunity to join with them: To that end about 130 English, with forty Indians, were despatched away into those parts, under the command of Capt. William Hathorne, Capt. Still, and Capt. Hunting, who were to join with such as could be raised in those parts, under Major Waldern and Capt. Frost. After they had surprised the Indians that flocked into those parts, (as was related before) which was done upon the 6th of September, 1676, Capt. Hathorne, who was commander in chief, marched the forces by the sea side, towards Casco: For at that time they were upon some demur whether to march directly toward Ossapy and Pigwauchet, where the head quarters of the enemy was supposed to be, or else to march directly toward Casco bay where they heard parties of the enemy were daily spoiling the plantations of the English; the last it was judged the most expedient to try if they could not meet with some parties of the enemy amongst those plantations near the sea side, by that means at least to prevent them from doing more mischief, if they could not find an opportunity to fall upon some of them and destroy them; but their time was not yet come, nor were all the desolations as yet accomplished, which God had a purpose to bring about by their means: For notwithstanding there was a sufficient force to have suppressed all the numbers of the enemy, if they had been many more than they were, yet being emboldened and grown subtle by their former successes, they had so dispersed themselves all about the woods in those parts, that when our forces were in one place, they would be in another, and so did much mischief thereabouts, while our soldiers were out after them: For after they had by several steps in ten days time got to Casco from Newechewannick (about the 9th of September) they marched to Wells and from Wells to Winter harbour, and so from thence to Black point they passed by water, and then arrived at Casco bay, about the 20th of September, yet about that very time were several of the English cut off at Mountjoy's island, and that in sight of our forces, when they were not able to come at them for want of boats the island lying two leagues off in the bay; this happened the 23rd of the same month as was said before, and within two days after another party of the enemy were doing mischief at Wells and cape Nidduck, and yet escaped away when they had done.

Nor could our forces in all the expedition meet with any of them but two; one of which soon after he was taken was let go by the treachery or carelessness of them that held him. For when our forces were come within a few miles of the hither side of Casco bay, some of our Natick Indians under Blind Will (a Sagamore of Piscataqua, who went in company with 8 of his men, supposed to be good pilots for the places more eastward) met with some of the enemy, and laid hold of a couple of them; justice was done to one of them; the other, although he was led by two of Blind Will's Indians, they made shift to let go, who escaping, got over a river and gave notice to the Indians who were on the other side, and were heard but a little before threshing in a barn that belonged to Anthony Bracket, whom they had lately surprised. Another disappointment our forces met with about the same time: for when Capt. Hathorne was up at Casco bay with his soldiers, he never could come up with the Indians, either through want of skill in them that were his scouts, or rather want of faithfulness in one that should have been his guide, who had got his living by trading with the Indians, therefore seemed unwilling to have the brood of them destroyed, as was known afterwards; and by that means a party of the enemy escaped the hands of our soldiers. Yet it pleased God at one time to bring the forlorn of our forces upon a party of the enemy, who espying the English presently fled away into the woods like so many wild deers; yet one of them, viz. J. Sampson, who had been of the company that killed Robinson the year before, was by the special hand of divine justice, suffered to fall by some of our forces; he was a very lusty, stout man, and one that was armed with several sorts of weapons, but there is no weapon shall defend them whom death hath a commission to destroy; there is no ransom in that war. The rest of the Indians that were scattered about Casco bay having discovered our forces made their escape; but we hope their time is short, and that God will find some way to cut off the bloody and deceitful enemies of his people, and not suffer them to live out half their days.

But by one such accident or other, our soldiers could not meet with any of them that had done the mischief in those parts. While our forces lay about Casco bay, a small party of the enemy came down upon the borders of the town of Wells, where they lay in ambush near a garrison house at one end of the town, and shot Mr. James Gouge from his horse, on Lord's day, Sept 24th, as he was going home from meeting, and then knocked down his wife, giving her several wounds with their hatchets about the head, of which she died in three days after.

The next day, Sept. 25th, the same party, being not more than seven in number, went toward York, and surprised Capt. Nidduck in a most barbarous manner, killing most of the poor people belonging thereunto. Some of their neighbours hearing the guns, came to their rescue; the Indians being on the further side of the river, dared them to come over and fight with them man to man, using many reproachful expressions, and making a shot at them, which some of the company not being able to bear, did very resolutely adventure through the river after them; but they were not willing to try the valour of the English, when they perceived they found a way to pass over the river upon them, but returned back toward Wells, where they killed one George Farrow, September 27th, as he was too carelessly venturing to his house without any company. These things happened while our forces were at Casco, where they tarried seven or eight days; and hearing of these outrages committed in some of those places which they left behind them, and not being able to meet with any of them in the place where they were, they returned back toward Wells and York; but the Indians were escaped away into the woods after their companions before they came there. Our soldiers having thus spent much time and pains in a fruitless expedition toward Casco, resolved to venture another march after them up towards Ossapy, supposing they might by that time be drawn homewards towards their winter quarters; or else that they might destroy what they had left behind them, to prevent their harbouring there for the future: But it seemed good to him, who by his sovereign power and infinite wisdom ordereth all events and purposes (wherein his people or others are concerned) to disappoint all endeavours used at that time for the suppressing of the enemy, or putting any stop to their wonted successes; for soon after our forces were returned back from Casco, news was brought of the surprisal of Black point, on the 12th of October, as was mentioned before; which notwithstanding it was judged more advisable to venture and proceed on with the expedition towards Ossapy, (whither it was supposed by this time the greatest number of them were retired) rather than to return back again to recover Black point, where was nothing to be expected but an empty fort, and some deserted houses, which it seems the Indians had forsaken by that time. And besides, that other forces were about the same time ordered to repair thither, sufficient for the repairing and securing the place, with what else was left remaining from the hands of the enemy: And likewise several soldiers were ordered to garrison the towns thereabouts, to prevent them from making any further assault upon them. However, they were so far emboldened by the taking of Black point, and the ketch at Richmond island that a party of them came the very next week after towards Wells, hoping to attain that, and all the towns and places between Casco bay and Piscataqua, as they had done Black point: For a party of them under Mugg their chief leader, brought Mr. Gendal along with them to Wells, where they summoned the first garrison at the town's end. To facilitate the business, they sent the said Gendal as their agent or messenger to move them to surrender without hazarding an onset; but the people were not so despondent as to yield up the place upon so slight an occasion; which when the enemy discerned, they soon drew off, after they had done some little mischief to the inhabitants; for first they killed Isaac Littlefield not far from the garrison; it is said they would willingly hav had him yield himself prisoner, but he refusing, they shot him down, yet they were so civil as to suffer his friends to fetch away his body without offering any further act of inhumanity to it, or hostility towards those that carried it off.

An old man called Cross, was likewise kil

led by them about the same time; and another whose name was Jacob Bigford, belonging to the garrison, was so badly wounded that he died soon after. Thirteen head of neat cattle were also killed by them, out of which (through haste) they only took the tongues leaving the bodies whole to the owners, unless it was the leg of one of them, which was also taken away.

This was all the mischief done by them after the taking of Black point. The inhabitants of Winter harbour, near adjoining thereto, being alarmed with the surprisal of the other place, fled away with their goods for a time until they heard the enemy were moved farther eastward, and then it is said they returned to their place again. In this posture have things remained ever since in those eastern plantations between Piscataqua and Casco bay.

But our forces under the command of Capt. Hathorne and Capt. Still, having at last obtained all things necessary for a winter march into the woods, did upon the first of November following, set out towards Ossapy, where, after four days march of a very difficult way, over many rivers, not easy to pass at that time of the year, they arrived; but found not an Indian either there or in the way as they marched along. The Indians belonging to those parts had not many years before, hired some English traders to build them a fort for their security against the Mohawks, which was built very strong for that purpose, fourteen feet high, with flankers at each corner; but this time the soldiers intending to disappoint them of their refuge, made fuel thereof, which at that time was very needful for our people who had marched many miles through a deep snow in a very cold season, when they could hardly keep from freezing as they passed along, so early in the winter. None of the enemy being to be found there in the strongest fort, it was not counted worth while for all the company to march any farther; wherefore a small party being sent up eighteen or twenty miles farther northward amongst the woods, where as they passed along they met with many vast lakes, (supposed to be the cause of the sharpness of the cold in that side of the country) making the place scarce habitable for any besides those savages that used to hunt thereabouts for moose in the winter, and beaver in the summer; but at this time it is supposed they were all gone lower, towards the sea side, to share the spoils of the English plantations lately surprised by them, which is all the reward they have met with, who in former years for the sake of a little lucre by traffic with them, have run themselves there into the very jaws of destruction, either by irregular dealing with them or by their too much confidence in their deceitful friendship.

The 9th of November, our forces having spent nine days in this service, returned safe to Newechewannick from whence they set forth at first, having run more hazard of their limbs by the sharpness of the frost, than of their lives by any assault from their enemies.

There was a great probability that the design might have had some good effect if Mugg did not much abuse those he fled unto, with proffer of peace; for he told them that there were about an hundred about Ossapy not many days before. But it becomes us to look beyond second cause in events of this nature and conclude that God had raised up their barbarous enemies to bring a like chastisement upon the English in this side of the country, with that which others had endured elsewhere in the end of the former and beginning of the present year.

Things were so ordered by the providence of God, that the vessels before mentioned, arrived safely at Penobscot in the beginning of the month, where they found the said Madockawando, who was ready to confirm and make good the articles of the peace concluded at Boston by his agent in his name; and was willing also to deliver all the prisoners that were then in his power, or under his command, which were but eleven, who were taken in the vessel at Richmond's island, the 12th of October last. The said Mugg likewise being sensible of the obligation he lay under to make his word good, did venture to go up himself to another plantation of the Indians, where we supposed some more of the English prisoners were, to see whether he could obtain a release, as also to persuade the rest of the Indians thereabouts to join in the confirmation of the peace: It appeared to the persons belonging to the vessel that the said Mugg went with reluctancy, and fearing the Indians he was going amongst, would either kill him or keep him in prison; to which end, he ordered the command belonging to the vessels, to tarry for him about three days, or four at the most, assuring them that if he did not return by that time, they might certainly conclude that either his life or liberty was taken from him; however, the vessels tarried about or near a week beyond the time limited in expectation of his coming; but after so long a stay, they neither seeing nor hearing for him, were ready to fear the worst, viz. that his countrymen had made him sure, from having more to do with the English, whereupon for fear of being shut up by the sharpness of the winter from returning themselves, they took the opportunity of the next fair wind, of setting sail for Boston (only turning into Pemmaquid, to see if they could hear any further news there) where they arrived with such prisoners as were freely delivered by Madockawando, the 25th of December following, anno. 1676; amongst which prisoners, besides the two aforementioned, who were found at Penobscot, there was a third, by a more remarkable providence than ordinary, added unto them, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, son of that reverend and worthy minister of the gospel, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, pastor of the church at Ipswich, a town within Massachusetts jurisdiction, who had all the time of his son's captivity, together with his friends, wrestled with God in their daily prayers for his release, and accordingly he was with the more joy received by his friends, as an answer and return of their prayers. The said young man has lived with Mr. Fryer, merchant, of Portsmouth, for some years before, and had been often at sea with Mr. James Fryer the eldest son of the said merchant, and who had after much experience of his faitfulness, dexterity and courage on all such accounts, borne him so much respect, that when he was urged by his father to go along with Mr. Gendal as was said before, he would not venture unless his friend Thomas Cobbet would go along with him; which service he only for his friend's sake accepted, which proved a fatal adventure to Mr. James Fryer and might have been to the other also has not God otherwise disposed of him, having as is hoped, more serving in the land of the living. Amongst all the prisoners at that time taken, the said Thomas Cobbet seemed to have had the hardest portion; for besides the desperate danger that he escaped before he was taken, first by a bullet shot through his waistcoat, secondly by a drunken Indian; who had a knife at his throat, to cut it, when his hands were bound, when the Indians came to share the prisoners amongst them he fell into the hands of one of the ruggedest fellows, by whom within a few days after his suprisal, he was carried first from Black point to Sheepscot river, in the ketch, which the Indians made to sail in, in the said river, from whence he was forced to travel with his pateroon, four or five miles over, and to Damariscottee, where he was compelled to row or paddle in a canoe, about fifty miles farther to Penobscot, and there taking leave of all his English friends and acquaintance, at least for the winter, he was put to paddle a canoe up fifty or sixty miles farther eastward, to an island called Mount Desert, where his pateroon used to keep his winter station, and to appoint his hunting voyages: and in that desert like condition was the poor young man forced to continue nine weeks in the service of a savage miscreant, who sometimes would tyrannize over him, because he could not understand the language and for want therefore, might occasion him to miss of his game, or the like. Whatever sickness he was subject to, by change of diet, or on any other account, he could expect no other allowance than the wigwam will afford: If Joseph be in the prison, so long as God is with him there, he shall be preserved, and in due time remembered.

After the end of the nine weeks, the Indian whom he was to serve, had spent all his powder, whereupon on a sudden he took up a resolution to send this young man down to Penobscot to Mr. Casteen to procure more powder to kill moose and deer, which it seems is all their way of living at Mount Desert; the Indian was certainly overruled by Divine Providence in sending his captive down thither for a few days before, as it seems, after the Indians in that place had been powawing together, he told him that there were two English vessels then come into Pemmaquid, or Penobscot, which indeed proved so; yet was it not minded by him surely when he sent his captive thither for powder, for it proved the means of his escape, which his pateroon might easily have conjectured, if it had not been hid from him. As soon as he arrived at Penobscot, he met with Mugg who presently saluted him by the name of Mr. Cobbet, and taking him by the hand, told him he had been at his father's house (which was the 1st or 2d of November before, as he passed through Ipswich to Boston) and had promised to send him home, as soon as he returned. Madockawando taking notice of what Mugg was speaking that way, although he was willing he should be released according to agreement (his pateroon being one of this sagamore's subjects, though during the hunting voyage of the winter, he lived at such a distance from him) began to demand something for satisfac-

tion, in a way of ransom, not understanding before that his father was a great preachman, as they used to call it; Reply was made him that he should have something in lieu of a ransom, viz. a fine coat, which they had for him on board the vessel; which the sagamore desired to see before he would absolutely grant a release; but upon sight of the said coat seemed very well satisfied, and gave him free liberty to return home. Whilst this Mr, Thomas Cobbet was a prisoner at Mount Desert, going along with the Indians to hunt on an extreme cold day, he was so overcome with the sharpness thereof, that all his senses were suddenly benumbed, so that he fell down upon the snow, not being able to stir hand or foot, and had without doubt there perished in a little time, but the Indians he was going along with, missing him presently, ran about the woods to seek him, and when they found him, they were so pitiful to him, or so careful of their own good, as not to cast away a likely young man, from whom they expected either much service, or a good ransom, for want of a little care and pains to preserve his life; wherefore taking him upon their shoulders, they carried him into the next wigwam, so that he soon after revived, and came to himself again, without any farther mischief.

At another time, the savage villain, whose prisoner he was, so long as he had strong liquor, for five days together was so drunk he was like a mad furious beast, so that none durst come near him, his squaw he almost killed in one of those drunken fits.

The said Thomas to get out of his sight went into the woods for fear of being injured by him; where making a fire, he kept himself alive; the squaws being by God's special providence so inclined to pity, that they came to him daily with victuals, by which means he was at that time also preserved; all which put together, makes his deliverance the more remarkable, as an answer of prayer.

As for the rest of the prisoners (which are said to be 50 or 60) they were left with those who first suprised them at Kennebeck and Sheepscot river: The women were employed it seems to sew, and make garments for them; they having plundered many Engish goods at Arowsick. They are so much elated with their late successes, in spoiling so many English habitations, that they seemed not very ready to hearken to terms of peace, as their sagamore Madockawando doth desire: Nor are the English able to come near them with any of their forces this winter season, in regard both of the remoteness of the place, and sharpness of the cold, which used to be extreme in those parts. How their hearts may be inclined in the following year, or what the English may be enabled to do against them, is known unto God only, on whom we desire to wait for a confortable issue of these our troubles. But until they have spent all the plunder that is taken, it is no doubt, but they will seem averse from having peace; as others to the westward did, whose hearts were hardened against all proffers of that nature, till they were destroyed; possibly some remnants of them that escaped in those other parts, are got hither amongst these and do animate them all they can to hostility against us, till they make these as miserable as themselves, and so forced at last to fly from their country Many have been the troubles we have met with from these barbarous neighbours round about us, but God we trust will deliver us out of them all as he hath promised to do for the righteous, who may in the darkest night of affliction say light is sown for them, which shall spring up in the appointed time thereof.

No further news came to hand concerning the English prisoners at Kennebeck, after the return of Capt. Moore, from Penobscot, till the 5th of January; when one Francis Card, with another young man, formely an inhabitant of some place about Kenebeck, or of Arowsick (but then the prisoner with the Indians) made an escape from them, and got over to Casco bay, and then to Black point, from thence he was conveyed to Piscataqua soon after, and then to Boston.

The manner of his escape, as he reports, was this: He was employed by the Indians to thresh corn at a barn a little lower in the river, than the place where the Indians commonly kept; being trusted alone, to go and come of himself, because there was no suspicion of any coming to carry him away, or seeming possibility to get away without being discovered, he found means to plot with another young man, who was sent to look for horses, whose flesh it seems is by those wild savages preferred before the best beef, so that having their choice of both, they took what they liked best. This being the employment of the young man, he had the better opportunity when he was in the woods to make a contrivance to get away. Thus being resolved upon their design, they provided necessaries accordingly, and sent such a message home to their masters, as might occasion them not to expect them very soon that night. Thus resolved, they marched away as soon as they perceived the coast was clear; and having provided a canoe accordingly fit for the design, by the help of which they got over the water by which they were to pass, which was not frozen; and in the night time turned into a swamp, where they might make a fire to keep them from suffering with the cold without being discerned; so that within two or three days they recovered the fort and garrison at Black point, from whence they were soon conveyed to Boston.

This Francis Card made his relation of matters when he came to Boston, viz. that the prisoners which he left behind were well, and not much ill used, only put to do the servile work about the Indians. Woe must it needs be with Christians, when put not only to sojourn, but to serve in those tents of Kedar. Such of the women as were skilled in knitting and sewing were employed to make stockings and garments for their pateroons: so it seems the ware-house at Arowsick furnished them with cloth, stuff and linen, and the inhabitants served for artificers to cut it out and make it up.

He reported also that the Indians spake nothing of any peace; but rather being heightened with their late and great successes, were contriving how to get possession of the other places in the hands of the English on that side of the country, which God forbid should ever come to pass; but finding so easy work of their former exploits, they hope to accomplish their purposes, with the like facility in all other places where they come.

It seems Squando is their chief leader, that enthusiastical or rather diabolical miscreant; who hath put on a garb of religion, and ordered his people to do the like; performing religious worship amongst the Indians in his way, yet is supposed to have very familiar converse with the devil, that appears to him as an angel of light in some shape or other very frequently. This Francis Card also affirmeth, that there is not so great a number of Indians as is herein reported; for he saith, when they were going out upon some design while he was in their hands, he had opportunity to count them all and could find but 98 of them that were men; neither could he discern that there were any of the western Indians unless Simon and Andrew, that formerly escaped out of Dover prison: although it was before apprehended there were multitudes of them flocked thither.

Francis Card's declaration of their beginning, August, 14th.,

The Indians come to Richard Hammond's and there killed Richard Hammond, Samuel Smith, and Joshua Grant, there parting their company, eleven men came up Kennebeck river to my house, and there took me, and my family. Therefore the rest of their company went to Arowsick and there took the garrison: About a fortnight after, they came down Kennebeck river, and so went down to Damaril's cove, and there burnt houses and killed cattle; then coming back parted their company; one party went to Jewel's island, and the other party went to Sagadahock, being in number 81. Those that went to Sagadahock took a shallop; from thence came to Kennebeck river, and then went to killing and destroying of cattle and houses; for they had intelligence of a ketch and a shallop at Damaril's cove, and going there they took the shallop, and killed two men, being in the number about 80. The next day made up their forces went about to Black point being about 120 fighting men, and are now in two forts about 60 at a place, with six or eight wigwams between the two forts.

Now the best place to land men is in Casco bay, and in Kennebeck river; the one place being eight, the other about fourteen miles from the fort where I was kept; and if the army do not go with speed, they will be gone forty miles farther up in the country. At the first taking of me they carried me up to Taconnet, and the men coming down, they brought me and two more men down for fear of our killing their women and children; for they kept their women and children at Taconnet all the summer. As soon as the warm weather doth set in they do intend to go away to Taconnet, and there to build two forts, for there is their fishing places and planting ground. Squando doth inform them that God doth speak to him, and doth tell him that God hath left our nation to them to destroy, and the Indians take for truth all that he tells them; because they have met with no affront. Now Mugg the rogue, being come again to the fort, doth make his brags, and laughs at the English, and saith, that he hath found the way to burn Boston, and doth make laughter at your kind entertainment; they make their brags how they do intend to take vessels, and to go to all the fishing islands, and so drive all the country before them; reckoned to be a

great number in the spring. There are a great many Indians at Canada that have not been out this summer, both of Kennebeck and Damarascoggin, therefore a great many of these Indians at Kennebeck do intend to go to Canada in the spring to them, and they do give gifts both of captives, and of goods to the eastern Indians, to have them go with them; but as yet I do not know what they will do, for Madockawando and Squando are of several judgments, and so have parted and Madockawando doth pretend love to the English captives as civilly as we can expect by such a people. That this is a truth, is declared by me Francis Card, the 22nd of January 1679.

By the report which he brings it does not appear so difficult a matter to make an attempt to recover the place and destroy them that hold it, as was before apprehended: Insomuch as that design that was under debate before the governor and council a little before and was let fall for the present, as a matter not feasible, hath since been set on foot with a fresh resolution: And another thing also occurred about the same time which put new life into the said design, viz. an apprehension that there were several of the Naragansetts scattered about in these woods near Piscataqua, who it was feared might join with those of Kennebeck in the spring, and so come down upon the English plantations, and spoil them all that were thereabouts. For soon after Francis Card came to Boston, some of Major Waldern's Indians at Quechecho, as they were hunting in the woods, chanced to meet with three strange Indians, two of which had guns, but those of Quechecho were without. The other Indians began to have a talk with them, to see if they could make way for their acceptance with the English; Those Indians that this motion was made unto, in a most perfidious manner gave them encouragement in the business, and appointed a place where to meet them the next day, saying they could not have them go home with them to their wigwams lest their women and children would be frighted with the sight of their guns; all which spoken upon a treacherous account, by that means to betray them, for they had neither women nor children at their wigwams; but not having guns themselves, as the others had, they durst not then seize upon them. The next day therefore, according to appointment, their guests expecting a treaty and a friendly compliance (yet coming apart as was ordered the day before to be the more easily surprised) arrived at the place appointed and there presently the first, being thus treacherously brought into the snare, was despatched out of hand. The like was also done to the second. The third was at a distance, but he either discerned or suspected what became of his fellows, and therefore made the more haste to escape, but his deceitful friends were too quick for him, who shot him down before he could get out of their reach; so that they took him alive, as is said; but he could not live much longer by reason of his wounds. The Quechecho Indians cut off the scalps of their poor countrymen (which is their usual manner when it is too far to carry their heads) which being brought to Major Waldern, they were presently discerned to be Narragansetts by the cut of their hair. This instance is a sufficient evidence of the subtlety, guile and falsehood, natural to all these Indians, and may satisfy any rational person, what little trust there is to be put in their words, promises or engagements, though ever so solemnly made, farther than they that make them, for advantage in the keeping and performing. Subtlety, malice and revenge, seems to be as inseparable from them, as if it were a part of their essence.

Whatever hopes may be of their conversion to christianity in after time, there is but little appearance of any truth in their hearts at present, where so much of the contrary is so ordinarily breathed out of their mouths.

These manners of the Gentiles in former times, while they remained children of disobedience, until they were renewed after another image: Nor are these incapable subjects for divine grace to work upon; yet are there some natural vices proper to every nation in the world, as Paul speaks of the Grecians, from the testimony of one of their own poets.

But to return. These things so concurring and several gentlemen from about Piscataqua repairing to Boston, so represented the state of things eastward before the governor and council, that it is apprehended not only necessary, but feasible also to suppress the aforesaid Indians in those parts: Whereupon it was forthwith concluded that an expedition should be made against them; to which end 250 soldiers, whereof about 60 were of Natick Indians, who had given good proof of their value and faithfulness to the English; all which were immediately despatched away the first week in February, by water under the conduct of Major Waldern, as commander in chief; a person well approved for his activity, as well as fidelity and courage in matters of this nature. They had to encounter with rough and contrary winds, and much cold weather the first week after their setting out; but having so much experience of the favour and goodness of Almighty God, who is always wont to be present with his servants in like cases, though he hath often for a time deferred, for the trial of their faith and exercise of their patience, yet useth not to fail his people, that put their trust in him, being appointed for that end, to which we expect a comfortable answer. We that have sent forth our friends on the public service, being thus engaged to follow them with prayers, at present in silence wait upon the Lord of Hosts to give a blessing to the design; hoping our friends in this necessary, though difficult service, thus called forth, have gone out with the like encouragement and resolution that sometimes Joab did. Let us be of good courage, and play the men of our people, and for the cause of our God. And let the Lord do that which seemeth him good.

Upon the 11th of February, two Indian squaws that had run away from Major Waldern's in the beginning of winter, out of discontent, because the husband of one of them, and some of the relations of the other were sent away, came back with more wit than they carried away with them, though with less flesh upon their backs; having wandered up towards Pigwauchet, till they were almost starved there. They say some of the Indians were seen by them, pretending they were going to the head of Connecticut river, with hostile intents against the English; but they going away in the manner before described, little heed is to be given to the stories they tell on their return.

The 19th of February following, John Abbot, the master of Mr. Fryer's ketch taken October 12th at Black point, came into the isle of Shoales, having made a desperate adventure to escape. He gave a more probable account of things in those parts.

He saith they first carried to Seeepscot river, where the vessel in which they were taken was moored all the winter; in which time the Indians have spent all their ammunition and most of their provision, thought it high time to be looking out for more; to which end they caused the said Abbot to fit up the vessel (being a pinnace of about 30 tons) as well as he could, with such assistance as they could afford him; and ten of them shipped themselves in the same, intending for Penobscot; from thence to sail up that river as far as they could; and then leaving their vessel to proceed on with their canoes as high up the river as the stream would permit, and so to pass on to Canada, to buy powder of the French there; it being at this time thirty two shillings a pound amongst the Indians at Kennebeck. But as Providence ordered it, after these mariners launched into the deep a small storm with a contrary wind began to rise; of which the English skipper found ways in his steering to make the danger seem more than really it was, insomuch that they resolved to put in at cape Bonawaggon, three leagues to the eastward of Sheepscot, where eight of them went on shore, leaving two Indians on board with the English skipper. After he had got so well rid of them he contrived how to get clear of the others also; therefore he persuaded them that the vessel would not ride safely in that place, so that he prevailed with them to let him go to another harbour called Damaril's cove, two or three leagues more eastward. In the way as he sailed he so ordered his steering that sometimes the waves were ready to overtake the vessel, which put his two Indians into a fright, so that they made all the haste they could to get ashore, as soon as they come within the harbour, urging him to go along with them; but he pretended a necessary excuse to stay behind to look after the vessel but with intent as soon as he should see them ashore, to hoist sail for some English harbour, having no body on board with him, but a small English child about three years old. It seems the Indians had a child or two of their own dead in the vessel, who died after they began their voyage, they were the forwarder to go on shore with them for burial. The said Abbot now perceiving he had obtained his purpose (for he resolved on this project before) first greasing the mast with a piece of fat pork left by the Indians, as high he could reach, that he with his own hands might the more easily hoist the sail, so choosing rather to cast himself upon the Providence of God on the waters, than to trust himself any longer with the perfidious savages on the dry land; he came safe to the isle of Shoales before the evening of the next day, the 19th of February.

Within a few days after John Abbot aforesaid made his escape in the vessel, there came an express from Major Waldern (the commander in chief over our forces sent to Kennebeck to subdue the Indians in these parts,

and deliver the English captives that have been detained in their hands since August last) which giveth this account of their poceeding.

Feb. 17th. This morning the wind north-east, soon after south and south-west, we set sail with our vessels from Black point, for Portland, but on the east side of cape Elizabeth, we espied John Paine (who was sent out a scout) who brought word the way was clear of ice and Indians; whereupon we steered for Mary point at the head of Casco bay, and got there this night, but too late to get to the fort before morning.

Feb. 18th. We sent this morning our scouts out by land, who returning about 8 o'clock, brought word they saw the tracks of three Indians, and found a birch canoe at Muckquit, about four miles off, by which we feared we were discovered; the companies about four o'clock were drawn forth, and just beginning their march when we espied five of the enemy about half a mile off; they landed over against us on an island, and hollaed to us, whereby we perceived they desired a treaty; hoping to gain the captives, we sent John Paine to them, they promised him to bring the captives by morning and desired peace. After this John Paine was sent again, and stayed among the Indians in the room of Simon, who came to the major. He was questioned, and answered as follows.

Quest. How came you to know we were here?

Ans. We continually kept out our scouts, and yesterday our Indians left a canoe at Muckquit, which this day we missed, and perceived the English had taken it, and our men that left the canoe espied you a great way off at Portland.

Quest. Why did you break your covenant with me?

Ans. Blind Will stirred us up to war here, and said he would kill you at Quechecho. Simon having said this, asked the major what his business was here, to whom it was answered, we came to fetch off the captives and make war as we see good. Simon also told us that the captives were all well, that we should have them by morning, that Squando was there, and would give the captives to Major Waldern; that they intended peace, and had sent to Boston before now, but that Mugg told them that the English would be here shortly.

The major upon this dismissed Simon, and sent for Squando, to which Squando answered he would meet him half way if he would come alone in a birch canoe. To this the major answered, he would not venture himself in one of their leaky canoes, and that if he had no more to say, the treaty was ended: To this Squando answered, he would be with us again at ten o'clock, and bring the captives.

Feb. 9th. Wind north-east, the weather thick: About noon we discovered a party of Indians in fourteen canoes about three miles above us in the bay; they landed on a point of land, and burnt one English house and shouted to some of our men that were scouts, challenging them to fight: Immediately on the return of our scouts we marched against them as secretly as we could; upon sight of us they fled; but Capt. Frost came upon them with his whole body before they were half out of gun shot. In this skirmish we judged we killed and wounded several of them without any damage, yet some of their bullets hit some of our men. For the captain's sake immediately after this we hung out a flag of truce and the enemy did the like. John Paine was sent to them to demand the reason why they fired the houses, and broke their promise.

Simon met him half way, and answered, the house was fired accidentally without order fom Squando; that they had sent for the captives who were a great way off, and the foul weather hindered their coming: He questioned John Paine also why we fought them while we were in a treaty.

Paine answered, they broke it themselves in not performing their promises, challenging our soldiers to fight; the latter Simon denied, and answered the other as before: Simon told him they had two men wounded, and expected satisfaction, but also promised the captives the next day and so left us.

Feb. 20th. The wind north-east, and snow, it was resolved to sail for Kennebeck the first fair wind, whither we had immediately gone upon our knowledge that we were discovered by the enemy, but that the wind and weather hindered us hitherto.

Feb. 21. This morning the wind north-west, we set sail for Kennebeck, and arrived at the harbour's mouth at four o'clock. About sun set we set sail up the river, and got to the lower end of Arowsick.

Feb. 22d. We set sail this morning but could not get to the head of the river for ice, whereupon we landed our soldiers at two o'clock about twelve miles off Aboundessit fort, and immediately began our march; at 8 o'clock at night came to the fort; we found no Indians, there we took up our quarters this night.

Feb. 23d. We sent out scouts to discover the march of the enemy, but found so many tracks every way, that we knew not what way to follow them. At a council of war it was resolved that Major Waldern should sail for Penobscot, with two ketches, and part of the soldiers to seek after the captives, and fight the enemy if he had opportunity; the rest to build a garrison. In the absence of our forces, the vessels espied several fires below the river, and one English house was burnt; about sunset the soldiers returned to the vessels.

Feb. 24th. This morning the major with two boats and a shallop, went to spy out a place to settle a garrison, and found one against the lower end of Arowsick island and the vessels are brought to it.

Feb. 25th. We rested here this sabbath.

John Baker's house opposite the lower end of Arowsick being judged the most convenient place for their purpose, as well for the conveniency of water for the soldiers, as for a cove wherein ships might ride, within command thereof, the vessels therefore were immediately anchored there, where they rested on the Lord's day, February 25th.

Next day according to the advice of the commanders, Major Waldern embarked 60 men in two vessels, with which he set sail immediately for Penobscot, leaving the rest to be employed in making preparation for settling a garrison in the said place.

In their way off from Gyobscut point they espied two Indians in a canoe, that waved their caps as if they desired to speak with them. John Paine and Walter Gendal were presently sent; they gave them intelligence that many Indians were at Pemmaquid with the English captives, upon which they bent their course thither; when arriving, they anchored at four o'clock the same day; soon after two Indians halloed to them from Mr. Gardner's fort. John Paine was sent ashore to enquire who they were, and what was become of the captives. Sundry sorts of Indians were found about the place with several sagamores, the chief of whom was Mattahando, who told them he was glad to see Englishmen there and that he desired peace, and promised to deliver such captives as were at Penobscot, the next morning; adding also, that he desired to speak with Capt. Davis. After John Paine returned to the major, he was sent back with the said Davis and stayed ashore till three sagamores went on board, and signified as much to Major Waldern, as they had before to John Paine. While they were in discourse, an English captive was espied in a canoe with his pateroon, with whom they desired to speak, but it was not granted at that time he being carried farther up the river out of sight.

Soon after the major went on shore with six men, yet carrying no arms with them. He found their words smoother than oil, yet were there drawn swords in their hearts, of which some of their actions gave no small ground of suspicion; for they deferred all till the next morning; nor were they willing to let the man that was espied before in the canoe come on board to see his friends without leaving an hostage in his room, of which the major was very glad, that he might have opportunity of a little discourse with one whom they might trust. When they returned from the shore the sign was promised to be given for the appearance of the Indians by the firing of three guns.

The next morning, Febuary 27th, the major with the same number as before, went to treat with them, they, with John Paine, first hollaing to them: Upon their coming on shore their persons were searched on both sides, and all arms laid aside. The whole forenoon was spent in a treaty, whereat they seemed much to rejoice in expectation of a peace with the English; yet when Major Waldern desired a present delivery of captives, with assistance of men and canoes to fight the Monoscoggan Indians, enemies to them both, it was denied, though they could not have had a better testimony of their fidelity.

They alleged that the captives were given them by the Kennebeck Indians, and they must have something for keeping them for a winter, and therefore were not willing to let them go without a ransom; and as for their canoes, they said they had them in present service, being then bound for Penobscot. The price demanded, twelve skins a person, was yielded to; upon which they delivered William Chadburn, John Wannick, and John Warwood, which were all that they would own, or could be proved that they had.

The part of pay which was to be in liquor, was persently laid down, the rest was promised to be sent in the afternoon. The commanders debated what was further to be done; one or two of the old sagamores (who were believed) seemed sincere about the peace,

professed that none of them had any hand in the war, but only some of their young men, whom they could not rule; but several of the company affirming they saw some of the said Indians at Casco engaged in hostility against the English, it was resolved not to enter into any league of peace with them, but rather fight or suprize them after they had dispatched the business about the captives.

This being determined, the major with five of his men went on shore, with part of the ransom, the better to beget a confidence in them, and then to return on board again, and fit his men for further service; but if he had not wisely provided against all exigencies beforehand, he might have been prevented from going on board any more, for stepping aside a rod or two from the place for better circumspection, he espied the point of a lance from under a board, hid there, as were other arms near by, for a treacherous design that was in their minds, soon after, upon the receiving the rest of the pay, to have been put into execution. Whereupon Major Waldern took up the lance and came towards them, charging them with falsehood and treachery, for hiding weapons just by, wherewith to destroy them as soon as they had delivered the goods. The Indians discovered their guilt by their countenances, some of them making towards him, thinking to get the weapon out of his hands; but he bid them stand off threatening to kill every one that offered to touch him; and immediately waved his cap over his head (which was the sign agreed upon for all the soldiers to come on shore in case of need) upon which token the soldiers all hasted away. In the meantime the English that went on shore to wait upon the major, were forced to bestir themselves, both to secure the goods from being carried away, and to defend Major Waldern. Some of the squaws, with others of the enemy ran away; one of them catched up a bundle of guns that were hid near by, and then ran off with them.

Captain Frost seized an Indian called Megunnaway, a notorious rogue, (that had been in arms at Connecticut last June at the falls, and saw the brave and resolute Capt. Turner, when he was slain about Green-river, (and he helped to kill Thomas Bracket at Casco in August last) and with the help of Lieut. Nutter, according to the major's order, carried him on board, while himself searching about farther, found three guns in a cow-house just at hand, wherewith he armed the other three men that were with him. By this time some of the soldiers were got ashore, and, instantly, according to their major's command, pursued the enemy towards their canoes; in the chase several of the enemy were slain whose bodies were found at their return to the number of seven, amongst whom was Mattahando, the sagamore, with an old Powaw, to whom the devil had revealed, as sometimes he did to Saul, that on the same day he should be with him; for he had a little before told the Indians that within two days the English would come and kill them all, which was at the very same time verified upon himself. The body of our men overtook them before they all recovered their canoes so that without doubt, divers others of them were slain likewise, for they sunk a canoe wherein were five drowned before their eyes, and many others were not able to paddle; four they took prisoners, whom they brought away with them. There were about 25 Indians present at this encounter.

Much more damage might have been done by our men upon the enemy, if they had known the most direct way to their canoes; but the Indians having prepared all things ready for flight, as well as for fight, the more easily made their escape. One of the captives was sister to Madockawando, who was entertained very courteously by the commander in chief, and would have been carried forthwith to her brother in hopes by her means to have gained the better terms for our remaining English captives, had it not been certainly known that he was gone from home upon a hunting design, and not to return in two months.

The English took much plunder from the Indians, about a thousand weight of dry beef, with other things. Megunnaway was shot to death the same day or next; so that justice is by degrees pursuing those perfidious villains, and they, one after another brought under the wheel of destruction. Simon, the arch-traitor, seems as it is said, by his consumptive looks, to have received the sentence of death, which may bring him into the same place or state with the rest.

Feb. 28, they set sail for Sheepscot, but the wind failing, they put in at Kennebeck, from whence Captain Fisk with 40 men, were sent to the same place to seek after plunder, were they found between 30 and 40 bushels of good wheat, which they brought away with them several other things they lighted upon here and there, some of which were brought away, such as one or two grea guns, from Sagadahock, and boards from Arowsick, where they found an hundred thousand foot, of which they brought home enough for the lading of their vessels, leaving the rest to be transported in a more convenient season.

While our soldiers were upon Arowsick, two of the enemy chanced to come upon the place, and one of them instantly received his reward, the other received his payment in part, which however is supposed to amount to the whole, the canoe wherein he was escaping, being found the next day all bloody, and split asunder.

March 1st, one of the Indian squaws, a captive, was sent to Taconnet fort, with a message to the Sagamores treat for the rest of the captives. Five days were given her to return, which were not expired, when Major Waldern with most of the soldiers were called to return home towards Boston, where they arrived on the 16th of March, 1676—7, having first put in at Portsmouth; bringing along with them the bones, or rather body of Captain Lake, preserved entire and whole, and free from putrefaction by the coldness of the long winter, so as it was found by the one that was near him when he was slain, easily discerned to be his, by such as had known him before.

It is supposed by those that returned, that the enemy are by this encounter of the English so scattered and broken that they will not be able to rally again suddenly, or make any attempt hereafter, if the present advantage be seriously pursued. Thus have our enemies, many of them fallen into the pit themselves which they have been diggingfor others.

This day also letters were received from Major Pynchon of Springfield, but without mention of any appearance of the enemy in that quarter: whereby we are encouraged to believe, that they have stumbled and fallen down backward, so that they shall never rise any more to make farther disturbance. That which crowned the present service was the performing it without loss of blood; all safely returning. Let them accordingly remember to pay a suitable tribute of thankfulness to HIM whose banner they went forth under and returned in safety.

THE

ENTERTAINING HISTORY OF

KING PHILIP'S WAR,

WHICH BEGAN IN THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1675.

AS ALSO OF EXPEDITIONS

MORE LATELY MADE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY, AND INDIAN REBELS, IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF NEW ENGLAND:

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE TOWARDS

COL. BENJAMIN CHURCH:

BY THOMAS CHURCH, ESQ. HIS SON.

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TO THE READER.

THE subject of this following narrative offering itself to your friendly perusal, relates to the former and later wars of New England, which I myself was not a little concerned in: For in the year 1675, that unhappy and bloody Indian war broke out in Plymouth colony, where I was then building, and beginning a plantation at a place called by the Indians Sogkonate, and since by the English Little-Compton. I was the first Englishman that built upon that neck, which was full of Indians. My head and hands were full about settling a new plantation where nothing was brought to; no preparation of dwelling-house, or out-houses, or fencing made. Horses and cattle were to be provided, ground to be cleared and broken up; and the utmost caution to be used, to keep myself free from offending my Indian neighbours all round about me. While I was thus busily employed, and all my time and strength laid out in this laborious undertaking, I received a commission from the government to engage in their defence: And with my commission I received another heart, inclining me to put forth my strength in military service: And through the grace of God I was spirited for that work, and direction in it was renewed to me day by day. And although many of the actions that I was concerned in were very difficult and dangerous, yet myself, and those

who went with me voluntarily in the service, had our lives, for the most part, wonderfully preserved, by the over-ruling hand of the Almighty, from first to last; which doth aloud bespeak our praises: And to declare his wonderful works is our indispensable duty. I was ever very sensible of my own littleness, and unfitness to be employed in such great services, but calling to my mind that God is strong, I endeavoured to put all my confidence in him, and by his almighty power was carried through every difficult action: And my desire is that his name may have the praise.

It was ever my intent, having laid myself under a solemn promise, that the many and repeated favours of God to myself, and those with me in the service, might be published for generations to come. And now my great age requiring my dismission from service in the militia, and to put off my armour, I am willing that the great and glorious works of Almighty God, to us children of men, should appear to the world; and having my minutes by me, my son has taken the care and pains to collect from them the ensuing narrative of many passages relating to the former and latter wars; which I have had the perusal of, and find nothing amiss as to the truth of it; and with as little reflection upon any particular person as might be, either alive or dead.

And seeing every particle of historical truth is precious; I hope the reader will pass a favourable censure upon an old soldier, telling of the many rencounters he has had, and yet is come off alive. It is a pleasure to remember what a great number of families, in this and the neighbouring provinces in New England, did, during the war, enjoy a great measure of liberty and peace by the hazardous stations and marches of those engaged in military exercises, who were a wall unto them on this side and on that side.

I desire prayers, that I may be enabled well to accomplish my spiritual warfare, and that I may be more than conqueror through Jesus Christ loving of me.

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE ENTERTAINING HISTORY OF KING PHILIP'S WAR, WHICH BEGAN IN THE YEAR 1675. WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF BENJAMIN CHURCH, ESQ.

In the year 1674 Mr. Benjamin Church, of Duxbury, being providentially at Plymouth, in the time of the court, fell into acquaintance with Capt. John Almy, of Rhode Island. Capt. Almy, with great importunity, invited him to ride with him, and view that part of Plymouth colony, that lay next to Rhode Island, known then by their Indian names of Pocasset and Sogkonate. Among other arguments to persuade him, he told him the soil was very rich, and the situation pleasant; and persuades him by all means to purchase of the company some of the court grant rights. He accepted of the invitation, views the country, and was pleased with it; made a purchase, settled a farm, found the gentlemen of the island very civil and obliging. And being himself a person of uncommon activity and industry, he soon erected two buildings upon his farm, and gained a good acquaintance with the natives; got much into their favour, and was in a little time in great esteem among them.

The next spring advancing, while Mr. Church was diligently settling his new farm, stocking, leasing and disposing of his affairs, and had a fine prospect of doing no small things; and hoping that his good success would be inviting unto other good men to become his neighbours: Behold! the rumour of war between the English and the natives gave check to his projects. People began to be very jealous of the Indians, and indeed they had no small reason to suspect that they had formed a design of war upon the English. Mr. Church had it daily suggested to him that the Indians were plotting a bloody design. That Philip, the great Mount Hope sachem, was leader therein; and so it proved, he was sending his messengers to all the neighbouring sachems to engage them into a confederacy with him in the war.

Among the rest he sent six men to Awashonks, squaw sachem of the Sogkonate Indians, to engage her in his interest: Awashonks so far listened unto them, as to call her subjects together, to make a great dance, which is the custom of that nation when they advise about momentous affairs. But what does Awashonks do, but sends away two of her men that well understood the English language, (Sassamon and George by name) to invite Mr. Church to the dance. Mr. Church upon the invitation, immediately takes with him Charles Hazelton, his tenant's son, who well understood the Indian language, and rode down to the place appointed; where they found hundreds of Indians gathered together from all parts of her dominion. Awashonks herself, in a foaming sweat, was lesding the dance; but she was no sooner sensible of Mr. Church's arrival, but she broke off, sat down, calls her nobles round her, orders Mr. Church to be invited into her presence; compliments being passed, and each one taking seats, she told him, King Philip had sent six men of his, with two of her people, that had been over at Mount Hope, to draw her into a confederacy with him, in a war with the English, desiring him to give her his advice in the case, and to tell her the truth, whether the Umpane men (as Philip had told her) were gathering a great army to invade Philip's country? He assured her he would tell the truth, and give her his best advice: then he told her it was but a few days since he came from Plymouth, and the English were then making no preparations for war; that he was in company with the principal gentlemen of the government, who had no discourse at all about war; and he believed no thoughts about it. He asked her, whether she thought he would have brought up his goods to settle in that place, if he apprehended an entering into war with so near a neighbour? She seemed to be somewhat convinced by his talk, and said she believed he spoke the truth.

Then she called for the Mount Hope men, who made a formidable appearance, with their faces painted, and their hair trimmed up in comb fashion, with their powder horns and shot bags at their backs; which among that nation is the posture and figure of preparedness for war. She told Mr. Church these were the persons that had brought her the report of the English preparations for war, and then told them what Mr. Church had said in answer to it.

Upon this began a warm talk among the Indians, but it was soon quashed, and Awashonks proceeded to tell Mr. Church, that Philip's message to her was that unless she would forthwith enter into a confederacy with him, in a war against the English, he would send his men over privately, to kill the English cattle, and burn their houses on that side the river, which would provoke the English to fall upon her, whom they would without doubt suppose the author of the mischief. Mr. Church told her he was sorry to see so threatening an aspect of affairs; and stepping to the Mount Hopes, he felt of their bags, and finding them filled with bullets, asked them what those were for? They scoffingly replied, to shoot pigeons with.

Then Mr. Church turned to Awashonks, and told her if Philip was resolved to make war, her best way would be to knock those six Mount Hopes on the head, and shelter herself under the protection of the English: Upon which the Mount Hopes were for the present dumb. But those two of Awashonk's men, who had been at Mount Hope, expressed themselves in a furious manner against his advice. And Little-eyes, one of the queen's council, joined with them, and urged Mr. Church to go aside with him among the bushes, that he might have some private discourse with him which other Indians immediately forbid, being sensible of his ill design: But the Indians began to side and grow very warm. Mr. Church, with undaunted courage, told the Mount Hopes they were bloody wretches, and thirsted after the blood of their English neighbours, who had never injured them, but had always abounded in their kindness to them. That for his own part, though he desired nothing more than peace, yet, if nothing but war would satisfy them, he believed he should prove a sharp thorn in their sides; Bid the company observe those men that were of such bloody dispositions, whether Providence would suffer them to live to see the event of the war, which others, more peaceably disposed, might do.

Then he told Awashonks he thought it might be most adviseable for her to send to the governor of Plymouth, and shelter herself and people under his protection. She liked his advice, and desired him to go on her behalf to the Plymouth government, which he consented to, and at parting advised her, whatever she did, not to desert the English interest, to join with her neighbours in a rebellion which would certainly prove fatal to her. [He moved none of his goods from his house, that there might not be the least umbrage from such an action.] She thanked him for his advice, and sent two of her men to guard him to his house; which when they came there, urged him to take care to secure his goods, which he refused for the reasons before mentioned: But desired the Indians, that if what they feared should happen, they would take care of what he left, and directed them to a place in the woods where they should dispose of them; which they faithfully observed.

He took his leave of his guard and bid them tell their mistress, if she continued steady in her dependance on the English, and

kept within her own limits of Sogkonate, he would see her again quickly; and then hastened away to Pocasset,* where he met with Peter Nunnuit, the husband of the queen of Pocasset, who was just then come over in a canoe from Mount Hope. Peter told him that there would certainly be war; for Philip had held a dance of several weeks continuance, and had entertained the young men from all parts of the country. And added, that Philip expected to be sent for to Plymouth, to be examined about Sassamon's death, who was murdered at Assawomset ponds;† knowing himself guilty of contriving that murder. The same Peter told him that he saw Mr. James Brown, of Swanzey, and Mr. Samuel Gorton, who was an interpreter, and two other men, who brought a letter from the governor of Plymouth to Philip. He observed to him further, that the young men were very eager to begin the war, and would fain have killed Mr. Brown, but Philip prevented it; telling them that his father had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown. In short, Philip was forced to promise them that, on the next Lord's day, when the English were gone to meeting they should rifle their houses and from that time forward kill their cattle.

Peter desired Mr. Church to go and see his wife, who was but up the hill? He went and found but few of her people with her. She said they were all gone, against her will, to the dances; and she much feared there would be a war. Mr. Church advised her to go to the island and secure herself, and those that were with her; and send to the governor of Plymouth, who she knew was her friend; and so left her, resolving to hasten to Plymouth, and wait on the governor: And he was so expeditious that he was with the governor early next morning, though he waited on some of the magistrates by the way, who were of the council of war, and also met him at the governor's. He gave them an account of his observations and discoveries, which confirmed their former intelligences, and hastened their preparation for defence.

Philip, according to his promise to his people, permitted them to march out of the neck on the next Lord's day when they plundered the nearest houses that the inhabitants had deserted: But as yet offered no violence to the people, at least none were killed. However the alarm was given by their numbers and hostile equipage, and by the prey they made of what they could find in the forsaken houses.

An express came the same day to the governor, who immediately gave orders to the captains of the towns to march the greatest part of their companies, and to rendezvous at Taunton, on Monday night, where Major Bradford was to receive them, and dispose them under Capt. (now made Major) Cutworth, of Scituate. The governor desired Mr. Church to give them his company, and to use his interest in their behalf, with the gentlemen of Rhode Island. He complied with it, and they marched the next day.—Major Bradford desired Mr. Church, with a commanded party, consisting of English and some friendly Indians, to march in the front, at some distance from the main body. Their orders were to keep so far before as not to be in sight of the army. And so they did, for by the way they killed a deer, flayed, roasted, and eat the most of him, before the army came up with them; but the Plymouth forces soon arrived at Swanzey, and were chiefly posted at Major Brown's and Mr. Mile's garrisons; and were there soon joined with those that came from Massachusetts, who had entered into a confederacy with their Plymouth brethren, against the perfidious heathens.

The enemy who began their hostilities with plundering, and destroying cattle, did not long content themselves with that game; they thirsted for English blood, and they soon broached it; killing two men in the way not far from Mr. Mile's garrison; and soon after, eight more at Mattapoiset:* Upon whose bodies they exercised more than brutish barbarities; beheading, dismembering and mangling them, and exposing them in the most inhuman manner; which gashed and ghostly objects struck a damp on all beholders.

The enemy, flushed with these exploits, grew yet bolder, and skulking every where in the bushes, shot at all passengers, and killed many that ventured abroad. They came so near as to shoot down two sentinels at Mr. Mile's garrison, under the very noses of most of our forces. These provocations drew out the resentment of some of Captain Prentice's troops, who desired they might have liberty to go out and seek the enemy in their own quarter, quarter-masters Gill and Belcher commanded the parties drawn out, who earnestly desired Mr. Church's company: They provided him a horse and furniture (his own being out of the way;) he readily complied with their desires and was soon mounted.

This party was no sooner over Mile's bridge, but were fired upon by an ambuscade of about a dozen Indians, as they were afterwards discovered to be. When they drew off, the pilot was mortally wounded, Mr. Belcher received a shot in his knee, and his horse was killed under him, Mr. Gill was struck with a musket ball on the side of his belly; but being clad with a buff coat, and some thickness of paper under it, it never broke his skin. The troopers were surprised to see both their commanders wounded and wheeled off: but Mr. Church persuaded, at length stormed and stamped, and told them it was a shame to run, and leave a wounded man there to become a prey to the barbarous enemy: For the pilot yet sat on his horse, though so mazed with the shot, as not to have sense to guide him; Mr. Gill seconded him, and offered, though much disabled, to assist in bringing him off. Mr. Church asked a stranger who gave him his company in that action, if he would go with him and fetch off the wounded man: He readily consented, and they, with Mr. Gill, went but the wounded man fainted and fell off his horse before they came to him; but Mr. Church and the stranger dismounted, took up the man dead, and laid him before Mr. Gill on his horse. Mr. Church told the other two, if they would take care of the dead man, he would go and fetch his horse back, which was going off the causey toward the enemy; but before he got over the causey he saw the enemy run to the right into the neck. He brought back the horse, and called earnestly and repeatedly to the army to come over and fight the enemy; and while he stood calling and persuading, the skulking enemy returned to their old stand, and all discharged their guns at him at one clap, though every shot missed him; yet one of the army, on the other side of the river, received one of the balls in his foot. Mr. Church now began (no succour coming to him) to think it time to retreat: Saying, the Lord have mercy on us, if such a handful of Indians shall thus dare such an army!

Upon this it was immediately resolved, and orders were given to march down into the neck, and having passed the bridge and causey, the direction was to extend both wings, which being not well heeded, by those that remained in the centre, some of them mistook their friends for their enemies, and made a fire upon them in the right wing, and wounded that noble heroic youth, Ensign Savage, in the thigh, but it happily proved but a flesh wound. They marched until they came to the narrow of the neck, at a place called Keekamuit,* where they took down the heads of eight Englishmen that were killed at the head of Mattapoiset neck, and set upon poles, after the barbarous manner of those savages. There Philip had staved all his drums, and conveyed all his canoes to the east side of Mattapoiset river; hence it was concluded, by those that were acquainted with the motions of those people, that they had quitted the neck. Mr. Church told them that Philip was doubtless gone over to Pocasset side, to engage those Indians in rebellion with him; which they soon found to be true. The enemy were not really beaten out of Mount Hope neck, though it was true they fled from thence; yet it was before any pursued them. It was but to strengthen themselves, and to gain a more advantageous post. However, some, and not a few pleased themselves with the fancy of a mighty conquest.

A grand council was held, and a resolve past, to build a fort there, to maintain the first ground they had gained, by the Indians leaving it to them; and to speak the truth, it must be said, that as they gained not that field by their sword, nor their bow; so it was rather their fear than their courage, that obliged them to set up the marks of their conquest. Mr. Church looked upon it, and talked of it with contempt, and urged hard the pursuing the enemy on Pocasset side, and with the greater earnestness, because of his promise made to Awashonks, before mentioned. The council adjourned themselves from Mount Hope to Rehoboth, where Mr. Treasurer Southworth, being weary of his charge of commissary general, provision being scarce and difficult to be obtained, for the army, that now lay still to cover the people from no body, while they were building a fort for nothing) retired, and the power and trouble of that post was left with Mr. Church, who still urged the commanding officers to move over to Pocasset side, to pursue the enemy, and kill Philip, which would, in his opinion, be more probable to keep possession of the neck, than to tarry to build a fort. He

* Tiverton shore over against the north end of Rhode Island.

† Middleborough.

* In Swanzey.

* Upper part of Bristol.

was still restless on that side of the river, and the rather because of his promise to the squaw sachem of Sogkonate, and Captain Fuller also urged the same, until at length there came further orders concerning the fort; and withal an order for Captain Fuller with six files to cross the river to the side so much insisted on, and to try if he could get speech with any of the Pocasset or Sogkonate Indians, and that Mr. Church should go his second. Upon the captain receiving his orders, he asked Mr. Church whether he was willing to engage in this enterprise: To whom it was indeed too agreeable to be declined; though he thought the enterprise was hazardous enough for them to have more men assigned them. Captain Fuller told him, that for his own part he was grown ancient and heavy, he feared the travel and fatigue would be too much for him: but Mr. Church urged him, and told him, he would cheerfully excuse him his hardship and travel, and take that part to himself, if he might but go; for he had rather do any thing in the world than to stay there to build the fort.

Then they drew out the number assigned them, and marched the same night to the ferry, and were transported to Rhode Island, from whence, the next night, they got passage over to Pocasset side, in Rhode Island boats, and concluded there to dispose themselves in two ambuscades before day, hoping to surprise some of the enemy by their falling into one or other of their ambushments. But Capt. Fuller's party, being troubled with the epidemical plague of lust after tobacco, must needs strike fire to smoke it; and thereby discovered themselves to a party of the enemy coming up to them, who immediately fled with great precipitation.

This ambuscade drew off about break of day, perceiving they were discovered, the other continued in their post until the time assigned them, and the light and heat of the sun rendered their station both insignificant and troublesome, and then returned unto the place of rendezvous, where they were acquainted with the other party's disappointment, and the occasion of it. Mr. Church calls for the breakfast he had ordered to be brought over in the boat; but the man that had the charge of it confessed that he was asleep when the boatmen called him, and in haste came away, and never thought of it. It happened that Mr. Church had a few cakes of rusk in his pocket that Madam Cranston (the governor of Rhode Island's Lady) gave him when he came off the island; which he divided among the company, which was all the provisions they had.

Mr. Church, after their slender breakfast, proposed to Capt. Fuller, that he would march in quest of the enemy, with such of the company as would be willing to march with him, which he complied with, though with a great deal of scruple, because of his small number, and the extreme hazard he foresaw must attend them.

But some of the company reflected upon Mr. Church, that notwithstanding his talk on the other side of the river, he had not shewn them any Indians since they came over. Which now moved him to tell them, that if it was their desire to see Indians, he believed he should now soon shew them what they should say was enough.

The number allowed him soon drew off to him, which could not be many, because their whole company consisted of no more than thirty-six. They moved towards Sogkonate, until they came to the brook that runs into Nunnaquahqat neck, where they discovered a fresh and plain track, which they concluded to be from the great pine swamp, about a mile from the road that leads to Sogkonate. Now, says Mr. Church, to his men, if we follow this track, no doubt but we shall soon see Indians enough; they expressed their willingness to follow the track, and moved in it, but had not gone far before one of them narrowly escaped being bit with a rattlesnake: And the woods that the track led them through was haunted much with those snakes, which the little company seemed to be more afraid of than the black serpents they were in quest of, and therefore bent their course another way, to a place where they thought it probable to find some of the enemy. Had they kept the track to the pine swamp, they had been certain of meeting Indians enough; but not so certain that any of them should have returned to give account how many.

Now they passed down into Punkatees neck; and in their march discovered a large wigwam full of Indian truck, which the soldiers were for loading themselves with, until Mr. Church forbid it, telling them they might expect soon to have their hands full, and business without caring for plunder. Then crossing the head of the creek, into the neck, they again discovered fresh Indian tracks very lately passed before them into the neck. They then got privately and undiscovered unto the fence of Capt. Almy's pease field, and divided into two parties, Mr. Church keeping the one party with himself, sent the other with Lake, who was acquainted with the ground, on the other side. Two Indians were soon discovered coming out of the pease field towards them; when Mr. Church, and those that were with him, concealed themselves from them, by falling flat on the ground; but the other division not using the same caution, were seen by the enemy, which occasioned them to run; which when Mr. Church perceived, he showed himself to them and told them he would not hurt them: But they ran, and Church pursued. The Indians climbed over a fence, and one of them facing about discharged his piece, but without effect, on the English: One of the English soldiers ran up to the fence and fired upon him that had discharged his piece; and they concluded, by the yelling they heard, that the Indian was wounded; but the Indians soon got into the thickets, whence they saw them no more for the present.

Mr. Church then marching over a plain piece of ground, where the woods were very thick on one side; ordered his little company to march at a double distance, to make as big a show (if they should be discovered) as might be; but before they saw any body, they were saluted with a volley of fifty or sixty guns; some bullets came very surprisingly near Mr. Church, who starting looked behind him, to see what was become of his men, expecting to have seen half of them dead, but seeing them all upon their legs, and briskly firing at the smoke of their enemies' guns (for that was all that was then to be seen,) He blessed God, and called to his men not to discharge all their guns at once lest the enemy should take the advantage of such an opportunity to run upon them with their hatchets.

Their next motion was immediately into the pease field.* When they came to the fence, Mr. Church bid as many as had not discharged their guns, to clap under the fence, and lie close, while the other, at some distance in the field, stood to charge; hoping that if the enemy should creep to the fence, to gain a shot at those that were charging their guns, they might be surprised by those that lay under the fence; but casting his eyes to the side of the hill above them, the hill seemed to move, being covered over with Indians, with their bright guns glittering in the sun, and running in a circumference with a design to surround them.

Seeing such multitudes surrounding him and his little company, it put him upon thinking what was become of the boats that were ordered to attend him; and looking up he espied them ashore at Sandy point, on the island side of the river, with a number of horse and foot by them, and wondered what should be the occasion, until he was afterwards informed, that the boats had been over that morning from the island, and had landed a party of men at Fogland, that were designed in Punkatees neck, to fetch off some cattle and horses, but were ambuscaded, and many of them wounded by the enemy.

Now our gentleman's courage and conduct were both put to the test, he encourages his men, and orders some to run and take a wall for shelter before the enemy gained it. It was time for them now to think of escaping if they knew which way. Mr. Church orders his men to strip to their white shirts, that the islanders might discover them to be Englishmen; and then orders three guns to be fired distinct, hoping it might be observed by their friends on the opposite shore. The men that were ordered to take the wall, being very hungry, stopped a while among the pease to gather a few, being about four rods from the wall; the enemy from behind hailed them with a shower of bullets; but soon all but one came tumbling over an old hedge down the bank, where Mr. Church and the rest were, and told him that his brother B. Southworth, who was the man that was missing, was killed, that they saw him fall; and so they did indeed see him fall, but it was without a shot, and lay no longer than till he had an opportunity to clap a bullet into one of the enemy's forehead, and then came running to his company. The meanness of the English powder was now their greatest misfortune; when they were immediately upon this beset with multitudes of Indians, who possessed themselves of every rock, stump, tree or fence that was in sight firing upon them without ceasing; while they had no other shelter but a small bank and bit of a water fence. And yet, to add to the disadvantage of this little handful of distressed men, the Indians also possessed themselves of the ruins of a stone house that overlooked them; so that now they had no way to prevent lying quite open to some or other of the enemy, but to heap up stones before them, as they did, and still bravely and wonderfully defended them

* Tiverton, about half a mile above Fogland ferry

selves against all the numbers of the enemy. At length came over one of the boats from the island shore, but the enemy plied their shot so warmly to her as made her keep at some distance; Mr. Church desired them to send their canoe ashore to fetch them on board; but no persuasions nor arguments could prevail with them to bring their canoe to shore; which some of Mr. Church's men perceiving, began to cry out, For God's sake to take them off, for their ammunition was spent, &c. Mr. Church being sensible of the danger of the enemy's hearing their complaints, and being made acquainted with the weakness and scantiness of their ammunition, fiercely called to the boat's master, and bid him either send his canoe ashore, or else be gone presently or he would fire upon him.

Away goes the boat, and leaves them still to shift for themselves; but then another difficulty arose, the enemy seeing the boat leave them, were reanimated, and fired thicker and faster than ever; upon which some of the men that were lightest of foot, began to talk of attempting an escape by flight, until Mr. Church solidly convinced them of the impracticableness of it; and encouraged them yet, told them, that he had observed so much of the remarkable and wonderful providence of God hitherto preserving them, that it encouraged him to believe, with much confidence, that God would yet preserve them; that not a hair of their head should fall to the ground; bid them be patient, courageous and prudently sparing of their ammunition, and he made no doubt but they should come well off yet, &c. until his little army again resolved, one and all, to stay with, and stick by him. One of them, by Mr. Church's order, was pitching a flat stone up an end before him in the sand, when a bullet from the enemy, with a full force, struck the stone while he was pitching it an end; which put the poor fellow to a miserable start, till Mr. Church called upon him to observe, how God directed the bullets, that the enemy could not hit him when in the same place, yet could hit the stone as it was erected.

While they were thus making the best defence they could against their numerous enemies, that made the woods ring with their constant yelling and shouting: And night coming on, somebody told Mr. Church they, espied a sloop up the river as far as Gold island, that seemed to be coming down towards them; He looked up and told them, succour was now coming, for he believed it was Captain Golding, whom he knew to be a man for business, and would certainly fetch them off, if he came. The wind being fair, the vessel was soon with them; and Captain Golding it was. Mr. Church (as soon as they came to speak with one another) desired him to come to anchor at such a distance from the shore, that he might veer out his cable and ride afloat, and let slip his canoe, that it might drive ashore; which direction Captain Golding observed; but the enemy gave him such a warm salute, that his sails, colour, and stern, were full of bullet holes.

The canoe came ashore, but was so small that she would not bear above two men at a time; and when two were got aboard, they turned her loose to drive ashore for two more, and the sloop's company kept the Indians in play the while; but when at last it came to Mr. Church's turn to go aboard, he had left his hat and cutlass at the well where he went to drink, when he first came down; he told his company, he would never go off and leave his hat and cutlass for the Indians; they should never have that to reflect upon him: Though he was much dissuaded from it, yet he would go and fetch them. He put all the powder he had left into his gun (and a poor charge it was) and went presenting his gun at the enemy, until he took up what he went for; at his return he discharged his gun at the enemy, to bid them farewell for that time; but had not powder enough to carry the bullet half way to them.

Two bullets from the enemy struck the canoe as he went on board, one grazed the hair of his head a little before; another stuck in a small stake that stood right against the middle of his breast.

Now this gentleman with his army, making in all twenty men, himself and his pilot being numbered with them, got all safe on board after six hours engagement with three hundred Indians; whose number we were told afterwards by some of themselves. A deliverance which that good gentleman often mentions to the glory of God, and his protecting providence. The next day meeting with the rest of his little company, whom he had left at Pocasset (that had also a small skirmish with the Indians, and had two men wounded) they returned to the Mount Hope garrison; which Mr. Church used to call the loosing fort. Mr. Church then returning to the island, to seek provision for the army, meets with Alderman, a noted Indian, that was just come over from the squaw sachem's cape of Pocasset, having deserted from her, and brought over his family; who gave him an account of the state of the Indians, and where each of the sagamore's head quarters were. Mr. Church then discoursed with some who knew the spot well where the Indians said Weetamore's* head quarters were, and offered their service to pilot him. With this news he hastened to the Mount Hope garrison. The army expressed their readiness to embrace such an opportunity.

All the ablest soldiers were now immediately drawn off, equipped and despatched upon this design, under the command of a certain officer; and having marched about two miles, viz. until they came to the cove that lies south west from the Mount, where orders were given for an halt: The commander in chief told them he thought it proper to take advice before he went any further; called Mr. Church and the pilot, and asked them, how they knew that Philip and all his men were not by that time got to Weetamore's camp; or that all her own men were not by that time returned to her again? With many more frightful questions. Mr. Church told him, they had acquainted him with as much as they knew, and that for his part, he could discover nothing that need to discourage them from proceeding; that he thought it so practicable, that he, with the pilot, would willingly lead the way to the spot, and hazard the brunt. But the chief commander insisted on this, that the enemies, number were so great, and he did not know what numbers more might be added unto them by that time time: And his company so small, that he could not think it practicable to attack them: Added moreover, that if he was sure of killing all the enemy, and knew that he must lose the life of one of his men in the action, he would not attempt it. Pray Sir, then (replied Mr. Church) please to lead your company to yonder windmill, on Rhode Island, and there they will be out of danger of being killed by the enemy, and we shall have less trouble to supply them with provisions. But return he would, and did, unto the garrison, until more strength came to them, and a sloop to transport them to the Fall river,* in order to visit Weetamore's camp. Mr. Church, one Baxter, and Captain Hunter an Indian, proffered to go out on the discovery on the left wing, which was accepted; they had not marched above a quarter of a mile before they started three of the enemy. Captain Hunter wounded one of them in his knee, whom, when he came up, he discovered to be his near knsman; the captive desired favour for his squaw, if she should fall into their hands, but asked none for himself, excepting the liberty of taking a whiff of tobacco, and while he was taking his whiff, his kinsman with one blow of his hatchet despatched him. Proceeding to Weetamore's camp, they were discovered by one of the enemy, who ran in and gave information, upon which a lusty young fellow left his meat upon his spit,† running hastily out, told his companions, he would kill an Englishman before he eat his dinner; but failed of his design, being no sooner out but shot down. The enemies' fires, and what shelter they had was by the edge of a thick cedar swamp, into which, on this alarm, they betook themselves, and the English as nimbly pursued; but were soon commanded back by their chieftain, after they were come within hearing of the cries of their women and children, and so ended that exploit; but returning to their sloop the enemy pursued them, and wounded two of their men. The next day they returned to the Mount Hope garrison.

Soon after this, was Philip's head quarters visited by some other English forces; but Philip and his gang had the very fortune to escape, that Weetamore and her's (but now mentioned) had; they took into a swamp, and their pursuers were commanded back. After this Dartmouth's distresses required succour, great part of the town being laid desolate, and many of the inhabitants killed; the most of Plymouth forces were ordered thither; and coming to Russel's garrison at Ponaganset,‡ they met with a number of the enemy that had surrendered themselves prisoners on terms promised by Capt. Eels of the garrison, and Ralph Earl, who persuaded them (by a friend Indian he had employed) to come in. And had their promises to the Indians been kept, and the Indians fairly treated, it is probable that most if not all the Indians in those parts had soon followed the example of those who had now surrendered themselves; which would have been a good step towards finishing the war. But in spite of all that Capt. Eels, Church or Earl could say, argue, plead, or beg, somebody else that had more power in their hands improved it;

* Squaw sachem of Pocasset.

* South part of Freetown. † Probably a wooden spit
‡ In Dartmouth

and without any regard to the promises made them on their surrendering themselves, they were carried away to Plymouth, there sold, and transported out of the country, being about eight score persons. An action so hateful to Mr. Church, that he opposed it to the loss of the good will and respects of some that before were his good friends. But while these things were acting at Dartmouth, Philip made his escape, leaving his country, fled over Taunton river, and Rehoboth plain and Patuxet river, where Capt. Edmunds, of Providence, made some spoil upon him, and had probably done more, but was prevented by the coming of a superior officer, that put him by. And now another fort was built at Pocasset, that proved as troublesome and chargeable as that at Mount Hope; and the remainder of the summer was improved in providing for the forts and forces there maintained, while our enemies were fled some hundred of miles into the country, near as far as Albany. And now strong suspicions began to arise of the Narraganset Indians, that they were ill affected, and designed mischief; and so the event soon discovered. The next winter they began their hostilities upon the English. The united colonies then agreed to send an army to suppress them: Governor Winslow to command the army. He undertaking the expedition, invited Mr. Church to command a company in the expedition, which he declined, craving excuse from taking commission, he promised to wait upon him as a Reformado through the expedition. Having rode with the general to Boston, and from thence to Rehoboth; upon the general's request he went thence the nearest way over the ferries, with Major Smith, to his garrison in the Narraganset country, to prepare and provide for the coming of General Winslow; who marched round through the country with his army, proposing by night to surprise Pumham* (a certain Narraganset sachem) and his town; but being aware of the approach of our army, made their escape into the deserts; but Mr. Church meeting with fair winds arrived safe at the major's garrison in the evening and soon began to inquire after the enemies' resorts, wigwams, or sleeping places, and having gained some intelligence, he proposed to the Eldriges, and some other brisk hands that he met with, to attempt the surprising of some of the enemy, to make a present of to the general, when he should arrive, which might advantage his design: Being brisk blades, they readily complied with the motion, and were soon upon their march. The night was very cold, but blessed with the moon; before the day broke they effected their exploit, and by the rising of the sun arrived at the major's garrison, where they met the general, and presented him with eighteen of the enemy they had captured. The general, pleased with the exploit, gave them thanks, particularly to Mr. Church, the mover and chief actor of the business; and sending two of them, likely boys a present to Boston; smiling on Mr. Church, told him, that he made no doubt but his faculty would supply them with Indian boys enough before the war was ended.

Their next move was to a swamp, which the Indians had fortified with a fort. Mr. Church rid in the general's guard when the bloody engagement began; but being impatient of being out of the heat of the action, importunately begged leave of the general that he might run down to the assistance of his friends: the general yielded to his request provided he could rally some hands to go with him. Thirty men immediately drew out and followed him: They entered the swamp, and passed over the log, that was the passage into the fort, where they saw many men and several valiant captains lie slain: Mr. Church spying Captain Gardner of Salem, amidst the wigwams in the east end of the fort, made towards him, but on a sudden, while they were looking each other in the face, Captain Gardner settled down Mr. Church stepped to him, and seeing the blood run down his cheek, lifted up his cap, and calling to him by his name; he looked up in his face, but spoke not a word, being mortally shot through the head; and observing his wound, Mr. Church found the ball entered his head on the side that was next the upland, where the English entered the swamp, upon which, having ordered some care to be taken of the captain, he despatched information to the general, that the best and forwardest of his army, that hazarded their lives to enter the fort, upon the muzzle of the enemies' guns, were shot in their backs, and killed by them that lay behind. Mr. Church with his small company hastened out of the fort that the English were now possessed of, to get a shot at the Indians that were in the swamp, and kept firing upon them. He soon met with a broad and bloody track, where the enemy had fled with their wounded men; following hard in the tract, he soon spied one of the enemy who clapped his gun across his breast, made towards Mr. Church, and beckoned to him with his hand; Mr. Church immediately commanded no man to hurt him, hoping by him to have gained some intelligence of the enemy, that might be of advantage; but it unhappily fell out that a fellow that lagged behind coming up, shot down the Indian, to Mr. Church's great grief and disappointment; but immediately they heard a great shout of the enemy, which seemed to be behind them, or between them and the fort; and discovered them running from tree to tree to gain advantages of firing upon the English that were in the fort. Mr. Church's great difficulty now was how to discover himself to his friends in the fort, using several inventions, till at length he gained an opportunity to call to, and inform a serjeant in the fort, that he was there, and might be exposed to their shots, unless they observed it. By this time he discovered a number of the enemy almost within shot of him, making towards the fort. Mr. Church and his company were favoured by a heap of brush that was between them and the enemy, and prevented their being discovered to them. Mr. Church had given his men their particular orders for firing upon the enemy, and as they were rising up to make their shot; the fore-mentioned sergeant in the fort called out to them, for God's sake not to fire, for he believed they were some of their friend Indians; they clapped down again, but were soon sensible of their serjeant's mistake. The enemy got to the top of the tree, the body whereof the serjeant stood upon, and there clapped down out of sight of the fort, but all this while never discovered Mr. Church, who observed them to keep gathering unto that place, until there seemed to be a formidable black heap of them. Now brave boys (said Mr. Church to his men) if we mind our hits, we may have a brave shot, and let our sign for firing on them, be their rising to fire into the fort. It was not long before the Indians rising up as one body, designing to pour a volley into the fort; when our Church nimbly started up and gave them such a round volley, and unexpected clap on their backs, that they, who escaped with their lives, were so surprised, that they scampered, they knew not whither themselves, about a dozen of them ran right over the log into the fort, and took into a sort of hovel that was built with poles, after the manner of a corn crib. Mr. Church's men having their cartridges fixed, were soon able to obey his order, which was immediately to charge, and run on upon the hovel, and overset it, calling, as be ran on, to some that were in the fort, to assist him in oversetting it; they no sooner came to face the enemies' shelter, but Mr. Church discovered that one of them had found a hole to point his gun through, right at him; but however encouraged his company and ran right on, till he was struck with three bullets, one in his thigh, which was near half cut off as it glanced on the joint of his hip-bone; another through the gathering of his breeches and drawers, with a small flesh wound; a third pierced his pocket, and wounded a pair of mittens, that he had borrowed of Captain Prentice; being wrapped up together had the misfortune of having many holes cut through them with one bullet; but however, he made a shift to keep on his legs, and nimbly discharged his gun at them that had wounded him; being disabled now to go a step, his men would have carried him off, but he forbid their touching of him, until they had perfected their project of oversetting the enemies, shelter; bid them run, for now the Indians had no guns charged. While he was urging them to run on, the Indians began to shoot arrows, and with one pierced through the arm of the Englishman that had hold of Mr. Church's arm to support him. The English, in short, were discouraged, and drew back; and by this time the English people in the fort had began to set fire to the wigwams and houses in the fort, which Mr. Church laboured hard to prevent; they told him, They had orders from the general to burn them; he begged them to forbear until he had discoursed with the general; and hastening to him, he begged to spare the wigwams, &c. in the fort from fire, told him, the wigwams were musket-proof, being all lined with baskets tubs of grain, and other provisions, sufficient to supply the whole army, until the spring of the year; and every wounded man might have a good warm house to lodge in, who otherways would necessarily perish with the storms and cold: And moreover, that the army had no other provisions to trust unto, and depend upon; that he knew that the Plymouth forces had not so much as one biscuit left, for he had seen their last dealt out, &c. The general advising a few words with the gentlemen that were about him, moving towards the fort, designing to ride in himself, and bring in the

* Sachem of Shawomet, or Warwick.

whole army; but just as he was entering the swamp, one of the captains met him, and asked him, whither he was going? he told him into the fort; the captain laid hold of his horse, and told him, his life was worth an hundred of theirs, and he should not expose himself. The general told him, that the brunt was over, and that Mr. Church had informed him that the fort was taken, &c. and as the case was circumstanced he was of the mind, that it was most practicable for him, and his army to shelter themselves in the fort. The captain in a great heat replied, that Church lied; and told the general, that if he moved another step towards the fort he would shoot his horse under him. Then brushed up another gentleman, a certain doctor, and opposed Mr. Church's advice, and said, if it were complied with, it would kill more men than the enemy had killed; for (said he) by to-morrow the wounded men will be so stiff that there will be no moving of them: And looking upon Mr. Church, and seeing the blood flow apace from his wounds, told him, That if he gave such advice as that was, he should bleed to death like a dog before he would endeavour to staunch his blood: though after they had prevailed against his advice they were sufficiently kind to him. And burning up all the houses and provisions in the fort; the army returned the same night in the storm and cold; and I suppose that every one who was acquainted with that night's march deeply laments the miseries that attended them, especially the wounded and dying men. But it mercifully came to pass that Captain Andrew Belcher arrived at Mr. Smith's that very night from Boston, with a vessel loaded with provisions for the army who must otherwise have perished for want.

Some of the enemy that were then in the fort have since informed us, that near a third of the Indians belonging to all the Narraganset country were killed by the English and by the cold of that night, that they fled out of their fort so hastily that they carried nothing with them: That if the English had kept in the fort, the Indians would certainly have been necessitated, either to surrender themselves to them, or to have perished by hunger, and the severity of the season.* Sometime after this fort-fight a certain Sogkonate Indian hearing Mr. Church relate the manner of his being wounded, told him, that he did not know but he himself was the Indian that wounded him or he was one of that company of Indians that Mr. Church made a shot upon, when they were rising to make a shot into the fort. They were in number about sixty or seventy, that just then came down from Pumham's town and never before then fired a gun against the English; that when Mr. Church fired upon them he killed fourteen dead upon the spot, and wounded a greater number than he killed, many of whom died afterwards of their wounds, in the cold and storm the following night.

* The swamp fight happened on December 29, 1675 in which about fifty English were killed in the action and died of their wounds; and about three hundred or three hundred and fifty Indians, men, women, and children, were killed, and as many more captured. It is said five hundred wigwams were burnt with the fort; and two hundred more in other parts of Narraganset. The place of the fort was an elevated ground or piece of upland, of perhaps three or four acres, in the middle of a hideous swamp; about seven miles near due west from Narraganset south ferry.

Mr. Church was moved with other wounded men, over to Rhode Island, where, in about three months time, he was in some good measure recovered of his wounds, and the fever that attended them: And then went over to the general to take his leave of him, with a design to return home.

But the general's great importunity again persuaded him to accompany him in a long march into the Nipmuck* country, though he had then tents in his wounds, and so lame as not to be able to mount his horse without two men's assistance.

In this march, the first thing remarkable was, they came to an Indian town, where there were many wigwams in sight, but an icy swamp, lying between them and the wigwams, prevented their running at once upon it as they intended: There was much firing upon each side before they passed the swamp. But at length the enemy all fled, and a certain Mohegan, that was a friend Indian, pursued and seized one of the enemy that had a small wound in his leg, and brought him before the general, where he was examined. Some were for torturing him to bring him to a more ample confession of what he knew concerning his countrymen. Mr. Church, verily believing he had been ingenuous in his confession, interceded and prevailed for his escaping torture. But the army being bound forward in their march, and the Indian's wound somewhat disenabling him for travelling, it was concluded he should be knocked on the head: Accordingly he was brought before a great fire and the Mohegan that took him was allowed, as he desired, to be his executioner. Mr. Church taking no delight in the sport, framed an errand at some distance among the baggage-horses, and when he got ten rods, or thereabouts, from the fire, the executioner fetching a blow with a hatchet at the head of the prisoner, he being aware of the blow, dodged his head aside, and the executioner missing his stroke, the hatchet flew out of his hand, and had like to have done execution where it was not designed. The prisoner, upon his narrow escape, broke from them that held him, and, notwithstanding his wound, made use of his legs, and happened to run right upon Mr. Church, who laid hold on him, and a close scuffle they had, but the Indian having no clothes on slipped from him, and ran again, and Mr. Church pursued the Indian, although being lame, there was no great odds in the race, until the Indian stumbled and fell, and they closed again, scuffled and fought pretty smartly, until the Indian by the advantage of his nakedness, slipped from his hold again, and set out on his third race, with Mr. Church close at his heels, endeavouring to lay hold on the hair of his head, which was all the hold could be taken of him: and running through a swamp that was covered with hollow ice, it made so loud a noise that Mr. Church expected (but in vain) that some of his English friends would follow the noise, and come to his assistance. But the Indian happened to run athwart a large tree, that lay fallen near breast high, where he stopped and cried out aloud for help; but Mr. Church being soon upon him again, the Indian seized him fast by the hair of his head, and endeavouring by twisting to break his neck, but though Mr. Church's wounds had somewhat weakened him, and the Indian a stout fellow, yet he held him in play, and twisted the Indian's neck as well, and took the advantage of many opportunities, while they hung by each other's hair, gave him notorious bumps in the face with his head. But in the heat of this scuffle they heard the ice break with somebody coming apace to them, which when they heard, Church concluded there was help for one or other of them, but was doubtful which of them must now receive the fatal stroke; anon somebody comes up to them, who proved to be the Indian that had first taken the prisoner. Without speaking a word, he felt them out (for it was so dark he could not distinguish them by sight) the one being clothed, and the other naked, he felt where Mr. Church's hands were fastened in the Netop's hair, and with one blow settled his hatchet in between them and ended the strife. He then spoke to Mr. Church, and hugged him in his arms, and thanked him abundantly for catching his prisoner, and cut off the head of his victim, and carried it to the camp; and giving an account to the rest of the friend Indians in the camp, how Mr. Church had seized his prisoner, &c. they all joined a mighty shout.

* Country about Worcester, Oxford, Craston, &c.

Proceeding in this march, they had the success of killing many of the enemy; until at length their provisions failing, they returned home.

King Philip (as was before hinted) was fled to a place called Scattacook, between York and Albany, where the Moohags* made a descent upon him and killed many of his men, which moved him from thence.

His next kennelling place was at the falls of Connecticut river,† where, sometime after, Capt. Turner found him, came upon him by night, killed him a great many men, and frightened many more into the river, that were hurled down the falls and drowned.

Philip got over the river, and on the backside of Wetuset hills meets with all the remnants of the Narraganset and Nipmuck‡ Indians that were there gathered together, and became very numerous, and made their descent on Sudbury and the adjacent parts of the country, where they met with and swallowed up valiant Capt. Wadsworth and his company, and made many other doleful desolations in those parts. The news whereof coming to Plymouth, and they expecting probably the enemy would soon return again into their colony; the council of war was called together, and Mr. Church was sent for to them, being observed by the whole colony to be a person extraordinarily qualified for, and adapted to, the affairs of war. It was proposed in council, that lest the enemy, in their return, should fall on Rehoboth, or some other of their outtowns, a company, consisting of 60 or 70 men, should be sent into those parts; and Mr. Church invited to take the command of them. He told them, that if the enemy returned into that colony again, they might reasonably expect that they would come very numerous, and if he should take the command of men, he should not lie in any town or garrison with them, but would lie in the woods as the enemy did: And that to send out such small companies against such multitudes of the enemy that were now mustered to gether, would

* Mohawks. † Above Deerfield. ‡ About Rutland.

ne but to deliver so many men into their hands, to be destroyed, as the worthy Captain Wadsworth and his company were. His advice upon the whole was, that if they sent out any forces, to send out no less than 300 soldiers; and that the other colonies should be asked to send out their quotas also; adding, that if they intended to make an end of the war by subduing the enemy, they must make a business of the war, as the enemy did; and that of his own part, he had wholly laid aside all his own private business concerns, ever since the war broke out. He told them, that if they would send forth such forces as he should direct, he would go with them for a six weeks' march, which was long enough for men to be kept in the woods at once; and if they might be sure of liberty to return in such a space, men would go out cheerfully; and he would engage 150 of the best soldiers should list voluntarily to go with him, if they would please to add 50 more; and 100 of the friend Indians; and with such an army, he made no doubt, but he might do good service; but on other terms he did not incline to be concerned.

Their reply was that they were already in debt, and so big an army would bring such charge upon them, that they should never be able to pay; and as for sending out Indians, they thought it no ways adviseable, and in short none of his advice practicable.

Now Mr. Church's consort, and his then only son were till this time remaining at Duxbury, and he fearing for their safety there (unless the war was more vigorously engaged in, resolved to move to Rhode Island, though it was much opposed both by government and relations; but at length, the governor considering that he might be no less serviceable by being on that side of the colony, gave his permit, and wished he had twenty more as good men to send with him.

Then preparing for his removal, he went with his small family to Plymouth, to take leave of their friends, where they met with his wife's parents, who much persuaded that she might be left at Mr. Clark's garrison, (which they supposed to be a mighty safe place) or at least that she might be there until her soon expected lying-in was over, (being near her time.) Mr. Church no ways inclining to venture her any longer in those parts, and no arguments prevailing with him, he resolved to set out for Taunton, and many of their friends accompanied them. There they found Captain Pierce with a commanded party, who offered Mr. Church to send a relation of his with some others to guard him to Rhode Island; but Mr. Church thanked him for his respectful offer, but for some good reasons refused to accept it. In short, they got safe to Captain John Almy's house upon Rhode Island, where they met with friends and good entertainment. But, by the way, let me not forget this remarkable Providence, viz. That within twenty four hours, or thereabouts, after their arrival at Rhode Island, Mr. Clark's garrison that Mr. Church was so much importuned to leave his wife and children at, was destroyed by the enemy.

Mr. Church being at present disenabled from any particular service in the war, began to think of some other employ; but he no sooner took a tool to cut a small stick, but he cut off the top of his forefinger, and the next to it half off; upon which he smilingly said, that he thought he was out of his way, to leave the war, and resolved he would go to war again. Accordingly his second son being born on the 12th of May, and his wife and son like to do well, Mr. Church embraces the opportunity of passage in a sloop bound to Barnstable; which landed him at Sogkonesset, from whence he rid to Plymouth; and arrived there on the first Tuesday in June: The general court then sitting welcomed him, and told him they were glad to see him alive. He replied, he was glad to see them alive, for he had seen so many fires and smokes towards their side of the country, since he left them, that he could scarce eat or sleep with any comfort, for fear they had all been destroyed. For all travelling was stopped, and no news had passed for a long time together. He gave them an account that the Indians had made horrid desolations at Providence, Warwick, Pawtuxet, and all over the Narraganset country, and that they prevailed daily against the English on that side of the country: Told them, he longed to hear what methods they designed in the war. They told him, they were particularly glad that Providence had brought him there at that juncture; for they had concluded the very next day to send out an army of 200 men two thirds English, and one third Indians, in some measure agreeable to his former proposal; expecting Boston and Connecticut to join with their quotas. In short, it was so concluded, and that Mr. Church should return to the Island, and see what he could muster there, of those that had moved from Swanzey, Dartmouth, &c. So returning the same way he came; when he came to Sogkonesset, he had a sham put upon him about a boat he had brought to go home in, and was forced to hire two of the friend Indians to paddle him in a canoe from Elisabeth's to Rhode Island.

It fell out, that as they were in their voyage passing by Sogkonate-point, some of the enemy were upon the rocks a fishing; he bid the Indians that managed the canoe to paddle so near the rocks as that he might call to those Indians; told them, that he had a great mind ever since the war broke out to speak with some of the Sogkonate Indians, and that they were their relations, and therefore they need not fear their hurting of them. And he added that he had a mighty conceit, that if he could get a fair opportunity to discourse with them, that he could draw them off from Philip, for he knew they never heartily loved him. The enemy halloed and made signs for the canoe to come to them; but when they approached them they skulked and hid in the clefts of the rocks; then Mr. Church ordered the canoe to be paddled off again, lest if he came too near they should fire upon him. Then the Indians appearing again, beckoned and called in the Indian language, and bid them come ashore, for they wanted to speak with him. The Indians in the canoe answered them again; but they on the rocks told them, that the surf made such a noise against the rocks, they could not hear any thing they said. Then Mr. Church, by signs with his hands, gave them to understand that he would have two of them go down upon the point of the beach (a place where a man might see who was near him) accordingly two of them ran along the beach, and met him they not having any arms, excepting that one of them had a lance in his hand; they urged Mr. Church to come ashore, for they had a great desire to have some discourse with him. He told them, if he that had his weapon in his hand would carry it up some distance upon the beach, and leave it, he would come ashore and discourse with them. He did so, and Mr. Church went ashore, hauled up his canoe, ordered one of the Indians to stay by it, and the other to walk above on the beach, as a sentinel, and to see that the coasts were clear; and when Mr. Church came up to the Indians, one of them happened to be honest George, one of the two that Awashonks formerly sent to call him to her dance, and was so careful to guard him back to his house again, the last Sogkonate Indian he spoke with before the war broke out; he spoke English very well. Mr. Church asked him where Awashonks was? He told him in a swamp about three miles off. Mr. Church asked him, what it was he wanted that he halloed and called him ashore? He answered, that he took him for Church as soon as he heard his voice in the canoe, and that he was very glad to see him alive, and he believed his mistress would be glad to see him, and speak with him; he told him further, that he believed she was not fond of maintaining a war with the English, and that she had left Philip, and did not intend to return to him any more; he was mighty earnest with Mr. Church to tarry there while he would run and call her; but he told him no, for he did not know but the Indians would come down and kill him before he could get back again; he said, if Mount-Hope, or Pocasset Indians could catch him, he believed they would knock him on the head, but all Sogkonate Indians knew him very well, and he believed none of them would hurt him. In short, Mr. Church refused to tarry, but promised he would come over again, and speak with Awashonks, and some other Indians that he had a mind to talk with.

Accordingly he appointed him to notify Awashonks, her son Peter, their chief Captain, and one Nompash (an Indian that Mr. Church had formerly a particular respect for, to meet him two days after, at a rock at the lower end of Captain Richmond's farm, which was a very noted place; and if that day should prove stormy, or windy, they were to expect him the next moderate day, Mr. Church telling George that he would have him come with the persons mentioned, and no more.

They giving each other their hand upon it parted, and Mr. Church went home, and the next morning to Newport, and informed the government of what had passed between him and the Sogkonate Indians, and desired their permit for him and Daniel Wilcox (a man that well understood the Indian language) to go over to them. They told him, that they thought he was mad, after such service as he had done, and such dangers as he escaped, now to throw away his life, for the rogues would as certainly kill him, as ever he went over; and utterly refused to grant his permit, or to be willing to run the risk.

Mr. Church told them, that it ever had been in his thought since the war broke out, that if he could discourse with the Sogkonate Indians, he could draw them off from Philip and employ them against him; but could not, till now, ever have an opportunity to speak

with any of them, and was very loth to lose it, &c. At length they told him, if he would go, it should be only with the two Indians that came with him; but they would give him no permit under their hands. He took his leave of them, resolving to prosecute his design; they told him they were sorry to see him so resolute, nor if he went did they ever expect to see his face again.

He bought a bottle of rum, and a small roll of tobacco, to carry with him, and returned to his family. The next day, being the day appointed for the meeting, he prepared two light canoes for the design, and his own man, with the two Indians for his company. He used such arguments with his tender, and now almost broken hearted wife, from the experience of former preservations and the prospect of the great service he might do, might it please God to succeed his design, &c., that he obtained her consent to his attempt; and committing her, the babes and himself to Heaven's protection, he set out. They had from the shore about a league to paddle; drawing near the place, they saw the Indians setting on the bank, waiting for their coming. Mr. Church sent one of his Indians ashore in one of the canoes to see whether they were the same Indians whom he had appointed to meet him, and no more; and if so to stay ashore and send George to fetch him; accordingly George came and fetched Mr. Church ashore, while the other canoe played off to see the event, and to carry tidings if the Indians should prove false.

Mr. Church asked George whether Awashonks and the other Indians he appointed to to meet him were there? He answered they were; he then asked him if there were no more than they whom he appointed to be there? To which he would give him no direct answer. However, he went ashore, where he was no sooner landed, but Awashonks and the rest that he had appointed to meet him there, rose up and came down to meet him; and each of them successively gave him their hands, and expressed themselves glad to see him, and gave him thanks for exposing himself to visit them. They walked together about a gunshot from the water, to a convenient place to sit down. Where at once rose up a great body of Indians, who had lain hid in the grass, (that was high as a man's waist) and gathered round them, till they had closed them in; being all armed with guns, spears, hachets, &c. with their hair trimmed and faces painted, in their warlike appearance. It was doubtless somewhat surprising to our gentleman at first, but without any visible discovery of it, after a small silent pause on each side he spoke to Awashonks, and told her, that George had informed him that she had a desire to see him, and discourse about making peace with the English. She answered yes; then said Mr. Church, it is customary when people meet to treat of peace, to lay aside their arms, and not to appear in such hostile form as your people do; and desired of her, that if they might talk about peace, which he desired they might, her men might lay aside their arms, and appear more tractable. Upon which there began a considerable noise and murmur among them in their own language, till Awashonks asked him, what arms they should lay down, and where? He (perceiving that the Indians looked very surly, and much displeased) replied, only their guns at some small distance, for formality's sake; upon which, with one consent, they laid aside their guns, and came and sat down.

Mr. Church pulled out his calabash and asked Awashonks, whether she had lived so long at Wetuset, as to forget to drink Occapeches; and drinking to her, he perceived that she watched him very diligently, to see (as he thought) whether he swallowed any of the rum; he offered her the shell, but she desired him to drink again first, he then told her, there was no poison in it, and pouring some into the palm of his hand, sipped it up, and took the shell and drank to her again, and drank a good swig, which indeed was no more than he needed. Then they all standing up, he said to Awashonks, you won't drink for fear there should be poison in it; and then handed it to a little ill-looking fellow, who catched it readily enough, and as greedily would have swallowed the liquor when he had it at his mouth; but Mr. Church catched him by the throat and took it from him, asking him, whether he intended to swallow shell and all? and then handed it to Awashonks, she ventured to take a good hearty dram, and passed it among her attendants.

The shell being emptied, he pulled out his tobacco, and having distributed it, they began to talk.

Awashonks demanded of him the reason why he had not (agreeable to his promise when she saw him last) been down at Sogkonate before now, saying that probably if he had come then, according to his promise, they had never joined with Philip against the English.

He told her he was prevented by the war breaking out so suddenly, and yet he was afterwards coming down, and came as far as Punkateese, where a great many Indians set upon him, and fought him a whole afternoon, though he did not come prepared to fight, and had but nineteen men with him, whose chief design was to gain an opportunity to discourse with some Sogkonate Indians. Upon this there at once arose a mighty murmur, confused noise, and talk among the fierce looking creatures, and all rising up in a hubbub; and a great surly looking fellow took up his tomhog, or wooden cutlass, to kill Mr. Church, but some others prevented him.

The interpreter asked Mr. Church, if he understood what it was that the great fellow (they had hold of) said? He answered him, no. Why, said the interpreter, he says, you killed his brother at Punkateese, and therefore he thirsts for your blood. Mr. Church bid the interpreter tell him that his brother began first; that if he had kept at Sogkonate, according to his desire and order, he should not have hurt him.

Then the chief captain commanded silence, and told them, that they should talk no more about old things, &c. and quelled the tumult, so that they sat down again, and began upon a discourse of making peace with the English. Mr. Church asked them, what proposals they would make, and on what terms they would break their league with Philip? Desiring them to make some proposals that he might carry to his masters, telling them that it was not in his power to conclude a peace with them, but that he knew that if their proposals were reasonable, the goverment would not be unreasonable; and that he would use his interest with the government for them; and to encourage them to proceed, put them in mind that the Pequots once made war with the English, and that after they subjected themselves to the English, the English became their protectors, and defended them against other nations that would otherwise have destroyed them, &c. After some further discourse and debate, he brought them at length to consent, that if the government of Plymouth would firmly engage to them, that they, and all of them, and their wives and children, should have their lives spared, and none of them transported out of the country, they would subject themselves to them, and serve them in what they were able.

Then Mr. Church told them, that he was well satisfied the government of Plymouth would readily concur with what was proposed, and would sign their articles: and complimenting them upon it, how pleased he was with the thoughts of their return, and of the former friendship that had between them, &c.

The chief captain rose up, and expressed the great value and respect he had for Mr. Church; and bowing to him said, Sir, if you'll please to except of me and my men, and will head us, we'll fight for you, and will help you to Philip's head before the Indian corn be ripe; and when he had ended, they all expressed their consent to what he said, and told Mr Church they loved him, and were willing to go with him and fight for him, as long as the English had one enemy left in the country.

Mr. Church assured them, that if they proved as good as their word, they should find him their's and their children's fast friend. And (by the way) the friendship is still maintained between them to this day.

Then he proposed unto them, that they should choose five men to go straight with him to Plymouth: they told him no; they would not choose, but he should take which five he pleased; some compliments passed about it, at length it was agreed, they should choose three, and he two. Then he agreed, that he would go back to the island that night, and would come to them the next morning, and go through the woods to Plymouth; but they afterwards objected, that his travelling through the woods would not be safe for him; the enemy might meet with him, and kill him, and then they should lose their friend, and the whole design ruined beside. And therefore proposed, that he should come in an English vessel, and they would meet him, and come on board at Sogkonate point, and sail from thence to Sandwich, which, in fine, was concluded upon.

So Mr. Church promising to come as soon as he could possibly obtain a vessel, and then they parted. He returned to the island, and was at great pains and charge to get a vessel but with unaccountable disappointments, sometimes by the falseness, and sometimes by the faintheartedness of men that he bargained with, and sometimes by wind and weather, &c. until at length Mr. Anthony Low put into the harbour with a laden vessel bound to the westward, and being made acquainted with Mr. Church's case, told him, that he had so much kindness for him, and was so pleased with the business he was engaged in, that he would run the venture of his vessel and cargo, to wait upon him, Accordingly, next morn

ing they set sail with a wind that soon brought them to Sogkonate point; but coming there they met with a contrary wind and a great swelling sea.

The Indians were there waiting upon the rocks, but had nothing but a miserable broken canoe to get aboard in; yet Peter Awashonks ventured off in it, and with a great deal of difficulty and danger got aboard: and by this time it began to rain and blow exceedingly, and forced them up the sound; and then they went away through Bristol ferry, round the island to Newport, carrying Peter with them.

Then Mr. Church dismissed Mr. Low, and told him, that inasmuch as Providence opposed his going by water, and he expected that the army would be up in a few days, and probably if he should be gone at that juncture, it might ruin the whole design; would therefore yield his voyage.

Then he writ the account of his transactions with the Indians, and drew up the proposals and articles of peace, and despatched Peter with them to Plymouth, that his honour the governor, if he saw cause, might sign them.

Peter was sent over to Sogkonate on the Lord's day morning, with orders to take those men that were chosen to go down, or some of them at least with him. The time being expired that was appointed for the English army to come, there was great looking for them. Mr. Church on the Monday morning (partly to divert himself after his fatigue, and partly to listen for the army) rid out with his wife, and some of his friends to Portsmouth, under a pretence of cherrying; but came home without any news from the army: but by midnight or sooner, he was roused with an express from Major Bradford, who was arrived with the army at Pocasset; to whom he forthwith repaired, and informed him of the whole of his proceedings with the Sogkonate Indians. With the major's consent and advice, he returned again next morning to the island, in order to go over that way to Awashonks, to inform her that the army was arrived, &c. Accordingly from Sachueeset neck* he went in a canoe to Sogkonate; told her that Major Bradford was arrived at Pocasset, with a great army, whom he had informed of all his proceedings with her; that if she would be advised and observe order she nor her people need not to fear being hurt by them; told her, she should call all her people down into the neck, lest if they should be found straggling about, mischief might light on them; that on the morrow they would come down and receive her, and give her further orders. She promised to get as many of her people together as possibly she could; desiring Mr. Church to consider that it would be difficult for to get them together at such short warning. Mr. Church returned to the island and to the army the same night. The next morning the whole army marched towards Sogkonate, as far as Punkateese; and Mr. Church with a few men went down to Sogkonate to call Awashonks, and her people to come up to the English camp. As he was going down, they met with a Pocasset Indian; who had killed a cow and got a quarter of her on his back, and her tongue in his pocket; who gave them an account, that he came from Pocasset two days since in company with his mother, and several other Indians, now hid in the swamp above Nomquid;* disarming of him, he sent him by two men to Major Bradford, and proceeded to Sogkonate. They saw several Indians by the way skulking about, but let them pass: arriving at Awashonks camp, told her, he was come to invite her and her people up to Punkateese, where Major Bradford, now was with the Plymouth army, expecting her and her subjects to receive orders, until further order could be had from the government. She complied, and soon sent out orders for such of her subjects as were not with her, immediately to come in; and by twelve o'clock of the next day, she with most of her number appeared before the English camp at Punkateese. Mr. Church tendered the major to serve under his commission, provided the Indians might be accepted with him, to fight the enemy. The major told him, his orders were to improve him, if he pleased, but as for the Indians he would not be concerned with them. And presently gave forth orders for Awashonks, and all her subjects, both men, women and children, to repair to Sandwich, and to be there upon peril, in six days. Awashonks and her chiefs gathered round Mr. Church, (where he was waiked off from the rest) expressed themselves concerned that they could not be confided in, nor improved. He told them, it was best to obey orders, and that if he could not accompany them to Sandwich, it should not be above a week before he would meet them there; that he was confident the governor would commission him to improve them. The major hastened to send them away with Jack Havens, (an Indian who had never been in the wars) in the front with a flag of truce in his hand. They being gone, Mr. Church, by the help of his man Toby (the Indian whom he had taken prisoner as he was going to Sogkonate) took said Toby's mother, and those that were with her, prisoners. Next morning the whole army moved back to Pocasset. This Toby informed them that there were a great many Indians gone to Wespoiset to eat Clams, other provisions being very scarce with them, that Philip himself was expected within three or four days at the same place; being asked what Indians they were? he answered some Weetemores Indians, some Mount Hope Indians, some Narraganset Indians, and some other Upland Indians in all about three hundred.

The Rhode Island boats by the major's order, meeting them at Pocasset, they were soon embarked, it being just in the dusk of the evening, they could plainly discover the enemies fires at the place the Indian directed to; and the army concluded no other but they were bound directly thither, until they came to the north end of the island, and heard the word of command for the boats to bear away. Mr. Church was very fond of having this probable opportunity of surprising that whole company of Indians embraced; but orders, it was said, must be obeyed, which was to go to Mount Hope, and there to fight Philip. This with some other good opportunities of doing spoil upon the enemy, being unhappily missed, Mr. Church obtained the major's consent to meet the Sogkonate Indians, according to his promise. He was offered a guard to Plymouth, but chose to go with one man only, who was a good pilot. About sunset he, with Sabin his pilot, mounted their horses at Rehoboth, where the army now was, and by two hours by sun next morning arrived safe at Plymouth; and by that time they had refreshed themselves, the governor and treasurer came to town. Mr. Church giving them a short account of the affairs of the army, &c. His honour was pleased to give him thanks for the good and great service he had done at Sogkonate, told him, he had confirmed all that he had promised Awashonks, and had sent the Indian back again that brought his letter from Awashonks He asked his honour whether he had any thing later from Awashonks? He told him he had not. Whereupon he gave his honour an account of the major's orders relating to her and hers, and what discourse passed *pro* and *con*, about them; and that he had promised to meet them, and that he had encouraged them, that he thought he might obtain of his honour a commission to lead them forth to fight Philip. His honour smilingly told him, that he should not want commission if he would accept it, nor yet good Englishmen enough to make up a good army. But in short, he told his honour the time was expired that he had appointed to meet the Sogkonates at Sandwich. The govenor asked him, when he would go? He told him that afternoon, by his honour's leave. The governor asked him how many men he would have with him? He answered not above half a dozen, with an order to take more at Sandwich, if he saw cause, and horses provided. He no sooner moved it, but had his number of men tendering to go with him, among which were Mr. Jabez Howland, and Nathaniel Southworth; they went to Sandwich that night, where Mr. Church (with need enough) took a nap of sleep. The next morning, with about sixteen or eighteen men, he proceeded as far as Agawom, where they had great expectation of meeting the Indians, but met them not; his men being discouraged about half of them returned: only half a dozen stuck by him, and promised so to do until they should meet with the Indians. When they came to Sippican river,* Mr. Howland began to tire, upon which Mr. Church left him, and two more, for a reserve at the river, that if he should meet with enemies and be forced back, they might be ready to assist them in getting over the river. Proceeding in their march, they crossed another river, and opened a great bay, where they might see many miles along shore, where were sands and flats; and hearing a great noise below them towards the sea, they dismounted their horses, left them and crept among the bushes, until they came near the bank, and saw a vast company of Indians of all ages and sexes, some on horseback running races, some at foot-ball, some catching eels and flat-fish in the water, some clamming, &c., but which way with safety to find out what Indians they were, they were at a loss. But at length retiring into a thicket, Mr. Church hallooed to them; they soon answered him, and a couple of smart young fellows, well mounted, came upon a full career to see who it might be that called, and came just upon Mr. Church before they discovered him; but when they perceived themselves so near Englishmen, and armed, were much surprised, and tacked short about to run as fast back as they came forward, until

* The south-east corner of Rhode Island.

* In Tiverton. † Adjoining Fogland ferry.

* Rochester.

one of the men in the bushes called to them, and told them his name was Church, and need not fear his hurting of them. Upon which, after a small pause, they turned about their horses, and came up to him; one of them that could speak English Mr. Church took aside and examined, who informed him, that the Indians below were Awashonks and her company, and that Jack Havens was among them; whom Mr. Church immediately sent for to come to him, and ordered the messenger to inform Awashonks that he was come to meet her; Jack Havens soon came, and by that time Mr. Church had asked him a few questions, and had been satisfied by him, that it was Awashonks and her company that were below, and that Jack had been kindly treated by them. A company of Indians all mounted on horseback, and well armed, came riding up to Mr. Church, but treated him with all due respects. He then ordered Jack to go tell Awashonks, that he designed to sup with her in the evening, and to lodge in her camp that night. Then taking some of the Indians with him, he went back to the river to take care of Mr. Howland. Mr. Church having a mind to try what metal he was made of, imparted his notion to the Indians that were with him, and gave them directions how to act their parts; when he came pretty near the place, he and his Englishmen pretendedly fled, firing on their retreat towards the Indians that pursued them, and they firing as fast after them. Mr. Howland being upon his guard, hearing the guns, and by and by seeing the motion both of the English and Indians, concluded his friends were distressed, was soon on the full career on horseback to meet them, until he perceiving their laughing, mistrusted the truth. As soon as Mr. Church had given him the news, they hastened away to Awashonks Upon their arrival, they were immediately conducted to a shelter, open on one side, whither Awashonks and her chiefs soon came and paid their respects; and the multitude gave shouts as made the heavens to ring.

It being now about sun-setting, or near the dusk of the evening, the Netops came running from all quarters loaden with the tops of dry pines and the like combustible matter, making a huge pile thereof, near Mr. Church's shelter, on the open side thereof; but by this time supper was brought in, in three dishes, viz., a curious young bass in one dish, eels and flat fish in a second, and shell-fish in a third, but neither bread nor salt to be seen at table; but by that time supper was over, the mighty pile of pine knots and tops, &c., was fired, and all the Indians, great and small gathered in a ring round it. Awashonks with the oldest of her people, men and women mixed, kneeling down made the first ring next the fire, and all the lusty stout men standing up made the next, and then all the rabble in a confused crew surrounded on the outside. Then the chief captain stepped in between the rings and the fire, with a spear in one hand, and a hatchet in the other, danced round the fire, and began to fight with it, making mention of all the several nations and companies of Indians in the country that were enemies to the English; and at naming of every particular tribe of Indians, he would draw out and fight a new fire-brand, and at finishing his fight with each particular fire-brand, would bow to him and thank him and when he had named all the several nations and tribes, and fought them all he stuck down his spear and hatchet, and came out; and another stepped in and acted over the same dance, with more fury if possible, than the first; and when about half a dozen of their chiefs had thus acted their parts, the captain of the guard stepped up to Mr. Church and told him, they were making soldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one swearing of them, and having in that manner engaged all the stout lusty men; Awashonks and her chiefs came to Mr. Church, and told him, that now they were all engaged to fight for the English, and he might call forth all, or any of them at any time as he saw occasion to fight the enemy; and presented him with a very fine firelock. Mr. Church accepts their offer, drew out a number of them, and set out next morning before day for Plymouth, where they arrived the same day.

The governor being informed of it, came early to town next morning, and by that time he had Englishmen enough to make up a good company, when joined with Mr. Church's Indians, that offered their voluntary service, to go under his command in quest of the enemy. The governor then gave him a commission, which is as follows:

"Captain Benjamin Church, you are hereby nominated, ordered, commissioned, and empowered to raise a company of volunteers of about two hundred men, English and Indians; the English not exceeding the number of sixty, of which company, or so many of them as you can obtain, or shall see cause at present to improve, you are to take the command and conduct, and to lead them forth now and hereafter, at such time, and unto such places within this colony, or elsewhere, within the confederate colonies, as you shall think fit; to discover, pursue, fight, surprise, destroy, or subdue our Indian enemies, or any part or parties of them that by the providence of God you may meet with; or them, or any of them, by treaty and composition to receive to mercy, if you see reason (provided they be not murderous rogues, or such as have been principal actors in those villanies:) and forasmuch as your company may be uncertain, and the persons often changed, you are also hereby empowered, with the advice of your company, to choose and commissionate a lieutenant, and to establish sergeants, and corporals as you see cause: And you herein improving your best judgment and discretion and utmost ability, faithfully to serve the interest of God, his majesty's interest, and the interest of the colony; and carefully governing your said company at home and abroad. These shall be unto you full and ample commission, warrant and discharge. Given under the public seal, this 24th day of July, 1676.

Per JOS. WINSLOW, Gov.

Receiving commission, he marched the same night into the woods, got to Middleborough before day, and as soon as the light appeared, took into the woods and swampy thickets, towards a place where they had some reason to expect to meet with a parcel of Narraganset Indians, with some others that belonged to Mount-Hope. Coming near to where they expected them, Captain Church's Indian scout discovered the enemy, and well observing their fires, and postures returned with the intelligence to their captain, who gave such directions for the surrounding of them, as had the desired effect; surprising them from every side so unexpectedly, that they were all taken, not so much as one escaped. And upon a strict examination, they gave intelligence of another parcel of the enemy, at a place called Munponset-Pond. Captain Church hastened with his prisoners through the woods to Plymouth, disposed of them all, excepting only one Jeffery, who proving very ingenuous and faithful to him, in informing where other parcels of Indians harboured; Captain Church promised him, that if he continued to be faithful to him, he should not be sold out of the country, but should be his waiting man, to take care of his horse, &c. and accordingly he served him faithfully as long as he lived.

But Captain Church was forthwith sent out again, and the terms for his encouragement being concluded on, viz., That the country should find them ammunition and provision, and have half the prisoners and arms they took: the captain and his English soldiers to have the other half of the prisoners and arms, and the Indian soldiers the loose plunder. Poor encouragement! But after some time it was mended.

They soon captured the Munponsets, and brought them in, not one escaping. This stroke he held several weeks, never returning empty handed. When he wanted intelligence of their kennelling places, he would march to some place likely to meet with some travellers or ramblers, and scattering his company, would lie close; and seldom lay above a day, or two, at the most, before some of them would fall into their hands, whom he would compel to inform where their company was; and so by his method of secret and sudden surprises took great numbers of them prisoners.

The government observing his extraordinary courage and conduct, and the success from heaven added to it, saw cause to enlarge his commission; gave him power to raise and dismiss his forces, as he should see occasion; to commissionate officers under him, and to march as far as he should see cause, within the limits of the three united colonies: To receive to mercy, give quarter, or not; excepting some particular and noted murderers: viz. Philip and all that were at the destroying of Mr. Clark's garrison, and some few others.

Major Bradford being now at Taunton with his army, and wanting provisions, some carts were ordered from Plymouth for their supply, and Captain Church to guard them; but he obtained other guards for the carts, as far as Middleborough, ran before with a small company, hoping to meet with some of the enemy, appointing the carts and their guards to meet with them at Nemas

cut,* about an hour after sun's rising next morning; he arrived there about the breaking of the daylight, discovered a company of the enemy; but his time was too short to wait for gaining advantage, and therefore ran right in upon them, surprised and captivated about 16 of them, who, upon examination, informed, that Tispaquin, a very famous captain among the enemy was at Assawompset,† with a numerous company.

But the carts must now be guarded, and the opportunity of visiting Tispaquin must now be laid aside: The carts are to be faithfully guarded, lest Tispaquin should attack them.

Coming towards Taunton, Captain Church taking two men with him, made all speed to the town; and coming to the river side, he hallooed, and inquiring of them that came to the river, for Major Bradford, or his captains; he was informed they were in the town, at the tavern.—He told them of the carts that were coming, that he had the cumber of guarding them, which already prevented his improving opportunities of doing service.—Prayed therefore that a guard might be sent over to receive the carts, that he might be at liberty; refusing all invitations and persuasions to go over to the tavern to visit the major: he at length obtained a guard to receive the carts; by whom also he sent his prisoners, to be conveyed with the carts, to Plymouth, directing them not to return by the way they came, but by Bridgwater.

Hastening back, he proposed to camp that night at Assawompset neck. But as soon as they came to the river that runs into the great pond through the thick swamp, at the entering of the neck, the enemy fired upon them, but hurt not a man. Captain Church's Indians ran right into the swamp, and fired upon them, but it being in the dusk of the evening, the enemy made their escape in the thickets: the captain then moving about a mile into the neck, took the advantage of a small valley to feed his horses; some held the horses by the bridles, the rest on the guard looked sharp out for the enemy, within hearing on every side, and some very near; but in the dead of the night, the enemy being out of hearing, or still, Captain Church moved out of the neck, (not the same way he came in, lest he should be ambuscadoed) towards Cushnet,‡ where all the houses were burnt; and crossing Cushnet river, being extremely fatigued with two nights and one day's ramble without rest or sleep; and observing good forage for their horses, the captain concluded upon baiting, and taking a nap: setting six men to watch the passage of the river, two to watch at a time, while the others slept, and so to take their turns, while the rest of the company went into a thicket, to sleep under the guard of two sentinels more. But the whole company being very drowsy, soon forgot their danger, and were fast asleep, sentinels and all. The captain first awakes, looks up, and judges he had slept four hours, which being longer than he designed, immediately rouses his company, and sends away a file to see what was become of the watch at the passage of the river, but they no sooner opened the river in sight, but they discovered a company of the enemy viewing of their tracks, where they came into the neck; Captain Church, and those with him, soon dispersed into the brush on each side of the way, while the file sent got undiscovered to the passage of the river, and found their watch all fast asleep: but these tidings thoroughly awakened the whole company. But the enemy giving them no present disturbance, they examined their knapsacks, and taking a little refreshment, the captain orders one party to guard the horses, and the other to scout, who soon met with a track, and following of it, they were brought to a small company of Indians who proved to be Little Eyes, and family, and near relations, who were of Sogkonate, but had forsaken their countrymen, upon their making peace with the English. Some of Captain Church's Indians asked him, If he did not know this fellow? Told him, this is the rogue that would have killed you at Awashonk's dance; and signified to him that now he had an opportunity to be revenged on him. But the captain told them, it was not Englishmen's fashion to seek revenge; and that he should have the same quarter the rest had. Moving to the river side, they found an old canoe, with which the captain ordered Little Eyes and his company to be carried over to an island; telling him, he would leave him on that island until he returned; and lest the English should light on them, and kill them, he would leave his cousin Light-foot (whom the English knew to be their friend) to be his guard. Little Eyes expressed himself very thankful to the captain. He leaving his orders with Light-foot, returns to the river side, towards Poneganset, to Russell's orchard; coming near the orchard, they clapped into a thicket, and there lodged the rest of the night without any fire; and upon the morning light appearing, moves towards the orchard, discovers some of the enemy, who had been there the day before, and had beat down all the apples, and carried them away; discovered also where they had lodged that night, and saw the ground where they set their baskets bloody, being, as they supposed, and as it was afterwards discovered to be, with the flesh of swine, &c. which they had killed that day. They had lain under the fences without any fires, and seemed, by the marks they left behind them, to be very numerous; perceived also by the dew on the grass, that they had not been long gone; and therefore moved apace in pursuit of them. Travelling three miles, or more, they came into the country road, where the track parted, one parcel steered towards the west end of the great cedar swamp, and the other to the east end. The captain halted, and told his Indian soldiers, that they had heard, as well as he, what some men had said at Plymouth, about them, &c. That now was a good opportunity for each party to prove themselves: the track being divided, they should follow one, and the English the other, being equal in number. The Indians declined the motion, and were not willing to move anywhere without him; said, they should not think themselves safe without him. But the captain insisting upon it, they submitted; he gave the Indians their choice to follow which track they pleased; they replied, they were light, and able to travel; therefore, if he pleased, they would take the west track. And appointing the ruins of John Cook's house at Cushnet, for the place to meet at, each company set out briskly to try their fortunes. Captain Church, with his English soldiers, followed their track until they came near entering a miry swamp, when the captain heard a whistle in the rear, (which was a note for a halt) looking behind him, he saw William Fobes start out of the company and make towards him, who hastened to meet him as fast as he could: Fobes told him they had discovered abundance of Indians, and if he pleased to go a few steps back he might see them himself: he did so, and saw them across the swamp, observing them, he perceived they were gathering whortle-berries, and that they had no apprehensions of their being so near them; the captain supposed them to be chiefly women, and therefore calling out Mr. Dillano, who was acquainted with the ground, and the Indian language, and another named Mr. Barns; with these two men he takes right through the swamp as fast as he could, and orders the rest to hasten after them. Captain Church, with Dillano and Barns, having good horses, spurred on, and were soon amongst the thickest of the Indians, and out of sight of their own men. Among the enemy was an Indian woman, who with her husband had been drove off from Rhode Island, notwithstanding they had an house upon Mr. Sanford's land, and had planted an orchard before the war; yet the inhabitants would not be satisfied till they were sent off; and Captain Church, with his family, living then at the said Sanford's, came acquainted with them, who thought it very hard to turn off such old quiet people: but in the end it proved a providence and an advantage to him and his family, as you may see afterwards. This Indian woman knew Captain Church, and as soon as she knew him, held up both her hands, and came running towards him, crying aloud, Church, Church, Church. Captain Church bid her stop the rest of the Indians, and tell them, the way to save their lives was not to run, but yield themselves prisoners, and he would not kill them; so with her help and Dillano's, who could call to them in their own language, many of them stopped and surrendered themselves, others scampering and casting away their baskets, &c., betook themselves to the thickets, but Captian Church being on horse back, soon came up with them, and laid hold of a gun that was in the hand of one of the foremost of the company, pulled it from him, and told him he must go back. And when he had turned them, he began to look about him to see where he was, and what was become of his company, hoping they might be all as well employed as himself, but could find none but Dillano, who was busy gathering up prisoners. The captain drove his that he had stopped to the rest, inquiring of Dillano for their company, but could have no news of them; but moving back picked up now and then a skulking prisoner by the way. When they came near the place where they first started the Indians, they discovered their company standing in a body together, and had taken some few prisoners; when

* Now Raynham † In Middleborough ‡ In Dartmouth

they saw their captain they hastened to meet him: they told him they found it difficult getting through the swamp, and neither seeing nor hearing any thing of him, they concluded the enemy had killed him, and were at a great loss what to do.

Having brought their prisoners together they found they had taken and killed sixty-six of the enemy. Captain Church then asked the old squaw, what company they belonged unto? She said, they belonged part to Philip, and part to Qunnappin and the Narraganset Sachem, discovered also, upon her declaration, that both Philip and Qunnappin were about two miles off, in the great cedar swamp; he inquired of her, what company they had with them? She answered, abundance of Indians. The swamp, she said, was full of Indians from one end unto the other, that were settled there, that there were near a hundred men came from the swamp with them, and left them upon that plain to gather whortle-berries, and promised to call them as they came back out of Sconticut-Neck; whither they went to kill cattle and horses for provisions for the company. She, perceiving Captain Church move towards the neck, told him, if they went that way they would all be killed. He asked her, whereabout they crossed the river? She pointed to the upper passing place. Upon which Captain Church passed over so low down as he thought it not probable they should meet with his track in their return; and hastened towards the island, where he left Little Eyes with Light-foot. Finding a convenient place by the river side for securing his prisoners, Captain Church and Mr. Dillano went down to see what was become of Captain Light-foot, and the prisoners left in his charge. Light-foot seeing and knowing them, soon came over with his broken canoe, and informed them, that he had seen that day about one hundred men of the enemy go down into Sconticut-Neck, and that they were now returning again: upon which they three ran down immediately to a meadow where Light-foot said the Indians had passed, where they not only saw their tracks, but also them: whereupon they lay close until the enemy came into the said meadow, and the foremost set down his load and halted, until all the company came up, and then took up their loads and marched again the same way that they came down into the neck, which was the nearest way unto their camp; had they gone the other way along the river, they could not have missed Captain Church's tracks, which would doubtless have exposed them to the loss of their prisoners, if not of their lives. But as soon as the coast was clear of them, the captain sends his Light-foot to fetch his prisoners from the island, while he and Mr. Dillano returns to the company, sent part of them to conduct Light-foot and his company to the aforesaid meadow, where Captain Church and his company met them. Crossing the enemies' track they made all haste until they got over Mattapoiset river,* near about four miles beyond the ruins of Cook's house, where he appointed to meet his Indian company, whither he sent Dillano with two more to meet them; ordering them, that if the Indians were not arrived to wait for them. Accordingly, finding no Indians there, they waited until late in the night, when they arrived with their booty. They dispatched a post to their captain, to give him an account of their success; but the day broke before they came to him; and when they had compared successes, they very remarkably found that the number that each company had taken and slain, was equal. The Indians had killed three of the enemy, and taken sixty-three prisoners, as the English had done before them. Both English and Indians were surprised at this remarkable providence, and were both parties rejoicing at it; being both before afraid of what might have been the unequal success of the parties; but the Indians had the fortune to take more arms than the English. They told the captain, that they had missed a brave opportunity by parting; they came upon a great town of the enemy, viz. Captain Tyasks' company, (Tyasks was the next man to Philip.) They fired upon the enemy before they were discovered, and ran upon them with a shout; the men ran and left their wives and children, and many of them their guns. They took Tyasks' wife and son, and thought that if their captain and the English company had been with them they might have taken some hundreds of them; and now they determined not to part any more.

That night Philip sent (as afterwards they found out) a great army to waylay Captain Church at the entering of Assawompset-Neck, expecting he would have returned the same way he went in; but that was never his method to return the same way that he came; and at this time going another way, he escaped falling into the hands of his enemies. The next day they went home by Scipican, and got well with their prisoners to Plymouth.

He soon went out again, and this stroke he drove many weeks; and when he took any number of prisoners, he would pick out some he took a fancy to, and would tell them, he took a particular fancy to them, and had chose them for himself to make soldiers of; and if any would behave themselves well, he would do well by them, and they should be his men, and not sold out of the country. If he perceived they looked surly, and his Indian soldiers called them treacherous dogs, as some of them would sometimes do, all the notice he would take of it, would only be to clap them on the back, and tell them, come, come, you look wild and surly, and mutter, but that signifies nothing, these my best soldiers were a little while ago as wild and surly as you are now; by that time you have been but one day along with me, you'll love me too, and be as brisk as any of them And it proved so; for there was none of them but (after they had been a little while with him, and seen his behaviour, and how cheerful and successful his men were) would be as ready to pilot him to any place where the Indians dwelt, or haunted (though their own fathers or nearest relations should be among them) or to fight for him, as any of his own men.

Captain Church was in two particulars much advantaged by the great English army that was now abroad. One was, that they drove the enemy down to that part of the country, viz. to the eastward of Taunton river, by which his business was nearer home. The other was, that when he fell on with a push upon any body of the enemy (were they never so many) they fled, expecting the great army. And his manner of marching through the woods was such, as if he were discovered, they appeared to be more than they were; for he always marched at a wide distance one from another, partly for their safety: And this was an Indian custom to march thin and scattered. Captain Church inquired of some of the Indians that were become his soldiers, how they got such advantage often of the English in their marches through the woods? They told him, that the Indians gained great advantage of the English by two things; the Indians always took care in their marches and fights, not to come too thick together; but the English always kept in a heap together, that it was as easy to hit them as to hit a house. The other was, that if at any time they discovered a company of English soldiers in the woods, they knew that there was all, for the English never scattered; but the Indians always divided and scattered.

Captain Church now at Plymouth, something or other happened that kept him at home a few days, until a post came to Marshfield on the Lord's day morning, informing the governor that a great army of Indians were discovered, who it was supposed were designing to get over the river towards Taunton or Bridgwater, to attack those towns that lay on that side of the river. The governor hastened to Plymouth, raised what men he could by the way, came to Plymouth in the beginning of the forenoon exercise; sent for Captain Church out of the meeting-house, gave him the news, and desired him immediately to rally what of his company he could; and what men he had raised should join them. The captain bestirs himself, but found no bread in the store-house, and so was forced to run from house to house to get household bread for their march; but this nor any thing else prevented his marching by the beginning of the afternoon exercise. Marching with what men were ready, he took with him the post that came from Bridgwater to pilot him to the place, where he thought he might meet with the enemy. In the evening they heard a smart firing at a distance from them; but it being near night, and the firing but of short continuance, they missed the place, and went into Bridgwater town. It seems the occasion of the firing was, that Philip finding that Captain Church made that side of the country too hot for him, designed to return to the other side of the country that he came last from. And coming to Taunton river with his company, they felled a great tree across the river, for a bridge to pass over on; and just as Philip's old uncle Akkompoin, and some other of his chiefs were passing over the tree, some brisk Bridgwater lads had ambushed them, fired upon them, and killed the old man, and several others, which put a stop to their coming over the river that night.

Next morning Captain Church moved very early with his company, which was increased by many of Bridgwater, that enlisted under him for that expedition, and, by their piloting, soon came very still to the top of

* In Rochester.

the great tree which the enemy had fallen across the river; and the captain spied an Indian sitting on the stump of it on the other side of the river, and he clapped his gun up, and had doubtless despatched him, but that one of his own Indians called hastily to him, not to fire, for he believed it was one of their own men; upon which the Indian upon the stump looked about, and Captain Church's Indian seeing his face perceived his mistake, for he knew him to be Philip, clapped up his gun and fired, but it was too late, for Philip immediately threw himself off the stump, leaped down a bank on the side of the river, and made his escape. Captain Church, as soon as possible, got over the river, and scattered in quest of Philip and his company; but the enemy scattered and fled every way; but he picked up a considerable many of their women and children, among which was Philip's wife, and son of about nine years old. Discovering a considerable new track along the river, and examining the prisoners, found it was Qunnappin and the Narragansets, that were drawing off from those parts towards the Narragansett country; he inquired of the prisoners, whether Philip was gone in the same track? They told him they did not know, for he fled in a great fright when the first English gun was fired, and they had none of them seen or heard anything of him since. Captain Church left part of his company there to secure the prisoners they got, and to pick up what more they could find; and with the rest of his company hastened in the track of the enemy, to overtake them, if it might be, before they got over the river, and ran some miles along the river, until he came to a place where the Indians had waded over; and he with his company waded over after them up to the arm-pits; being almost as wet before with sweat as the river could make them. Following about a mile further, and not overtaking them, and the captain being under necessity to return that night to the army, came to a halt, told his company, he must return to his other men. His Indian soldiers moved for leave to pursue the enemy (though he returned;) said, the Narragansets were great rogues, and they wanted to be revenged on them for killing some of their relations; named Tockamona, (Awashonk's brother) and some others. Captain Church bid them go and prosper, and made Lightfoot their chief, and gave him the title of captain: Bid them go and quit themselves like men. And away they scampered like so many horses. Next morning early they returned to their captain, and informed him, that they had come up with the enemy, and killed several of them, and brought him thirteen of them prisoners; were mighty proud of their exploit, and rejoiced much at the opportunity of avenging themselves. Captain Church sent the prisoners to Bridgwater, and sent out his scouts to see what enemies or tracks they could, discovering some small tracks, he follows them, found where the enemy had kindled some fires, and roasted some flesh, &c., but had put out their fires and were gone. The captain followed them by the track, putting his Indians in the front; some of which were such as he had newly taken from the enemy, and added to his company. Gave them orders to march softly, and upon hearing a whistle in the rear, to sit down, till further order: or, upon discovery of any of the enemy, to stop, for his design was, if he could discover where the enemy were, not to fall upon them (unless necessitated to it) until next morning. The Indians in the front came up with many women and children, and others that were faint and tired, and so not able to keep up with the company; these gave them an account that Philip with a great number of the enemy, were a little before. Captain Church's Indians told the others, they were their prisoners, but if they would submit to order, and be still, no one should hurt them: they being their old acquaintance, were easily persuaded to conform. A little before sunset there was a halt in the front, until the captain came up, they told him, they discovered the enemy. He ordered them to dog them, and watch their motion till it was dark. But Philip soon came to a stop, and fell to breaking and chopping wood, to make fires; and a great noise they made. Captain Church draws his company up in a ring, and sat down in the swamp without any noise or fire. The Indian prisoners were much surprised to see the English soldiers; but the captain told them, if they would be quiet and not make any disturbance or noise, they should meet with civil treatment; but if they made any disturbance, or offered to run, or make their escape, he would immediately kill them all; so they were very submissive and obsequious. When the day broke, Captain Church told his prisoners, that his expedition was such at this time that he could not afford them any guard: told them, they would find it to be their interest to attend the orders he was now about to give them; which was, that when the fight was over, which they now expected, or as soon as the firing ceased, they must follow the track of his company, and come to them. (An Indian is next to a blood-hound to follow a track.) He said to them, it would be in vain for them to think of disobedience, or to gain any thing by it, for he had taken and killed a great many of the Indian rebels, and should in a little time kill and take all the rest, &c. By this time it began to be so light, as the time that he usually chose to make his onset. He moved, sending two soldiers before, to try if they could privately discover the enemies' postures. But very unhappily it fell out, that the very same time Philip had sent two of his as a scout upon his own track, to see if none dogged them; who spied the two Indian men, and turned short about, and fled with all speed to their camp, and Captain Church pursued as fast as he could. The two Indians set a yelling and howling, and made the most hideous noise they could invent, soon gave the alarm to Philip and his camp; who all fled at the first tidings, left their kettles boiling, and meat roasting upon their wooden spits, and ran into a swamp with no other breakfast than what Captain Church afterwards treated them with. Captain Church pursuing, sent Mr. Isaac Howland with a party on one side of the swamp, while himself with the rest ran on the other side, agreeing to run on each side, until they met on the further end, placing some men in secure stands at that end of the swamp where Philip entered, concluding that if they headed him and beat him back, that he would take back in his own track. Captain Church and Mr. Howland soon met at the further end of the swamp, (it not being a great one) where they met with a great number of the enemy, well armed, coming out of the swamp; but, on sight of the English, they seemed very much surprised and tacked short. Captain Church called hastily to them, and said, if they fired one gun they were all dead men; for he would have them to know that he had them hemmed in, with a force sufficient to command them; but if they peaceably surrendered they should have good quarter, &c. They, seeing both Indians and English come so thick upon them, were so surprised that many of them stood still and let the English come and take the guns out of their hands, when they were both charged and cocked.

Many, both men, women, and children of the enemy, were imprisoned at this time, while Philip, Tispaquin, Totoson, &c., concluded that the English would pursue them upon their tracks, so were waylaying their tracks at the first end of the swamp, hoping thereby to gain a shot upon Captain Church who was now better employed in taking prisoners, and running them into a valley, in form shaped something like a punch-bowl and appointing a guard of two files, treble armed with guns taken from the enemy. But Philip having waited all this while in vain, now moves on after the rest of his company, to see what was become of them. And by this time Captain Church was got into the swamp ready to meet him; and as it happened made the first discovery, clapped behind a tree until Philip's company came pretty near, and then fired upon them, killed many of them, and a close skirmish followed. Upon this Philip, having grounds sufficient to suspect the event of his company that went before them, fled back upon his own track; and coming to the place where the ambush lay, they fired on each other, and one Lucus, of Plymouth, not being so careful as he might have been about his stand, was killed by the Indians. In this swamp-skirmish Captain Church with his two men, who always run by his side as his guard, met with three of the enemy, two of which surrendered themselves, and the captain's guard seized them; but the other, being a great, stout, surly fellow, with his two locks tied up with red, and a great rattle-snake skin hanging to the back part of his head, (whom Captain Church concluded to be Totoson) ran from them into the swamp; Captain Church in person, pursued him close, till coming pretty near up with him, presented his gun between his shoulders, but it missing fire, the Indian perceiving it, turned and presented at Captain Church, and missing fire also, (their guns taking wet with the fog and dew of the morning;) but the Indian turning short for another run, his foot tripped in a small grape-vine and he fell flat on his face; Captain Church was by this time up with him, and struck the muzzle of his gun an inch and a half into the back part of his head, which despatched him without another blow. But Captain Church looking behind him, saw Totoson, the Indian whom

he thought he had killed, come flying at him like a dragon; but this happened to be fair in sight of the guard that were set to keep the prisoners, who, spying Totoson and others that were following him, in the very seasonable juncture made a shot upon them, and rescued their captain; though he was in no small danger from his friends' bullets, for some of them came so near him that he thought he felt the wind of them. The skirmish being over, they gathered their prisoners together, and found the number they had killed and taken was one hundred and seventy-three, (the prisoners which they took over night included) who after the skirmish, came to them as they were ordered.

Now having no provisions but what they took from the enemy, they hastened to Bridgwater, sending an express before to provide for them, their company being now very numerous. The gentlemen of Bridgwater met Captain Church with great expressions of honor and thanks, and received him and his army with all due respect and kind treatment.

Captain Church drove his prisoners that night into Bridgwater pound, and set his Indian soldiers to guard them. They being well treated with victuals and drink, they had a merry night; and the prisoners laughed as loud as the soldiers, not being so treated a long time before.

Some of the Indians now said to Captain Church, Sir, you have now made Philip ready to die, for you have made him as poor and miserable as he used to make the English; for you have now killed or taken all his relations. That they believed he would now soon have his head, and that this bout had almost broke his heart.

The next day Captain Church moved and arrived with all his prisoners safe at Plymouth. The great English army was now at Taunton, and Major Talcot, with the Connecticut forces, being in these parts of the country, did considerable spoil upon the enemy.

Now Captain Church being arrived at Plymouth received thanks from the government for his good service, &c.; many of his soldiers were disbanded; and he thought to rest himself awhile, being much fatigued, and his health impaired by excessive heats and colds, and wading through rivers, &c. But it was not long before he was called upon to rally, upon advice that some of the enemy were discovered in Dartmouth woods. He took his Indians, and as many English volunteers as presented, to go with him; and scattering into small parcels, Mr. Jabez Howland (who was now, and often, his lieutenant, and a worthy good soldier) had the fortune to discover and imprison a parcel of the enemy. In the evening they met together at an appointed place, and by examining the prisoners, they gained intelligence of Totoson's haunt; and being brisk in the morning, they soon gained an advantage of Totoson's company, though he himself with his son of about eight years old made their escape, and one old squaw with them, to Agawom, his own country; but Sam Barrow, as noted a rogue as any among the enemy, fell into the hands of the English at this time. Captain Church told him, that because of his inhuman murders and barbarities, the court had allowed him no quarter, but was to be forthwith put to death, and therefore he was to prepare for it. Barrow replied, that the sentence of death against him was just, and that indeed he was ashamed to live any longer, and desired no more favour than to smoke a whiff of tobacco before his execution. When he had taken a few whiffs, he said he was ready; upon which one of Captain Church's Indians sunk his hatchet into his brains. The famous Totoson arriving at Agawom,* his son, which was the last that was left of the family, (Captain Church having destroyed all the rest) fell sick; the wretch, reflecting upon the miserable condition he had brought himself into,his heart became a stone within him, and died. The old squaw flung a few leaves and brush over him, and came into Sandwich, and gave this account of his death, and offered to show them where she left his body; but never had the opportunity, for she immediately fell sick and died also.

Captain Church being now at Plymouth again,weary and worn,would have gone home to his wife and family, but the government being solicitous to engage him in the service until Philip was slain, and promising satisfaction and redress for some mistreatment that he had met with; he fixes for another expedition. He had soon volunteers enough to make up the company he desired, and marched through the woods until he came to Pocasset; and not seeing or hearing of any of the enemy they went over the ferry to Rhode-Island, to refresh themselves. The captain with about half a dozen in his company, took horse and rid about eight miles down the island, to Mr. Sanford's, where he had left his wife; who no sooner saw him but fainted with surprise; and by that time she was a little revived, they spied two horsemen coming a great pace. Captain Church told his company that those men (by their riding) came with tidings. When they came up they proved to be Major Sandford and Captain Golding; who immediately asked Captain Church, what he would give to hear some news of Philip? He replied, that was what he wanted. They told him, they had rid hard with some hopes of overtaking him, and were now come on purpose to inform him, that there was just now tidings from Mount-Hope; an Indian came down from thence (where Philip's camp now was) on to Sand-point, over against Trip's and hallooed, and made signs to be fetched over; and being fetched over, he reported that he was fled from Philip, who (said he) has killed my brother just before I came away, for giving some advice that displeased him. And said, he was fled for fear of meeting with the same his brother had met with. Told them also, that Philip was now in Mount-Hope neck. Captain Church thanked them for their good news, and said, he hoped by tomorrow morning to have the rogue's head. The horses that he and his company came on, standing at the door, (for they had not been unsaddled) his wife must content herself with a short visit, when such game was ahead; they immediately mounted, set spurs to their horses, and away.

* Several places were called Agawom; as at Ipswich, and Springfield. This Agawom lies in Wareham.

The two gentlemen that brought him the tidings, told him, they would gladly wait upon him to see the event of the expedition; he thanked them, and told them, he should be as fond of their company as any men's; and (in short) they went with him. And they were soon at Trip's ferry (with Captain Church's company) where the deserter was, who was a fellow of good sense, and told his story handsomely. He offered Captain Church to pilot him to Philip, and to help to kill him, that he might revenge his brother's death. Told him, that Philip was now upon a little spot of upland, that was in the south end of the miry swamp, just at the foot of the Mount, which was a spot of ground that Captain Church was well acquainted with. By that time they were got over the ferry, and came near the ground, half the night was spent. The captain commands a halt, and bringing the company together, he asked Major Sandford's and Captain Golding's advice, what method was best to take in making the onset, but they declined giving him any advice, telling him, that his great experience and success forbid their taking upon them to give advice. Then Captain Church offered Captain Golding that he should have the honour (if he would please to accept of it) to beat up Philip's head quarters. He accepted the offer, and had his allotted number drawn out to him, and the pilot. Captain Church's instructions to him were, to be very careful in his approach to the enemy, and be sure not to show himself until by daylight they might see and discern their own men from the enemy; told him also, that his custom in like cases was, to creep with his company on their bellies, until they came as near as they could; and that as soon as the enemy discovered them they would cry out; and that was the word for his men to fire and fall on. Directed him when the enemy should start and take into the swamp, they should pursue with speed, every man shouting and making what noise they could; for he would give orders to his ambuscade to fire on any that should come silently.

Captain Church knowing that it was Philip's custom to be foremost in the flight, went down to the swamp, and gave Captain Williams of Scituate the command of the right wing of the ambush, and placed an Englishman and an Indian together behind such shelters of trees, &c., that he could find, and took care to place them at such distance that none might pass undiscovered between them, charged them to be careful of themselves, and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that should come silently through the swamp; but being somewhat further through the swamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his ambuscade. Having placed what men he had, he took Major Sandford by the hand, said, Sir, I have so placed them that it is scarce possible Philip should escape them. The same moment a shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a gun towards Philip's camp. Captain Church at first thought it might be some gun fired by accident; but before he could speak, a whole volley followed, which was earlier than he expected. One of Philip's gang going forth to ease himself,

when he had done, looked round him, and Captain Golding thought the Indian looked right at him, (though probably it was but his conceit,) so fired at him, and upon his firing the whole company that were with him fired upon the enemies' shelter, before the Indians had time to rise from their sleep, and so overshot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the swamp, built so on purpose for the convenience of flight on occasion. They were soon in the swamp, and Philip the foremost, who starting at the first gun, threw his petunk, and powder-horn over his head, catched up his gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings, and ran directly on two of Captain Church's ambush; they let him come fair within shot, and the Englishman's gun missing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did so to purpose, sent one musket bullet through his heart, and another not above two inches from it; he fell upon his face in the mud and water with his gun under him. By this time the enemy perceived they were waylaid on the east side of the swamp, tacked short about. One of thee nemy, who seemed to be a great, surly old fellow, hallooed with a loud voice, and often called out, Iootash, Iootash. Captain Church called to his Indian, Peter, and asked him who that was that called so? He answered, it was old Annawon, Philip's great captain, calling on his soldiers to stand to it, and fight stoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the swamp which was not ambushed, many of them made their escape in the English tracks. The man that had shot down Philip, ran with all speed to Captain Church, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be silent about it, and let no man more know it, until they had drove the swamp clean; but when they had drove the swamp through, and found the enemy had escaped, or at least the most of them, and the sun now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not easily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemies night-shelter was; and then Captain Church gave them the news of Philip's death; upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas. Captain Church ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire on to the upland, so some of Captain Church's Indians took hold of him by his stockings, and some by his small breeches, (being otherwise naked) and drew him through the mud to the upland, and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like. Captain Church then said, that forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, that not one of his bones should be buried. And calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him; accordingly he came with his hatchet and stood over him, but before he struck he made a small speech, directing it to Philip, and said, he had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so big as he was he would now chop his arse for him; and so he went to work, and did as he was ordered. Philip having one very remarkable hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a pistol in it formerly; Captain Church gave the head and that hand to Alderman, the Indian who shot him, to show to such gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a penny by it.

This being on the last day of the week, the captain with his company returned to the island, tarried there until Tuesday; and then went off and ranged through all the woods to Plymouth, and received their premium, which was thirty shillings per head, for the enemies which they had killed or taken, instead of all wages; and Philip's head went at the same price. Methinks it is scanty reward and poor encouragement; though it was better than what had been for some time before. For this march they received four shillings and sixpence a man, which was all the reward they had, except the honour of killing Philip. This was in the latter end of August, 1676.

Captain Church had been but a little while at Plymouth, before a post from Rehoboth came to inform the government, that old Annawon, Philip's chief captain, was with his company ranging about their woods, and was very offensive and pernicious to Rehoboth and Swansey. Captain Church was immediately sent for again, and treated with to engage in one expedition more; he told them, their encouragement was so poor, he feared his soldiers would be dull about going again; but being a hearty friend to the cause, he rallies again, goes to Mr. Jabez Howland, his old lieutenant, and some of his soldiers that used to go out with him; told them how the case was circumstanced, and that he had intelligence of old Annawon's walk and haunt, and wanted hands to hunt him; they did not want much entreating, but told him, they would go with him, as long as there was an Indian left in the woods. He moved and ranged through the woods to Pocasset.

It being the latter end of the week, he proposed to go on to Rhode Island, and rest until Monnay; but on the Lord's day morning, there came a post to inform the captain, that early the same morning a canoe with several Indians in it passed from Prudence Island to Poppasquash-Neck.* Captain Church thought, if he could possibly surprise them, he might probably gain some intelligence of more game; therefore he made all possible speed after them. The ferry-boat being out of the way, he made use of canoes; by that time they had made two freights, and had got over the captain, and about fifteen or sixteen of his Indians, the wind sprung up with such violence that canoes could no more pass. The Captain seeing it was impossible for any more of his soldiers to come to him, he told his Indians, if they were willing to go with him, he would go to Poppasquash, and see if they could catch some of the enemy Indians. They were willing to go, but were sorry they had no English soldiers; so they marched through the thickets that they might not be discovered, until they came unto the salt meadow, to the northward of Bristol town, that now is. Then they heard a gun, the captain looked about, not knowing but it might be some of his own company in the rear; so halting till they all came up, he found it was none of his own company that fired. Now though he had but a few men, was minded to send some of them out on a scout. He moved it to Captain Light-foot to go with three more on a scout; he said he was willing, provided the captain's man Nathaniel, (which was an Indian they had lately taken) might be one of them, because he was well acquainted with the neck, and coming lately from among them, knew how to call them. The captain bid him choose his three companions, and go; and if they came across any of the enemy, not to kill them if they could possibly take them alive; that they might gain intelligence concerning Annawon. The captain with the rest of his company moved but a little way further toward Poppasquash, before they heard another gun, which seemed to be the same way with the other, but further off; but they made no halt until they came on to the narrow of Poppasquash Neck; where Captain Church left three men more, to watch if any should come out of the neck, and to inform the scout when they returned which way he was gone.

He parted the remainder of his company, half on one side of the neck, and the other with himself went on the other side of the neck, until they met; and meeting neither with Indians nor canoes, returned big with expectations of tidings by their scout; but when they came back to the three men at the narrow of the neck, they told their captain the scout was not returned, had heard nor seen anything of them: this filled them with thoughts of what should become of them; by the time they had sat and waited an hour longer, it was very dark, and they despaired of their returning to them. Some of the Indians told their captain, they feared his new man Nathaniel had met with his old Mount-Hope friends, and was turned rogue. They concluded to make no fires that night (and indeed they had no great need of any) for they had no victuals to cook, had not so much as a morsel of bread with them.

They took up their lodging scattering, that if possibly their scout should come in the night, and whistle (which was their sign) some or other of them might hear them. They had a very solitary, hungry night; and as soon as the day broke they drew off through the brush to a hill without the neck, and looking about them they espied one Indian man come running somewhat towards them; the captain ordered one man to step out and shew himself. Upon this the Indian ran right to him, and who should it be but Captain Light-foot, to their great joy. Captain Church asked him, what news? He answered, Good news, they were all well, and had catched ten Indians, and that they guarded them all night to one of the flankers of the old English garrison; that their prisoners were part of Annawon's company, and that they had left their families in a swamp above Mattapoiset Neck.* And as they were marching towards the old garrison, Light-foot gave Captain Church a particular account of their exploit, viz. that presently after they left him, they heard another gun, which seemed towards the Indian burying place, and moving that way, they discovered two of the enemy fleeing on a horse. The

* On the west-side of Bristol

* In Swanzey. There is another Mattapoiset in Rochester.

scout clapping into the brush, Nathaniel bid them sit down, and he would presently call all the Indians thereabout unto him. They hid, and he went a little distance back from them, and set up his note, and howled like a wolf. One of the two immediately left his horse and came running to see who was there; but Nathaniel howling lower and lower drew him in between those that lay in wait for him, who seized him; Nathaniel continuing the same note, the other left the horse also, following his mate, and met with the same. When they caught these two they examined them apart, and found them to agree in their story, that there were eight more of them come down into the neck to get provisions, and had agreed to meet at the burying place that evening. These two being some of Nathaniel's old acquaintance, he had great influence upon them, and with his enticing story, (telling what a brave captain he had, how bravely he lived since he had been with him, and how much they might better their condition by turning to him, &c.) persuaded and engaged them to be on his side, which indeed now began to be the better side of the hedge. They waited but a little while before they espied the rest of theirs coming up to the burying place, and Nathaniel soon howled them in as he had done their mates before

When Captain Church came to the garrison he met his lieutenant and the rest of his company; and then making uq good fires they fell to roasting their horse-beef, enough to last them the whole day, but had not a morsel of bread; though salt they had, which they always carried in their pockets, which, at this time was very acceptable to them. Their next motion was towards the place where the prisoners told them they had left their women and children, and surprised them all, and some others that were newly come to them. And upon examination they held to one story, that it was hard to tell where to find Annawon, for he never roosted twice in a place. Now a certain Indian soldier that Captain Church had gained over to be on his side, prayed that he might have liberty to go and fetch in his father, who, he said, was about four miles from that place, in a swamp, with no other than a young squaw. Captain Church inclined to go with him, thinking it might be in his way to gain some intelligence of Annawon; and so taking one Englishman and a few Indians with him, leaving the rest there, he went with his new soldier to look for his father. When he came to the swamp he bid the Indian go to see if he could find his father; he was no sooner gone but Captain Church discovered a track coming down out of the woods, upon which he and his little company lay close, some on one side of the track, and some on the other. They heard the Indian soldier make a howling for his father; and at length somebody answered him, but while they were listening, they thought they heard somebody coming towards them, presently saw an old man coming up with a gun on his shoulder, and a young woman following, in the track which they lay by. They let them come up between them, and then started up and laid hold of them both. Captain Church immediately examined them apart, telling them, what they must trust to if they told false stories. He asked the young woman, what company they came from last? She said, from Captain Annawon's. He asked her, how many were in company with him when she left him? She said fifty or sixty. He asked her, how many miles it was to the place where she left him? She said, she did not understand miles, but he was up in Squannaconk swamp.* The old man who had been one of Philip's council, upon examination, gave exactly the same account. Captain Church asked him, if they could get there that night? He said, if they went presently, and travelled stoutly, they might get there by sunset. He asked, whither he was going? He answered, that Annawon had sent him down to look for some Indians, that were gone down into Mount-Hope neck to kill some provisions. Captain Church let him know that those Indians were all his prisoners. By this time came the Indian soldier and brought his father and one Indian more. The captain was now in great strait of mind what to do next, he had a mind to give Annawon a visit, now he knew where to find him; but his company was very small, but half a dozen men beside himself, and was under a necessity to send somebody back and acquaint his lieutenant and company with his proceedings. However, he asked his small company that were with him, whether they would willingly go with him, and give Annawon a visit? They told him, they were always ready to obey his commands, &c., but withal told him, that they knew this Captain Annawon was a great soldier; that he had been a valiant captain under Asuhmequin, Philip's father, and that he had been Philip's chieftain all this war; a very subtle man, and of great resolution, and had often said, that he would never be taken alive by the English; and moreover they knew that the men that were with him were resolute fellows, some of Philip's chief soldiers; and therefore feared whether it was practicable to make an attempt upon him with so small a handful of assistants as were now with him: told him further, that it would be a pity that after all the great things he had done, he should throw away his life at last. Upon which he replied, that he doubted not Annawon was a subtle and valiant man: that he had a long time but in vain sought for him, and never till now could find his quarters; and he was very loath to miss of the opportunity; and doubted not but if they would cheerfully go with him, the same Almighty Providence that had hitherto protected and befriended them would do so still, &c. Upon this with with one consent they said, they would go. Captain Church then turned to one Cook, of Plymouth, (the only Englishman then with him) and asked him, what he thought of it? Who replied, Sir, I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me. Then Captain Church asked the old Indian, if he could carry his horse with him? (For he conveyed a horse thus far with him.) He replied, that it was impossible for a horse to pass the swamps: therefore he sent away his new Indian soldier with his father and the captain's horse to his lieutenant, and orders for him to move to Taunton with the prisoners to secure them there, and to come out in the morning in the Rehoboth road, in which he might expect to meet him, if he were alive and had success.

The captain then asked the old fellow, if he would pilot him unto Annawon? He answered, that he having given him his life, he was obliged to serve him. He bid him move on then, and they followed. The old man would out-travel them so far sometimes that they were almost out of sight; looking over his shoulder, and seeing them behind, he would halt. Just as the sun was setting, the old man made a full stop and sat down, the company coming up also sat down, being all weary. Captain Church asked, what news? He answered, that about that time in the evening Captain Annawon sent out his scouts to see if the coast was clear, and as soon as it began to grow dark the scouts returned And then (said he) we may move again securely. When it began to grow dark the old man stood up again, Captain Church asked him, if he would take a gun and fight for him? He bowed very low and prayed him not to impose such a thing upon him, as to fight against Captain Annawon his old friend But says he, I will go along with you and be helpful to you, and will lay hands on any man that shall offer to hurt you. It being now pretty dark they moved close together; anon they heard a noise; the captain stayed the old man with his hand, and asked his own men what noise they thought it might be? They concluded it to be the pounding of a mortar. The old man had given Captain Church a description of the place where Annawon now lay, and of the difficulty of getting at him. Being sensible that they were pretty near them, with two of his Indians he creeps to the edge of the rocks, from whence he could see their camps. He saw three companies of Indians at a little distance from each other, being easy to be discovered by the light of their fires. He saw also the great Annawon and his company, who had formed his camp or kennelling-place, by falling a tree under the side of the great clefts of rocks, and setting a row of birch bushes up against it, where he himself, his son, and some of his chiefs had taken up their lodging and made great fires without them, and had their pots and kettles boiling, and spits roasting; their arms also he discovered, all set together in a place fitted for the purpose, standing up an end against a stick lodged in two crotches, and a mat placed over them, to keep them from the wet or dew. The old Annawon's feet and his son's head, were so near the arms as almost to touch them; but the rocks were so steep that it was impossible to get down, but as they lowered themselves by the boughs and the bushes that grew in the cracks of the rocks, Captain Church creeping back again to the old man, asked him if there was no possibility of getting at them some other way? He answered, no: that he and all that belonged to Annawon were ordered to come that way, and none could come any other way without difficulty or danger of being shot.

Captain Church then ordered the old man and his daughter to go down foremost with their baskets at their backs, that when Annawon saw them with their baskets he should

* Southeasterly part of Rehoboth

not mistrust the intrigue. Captain Church and his handful of soldiers crept down also under the shadow of these two and their baskets, and the captain himself crept close behind the old man, with his hatchet in his hand, and stepped over the young man's head to the arms; the young Annawon discovering of him, whipped his blanket over his head and shrunk up in a heap. The old Captain Annawon started up on his breech, and cried out Howoh, and despairing of escape, threw himself back again, and lay silent until Captain Church had secured all the arms, &c. And having secured that company, he sent his Indian soldiers to the other fires and companies, giving them instructions, what to do and say. Accordingly, they went into the midst of them. When they discovered themselves who they were, told them that their Captain Annawon was taken, and it would be best for them quietly and peaceably to surrender themselves, which would procure good quarter for them: otherwise, if they should pretend to resist or make their escape, it would be in vain, and they could expect no other but that Captain Church with his great army, who had now entrapped them, would cut them to pieces; told them also if they would submit themselves, and deliver all their arms unto them, and keep every man his place until it was day, they would assure them that Captain Church, who had been so kind to themselves when they surrendered to him, should be as kind unto them. Now they being old acquaintance, and many of them relations, did much the readier give heed to what they said, complied and surrendered up their arms unto them, both their guns and hatchets, &c., and were forthwith carried to Captain Church.

Things being so far settled, Captain Church asked Annawon, What he had for supper? For (said he) I am come to sup with you. Taubut (said Annawon) with a big voice; and looking about upon his women, bid them hasten and get Captain Church and his company some supper; then turned to Captain Church and asked him, whether he would eat cow-beef or horse-beef; the captain told him cow-beef would be most acceptable. It was soon got ready, and pulling his little bag of salt out of his pocket, which was all the provision he brought with him; this seasoned his cow-beef so that with it and the dried green corn, which the old squaw was pounding in the mortar, while they were sliding down the rocks, he made a very hearty supper. And this pounding in the mortar proved lucky for Captain Church's getting down the rocks; for when the old squaw pounded, they moved, and when she ceased to turn the corn, they ceased creeping, the noise of the mortar prevented the enemy's hearing their creeping. And the corn being now dressed supplied the want of bread, and gave a fine relish with the cow-beef. Supper being over, Captain Church sent two of his men to inform the other companies, that he had killed Philip, and had taken their friends in Mount-Hope neck, but had spared their lives, and that he had subdued now all the enemy (he supposed) excepting this company of Annawon's, and now if they would be orderly and keep their places until morning, they should have good quarter, and that he would carry them to Taunton, where they might see their friends again, &c.

The messenger returned, that the Indians yielded to his proposals. Captain Church thought it was now time for him to take a nap, having had no sleep in two days and one night before; told his men that if they would let him sleep two hours, they should sleep all the rest of the night. He laid himself down and endeavoured to sleep, but all disposition to sleep departed from him. After he had lain a little while he looked up to see how his watch managed, but found them all fast asleep. Now Captain Church had told Captain Annawon's company, as he had ordered his Indians to tell the others, that their lives should all be spared, excepting Captain Annawon's, and it was not in his power to promise him his life, but he must carry him to his masters at Plymouth, and he would entreat them for his life. Now when Captain Church found not only his own men, but all the Indians fast asleep, Annawon only excepted, whom he perceived was as broad awake as himself; and so they lay looking one upon the other perhaps an hour. Captain Church said nothing to him, for he could not speak Indian, and thought Annawon could not speak English; at length Annawon raised himself up, cast off his blanket, and with no more clothes than his small breeches, walked a little way back from the company; Captain Church thought no other but that he was tired with lying still so long, and wished to walk a little to stretch his limbs but by and by he was gone out of sight and hearing, and then Captain Church began to suspect some ill design in him, and got all the guns close to him, and crowded himself close under young Annawon, that if he should any where get a gun he should not make a shot at him without endange his son; lying very still a while, waiting the event; at length, heard somebody coming the same way that Annawon went. The moon now shining bright, he saw him at a distance coming with something in his hands, and coming up to Captain Church, he fell upon his knees before him, and offered him what he had brought, and speaking in plain English, said, Great captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country; for I believe that I and my company are the last that war against the English, so suppose the war is ended by your means; and therefore these things belong unto you. Then opening his pack, he pulled out Philip's belt curiously wrought with wampum, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white wampum, in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts. This, when hung upon Captain Church's shoulders, reached his ancles; and another belt of wampum he presented him with, wrought after the former manner, which Philip was wont to put upon his head; it had two flags on the back part, which hung down on his back, and another small belt with a star upon the end of it, which he used to hang on his breast; and they were all edged with red hair, which Annawon said they got in the Mohog's country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket. He told Captain Church these were Philip's royalties, which he was wont to adorn himself with when he sat in state. That he thought himself happy that he had an opportunity to present them to Captain Church, who had won them, &c., spent the remainder of the night in discourse; and gave an account of what mighty success he had formerly in wars against many nations of Indians, when he served Asuhmequin, Philip's father, &c. In the morning, as soon as it was light, the captain marched with his prisoners out of that swampy country, towards Taunton, met his lieutenant and company about four miles out of town, who expressed a great deal of joy to see him again, and said, it was more than ever he expected. They went into Taunton, were civilly and kindly treated by the inhabitants, refreshed and rested themselves that night. Early next morning, the captain took old Annawon, and half a dozen of his Indian soldiers, and his own man, and went to Rhode Island, sending the rest of his company and his prisoners by his lieutenant to Plymouth. Tarrying two or three days upon the island, he then went to Plymouth, and carried his wife and his two children with him.

Captain Church had been but a little while at Plymouth, when he was informed of a parcel of Indians who had haunted the woods between Plymouth and Sippican, that did great damage to the English, in killing their cattle, horses, and swine; the captain was soon in pursuit of them: went out from Plymouth the next Monday in the afternoon; next morning early they discovered a track; the captain sent two Indians on the track to see what they could discover, whilst he and his company followed gently after, but the two Indians soon returned with tidings that they discovered the enemy sitting round their fires, in a thick place of brush. When they came pretty near the place, the captain ordered every man to creep as he did and surround them by creeping as near as they could, till they should be discovered, and then to run on upon them and take them alive, if possible, (for their prisoners were their pay:) they did so, took every one that was at the fires, not one escaping. Upon examination they agreed in their story, that they belonged to Tispaquin, who was gone with John Bump, and one more, to Agawom* and Sippican,‡ to kill horses, and were not expected back in two or three days.

This same Tispaquin had been a great captain, and the Indians reported that he was such a great Pauwau, that no bullet could enter him, &c. Captain Church said, he would not have him killed, for there was a war broke out in the eastern part of the country, and he would have him saved to go with him to fight the eastern Indians. Agreeably he left two old squaws of the prisoners, and bid them tarry there until their Captain Tispaquin returned, and to tell him, that Church had been there, and had taken his wife and children, and company, and carried them down to Plymouth; and would spare all their lives and his too, if he would come down to them, and bring the other two that were with him, and they should be his soldiers, &c., Captain Church then returned to

* Wareham. ‡ Rochester.

Plymouth, leaving the old squaws well provided for, and biscuit for Tispaquin when he returned: Telling his soldiers that he doubted not but he had laid a trap that would take him. Captain Church, two days after, went to Boston, (the commissioners then sitting) and waited upon the honourable Governor Leverett, who then lay sick; who requested Captain Church to give him some account of the war; who readily obliged his honour therein, to his great satisfaction, as he was pleased to express himself; taking him by the hand, and telling him, if it pleased God he lived, he would make it a brace of a hundred pounds advantage to him out of the Massachusetts colony, and would endeavour that the rest of the colonies should do proportionably; but he died within a fortnight after, and so nothing was done of that nature. The same day Tispaquin came in, and those that were with him; but when Captain Church returned from Boston, he found to his grief, the heads of Annowan, Tispaquin, &c. cut off, which was the last of Philip's friends. The general court of Plymouth, then sitting, sent for Captain Church, who waited upon them accordingly, and received their thanks for his good service, which they unanimously voted, which were all that Captain Church had for his aforesaid service.

Afterwards, in the year 1676, in the month of January, Captain Church received a commission from Governor Winslow, to scour the woods of some of the lurking enemy, which they were well informed were there. Which commission is as follows:—

Being well informed that there are certain parties of our Indian enemies (remains of the people or allies of Philip, late Sachem of Mount Hope, our mortal enemy) that are still lurking in the woods, near some of our plantations, that go on to disturb the peace of his majesty's subjects in this and the neighbouring colonies, by their frequent robberies, and other insolences: Captain Benjamin Church is therefore hereby nominated, ordered, commissioned, and empowered to raise a company of volunteers, consisting of English and Indians, so many as he shall judge necessary to improve in the present expedition, and can obtain: And of them to take the command and conduct, and to lead them forth unto such place or places, within this or the neighbouring colonies, as he shall think fit, and as the providence of God, and his intelligence, may lead him; to discover, pursue, fight, surprise, destroy, and subdue our said Indian enemy, or any party or parties of them, that, by the providence of God, they may meet with: Or them, or any of them, to receive to mercy, if he see cause; (provided they be not murderous rogues, or such as have been principal actors in those villanies.) And for the prosecution of this design, liberty is hereby granted to the said Captain Church, and others, to arm and set out such of our friendly Indians as he is willing to entertain.—And forasmuch as all these our enemies that have been taken, or at any time may be taken by our forces, have, by our courts and councils, been rendered lawful captives of war, and condemned to perpetual servitude; this council do also determine, and hereby declare, That all such prisoners as, by the blessing of God, the said captain and company, or any of them, shall take, together with their arms and other plunder, shall be their own, and to be distributed amongst themselves, according to such agreement as they may be at one with another: And it shall be lawful, and is hereby warrantable, for him and them to make sale of such prisoners as their perpetual slaves; or otherwise to retain and keep them as they think meet, (they being such as the law allows to be kept.) Finally, the said Captain Church herein improving his best judgment and discretion, and utmost ability, faithfully to serve the interest of God, his majesty's interest, and the interest of the colony; and carefully governing his said company at home and abroad: These shall be unto him full and ample commission, warrant, and discharge. Given under the public seal, January 15th, 1676.

Per JOSIAH WINSLOW, Gov.

Accordingly, Captain Church, accompanied with several gentlemen and others, went out, and took divers parties of Indians; and in one of which parties there was a certain old man whom Captain Church seemed to take particular notice of, and asking him where he belonged, he told him to Swanzey; the captain asked his name, who replied his name was Conscience; Conscience, said the captain, smiling, then the war is over, for that was what they were searching for, it being much wanted; and then returned the said Conscience to his post again at Swanzey, to a certain person the said Indian desired to be sold to, and so returned home.

CHAPTER II.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE ACTIONS IN THE MORE LATE WARS AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY AND INDIAN REBELS, IN THE EASTERN PARTS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE AFORESAID CAPTAIN BENJAMIN CHURCH.

In the time of Sir Edmund Andross's government, began that bloody war in the eastern parts of New England; so that immediately Sir Edmund sent an express for Captain Church; who, then being at Little-Compton, received it on a Lord's day, in the afternoon meeting; going home after meeting, took his horse and set out for Boston, as ordered; and by sunrise next morning got to Braintree, where he met with Colonel Page on horseback, going to Weymouth and Hingham to raise forces to go east; who said he was glad to see him, and that his excellency would be as glad to see him in Boston so early: So parting he soon got to Boston, and waited upon his excellency; who informed him of an unhappy war broke out in the eastern parts; and said he was going himself in person, and that he wanted his company with him: But Captain Church not finding himself in the same spirit he used to have, said he hoped his excellency would give him time to consider of it. He told him he might; and also said that he must come and dine with him. Captain Church having many acquaintance in Boston, who made it their business some to encourage and others to discourage him from going with his excellency: So after dinner his excellency took him into his room and discoursed freely; saying, that he having knowledge of his former actions and successes; and that he must go with him, and be his second, with other encouragements. But in short, the said Captain Church did not accept, so was dismissed and went home.

Soon after this was the revolution, and the other government reassumed; and then Governor Bradstreet sent for Captain Church to come to Boston as soon as his business would permit; whereupon he went to Boston, and waited upon his honour; who told him he was requested by the council to send for him, to see if he could be prevailed with to raise volunteers, both English and Indians, to go east; for the eastward Indians had done great spoil upon the English in those parts; giving him an account of the miseries and sufferings of the people there. Captain Church's spirits being affected, said if he could do any service for his honour, the country and their relief he was ready and willing. He was asked how he would act? He said, he would take with him as many of his old soldiers as he could get, both English and Indians. The gentlemen of Boston requested him to go to Rhode Island government to ask their assistance: So giving him their letter and about forty shillings in money, he took leave, and went home to Bristol on a Saturday, and the next Monday morning he went over to Rhode Island, and waited upon their governor, delivering the letter as ordered; prayed his honour for a speedy answer: Who said they could not give an answer presently; so he waited on them till he had their answer; and when he had obtained it, he carried it to the Boston gentlemen; who desired him to raise what volunteers he could in Plymouth colony, and Rhode Island government, and what was wanting they would make up out of theirs that was already out in the eastern parts. The summer being far spent, Captain Church made what despatch he could, and raised about two hundred and fifty men, volunteers, and received his commission from Governor Hinckley, which is as followeth, viz:—

"*The Council of war of their Majestys' colony of New Plymouth, in New England, to Major Benjamin Church, Commander-in-Chief.*

"Whereas the Kennebeck and eastern Indians, with their confederates, have openly made war upon their majestys' subjects of the provinces of Maine, New Hampshire, and the Massachusetts colony, having committed many barbarous murders, spoils and rapines upon their persons and estates: And whereas there are some forces of soldiers, English and Indians, now raised and detached out of the several regiments and places within this colony of New Plymouth, to go forth to the assistance of our neighbours and friends of the aforesaid provinces and colony of the Massachusetts, subjects of one and the same crown, and to join with their forces for the repelling and destruction of the common enemy: And whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed to be major and commander-in-chief of all the forces, English and Indians, de-

tached within this colony for the service of their majesties aforesaid: these are in their majesties name to authorize and require you to take into your care and conduct all the said forces, English and Indians, and diligently to attend that service, by leading and exercising of your inferior officers and soldiers, commanding them to obey you as their chief commander; and to pursue, fight, take, kill, or destroy the said enemies, their aiders and abettors, by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity. And you are to observe and obey all such orders and instructions as from time to time you shall receive from the commissioners of the colonies, the council of war of this colony, or the governor and council of the Massachusetts' colony. In testimony whereof the public seal of the said colony of New Plymouth is hereunto affixed. Dated in Plymouth, the sixth day of September, *Anno Dom.* 1689. *Annoque regni Regis et Reginæ* Willielmi *et* Mariæ *Angliæ*, &c. *Primo.*

THOMAS HINKLEY, *Pres't.*

And now marching them all down to Boston, then received his further orders and instructions, which are as followeth:

Boston, Sept. 16th, 1689.

To all sheriffs, marshals, constables, and other officers military and civil, in their majesties province of Maine.

"Whereas, pursuant to an agreement of the commissioners of the united colonies, Major Benjamin Church is commissioned commander in chief over that part of their Majesties forces (levied for the present expedition against the common enemy) whose head-quarters are appointed to be at Falmouth, in Casco Bay: In their Majesties names, you, and every one of you are required to be aiding and assisting to the said Major Church in his pursuit of the enemy, as any emergency shall require; and so impress boats, or other vessels, carts, carriages, horses, oxen, provision, and ammunition, and men for guides, &c., as you shall receive warrants from the said chief commander, or his lieutenant so to do: you may not fail to do the same speedily and effectually, as you will answer your neglect and contempt of their Majesties authority and service at your uttermost peril. Given under my hand and seal the day and year above written. *Annoque Regni Regis* et *Reginæ* Willielmi and Mariæ, *Primo.*

By Thomas Danforth, *President of the province of Maine.*

By the governor and council of the Massachusetts colony: to Major Benjamin Church.

Whereas, you are appointed and commissioned by the council of war, of the colony of New Plymouth, commander in chief of the forces raised within the said colony, against the common Indian enemy, now ordered into the eastern parts, to join with some of the forces of this colony; for the prosecution, repelling, and subduing of the said enemy: It is therefore ordered that Captain Simon Willard, and Captain Nathaniel Hall, with the two companies of soldiers under their several command, belonging to this colony, now in or about Casco Bay, be, and are hereby put under you, as their commander in chief for this present expedition. And in pursuance of the commissions severally given to either of them, they are ordered to observe and obey your orders and directions as their commander in chief until further order from the governor and council, or the commissioners of the colonies. Dated in Boston, the 17th day of September, *Anno Dom.* 1689. *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginæ* Guillielmi *et* Mariæ, *Angliæ &c. Primo.*

S. BRADSTREET, Gov.

Past in Council,
Attest. Isaac Addington, *Secr.*

By the Commissioners of the colonies of the Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, for managing the present war against the common enemy.

"Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, commander in chief of the Plymouth forces, with others of the Massachusetts, put under his command.

"In pursuance of the commission given you, for their Majesties service in the present expedition against the common Indian enemy, their aiders and abettors; reposing confidence in your wisdom, prudence and fidelity in the trust committed to you, for the honour of God, good of his people, and the security of the interest of Christ in his churches, expecting and praying that in your dependence upon him, you may be helped and assisted with all that grace and wisdom which is requisite for carrying you on with success in this difficult service; and though much is and must be left to your discretion, as Providence and opportunity may present from time to time in places of attendance: yet the following instructions are commended unto your observation, and to be attended to so far as the state of matters with you in such a transaction will admit. You are with all possible speed to take care that the Plymouth forces, both English and Indians, under your command, be fixed and ready, and the first opportunity of wind and weather, to go on board such vessels as are provided to transport you and them to Casco, where, if it shall please God you arrive, you are to take under your care and command the companies of Capt. Nathaniel Hall, and Capt. Simon Willard, who are ordered to attend your command, whom, together with the Plymouth forces, and such as from time to time may be added unto you, you are to improve in such a way as you shall see meet, for the discovering, pursuing, subduing, and destroying the said common enemy, by all opportunities you are capable of; always intending the preserving of any of the near towns from incursions, and destruction of the enemy, yet chiefly improving your men, for the finding and following the said enemy abroad, and if possible to find out and attack their head quarters and principal rendezvous, if you find you are in a rational capacity for so doing. The better to enable you thereto, we have ordered two men-of-war sloops, and other small vessels for transportation to attend you, for some considerable time. You are to see that your soldiers arms be always fixed, and that they be furnished with ammunition, provisions and other necessaries, that so they may be in a readiness to repel and attack the enemy. In your pursuit you are to take special care to avoid danger by ambushments, or being drawn under any disadvantage by the enemy in your marches, keeping out scouts and a forlorn hope before your main body, and by all possible means endeavouring to surprise some of the enemy, that so you may gain intelligence. You are to suppress all mutinies and disorders among your soldiers, as much as in you lies, and to punish such as disobey your officers, according to the rules of war herewith given you.

"You are, according to your opportunity, or any occasion more than ordinary occuring, to hold correspondence with Major Swaine, and to yield mutual assistance when and as you are capable of it, and you may have reason to judge it will be of most public service; and it will be meet you and he should agree of some signal whereby your Indians may be known from the enemy. You are to encourage your soldiers to be industrious, vigorous, and venturous in their service, to search out and destroy the enemy, acquainting them, it is agreed by the several colonies, that they shall have the benefit of the captives, and all lawful plunder, and the reward of *Eight Pounds* per head, for every fighting Indian man slain by them, over and above their stated wages; the same being made appear to the commander in chief, or such as shall be appointed to take care therein. If your commission officers, or any of them should be slain, or otherwise uncapable of service, and for such reason dismissed, you are to appoint others in their room, who shall have the like wages, and a commission sent upon notice given, you to give them commissions in the mean time. You are to take effectual care that the worship of God be kept up in the army, morning and evening prayer attended as far as may be, and as the emergencies of your affairs will admit, to see that the holy sabbath be duly sanctified. You are to take care as much as may be, to prevent or punish drunkenness, swearing, cursing, or such other sins, as do provoke the anger of God. You are to advise with your chief officers in any matters of moment, as you shall have opportunity. You are from time to time to give intelligence and advice to the governor and council of the Massachusetts, or commissioners of the colonies, of your proceedings and occurences that may happen, and how it shall please the Lord to deal with you in this present expedition.

"If you find the vessels are not likely to to be serviceable to you, dismiss them as soon as you may.

"Captain Sylvanus Davis is a prudent man, and well acquainted with the affairs of those parts, and is writ unto to advise and inform you all he can.

"Such further instructions as we shall see reason to send unto you, you are carefully to attend and observe, and in the absence of the commissioners, you shall observe the orders

and instructions directed unto you from the governor and council of the Massachusetts.

Given under our hands in Boston, Sept. 18, 1689.

Thos. Hinkley, *Thomas Danforth*, Pres.
John Walley, *Elisha Cooke*,
Samuel Mason, *William Pitkin.*

THE FIRST EXPEDITION EAST.

Being ready, Major Church embarked with his forces on board the vessels provided to transport them for Casco, having a brave gale at S. W., and on Friday about three o'clock, they got in sight of Casco harbour; and discovering two or three small ships there, not knowing whether they were friends or enemies; whereupon the said commander, Major Church, gave orders that every man that was able should make ready, and all he close, giving orders how they should act in case they were enemies. He going in the Mary sloop, together with the Resolution, went in first, being both well fitted with guns and men; coming to the first, hailed them, who said they were friends, presently manned their boat, brought to, and so came along side of them; who gave the said Church an account, that yesterday there was a very great army of Indians and French with them upon the island, at the going out of the harbour, and that they were come on purpose to take Casco fort and town; likewise informed him that they had got a captive woman aboard (Major Walden's daughter of Piscataqua) that could give him a full account of their number and intentions: He bid them give his service to their captain, and tell him, he would wait upon him after he had been on shore and given some orders and directions. Being come pretty near, he ordered all the men still to keep close, giving an account of the news he had received, and then went ashore, where were several of the chief men of the town who met him, being glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the news Mrs. Lee had given them, being the woman aforesaid. He, going to Captain Davis's to get some refreshment, having not eat a morsel since he came by Boston castle; and now having inquired into the state of the town, found them in a poor condition to defend themselves against such a number of enemies: He gave them an account of his orders and instructions, and told them what forces he had brought, and that when it was dark they should all land, and not before, lest the enemy should discover them. And then he went on board the privateer, who were Dutchmen; but as he went, called aboard every vessel, and ordered the officers to take care that their men might be all fitted and provided to fight, for the people of the town expected the enemy to fall upon them every minute, but withal charging them to keep undiscovered; and coming on board said privateer was kindly treated, discoursed with Mrs. Lee, who informed him that the company she came with had fourscore canoes, and that there were more of them whom she had not seen, which came from other places, and that they told her when they came all together, they should make up seven hundred men. He asked her whether Casteen was with them? She answered, that there were several Frenchmen with them, but did not know whether Casteen was there or not. He then having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore and viewed the fort and town, discoursing with the gentlemen there according to his instructions; and when it began to grow dark, he ordered the vessels to come as near the fort as might be, and land the soldiers with as little noise as possible; ordering them as they landed to go into the fort and houses that stood near, that so they might be ready upon occasion; having ordered provisions for them, went to every company and ordering them to get every thing ready; they that had no powder-horns or shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordering the officers to take special care that they were ready to march into the woods an hour before day: And also directing the watch to call him two hours before day; so he hastened to bed to get some rest.

At the time prefixed he was called, and presently ordering the companies to make ready; and about half an hour before day they moved. Several of the towns people went with them into a thick place of brush, about half a mile from the town; now ordering them to send out their scouts, as they used to do, and seeing them all settled at their work, he went into town by sunrise again, and desired the inhabitants to take care of themselves, till his men had fitted themselves with some necessaries: For his Indians most of them wanted both bags and horns; so he ordered them to make bags like wallets, to put powder in one end, and shot in the other. So most of them were ready for action, (viz.) the Seconet Indians, but the Cape Indians were very bare, lying so long at Boston before they embarked, that they had sold everything they could make a penny of; some tying shot and powder in the corners of their blankets. He being in town, just going to breakfast, there was an alarm, so he ordered all the soldiers in town to move away as fast as they could, where the firing was; and he, with what men more were with him of his soldiers, moved immediately, and meeting with Captain Bracket's sons, who told him their father was taken, and that they saw a great army of the Indians in their father's orchard. By this time our Indians that wanted bags and horns were fitted, but wanted more ammunition. Presently came a messenger to him from the town and informed him, that they had knocked out the heads of several casks of bullets, and they were all too big, being musket bullets, and would not fit their guns, and that if he did not go back himself a great part of the army would be kept back from service for want of suitable bullets.

He ran back and ordered every vessel to send ashore all their casks of bullets; being brought, knocked out their heads, and turned them all out upon the green by the fort, and set all the people in the town, that were able, to make slugs; being most of them too large for their use, which had like to have been the overthrow of their whole army: he finding some small bullets, and what slugs were made, and three knapsacks of powder, went immediately to the army, who were very hotly engaged; but coming to the river the tide was up; he called to his men that were engaged, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more ammunition for them. An Indian called Captain Lightfoot, laid down his gun, and came over the river, taking the powder upon his head, and a kettle of bullets in each hand, and got safe to his fellow soldiers. He perceiving great firing upon that side he was of, went to see who they were, and found them to be two of Major Church's companies, one of English and the other of Indians, being in all about fourscore men, that had not got over the river, but lay firing over our men's heads at the enemy; he presently ordered them to rally, and come all together; and gave the word for a Casco man; so one Swarton, a Jerseyman, appearing, who he could hardly understand; he asked him how far it was to the head of the river, or whether there was any place to get over? he said there was a bridge about three quarters of a mile up, where they might get over: So he, calling to his soldiers engaged on the other side, told them that he would soon be with them over the bridge, and come upon the backs of the enemy; which put new courage into them; so they immediately moved up towards the bridge, marching very thin, being willing to make what show they could, shouting as they marched: they saw the enemy running from the river-side, where they had made stands with wood to prevent anybody from coming over the river; and coming to the bridge, they saw on the other side that the enemy had laid logs and stuck birch brush along to hide themselves from our view.

He ordered the company to come altogether, bidding them all to run after him, who would go first, and that as soon as they got over the bridge to scatter, that so they might not be all shot down together, expecting the enemy to be at their stands; so running up to the stands, found none there, for they were just gone, the ground being such they tumbled with them behind the said stands. He ordered the Captain with his company of English to march down to our men engaged, and that they should keep along upon the edge of the marsh, and himself with his Indian soldiers would march down through the brush: and coming to a parcel of low ground, which had been formerly burnt, the old brush being fallen down lay very thick, and the young brush being grown up made it bad travelling; but coming near the back of the enemy, one of his men called unto him their commander and said, that the enemy ran westward to get between us and the bridge, and he, looking that way, saw men running, and making a small stop, heard no firing, but a great chopping with hatchets; so concluding that the fight was over, made the best of their way to the bridge again, lest the enemy should get over the bridge into the town, the men being most of them out (our ammunition lay exposed) coming to the bridge where he left six Indians for an ambuscade on the other side of the river, that if any enemy offered to come over, they should fire at them, which would give him notice, so would come to their assistance; (but in the way having heard no firing nor shouting, concluded the enemy were drawn off) he asked the ambuscade, whether they saw any In-

dians? They said yes, abundance. He asked them where? They answered, that they ran over the head of the river by the cedar swamp, and were running into the neck towards the town.

There being but one Englishman with him, he bid his Indian soldiers scatter, run very thin to preserve themselves, and be the better able to make a discovery of the enemy; and soon coming to Lieutenant Clark's field, on the south side of the neck, and seeing the cattle feeding quietly, and perceiving no track, concluded the ambuscade had told them a falsehood; they hastily returned back to the said bridge, perceiving there was no noise of the enemy. He hearing several great guns fire at the town, concluded that they were either assaulted, or that they had discovered the enemy: he having ordered that in case such should be, that they should fire some of their great guns to give him notice; he being a stranger to the country, concluded the enemy had by some other way got to the town; whereupon he sent his men to the town, and himself going to the river, near where the fight had been, asked them how they did, and what was become of the enemy? Who informed him that the enemy drew off in less than an hour after he left them, and had not fired a gun at them since. He told them he had been within little more than a gun shot of the back of the enemy, and had been upon them had it not been for thick brushy ground, &c. Now some of his men returning from the town gave him the account, that they went while they saw the colours standing and men walking about as not molested. He presently ordered that all his army should pursue the enemy; but they told him that most of them had spent their ammunition, and that if the enemy had engaged them a little longer they might have come and knocked them on the head; and that some of their bullets were so unsizeable that some of them were forced to make slugs while they were engaged. He then ordered them to get over all the wounded and dead men, and to leave none behind; which was done by some canoes they had got. Captain Hall and his men being first engaged, did great service, and suffered the greatest loss in his men; but Captain Southworth with his company, and Captain Numposh with the Seconet Indians, and the most of the men belonging to the town, all coming suddenly to his relief, prevented him and his whole company from being cut off.

By this time the day was far spent, and marching into town about sunset, carying in all their wounded and dead men, being all sensible of God's goodness to them, in giving them the victory, and causing the enemy to fly with shame, who never gave one shout at their drawing off. The poor inhabitants wonderfully rejoiced that the Almighty had favoured them so much; saying, that if Major Church, with his forces, had not come at that juncture, they had been all cut off; and said further, that it was the first time that ever the eastward Indians had been put to flight, and the said Church with his volunteers were wonderfully preserved, having never a man killed outright, and but one Indian mortally wounded, who died, several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After this engagement Major Church, with his forces, ranging all the country thereabout, in pursuit of the enemy; and visiting all the garrisons at Black Point, Spurwink, and Blue Point, and went up Kennebeck river, but to little effect. And now winter drawing near, he received orders from the government of the Massachusetts Bay, to settle all the garrisons, and put in suitable officers according to his best discretion, and to send home all his soldiers, volunteers and transports; which orders he presently obeyed. Being obliged to buy him a horse to go home by land, that so he might the better comply with his orders. The poor people, the inhabitants of Casco, and places adjacent, when they saw he was going away from them, lamented sadly, and begged earnestly that he would suffer them to come away in the transports; saying, that if he left them there, that in the spring of the year the enemy would come and destroy them and their families. So by their earnest request the said Major Church promised them, that if the governments that had now sent him, would send him the next spring, he would certainly come with his volunteers and Indians to their relief: and that as soon as he had been home, and taken a little care of his own business, he would certainly wait upon the gentlemen of Boston, and inform them of the promise he had made to them; and if they did not see cause to send them relief, to entreat their honors seasonably to draw them off, that they might not be a prey to the barbarous enemy.

Taking his leave of those poor inhabitants, some of the chief men there waited upon him to Black Point, to Captain Scottaway's garrison; coming there, they prevailed with the said Captain Scottaway to go with him to Boston, which he readily complied with, provided the said Church would put another in to command the garrison; which being done, and taking their leave one of another, they set out and travelled through all the country, home to Boston; having employed himself to the utmost to fulfil his instructions last received from Boston gentlemen, which cost him about a month's service over and above what he had pay for from the Plymouth gentlemen: and in his travel homeward several gentlemen waited upon the said Major Church, who was obliged to bear their expences. When he came to Boston gentlemen, he informed them of the miseries those poor people were in by having their provisions taken from them by order of the President—then went home; stayed not long there before he returned to Boston, where Captain Scottaway waited for his coming, that he might have the determination of the government of Boston to carry home with him; and it being the time of the small-pox there, and Major Church not having had it, taking up his lodging near the Court-house, took the first opportunity to inform those gentlemen of the Court his business; who said they were very busy in sending home Sir Edmund, the ship being ready to sail. The said Major Church still waiting upon them, and at every opportunity entreating those gentlemen in behalf of the poor people of Casco, informing the necessity of taking care of them, either by sending them relief early in the spring, or suffering them to draw off, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed. Their answer was, they could do nothing till Sir Edmund was gone. Waiting there three weeks upon great expenses, he concluded to draw up some of the circumstances of Casco, and places adjacent, and to leave it upon the Council Board, before the Governor and Council; having got it done, obtained liberty to go up where the Governor and Council were sitting, he informed their honors, that he had waited till his patience was worn out, so had drawn up the matter to leave upon the Board before them, which is as follows:

To the honored Governor and Council of the Massachusetts.

Gentlemen,

Whereas, by virtue of yours, with Plymouth's desires and commands, I went eastward in the late expedition against the common Indian enemy, where Providence so ordered that we attacked their greatest body of forces, coming then for the destruction of Falmouth, which we know marched off, repulsed with considerable damage, leaving the ground, and never since seen there, or in any place adjacent: the time of the year being then too late to prosecute any further design, and other accidents falling contrary to my expectation, impeding the desired success. Upon my then removal from the province of Maine, the inhabitants were very solicitous that this enemy might be further prosecuted; willing to venture their lives and fortunes in the said enterprise, wherein they might serve God, their king and country, and enjoy quiet and peaceable habitations; upon which I promised to signify the same to yourselves, and willing to venture that little which Providence hath entrusted me with, on the said account. The season of the year being such, if some speedy action be not performed in attacking them, they will certainly be upon us in our out towns, God knows where, and the inhabitants there not being able to defend themselves, without doubt many souls may be cut off, as our last year's experience wofully hath declared. The inhabitants there trust to your protection, having undertaken government and your propriety; if nothing be performed on the said account, the best way (under correction) is to demolish the garrison, and draw off the inhabitants, that they may not be left to a merciless enemy; and that the arms and ammunition may not be there for the strengthening of the enemy; who without doubt have need enough, having exhausted their greatest store in this winter season. I have performed my promise to them, and acquitted myself in specifying the same to yourselves: not that I desire to be in any action, although willing to serve my king and country, and may pass under the censure of scandalous tongues in the last expedition, which I hope they will amend on the first opportunity of service. I leave to mature consideration, the loss of trade and fishery; the war brought to the doors; what a triumph it will be to the enemy, derision to our neighbors, besides dishonor to God and our nation, and grounds of frowns from our prince, the frustration of those whose eyes are upon you for help, who might have

otherwise applied themselves to their king. Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose unto you, that I might discharge myself in my trust from yourselves, and promise to the inhabitants of the province, but especially my duty to God, her majesty, and my nation, praying for your honors' prosperity, subscribe, Your servant,

BENJ. CHURCH.

A true copy given in at Boston, this 6th of February, 1689, at the Council Board.
Attest. T. S.

Major Church said, moreover, that in thus doing he had complied with his promise to those poor people of Casco, and should be quit from the guilt of their blood. The governor was pleased to thank him for his care and pains taken; then taking his leave of them went home, and left Captain Scottaway in a very sorrowful condition, who returned home some time after with only a copy of what was left on the board by the said Church. Major Church not hearing any thing till May following, and then was informed, that those poor people of Casco were cut off by the barbarous enemy; and that although they made their terms with Monsieur Casteen, who was commander of those enemies, yet he suffered those merciless savages to massacre and destroy the most of them. To conclude this first expedition east; I shall just give you a hint how Major Church was treated, although he was commander-in-chief of all the forces out of Plymouth and Boston government, after he came home, for Plymouth gentlemen paid him but forty-two pounds; telling him, he must go to Boston gentlemen for the rest, who were his employers as well as they. Of whom he never had one penny for all travel and expenses in raising volunteers, and services done; except forty shillings or thereabout, for going from Boston to Rhode Island on their business, and back to Boston again; also, for sending a man to Providence for Captain Edmunds, who raised a company in those parts, and went east with them.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION EAST.

In the year 1690, was the expedition to Canada, and Major Walley often requested Major Church, that if he would not go himself in that expedition, that he would not hinder others: he answered the said Walley, that he should hinder none but his old soldiers, that used to go along with him. And the said Church going down to Charlestown, to take his leave of some of his relations and friends, who were going into that expedition, promised his wife and family not to go into Boston, the small-pox being very rife there. Coming to Charlestown, several of his friends in Boston came over to see him; and the next day after the said Church came there, Major Walley came to him, and informed him, that the governor and council wanted to speak with him: he answered him, that he had promised his wife and family not to go into Boston; saying, if they had any business, they could write to him, and that he would send them his answer. Soon after came over two other gentlemen with a message, that the governor and council wanted to have some discourse with him. The answer returned was, that he intended to lodge that night at the Grayhound, in Roxbury, and that in the morning would come to Pollard's at the south end of Boston; which accordingly he did. Soon after he came thither received a letter from the honorable Captain Sewall, to request him to the council; the answer he returned by the bearer was, that he thought there was no need of his hazarding himself so much as to come and speak with them; not that he was afraid of his life, but because he had no mind to be concerned; and further by reason they would not hearken to him about the poor people of Casco. But immediately came Mr. Maxfield to him, saying, that the council bid him tell the said Church, that if he would take his horse and ride along the middle of the street, there might be no danger, they were then sitting in council: he bid them go and tell his masters, not to trouble themselves, whether he came upon his head or feet, he was coming: however, thinking the return was something rude, called him back to drink a glass of wine, and then he would go with him. So coming to the council, they were very thankful to him, and told him that the occasion of their sending for him was, that there was a captive come in who gave them an account, that the Indians were come down, and had taken possession of the stone fort at Pejepscot, so that they wanted his advice and thoughts about the matter; whether they would tarry and keep in the fort or not; and whether it was not expedient to send some forces to do some spoil upon them; and further to know whether he could not be prevailed with to raise some volunteers and go, to do some spoil upon them? He answered them, he was unwilling to be concerned any more; it being very difficult and chargeable to raise volunteers, as he found by experience in the last expedition. But they using many arguments prevailed so far with him, that if the government of Plymouth saw cause to send him, he would go, thinking the expedition would be short; took his leave of them and went home. And in a short time after, there came an express from Governor Hinkley, to request Major Church to come to Barnstable to him—he having received a letter from the government of Boston to raise some forces to go east: whereupon the said Major Church went the next day to Barnstable, as ordered; finding the governor and some of the council of war there, discoursed him, concluding that he should take his Indian soldiers, and two English captains, with what volunteers could be raised; and that one captain should go out of Plymouth and Barnstable county, and the other out of Bristol county, with what forces he could raise, concluding to have but few officers, to save charge. The said Church was at great charge and expense in raising of forces. Governor Hinkley promised that he would take care to provide vessels to transport the said army with ammunition and provisions, by the time prefixed by himself, for the government of Boston had obliged themselves by their letter, to provide any thing that was wanting; so at the time, Major Church marched down all his soldiers out of Bristol county to Plymouth, as ordered; and being come, found it not as he expected, for there were neither provisions, ammunition, nor transports; so he immediately sent an express to the governor who was at Barnstable, to give him an account that he with the men were come to Plymouth, and found nothing ready; in his return to the said Church, gave him an account of his disappointments; and sent John Lathrop of Barnstable in a vessel with some ammunition and provision on board, to him at Plymouth; also sent him word that there was more on board of Samuel Ailing of Barnstable, who was to go for a transport, and that he himself would be at Plymouth next day; but Ailing never came near him, but went to Billingsgate, at Cape Cod, as he was informed The governor being come, said to Major Church that he must take some of the open sloops, and make spar decks to them, and lay platforms for the soldiers to lie upon; which delays were very expensive to the said Church; his soldiers being all volunteers, daily expected to be treated by him, and the Indians always begging for money to get drink; but he, using his utmost diligence, made what dispatch he could to be gone, being ready to embark, received his commission and instructions from Governor Hinkley, which are as followeth, viz.

The Council of War of their Majesties' colony of New-Plymouth, in New-England: To Major Benjamin Church, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

Whereas, the Kennebeck and Eastward Indians, with the French, their confederates have openly made war upon their majesties' subjects of the provinces of Maine, New Hampshire, and of the Massachusetts colony, having committed many barbarous murders, spoils, and rapines upon their persons and estates: and whereas, there are some forces of soldiers, English and Indians, now raised and detached out of the several regiments and places within this colony of New-Plymouth, to go forth to the assistance of our neighbors and friends of the aforesaid provinces and colony of the Massachusetts, subjects of one and the same crown: and whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed major and commander-in-chief of all the forces, English and Indians, detached within this colony, together with such other of their majesties' subjects as elsewhere shall enlist themselves, or shall be orderly put under your command for the service of their majesties, as aforesaid. These are in their majesties' name to authorize and require you to take into your care and conduct all the said forces, English and Indians, and diligently to intend that service, by leading and exercising your inferior officers and soldiers, commanding them to obey you as their chief commander: and to pursue, fight, take, kill or destroy the said enemies, their aiders and abettors by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity, and to accept to mercy, or grant quarter and favor to such or so many of said enemies as you shall find needful for promoting the design aforesaid: and you are to observe and obey all such orders and instructions, as from time to time

you shall receive from the commissioners of the colonies, or the council of war of the said colony of New-Plymouth, or from the governor and council of the Massachusetts. In testimony whereof is affixed the public seal of this colony. Dated in Plymouth, the second day of September, Anno Dom. 1690. Annoque regni Regis et Reginæ Williehni et Mariæ, &c. Secundo.

THO. HINKLEY, *President.*

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander-in-Chief of the Plymouth forces, with other of the Massachusetts put under his command.

In pursuance of the commission given you for their Majesties' service, in the present expedition against the common enemy, Indian and French, their aiders and abettors, on the request of our brethren and friends of the Massachusetts colony, subjects of one and the same crown of England; for our assistance of them therein: reposing confidence in your wisdom, prudence, proneness and faithfulness in the trust under God committed to you for the honor of his name, the interest of Christ in these churches, and the good of the whole people; praying and expecting that in your dependence on him, you may be helped and assisted with all that grace, wisdom and courage necessary for the carrying of you on with success in this difficult service; and though much is and must be left to your discretion, with your council of officers, as Providence and opportunity may present from time to time in places of action: yet the following instructions are commended to you to be observed and attended to by you, so far as the state and circumstances of that affair will admit.

"You are with all possible speed to take care that the Plymouth forces, both English and Indians, under your command, be fixed and ready on the first opportunity of wind and weather, to go on board such vessels, as are provided to transport you to Piscataqua; and there to take under your care and command such companies of the Massachusetts colony, as shall by them be ordered and added to you there, or elsewhere from time to time; all which you are to improve in such way, and from place to place, as with the advice of your council, consisting of the commission officers of the Massachusetts colony, and Plymouth, under your conduct, shall seem meet, for the finding out, pursuing, taking or destroying of said common enemy, on all opportunities, according to commission, and such further orders and instructions as you have or may receive from the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, the Commissioners for the United colonies, or the Governor and Council of Plymouth; so far as you may be capable, intending what you can the preserving of the near towns from the incursions and destructions of the enemy; but chiefly to intend the finding out, pursuing, taking, and destroying the enemy abroad, and if possible to attack them in their head quarters and principal rendezvous, if you are in a rational capacity of so doing; and for the better enabling you thereunto, we have appointed the vessels that transport you, and the provisions, &c. to attend your motion and order, until you shall see cause to dismiss them, or any one of them, which is desired to be done the first opportunity that the service will admit. You are to see that your soldiers' arms be always fixed, and they provided with ammunition, and other necessaries, that they may be always ready to repel or attack the enemy. You are to take special care to avoid danger in the pursuit of the enemy by keeping out scouts, and a forlorn, to prevent the ambushments of the enemy on your main body in their marches. And by all possible means to surprise some of the enemy, that so you may gain better intelligence.

"You are to take effectual care that the worship of God be kept up in the army, that morning and evening prayer be attended, and the holy sabbath duly sanctified, as the emergency of your affairs will admit.

"You are to take strict care to prevent or punish drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and all other vices, lest the anger of God be thereby provoked to fight against you. You are, from time to time to give intelligence and advice to the Governor of the Massachusetts, and to us, of your proceedings and occurrences that may attend you. And in case of a failure of any commission officers, you are to appoint others in their stead. And when, with the advice of your council aforesaid, you shall after some trial, see your service not like to be advantageous to the accomplishment of the public end aforesaid; that then you return home with the forces; especially if you shall receive any orders or directions so to do from the Massachusetts, or from us. Given under my hand, at Plymouth, the second day of September, Anno Dom. 1690.

THO. HINKLEY, Gov. & President.

Now having a fair wind Major Church soon got to Piscataqua, who was to apply himself to Major Pike, a worthy gentleman, who said he had advice of his coming from Boston gentlemen; also he had received directions that what men the said Church should want must be raised out of Hampshire, out of the several towns and garrisons; Major Pike asked him how many men he should want? He said enough to make up his forces that he brought with him, 300 at least, and not more than 350. And so in about nine days' time he was supplied with two companies of soldiers. He having been at about twenty shillings a day charge in expenses whilst there. Now he received Major Pike's instructions; which are as followeth:

Porstmouth, New Hampshire, Sept. 9, 1690.

To Major Benjamin Church, Commander-in-Chief of their Majesties' forces now designed upon the present expedition eastward, and now resident at Portsmouth.

The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony reposing great trust and confidence in your loyalty and valor, from experience of your former actions, and of God's presence with you in the same; in pursuance of an order received from them, commanding it: these are in their majesties' names to empower and require you, as commander-in-chief, to take into your care and conduct these forces now here present at their rendezvous at Portsmouth; and they are alike required to obey you: and with them to sail eastward by the first opportunity to Casco, or places adjacent, that may be most commodious for landing with safety and secresy; and to visit the French and Indians at their head-quarters at Ameras-cogen, Pejepscot, or any other place, according as you may have hope or intelligence of the residence of the enemy; using alwavs your utmost endeavour for the preservation of your own men, and the killing, destroying, and utterly rooting out of the enemy, wheresoever they may be found; and also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our captives in any places.

You being there arrived, and understanding your way, to take your journey back again either by land or water, as you shall judge most convenient for the accomplishing of the end intended; and to give intelligence always of your motion whensoever you can with safety and convenience.

Lastly, in all to consult your council, the commanders or commission officers of your several companies, when it may be obtained, the greater part of whom to determine: and so the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies, go along with you, and be your conduct. Given under my hand the day and year abovesaid. Per ROBERT PIKE.

Being ready, they took the first opportunity, and made the best of their way to Pejepscot fort, where they found nothing.—From thence they marched to Ameras-cogen, and when they came near the fort, Major Church made a halt, ordering the captains to draw out of their several companies sixty of their meanest men, to be a guard to the doctor and knapsacks, being not a mile from said fort; and then moving towards the fort, they saw young Doney and his wife, with two English captives. The said Doney made his escape to the fort, his wife was shot down, and so the two poor captives were released out of their bondage. The said Major Church and Captain Walton made no stop, making the best of their way to the fort, with some of the army, in hopes of getting to the fort before young Doney; but the river, through which they must pass, being as deep as their armpits; however, Maj. Church, as soon as he was got over, stripped to his shirt and jacket, leaving his breeches behind, ran directly to the fort, having an eye to see if young Doney, who ran on the other side of the river, should get there before him. The wind now blowing very hard in their faces as they ran, was some help to them; for several of our men fired guns, which they in the fort did not hear, so that we had taken all in the fort had it not been for young Doney, who got to the fort just before we did, who ran into the south gate, and out of the north, all of the men following him, except one, who also ran directly down to the great river and falls. The said Church and his forces, being come pretty near, he ordered the said Walton to run directly, with some forces, into the fort, and himself, with the rest, ran down to the river after the enemy, who ran some of them into the river, and the rest under the great falls; those who ran into the river were killed; for he saw but one man get over, and he only

crept up the bank, and there lay in open sight; and those that ran under the falls they made no discovery of, notwithstanding several of his men went in under the said falls, and were gone some considerable time, could not find them; so, leaving a watch there, returned up to the fort, where he found but one man taken, and several women and children, among whom was Captain Hakins's wife and Worumbos's wife, the Sachem of that fort, with their children; the said Hakins was Sachem of Pennacook, who destroyed Major Walden and his family, some time before. The said two women, viz. Hakins's and Worumbos's wives, requested the said Church that he would spare them and their children's lives, promising, upon that condition, he should have all the captives that were taken, and in the Indians' hands. He asked them how many. They said about fourscore: so upon that condition, he promised them their lives. And in the said fort there were several English captives, who were in a miserable condition; among them was Captain Huckings's wife, of Oyster-river. Major Church proceeded to examine the man taken, who gave him an account that most of the fighting men were gone to Winter-harbor, to provide provisions for the Bay of Fundy Indians, who were to come and join with them to fight the English. The soldiers being very rude, would hardly spare the Indian's life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he should be executed; but Captain Huckings's wife, and another woman went down on their knees and begged for him, saying, "He had been a means to save their lives and a great many more, and had helped several to opportunities to run away and make their escape; and that never, since he came among them, had fought against the English, but being related to Hakins's wife, kept at the fort with them, he having been there two years; but his living was to the westward of Boston." So, upon their request, his life was spared. Next day the said Church ordered that all their corn should be destroyed, being a great quantity, saving a little for the two old Squaws which he designed to leave at the fort, to give an account who he was, and from whence he came; the rest being knocked on the head, except the aforementioned, for an example, ordering them all to be buried. Having inquired where all their best beaver was, they said it was carried away to make a present to the Bay of Fundy Indians, who were coming to their assistance.

Now being ready to draw off from thence, he called the two old Squaws to him, and gave each of them a kettle and some biscuits, bidding them to tell the Indians when they came home, that he was known by the name of Captain Church, and lived in the westerly part of Plymouth government; and that those Indians that came with him were formerly King Philip's men, and that he had met with them in Philip's war, and drew them off from him to fight for the English, against the said Philip and his associates, who then promised him to fight for the English as long as they had one enemy left; and said that they did not question but before Indian corn was ripe to have Philip's head, notwithstanding he had twice as many men as were in their country; and that they had killed and taken one thousand three hundred and odd of Philip's men, women and children, and Philip himself, with several other Sachems, and that they should tell Hakins and Worumbos, that if they had a mind to see their wives and children they should come to Wells' garrison, and that there they might hear of them. Major Church having done, moved with all his forces down to Mequait, where the transports were (but in the way some of his soldiers threatened the Indian man prisoner very much, so that in a thick swamp he gave them the slip and got away), and when they all got on board the transport, the wind being fair, made the best of their way for Winter-harbor, and the next morning before day, and as soon as the day appeared, they discovered some smoke rising towards Skaman's garrison. He immediately sent away a scout of sixty men, and followed presently with the whole body; the scout coming near a river discovered the enemy to be on the other side of the river. But three of the enemy were come over the river, to the same side of the river which the scout was of; ran hastily down to their canoe, one of which lay at each end of the canoe, and the third stood up to paddle over. The scout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the canoe, and broke it to pieces, so that all three perished. The firing put the enemy to the run who left their canoes and provisions to ours; and old Doney, and one Thomas Baker, an Englishman, who was a prisoner amongst them, were up at the falls, and heard the guns fire, expected the other Indians were come to their assistance, so came down the river in a canoe; but when they perceived that there were English as well as Indians, old Doney ran the canoe ashore, and ran over Baker's head, and followed the rest, and then Baker came to ours and gave an account of the beaver hid at Pejepscot plain, and coming to the place where the plunder was, the major sent a scout to Pejepscot fort, to see if they could make any discovery of the enemy's tracks, or could discover any coming up the river; who returned and said they saw nothing but old tracks at the said fort.

Now having got some plunder, one of the captains said it was time to go home, and several others were of the same mind; and the major being much disturbed at the motion of theirs, expecting the enemy would come in a very short time, where they might have a great advantage of them. Notwithstanding all he could say or do, he was obliged to call a council, according to his instructions, wherein he was out-voted. The said commander seeing he was put by of his intentions, proffered if sixty men would stay with him, he would not embark as yet; but all he could say or do could not prevail; then they moved to the vessels and embarked, and as they were going in the vessels, on the back side of Mayr-point, they discovered eight or nine canoes, who turned short about and went up the river; being the same Indians that the major expected, and would have waited for; and the aforesaid captain being much disturbed at what the major had said to him, drew off from the fleet, and in the night ran aground. In the morning Anthony Bracket, having been advised and directed by the Indian that had made his escape from our forces, came down near where the aforesaid vessel lay aground, and got aboard, who has proved a good pilot and captain for his country. The next day being very calm and misty, so that they were all day getting down from Maquait to Perpodack; and the masters of the vessels thinking it not safe putting out in the night, so late in the year, anchored there at Perpodack. The vessels being much crowded, the major ordered that three companies should go on shore, and no more, himself with Captain Converse went with them to order their lodging, and finding just houses convenient for them, viz. two barns and one house; so seeing them all settled and their watches out, the major and Captain Converse returned to go on board, and coming near where the boat was (it was pretty dark) they discovered some men, but did not know what or who they were. The major ordered those that were with him all to clap down and cock their guns, and he called out and asked them who they were. And they said, Indians. He asked them whose men they were? They said, Captain Southworth's.—He asked them where they intended to lodge. They said, in those little huts that the enemy made when they took that garrison. The major told them they must not make any fires, for if they did, the enemy would be down upon them before day. They laughed, and said, our major is afraid. Having given them their directions, he, with Capt. Converse went on board the Mary sloop; designing to write home, and send away in the morning the two sloops which had the small-pox on board. But before day our Indians began to make fires, and to sing and dance; so the major called to Captain Southworth to go ashore and look after his men, for the enemy would be upon them by and by. He ordered the boat to be hauled up to carry him ashore, and called Captain Converse to go with him, and just as the day began to appear, as the major was getting into the boat to go ashore, the enemy fired upon our men; the Indians, notwithstanding that one Philip, an Indian of ours, who was out upon the watch, heard a man cough, and the sticks crack; who gave the rest an account, that he saw Indians; which they would not believe, but said to him, "You are afraid."—His answer was, that they might see them come creeping. They laughed, and said, they were hogs. "Aye," said he, "and they will bite you by and by." So presently they did fire upon our men, but the morning being misty their guns did not go off quick, so that our men had all time to fall down before their guns went off, and saved themselves from that volley, except one man, who was killed.

This sudden firing upon our Indian soldiers surprised them so that they left their arms, but soon recovered them again, and got down the bank which was but low. The major, with all the forces on board, landed as fast as they could, the enemy firing smartly at them; however all got safe ashore.—The enemy had a great advantage of our forces, who were between the sunrising and

the enemy, so that if a man put up his head or hand they could see it, and would fire at it. However some, with the major, got up the bank behind stumps and rocks, to have the advantage of firing at the enemy; but when the sun was risen the major slipped down the bank again, where all the forces were ordered to observe his motion, viz. that he would give three shouts, and then all of them should run with him up the bank. So, when he had given the third shout, ran up the bank, and Captain Converse with him, but when the said Converse perceived that the forces did not follow as commanded, called to the major and told him the forces did not follow; who, notwithstanding the enemy fired smartly at him, got safe down the bank again, and rallying the forces up the bank, soon put the enemy to flight, and following so close, that they took thirteen canoes, and one lusty man, who had Joseph Ramsdel's scalp by his side, who was taken by two of our Indians, and having his deserts was himself scalped.—This being a short and smart fight, some of our men were killed and several wounded. Some time after an Englishman, who was prisoner amongst them, gave an account that our forces had killed and wounded several of the enemy, for they killed several prisoners according to custom.

After this action was over, our forces embarked for Piscataqua, and the major went to Wells, and removed the captain there, and put in Captain Andros, who had been with him and knew the discourse left with the two old squaws at Ameras-cogen, for Hakins and Worumbos to come there in fourteen days, if they had a mind to hear of their wives and children. Who did then, or soon after, come with a flag of truce to said Wells's garrison, and had leave to come in, and more appearing came in, to the number of eight, without any terms, being all chief sachems, and were very pleased to hear of the women and children, viz. Hakins's and Worumbos's wives and children; who all said three several times that they would never fight against the English any more, for the French made fools of them.—They saying as they did, the said Andros let them go. Major Church being come to Piscataqua, and two of his transports having the small-pox on board, and several of the men having got great colds by their hard service, pretended they were going to have the small-pox, thinking by that means to be sent home speedily. The major being willing to try them, went to the gentlemen there, and desired them to provide a house, for some of his men expected they should have the small-pox; who readily did, and told him that the people belonging to it were just recovered of the small-pox, and had been all at meeting. The major, returning to his officers, ordered them to draw out all their men that were going to have the small-pox, for he had provided an hospital for them. So they drew out seventeen men, that had, as they said, all the symptoms of the small-pox.—He ordered them all to follow him, and coming to the house he asked them how they liked it? They said very well. Then he told them that the people in the said house had all had the small-pox, and were recovered; and that if they went in they must not come out till they all had it; whereupon they all presently began to grow better, and to make excuses, except one man who desired to stay out till night before he went in. The major going to the gentlemen told them, that one thing more would work a perfect cure upon his men, which was to let them go home; which did work a cure upon all, except one, and he had not the small-pox. So he ordered the plunder should be divided forthwith, and sent away all the Plymouth forces. But the gentlemen there desired him to stay, and they would be assisting to him in raising new forces, to the number of what was sent away; and that they would send to Boston for provisions, which they did, and sent Captain Plaisted to the Governor and Council at Boston. And in the mean time the major with those gentlemen went into all these parts and raised a sufficient number of men, both officers and soldiers; who all met at the bank on the same day that Captain Plaisted returned from Boston; whose return from the Boston gentlemen was, that the Canada expedition had drained them so that they could do no more: so that Major Church, notwithstanding he had been at considerable expenses in raising said forces to serve his king and country, was obliged to give them a treat and dismiss them. Taking his leave of them came home to Boston, in the Mary, sloop, Mr. Alden master, and Captain Converse with him, on a Saturday; and waiting upon the Governor and some of the gentlemen in Boston, they looked very strange upon them, which not only troubled them, but put them in some consternation what the matter should be, that after so much toil and hard service could not have so much as one pleasant word, nor any money in their pockets; for Major Church had but eight pence left, and Captain Converse none, as he said afterwards. Major Church seeing two gentlemen who he knew had money, asked them to lend him forty shillings, telling them his necessity: yet they refused. So being bare of money was obliged to lodge at Mr. Alden's three nights, and the next Tuesday morning Captain Converse came to him, not knowing each others circumstances as yet, and said he would walk with him out of town; so coming near Pollard's at the south end, they had some discourse; that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips. Major Church told Captain Converse that he had but eight pence left, and could not borrow any money to carry him home. And the said Converse said, that he had not a penny left, so they were obliged to part without going to Pollard's. The said Captain Converse returned back into town, and the said Church went over to Roxbury; and at the tavern he met with Stephen Braton, of Rhode-Island, a drover; who was glad to see him, the said Church, and he as glad to see his neighbour; whereupon Major Church called for an eight-penny tankard of drink, and let the said Braton know his circumstances, asked him whether he would lend him forty shillings? He answered, yes, forty pounds, if he wanted it. So he thanked him, and said he would have but forty shillings, which he freely lent him. And presently after Mr. Church was told that his brother, Caleb Church, of Watertown was coming with a spare horse for him, having heard the night before that his brother was come in; by which means the said Major Church got home. And for all his travel and expenses in raising soldiers, and service done, never had but £14 of Plymouth gentlemen, and not a penny of Boston, notwithstanding he had worn out all his clothes, and run himself in debt, so that he was obliged to sell half a share of land in Tiverton, for about £60, which is now worth £300 more and above what he had.

Having not been at home long, before he found out the reason why Boston gentlemen looked so disaffected on him, as you may see by the sequel of two letters Major Church sent to the gentlemen in the eastward parts; which are as followeth:—

Bristol, November 27, 1690.

WORTHY GENTLEMEN:

According to my promise when with you last, I waited upon the Governor at Boston, upon the Saturday, Captain Converse being with me. The Governor informed us that the Council was to meet on the Monday following in the afternoon, at which time we both there waited upon them, and gave them an account of the state of your country, and great necessities. They informed us, that their General Court was to convene the Wednesday following, at which time they would debate and consider of the matter; myself being bound home, Captain Converse was ordered to wait upon them, and bring you their resolves. I then took notice of the Council that they looked upon me with an ill aspect, not judging me worthy to receive thanks for the service I had done in your parts, nor as much as asked me whether I wanted money to bear my expenses, or a horse to carry me home. But I was forced, for want of money, being far from friends, to go to Roxbury on foot, but meeting there with a Rhode Island gentleman, acquainted him of my wants, who tendered me ten pounds, whereby I was accommodated for my journey home. And being come home, I went to the minister of our town, and gave him an account of the transactions of the great affairs I had been employed in, and of the great favour God was pleased to show me, and my company, and the benefit I hoped would accrue to yourselves, and desired him to return public thanks; but at the same interim of time a paper was presented unto him from a Court of Plymouth, which was holden before I came home, to command a day of humiliation through the whole government, because of the frown of God upon those forces sent under my command, and the ill-success we had, for want of good conduct. All which was caused by those false reports which were posted home by those ill-affected officers that were under my conduct, especially one which yourselves very well know, who had the advantage of being at home a week before me, being sick of action, and wanting the advantage to be at the bank, which he every day was mindful of, more than fighting the enemy in their own country.

After I came home, being informed of a General Court at Plymouth, and not forgetting my faithful promise to you, and the du-

I lay under, I went thither, where, waiting upon them, I gave them an account of my eastward transactions, and made them sensible of the falseness of those reports that were posted to them by ill hands, and found some small favorable acceptance with them, so far that I was credited. I presented your thanks to them for their seasonably sending those forces to relieve you, with that expense and charge they had been at; which thanks they gratefully received, and said a few lines from yourself would have been well accepted. I then gave them an account of your great necessities, by being imprisoned in your garrisons, and the great mischief that would attend the public concerns of this country by the loss of their Majesties' interest, and so much good estate of yours and your neighbours, as doubtless would be on the deserting of your town. I then moved for a free contribution for your relief, which they with great forwardness promoted, and then ordered a day of thanksgiving through the government, upon the 26th day of this instant—upon which day a collection was ordered for your relief (and the places near adjacent) in every respective town in this government; and for the good management of it, that it might be safely conveyed unto your hands, they appointed a man in each county for the receipt and conveyance thereof. The persons nominated and accepted thereof, are: for the county of Plymouth, Captain Nathaniel Thomas of Marshfield; for the county of Barnstable, Captain Joseph Lathrop of Barnstable; and for the county of Bristol, myself. Which, when gathered you will have a particular account from each person, with orders of advice how it may be disposed of for your best advantage, with a copy of the Court's order. The gentlemen the effects are to be sent to, are yourselves that I now write to, viz. John Wheelwright, Esq., Captain John Littlefield, and Lieutenant Joseph Story. I deferred writing, expecting every day to hear from you concerning the Indians coming to treat about their prisoners that we had taken. The discourse I made with them at Ameras-cogen, I knew would have that effect as to bring them to a treaty, which I would have thought myself happy to have been improved in, knowing that it would have made much for your good. But no intelligence coming to me from any gentlemen in your parts, and hearing nothing but by accident, and that in the latter end of the week, by some of ours coming from Boston, informed me that the Indians were come into your town to seek for peace, and that there was to be a treaty speedily, but the time they knew not. I took my horse, and upon the Monday set out for Boston, expecting the treaty had been at your town, as rationally it should; but on Tuesday night coming to Boston, there met with Captain Elisha Andros, who informed me that the place of treaty was Sacaty-hock, and that Captain Alden was gone from Boston four days before I came there, and had carried all the Indian prisoners with him, and that all the forces were drawn out of your parts, except twelve men in your town, and twelve in Piscataqua, which news did so amuse me, to see that wisdom was taken from the wise, and such imprudence in their actions as to be deluded by Indians, and to have a treaty so far from any English town, and to draw off the forces upon what pretence soever, to me looks very ill. My fear is that they will deliver those that we have taken, which, if kept, would have been greatly for your security, in keeping them in awe, and preventing them from doing any hostile action or mischief, I knowing that the English being abroad are very earnest to go home, and the Indians are very tedious in their discourses, and by that means will have an advantage to have their captives at very low rates, to your great damage. Gentlemen, as to Rhode Island, I have not concerned myself as to any relief for you, having nothing in writing to show to them; yet upon discourse with some gentlemen there, they have signified a great forwardness to promote such a thing. I lying under great reflections from some of yours in the eastward parts, that I was a very covetous person and came there to enrich myself, and that I killed their cattle and barrelled them up and sent them to Boston, and sold them for plunder, and made money to put into my own pocket; and the owners of them, being poor people, begged for the hides and tallow with tears in their eyes, and that I was so cruel as to deny them, which makes me judge myself incapable to serve you in that matter. Yet I do assure you, that the people are very charitable at the island, and forward in such good actions, and therefore advise you to desire some good substantial person to take the management of it, and write to the government there, which I know will not be labor lost. As for what I am accused of, you all can witness to the contrary, and I should take it very kindly from you to do me that just right, as to vindicate my reputation; for the wise man says, "A good name is as precious ointment." When I hear of the effects of the treaty, and have an account of this contribution, I intend again to write to you, being very desirous, and should think myself very happy to be favored wiih a few lines from yourselves, or any gentlemen in the eastward parts. Thus, leaving you to the protection and guidance of the great God of heaven and earth, who is able to protect and supply you in your great difficulties, and to give you deliverance in his own due time.

I remain, gentlemen,
Your most assured friend,
To serve you to my utmost power,
BENJAMIN CHURCH.

Postscript. Esquire Wheelwright, Sir, I entreat you, after the perusal of these lines, to communicate the same to Captain John Littlefield, Lieutenant Joseph Story, and to any other gentleman as in your judgment you see fit,—with the tenders of my respects to you, and to Major Vaughan, and his good lady and family. To Captain Fryer and good Mrs. Fryer, with hearty thanks for their kindness whilst in those parts, and good entertainment from them. My kind respects to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant Honeywell, and my very good friend, little Lieutenant Plaisted. With due respects to all gentlemen my friends in the eastward parts, as if particularly named. Farewell.

B. C.

To Major Pike.

Bristol, Nov. 27, 1690.

Honored Sir:

These come to wait upon you, to bring you the tenders of my hearty service to yourself and lady, with due acknowledgement of thankfulness for all the kindness and favor I received from you in the eastward parts, when with you. Since I came from those parts, I am informed by Captain Andros, that yourself and all the forces, are drawn off from the eastward parts. I admire at it, considering that they had so low esteem of what was done, that they can apprehend the eastward parts so safe before the enemy were brought into subjection. I was in hopes, when I came from thence, that those who were so desirous to have my room, would have been very brisk in my absence, to have got themselves some honor, which they very much gaped after, or else they would not have spread so many false reports to defame me—which had I known before I left the bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. Your honor was pleased to give me some small account, before I left the bank, of some things that were ill represented to you, concerning the eastward expedition, which being rolled home like a snow-ball through both colonies, was got to such a bigness that it overshadowed me from the influence of all comfort, or good acceptance among my friends in my journey homeward. But through God's goodness am come home, finding all well, and myself in good health, hoping that these reports will do me the favor to quit me from all other public actions, that so I may the more peaceably and quietly wait upon God, and be a comfort to my own family, in this dark time of trouble; being as one hid, till his indignation is overpast. I shall take it as a great favor to hear of your welfare.

Subscribing myself, as I am, sir,
Your most assured friend and servant,
BENJAMIN CHURCH

Major Church did receive, after this, answers to his letters, but has lost them, except it be a letter from several of the gentlemen in those parts, in June following, which is as follows:

Portsmouth, June 29, 1691.

Major Benjamin Church,

Sir:—

Your former readiness to expose yourself in the service of the country, against the common enemy, and particularly the late obligations you have laid upon us, in these eastern parts, leaves us under a deep and grateful sense of your favor therein; and, forasmuch, as you was pleased, when last here, to signify your ready inclination to further service of this kind, if occasion should call for it, we therefore presume confidently to promise ourselves compliance accordingly, and have sent this messenger on purpose to you, to let you know that, notwithstanding the late overture of peace, the enemy have proved themselves as perfidious as ever, and are almost daily killing and destroying upon all our frontiers. The governor and council of the Massachusetts have been pleased to order the raising of one hundred and fifty men, to be forthwith dispatched into those

parts; and, as we understand, have written to your governor and council of Plymouth for further assistance, which we pray you to promote, hoping if you can obtain about two hundred men, English and Indians, to visit them at some of their head quarters up Kennebeck river, or elsewhere, which, for want of necessaries, was omitted last year, it may be of great advantage to us. We offer nothing of advice as to what methods are most proper to be taken in this affair, your acquaintance with our circumstances as well as the enemies', will direct you therein. We leave the conduct thereof to your own discretion, but that the want of provision, &c. may be no remora to your motion, you may please to know Mr. Geafford, one of our principal inhabitants, now residing in Boston, both promised to take care to supply to the value of two or three hundred pounds, if occasion require. We pray a few lines by the bearer to give us a prospect of what we may expect for our further encouragement, and remain, sir,

Your obliged friends and servants,

William Vaughan, *Richard Martyn*,
Nathaniel Fryer, *William Fernald*,
Francis Hooke, *Charles Frost*,
John Wincol, *Robert Elliott*.

A true copy of the original letter—which letter was presented to me by Captain Hatch, who came express.

Major Church sent them his answer, the contents whereof was, that he had gone often enough for nothing, and especially to be ill-treated with scandals and false reports, when last out, which he could not forget; and signified to them, that doubtless some among them thought they could do without him.—And to make short of it, they did go out, and meeting with the enemy at Maquait, were most shamefully beaten, as I have been informed.

THE THIRD EXPEDITION EAST.

This was in the year 1692. In the time of Sir William Phips's government, Major Walley being at Boston, was requested by his excellency to treat with Major Church about going east with him. Major Walley coming home, did as desired; and to encourage the said Major Church, told him that now was the time to have recompense for his former great expenses, saying also, that the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds. So upon his excellency's request Major Church went down to Boston, and waited upon him, who said he was glad to see him, and after some discourse told the said Church that he was going east himself, and that he should be his second, and in his absence command all the forces. And being requested by his excellency to raise what volunteers he could of his old soldiers in the county of Bristol, both English and Indians, received his commission, which is as follows:

Sir William Phips, Knight, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusett's Bay in New England,

To Benjamin Church, Gent. Greeting.

Reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, I do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Major of the several companies of militia, detached for their Majesties' service against their French and Indian enemies.—You are therefore authorized and required in their Majesties' names, to discharge the duty of a major, by leading, ordering, and exercising the said several companies in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, keeping them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their major; and diligently to intend the said service, for the prosecuting, pursuing, killing, and destroying of the said common enemy; and yourself to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from myself, according to the rules and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust reposed in you for their Majesties' service.—Given under my hand and seal at Boston, the 25th day of July, 1692, in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

By his Excellency's command,
ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secretary.

Returning home to the county aforesaid, he soon raised a sufficient number of volunteers, both English and Indians, and officers suitable to command them, marched them down to Boston. But there was one thing I would just mention, which was, that Major Church, being short of money, was forced to borrow six pounds in money of Lieutenant Woodman, in Little-Compton, to distribute by a shilling and a bit at a time to the Indian soldiers, who, without such allurements, would not have marched to Boston. This money Major Church put into the hands of Mr. William Fobes, who was going out their commissary in that service, who was ordered to keep a just account of what each Indian had, so that it might be deducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to Boston, his excellency having got things in a readiness, they embarked on board their transports, his excellency going in person with them, being bound to Pemequid, but in their way stopped at Casco, and buried the bones of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there; then went to Pemequid—coming there, his excellency asked Major Church to go ashore and give his judgment about erecting a fort there.—He answered, that his genius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them, being only nests for destructions.—His excellency said, he had a special order from their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to erect a fort there. Then they went ashore and spent some time in the projection thereof. Then his excellency told Major Church that he might take all the forces with him except one company to stay with him and work about the fort. The Major answered, that if his excellency pleased he might keep two companies with him, and he would go with the rest to Penobscot, and places adjacent. Which his excellency did, and gave Major Church his orders, which are as followeth:

By his excellency Sir William Phips, Knight, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, in and over their Majesties' province of the Massachusett's Bay, in New England.

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church.

Whereas you are Major, and so chief officer of a body of men detached out of the militia appointed for an expedition against the French and Indian enemy, you are duly to observe the following instructions:

Imprimis. You are to take care that the worship of God be duly and constantly maintained and kept up among you, and to suffer no swearing, cursing, or other profanation of the holy name of God; and as much as in you lies, to deter and hinder all other vices amongst your soldiers.

2dly. You are to proceed with the soldiers under your command, to Penobscot, and with what privacy and undiscoverable methods you can, there to land your men, and take the best measures to surprise the enemy.

3dly. You are, by killing, destroying, and all other means possible, to endeavor the destruction of the enemy; in pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your courage and conduct, I leave the same to your discretion.

4thly. You are to endeavor the taking what captives you can, either men, women, or children, and the same safely to keep and convey them unto me.

5thly. Since it is not possible to judge how affairs may be circumstanced with you there, I shall therefore not limit your return, but leave it to your prudence, only that you make no longer stay than you can improve for advantage against the enemy, or may reasonably hope for the same.

6thly. You are also to take care and be very industrious by all possible means to find out and destroy all the enemies' corn, and other provisions in all places where you can come at the same.

7thly. You are to return from Penobscot and those eastern parts, to make all dispatch hence for Kennebeck river, and the places adjacent, and there prosecute all advantages against the enemy as aforesaid.

8thly. If any soldier, officer, or other shall be disobedient to you as their commander-in-chief, or other their superior officer, or make or cause any mutiny, commit other offence or disorders, you shall call a council of war amongst your officers, and having tried him or them so offending, inflict such punishment as the merit of the offence requires, death only excepted, which, if any shall deserve, you are to secure the person, and signify the crime unto me by the first opportunity.

Given under my hand this 11th day of August, 1692.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then the major and his forces embarked and made the best of their way to Penobscot; and coming to an island in these parts in the evening, landed his forces at one end of the said island. Then the major took

part of his forces and moved toward day to the other end of the said island, where they found two Frenchmen and their families in their houses, and that one or both of them had Indian women to their wives, and had children by them. The major presently examining the Frenchmen where the Indians were, they told him that there was a great company of them upon an island just by, and showing him the island, presently discovered several of them. Major Church and his forces still keeping undiscovered to them, asked the Frenchmen where their passing place was, which they readily showed them, so presently they placed an ambuscade to take any that should come over, then sent orders for all the rest of the forces to come, sending them an account of what he had seen and met withal, strictly charging them to keep themselves undiscovered by the enemy. The ambuscade did not lie long before an Indian man and woman came over in a canoe, to the place for landing, where the ambuscade was laid, who hauled up their canoe, and came right into the hands of our ambuscade, who so suddenly surprised them that they could not give any notice to the others from whence they came; the major ordering that none of his should offer to meddle with the canoe, lest they should be discovered, hoping to take the most of them, if his forces came as ordered, he expecting them to come as directed; but the first news he had of them was, that they were all coming, though not privately, as ordered; but the vessels fair in sight of the enemy, which soon put them all to flight; and our forces not having boats suitable to pursue them, they got all away in their canoes, which caused Major Church to say, he would never go out again without a sufficient number of whale-boats, which for want of, was the ruin of that action. Then Major Church, according to his instruction, ranged all those parts, to find all their corn, and carried aboard their vessels what he thought convenient, and destroyed the rest. Also, finding considerable quantities of plunder, viz. beaver, moose-skins, &c. Having done what service they could in those parts, he returned back to his excellency at Pemequid; where being come, staid not long, they being short of bread, his excellency intended home for Boston, for more provisions; but before going with Major Church and his forces to Kennebeck river, and coming there, gave him further orders, which are as follows:

By his Excellency the Governor,

To Major Benjamin Church.

You having already received former instructions, are now further to proceed with the soldiers under your command for Kennebeck river, and the places adjacent, and use your utmost endeavors to kill, destroy, and take captive the French and Indian enemy wheresoever you shall find any of them; and at your return to Pemequid (which you are to do as soon as you can conveniently, after your best endeavor done against the enemy, and having destroyed their corn and other provisions,) you are to stay with all your soldiers and officers, and set them to work on the fort; and make what dispatch you can in that business, staying there until my further order.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then his excellency taking leave went for Boston, and soon after Major Church and his force had a smart fight with the enemy in Kennebeck river, pursued them so hard that they left their canoes, and ran up into the woods, still pursued them up to their fort, at Taconock, which the enemy perceiving set fire to their houses in the fort, and ran away by the light of them; and when Major Church came to the said fort found about half their houses standing and the rest burnt; also found great quantities of corn, put up into Indian cribs, which he and his forces destroyed as ordered.

Having done what service he could in those parts, returned to Pemequid, and coming there employed his forces according to his instructions. Being out of bread, his excellency not coming, Major Church was obliged to borrow bread of the captain of the man-of-war that was then there, for all the forces under his command, his excellency not coming as expected; but at length his excellency came and brought very little bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the man-of-war; so that in a short time after Major Church, with his forces, returned home to Boston, and had their wages for their good service done. Only one thing by the way I will just mention, that is, about the six pounds Major Church borrowed as aforementioned, and put into the hands of Mr. Fobes, who distributed the said money, all but thirty shillings, to the Indian soldiers, as directed, which was deducted out of their wages, and the country had credit for the same; and the said Fobes kept the thirty shillings to himself, which was deducted out of his wages; whereupon Major Walley and said Fobes had some words. In short, Major Church was obliged to expend about six pounds of his own money in marching down the forces both English and Indians, to Boston, having no drink allowed them upon the road; so that instead of Major Church's having the allowances aforementioned by Major Walley, he was out of pocket about twelve pounds over and above what he had; all which had not been, had not his excellency been gone out of the country.

THE FOURTH EXPEDITION EAST.

In 1696, Major Church being at Boston, and belonging to the house of representatives, several gentlemen requested him to go east again, and the general court having made acts of encouragement, he told them, if they would provide whale-boats, and other necessaries convenient, he would. Being also requested by the said general court, he proceeded to raise volunteers, and made it his whole business, riding both east and west in our province and Connecticut, at great charge and expenses; and in about a month's time raised a sufficient number out of those parts, and marched them down to Boston; where he had the promise that every thing should be ready in three weeks or a month's time, but was obliged to stay considerably longer. Being now at Boston he received his commission and instructions; which are as follows:

William Stoughton, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor, and Commander-in-Chief, in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England,

To Major Benjamin Church, Greeting:

Whereas, there are several companies raised, consisting of Englishmen and Indians, for his majesty's service, to go forth upon the encouragement given by the great and general court, or assembly of this, his majesty's province, convened at Boston, the the 27th day of May, 1696, to prosecute the French and Indian enemy, &c. And you, having offered yourself to take the command and conduct of the said several companies; by virtue therefore of the power and authority in and by his majesty's royal commisssion to me granted, reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, prudence, courage, and good conduct, I do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be major of the said several companies, both Englishmen and Indians, raised for his majesty's service upon the encouragement aforesaid. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the duty of your place, by leading, ordering, and exercising the said several companies in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, keeping them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their major: and yourself diligently to intend his majesty's service for the prosecuting, taking, killing, or destroying the said enemy by sea or land; and to observe all such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from myself, or commander-in-chief for the time being, according to the rules and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Boston, the third day of August, 1696, in the eighth year of the reign of our sovereign lord William the Third, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

By command of the Lieut. Gov. &c.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secretary.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

By the Right Honorable the Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander of the forces raised for his Majesty's service, against the French and Indian enemy and rebels:

Pursuant to the commission given you, you are to embark the forces now furnished and equipped for his majesty's services on the present expedition, to the eastern parts of this province, and with them, and such others as shall offer themselves to go forth on the said service, to sail unto Piscataqua, to join those lately dispatched thither for the same expedition to await your coming; and with all care and diligence to improve the vessels, boats, and men under your command, in search for, prosecution and pursuit of, the said enemy, at such places where you

may be informed of their abode or resort, or where you may probably expect to find, or meet with them, and take all advantages against them which providence shall favor you with.

You are not to list or accept any soldiers that are already in his majesty's pay, and posted at any town or garrison within this province, without special order from myself.

You are to require and give strict orders that the duties of religion be attended on board the several vessels, and in the several companies under your command, by daily prayers unto God, and reading his holy word, and observance of the Lord's day, to the utmost you can.

You are to see that your soldiers have their due allowance of provisions and other necessaries, and that the sick or wounded be accommodated in the best manner your circumstances will admit. And that good order and command may be kept up and maintained in the several companies, and all disorders, drunkenness, profane cursing, swearing, disobedience to officers, mutinies, omissions, or neglect of duty, be duly punished according to the laws martial. And you are to require the captain or chief officer of each company, with the clerk of the same, to keep an exact journal of all their proceedings from time to time.

In case any of the Indian enemy and rebels offer to submit themselves, you are to receive them only at discretion; but if you think fit to improve any of them, or any others which you may happen to take prisoners, you may encourage them to be faithful by the promise of their lives, which shall be granted upon approbation of their fidelity.

You are carefully to look after the Indians which you have out of the prison, so that they may not have opportunity to escape, but otherwise improve them to what advantage you can, and return them back again to this place.

You are to advise, as you can have occasion, with Captain John Gorham, who accompanies you in this expedition, and is to take your command in case of your death. A copy of these instructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Boston, August 12th, 1696.

In the time Major Church lay at Boston, the news came of Pemequid fort being taken; it came by a shallop that brought some prisoners to Boston, who gave an account also, that there was a French ship at Mount-Desart, who had taken a ship of ours; so the discourse was that they would send the man-of-war, with other forces to take the said French ship, and retake ours. But in the mean-time Major Church and his forces being ready, embarked, and on the 15th day of August set sail for Piscataqua, where more men were to join them, but before they left Boston, Major Church discoursed with the captain of the man-of-war, who promised him, if he went to Mount-Desart, in pursuit of the French ship, that he would call for him and his forces at Piscataqua, expecting that the French and Indians might not be far from the said French ship, so that he might have an opportunity to fight them while he was engaged with the French ship. Soon after the forces arrived at Piscataqua, the major sent his Indian soldiers to Colonel Gidney, at York, to be assisting for the defence of those places; who gave them a good commend for their ready and willing services done, in scouting, and the like.—Lying at Piscataqua with the rest of our forces near a week, waiting for more forces who were to join them, to make up their complement, in all which time heard never a word of the man-of-war. On the 22d of August they all embarked for Piscataqua, and when they came against York, the major went ashore, sending Captain Gorham with some forces, in two brigantines and a sloop to Winter-Harbour, ordering him to send out scouts, to see if they could make any discovery of the enemy, and to wait there till he came to them. Major Church coming to York, Colonel Gidney told him his opinion was, that the enemy was drawn off from those parts, for that the scouts could not discover any of them, nor their tracks. So having done his business there, went, with what forces he had there, to Winter-Harbour, where he had the same account from Captain Gorham, that they had not discovered any of the enemy, nor any new tracks; so, concluding they were gone from those parts towards Penobscot, the major ordered all the vessels to sail and make the best of their way to Monbegin, which being not far from Penobscot, where the main body of our enemies was living; being in great hopes to come up with the army of French and Indians, before they had scattered and were gone past Penobscot, or Mount-Desart, which is the chief place of their departure from each other after such actions; and having a fair wind, made the best of their way, and early next morning they got into Monbegin, and there lay all day fitting their boats and other necessaries to embark in the night at Mussel-neck with their boats; lying there all day to keep undiscovered from the enemy; at night the major ordered the vessels all to come to sail, and carry the forces over the bay, near Penobscot, but having little wind he ordered all the soldiers to embark on board the boats with eight days' provision, and sent the vessels back to Monbegin, that they might not be discovered by the enemy; giving them orders when and where they should come to him. The forces being all ready in their boats, rowing very hard, got ashore at a point near Penobscot, just as the day broke and hid their boats, and keeping a good look out by sea, and sent scouts out by land; but could not discover either canoes or Indians; what tracks and fire places they saw were judged to be seven or eight days before they came. As soon as night came, that they might be undiscovered, got into their boats, and went by Mussel-neck, and so amongst Penobscot Islands, looking very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, and for canoes, but found neither; getting up to Mathebestucks hills, day coming on, landed, and hid their boats, looking out for the enemy, as the day before, but to little purpose. Night coming on, to their oars again, working very hard, turned the night into day; made several of their new soldiers grumble, but telling them they hoped to come up quickly with the enemy, put new life into them, and by day-light they got into the mouth of the river, where landing, found many rendezvous and fire places where the Indians had been, but at the same space of time as before mentioned; and no canoes passed up the river that day. Their pilot, Joseph York, informed the major that 50 or 60 miles up that river, at the great falls, the enemy had a great rendezvous, and planted a great quantity of corn, when he was a prisoner with them, four years ago, and that he was very well acquainted there; this gave great encouragement to have some considerable advantage of the enemy at that place; so using their utmost endeavours to get up there undiscovered, and coming there found no enemy, nor corn planted, they having deserted the place. And ranging about the falls on both sides of the river, leaving men on the east side of the said river, and the boats just below the falls, with a good guard to secure them, and to take the enemy if they came down the river in their canoes. The west side being the place where the enemy lived, and best to travel on, they resolved to range as privately as they could; a mile or two above the falls discovered a birch canoe coming down with two Indians in it, the major sent word immediately back to those at the falls, to lie very close, and let them pass down the falls, and to take them alive, that he might have intelligence where the enemy was, which would have been a great advantage to them, but a foolish soldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders given, which prevented them going into the ambuscade that was laid for them; whereupon several more of our men being near, shot at them; so that one of them could not stand when he got ashore, but crept away into the brush, the other stepped out of the canoe with his paddle in his hand, and ran about a rod, and then threw down his paddle, and turned back and took up his gun, so escaped. One of our Indians swam over the river, and fetched the canoe, wherein was a considerable quantity of blood on the seats, that the Indians sat on; the canoe having several holes shot in her. They stopped the holes, and then Captain Bracket, with an Indian soldier, went over the river, who tracked them by the blood about half a mile, found his gun, took it up, and seeing the blood no farther, concluded that he stopped his blood, and so got away. In the mean-time another canoe with three men were coming down the river, were fired at by some of our forces, ran ashore, and left two of their guns in the canoe, which were taken, and also a letter from a priest to Casteen, that gave him an account of the French and Indians returning over the lake to Mount-Royal, and of their little service done upon the Maquas Indians westward, only demolishing one fort, and cutting down some corn. He desiring to hear of the proceedings of Deborabuel, and the French man-of-war; and informed him that there were several canoes coming with workmen from Quebec, to St. John's, where since we concluded, it was to build a fort at the river's mouth, where the great guns were

taken. It being just night, the officers were called together to advise, and their pilot, York, informed them of a fort up that river, and it was built on a little island in that river, and there was no getting to it but in canoes, or on the ice in the winter time. This, with the certain knowledge that we were discovered by the enemy that escaped out of the upper canoe, concluded it not proper, at that time, to proceed any further up, and that there was no getting any further with our boats; and the enemy being alarmed would certainly fly from them, and do as they did four years ago at their fort at Taconock; having sought them in Kennebeck river, and pursued them about thirty miles to Taconock; for they then set their fort on fire, and run away by the light of it, our forces not being able to come up with them at that place. Major Church then encouraging his soldiers, told them, he hoped they should meet with part of the enemy in Penobscot Bay, or at Mount-Desart, where the French ships were. So, notwithstanding they had been rowing several nights before, with much toil, besides were short of provisions, they cheerfully embarked on board their boats, and went down the river, both with and against the tide; and next morning came to their vessels, where the major had ordered them to meet him, who could give him no intelligence of any enemy. Where being come, they refreshed themselves; meeting then with another disappointment, for their pilot, York, not being acquainted any further, began to lament the loss of one Robert Cawley, who they chiefly depended on for all the service to be done now eastward; he having been taken away from them the night before they set sail from Boston (and was on board Mr. Thorp's sloop) and put on board the man-of-war, unknown to Major Church; notwithstanding he had been at the charge and trouble of procuring him. Then the major was obliged to one Bord, procured by Mr. William Alden, who being acquainted in those parts, to leave his vessel, and go with him in the boats, which he readily complied with, and so went to Nasket-point; where being informed was a likely place to meet with the enemy; coming there found several houses and small fields of corn, the fires having been out several days, and no new tracks.—But upon Penobscot island they found several Indian houses, corn and turnips, though the enemy still being all gone, as before mentioned. Then they divided and sent their boats some one way, and some another, thinking that if any straggling Indians, or Casteen himself, should be thereabout, they might find them, but it proved all in vain.—Himself and several boats went to Mount-Desart, to see if the French ships were gone, and whether any of the enemy might be there, but to no purpose, the ships being gone, and the enemy also. They being now got several leagues to the westward of their vessels, and seeing that the way was clear for their vessels to pass, and all their extreme rowing, and travelling by land and water, night and day, to be all in vain, the enemy having left those parts, as they judged, about eight or ten days before. And then returning to their vessels, the commander calling his officers together, to consult and resolve what to do, concluding that the enemy, by some means or other had received some intelligence of their being come out against them, and that they were in no necessity to come down to the sea side as yet, moose and beaver now being fat. They then agreed to go far east and employ themselves, that the enemy belonging to those parts might think that they were gone home. Having some discourse about going over to St. John's; but the masters of the vessels said, he had as good carry them to old France, which put off that design, they concluding that the French ships were there. Then the major moved for going over the bay, towards Labane, and towards the gut of Cancer, where was another considerable fort of Indians, who often came to the assistance of our enemy, the barbarous Indians; saying that by the time they should return again, the enemy belonging to these parts would come down again, expecting that we are gone home. But in short, could not prevail with the masters of the open sloops to venture across the bay; who said it was very dangerous so late in the year, and as much as their lives were worth. Then they concluded and resolved to go to Senactaca, wherein there was a ready compliance, but the want of their pilot, Robert Cawley, was a great damage to them, who knew all those parts: however, Mr. John Alden, master of the brigantine Endeavor, piloted them up the bay to Senactaca; and coming to Grindstone-point, being not far from Senectaca; then came to with all the vessels, and early next morning came to sail, and about sun-rise got into town; but it being so late before we landed, that the enemy, most of them, made their escape, and as it happened landed where the French and Indians had some time before killed Lieutenant John Paine, and several of Captain Smithson's men, that were with said Paine. They, seeing our forces coming, took the opportunity, fired several guns, and so ran all into the woods, carrying all or most part of their goods with them. One Jarman Bridgway came running towards our forces, with a gun in one hand, and his cartridge-box in the the other, calling to our forces to stop, that he might speak with them; but Major Church thinking it was that they might have some advantage, ordered them to run on; when the said Bridgway saw they would not stop, turned and ran, but the major called unto him, and bid him stop, or he would be shot down; some of our forces being near to the said Bridgway, said it was the General that called to him. He hearing that, stopped and turned about, laying down his gun, stood, till the major came up to him; his desire was that the commander would make haste with him to his house, lest the savages should kill his father and mother, who were upward of fourscore years of age and could not go.—The major asked the said Bridgway whether there were any Indians among them, and where they lived; he shook his head, and said, he durst not tell, for if he did they would take an opportunity and kill him and his; so all that could be got out of him was, that they were run into the woods with the rest. Then orders were given to pursue the enemy, and to kill what Indians they could find, and take the French alive, and give them quarter if they asked it. Our forces soon took three Frenchmen, who, upon examination, said, that the Indians were all run into the woods. The French fired several guns at our forces, and ours at them; but they being better acquainted with the woods than ours, got away. The major took the aforesaid Jarman Bridgway for a pilot, and with some of his forces went over a river, to several of their houses, but the people were gone and carried their goods with them; in ranging the woods found several Indian houses, their fires being just out, but no Indians. Spending that day in ranging to and fro, found considerable of their goods, and but few people; at night the major writ a letter, and sent out two French prisoners, wherein was signified, that if they would come in, they should have good quarters.—The next day several came in, which did belong to that part of the town where our forces first landed, who had encouragements given them by our commander, that if they would assist him in taking those Indians which belonged to those parts, they should have their goods returned to them again, and their estates should not be damnified; which they refused. Then the major and his forces pursued their design, and went further, ranging their country, found several more houses, but the people fled, and carried what they had away; but in a creek found a prize bark, that was brought in there by a French privateer. In ranging the woods took some prisoners, who upon examination gave our commander an account, that there were some Indians upon a neck of land, towards Menis; so a party of men was sent into those woods, and in their ranging about the said neck found some plunder, and a considerable quantity of whortleberries, both green and dry, which were gathered by the Indians, and had like to have taken two Indians, who, by the help of a birch canoe, got over the river, and made their escape. Also they found two barrels of powder, and near half a bushel of bullets; the French denying it to be theirs, said they were the savages', but sure it was a supply for our enemies; also they took from Jarman Bridgway several barrels of powder, with bullets, shot, spears, and knives, and other supplies to relieve our enemies; he owning that he had been trading with those Indians along Cape-Sable shore, with Peter Assnow, in sloop our forces took from him; and that there he met with the French ships, and went along with them to St. John's, and helped them to unload the said ships, and carried up the river provisions, ammunition, and other goods to Vilboon's fort.

The major having ranged all places that were thought proper, returned back to the place where they first landed, and finding several prisoners come in, who were troubled to see their cattle, sheep, hogs, and dogs lying dead about their houses, chopped and hacked with hatchets; which was done without order from the major, however he told them it was nothing to what our poor English, in our frontier towns, were forced to look upon; for men, women, and children were chopped and hacked so, and left half dead, with all their scalps taken off, and that they and their Indians served ours so; and our

savages would be glad to serve them so too, if he would permit them! which caused them to be mighty submissive, and begged the major that he would not let the savages serve them so. Our Indians being somewhat sensible of the discourse, desired to have some of them to roast, and so make a dance; and dancing in a hideous manner, to terrify them, said, that they could eat any sort of flesh, and that some of theirs would make their hearts strong; stepping up to some of the prisoners, said, they must have their scalps, which much terrified the poor prisoners, who begged for their lives. The major told them he did not design the savages should hurt them; but it was to let them see a little what the poor English felt, saying, it was not their scalps he wanted, but the savages, for he should get nothing by them; and told them, that their fathers, the friars and governors, encouraged their savages, and gave them money to scalp our English, notwithstanding they were with them; which several of our English, there present, did testify to their faces, that their fathers and mothers were served so in their sight. But the major bid them tell their fathers, the friars and governors, that if they still persisted, and let their wretched savages kill and destroy the poor English at that rate, he would come with some hundreds of savages, and let them loose among them, who would kill, scalp, and carry away every French person in all those parts, for they were the root from whence all the branches came that hurt us; for the Indians could not do us any harm, if they did not relieve and supply them.—The French being sensible of the major's kindness to them, kissed his hand, and were very thankful to him for his favour to them in saving their lives; owned that their priests were at the taking of Pemequid fort, and were now gone to Laybone, with some of the Indians, to meet the French ships, but for what they would not tell. The commander with his forces, having done all they could in those parts, concluded to go to St. John's river, to do further service for their king and country, embarked all on board their transports; and having a fair wind, soon got to Monogenest which lies a little distance from the mouth of St. John's river. Next morning early, the major, with his forces landed to see what discovery they could make, travelled across the woods to the old fort or falls at the mouth of St. John's river, keeping themselves undiscovered from the enemy; finding that there were several men at work, and having informed themselves as much as they could, the enemy being on the other side of the river, could not come at them, returned back, but night coming on, and dark wet weather, with bad travelling, was obliged to stop in the woods until towards day next morning, and then went on board; soon after the major ordered all the vessels to come to sail, and go into the mouth of the river; being done; it was not long before the major and his forces landed on the east side of the river, the French firing briskly at them, but did them no harm; and running fiercely upon the enemy, they soon fled into the woods. The major ordered a brisk party to run across a neck to cut them off from their canoes, which the day before they had made a discovery of; so the commander, with the rest, ran directly towards the new fort they were building, not knowing but they had some ordnance mounted. The enemy running directly to their canoes, were met by our forces, who fired at them, and killed one, and wounded Corporal Canton, who was taken, the rest threw down what they had and ran into the woods. The said prisoner, Canton, being brought to the major, told him, if he would let his surgeon dress his wound and cure him, he would be serviceable to him as long as he lived; so, being dressed, he was examined, who gave the major an account of the twelve great guns which were hid in the beach, below high water mark; the carriages, shot, and wheelbarrows, some flour and pork, all hid in the woods. And the next morning the officers being all ordered to meet together to consult about going to Vilboon's fort, and none amongst them being acquainted but the Aldens, who said the water in the river was very low, so that they could not get up to the fort, and the prisoner, Canton, told the commander, that what the Aldens said was true; so not being willing to make a Canada expedition, concluded it was not practicable to proceed. Then ordered some of the forces to get the great guns on board the open sloops, and the rest to range the woods for the enemy, who took one prisoner, and brought in; who in their ranging found there a shallop haled in a creek, and a day or two after there came in a young soldier to our forces, who, upon examination, gave an account of two more which he left in the woods at some distance; so immediately the major with some of his forces went in pursuit of them, taking the said prisoner with them, who conveyed them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. Then asked the prisoner, whether there were any Indians in those parts.—Said no, it was as hard for Vilboon, their governor, to get an Indian down to the water side, as it was for him to carry one of those great guns upon his back to his fort; for they having had intelligence by a prisoner out of Boston gaol, that gave them an account of Major Church and his forces coming out against them. Now having with a great deal of pains and trouble got all the guns, shot, and other stores aboard, intended on our design which we came out first for, but the wind not serving, the commander sent out his scouts into the woods, to seek for the enemy, and four of our Indians came upon three Frenchmen undiscovered, who concluded that if the French should discover them, would fire at them, and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent, fired at the French, killed one, and took the other two prisoners; and it happened that he who was killed was Shanelere, the chief man there. The same day they mended their whale-boats, and the shallop which they took, fitting her to row with eight oars, that she might be helpful to their prosecuting their intended design against the enemy in their returning homeward. Then the commander ordering all the officers to come together, informed them of his intentions, and ordered that no vessels should depart from the fleet, but to attend the motions of their commodore, as formerly, except they were parted by storms, or thick fogs, and if so it should happen that any did part, when they came to Passamequady, should stop there a while, for there they intended to stop, and do business with the help of their boats against the enemy, and if they missed that, to stop at Machias; which was the next place he intended to stop at, having an account by the prisoners taken, that Mr. Lateril was there trading with the Indians in that river. Encouraging them said, he did not doubt but to have a good booty there; and if they should pass those two places, be sure not to go past Naskege-point, but to stop there till he came, and not to depart thence in a fortnight without his orders, having great service to do in and about Penobscot. Then the major discoursed with Captain Brackit, Captain Hunewell, and Captain Larking, with their lieutenants, commanders of the forces belonging to the eastward parts, who were to discourse their soldiers about their proceeding, when they came to Penobscot; and the major himself was to discourse his Indian soldiers, and their captains: who with all the rest readily complied. The projection being such, that when they came to Penobscot, the commander designed to take what provisions could be spared out of all the sloops, and put on board the two brigantines, and to send all the sloops home with some of the officers and men that wanted to be at home; and then with those forces aforementioned to wit. the eastward men and all the Indians; and to take what provisions and ammunition was needful, and to march with himself up into the Penobscot country, in search for the enemy, and if possible to take that fort in Penobscot river. Captain Brackit, informing the major, that when the water was low they could wade over, which was (at that time) the lowest that had been known in a long time. And being there, to range through that country down to Pemequid; where he intended the two brigantines should meet them; and from thence taking more provisions, viz. bread salt, and ammunition suitable (to send those two vessels home also) to travel through the country to Nerigiwack, and from thence to Ameras-cogen fort, and so down where the enemy used to plant, not doubting but that in all this travel to meet with many of the enemy before they should get to Piscataqua. All which intentions were very acceptable to the forces that were to undertake it, who rejoicing, said, they had rather go home by land than by water, provided their commander would go with them; who, to try their fidelity, said, he was grown ancient and might fail them; they all said they would not leave him, and when he could not travel any further, they would carry him. Having done what service they could at and about the mouth of St. John's river, resolved on their intended design; and the next morning having but little wind, came all to sail, the wind coming against them, they put into Mushquash-Cove, and the next day, the wind still being against them, the major with part of his forces landed, and employed themselves in ranging the country for the enemy, but to no purpose; and in the night, the wind came pretty fair, and at 12 o'clock they came to sail, and had not been long bo

fore they spyed three sail of vessels; expecting them to be French, fitted to defend themselves, so coming near, hailed them; who found them to be a man-of-war, the Province-Galley, and old Mr. Alden in a sloop, with more forces, Colonel Hathorne commander. Major Church went aboard the commodore, where Colonel Hathorne was, who gave him an account of his commission and orders, and read them to him. Then his honor told Major Church, that there was a particular order on board Captain Southback for him, which is as follows: —

Boston, September 9th, 1696.

Sir:

His Majesty's ship Orford having lately surprised a French shallop, with twenty-three of the soldiers belonging to the fort upon John's river, in Nova-Scotia, together with Villeau, their captain, Providence seems to encourage the forming of an expedition to attack that fort, and to disrest and remove the enemy from that post, which is the chief source from whence the most of our disasters do issue, and also to favour with an opportunity for gaining out of their hands the ordnance, artillery, and other warlike stores, and provisions, lately supplied to them from France, for erecting a new fort near the river's mouth, whereby they will be greatly strengthened, and the reducing of them rendered more difficult. I have therefore ordered a detachment of two new companies, consisting of about an hundred men to join the forces now with you for that expedition, and have commissioned Lieutenant Colonel John Hathorne, one of the members of his Majesty's council, who is acquainted with that river, and in whose courage and conduct I repose special trust, to take the chief command of the whole during that service, being well assured that your good affections and zeal for his Majesty's service will induce your ready compliance and assistance therein, which, I hope, will take up no long time, and be of great benefit and advantage to these his Majesty's territories, if it please God to succeed the same. Besides, it is very probable to be the fairest opportunity that can be offered unto yourself and men, of doing execution upon the Indian enemy and rebels, who may reasonably be expected to be drawn to the defence of that fort. I have also ordered his Majesty's ship Arundel, and the Province-Galley, to attend this service.

Colonel Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents of his commission and instructions received from myself for this expedition, which I expect and order that yourself, officers, and soldiers, now under you, yield obedience unto. He is to advise with yourself and others in all weighty attempts. Praying for a blessing from Heaven upon the said enterprise, and that all engaged in the same may be under the special protection of the Almighty,

I am your loving friend,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

The Major having read his last orders, and considering his commission, found that he was obliged to attend all orders, was much concerned that he and his were prevented in their intended projection, if carried back to St. John's. Then discoursing with Colonel Hathorne, gave him an account of what they had done at St. John's, viz. that as to demolishing the new fort they had done it, and got all their great guns and stores aboard their vessels; and that if it had not been that the waters were so low would have taken the fort up the river also before he came away; told him also that one of the prisoners which he had taken at St. John's, upon examination, concerning the Indians in those parts, told him it was as hard for Vilboon, their governor, to get one of their Indians down to the water side, as to carry one of those great guns upon his back; and that they had an account of him and his forces coming to those parts by a prisoner out of Boston gaol; also told his honor, that if they went back it would wholly disappoint them of their doing any further service, which was that they came for to Penobscot, and places adjacent; but all was to no purpose, his honor telling the major that he must attend his orders then received. And to encourage the officers and soldiers told them, they should be wholly at the major's ordering and command in the whole action; and to be short did go back, and the event may be seen in Colonel Hathorne's Journal of the said action. Only I must observe one thing by the way which was, that when they drew off to come down the river again, Colonel Hathorne came off and left the major behind to see that all the forces were drawn off; and coming down the river, in or near the rear, in the night heard a person hallow, not knowing at first but it might be a snare to draw them into; but upon consideration, sent to see who or what he was, found him to be a negro man belonging to Marblehead, that had been taken, and kept a prisoner among them for some time. The major asked him whether he could give any account of the Indians in those parts. He said, yes, they were or had been all drawn off from the sea coast, up into the woods, near an hundred miles, having had an account by a prisoner out of Boston gaol, that Major Church and his forces were coming out against them in four brigantines, and four sloops, with twenty-four pettiaugers, meaning whale-boats, which put them into a fright, that notwithstanding they were so far up in the woods, were afraid to make fires by day, lest he and his forces should discover the smokes, and in the night lest they should see the light. One thing more I would just give a hint of, that is, how the French in the eastward parts were much surprised at the motion of the whale-boats; said, there was no abiding for them in that country; and I have been informed since, that soon after this expedition, they drew off from St. John's fort and river. But to return: then going all down the river, embarked and went homeward; only by the way, candid reader, I would let you know of two things that proved very prejudicial to Major Church and his forces. The first was, that the government should miss it so much as to send any prisoner away from Boston before the expedition was over. Secondly, that they should send Colonel Hathorne to take them from the service and business they went to do; who, with submission, doubtless thought they did for the best, though it proved to the contrary; so shall wind up with a just hint of what happened at their coming home to Boston. After all their hard service both night and day, the government took away all the great guns, and warlike stores, and gave them not a penny for them, except it was some powder, and that they gave what they pleased for; and besides the assembly passed a vote that they should have but half pay; but his honor the lieutenant governor being much disturbed at their so doing, went into the town-house, where the representatives were sitting, and told them, except they did re-assume that vote, which was to cut Major Church and his forces off their half-pay, they should sit there till the next spring. Whereupon it was re-assumed; so that they had just their bare wages. But as yet never had any allowance for the great guns and stores; neither has Major Church had any allowance for all his travel and great expenses in raising the said forces volunteers.

THE FIFTH AND LAST EXPEDITION EAST.

In the year 1703-4, Major Church had an account of the miserable devastations made on Deerfield, a town in the westward parts of this province, and the horrible barbarities and cruelties exercised on those poor innocent people, by the French and Indians, especially of their cruelties towards that worthy [illegible] woman Mrs. Williams, and several others whom they marched in that extreme season; forcing them to carry great loads, and when any of them by their hard usage could not bear with it, were knocked on the head, and so killed in cool blood. All which, with some other horrible instances done by those barbarous savages, which Major Church himself was an eye-witness to in his former travel in the eastward parts, did much astonish him. To see a woman that those barbarous savages had taken and killed, exposed in a most brutish manner (as can be expressed) with a young child seized fast with strings to her breast; which infant had no apparent wound, which doubtless was left alive to suck its dead mother's breast, and so miserably to perish and die. Also to see other poor children hanging upon fences dead, of either sex, in their own poor rags, not worth their stripping them off, in scorn and derision. Another instance was, of a straggling soldier who was found at Casco, exposed in a shameful and barbarous manner; his body being staked up, his head cut off, and a hog's head set in the room, his body ripped up, and his heart and inwards taken out, and hung with belts of their own, the inwards at the side of his body, in scorn and derision of the English soldiers. These and such like barbarities caused Major Church to express himself to this purpose, that if he were commander-in-chief of these provinces, he would soon put an end to those barbarities done by the barbarous enemy, by making it his whole business to fight and destroy those savages, as they did our poor neighbors; which doubtless might have been done if rightly managed, and that in a short time. So that these, with the late inhumanities done upon the inhabitants of Deerfield, made such an

impression on his heart as cannot well be expressed; so that his blood boiled within him, causing such impulses on his mind, that he forgot all former treatments, which were enough to hinder any man, especially the said Major Church, from doing any further service. Notwithstanding all which, having a mind to take some satisfaction on the enemy, his heart being full, took his horse and went from his own habitation, near seventy miles, to wait upon his excellency, and offered his service to the queen, his excellency, and the country; which his excellency readily accepted of, and desired Major Church to draw a scheme for the ensuing action, or actions; so taking leave went home, and drew it; which is as follows:

Tiverton, February 5, 1703-4.

May it please your Excellency,

According to your request, when I was last with yourself, and in obedience thereunto, I present you with these following lines, that concern the preparation for next spring's expedition to attack the enemy. According to my former direction, for it is good to have a full stroke at them first, before they have opportunity to run for it; for the first of our action will be our opportunity to destroy them, and to prevent their running away, in waylaying every passage; and make them know we are in good earnest, and so we being in a diligent use of means, we may hope for a blessing from the Almighty, and that He will be pleased to put a dread in their hearts, that they may fall before us and perish. For my advice is,

1st. That ten or twelve hundred good able soldiers well equipped, be in a readiness fit for action, by the first of April at farthest, for then will be the time to be upon action.

2dly. That five and forty, or fifty good whale-boats be had ready, well fitted, with five good oars, and twelve or fifteen good paddles to every boat; and upon the wale of each boat five pieces of strong leather be fastened on each side, to slip five small ash bars through, that so, whenever they land, the men may step overboard, and slip in said bars across, and take up said boat, that she may not be hurt against the rocks; and that two suitable brass kettles be provided to belong to each boat, to dress the men's victuals in, to make their lives comfortable.

3dly. That four or five hundred pair of good Indian shoes be made ready, fit for the service, for the English and Indians, that must improve the whale-boats, and birch canoes, for they will be very proper and safe for that service; and let there be a good store of cow-hides, well tanned, for a supply of such shoes; and hemp to make thread, and wax, to mend and make more such shoes when wanted, and a good store of awls.

4thly. That there be an hundred large hatchets, or light axes, made pretty broad, and steeled with the best steel that can be got, and made by good workmen, that may cut well and hold, that the hemlock knots may not break or turn them, to widen the landing place up the falls, for it may happen that we may get up with some of our whale-boats to their falls or head-quarters.

5thly. That there be a suitable quantity of small bags, or wallets provided, that every man that wants may have one, to put up his bullets in, of such a size as will fit his gun, and not be served as at Casco. That every man's bag be so marked that he may not change it: for if so, it will make a great confusion in action; that every man's store of ball be weighed to him, that so he may be accountable, and may not squander it away: and also his store of powder, that so he may try his powder and gun before action. And that every particular company may have a barrel of powder to themselves, and so marked that it may by no means be changed; that men may know beforehand, and may not be cheated out of their lives, by having bad powder, or not knowing how to use it: and this will prove a great advantage to the action.

6thly. That Colonel John Gorham, if he may be prevailed with, may be concerned in the management of the whale-boats, he having been formerly concerned in the eastern parts, and experienced in that affair. And whale-men then will be very serviceable in this expedition, which having a promise made to them, that they shall be released in good season, to go home a whaling in the fall, your excellency will have men enough.

7thly. That there may be raised for this service three hundred Indians at least, and more if they may be had; for I know certainly of my own knowledge, that they exceed most of our English in hunting and skulking in the woods, being always used to it; and it must be practised if ever we intend to destroy those Indian enemies.

8thly. That the soldiers already out eastward in the service, men of known judgment, may take a survey of them and their arms; and see if their arms be good, and that they know how to use them, in shooting right at a mark; and that they be men of good reason and sense, to know how to manage themselves in so difficult a piece of service, as this Indian hunting is; for bad men are but a clog and hindrance to an army, being a trouble and vexation to good commanders, and so many mouths to devour the country's provision, and a hindrance to all good action.

9thly. That special care be had in taking up the whale-boats, that they be good and fit for that service; so that the country be not cheated, as formerly, in having rotten boats; and as much care that the owners may have good satisfaction for them.

10thly. That the tenders or transports, vessels to be improved in this action, be good decked vessels, not too big, because of going up several rivers; having four or six small guns a piece for defence, and the fewer men will defend them. And there are enough such vessels to be had.

11thly. To conclude all, if your excellency will be pleased to make yourself great, and us a happy people, as to the destroying of our enemies, and easing of our taxes, &c. be pleased to draw forth all those forces now in pay in all the eastward parts, both at Saco and Casco-Bay; for those two trading houses never did any good, nor ever will, and are not worthy the name of Queen's forts; and the first building of them had no other effect, but to lay us under tribute to that wretched pagan crew; and I hope never will be wanted for that they were first built for: but sure it is, they are very serviceable to them, for they get many a good advantage of us to destroy our men, and laugh at us for our folly, that we should be at so much cost and trouble to do a thing that does us so much harm, and no manner of good. But to the contrary, when they see all our forces drawn forth, and in the pursuit of them, they will think that we begin to be roused up, and to be awake, and will not be satisfied with what they have pleased to leave us, but are resolved to retake from them, that they took formerly from us, and drive them out of their country also. The which being done, then to build a fort at a suitable time, and in a convenient place; and it will be very honorable to your excellency, and of great service to her majesty, and to the enlargement of her majesty's government; (the place meant being at Port-Royal.)

12thly. That the objection made against drawing off the forces in the eastward parts will be no damage to the inhabitants; for former experience teacheth us, that so soon as drawn into their country, they will presently forsake ours to take care of their own. And that there be no failure in making preparation of these things aforementioned, for many times the want of small things prevents the completing of great actions; and that every thing be in readiness before the forces be raised, to prevent charges, and the enemy having intelligence. And that the general court be moved to make suitable acts, for the encouraging both English and Indians; that so men of business may freely offer estates and concerns to serve the public.

Thus hoping what I have taken the pains to write in the sincerity of my heart and good affection, will be well accepted, I make bold to subscribe, as I am, your excellency's most devoted humble servant,

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

Then returning to his excellency presented the said scheme, which his excellency approved of, and returned it again to Major Church, and desired him to see that every thing was provided, telling him that he should have an order from the commissary general to proceed. Then returned home and made it his whole business to provide oars and paddles, and a vessel to carry them round; and then returned again to his excellency, who gave him a commmission. Which is as follows:

Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over her Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, in New-England, in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

To Benjamin Church, Esq., Greeting:

By virtue of the power and authority, in and by her majesty's royal commission, to me granted, I do by these presents, reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, constitute and appoint you to be colonel of all the forces raised, and to be raised for her majesty's service, against the French and Indian enemy and rebels, that shall be improved in the service to the eastward of Casco-Bay; and to

be captain of the first company of the said forces. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the duty of a colonel and captain, by leading, ordering, and exercising the said company and regiment in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers; and to keep them in good order and discipline. Hereby commanding them to obey you as their colonel and captain; and with them to do and execute all acts of hostility against the said enemy and rebels. And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall receive from myself, or other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Boston, the 18th day of March, in the third year of her majesty's reign. Anno Dom. 1703-4.

J. DUDLEY.

By his Excellency s command,
ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secretary.

Colonel Church no sooner received his commission, but proceeded to the raising of volunteers, by going into every town within the three counties, which were formerly Plymouth government; advising with the chief officer of each company, to call his company together, that so he might have the better opportunity to discourse and encourage them to serve their queen and country; treating them with drink convenient, told them he did not doubt but with God's blessing to bring them all home again. All which, with many other arguments, animated their hearts to do service, so that Colonel Church enlisted out of some companies near twenty men, and others fifteen. He having raised a sufficient number of English soldiers, proceeded to the enlisting of Indians in all those parts where they dwelt, which was a great fatigue and expense; being a people that need much treating, especially with drink. Having enlisted the most of his soldiers in those parts, who daily lay upon him, was not less than 5*l.* per day expenses, some days, in victuals and drink; who doubtless thought, especially the English, that the country would have reimbursed it again, otherwise they would hardly have accepted it of him. Colonel Church's soldiers both English and Indians in those parts being raised, marched them all down to Nantasket, according to his excellency's directions; where being come, the following gentlemen were commissioned to be commanders of each particular company, viz. Lieutenant Colonel Gorham, Captains John Brown, Constant Church, James Cole, John Dyer, John Cook, Caleb Williamson, and Edward Church, of the forces raised by Colonel Church, each company being filled up with English and Indians as they agreed among themselves, and by the colonel's directions; Captain Lamb, and Captain Mirick's company, who were raised by his excellency's direction, were ordered to join those aforesaid, under the command of Colonel Church. Matters being brought thus far on, Colonel Church waited upon his excellency at Boston to know his pleasure, what further measures were to be taken; and did humbly move that they might have liberty in their instructions to make an attack upon Port-Royal; being very well satisfied in his opinion, that with the blessing of God, with what forces they had or should have; and whale-boats so well fitted with oars and paddles, as they had with them might be sufficient to have taken it. His excellency, looking upon Colonel Church, replied, he could not admit of that, by reason he had by the advice of her majesty's council, writ to her majesty about the taking of Port-Royal fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken. However Colonel Church proceeding to get every thing ready for the forces down at Nantasket, which was the place of parade. He happening one day to be at Captain Belcher's, where his excellency happened to come; who was pleased to order Colonel Church to put on his sword, and walk with him up the common, which he readily complied with. Where being come he saw two mortar pieces with shells, and an engineer trying with them to throw a shell from them to any spot of ground where he said it should fall. Which, when Colonel Church had seen done, gave him great encouragement and hopes that it would promote their going to Port-Royal, which he had solicited for; and returning from thence, after they had seen them tried by the said engineer, and performing what was proposed, coming near to Captain William Clark's house, over against the horse-shoe, his excellency was invited by Captain Clark to walk over and take a glass of wine; which he was pleased to accept of, and took Colonel Church with him; and in the time they were taking a glass of wine, Colonel Church once more presumed to say to his excellency, "Sir, I hope that now we shall go to Port-Royal in order to take it; those mortars being very suitable for such an enterprise." His excellency was pleased to reply: "Colonel Church you must say no more of that matter, for the letter I told you of I writ by the advice of her majesty's council, now lies at home on the board before the lords commissioners of her majesty's foreign plantations." After some days every thing being ready to embark, Colonel Church received his instructions, which are as follows:—

By his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, &c., in New England, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

Instructions for Colonel Benjamin Church, in the present Expedition.

In pursuance of the commission given you to take the chief command of the land and sea forces by me raised, equipped, and set forth on her majesty's service, against her open declared enemies the French and Indian rebels, you are to observe the following instructions:

First, you are to take care, that the duties of religion be attended on board the several vessels, and in the several companies under your command, by daily prayers unto God, and reading his holy word; and that the Lord's day be observed and duly sanctified to the utmost of your power, as far as the circumstances and necessity of the service can admit, that so you may have the presence of God with, and obtain his blessing on your undertaking.

You are to take care that your soldiers have their due allowance of provisions and other necessaries; that their arms be well fixed, and kept fit for service, and that they be furnished with a suitable quantity of powder and ball, and be always in readiness to pass upon duty.

That good order and discipline be maintained; and all disorders, drunkenness, profane swearing, cursing, omission or neglect of duty, disobedience to officers, mutiny, desertion and sedition be duly punished according to the rules and articles of war; the which you are once a month, or oftener, to cause to be published and made known to your officers and soldiers for their observance and direction in their duty. Let notorious and capital offenders be sent away to the next garrisons, there to be imprisoned until they can be proceeded with.

Let the sick and wounded be carefully looked after, and accommodated after the best manner your circumstances will admit of, and be sent either to Casco-Fort, or to Mr. Peperel's at Kittery, which may be easiest, so soon as you can.

You are forthwith to send away the forces and stores by the transports, with the whale-boats to Piscataqua, on Kittery side, there to attend your coming; whither you are to follow them with all expedition.

You are to embark in the Province-Galley, Captain Southback, commander, and let Lietenant Colonel Gorham go on board Captain Gallop; who are both directed to attend your motion on the French side, after which they are to return. Let the commanders of all the store sloops and transports know that they sail, anchor, and serve at your direction.

When you sail from Piscataqua, keep at such distance off the shore, that you be not observed by the enemy to alarm them. Stop at Montinicus, and there embark the forces in the whale-boats for the main, to range that part of the country, in search of the enemy, to Mount-Desart, sending the vessels to meet you there; and after having refreshed and recruited your soldiers, proceed to Machias, and from thence to Passamequado; and having effected what spoils you possibly may upon the enemy in those parts, embark on your vessels for Menis and Signecto, to Port-Royal Gut; and use all possible methods for the burning and destroying of the enemy's houses, and breaking the dams of their corn grounds in the said several places, and make what other spoils you can upon them, and bring away the prisoners. In your return call at Penobscot, and do what you can there, and so proceed westward.

This will probably employ you a month or six weeks, when you will draw together again, and by the latter end of June consider whether you can march to Norrigwack, or other parts of their planting, to destroy their corn and settlements, and keep the expedition on foot until the middle of August next.

Notwithstanding the particularity of the aforegoing instructions, I lay you under no restraint, because I am well assured of your courage, care, caution, and industry; but

refer you to your own resolves, by the advice of your commission officers, not under the degree of captains, and the sea commission captains (whom you will, as often as you can, advise with) according to the intelligence you may receive, or as you may find needful upon the spot.

You are by every opportunity, and once a week certainly, by some means, either by Casco, Piscataqua, or otherwise to acquaint me of your proceedings and all occurrences, and what may be further necessary for the service. And to observe such further and other instructions as you shall receive from myself.

As often as you may, advise with Captain Smith and Captain Rogers, commanders of her majesty's ships.

Let your minister, comissary, and surgeons be treated with just respects. I pray to God to preserve, prosper, and succeed you.

Given under my hand at Boston, the fourth day of May, 1704.

J. DUDLEY.

Pursuant to his instructions he sent away his transports and forces to Piscataqua, but was obliged himself to wait upon his excellency by land to Piscataqua, in order to raise more forces in the way thither; and did raise a company under the command of Captain Harridon; taking care also to provide a pilot for them in the bay of Fundy; Colonel Church being directed to one Fellows, whom he met with at Ipswich. And going from thence to Piscataqua with his excellency, was there met by that worthy gentleman Major Winthrop Hilton, who was very helpful to him in the whole expedition whose name and memory ought not to be forgot. Being ready to embark from Piscataqua, Colonel Church requested the commanders of her majesty's ships, Captain Smith and Captain Rogers to tarry at Piscataqua a fortnight, that so they might not be discovered by the enemy before he had done some spoil upon them. Then moving in their transports, as directed, got safe into Montinicus, undiscovered by the enemy. Next morning early, fitted out two whale-boats with men, Captain John Cooke in one, and Captain Constant Church in the other; and sent them to Green-Island, upon a discovery; and coming there they parted, one went to one part, and the other to the other part, that so they might not miss of what could be discovered; where they met with old Lafaure with his two sons Thomas and Timothy, and a Canada Indian. The enemy seeing that they were discovered, threw down their ducks and eggs, having a considerable quantity of each, and ran to their canoes, getting into them, stood directly for the Main; looking behind them, perceived the whale-boats to gain so fast upon them, clapt side by side, and all four got into one canoe, which proved of little advantage to them, for the whale-boats gained so much upon them, and got so near that Captain Cook, firing at the steer's-man, the Indian, and happened to graze his skull, and quite spoiled his paddling: upon which old Lafaure and sons, seeing their companion's condition, soon begged for quarter, and had it granted. The two captains with their success presently returned to their commander, taking care that their captives should not discourse together before they were examined; when brought to Colonel Church, he ordered them to be apart, and first proceeded to examine old Lafaure, whom he found to be very surly and cross, so that he could gain no manner of intelligence by him; upon which the commander was resolved to put in practice what he had formerly done at Senecto; ordering the Indians to make two large heaps of dry wood, at some distance one from the other, and to set a large stake in the ground, close to each heap; then ordered the two sons, Thomas and Timothy, to be brought, and to be bound to the stakes; also ordering his Indians to paint themselves with colours, which they had brought for that use. Then the colonel proceeded to examine first Timothy; and told him, he had examined his father already; and that if he told him the truth he would save his life, and take him into his service; and that he should have good pay and live well. He answered, that he would tell him the truth; and gave him an account of every thing he knew; which was all minuted down: he being asked whether his brother Thomas did not know more than he? His answer was, yes, for his brother Thomas had a commission sent him from the governor of Canada, to comand a company of Indians, who were gathered together at a place where some French gentlemen lately arrived from Canada, who were officers to command the rest that were to go westward to fight the English, and that there was sent to his father and brother Tom, a considerable quantity of flour, fruit, ammunition and stores, for the supply of the said army. He being asked, whether he could pilot our forces to them? Said no; but his brother Tom could, for he had hid it, and that he was not then with him. The colonel asked him, what gentlemen those were that came from Canada? He answered Monsieur Gourdan, and Mr. Sharkee. Being asked where they were? Answered at Passamequado, building a fort there. Being also asked, what number of Indians and French there were at Penobscot? He answered, there were several families, but they lived scattering. Asked him further, if he would pilot our forces thither? answered, he would if the commander would not let the savages roast him. Upon which the colonel ordered him to be loosed from the stake, and took him by the hand, told him, he would be as kind to him as his own father; at which he seemed to be very thankful. And then the colonel proceeded to examine his brother Tom, and told him that he had examined his father and brother, and that his brother had told him every tittle he knew, and that he knew more than his brother Timothy did; and that if he would be ingenuous and confess all he knew, he should fare as well as his brother; but if not, the savages should roast him. Whereupon he solemnly promised that he would, and that he would pilot him to every thing he knew, to the value of a knife and sheath (which with doubt he did.) Then the colonel immediately gave orders for the whale-boats to be ready, and went directly over where the said goods and stores were, and found them as informed, took them on board the boats, and returned to their transports; and ordering provisions to be put into every man's knapsack for six or eight days; so in the dusk of the evening left their transports, with orders how they should act; and went directly for the main land of Penobscot, and mouth of that river, with their pilots Tom and Timothy, who carried them directly to every place and habitation, both of French and Indian thereabouts, with the assistance of one De Young, whom they carried out of Boston gaol for the same purpose, who was very serviceable to them. Being there we killed and took every one, both French and Indians, not knowing that any one did escape in all Penobscot; among those that were taken was St. Casteen's daughter, who said that her husband was gone to France, to her father Monsieur Casteen. She having her children with her, the commander was very kind to her and them All the prisoners that were then taken, held to one story in general, which they had from Lafaure's sons; that there were no more Indians thereabouts, but enough of them at Passamequado; upon which they soon returned to their transports with their prisoners and plunder. The commander giving order immediately for the soldiers in the whale-boats to have a recruit of provisions for a further pursuit of the enemy, giving orders to the transports to stay a few days more there, and then go to Mount-Desart (and there to stay for her majesty's ships, who were directed to come thither) and there to wait his further order. Then Colonel Church with his forces immediately embarked on board their whale-boats, and proceeded to scour the coast, and to try if they could discover any of the enemy coming from Passamequado; making their stops in the daytime at all the points and where they were certain the enemy would land, or come by with their canoes, and at night to their paddles. Then coming near where the vessels were ordered to come, having made no discovery of the enemy, went directly to Mount Desart, where the transports were just come; and taking some provisions for his soldiers, gave direction for the ships and transports in six days to come directly to Passamequado, where they should find him and his forces. Then immediately moved away in the whale boats, and made diligent search along shore as formerly, inspecting all places where the enemy was likely to lurk: particularly at Machias; but found neither fires nor tracks Coming afterwards to the west harbour at Passamequado, where they entered upon action; an account whereof Colonel Church did communicate to his excellency, being as followeth:

May it please your Excellency,

I received yours of this instant, Octobe 9th, with the two enclosed informations, that concern my actions at Passamequado. which I will give a just and true account of as near as possibly I can, viz. on the 7th of June last, 1704. In the evening we entered in at the westward harbour at said Passamequado; coming up said harbour to an island, where landing, we came to a French house, and took a French woman and children; the woman upon her examination said, her hus-

band was abroad fishing. I asked her whether there were any Indians thereabouts. She said yes, there were a great many, and several on that island. I asked her whether she could pilot me to them. Said no, they hid in the woods. I asked her when she saw them. Answered, just now, or a little while since. I asked her whether she knew where they had laid the canoes. She answered, no, they carried their canoes in the woods with them. We then hastened away along shore, seizing what prisoners we could, taking old Lotriel and his family.

This intelligence caused me to leave Colonel Gorham, and a considerable part of my men and boats with him, at that island, partly to guard and secure those prisoners, being sensible it would be a great trouble to have them to secure and guard at our next landing, where I did really expect, and hoped to have an opportunity to fight our Indian enemies; for all our French prisoners that we had taken at Penobscot, and along shore, had informed us, that when we came to the place where these Canada gentlemen lived, we should certainly meet with the savages to fight us, those being the only men that set the Indians against us, or upon us, and were newly come from Canada, to manage the war against us, (pleading in this account and information their own innocency) and partly in hopes that he, the said Colonel Gorham, would have a good opportunity in the morning to destroy some of those our enemies, (we were informed by the said French woman as above,) with the use of his boats, as I had given direction. Ordering also Major Hilton to pass over to the next island, that lay east of us, with a small party of men and boats, to surprise and destroy any of the enemy that in their canoes might go here and there, from any place, to make their flight from us, and, as he had opportunity, to take any French prisoners. We then immediately moved up the river, in the dark night, through great difficulties, by reason of the eddies and whirlpools, made with the fierceness of the current. And here it may be hinted, that we had information that Lotriel had lost part of his family passing over to the next island, falling into one of those eddies were drowned, which the two pilots told to discourage me. But I said nothing of that nature shall do it; for I was resolved to venture up, and therefore, forthwith paddling our boats as privately as we could, and with as much expedition as we could make with our paddles, and the help of a strong tide, we came up to Monsieur Gourdan's a little before day; where taking notice of the shore, and finding it somewhat open and clear, I ordered Captain Mirick and Captain Cole, having English companies, to tarry with several of the boats to be ready, that if any of the enemy should come down out of the brush into the bay, (it being very broad in that place) with their canoes, they might take and destroy them; ordering the remainder of the army being landed, with myself and the other officers, to march up into the woods, with a wide front, and to keep at a considerable distance, for that if they should run in heaps the enemy would have the greater advantage; and further directing them that, if possible, they should destroy the enemy with their hatchets, and not fire a gun. This order I always gave at landing, telling them the inconveniency of firing, in that it might be, first, dangerous to themselves, they being many of them young soldiers, as I had some time observed that one or two guns being fired, many others would fire, at they knew not what, as happened presently after, and it would alarm the enemy, and give them opportunity to make their escape; and it might alarm the whole country, and also prevent all further action from taking effect. Orders being thus passed, we moved directly towards the woods, Le Faver's son directing us to a little hut or wigwam, which we immediately surrounded with a few men, the rest marching directly up into the woods, to see what wigwams or huts they could discover; myself made a little stop, ordering the pilot to tell them in the hut that they were surrounded with an army, and that if they would come forth and surrender themselves, they should have good quarter, but if not, they should all be knocked on the head and die. One of them showed himself; I asked who he was. He said, Gourdan, and begged for quarter. I told him he should have good quarter; adding further, that if there were any more in the house, they should come out. Then came out two men; Gourdan said they were his sons, and asked quarter for them, which was also granted. Then came out a woman and a little boy; she fell upon her knees, begged quarter for herself and children, and that I would not suffer the Indians to kill them. I told them they should have good quarter and not be hurt. After which I ordered a small guard over them, and so moved presently up with the rest of my company, after them that were gone before; but looking on my right hand, over a little run, I saw something look black just by me, stopped, and heard a talking, stepped over, and saw a little hut or wigwam, with a crowd of people round about it, which was contrary to my former directions. Asked them what they were doing. They replied, there were some of the enemy in a house, and would not come out. I asked, what house. They said a bark house. I hastily bid them pull it down, and knock them on the head, never asking whether they were French or Indians, they being all enemies alike to me. And passing then to them, and seeing them in great disorder, so many of the army in a crowd together, acting so contrary to my command and direction, exposing themselves and the whole army to utter ruin, by their so disorderly crowding thick together; (had an enemy come upon them in that interim, and fired a volley amongst them, they could not have missed a shot;) and wholly neglecting their duty, in not attending my orders, in searching diligently for our lurking enemies in their wigwams, or by their fires where I had great hopes, and real expectations to meet with them.

I most certainly know that I was in an exceeding great passion, but not with those poor miserable enemies; for I took no notice of half a dozen of the enemy, when at the same time, I expected to be engaged with some hundreds of them, of whom we had a continued account, who were expected from Port-Royal side. In this heat of action, every word that I then spoke, I cannot give an account of, and I presume it is impossible. I stopped but little here, but went directly up into the woods, hoping to be better employed, with the rest of the army. I listened to hear, and looked earnestly to see what might be the next action; but meeting with many of the soldiers, they told me they had discovered nothing, we fetching a small compass round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took notice, I saw two men lay dead, as I thought, at the end of the house where the door was, and immediately the guns went off, and they fired every man, as I thought, and most towards that place where I left the guard with Monsieur Gourdan. I had much ado to stop their firing, and told them I thought they were mad, and I believed they had not killed and wounded less than forty or fifty of our own men. And I asked them what they shot at. They answered, at a Frenchman that ran away. But to admiration no man was killed, but he, and one of our men wounded in the leg; and I turning about, a Frenchman spoke to me, and I gave him quarter. Daylight coming on, and no discovery made of the enemy, I went to the place where I had left Monsieur Gourdan, to examine him and his sons, who agreed in their examinations; told me two of their men were abroad. It proved a damage; and further told me, that Monsieur Sharkee lived several leagues up at the head of the river, at the falls, and all the Indians were fishing, and tending their corn there; and that Monsieur Sharkee had sent down to him to come up to him, to advise about the Indian army that was to go westward; but he had returned him answer, his business was urgent, and he could not come up; and that Sharkee and the Indians would certainly be down that day, or the next at the furthest, to come to conclude of that matter. This was a short night's action, and all sensible men do well know, that actions done in the dark (being in the night as aforesaid) under so many difficulties, as we then labored under, as before related, was a very hard task for one man, matters being circumstanced as in this action; which would not admit of calling a council, and at that time could not be confined thereunto; at which time I was transported above fear, or any sort of dread; yet being sensible of the danger in my armies crowding so thick together, and of the great duty incumbent on me to preserve them from all the danger I possibly could, for further improvement in the destruction of our implacable enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very quick and absolute in giving such commands and orders, as I then apprehended most proper and advantageous. And had it not been for the intelligence I had received from the French we took at Penobscot, as before hinted, and the false report the French woman first took gave me, I had not been in such haste. I question not but those Frenchmen that were slain, had the same good quarter of other prisoners. But I ever looked on it a good providence of Almighty God, that some few of our cruel and bloody enemies were made sensible of their bloody cruelties, perpetrated on my dear and loving friends and countrymen; and that

the same measure, in part, meted to them, as they had been guilty of in a barbarous manner at Deerfield, and I hope justly. I hope God Almighty will accept hereof, although it may not be eligible to our French implacable enemies, and such others as are not our friends. The foregoing journal, and this short annexment I thought it my duty to exhibit, for the satisfaction of my friends and countrymen, whom I very faithfully and willingly served in the late expedition; and I hope will find acceptance with your excellency, the honourable council and representatives now assembled, as being done from the zeal I had in the said service of her majesty, and her good subjects here.

I remain your most humble,
And obedient servant,
BENJAMIN CHURCH.

This night's service being over, immediately Colonel Church leaves a sufficient guard with Gourdan and the other prisoners, moved in some whale-boats with the rest, and as they were going spied a small thing upon the water, at a great distance, which proved to be a birch canoe with two Indians in her. The colonel presently ordered the lightest boat he had to make the best of her way and cut them off from the shore; but the Indians perceiving their design, run their canoe ashore and fled. Colonel Church fearing they would run directly to Sharkee, made all the expedition imaginable; but it being ebb and the water low, was obliged to land, and make the best of their way through the woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and get to Sharkee's house before them; which was two miles from where our forces landed. The colonel being ancient and unwieldy, desired serjeant Edee to run with him, and coming to several trees fallen, which he could not creep under or readily get over, would lay his breast against the tree, the said Edee turning him over, generally had cat-luck, falling on his feet, by which means kept in the front; and coming near to Sharkee's house, discovered some French and Indians making a wear in the river, and presently discovered the two Indians aforementioned, who called to them at work in the river; told them there was an army of English and Indians just by; who immediately left their work and ran, endeavoring to get to Sharkee's house, who, hearing the noise, took his lady and child, and ran into the woods. Our men running briskly fired and killed one of the Indians, and took the rest prisoners. Then going to Sharkee's house found a woman and child, to whom they gave good quarter; and finding that Madame Sharkee had left her silk clothes and fine linen behind her, our forces were desirous to have pursued and taken her; but Colonel Church forbade them, saying he would have her run and suffer, that she might be made sensible what hardships our poor people had suffered by them. Then proceeded to examine the prisoners newly taken, who gave him the same account he had before of the Indians being up at the falls. It being just night prevented our attacking of them that night; but next morning early they moved up to the falls, which was about a mile higher. But doubtless the enemy had some intelligence by the two aforesaid Indians, before our forces came, so that they all got on the other side of the river, and left some of their goods by the water-side to decoy our men, that so they might fire upon them, which indeed they effected; but through the providence of God never a man of ours was killed, and but one slightly wounded. After a short dispute, Colonel Church ordered that every man might take what they pleased of the fish which lay bundled up, and to burn the rest, which was a great quantity. The enemy seeing what our forces were about, and that their stock of fish was destroyed, and the season being over for getting any more, set up a hideous cry, and so ran all away into the woods; who being all on the other side of the river, ours could not follow them. Having done, our forces marched down to their boats at Sharkee's, and took their prisoners, beaver, and other plunder which they had got, and put it into their boats, and went down to Gourdan's house, where they had left Lieutenant Colonel Gorham and Major Hilton, with part of the forces to guard the prisoners, and kept a good look-out for more of the enemy, who, upon the Colonel's return, gave him an account that they had made no discovery of the enemy since he left them. Just then her majesty's ships and transports arriving, the commanders of her majesty's ships told Colonel Church that they had orders to go directly for Port-Royal Gut, and wait the coming of some store-ships, which were expected at Port-Royal from France; and Colonel Church advising with them, proposed that it was very expedient and serviceable to the Crown, that Captain Southback in the Province Galley should accompany them, which they did readily acquiesce with him in. Upon which the colonel immediately embarked his forces on board the transports, and himself on board Captain Jarvis; ordering the commissary of the stores, the minister, surgeons, and pilots all to embark on board the same vessel with him; ordering all the whale-boats to be put on board the transports, and then to come to sail. The ships standing away for Port-Royal Gut, and Colonel Church with the transports for Menis. In their way the colonel inquired of their pilot Fellows, what depth of water there was in the creek, near the town of Menis. He answered him that there was water enough near the town to float that vessel they were in at low water. So when coming near, Colonel Church observed a woody island between them and the town, that they run up on the back side of the said island, with all their transports undiscovered to the enemy, and came to anchor. Then the colonel and all his forces embarked in the whale-boats, it being late in the day, moved directly for the town, and in the way asked for the pilot, whom he expected was in one of the boats; but he had given him the slip, and tarried behind. The colonel not knowing the difficulties that might attend their going up to the town, immediately sent Lieutenant Giles) who could speak French, with a flag of truce up to the town, with a summons, which was wrote before they landed, expecting their surrender; which is as follows:

Aboard Her Majesty's Ship Adventure, near the Gut of Menis. June 20, 1704.

An agreement made by the Field Officers commanding Her Majesty's forces for the present expedition against the French enemies, and Indian rebels:

AGREED,

That a declaration or summons be sent on shore at Menis and Port-Royal, under a flag of truce.

Particularly,

We do declare to you the many cruelties and barbarities that you and the Indians have been guilty of towards us, in laying waste our country here in the east, at Casco, and the places adjacent; particularly, the horrid action at Deerfield, this last winter, in killing, massacreing, murdering, and scalping, without giving any notice at all, or opportunity to ask quarter at your hands; and, after all, carrying the remainder into captivity in the height of winter, of which they killed many in the journey, and exposed the rest to the hardships of cold and famine, worse than death itself. Which cruelties we are yet every day exposed unto, and exercised with.

We do also declare, that we have already made some beginnings of killing and scalping some Canada men, (which we have not been wont to do or allow) and are now come with a great number of English and Indians, all volunteers, with resolutions to subdue you, and make you sensible of your cruelties to us, by treating you after the same manner

At this time we expect our men-of-war and transport ships to be at Port-Royal We having but lately parted with them.

In the last place, we do declare to you, that inasmuch as some of you have shewn kindness to our captives, and expressed a love to, and a desire of being under the English government, we do therefore, notwithstanding all this, give you timely notice, and do demand a surrender immediately, by the laying down your arms, upon which we promise very good quarter; if not, you must expect the utmost severity.

BENJAMIN CHURCH, *Colonel.*
JOHN GORHAM, *Lieutenant Colonel.*
WINTHROP HILTON, *Major.*

To the Chief Commander of the town of Menis, and the inhabitants thereof, and we expect your answer positively, within an hour.

Then moving to the creek, expecting to have had water enough for the boats, as the pilot had informed them, but found not water enough for a canoe; so were obliged to land, intending to have been up at the town before the hour was out, that the summons expressed, (for their return was, that if our forces would not hurt their estates, then they would surrender, if otherwise intended, they should fight for them,) but meeting with several creeks near twenty or thirty feet deep, which were very muddy and dirty, so that the army could not get over them, was obliged to return to their boats again, and wait till within night before the tide served them to go up to the town, and then intended to go up, and not to fall to till morning, being in hopes that the banks of the creeks would shelter them from the enemy; but the tides rising so high, ca

posed them all to the enemy, who had the trees and woods to befriend them. And so came down in the night and fired smartly at our forces; but Colonel Church being in a pinnace that had a small cannon placed in the head, ordered it to be charged several times, with bullets in small bags, and fired at the enemy, which made such a rattling amongst the trees, that caused the enemy to draw off; and by the great providence of Almighty God, not one of our forces was hurt that night; but, as I have been informed, they had one Indian killed, and some others wounded, which was some discouragement to the enemy. Next morning, by break of day, Colonel Church ordered all his forces, and placed Major Hilton on the right wing, to run all up, driving the enemy before them, who leaving their town to our forces, but had carried away the best of their goods, which were soon found by our soldiers. The bulk of the enemy happening to lie against our right wing, caused the hottest dispute there, who lay behind logs and trees, till our forces, and Major Hilton who led them, came on upon them, and forced them to run; and notwithstanding the sharp firing of the enemy, by the repeated providence of God, there was never a man of ours killed or wounded.

Our soldiers not having been long in town before they found considerable quantities of strong drink, both brandy and claret, and being very greedy after it, especially the Indians, were very disorderly, firing at every pig, turkey, or fowl they saw, of which there were very plenty in the town, which endangered our own men. Colonel Church perceiving the disorder, and firing of his own men, ran to put a stop to it, had several shot come very near him; and finding what had occasioned this disorder, commanded his officers to knock out the heads of every cask of strong liquor they could find in the town, to prevent any further disturbance amongst his army; knowing it was impossible to have kept it from them, especially the Indians, if it was saved. Then some of the army, who were desirous to pursue the enemy, having heard them driving away their cattle, requested the colonel to let them go; who did and gave them their orders.—Captain Cooke and Captain Church to lead the two wings, and Lieutenant Barker, who led the colonel's company, in the centre; and the said Captain Cooke and Captain Church desired lieutenant Barker not to move too fast, so that he might have the benefit of their assistance, if he had occasion; but the said lieutenant not being so careful as he should have been, or at least was too eager, was shot down, and another man; which were all the men that were killed in the whole expedition. Towards night Colonel Church ordered some of his forces to pull down some of the houses, and others to get logs and make a fortification for his whole army to lodge in that night, that so they might be together: and just before night ordered some of his men to go and see if there were any men in any of the houses in the town; if not, to set them all on fire, which was done, and the whole town seemed to be on fire all at once. The next morning the colonel gave orders to his men to dig down the dams, and let the tide in to destroy all their corn, and every thing that was good, according to his instructions, and to burn the fortification which they had built the day before, and when the tide served to put all their plunder which they had got into the boats. Then ordering his soldiers to march at a good distance one from another; which caused the enemy to think that there were no less than a thousand men, as they said afterwards, and that their burning of the fortification, and doing as they did, caused the enemy to think that they were gone clear off, and not to return again. But it proved to the contrary, for Colonel Church and his forces only went aboard their transports, and there staid till the tide served; in the night embarked on board their whale-boats, landed some of his men, expecting they might meet with some of the enemy mending their dams; which they did, and with their boats went up another branch of the river, to another town or village; upon such a surprise took as many prisoners as they could desire. And it happened that Colonel Church was at the French captain's house when two gentlemen came post from the governor of Port-Royal to him, who was the chief commander at Menis, with an express to send away two companies of men to defend the king's fort there, and to give him an account, that there were three English men-of-war come into Port-Royal Gut or harbor; and that the men sent for must be posted away with all speed. Colonel Church, as was said before, being there, treated the two gentlemen very handsomely, and told them, he would send them back again post to their master on his business; and bid them give him his hearty thanks for sending him such good news, that part of his fleet was in so good a harbor. Then reading the summons to them that he had sent to Menis, further added, that their master, the governor of Port-Royal, must immediately send away a post to the governor of Canada, at Quebec, to prevent his further sending any of his cruel and bloody French and savages, as he had done lately upon Deerfield, where they had committed such horrible and bloody outrages upon those poor people that never did them any harm, as is intolerable to think of; and that for the future, if any such hostilities were made upon our frontier towns, or any of them, he would come out with a thousand savages and whale-boats convenient, and turn his back upon them, and let his savages scalp and roast the French; or at least treat them as their savages had treated ours. Also gave them an account of part of that action at Passamequado, and that his soldiers had killed and scalped some Canada men there, and would be glad to serve them so too, if he would permit them, which terrified them very much. The two French gentlemen that came post, made solemn promises that they would punctually do the colonel's message to their governor. So with the desire of the French people there that the governor might have this intelligence, Colonel Church dismissed them, and sent them away; telling the same story to several of the prisoners, and what they must expect if some speedy course was not taken to prevent further outrages upon the English. The number of prisoners then present, which were considerable, did unanimously entreat of Colonel Church that he would take them under the protection of the crown of England; making great promises of their fidelity to the same, begging with great agony of spirit to save their lives, and to protect them from his savages, whom they extremely dreaded. As to the matter of the savages, he told them, it would be just retaliation for him to permit his savages to treat the French in the same manner as the French with their savages treated our friends in our frontier towns; but as to his taking them under the protection of the crown of England, he utterly refused it, urging to them their former perfidiousness; they also urging to him that it would be impossible for any French to live any where in the Bay of Fundy, if they were not taken under the English government; for with the benefit of whale-boats, as the English call them, they could take and destroy all their people in the town of Menis, in one night. But he replied to them, it should never be; alleging to them that when they were so before, when Port-Royal was taken by the English, that it proved of very ill consequence to the crown of England, and the subjects thereof in our frontiers; for that our English traders supplying them, enabled them (which opportunity they improved) to supply the Indians, our bloody enemies; and therefore he could make no other terms of peace with them than that, if the French a Menis, Signecto, and Canada, would keep at home with their bloody savages, and not commit any hostilities upon any of our frontiers, we would return home and leave them; for that we lived at a great distance off, and had not come near them to hurt them now, had not the blood of our poor friends and brethren in all the frontiers of our province cried for vengeance; especially that late unheard-of barbarity committed upon the town of Deerfield; which wrought so generally on the hearts of our people, that our forces came out with that unanimity of spirit, both among the English and our savages, that we had not, nor needed a pressed man among them. The colonel also telling them, that if ever hereafter any of our frontiers, east or west were molested by them, as formerly, that he would, if God spared his life, return upon them with a thousand of his savages, if he wanted them, all volunteers, with our whale-boats, and would pursue them to the last extremity. The colonel's warm discourse with them wrought such a consternation in them, which they discovered by their fears, their hearts sensibly beating, and rising up as it were ready to choke them; confessed they were all his prisoners, and begged of him, for Jesus' sake, to save their lives, and the lives of their poor families, with such melting terms, as wrought relentings in the colonel's breast towards them; but however, he told them, that his intent was to carry as many prisoners home as he could, but that he had taken so many they were more than he had occasion for, nor desired any more, and therefore he would leave them. The colonel resolving the next day to complete all his action at Menis and to draw off, accordingly, sent his orders to Colonel Gorham and Major Hilton, with all the English companies, both officers and soldiers, except some few, which he thought he might have

occasion for, to go with the Indians in the whale-boats up the eastward river, where a third part of the inhabitants lived; that so he might prevent any reflection made on them, in leaving any part of the service undone. And therefore in the evening ordered all the whale-boats to be laid ready for the night's service; and accordingly, when the tide served, he went with his Indians up the river, where they did some spoil upon the enemy going up. In the morning several of their transports came to meet them, to their great rejoicing, whom they went on board, and soon came up with the whole fleet, with whom they joined, bending their course directly towards Port-Royal, where they were ordered. Coming to Port-Royal Gut, where their ships were, and calling a council according to his instructions, drew up their result, which is as follows:—

Present all the Field Officers, and Captains of the land forces.

Aboard the Province Galley, 4th July, 1704, *in Port-Royal harbour.*

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having deliberately considered the cause in hand, whether it be proper to land all our forces, to offend and destroy as much as we can at Port-Royal, all or any part of the inhabitants thereof, and their estates, we are of opinion, that it is not for our interest and honor, and the country's whom we serve, to land or expose ourselves; but quit it wholly, and go on about our other business we have to do, for this reason, that we judge ourselves inferior to the strength of the enemy; and therefore the danger and risk we run, is greater than the advantage we can, or are likely to obtain, seeing the enemy hath such timely notice, and long opportunity to provide themselves against us, by our ships lying here in the road about twelve days, before we could join them from Menis, where we were during that time, and being so very meanly provided with necessaries convenient for such an undertaking with so small a number of men, not being above four hundred capable and fit for service to land; and understanding by all the intelligence we can get from both English and French prisoners, that the fort is exceedingly strong.

John Gorham, *Lieut. Col.*
Winthrop Hilton, *Major.*

Jos. Brown,	Constant Church,
James Cole,	John Dyer,
John Cook,	Joshua Lamb,
Isaac Myrick,	Caleb Williamson,
John Harradon,	Edward Church.

Having, pursuant to my instructions, taken the advice of the gentlemen above subscribed, and considering the weight of their reasons, I do concur therewith.

BENJ. CHURCH.

Whereas Colonel Church hath desired our opinions, as to the landing the forces at Port-Royal, they being but four hundred effective men to land, and by all the information both of French and English prisoners, the enemy having a greater number of men, and much better provided to receive, than they are to attack them, We do believe it is for the service of the crown, and the preservation of her majesty's subjects to act as above mentioned.

Thomas Smith,
George Rogers, Cyprian Southack.

After this, they concluded what should be next done; which was, that the ships should stay some days longer at Port-Royal Gut, and then go over to Mount-Desart harbour, and there stay till Colonel Church with his transports came to them. Being all ready, the colonel with his transports and forces went up the bay to Signecto, where they needed not a pilot, being several of them well acquainted there; and had not met with so many difficulties at Menis, had it not been that their pilot deceived them; who knew nothing of the matter, kept out of the way and landed not with them. And coming to Signecto, the enemy were all in arms ready to receive them. Colonel Church landing his men, the commander of the enemy waving his sword over his head, bid a challenge to them. The colonel ordering his two wings to march up a pace, and come upon the backs of the enemy, himself being in the centre, and the enemy knowing him, having been there before, shot chiefly at him; but through God's goodness received no harm, neither had he one man killed, nor but two slightly wounded, and then all ran into the woods, and left their town with nothing in it, having had timely notice of our forces, had carried all away out of the reach of our army; for Colonel Church while there with part of his forces ranged the woods, but to no purpose. Then returning to the town, did them what spoil he could, according to his instructions, and so drew off, and made the best of their way for Passamequado, and going in, in a great fog, one of their transports ran upon a rock, but was soon got off again. Then Colonel Church with some of his forces embarked in their whale-boats, and went amongst the islands, with an intent to go to Sharkee's, where they had destroyed the fish; but observing a springy place in a cove, went on shore to get some water to drink; it being a sandy beach, they espied tracks, the colonel presently ordered his men to scatter, and make search; soon found De Boisse's wife, who had formerly been Colonel Church's prisoner, and carried to Boston; but returned, who seemed glad to see him. She had with her two sons that were near men grown. The colonel ordering them apart, examined the woman first, who gave him this account following, that she had lived thereabouts ever since the fleet went by, and that she had never seen but two Indians since, who came in a canoe from Norrigwock; who asked her, what made her to be there alone? She told them, she had not seen a Frenchman nor an Indian, except those two since the English ships went by. Then the Indians told her there was not one Indian left except those two, who belong to the Gut of Canso, on this side of Canada; for those friars coming down with the Indians to M. Gourdans, and finding the Frenchmen slain, and their hair spoiled, being scalped, put them into a great consternation; and the friars told them it was impossible for them to live thereabouts, for the English with their whale-boats would serve them all so; upon which they all went to Norrigwock: also told her that when the English came alone through Penobscot, they had swept it of the inhabitants, as if it had been swept with a broom, neither French nor Indians escaping them: further told her, that when their fathers, the friars, and the Indians met together at Norrigwock they called a council, and the friars told the Indians, that they must look out for some other country, for that it was impossible for them to live there; also told them there was a river called Mossippee, where they might live quietly, and no English come near them—it being as far beyond Canada, as it was to it, and if they would go and live there, they would live and die with them, but if not they would leave them, and never come near them again. Whereupon they all agreed to go away; which they did, and left their rough household stuff, and corn behind them, and went all, except those two for Canada. Also her sons giving the same intelligence, so we had no reason to think but that it was true.

Colonel Church having done what he could there, embarked on board the transports, and went to Mount-Desart, found no ships there, but a rundlet rid off by a line in the harbour, which he ordered to be taken up, and opening of it found a letter, which gave him an account that the ships were gone home for Boston. Then he proceeded and went to Penobscot; where being come, made diligent search in those parts for the enemy, but could not find or make any discovery of them, or that any had been there since he left those parts, which caused him to believe what De Boisse's wife had told him was true.

I will only by the way just give a hint of what we heard since of the effects of this expedition, and then proceed: First, that the English forces that went to Norrigwock, found that the enemy was gone, and had left their rough household stuff and corn behind them; also not long after this expedition, there were several gentlemen sent down from Canada, to concert with our governor about the settling of a cartile for the exchange of prisoners; and that the governor of Canada has never since sent down an army upon our frontiers, except sometimes a scout of Indians to take some prisoners, that he might be informed of our state, and what we were acting; and always took care that the prisoners so taken should be civilly treated, and safely returned, as I have been informed; that some of the prisoners that were taken gave an account; so that we have great cause to believe that the message Colonel Church sent by the two French gentlemen from Menis, to the governor of Port-Royal, took effect, and was a means to bring peace in our borders. Then Colonel Church with his forces embarked on board the transports, and went to Casco-Bay, where they met with Captain Gallop, in a vessel from Boston, who had brought Colonel Church further orders; which was to send some of his forces up to Norrigwock, in pursuit of the enemy; but he being sensible that the enemy were out, and fatigued in the hard service they had already done, and wanted to get home, called a council, and agreed all to go, which accordingly they did, thus ending this expedition.

APPENDIX.

CONTINUATION OF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GRANT AND HAYES.

THE very important work of revising the United State Statutes was completed, and finally adopted in the latter part of President Grant's administration. Decisions were rendered by the United States Supreme Court, putting at rest disputed points as to the meaning of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. A convention of delegates assembled at Chattanooga, on the 13th of October, 1874, and issued an important manifesto upon the condition and needs of the Southern States. Many conventions of the National Grangers met, and their proceedings have had a large measure of influence on agricultural and transit measures. Sixteen States sent delegates to a Woman's National Temperance Convention that assembled in Cleveland, in November. A liberal appropriation was granted by Congress to aid in the introduction of food-yielding fish in the principal rivers of the country. The financial condition of the country continued greatly depressed. Opposite parties urged contraction or expansion as the proper solution of the difficulty. The Government took sides with neither, but kept on in its usual course. Nearly $6,000,000 of the public debt was cancelled this fiscal year. The grand total of the United States debt amounted to $2,251,690,458.43. An eminent authority gives the number of failures during 1874 as 5,830 ; total indebtedness $155,239,000. Many events of an exciting nature happened in Louisiana, arising from contests between the political parties.

During the year 1875, George H. Williams resigned as Attorney-General and was succeeded by Edwards Pierrepont. Both of these gentlemen were favorably known as lawyers and political writers and speakers. In July, Columbus Delano resigned as Secretary of the Interior, to be succeeded in September by Zachariah Chandler. Francis E. Spinner, who had long filled the office of Treasurer, resigned, and the place was filled by John C. New. In April Daniel D. Pratt succeeded J. W. Douglas as Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The country sustained a great loss by the death of Vice-President Henry Wilson. Extensive frauds were discovered in the whisky returns of revenue, and the nefarious system broken up. It was decided by the Chief Justice that the Constitution of the United States does not confer suffrage upon any one ; it can be done by the States alone. Trade continued paralyzed, and the subject of gold and greenbacks, and their relation to the prostration of business, was fiercely agitated, but no legislative action was taken. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, the public debt was reduced $14,344,514.84. The contract for refunding the debt was renewed. The total amount of debt was $2,232,284,581.25. The highest price of gold was on October 5th, $117\frac{7}{8}$; the lowest, on January 15th, $111\frac{3}{4}$. Immigration becoming less and less, had somewhat stayed the decline in wages.

William W. Belknap resigned the situation of Secretary of War in President Grant's Cabinet, in 1876, and his successor was Alphonso Taft ; this occurred in March. In June, Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, succeeded Benjamin H. Bristow as Secretary of the Treasury. In July, Marshall Jewell, resigning the Postmaster-Generalship, was succeeded by James N. Tyner ; J. Donald Cameron took the place of Mr. Taft as Secretary of War, Mr. T. becoming Attorney-General. This being the Centennial year of American Independence, a noble Exhibition took place in Philadelphia, which in size and success was not surpassed by any of a like kind. Every foreign nation sent exhibits and congratulatory messages, and our whole people took a warm interest in the auspicious affair. The Main building was very spacious, covering no less than twenty acres, and costing upwards of one and a half millions of dollars. The horticultural grounds occupied a space of about forty acres. The Women's Pavilion was well filled by the productions of female ingenuity, skill, and genius, and exhibited productions from almost every civilized and semi-civilized people. The total sum used in building and getting the exhibition into order, was six and a half millions of dollars. The total receipts more than doubled those of any other World's Fair. The receipts for admissions were $3,813,749 ; other sources of income, $4,308,660. Peter Cooper was nominated for President by the National Greenback Convention. At Cincinnati R. B. Hayes received the National Republican nomination for President. At St. Louis Samuel J. Tilden received the National Democratic nomination for President. As the election returns were disputed, an arrangement was entered into by Congress ; the result was that Rutherford B. Hayes was declared to be elected President and William A. Wheeler, Vice-President. Continued depression marked almost every interest, and there was a general lack of anything like enterprise, capitalists seeming to distrust any new investment. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1876, the debt was lessened $29,249,381.33. In August, 1876, an arrangement was made for negotiating $40,000,000 of 4½ per cent. bonds. The debt, on the 30th of June, 1876, amounted to $2,180,395,067.15. The total coinage in all the mints this year amounted to $57,565,815.00. The total exports amounted to $540,384,671. Imports, $460,741,190. During this year there was a decline of nearly 600,000 tons of shipping. There was a small decline in the price of nearly all the leading stocks and bonds.

Previous to the inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes, there was the most intense excitement throughout the country, on the question of the rightfulness of the decision which declared him the President elect. There was, at the same time, a vast difference of opinion as to the propriety of his "new departure" upon what has been generally called the Southern Question. While a majority of Republicans may have coincided in his views, a very large minority of his own party decidedly differed from his opinion, and foreboded disastrous results to the country likely to follow from his, as they expressed it, "hasty and ill-considered change of base in the presence of the enemy." The Democratic party, on the contrary, gave Mr. Hayes and his measures a mild support. They did not mind receiving gifts even from "the Greeks." On the 5th of March, 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes was inaugurated with the usual formalities, having privately taken the oath of office on the preceding day, Sunday, to prevent the possibility of a technical objection to his right to the office. In his inaugural address he alluded to most of the leading topics of the times, in substance as follows :

"Many calamitous effects of the tremend-

ous revolution of the Southern States still remain. The immeasurable benefits which will surely follow, have not yet been realized. Difficult questions meet us at the threshold. The people of those States are still impoverished, and peaceful self-government is not fully enjoyed. But it must not be forgotten that only a local government which maintains inviolate the rights of all, is a true self-government.

"With respect to the two distinct races, whose peculiar relations to each other have brought upon us the deplorable complications and perplexities which exist in those States, it must be a government which guards the interests of both races carefully and equally.

"It is a question in which every citizen of the nation is deeply interested, and with respect to which we ought not to be, in a partisan sense, either Republicans or Democrats, but fellow-citizens and fellow-men, to whom the interests of a common country and a common humanity are dear.

"The sweeping revolution of the entire labor system of a large portion of our country, and the advance of four millions of people from a condition of servitude to that of citizenship, upon an equal footing with their former masters, could not occur without presenting problems of the gravest moment, to be dealt with by the emancipated race, by their former masters, and by the General Government, the author of the act of emancipation.

"The evils which afflict the Southern States can only be removed or remedied by the united and harmonious efforts of both races, actuated by motives of mutual sympathy and regard. And while in duty bound and fully determined to protect the rights of all by every Constitutional means at the disposal of my administration, I am sincerely anxious to use every legitimate influence in favor of honest and efficient local self-government as the true resource of those States for the promotion of the contentment and prosperity of their citizens.

"But at the basis of all prosperity, for that as well as for every other part of the country, lies the improvement of the intellectual and moral condition of the people. Universal suffrage should rest upon universal education.

"Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States, that it is my earnest desire to forever wipe out in our political affairs the color line, and the distinction between North and South, to the end that we may have not merely a united North or a united South, but a united country.

"I ask the attention of the public to the paramount necessity of reform in our civil service, a reform not merely as to certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage, which have come to have the sanction of usage in the several departments of our Government, but a change in the system of appointment itself.

"In furtherance of reform, I recommend an amendment to the Constitution prescribing a term of six years for the Presidential office, and forbidding a re-election.

"The depression in all our varied commercial and manufacturing interests throughout the country, which began in September, 1873, still continues.

"The only safe paper currency is one which rests upon a coin basis, and is at all times and promptly convertible into coin. I adhere to the views expressed by me in favor of an early resumption of specie payment.

"For the first time in the history of the country, it has been deemed best, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the case, that the objections and questions in dispute with reference to the counting of the electoral votes should be referred to the decision of a tribunal appointed for this purpose.

"That tribunal—established by law for this sole purpose; its members, all of them men of long-established reputation for their integrity and intelligence, and, with the exception of those who are also members of the Supreme Judiciary, chosen equally from both political parties; its deliberations enlightened by the research and the arguments of able counsel—was entitled to the fullest confidence of the American people.

"It has been reserved for a government of the people, where the right of suffrage is universal, to give to the world the first example in history of a great nation, in the midst of a struggle of opposing parties for power, hushing its party tumults, to yield the issue of the contest to adjustment according to the forms of law."

The following were selected as the principal executive and diplomatic officers of the United States:

The Executive—Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, *President of the United States*, salary $50,000; William A. Wheeler, of New York, *Vice-President*, salary $8,000.

The Cabinet—William M. Evarts, of New York, *Secretary of State*, salary $8,000; John Sherman, of Ohio, *Secretary of the Treasury*, salary $8,000; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, *Secretary of War*, salary $8,000; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, *Secretary of the Navy*, salary $8,000; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, *Secretary of the Interior*, salary $8,000; David M. Key, of Tennessee, *Postmaster-General*, salary $8,000; Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, *Attorney-General*, salary $8 000.

In the session of the 44th Congress, 1877, many important acts were passed. Among them worthy of special notice, was an act making considerable reduction in the number of revenue districts; an act to allow a pension of thirty-six dollars per month to soldiers who had lost both an arm and a leg; an act equalizing the pensions of certain officers of the navy; an act respecting the limits of reservation for town sites upon the public domain; an act for the relief of settlers on the public domain under the pre-emption law; an act in relation to proof required in homestead entries; an act appropriating three hundred thousand dollars for survey of the public lands and private land claims; an act to encourage and promote telegraphic communication between America and Europe; an act to provide for and regulate the count of votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising therefrom, from the term commencing March 4, 1877.

State Constitutional amendments deserving of notice were made during 1877, in Connecticut, forbidding any city or other local government subscribing to the capital stock of any railroad corporation or purchasing its stocks; making "lobbying" a crime; making the non-payment of taxes for two years, and being engaged in duelling, disqualifications for voting or holding any public office. In New Hampshire, for biennial elections and biennial sessions of the Legislature; for abolishing the religious test as a qualification for office; to prevent any public money being applied to aid denominational schools; to prohibit any city or county using money or credit to aid any individual or corporation.

In New York, providing that free common schools shall be maintained throughout the State forever; that neither the money, property, nor credit of the State, or any portion of it, shall be in any way given to aid any schools, etc., under control of any religious society; prohibiting any county or other division of the State from giving money or property in aid of any individual, association, or corporation; an important article, 17, was added to the Constitution, making great changes in city governments, etc.

Our Common School system has been largely extended and greatly improved notwithstanding the lack of employment and the scarcity of money for so many months. Indeed, our wealthier people have been taught by that stern monitor, Adversity, how deep an interest every father and mother in our land should take in preserving, and if possible, bettering these fountain-heads of morality and virtue. How many thousands of families, who had good reason for thinking that *their* children would be sure of a good education if money could procure it, are now thankful that our country is blessed with such a beneficent system of education, where the poorest is on a par with the richest. The *Peabody Fund* is managed discreetly and honestly, and is well carrying out the noble design of its benevolent founder: cultivating the African brain, that has for so many centuries lain fallow. Already many colored children have shown that they had latent ability which only needed instruction to render them fully equal to their pale Caucasian compeers in scholarship. In the older States many improvements in books, furniture, and systems of tuition have been made in the past few years; while the new States and Territories have in many instances, even improved upon their able mentors. Colorado was admitted as a sister to the bevy of States already in the Union, in March, 1875. As soon as settlers really began to find themselves at home in the bracing air of this mountain State, they began to establish a large and liberal school system, embracing many of the best im-

provements of the older organizations. This youthful, but aspiring State, has already nearly 130 school-houses, within whose walls assemble over 16,000 children, taught by 260 able instructors. In New Mexico the Catholics and Protestants appear to vie with each other in extending education; even Utah appears determined that her children shall not be backward in educational matters. They have numerous common schools, and a higher grade of learning is furnished by several seminaries.

Most of our higher educational seminaries have been successful in maintaining the lofty standard they had long since reached. Their professors are men of great erudition, happily tempered with a more liberal spirit and a more extensive knowledge of the world outside their academic walls, than was the case with their worthy predecessors. The old Greek idea that to make perfect men, it was necessary that the body should be trained and cared for, as well as the mind, has taken a firm hold on both teachers and pupils. So that now in every university great pains are taken to develop the muscular powers, by leaping, running, rowing, and similar exercises. We regret to see, meanwhile, a somewhat turbulent spirit cropping out in a few of our colleges, showing itself in rough "hazing," and similar sports. This ungentlemanly conduct should be frowned down by their associates, as a few mildewed ears may in time spoil a whole field of promising wheat. Our astronomers have recently swept the horizon with their "vast tubes" to some purpose. They have fairly eclipsed their European brethren; having clearly pointed out many hitherto obscure or invisible planets on the vast astral field. Nor have our savants allowed their celestial to prevent their terrestrial observations. Extensive explorations have been carried on by our Government in the almost unknown heart of our extensive territory. Much exceedingly valuable information has been thus obtained: geographical, mineralogical, and climatic; all of which will be duly given to the world in official publications. In poetry no new master-spirit has touched the lyre in our hemisphere. Still we have little cause of complaint, while our Bryant has not yet, thank heaven, "wrapped the drapery of his couch about him to lie down to dreamless sleep." Longfellow is among us, "With a heart for any fate; still achieving, still pursuing;" Wallace reminds us that "forty millions bless the sire and Sword of Bunker Hill;" Lowell is left us, and Stedman, and Taylor, and Aldrich, and a host of others; among whom shines "though last, not least," Oliver Wendell Holmes, the Anacreon of the New World. One bright star has been quenched—one noble heart has been stilled—the venerable Muhlenburgh has had his song-prayer answered, "Nearer, my God, to Thee," and now rests in the midst of that peaceful St Johnland, which his unselfish labors founded as a refuge for honest poverty. Our living prose writers are so numerous that it would take much space even to name them. Many of our best authors are engaged upon the daily and weekly press; and even their names are hardly known to the outside world. Journalism, like a vast maelstrom, sucks into its vortex much of the intellectual ability of the country; the press retains the same strong power as drew to it a Franklin and a Greeley. The enormous trade in books and periodicals has led to the formation of large "News Companies" in New York and various other sections of the Union. These companies act as intermediaries between the publisher and the newsdealer. The managers have thus far manifested great ability and strict honesty in all the ramifications of the extensive business. During all the suspensions and failures of the last few years, they have preserved their financial honor unsullied. Many important works have been issued by our leading publishers, with a measurable degree of success. The Appletons have completed that really "National" work, their Cyclopedia. Almost all of our great historians are resting on their laurels; though Benson J. Lossing, who has done for America what Charles Knight did for England, continues to illustrate by his pencil the scenes and events so happily described by his pen. C. Edwards Lester, too, has enriched our literature by his succinct, impartial, and eloquent history of "Our First Hundred Years."

Our Indian affairs have been in a most deplorable condition during the last four years. General Custer, who had been a leading and very popular officer during the rebellion, was dispatched by his superiors to find and attack a large force of Indians, mostly Sioux. The whereabouts and number of the Sioux were not at all well-known. The fatal result is all that has ever been accurately ascertained. The brave Custer, instead of surprising, seems to have been surprised; for he rode with his five hundred gallant troopers right into what proved to be a valley of death. They were surrounded, shot, or cut down by a very superior array of savages. Not a single soldier survived to enlighten us as to the particulars of this disastrous event. All we know certain, is that officers and men met their fate heroically, fighting to the last gasp. A wily Sioux chief, usually called Sitting Bull, is presumed to have been the leader of the Sioux. Under his skillful leadership the Indians managed to elude all plans laid for their capture, and succeeded, with but little loss of strength, in crossing into the British Possessions, where they have since remained. So far, they have been peaceable, but scornfully rejected all offers made by our Government for their return within our jurisdiction. It is but justice to say, that the Canadians have in no way encouraged them in this refusal. Another very unsatisfactory collision occurred between our forces and the Nez Perces. These latter are the scant remnant of a once powerful tribe, who roamed over a vast country on the Pacific side of the Rocky Mountains. They have for years been at peace with the whites and have been gradually becoming a pastoral people; depending more on their fields and their herds for support, than on the uncertain chances of the chase. It is hard to arrive at a satisfactory reason for this outbreak. Both sides lay the blame upon each other. As we have the advantage of telling the story, the Indians are made to appear at fault. Certain it is that when the head of the tribe, Chief Joseph, was ordered to give up some lands, which he had held from a long line of forefathers, he stoutly refused. General Howard sought to take them by force. A brave resistance was made; but the Indian chief finding himself outnumbered, and learning that large reinforcements would soon reach his antagonist, formed the bold resolution of retreating almost across the continent, in hopes of forming a coalition with the Sioux and other Indian enemies at war with the United States. This resolution was as bold as that of Cortez when he burned his ships on the coast of Mexico. Chief Joseph thus retreated in the presence of superior numbers, led by an educated military officer. He successfully baffled all efforts to outflank him or bring him to an engagement, only turning upon the enemy when it suited him (Joseph) to fight. This was not conducted like a wild race for life; but he carried nearly all his stock of cattle and horses with him; this, too, through hundreds of miles of the roughest country upon earth. Finally he only surrendered to very superior numbers, and not to his pursuer, but to the gallant General Miles, who had been apprised by telegraph where to station his troops to intercept the swarthy Xenophon. What adds greatly to the fame of Chief Joseph, is the fact that he treated prisoners humanely, and never mutilated or scalped the dead.

General Grant, as soon as he had surrendered his seat to his successor, took a few months to settle his private affairs, and then embarked for Europe. In every country which he has visited he has been received with unbounded hospitality, and in many almost royal honors have been accorded to him.

Labor strikes and consequent riots, which a few years ago we deemed exotics never likely to take root in the United States, have become frequent. In the fall of 1877 a strike of vast magnitude occurred in Pennsylvania, and extended thence to the neighboring States. In its inception it was confined to the railway employees, but soon thousands of others, some with real and others with imaginary grievances, joined the strikers. The traffic on all the main lines was stopped. The militia of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York were placed under arms, and, in some instances, marched, with the United States troops, to stop the disorders. There was not much of a sanguinary disposition displayed by the strikers, but the destruction of property and the loss occasioned by interruption

of travel and traffic was terrible. Eventually the riots were suppressed, partly by force, partly by wise concessions on the part of employers. While the result was satisfactory, in so far as it proved the fact that there is an inherent power in our form of government, strong enough to put down rebellion and to suppress riot—no matter on how gigantic a scale they may exist—there still remained the painful thought that there is, to a certain extent, a feeling of antagonism between capital and labor: a feeling which is not a little aggravated by the injudicious and scornful utterances of many of the rich as well as by the agrarian rantings of many of the poor. To remove the causes of this feeling of antagonism, requires the greatest efforts of the ablest and best minds in our midst.

While immigration from Europe has largely diminished, as we no longer offer steady employment and larger wages to foreign mechanics, the present residents of all our States find employment difficult to get, and when obtained, it is only at wages greatly reduced from former rates. In some instances ships have even sailed from New York for Australia, taking passengers, partly assisted to pay their expenses from the coffers of that prosperous colony. Some skilled labor has even gone to England—a verification of "carrying coals to Newcastle." The subject of Chinese immigration is being fiercely fought out, both in the halls of Congress and in the newspapers. Both sides adduce strong arguments, and give plenty of statistics, pro and con; but it is a subject that has so many local phases, that it will require a new Solomon to pronounce an equitable decision on the matter. It is not only by the departure from our shores of working people that our strength is being depleted; it has been asserted by a leading member of Congress that Americans traveling in Europe spend at least 75,000,000 of dollars in gold every year. This vast sum, bear in mind, represents just so much talent and labor heavily tasked to make it here.

The years 1876 and 1877 will be long looked back to with feelings of grief by great numbers of our most worthy citizens. In those years, almost every day saw the collapse of some Insurance Company, Savings Bank, or Trust Companies. The sums lost through their failures are so immense as to appear almost fabulous. Unfortunately we can not say with the gallant Francis, "All is lost, except honor." Huge as have been the other losses, very little *honor* existed to be saved. In part these titanic failures were caused by the fall in the value of securities, both stocks and property; but in the majority of instances cupidity and financial ignorance were the preventable causes. But 1876 was marked in mourning by even a sadder event than fiscal ruin. The Brooklyn Theatre, filled with human beings, was destroyed by fire, and hundreds of children, women, and men were whelmed in one flaming burial. The unfortunate victims were from every strata of social life, and repose in Greenwood beneath one vast hallowed mound.

During the Congressional session of 1878, the Silver Bill—so called—passed both Houses of Congress, by more than a two-thirds vote. It was vetoed by President Hayes, but immediately passed again over his veto. Under this law the United States Mint immediately proceeded to coin the new silver dollar. This measure has produced little of the effect, either for good or ill, so boldly predicted for it by its friends and opponents. Stocks, produce, and gold hardly changed a quotable percentage in value.

The convention agreed to between Great Britain and the United States, to settle pending disputes on the Fishery Question, met at Halifax, N. S., and rendered a decision, awarding five millions of dollars to the Canadians, to be paid by our Government. Some fierce attacks were made in Congress, by leading members, upon the character of the foreign member of the convention. But subsequent investigation of documents proved that the gentleman denounced acted in perfect faith, and had taken the office unwillingly. Quite an agitation has been caused, since the recent lamentable failures of Savings Banks and similar institutions, on the subject of Postal Savings Institutions by the General Government. On one side it is alleged that such banks would be a certain and safe means of preserving the savings of the people, yielding them a moderate interest. The opponents of the idea argue, on the other hand, that no such power is conferred on the General Government. The present Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report of December, 1877, recommended the plan only in a modified form, authorizing the deposit of small sums with any postal money-order office, and the issue therefor of Government certificates convertible into the 4 per cent. bonds of the United States.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

General Summary, and Valuable Statistical Tables Illustrating the State of Manufactures, Agriculture, etc.

A VERY determined effort is now being made in the United States to increase our foreign trade, and thus give large and profitable outlets to the vast surplus of our productions—productions which have been enormously increased by improvements and inventions of all kinds of labor-saving machinery. The daily press is working intelligently and industriously to effect this purpose. The various Chambers of Commerce in our leading cities are also working with a like purpose. Nearly every country on this continent is naturally our customer. But so negligent have we been, so little have we utilized our great advantages, that nations in the other hemisphere pass our ports, deeply laden with their own goods in exchange for the rich products of our neighbors. A very intelligent Mexican, speaking to the New York Chamber of Commerce, concluded his interesting address by saying: "No country could furnish the United States with sugar and coffee so well as Mexico. Mexican marbles excited universal admiration at the Centennial Exhibition, yet it would be difficult to find a specimen in New York to-day. Mexico has unlimited quarries to draw upon. Its sulphur mines are inexhaustible also, and it has been pronounced by Americans the best in quality they ever saw. Americans have said that the fibers of the agave plant would create a revolution in paper-making, and there is no end to these in Mexico. The $5,000,000 of imports into Mexico from the United States of 1825, have been stationary since. The only reasonable cause for this phenomenon is the mistrust that exists in this country of Mexican markets, and the lack of cheap and easy communication. Most of the articles the speaker had mentioned are included in the Mexican free tariff. Mexico desires to foster trade with the United States. American merchants should send exploring agents thither to examine for themselves. At present, trade is in the hands of intermediate persons, who keep prices high and contract the markets.

"In conclusion, the speaker advised the organization of more lines of steamers between Mexican and United States ports, and the construction of an international railway between the two countries." His remarks were greeted with applause, and the thanks of the Chamber were tendered to him.

The treaty which has been made by the Samoan Islands with the United States will be an event in our history in more respects than one. It is the first treaty ever made by the Samoans with any nation. It is the first step in a policy which recognizes the future greatness of our commerce in the Pacific Ocean, and makes wise and statesmanlike provision for that greatness. For it is not to be doubted that, vast as has been our commerce on the Atlantic Ocean, it will be rivalled by that on the Pacific to exchange the varied products of California and its sister States, on the western side of the Rocky Mountains, for what Asia and Australia have to offer us in return. Especially for trade with the latter may we expect to have use for a great commercial navy. But to reach Australia, by the fastest steamers which can yet be built, still takes thirty days. And for so long a voyage it is of the highest importance we should have for our ships, some stopping-place which shall be under our own control, and where we shall run no risk of being interfered with by any European power. That stopping-place we have secured by the treaty with Samoa, which the United States Senate confirmed without a division.

A very extensive trade has sprung up in fresh meats and shell-fish with Great Britain. Live stock of all kinds have been found to bear the sea voyage quite well,

thanks to the scientific and mechanical improvements which have been made on board ocean steamers. Unusually large quantities of flour, meal, and dairy products have found good markets in Europe during the years 1877 and 1878.

Imports.—In 1876, the total imports of articles, free of duty, into the United States, amounted to $156,298,594.

In 1877 (in each year ending June 30), $181,562,866.

In 1876, the total of imports liable to duty was $320,379,277.

In 1877, $310,527,540.

Total in 1876, $476,677,871.

Total in 1877, $492,090,406.

Total value of gold and bullion imported in 1876, $15,936,681.

Total in 1877, $451,315,992.

Brought in American vessels in 1876, $143,389,704; in 1877, $151,826,933.

Brought in foreign vessels in 1876, $321,139,500; in 1877, $329,565,833.

Exports.—Twelve months ending June 30, 1876, $644,956,406.

Twelve months ending June 30, 1877, $776,115,818.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1872-1876.

The following is a statement of the aggregate number of this class of institutions, with instructors and students as reported to the Bureau of Education each year, from 1870–1876, inclusive:

	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.
Number of institutions	966	960	968	323	343	355	356
Number of instructors	2,82[illegible]	2,962	3,010	3,106	3,782	3,499	3,520
Number of students	49,163	52,[illegible]27	45,[illegible]17	52,[illegible]63	56,[illegible]92	58,[illegible]91	56,181

SCHOOL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1876.

[*From the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education for* 1876.]

States and Territories.	*School Age.*	*School Population.*	*Number from 6 to 16 Years.*	*Number Enrolled in Public Schools.*	*Average Daily Attendance*	*Average School Days in Year.*
Alabama	5-21	405,226	*283,659	126,893	.....	80
Arkansas	6-21	189,130	*141,848	15,890	.....	.....
California	5-17	184,787	*166,309	149,468	83,291	141.8
Colorado	6-21	21,962	*16,472	14,304	8,043	100
Connecticut	4-16	135,189	*112,657	119,166	70,495	178.1
Delaware	5-21	*a*39,805	*33,826	21,587	.....	.....
Florida	4-21	71,828	*48,639	26,052	16,720	.....
Georgia	6-18	391,137	*351,633	179,405	115,121	.....
Illinois	6-21	963,589	*730,192	667,146	.....	.....
Indiana	6-21	679,339	*509,423	516,270	314,168	129
Iowa	5-21	553,903	*b*454,124	398,825	229,315	130.5
Kansas	5-21	212,977	127,502	147,224	89,896	103.5
Kentucky	6-20	498,744	*398,995	238,000	156,000	110
Louisiana	6-21	274,688	*206,016	74,307	52,315	97
Maine	4-21	218,490	*142,019	156,148	102,451	118
Maryland	5-20	276,120	*207,090	146,198	73,069	182
Massachusetts	5-15	300,834	*300,834	305,776	218,903	176
Michigan	5-20	459,847	*344,885	314,956	200,000	156
Minnesota	5-21	298,262	*159,853	151,800	.....	100
Mississippi	5-21	355,919	*249,143	106,204	.....	100
Missouri	6-20	725,728	*580,582	394,848	*b*182,000	60
Nebraska	5-21	86,191	*60,336	59,966	.....	95.8
Nevada	6-18	8,455	*7,628	5,521	3,832	142.8
New Hampshire	4-21	74,747	57,355	66,599	48,857	93.7
New Jersey	5-18	314,826	*267,702	196,252	103,720	192
New York	5-21	1,585,601	*1,109,921	1,067,199	541,610	176
North Carolina	6-21	348,603	*261,452	146,737	97,860	50
Ohio	6-21	1,025,635	703,956	732,033	447,139	155
Oregon	4-20	48,473	*33,931	27,426	15,065	82.4
Pennsylvania	6-21	1,200,000	*940,000	902,345	578,718	150
Rhode Island	5-15	53,316	*b*48,321	30,328	27,021	180
South Carolina	6-16	237,971	237,971	123,185	.....	90
Tennessee	6-18	434,131	*290,718	194,180	125,908	71.9
Texas	6-18	313,061	*281,754	*b*184,765	*b*125,224	58
Vermont	5-20	92,577	*69,432	71,325	.....	.....
Virginia	5-21	482,789	307,330	199,856	115,243	113
West Virginia	6-21	184,760	*138,570	133,704	72,278	95.04
Wisconsin	4-20	471,811	*332,268	282,186	.....	152.5
Total	.....	14,169,381	10,735,773	8,755,010	4,214,630	.....
Arizona	6-21	2,955	*2,216	1,213	900	.....
Dakota	5-21	0,396	*7,277	5,410	.....	.....
District of Columbia	6-17	31,671	29,334	19,629	14,907	191
Idaho	5-18	2,777	*2,360	2,721	.....	.....
Montana	4-21	4,238	*2,755	2,734	2,000	100
New Mexico	7-18	*a*29,312	*21,996	5,151	.....	132
Utah	6-16	30,900	30,900	13,886	13,608	143
Washington	4-20	11,000	*7,700	7,500	.....	104
Wyoming	5-20	*6,000	*4,500	1,222	.....	.....
INDIAN:						
Cherokees	7-21	4,041	*3,233	2,800	1,500	200
Creeks	10-18	716	*787	616	448	.....
Choctaws	6-20	2,300	*1,840	1,133	745	168
Seminoles	....	451	.....	157	108	180
Total	.....	136,777	117,617	70,175	34,216	.....
Grand Total	.....	14,306,158	10,853,390	8,825,185	4,248,848	.....

* Estimated by the Bureau. (*a*) United States Census of 1870. (*b*) Estimate of State Superintendent.

STATISTICS OF THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

[*From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for* 1876.]

Denomination.	*Number of Seminaries.*	*Number of Professors.*	*Number of Students.*	*Denomination.*	*Number of Seminaries.*	*Number of Professors.*	*Number of Students.*
Roman Catholic	18	112	879	Unsectarian	2	10	94
Protestant Episcopal	17	62	267	Reformed (Dutch)	2	9	49
Presbyterian	16	78	624	Universalist	2	8	56
Baptist	15	68	702	African Methodist Episcopal	1	3	6
Lutheran	14	46	354	Mennonite	1	6	26
Congregational	8	59	341	Methodist	1	..	..
Methodist Episcopal	7	52	370	Moravian	1	3	34
Christian	3	6	82	New Jerusalem	1	2	..
Reformed	3	8	67	Union Evangelical	1	5	30
United Presbyterian	3	11	79	Unitarian	1	7	17
Cumberland Presbyterian	2	7	48	United Brethren	1	3	25
Free-Will Baptist	2	9	44				
Methodist Episcopal (South)	2	6	74	Total	124	580	4,268

Statistics of Expenditures for Public Schools in the United States in 1876.

[*From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for* 1876.]

States.	Salaries of Teachers.	Total Expended.
Alabama	$316,076	$337,276
Arkansas	73,166	119,403
California	1,976,155	2,890,219
Colorado	131,378	233,298
Connecticut	1,085,290	1,529,181
Delaware	114,027	216,225
Florida	74,628	161,722
Georgia	.....	.....
Illinois	4,945,194	8,168,539
Indiana	3,093,559	4,921,085
Iowa	2,781,499	4,288,582
Kansas	743,578	1,198,437
Kentucky	1,400,000	1,491,000
Louisiana	539,018	776,009
Maine	807,056	1,248,762
Maryland	1,045,864	1,623,349
Massachusetts	.....	6,105,536
Michigan	2,026,725	3,458,505
Minnesota	821,072	1,530,883
Mississippi	.....	417,760
Missouri	.....	2,371,960
Nebraska	426,921	919,344
Nevada	101,016	162,760
New Hampshire	450,140	660,020
New Jersey	1,511,701	2,154,115
New York	7,965,804	11,579,288
North Carolina	158,129	191,674
Ohio	4,936,824	8,462,757
Oregon	181,902	240,568
Pennsylvania	4,856,889	9,149,653
Rhode Island	422,310	709,466
South Carolina	$377,920	$423,872
Tennessee	558,518	698,220
Texas	630,304	726,286
Vermont	.....	.....
Virginia	783,025	1,060,679
West Virginia	531,745	706,272
Wisconsin	1,462,326	2,126,641
Total	$47,422,489	$83,078,596
Territories.		
Arizona	$10,029	$28,744
Dakota	.....	50,092
District of Columbia	163,646	405,828
Idaho	14,376	16,500
Montana	35,387	50,131
New Mexico	15,462	18,890
Utah	85,716	129,397
Washington	54,720	55,520
Wyoming	16,400	16,400
Indian:		
Cherokees	43,075	110,110
Creeks	11,200	13,000
Choctaws	12,000	29,022
Seminoles	2,250	3,260
Total	$464,141	$926,737
Grand Total	$47,886,630	$84,005,333

LAW SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.

[*From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for* 1876.]

States.	Number in each State.	Number of Corps of Instruction.	Number of Students.	Graduates at Commencement 1876.	Volumes in Libraries.	Value of Grounds and Buildings.	Amount of Productive Funds.	Income from Productive Funds.	Receipts for last Year from Tuition Fees.
Alabama	2	6	15	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	1	12	65	34	8,000	.....	$10,000	$700	.....
Georgia	2	7	11	6	600	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois	4	45	202	67	.....	.....	.....	.....	$6,515
Indiana	1	2	40	20	700	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iowa	2	14	111	80	1,860	.....	.....	.....	3,300
Kentucky	2	8	27	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	960
Louisiana	1	4	23	7	.....	$15,000	.....	.....	2,500
Maryland	1	3	39	29	30	0	0	0	4,690
Massachusetts	2	20	327	53	18,000	.....	51,614	11,668	20,950
Michigan	1	5	309	..	3,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri	2	14	98	28	3,750	.....	.....	.....	5,120
New York	4	17	711	130	12,300	.....	.....	.....	4,800
North Carolina	2	2	18	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio	2	6	82	37	1,125	.....	.....	.....	3,045
Pennsylvania	2	10	90	16	300	.....	.....	.....	4,840
South Carolina	1	1	12	9	.....	.....	0	0	0
Tennessee	3	9	68	54	650	.....	10,000	.....	6,660
Virginia	2	10	109	28	3,640	.....	.....	.....	6,000
Wisconsin	1	7	18	25	430	.....	.....	3,500	1,400
District of Columbia	4	16	289	95	301	25,000	10,000	600	7,581
Total	42	218	2,664	712	55,186	$40,000	$81,614	$16,468	$78,361

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

[*From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for* 1876.]

States and Territories.	Number of Colleges.	Preparatory Department. Number of Instructors.	Preparatory Department. Number of Students.	Collegiate Department. Number of Instructors.	Collegiate Department. Number of Students.	Income from Productive Funds.	Receipts last Year from Tuition.	Volumes in College Libraries.	Value of Grounds, Buildings, and Apparatus.
Alabama	4	2	71	41	316	$25,600	$3,560	12,100	$410,000
Arkansas	4	4	169	20	104	2,600	3,000	6,000	139,600
California	12	15	869	163	881	15,100	110,950	31,054	1,429,000
Colorado	1	..	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	3	..	836	....	....	.....	.....	125,000	.....
Delaware	1	0	0	7	40	37,293	689,008	.....	570,000
Georgia	7	7	268	50	488	5,000	1,000	6,000	510,000
Illinois	28	62	3,995	244	1,550	33,955	87,552	25,530	2,905,000
Indiana	17	42	1,444	131	1,307	116,358	86,052	46,000	2,233,200
Iowa	23	35	2,348	144	954	51,500	96,842	72,785	1,400,000
Kansas	8	5	869	47	167	56,722	39,252	34,788	981,000
Kentucky	15	18	990	94	982	5,213	34,208	19,700	560,000
Louisiana	6	9	387	34	54	20,176	17,200	17,000	1,000,000
Maine	3	6	196	30	360	96,015	67,108	25,000	955,467
Maryland	3	12	196	98	644	180,000	35,931	22,675	810,055
Massachusetts	8	10	290	113	1,668	82,286	131,915	9,445	2,233,000
Michigan	7	17	1,329	114	811	81,818	40,595	24,455	1,400,000
Minnesota	6	3	412	48	154	23,021	5,648	11,440	1,150,550
Mississippi	4	6	200	21	189	7,125	6,230	7,640	472,148
Missouri	16	32	1,370	171	991	153,967	112,955	71,240	1,394,000
Nebraska	2	1	250	13	92	2,000	700	2,250	180,000
Nevada	1	..	31	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire	1	1	18	16	219	25,000	15,000	48,000	160,000
New Jersey	4	..	....	38	712	82,118	39,581	41,000	1,370,000
New York	26	71	2,644	449	8,015	472,138	838,891	219,402	7,813,443
North Carolina	8	7	784	54	353	8,000	34,985	36,200	422,000
Ohio	32	47	2,598	239	2,220	164,300	161,187	112,450	2,908,973
Oregon	6	9	307	21	210	17,400	7,183	6,812	137,000
Pennsylvania	29	46	2,064	345	2,242	143,945	245,088	130,705	5,314,500
Rhode Island	1	..	211	16	219	40,094	27,420	46,000	1,500,000
South Carolina	6	4	233	38	351	30,500	3,640	50,000	550,000
Tennessee	23	33	1,723	157	1,039	56,468	63,171	39,304	1,327,000
Texas	9	17	949	65	457	1,600	41,490	7,250	285,000
Vermont	3	..	....	28	169	13,353	....	31,827	388,100
Virginia	8	3	162	80	598	223,650	4,355	80,000	1,300,000
West Virginia	3	3	246	25	164	9,803	1,000	7,674	290,000
Wisconsin	10	9	1,041	89	689	55,775	107,693	40,000	965,620
District of Columbia	1	15	254	36	152	10,000	....	47,100	1,020,000
Utah	1	..	200	....	....	.....	.....	2,500	1,500
Total	356	503	28,128	8,352	25,647	$2,060,182	$1,934,811	1,879,103	$40,956 24

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Statement of November 30, 1877.

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN.

Title of Loan.	*Authorizing Act.*	*Rate of Interest.*	*When Redeemable.*	*When Payable.*
Loan of 1858	June 14, 1858	5 per cent.	After January 1, 1874	
Loan of February, 1861 (1881s)	February 8, 1861	6 per cent.		Dec. 31, 1884
Oregon War Debt	March 2, 1861	6 per cent.		July 1, 1881
Loan of July and August, 1861 (1881s)	July 17 and August 5, 1861	6 per cent.	After July 30, 1881	
Loan of 1863 (1881s)	March 3, 1863	6 per cent.	After July 30, 1881	
Ten-forties of 1864	March 3, 1864	5 per cent.	After March 1, 1874	March 1, 1904
Consols of 1865	March 3, 1865	6 per cent.	After July 1, 1870	July 1, 1885
Consols of 1867	March 3, 1865	6 per cent.	After July 1, 1872	July 1, 1887
Consols of 1868	March 3, 1865	6 per cent.	After July 1, 1873	July 1, 1888
Funded Loan of 1881	July 14, 1870, and Jan. 20, '71.	5 per cent.	After May 1, 1881	
Funded Loan of 1891	July 14, 1870, and Jan. 20, '71.	4½ per cent.	After Sept. 1, 1891	
Funded Loan of 1907	July 14, 1870, and Jan. 20, '71.	4 per cent.	After July 1, 1907	

Title of Loan.	*Interest Payable.*	*Amount Outstanding.*	*Interest due and Unpaid.*	*Accrued Interest to Date.*
Loan of 1858	January and July	$260,000 00		$5,416 07
Loan of February, 1861 (1881s)	January and July	18,415,000 00	$22,110 00	460,375 00
Oregon War Debt	January and July	945,000 00	5,061 35	23,625 05
Loan of July and August, 1861 (1881s)	January and July	189,321,350 00	260,204 79	4,733,033 75
Loan of 1863 (1881s)	January and July	75,000,000 00	79,321 60	1,875,000 00
Ten-forties of 1864	March and September	194,566,300 00	281,588 61	2,432,078 75
Consols of 1865	January and July	116,903,350 00	36,014 12	2,922,583 75
Consols of 1867	January and July	310,617,800 00	1,101,039 37	7,765,445 00
Consols of 1868	January and July	37,465,300 00	154,805 42	936,632 50
Funded Loan of 1881	February, March, April, and Nov.	508,440,350 00	2,355,432 55	2,118,501 46
Funded Loan of 1891	March, July, September, and Dec.	200,000,000 00	63,969 08	2,250,000 00
Funded Loan of 1907	June, August, July, and October.	70,000,000 00	198,145 92	616,666 66
Aggregate		$1,721,934,450 00	$4,557,692 81	$26,139,358 54

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.

	Authorized.	*Interest.*	*Total.*	*Plus Int'est*
Navy Pension Fund	July 23, 1868	3 per cent.	$14,000,000	$175 000

GOLD COIN AND BULLION IN UNITED STATES TREASURY.

Statement by the United States Treasurer of the amount of actual Coin and Bullion in the Treasury at the close of business on October 31, 1877, the date at which the last Debt-statement balance was struck.

ASSETS.			
Gold coin in the Treasury, subtreasuries, and mints			$101,486,964 49
Gold bars in the Treasury, subtreasuries, and mints			3,586,692 25
Gold bullion (estimated) in mints			3,700,000 00
Silver bullion (estimated) in mints			5,998,387 34
Silver coin in the Treasury, subtreasuries, and mints			2,479,137 40
Total coin and bullion in the Treasury			$117,251,181 48
On hand, counted as coin:			
Frational currency redeemed in silver		$49,625 20	
Coin certificates in Treasury offices		17,436,420 00	
Coin-interest coupons and checks paid		370,696 69	
Notes of national gold banks reducing circulation		1,720 00	
Memorandum of May and Whitaker, deficit, New Orleans, 1867		6,703 36	
			17,865,165 25
1 Silver coin, coin certificates, fractional currency redeemed, and other obligations paid—in transit from one office to another or to the Treasury—not received by offices to which forwarded			449,233 82
Total			$135,565,580 55
LIABILITIES.			
Coin balance, Treasurer's general account, as per October debt statement		$131,022,843 94	
Due for specific purposes not included in the debt statement, as follows:			
Comptroller of the Currency	$53,175 38		
Redemption of gold notes of national banks	1,720 00		
Payment of interest on public debt	435,786 25		
Disbursing Officers	833,236 70		
Late Treasurer Assay-office	8 78		
Secretary of Treasury, special account No. 3	25 25		
Out-tanding silver checks of Treasurer of the United States	14,002 00		
Outstanding gold checks of Treasurer of the United States	1,710,195 82		
Outstanding gold drafts of Treasurer of the United States	61,445 06		
		3,109,685 20	
2 Gold coin, silver coin, and coi items received at certain offices, but not charged out of account of offices making remittance		1,433,051 35	
Total			$135,565,580 55

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870–1877.

[*From Rowell's Newspaper Directory.*]

States and Territories.	1870. *Number.*	1870. *Circulation.*	1877 *No. of Periodicals*
1 Alabama	89	91,165	86
2 Arizona	1	280	4
3 Arkansas	56	29,830	65
4 California	201	491,903	250
5 Colorado	14	12,750	49
6 Connecticut	71	203,725	111
7 Dakota	3	1,650	17
8 Delaware	17	20,860	23
9 District of Columbia	22	81,400	26
10 Florida	23	10,345	30
11 Georgia	110	150,987	137
12 Idaho	6	2,550	9
13 Illinois	505	1,722,541	709
14 Indiana	293	363,542	357
15 Iowa	233	219,090	401
16 Kansas	97	96,803	170
17 Kentucky	89	197,130	134
18 Louisiana	92	84,165	86
19 Maine	65	170,690	86
20 Maryland	88	235,450	110
21 Massachusetts	259	1,692,124	329
22 Michigan	211	253,774	306
23 Minnesota	95	110,778	146
24 Mississippi	111	71,868	92
25 Missouri	279	522,866	370
26 Montana	10	19,580	10
27 Nebraska	42	31,600	109
28 Nevada	12	11,300	24
29 New Hampshire	51	173,019	66
30 New Jersey	122	205,500	173
31 New Mexico	5	1,525	7
32 New York	885	7,561,197	1,043
33 North Carolina	61	61,820	80
34 Ohio	395	1,388,367	584
35 Oregon	35	45,750	44
36 Pennsylvania	540	3,419,765	704
37 Rhode Island	32	82,050	29
38 South Carolina	55	80,000	72
39 Tennessee	91	225,952	134
40 Texas	112	55,250	181
41 Utah	10	14,250	9
42 Vermont	47	71,350	63
43 Virginia (*a*)	114	143,840	125
44 Washington	11	6,785	18
45 West Virginia (*a*)	59	54,432	81
46 Wisconsin	190	348,385	268
47 Wyoming	6	1,950	5
Total	5,871	20,842,475	7,941

DAIRY PRODUCTS.

EXPORTS OF BUTTER AND CHEESE.

Year.	*Value.*	*Year.*	*Value.*
1870	$9,474,163 00	1874	$12,991,376 00
1871	9,606,086 00	1875	15,166,599 00
1872	9,251,730 00	1876	13,379,579 00
1873	11,450,929 00	1877	17,125,243 00

The Present Average Annual Production of Gold and Silver from the Mines of the United States.

State or Territory.	*Gold.*	*Silver.*	*Total.*
California	$15,000,000	$1,000,000	$16,000,000
Nevada	18,000,000	26,000,000	44,000,000
Montana	3,200,000	750,000	3,950,000
Idaho	1,500,000	250,000	1,750,000
Utah	350,000	5,075,000	5,425,000
Colorado	3,000,000	4,500,000	7,500,000
Arizona	300,000	500,000	800,000
New Mexico	175,000	500,000	675,000
Oregon	1,000,000	100,000	1,100,000
Washington	300,000	50,000	350,000
Dakota	2,000,000		2,000,000
Lake Superior		200,000	200,000
Virginia	50,000		50,000
North Carolina	100,000		100,000
Georgia	100,000		100,000
Other sources	25,000	25,000	50,000
Total	$45,100,000	$38,950,000	$84,050,000

INCREASE OF RAILROADS AND POPULATION, 1867–1876.

STATES.	Miles of Railroad.		Increase.		Population.		Increase.	
	1876.	1867.	Miles.	Per Cent.	1876.	1867.	Number.	Per Cent.
New England States	5,694	3,938	1,756	44.59	3,806,850	3,348,000	458,850	13.70
Middle States	15,085	9,555	5,530	57.87	11,405,000	8,930,000	1,475,000	14.85
Western States	37,055	15,226	21,829	143.37	15,835 000	11,985,000	3,850,000	32.12
Southern States	16,676	10,126	6,550	64.68	12,410,000	10,440,000	1,970,000	18.87
Pacific States	2,960	431	2,529	586.78	1,280,000	650,000	630,000	96.92
Total	77,470	39,276	38,194	97.25	44,736,850	36,353,000	8,383,850	23.06

Inhabitants to a mile of railroad in 1867, 925; in 1876, 577. Experience shows 850 necessary to the profitable working of railroads.

PENSIONS PAID BY THE UNITED STATES IN 1877.

[*From the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1877.*]

	Whole Amount Paid for Pensions during Year.	Whole Number of Pensioners.	Yearly Value of Pensions.	Added to Roll since June 30, 1876.	Reductions in Roll since June 30, 1876.
ARMY:					
Invalid	$12,955,544 15	114,199	$11,891,849 36	5,800	.....
Widows, etc.	13,348,383 57	97,055	11,328,251 74	.....	4,112
NAVY:					
Invalid	199,619 40	1,722	195,748 33	79	.....
Widows, etc.	322,929 63	1,717	283,910 00	.....	27
WAR OF 1812:					
Survivors	934,657 82	12,802	1,228,992 00	.....	1,404
Widows	361,448 91	4,609	442,464 00	.....	378
Total	$28,122,683 48	232,104	$25,371,215 43	5,888	5,921
Total Reduction in Roll					33

UNITED STATES PUBLIC LANDS.

Official Statement Showing the Number of Acres of Public Lands Surveyed in the Land States and Territories up to June 30, 1877; also the Total Area of the Public Domain remaining Unsurveyed.

	Land States and Territories.	Total Areas of Lands in Twenty-nine States and Territories in which Public Lands have been situated—in Acres.	Number of Acres of Public Lands Surveyed up to June 30, 1877.	Total Area of Public and Indian Lands remaining Unsurveyed and Unoffered to June 30, 1877.
1	Alabama	32,462,080	32,162,080	.....
2	Alaska	369,529,600	.....	.....
3	Arizona	72,900,304	4,660,883	68,239,421
4	Arkansas	33,406,720	33,406,720	.....
5	California	100,992,640	44,972,249	56,020,391
6	Colorado	66,880,000	20,990,922	45,889,088
7	Dakota	96,595,840	20,520,214	76,075,626
8	Florida	37,931,520	30,103,706	7,827,514
9	Idaho	55,328,160	6,193,013	49,035,147
10	Illinois	35,402,160	35,402,160	.....
11	Indian Territory	44,154,240	27,003,990	17,150,250
12	Indiana	21,637,760	21,637,760	.....
13	Iowa	35,228,800	35,228,800	.....
14	Kansas	51,769,976	51,770,240	.....
15	Louisiana	26,461,440	25,232,044	1,229,396
16	Michigan	36,128,640	36,128,640	.....
17	Minnesota	53,459,840	38,765,710	14,694,130
18	Mississippi	30,179,840	30,179,840	.....
19	Missouri	41,824,000	41,824,000	.....
20	Montana	92,016,640	9,918,986	82,097,654
21	Nebraska	48,636,800	39,234,402	9,402,398
22	Nevada	71,737,741	11,254,087	60,483,654
23	New Mexico	77,568,640	7,920,750	69,647,890
24	Ohio	25,576,960	25,576,960	.....
25	Oregon	60,975,360	19,923,816	41,051,551
26	Utah	54,065,075	8,374,534	45,690,541
27	Washington	44,796,160	12,568,568	32,227,592
28	Wisconsin	34,511,360	34,511,360	.....
29	Wyoming	62,645,120	7,731,061	54,914,929
	Total	1,814,769,656	693,572,785	*731,087,285

CONTINUATION OF HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA.

[In resuming the history of the various States usually, but somewhat loosely, designated as "South American," it will not be unnecessary here to remark, that the author has paid more attention to fitly recording circumstances and statistics which evidence the present condition and future prospects of the great masses of the population, than in striving to make his pages attractive, to the mere reader for pleasure, by giving glowing descriptions of the different insurrections which have greatly retarded improvements of all kinds. Happily, these outbreaks have mostly been more conspicuous for "sound and fury," than for any serious effusion of blood. Many of the military upstarts who so often recklessly sought to rise through the ruin of their countries, paid the forfeit of their senseless temerity by themselves sleeping in bloody shrouds.]

Brazil, after the successful termination of the harassing and exhaustive war with the rulers of Paraguay, did not sink into a self-satisfied indolence. The reverse took place. Whatever difference of opinion may prevail among political casuists as to the rights and wrongs of the Brazilians in this matter, there can be no diversity of opinion as to the conduct of these energetic people since the peace. Full of that restless enterprise that made the Portuguese the most daring and successful navigators of the world, they have in the last few years bent all their energies to promoting the prosperity of the Empire. The mighty rivers that take their rise among the ice-brooks of the Cordilleras, and after coursing through ravines and pampas, augmenting with every mile of their flow, till they expand as they finish their travel of thousands of miles by adding seas to the great ocean which they join in the territories of Brazil. This vast country, in which the area of the German Empire might be placed without visibly increasing its dimensions, has enough of wealth in its natural productions to fill the coffers of an ordinary State. It is the home of the diamond; its rich and exquisitely varied woods are adapted to every description of elegant furniture; the india-rubber gum, now one of the most useful and, indeed, necessary of products, fairly streams from the vast forests of this blessed land. Coffee, the handmaid of temperance, could be furnished in abundance to all the nations of the globe, if production was stimulated by demand. Cotton, if not king of Brazil, is certainly a powerful potentate. In quality and quantity it is only second to the United States in its production. There are millions of acres of the finest sugar lands, which are being rapidly utilized. The river navigation, although but in its comparative infancy, employs large numbers of well-built and well-managed steamers, which find abundant freights in bearing toward the ocean the rich freightage to and from the interior, not only of Brazil, but of the neighboring States, who find their easiest access to and from the ocean on the broad bosom of her magnificent rivers. To give any just conception of the flowers and trees, the birds and the butterflies which animate and enliven every foot of Brazilian territory, would require the knowledge of a naturalist and the language of a poet. For once a great country has not been dominated by a fool or a tyrant. Dom Pedro, the Republican Emperor of this vast domain, seems equal to his lofty position. He does not cultivate cabbages like Diocletian, the Roman Emperor, nor regulate clocks like Charles V., though his practical mind, no doubt, rightly estimates the necessity of having good cabbages and reliable time-keepers. No; he has set out on a pilgrimage of utility. He has determined to brush away all the intermediaries which usually come between a monarch and the rest of mankind. He has seen and scrutinized everything worthy of attention in both hemispheres, and takes with him, on his welcome return to his intelligent subjects, an amount of valuable information such as probably never before was stored in a brain encircled by a crown. Here is an instance in which the most ardent Republican can truthfully exclaim, "Long live *this* king!" and when in the fullness of time Dom Pedro rests in the vaults of the later Braganzas may he find as great a poet as his friend "Longfellow" to enumerate his virtues and chronicle his many noble deeds.

We now proceed to summarize the principal incidents and facts more particularly worth noting, some of which we have glanced at in the preceding passages.

In the year 1874 there was considerable increase reported in the population. The provinces are governed by presidents and legislatures. The whole of the Brazilian troops had not been taken from Paraguay. The national revenue had prodigiously increased. It amounted to $64,586,326; being a surplus over expenses of more than $12,000,000. All kinds of machinery and everything for the use of agriculture goes in duty free. The bishop of Olinda had been sentenced to four years' imprisonment for usurpation of imperial authority. There was much sickness in parts of the Empire.

No settlement was effected of the troublesome boundary questions during 1875. There remained but little over 1,000,000 slaves unmanumitted. Immigrants annually arrive from Portugal to the number of about 5,000. Several improvements have been made in the discipline of the army. A large quantity of public land has been given to volunteers who served in the late war. In 1873–4 there was some falling off in the exports. The possibilities of Brazil for coffee cultivation are unbounded, as every part of the country seems favorable to its growth, and it needs but little labor. The revenue, as before stated, was largely increased. The general health was good. The Emperor asked, and obtained of the Government, leave to take an eighteen months' tour.

This is the only independent country in South America that has a monarchical form of government, and thus far, it must be owned, it has been one of the most powerful and progressive. Russia alone has an undivided territory so vast. It occupies at least two-fifths of the South American continent. It includes more than 3,000,000 square miles. Its population is nearly 12,000,000. Something like two-thirds of the population is composed of mixed races, of Indians, Negroes, and Europeans; the balance being pure whites. The government is a limited monarchy, of which Dom Pedro is Emperor. He was born on Dec. 2, 1825; was crowned July 18, 1841, and was married to the daughter of the King of Sicily in 1843.

In 1875 Brazil had an army of some 26,000 men, officers included, and a police force, national and reserve guard, of more than 600,000 men. The navy is quite large, including many fine, powerful iron-clads, and is manned by between 8,000 and 9,000 sailors and marines. While Brazil exports large quantities of tobacco, hides, diamonds, india-rubber, horns, etc., its principal product is coffee, of which it exports a larger quantity than any other country. It imports large quantities of provisions, clothing, dry-goods, hardware, petroleum, and similar goods from the United States, England, Italy, Spain, and France. We take nearly two-fifths of all the coffee exported, and our commerce, carried on mostly by our own vessels, is daily augmenting, and must continue to increase. We have, or can make, nearly every article that the Brazilians want, and they have a great variety of products, many of which are indispensable to us. Great Britain has, thus far, had the lion's share of the trade of Brazil, although our country is so situated that it ought to command it. About one-fourth of the exports go to England, while less than one-fifth reach us. So far back as 1870 the Custom-House clearances throughout the Empire reached an aggregate of 1,198,000 tons. Slavery is to entirely cease in 1902, when the remaining indemnity of $8,000,000 will be paid to the owners. While slavery has

been gradually and peaceably abolished, the production has kept constantly increasing, and no disorders of any magnitude have occurred. The total national debt of Brazil in 1872 amounted to $528,442,796, of which $300,000,000 was owing to Great Britain. The banking capital of Brazil is very large, and among the principal banks are many very old and very reliable houses, both native and foreign. The Government is now exerting itself with much energy to establish schools and diffuse information. Until lately education was too generally neglected. Music, arts, agriculture, and astronomy have now special institutes, and the enlightened example of the Emperor is bearing rich fruit. Railroads are already built on many of the main lines of travel, and new ones are being continually built to facilitate travel and freight. Telegraph facilities exist between all the leading points of the country. Street-cars have been successfully introduced in the capital and other cities, and are well-supported. A large British company have numerous steamers on the River Amazon, while our own countrymen are laying iron tracks in many directions to connect water communications where they are impeded by shoals or rapids. A good article of coal has been discovered on the Amazon, which must prove of great utility to steamers.

In 1876 the statistics of trade and government show very slight variation from those of 1875. The population, including Indians, was 12,700,186. President of Senate, Viscount de Jaquary, 8 members, chosen for life, compose that body; 122 members, elected for 4 years, compose the Chamber of Deputies, of which M. F. Correa is presiding officer. The regular army amounts to over 26,000 men. The police force throughout the Empire is over 10,000. The navy is quite powerful, being composed of a number of powerful, modern iron-clads and other steam vessels, manned by over 7,000 men. Every citizen is liable to be called out in case of actual necessity. Rapid increase of revenue continued chronic in Brazil. In 1876 there was a surplus, over all expenses, of more than $8,000,000. Nearly 600,000,000 pounds of coffee were produced throughout the Empire in the last year. Cotton is also an annually increasing crop. Over 100,000,000 cattle are known to be at present in Brazil, and the export of hides continues to be very large. The various lines of rail in operation extend over 4,000 miles.

Brazil has twenty provinces, each with its local government. The State Church (Roman Catholic) is managed by eleven bishops, subject to the control of a Primate.

While in most parts of the Empire intense heat prevails, the agriculturalists evince none of the slothfulness usually found in the inhabitants of such climates. On the contrary, they have proved themselves full of energy, and the rich productions of the soil are cultivated in an ever-increasing quantity. Every other interest seems stimulated by the same honorable ambition to place their country in the van of civilization. Whether the admirable qualities of Dom Pedro have stimulated the best energies of his people, or that his qualities are a reflex of theirs, can not be told. But certainly they are most excellently in accord. Millions upon millions of dollars worth of sugar, coffee, cotton, gold, Brazil-nuts, hair, wool, timber, hides, india-rubber, tobacco, diamonds, rum, and malt are exported to all parts of the world; our own country, by some strange lack of enterprise on our part, getting nothing like our just share. The tariff is somewhat burdensome on some of the principal articles with which we might supply Brazilian markets. But a little effort on the part of our treaty-making people might, doubtless, get a modification. Turpentine has to pay 9½ cents per gallon; rosin, $1.15 per barrel; flour, 54 cents per barrel.

Brazil pays but about 5 per cent. interest on her debt.

CHILI.—Chili proper contains an extent of 132,223 square miles, exclusive of some 115,000 square miles claimed as belonging to it; formerly a part of Patagonia. In 1870 the population was computed at nearly 2,000,000. It has a regular army of about 5,000, including officers, while the National Guard amounts to more than 55,000, of which more than 20,000 are cavalry. The navy is small, but effective. The greater portion of the trade of Chili is with Great Britain. The exports in 1870 amounted to $28,000,000, and consisted mainly of grain, hides, wool, silver and copper ores; receiving in return all kinds of manufactured goods. Our trade is very limited. In 1872 the national revenue of Chili amounted to $37,500,000, showing a rapid increase. In 1870, 5,091 vessels entered Chilian ports, in all, 2,510,000 tons. Many very important lines of railway are in course of construction, and a number of others are projected. Don Manuel Garcia died in 1872, after serving his country in various important offices for nearly half a century. Chili is still very rich in the precious metals, one steamer having taken from a single port no less than $9,000,000 in copper, gold, and silver. Chili has made several liberal arrangements to promote settlement by foreigners. Very many improvements have been made in the laws relating to religion, mining, marriage, and several monopolies have been abolished. Laws seem to be executed very impartially. One Rei having died from the effects of a flogging, the Court of Appeals condemned Zonteno, the chief of police who inflicted it, to death, and the surgeon, Favres, who witnessed it, to ten years' imprisonment. Flogging is now abolished.

In 1874 there was much feeling about an attempt to take possession of a large section of Patagonia claimed by the Argentine Republic. The President of the republic is F. Errazuriez, elected in 1871. Both imports and exports had largely increased, still business was not brisk, owing partly to the fact that the depression in this country had reached the Chilian markets. Large quantities of coals still come from England. With the exception of some little perturbation caused by acts of the clerical reactionists, tranquillity reigned and everything was prosperous. Interior trade had increased 20 per cent. Total public debt in 1873 was $53,897,022. A new penal code was submitted to Congress. Mining was being neglected for the more sure returns of agriculture. Arbitration was to be resorted to to settle disputes with neighboring States. The city of Concepcion had greatly improved.

During 1875 discussions were going on about boundaries. The population of Chili had increased 249,224 in ten years. The army counted 3,500 men. Two iron-clads built in England were added to the navy. Both exports and imports show a falling off. The coal fields are proving of great utility. February, 1875, direct telegraph messages passed to and from Valparaiso and London. Total national debt in 1874 was $48,149,850. A money dispute between Chili and Peru was left to the decision of an umpire, whose award gave satisfaction to both parties. The International Exhibition, in this year, was a success. The presidential election was occupying public attention. President Anibal Pinto took office September, 1876. Ten leading representative men compose the Council of State. The population has increased 250,000 in the last decade. The total strength of the army is given at 3,500 men. The National Guard was 21,000 men. The navy had 18 vessels, mostly powerful iron-clads. Their crews 11,000 men. The revenue from customs is annually increasing. The authorities were carrying a system of rigid economy into every department, both civil and military. The total national debt was some $51,000,000. There is, also, a railroad debt of $35,000,000. Public education is fostered by the Government. The total exports were nearly $60,000,000; imports, $61,000,000. In 1875 nearly 6,000 vessels cleared, and about the same number entered Chilian ports. In 1876 there were more than 600 miles of railway in operation. It is thought that the export of borax will greatly enrich the country.

ECUADOR.—This republican State is bounded by the Pacific Ocean, the United States of Colombia, Brazil, and Peru. The population, estimated at over 1,000,000, is spread over a territory of some 2,000,000 square miles. It has several hundred thousand Indians in a state of nature. Quito, the capitol, has nearly 100,000 inhabitants. S. Garcia Moreno was elected President in 1869. The exports in 1871 amounted to slightly more than $3,000,000, composed mostly of Panama hats, cacao, india-rubber, quinine, and cotton. Returns are not made public of the value or nature of the imports. The army consisted of 1,500 men. Much attention is being paid to the cultivation of indigo, and for this purpose four youths were sent from each province to Quito to attend a thorough course of instruction in the growing and manipulation of that important article. Great improvements have been made in the harbor of Guayaquil, one of the best on the Pacific coast. Ibara, which was destroyed

by an earthquake in 1868, has been rebuilt.

President Antonio Bororero was inaugurated December, 1875. As the population in 1876 was less than 1,000,000, the army and navy are very small. Schools are fast increasing. The upper regions are inhabited by a population different in habits and thoughts from those of the littoral section, and these adverse opinions often break out in revolts which greatly retard the improvements of the country.

Peru.—This republic is bounded by the Pacific Ocean, Bolivia, Brazil, and Ecuador. The territory is fully 500,000 square miles. In 1871 its population approached 4,000,000. The native and mixed people are more than one-half the population. In 1872 Manuel Pardo was President. The army numbered 13,000 men, and the navy, including some iron-clads, mounted nearly 100 guns—some very formidable. Nitre and guano are the principal articles of export, much of which goes to England. Some sugar, Peruvian bark, and wool are also exported. Little attention is paid to manufactures, and nearly every fabric for dress, and hardware and machinery is brought from abroad. In 1871 the imports were estimated at $42,000,000, and the exports exceeded that amount by over a million.

The principal revenue is from the sale of guano. Many important railroad lines were constructed by an enterprising American (Henry Meigs) about this time. Large sums were at the same period laid out in irrigation and public roads. In February, 1872, died Archbishop Goyeneche, at the age of eighty-eight years—a very able and good man. A very fine national exposition was opened in this year. A revolution, headed by one Gutierrez, made some way for a few days, but ended in the overthrow and death of the usurper. The people preserved admirable tranquillity.

Revenue in 1873, about $23,500,000; expenditures, $17,380,406; foreign debt, $[illegible].961,000. In 1874 there seems to be a deficit of $11,000,000 between receipts and expenditures. Much depression in business and financial distress was caused by the fact that the country had expended large sums of money received in advance for guano. The Government had been maintained by these advances, and the consequent check, by the stoppage of customary supplies, left the revenue far short of the sums demanded. As there are no direct taxes in Peru, and customs duties are relatively small, the ruling powers were placed in an awkward predicament. The President wisely and temperately urged the people to face the difficulty and pointed out some remedies. In October the town of Iquique was totally destroyed by a conflagration. A Congress of the South American States had been called to assemble in Lima to consider and act upon various matters of great consequence to the different divisions of the country.

President Ignacio Prado, August, 1876, visited England and made satisfactory arrangements with bondholders. Some revolutionary movements had been frustrated. More confidence had prevailed.

Uruguay.—President, L. Latorr. The revenue had increased to $9,000,000; leaving a large surplus to apply to paying the national debt. The commercial statistics for 1875–76 are not yet made public. Horse-cars had been successfully introduced into Montevideo.

Bolivia.—This republic has continued, since the days of its great liberator, Bolivar, the form of republican government. It has a congress of two chambers, elected by universal suffrage. The President appoints a Vice-President. In the year 1872 Alfonso Ballivian was elected President, and was inaugurated at Oruro, the present capital. The standing army numbers about 5,000 men, including officers of all grades; and it is supported at an annual cost of a little over $2,000,000. The principal port, Cobija, is free. In 1871 the total imports—mostly hardware, silks, cotton fabrics, and jewelry—reached $6,000,000; while the export of ores, Peruvian bark, borax, furs, hides, and guano exceeded $5,000,000. While Bolivia is a very large State, both as regards territory and population, she has been very backward in enterprises of all kinds. Of late years, however, she has awakened from her lethargy. Arrangements have been made with the Madeira and Mamore Railroad Company and the Bolivian Navigation Company for extending transit facilities to various parts of the territory. These and other improvements will open up to trade and civilization great tracts of country now inhabited by savage or semi-savage Indians, where natural productions of great value abound.

When President Toruas Frias was elected, in 1874, the army was about 3,000, including officers. The annual income from all sources is less than the expenditure.

The Madeira and Madore Railroad was still progressing. When this road is completed, it will open a short route from Bolivia to the littoral region of the Pacific. She is now dependent on a Peruvian port on that ocean. Several short, but important railroads are in course of construction. There were several abortive risings, but Frias retained his place. At Cochabamba an industrial exhibition was held in February.

The Bolivian Government failed to make any satisfactory settlement of their boundary lines with their neighbors. The army costs over $2,000,000, although it counts only about 3,000, all told. The accounts of the national revenue are too unsatisfactory to note. No official figures are given of exports and imports, but there must have been a falling off in consequence of a serious rebellion. Many rich silver lodes have been discovered. Henry Meigs and others were constructing railroads, which promised well. A revolt against the Government was crushed in April. The leading rebels were banished only.

Violent depositions of Presidents have been the rule in Bolivia rather than the exception; and on one sanguinary occasion, Morales became so violent through passion and wine, that he was assassinated by his own nephew, La Faye, in the same apartment in which Melgarejo had slaughtered Belzu. Of late years things look more promising for peace and prosperity, through treaties negotiated with Brazil, for their mutual improvement and advancement.

Argentine Republic.—In 1875 the population, as nearly as can be ascertained, was 1,768,681; of which Buenos Ayres, the capital, contained about one-quarter of a million. The boundary unpleasantness still continued with Chili, but it was hoped a settlement by compromise would soon be made. The President is Don Nicolas Avellaneda, elected in 1874. There are fourteen provinces, each having a governor. In 1875 the revenue amounted to $17,206,746. The expenditures were much more, being $28,570,566. The military and naval expenses had been unusually large. While there has been mismanagement and lack of prudence, there has been no dishonesty. Financial affairs were improving. The exports amounted to more than $50,000,000, while the imports were some $5,000,000 greater. Much attention is being given to raising breadstuffs, which find a ready sale in the adjacent States. A very extensive trade has been opened up with France. A great deal of fresh meat, preserved by a peculiar process, has been exported to France. This trade will doubtless largely increase; they have the material in boundless quantities, and France has the demand. The French are paying good prices for horses to mount their cavalry. Some important international treaties have been concluded with foreign governments. The railroad enterprises are proving successful—greatly increasing trade, both internal and foreign.

Guatemala.—The President is Rufino Barrios, elected May, 1873. The revenue largely exceeded the expenses. The amount received for duties was nearly double that of 1873. The most perfect peace had reigned for two years. The largest imports were from Great Britain—the largest exports to the United States. Steamers plying between Panama and California touch at Guatemalan ports. Good roads and needed aqueducts were rapidly being constructed. Beer brewed in the English style is an industry of consequence. Great improvement has been made in the breed of horses. In the celebration of the Fifty-fourth Anniversary of Independence of Central America, one-fourth of the time of all convicted prisoners was remitted.

Costa Rica.—The temporary President is Vicente Herrera, the elected President being overthrown by a revolution. The revenue had increased each year for the last five years. Nearly the whole amount of exports was in coffee, which amounted

to over $4,000,000. There was a great deal of uncertainty attending railway and telegraph affairs in consequence of the military disturbances.

This State — bounded by the Pacific Ocean, the Caribbean Sea, Nicaragua, and the United States of Colombia—has a population of some 167,000, of which more than one-half are whites, the rest of various mixed races. The extent of country is about 22,000 square miles. In 1872, J. M. Guardia was re-elected President for four years. Great Britain takes the principal product, coffee—in addition to which hides, India rubber, pearl-shell, and deer-skins are exported, principally to the United States. For so small a country, its trade is large; its exports amounting in 1871 to $2,288.450 and its imports to $2,225,000—nearly three-fourths of which is on British account. The foreign debt is very small and mostly due in London. Costa Rica has refused an asylum to the Jesuits banished from neighboring republics. In October, 1871, a conspiracy against the Government was discovered and defeated. There is a great scarcity of willing laborers for public works, and attempts have been made to invite immigration.

The national congress is composed of a single chamber, elected for four years. The revenue is far short of expenditures, though great efforts are making to reform customs matters. Education is being diffused. Commerce continues to increase from year to year. The mass of the people have supported the authorities in putting down some attempts at insurrection. Limon was becoming quite a flourishing town.

The President is Thomas Guardia. The returns show exports to the value of $4,906,000, of which coffee was about two-thirds. The Costa Rica Railroad was soon to be completed. A rebellion of no great magnitude was easily suppressed. The British Consul was ordered to leave the country, charged with grossly libeling its institutions.

Central America.—After many conferences and a good deal of informal discussion, representatives appointed by Nicaragua, San Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatamela, met at La Union, San Salvador, in 1872, in order to settle the basis of a confederacy for mutual succor and assistance. They finally settled upon articles, the general scope of which were: that they would all unite to prevent any threatened injury to one or more of the republics; that they would assist in opening highways, and establishing telegraph lines between the different capitals; that they would endeavor to promote the construction of the great inter-oceanic canal to cross Nicaragua; that like criminal and civil laws should prevail in all the States; that slavery should never exist in any of the States; weights, measures, and currency were to be equal; and various stipulations were made for carrying out these designs, while each State still preserved its own separate autonomy.

The project of a union between the five States interested, did not come to a successful issue.

Nicaragua.—The boundaries of this State in 1870, were Honduras, the Pacific Ocean, Costa Rica, and the Pacific Ocean. Its extent of territory was nearly 50,000 square miles. Population slightly over 40,000. Vincent Quadra was President in 1871. The leading articles of export were woods, coffee, cotton, sugar, cedar, gold dust, indigo, deer-skins, and hides; altogether, amounting to $915,043. This was an improvement upon previous years. The imports at the same time amounted to $1,186,698, but the particular items are not officially given. A foreign company had a right to navigate San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua for twenty years, and the concession was proving profitable. Little was certainly known of the expenses, debts, or receipts of the Government. In March, 1872, an expedition from New York successfully surveyed a route for a ship-canal across the Isthmus. Some angry feelings existed between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, partly excited by the project of the canal.

The President is Don Juan Baptista Gil, elected November, 1872. The army is reduced to 400 men. The revenue shows a large deficiency. Trade was growing prosperous again, after its long inaction, owing to the war. Paraguayan tea (*yerba maté*) was one of the principal articles of export Tobacco yields three crops a year.

Venezuela—President, Guzman Blanco, elected February, 1873. The population approaches 2,000,000. National revenue, $5,324,676; expenditure, about $200,000 less. Regular army, 10,000 men. Public education is extending. Students have been sent to the United States to learn the art of teaching. $12,000,000 is an approximate estimate of the value of imports in 1874–75, while over $17,000,000 were exported. Telegraph and postal service are well organized.

Colombia.—Touching, as this State does, the Caribbean Sea, the Pacific, the Empire of Brazil, and the States of Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Equador, much interest is felt in her fortunes. In 1870 the population was computed at nearly 3,000,000, of which number about one-third were pure whites, the rest being various degrees of European, Negro, and Indian. In 1872, Manuel Murillo Toro was elected President. The army is very small, not over 2,000. In 1870 the whole exports were set down as $8,284,000, and the imports at $6,053,772. In 1872 the National debt, home and foreign, was calculated at $43,261,960. The short, but important railway of Panama crosses the Isthmus of that name, and is still of great importance to us on account of our California trade. There is much dissatisfaction felt at the imposts placed upon trade by Venezuela, which State dominates the best route to the ocean. A submarine cable has for years been laid between the Island of Jamaica and Aspinwall. There is a good deal of bitter feeling manifested between two parties: one desiring entire freedom of religion, the other being averse to changing any of the present restrictive laws. Considerable anarchical difficulties occurred in 1871 and 1872 between the Liberals, headed by Gen. Mosquera, and the Conservatives, led by Bishop Pasto. The troubles destroy trade and retard progress of all kinds.

The river Magdalena is the water-way for the commerce of five different States, and a good number of steamers navigate its waters. $4,000,000 was the revenue for 1872–73. The tariff is the most simple of any country, having only five classes. For ten years peace has prevailed. The country has consequently so prospered that the revenue had doubled in that time. Great promptness is shown in paying the interest on the public debt. Transportation of heavy goods is enormous, and much attention is given to extending railroads. Chili had imported $300,000 in silver bars and coin from Europe. The lease of the great emerald mines of Muzo and Cascuez would expire in 1875, and proposals for a new contract were issued. Two years is the Presidential term, and Santa Perez was inaugurated in April, 1874. Foreigners are in all rights on a par with natives. No imprisonment for debt, and all professions are free. About one-half the revenue of each department of Colombia is devoted to educational purposes.

President Santiago Perez was inaugurated in April, 1874, for two years. The amount received for customs is continually increasing. Total national debt, $15,712,174. Improvements were projected between different parts of the republic calculated to be of much benefit. An exploration was designed of the Isthmus of Panama to locate a suitable inter-oceanic route. There was considerable trouble threatened by insurgents, but by October order was restored.

The President is Aquileo Para, inaugurated in April, 1876. Total exports during 1874–75 was nearly $6,000,000; total value of imports for the same period was nearly $15,000,000. Quite a liberal sum is expended for public instruction. A contract was executed in 1875 with responsible parties to survey and form a company to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Panama from ocean to ocean. Liberal land and other grants were made to capitalists, but as yet no actual work has been begun.

Paraguay, 1876.—Nothing new; peace and mild prosperity. Efforts on the part of Brazil to settle the Paraguayan difficulty with the Argentine Republic failed, and the same remark applies to the misunderstanding with Chili. The improved condition of the working classes in Europe is given as a reason for the falling off in immigration. Congress exerted itself to promote the increase of foreign populations. Many of the colonies in different parts of the country were thriving. The President, Nicolas Avellaneda, succeeded Sarmiento in 1874. There seems an unaccountable fluctuation in the revenue from year to year; but, on the whole, the Republic is increasing in industry and wealth. A good deal of money is charged

to putting down rebellions. The whole debt is $71,000,000. The whole navy, including two iron-clads, cost $1,842,660. Signor Leguisamon deserves much praise for his exertions in forwarding the cause of education. The trade returns show a falling off in exports and a vast increase in imports from the previous year. 200,000,000 pounds of wool left the country in 1874. There were nearly 1,000 miles of railroad completed, and many important ones projected, with a likelihood of being finished. The tonnage entered and cleared was about the same as in the preceding year. Money was easily got in London to further these enterprises at a low rate of interest. Telegraph lines have proved profitable. Their marble, equal to the finest Carara, has been quarried. The President declares their great rivers open as the seas to the common domain of all nations.

In 1876, the rivers are being deepened, and subsidies granted to navigation companies.

MEXICO.—This federative republic of North America is bounded by the United States, Gulf of Mexico, British Honduras, the Guatamela, and the Pacific Ocean. Its estimated extent is over 1,000,000 square miles, and its population is close upon 10,000,000. It has quite a large army, but the strength of it is not known, officially. The bulk of the trade is carried on with the United States; the articles exported being in great part silver, dye-stuffs, hide, furniture, woods, etc. In return she receives cotton and other fabrics, machinery and iron to the amount, in 1871, of $5,381,959. The exports to the United States in the same period were $8,530,812. The imports from Great Britain only reached half that amount. Half the tonnage entering Mexican ports belonged to the United States, and in 1869 and 1870 aggregated 370,675 tons. The formation of the country is not favorable to the construction of railroads, still there are several short lines in successful operation. The principal cities are connected by telegraph. The debt due to England was computed to be about $300,000,000, but both this and the debt due, or claimed by France, is in abeyance. Since the death of Maximilian several revolutions of more or less magnitude have torn this magnificent country with intestine commotions. Bands of robbers, taking advantage of this disorderly state of affairs, have raided in all directions, frequently even entering towns and bearing away citizens of presumed wealth, in order to hold them as hostages for a ransom. In 1872 Diaz Brothers were defeated and Oajaca taken. Juarez assumed dictatorial powers. Many of the governors of States opposed the General Government. The fighting was so desultory that little real gains were made by either revolutionists or federalists. In July, 1871, President Benito Juarez died of appolexy. He left the republic in a very unsettled state. The rebels, against his authority, kept up a formidable armed opposition, and many causes of offense were given by leaders of both Government and revolutionary leaders. Lerdo de Tejada assumed the Presidency on the death of Juarez. The new President pardoned all insurgents below the rank of lieutenant-general. About this time Florez, the Governor of Sinalo, was kidnapped and carried away for ransom, and at Guanajuato some federal troops revolted, killed the commander, and stole $50,000. On the 1st of November, Lerdo was almost unanimously elected President, and was able to effect a loan.

In 1875 the President was Lerdo de Tejada. Revenue, $18,465,638; expenditures, $23,956,421. Exports were $31,691-000; imports, $29,062,000. Estimated tonnage 1,000,000. The subject of suppressing the Sisters of Charity was being warmly debated. Several railroads were in active progress. Much attention was being given to general education.

In 1876 Porfirio Diaz was President. The population is estimated at about 9,000,000. Liberal offers are made to induce immigration. Smuggling is carried to such an extent that no dependence can be placed upon the customs or financial statements. Public schools are numerous, and a good deal of attention is paid to art education. It is one of the most productive regions of the world; wheat and sugar-cane are both staple productions. Tobacco is very fine. Coffee is beginning to be largely cultivated. Henequin, yielding fibers which make the very best cables, is being extensively and profitably cultivated.

It would be tedious as well as useless to record all the "plans" and "pronunciamentos" that have distracted this fine country. Men, not measures, have been the inciting causes.

EDITORIAL ARTICLES.

During the last eight years the total trade of the United States with South America has increased to a considerable degree. In the fiscal year 1870, our imports from that region were 9.41 per cent of our total imports; in 1877 they had risen to 13.78 per cent., or by nearly one-half. During the firs'-named year we imported $43,-596,045; last year, $67,825,859. But while this increase was going on, the export trade, though it increased slightly, became relatively smaller. In 1870 the exports were, in round numbers, $20,-000,000, or 4.18 per cent.; in 1877 they were $22,000,000, which was but 3.26 per cent.

If we look at the distribution of the business, we find that about two-thirds of the imports came from Brazil, amounting, last year, to $43,498,041, while we had from the United States of Colombia $5,445,393, from Venezuela $7,429,559, from the more distant States of the Argentine Republic $3,449,559, and from other countries, chiefly from the Pacific coast, $7,994,307. Against these considerable imports we have but a beggarly show of exports, as follows: To the Colombian Republic, $4,022,232; to Venezuela, $3,066,262; to Brazil, $7,499,118; to the Argentine Republic, $1,-129,168, and to the other countries, $6,346,455.

These facts are sufficient to show that the elements of a larger trade exist, but that, for various reasons, though we buy in quite large amounts from our neighbors on the Southern Continent, we sell them very little. If we ask for the reason of this, we shall be told that it is because we have no direct communication with South America, and doubtless our trade would be very greatly benefited by such communication, though it does not follow that it is necessary, or that it would be wise for the Government to subsidize steamship lines for the purpose of obtaining it. If our merchants can show that the main thing which is lacking to a prosperous South American trade is steam communication, there will be no difficulty about securing that.

It would not seem that such a demonstration ought to be difficult. The geographical relations of the South American States to those of our Union are adapted to promote commerce with us greater than that with the distant nations of Europe. Their population numbers at the present moment not less than 25,000,000. All of the States, though within the past half century torn by repeated wars, are now at peace, and provided for the most part with stable governments, and reasonable security for person and property. In Brazil, Venezuela, and the United States of Colombia, lying most advantageously for our trade, and possessing three-fifths of the population and a much larger proportion of the capital, trade, and developed resources of the continent, there is a distinct spirit of enterprise and a genuine commercial energy. The needs of the populations are, moreover, precisely such as we ought to be best able to supply. They include certain articles of food not produced in the country, tools, machinery, cheap clothing, contrivances of all kinds for convenience and dispatch in the daily life of laborious people, saddlery, fire-arms, hardware, furniture, and the cheaper textile and leather goods. These classes of goods the United States can produce of greater variety and better quality than any European nation, and ought to be able to furnish them at lower prices. Certainly, the effort is worth making. Our country never was in a better situation to push this particular branch of foreign trade. Prices are low; labor is comparatively cheap and plentiful; the currency approaches stability and convertibility; there is a general anxiety to find outlets for the products, crude and manufactured, of the country, and no field is more promising than that of South America. We start with the obvious advantage of being ourselves exceedingly good customers. It would appear to be a question which American ingenuity ought to be able to solve, how to complete the circle of trade, and sell to those of whom we already buy liberally.

Unquestionably a present advantage which the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain enjoy over those of the United States in carrying on a trade with South America, particularly with Brazil, is the establishment of regular lines of steamships, which furnish frequent, regular, and reliable communication between those transcontinental countries. Between European ports and the Argentine Republic — more remote than Brazil, and furnishing probably about one-fourth as much trade—there are reported to be no less than 13 lines of steamships. Probably even more ply between Europe and Brazil. Between the United States and Brazil we have not a single line, and the commerce is transacted wholly with sailing craft, or such casual intervention of steam vessels as a chance of unusual freights may summon to its aid. With all these disadvantages the trade of Great Britain exceeded that of the United States with Brazil in 1876 by less than $3,000,000, being for the former $55,500,000 and for the latter $52,700,000. In 1877 the commerce of the United States with Brazil was some $2,000,000 less than in 1876; from Great Britain we have no figures for the last year. But the figures as presented convey their own suggestive lesson. If a trade of $55,000,000 will support several steamship lines, ought not a trade of $52,000,000 to support at least one? Or, again, if, without regular steam communication, a trade amounting to $52,000,000 can be maintained, what might we not hope for if regular and reliable steam communication were established? These inquiries are alike pertinent and suggestive and hopeful. It is evident that our merchants, manufacturers, and ship owners have this whole matter of enlarging the South American market for United States products entirely in their own hands, and are as independent of Congress or of Congressional aid in the form of subsidies in promoting this object as they are of the British Parliament. The trade, properly or-

ganized, conducted, and concentrated, is sufficient now to justify the establishment at least of a monthly line of steamships running between New York and the principal Atlantic ports of South America, as far as Buenos Ayres. And the impetus that would be given to trade if such a line were established it is impossible to conceive. Everything is in our favor if only we will improve the advantages before us. We have the favorable consideration of those foreign peoples as being already profitable customers. Their Governments are desirous of promoting commercial intercourse with the United States, and will extend unusual facilities and all reasonable concessions to this end. Regular communication by steam once established, the time between New York and the principal South American ports is about four days less than from Liverpool to those ports. Without any subsidy, but in the discharge of its legitimate functions in the promotion of postal facilities, we may anticipate from Congress early action in providing for a mail service between one or more of our ports and the South American States.

The only unsolved question relates to the intelligence and enterprise with which these existing and rapidly culminating advantages will be discerned and employed by our merchants and manufacturers. No one with faith in the character of our people will doubt as to the ultimate solution of this question in a way gratifying to our national pride and promotive of national prosperity. The market is open, our products are ready, we have only to find the way, and make known in the former the abundance, and the variety, and the quality of the latter, to establish a line of trade that shall be alike profitable and enduring. —*New York Daily Times.*

Buenos Ayres, *Oct.* 9, 1877.—Attention has been very generally directed to the steps taken by the Government of the United States indicative of a growing interest in the countries of this continent. No American, conversant with its commerce and resources, can fail to "wonder" how it has come about, that all these years, since the conclusion of the war, American merchants and manufacturers have been so oblivious to the market here opened to them, if they should enter it with their reputed enterprise and good judgment. And so when it was published that the Government at Washington had so far become aware of these facts as to form a definite policy of encouragement to the commercial relations between the countries of South America and its own country, there was an evident rubbing open of eyes among commercial circles here as to what it all foreshadowed. This interest manifested in this and other ways has come none too soon. In fact, the indifference shown in the past will make the work of assuming our legitimate trade relations more difficult than an earlier movement. It is not pleasant to be made to confess ourselves distanced in enterprise of which we are so fond of boasting as Americans, but in this case we must.

Old Europe has stolen a march on Young America, and Dame Britain has caught Brother Jonathan asleep during working hours. Even Italy comes out of the dingy past, and gets ahead of the new empire of the Western World. At the present moment there are twelve regular transatlantic steamship lines, England sending six, France two, Italy two, Germany two; but never do we see the stars and stripes floating from a merchant steamer in these waters. In a diplomatic circular note, Secretary Evarts wants to know what will bring these countries into closer commercial relations. There can be but one answer as to the primary requisite, and we venture the opinion that the official replies of all Ministers and Consuls will so state—It is in the establishment of a regular permanent steamship line between the United States and these countries. This city is not more than twenty-four days' moderate steaming from New York, and yet it is practically the most remote of any important seaport in the world, including China, Japan, or Australia. Every letter must twice cross the Atlantic in its journey between the two countries. Every merchant in visiting the markets of the world must brush past all those of Europe, and cross the Atlantic if he would reach those of the States. Time is an important element in competition, and trade between the United States and this country is shut up to the delays and uncertainties of sailing vessels, or is made to send its goods around a good part of the world to get them here, a burden too heavy for a general competition, and it is evident as possible that commerce can not be largely increased without direct steam communication. The facilities must precede trade, and not follow. The United States ranks No. 1 among the nations from which this country made purchases in 1876. And the amount, according to the official valuation here, which is of course greater than when the purchases were started from the United States, was $1,880,110, while England sent $8,677,866. In 1873, the amount purchased from the United States was more than five millions. This falling off is in part attributable to the general business depression, but the trade with other countries does not show anything like so great a decline; showing that the United States is unable to compete with Europe in these markets on account of the greater cost of production, or because of some disadvantages to trade. That it is not the first is soon discovered. In Paysander, a port of Uruguay, across the river, or rather a short distance up the Uruguay, is an American House which runs a line of vessels to Baltimore, Messrs. Hufnagel, Plottier & Co., and does the largest business of any house in these rivers, outside of Buenos Ayres, and almost exclusively in American goods, including cotton and woolen fabrics, furniture, hardware, agricultural implements, and of course does this because it can make it to its advantage to introduce American goods. If, under such circumstances, this can be done, how evident it becomes that with proper communications and a better knowledge of this market, a much greater variety and extent of commerce could be carried on with the United States. In produce of this country exported the United States stands No. 5 in the amount of business done; England, third; Belgium first. The amount sent to the United States in 1876, according to the official valuation here, was $2,393,236, leaving a balance against the United States of over $1,200,000, and when it is remembered that this is upon the increased valuation of imports from the United States made here from freight charges and higher valuation, and of the lower valuation put on exports from this country, as compared with that of the United States, it will be seen that this balance is really understated in the above amount. England in the same year received from here goods to the amount of over seven million dollars, leaving a balance in her favor of about a million and a half dollars. As late as 1873–74 there was a balance of trade in favor of the United States. In 1875 it was about even, and against them since that time.

We are aware that attempts have recently been made, and formerly too, for the opening of American houses and branches of business which have come to grief or have amounted to nothing, for reasons which are not of difficult discovery. In some cases it has been done with a flourish of trumpets, and on a scale so grand as to make success impossible. In other cases, the work has been entrusted to those who were either ignorant or entirely misconceived the demands of this market. In still other cases it has been thought that a promiscuous lot of samples, a few odd cases, or a single visit of a selling agent would result in the establishment of business. This method is still being pursued, and amounts only to the giving some one a voyage and the sale of a few lots at unsatisfactory prices. American trade can be opened here only by a careful study of the market, the sending to experienced business men a proper classified assortment of goods, procured from manufacturers without numerous intervening commissions and profits. In short, in a systematic and well planned arrangement, such as would be thought necessary at home in the introduction of a new business. The impression too often formed that anything will do for this market, and any price will be paid, is a great mistake. Margins for profits are not large, and wants and tastes are well-defined. We know of houses well "lumbered up" with all conceivable samples and circulars from saw-mills to silverware, saw-mills, too, for a country that is treeless, until one gets beyond civilization, and about which the merchant knows little and cares less. In another case, goods in sample were offered in this market which had six profits or commissions before they reached the retail shopkeeper, and some one may wonder why the business so attempted has not been successful. In cottons, printing-paper, machinery, and agricultural implements, American manufacturers can unquestionably compete with those of Europe in this market, and so also is the case with many varieties of American produce. It only requires enterprise, good judgment, and fair means of communication. We shall become wearisome with this long discussion of business, and will postpone further remarks and important facts until another time.—*New York Evening Mail.*

General Remarks.—Before taking leave of this interesting branch of our important history, it will not be amiss to make a few observations upon the reasons why the South American States have not made as rapid a progress in material wealth and stability of political institutions as have the people of the northern portion of the same great continent. In the first place, Northern America was peopled from different nations or parts of nations, having divergent ideas upon forms of government and religion. No one settlement was sufficiently powerful to bend the others to a Procrustean conformity. Even in the English-speaking portion, the fiery cavalier had to tolerate the hardy Puritan. They differed as much upon sacred as upon civil tenets. The indomitable republican who voted to behead the first Charles quite possibly dwelt in the same township as the fierce monarchist who assisted in gibbeting the remains of Cromwell. The Catholics of Maryland knew and esteemed the Hugonots of Carolina; while the honest Knickerbocker on the banks of the Hudson made them all welcome at his hospitable board. So it happened that the wide divergence of belief in what are now the United States made any attempts at successfully producing religious or political uniformity an impossibility. If one sect infringed upon the rights of another, all the remaining sects had a fellow-feeling with the injured party. So that persecution—in the phrase of our times—"didn't pay." Very many, too, of the men who engineered and fought through the Revolution were practical republicans long before an American republic existed in form upon these shores. They or their fathers had not only drank of the pure waters of liberty from the works of Milton and his illustrious confreres—they had not only fought with the invincible "Ironsides" of Cromwell—but, in the new world, those fountain-heads of Freedom — the public school and the town meeting—were permanent institutions; and the yeomanry of the country had learned the all-important lesson that no man is fit to be a freeman till he is not only willing, but anxious that his fellow-citizen shall have in heaped measure the same amount of freedom which he demands for himself.

The Spaniards, on the contrary, who dis-

covered and settled the southern portion of this hemisphere, were Catholics to a man. They never entered a battle-field but their eyes first turned to the standard on which the cross was emblazoned, and their conquests were legalized and blessed by the uplifted hands of the Roman Pontiff. Any one that disbelieved the faith of their fathers was considered to be not merely a dissenter, but an atheist, with whom it was almost sinful to hold intercourse. The Church was not only a part of the Government, but it could truthfully say with the French monarch, "I am the State!" Here, consequently, was no chance for toleration to exist, and consequently, the idea of a republican form of government was present—if at all—only in the mind of some few educated men, and with them it existed but as a glittering theory, impossible of being put in practice.

Still another thing must be remembered. While North America was in frequent, if not very rapid, communication with the Old World—receiving not only all material improvements, but fresh mental inspiration—the people of South America might almost as well have dwelt in the moons of Mercury, so difficult was it to know what was passing in the land of their forefathers. But it happened that when the French revolution tore to shreds the mouldy documents that taught the divine rights of kings, and electrified the people by the cries of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality," even the sleepy waters of Acapulco and the icy peaks of Chimborazo reverberated with the grand outburst. The patriotic hearts of Bolivar, Paez, and their brave fellow-soldiers, rose to "the height of the great argument," and after many sanguinary battles, won the freedom of their country. Still, as we have said, the peoples were comparatively unfit for the liberty which they had so gloriously won; and it has been a long and laborious and painful struggle to gather in the fruits of the great harvest reaped by the sword sickles of the liberators of South America.

We can not bring this historical record of South American affairs to a better close than by quoting the preceding editorial articles which have lately appeared in some of our leading journals. The important facts which they body forth should arouse our inventors, manufacturers, and merchants to the importance of studying the wants of our immediate neighbors, and seeking to extend the sale of our products for the valuable ones which they stand ready to furnish to us.

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Is to present the Events in the Order in which they Transpired, thereby preventing any Confusion in the Mind of

THE READER,

ENABLING HIM TO FIX THE EXACT DATE

OF

EVERY OCCURRENCE.

THIS IS THE ONLY CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE WHICH ATTEMPTS MORE

THAN THE

SIMPLEST AND BRIEFEST RECORD OF EVENTS,

BEING SUFFICIENTLY FULL TO EXPLAIN ALL IMPORTANT FACTS AND OCCURRENCES IN A CONCISE AND INTERESTING MANNER;

ALSO, INDEXING

THE TWO AMERICAS.

THE LARGE NUMBER OF

BIOGRAPHIES CONTAINED IN THE CHRONOLOGY, IN ADDITION TO THOSE IN OTHER PORTIONS OF THE WORK,

Makes a Perfect Library for Reading and Reference.

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CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY.

PRE-HISTORIC RACES.

AUTHENTIC American history dates back only about four centuries. Previous to that period, through an almost unlimited age, the existence of a vastly numerous and pre-historic race may be traced through the ruins of their cities, their wonderful caves, and subterranean habitations, in which skeletons of some of their ancient inhabitants, stone implements of warfare and husbandry, and pieces of pottery and earthen vessels of rare and peculiar workmanship and coloring, are found. In some of these more perfectly constructed mounds, tools of copper, brass, and silver, and vases of pottery, ornaments, and precious stones, have been found. These ancient inhabitants also worked the copper mines of Lake Superior, and their old pits are still called the "ancient diggings." In one of these mines a mass of copper was found which weighed over forty tons, and which had been separated from the original vein by removing the earth and ore, and the surface made smooth by pounding. About this huge piece of copper were found the very tools those ancient miners had used—stone hammers, copper chisels and wedges, as if the workmen had departed, intending soon to return. Upon some of these deserted mines, the largest forest trees are found growing, and upon a mound near Marietta, Ohio, were found trees which, at least, must have seen eight centuries. The most marvelous and peculiar of all the relics of these ancient inhabitants, are found in the valleys of Arizona. Here almost every hill-top within a range of 10,000 square miles is covered with broken pottery, so perfectly glazed, that its bright and varied coloring is well preserved. Here, also, are ruins of buildings four stories in height, and with walls two feet thick, reservoirs, irrigating canals, and fortifications, where multitudes of caves are cut in the solid rock, and closed by mason-work of stone and cement, which is well preserved. These caves are only accessible by means of ladders, and the larger ones are bastioned and loop-holed; and an entrance, large enough to admit one person only, was made at the top, which connected with a series of chambers that honeycombed the whole mountain, while their walls are still black with the smoke from the fires of their ancient dwellers. These subterranean caverns were evidently prepared with a vast amount of labor as asylums against a fierce and invading foe; and long and cruel must have been the warfare which forced them to forsake their villages and cultivated fields and make their homes in the rocky depths of the mountains. Where and how the last of this numerous and wonderful race were blotted out of existence, leaving behind no tradition of its origin, will forever remain a mystery.

The ruins of Spanish cathedrals and towns which were in all their glory, when a few half starved English refugees from oppression were struggling for existence on the shores of the Potomac River and Plymouth Bay, are still scattered over the wilds of New Mexico and Arizona, but their earliest records give no account of these wonderful ancient inhabitants. Neither did the intelligent and semi-civilized Montezumas, nor the vast tribes of Indians subject to them, have any knowledge, or dim tradition even, concerning these monuments of a long-forgotten age and people.

AMERICAN INDIANS.

The earliest explorers of the American Continent found here a numerous race of inhabitants, which they called Indians, because Columbus and the early adventurers supposed they had discovered the long-sought eastern shores of India. Various theories have been advanced in regard to their origin, the truthfulness of which can not be determined, as none of them could possibly be demonstrated. The time of their occupancy of the country or the date of their origin can not be known.

YEAR.

458. Chinese tradition alleges the discovery of Fu-Sang (Mexico) by the Buddhists.
861. The Normans discover Iceland... page 2
889. The Normans discover Greenland 2
985. Greenland peopled by the Danes under Eric Raud, or *Red Head*..... 2
1002. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, "Winland dat Gode" (the good wine country), supposed to be the coast of New England, discovered by Biron, an Icelander, and afterward visited by Lief, a Greenlander, according to Icelandic Sagas..... 2
1004. Natives were first discovered in Newfoundland..... 2
1002–1006. Icelandic adventurers repeatedly visited the New World, exploring the country and bartering with the natives..... 2
1006. A rich Icelander, named Thorfin Karlsefni, spent three winters on the coast of Massachusetts, where his wife bore him a son, whom he named Snorri, said to be the first child born of European parents on the continent of America..... page i. Introduction,
1170. Madoc, a Welsh prince, supposed to have discovered America..... 2
1380. Zeno, a Venetian, began voyages of discovery..... 3

COLUMBUS.

1447. Christopher Columbus supposed to have been born at Genoa—exact date disputed..... 5, 76
1461. Columbus went to sea at the age of fourteen—his first voyages were confined to the Mediterranean..... 5, 76
1467. At the age of twenty Columbus visited Iceland and the Northern seas, advancing several degrees within the polar circle..... 5, 76
Columbus next entered the service of a famous sea captain of his own name and family..... 5, 76
1470–1474. Columbus conceived the idea that by sailing west he could reach the East Indies by a shorter route—also that another continent must lie in that direction..... 5, 76
1474. Columbus began applying for aid, successively to the Senate of Genoa and the courts of Portugal, Spain, and England. He was repeatedly refused, spending several years in negotiations..... 5, 77
1492. Apr. 17. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain grant Columbus a commission to go on a voyage of discovery, constituting him High Admiral in all seas and continents discovered by him, Isabella fitting out the expedition at her own expense..... 6, 78, 79
" Aug. 3. Columbus sailed from the port of Palos with three small vessels and ninety men, to venture upon strange seas and to discover an unknown world..... 6, 79
" Aug. 13. Columbus arriving at the Canary Islands, repaired his ships and procured supplies..... 6, 79
" Sept. 6. Columbus left the Canaries, and when out of sight of land his crew became dejected, and importuned him to return. He encourages them, and restores their confidence..... 6, 79
" Oct. 1. Not yet discovering land, his officers and crew threaten mutiny. With extraordinary efforts he quiets them..... 6, 80
" Oct. 12. Columbus discovers land. In the sudden revulsion of feeling his men prostrate themselves at his feet and implore his forgiveness..... 6, 80
" He proceeds to land with great pomp and martial display. The shores are lined with naked inhabitants..... 80
Columbus plants the cross and proceeds to take possession of the island in the name of the crowns of Castile and Leon..... 6, 80
Columbus named this island San Salvador. He continued his voyage in search of gold..... 6, 80
" Oct. 28. He discovers Cuba, and soon afterward numerous islands, all of which are inhabited, and finds gold in small quantities..... 6, 81
He exchanged beads and trinkets for gold with the natives, who are extremely docile and kind..... 6, 81
" Dec. 6. Columbus sailed eastward. Dec. 24th he encountered a storm and lost one of his vessels off an island (Hayti, or Hispaniola). The natives aid him

to land and treat him with great kindness..... 6, 81
He makes a stand here and erects a fort, planting the guns from the wreck.

1493. Jan. 4. From here he returns to Spain, and leaves a colony of thirty-eight men..... 6, 81

" Mar. 15. Columbus arrived in Spain after a tempestuous voyage. He was received with every mark of distinction and gratitude at court, and with general rejoicing by the people.. 6, 82

" May 25. The King and Queen of Spain confirm their former treaty, and make the office of Viceroy of the West Indies hereditary in his family..... 6, 82

" Sept. 25. Columbus returns on his second voyage to the West Indies with a fleet of seventeen ships and fifteen hundred persons, with everything requisite for conquest or settlement. 6, 83

" Nov. 22. He arrives in Hayti and finds his colony and fort destroyed. He plants another colony on the opposite side of Hayti, naming it Isabella..... 6, 83

1494. Columbus while at Hayti suppressed a conspiracy, and sent the leaders to Spain in vessels sent for fresh supplies and reinforcements. He discovers large quantities of gold. He builds a fort, and calls the place St. Thomas. 83

" Apr. 24. He continues his voyage among the West India Islands, discovering Jamaica and Porto Rico. He becomes very ill and nearly loses his life..... 6, 83

" Sept. 27. He returned to Hayti and there found his brother Bartholomew, whom he had sent to the court of England in 1481. He had returned to Spain in time to take charge of three ships which were ready to sail with provisions for Hayti..... 6, 84

1495. Mar. 24. Columbus was compelled to subdue the natives by force of arms. He levied a tax upon them, thereby procuring gold in larger quantities. 84

1496. June 11. Columbus learning of enemies in Spain, who were working his overthrow, repaired to court with the trophies of his adventure in gold and the products of the New World, convincing his patrons of his success and the importance of his enterprise..... 7, 85

1497. June 24. John and Sebastian Cabot, Italians, in the service of Henry VII., King of England, discover Labrador and Newfoundland..... 10

1498. May. Sebastian Cabot sailed upon a second voyage to the New World. He was but a little more than twenty-one years of age, and during this voyage he explored the coast from the extreme north to Florida, and finding no break in the shore which promised the passage to India, he returned to England..... 11

" May 30. Columbus sailed from Spain on his third voyage to the New World with ten ships, after a delay of nearly two years..... 7, 86

" July 31. He discovers Trinidad and the river Oronoco..... 7, 86

" Aug. Columbus discovers the continent of South America, and lands on the coast of Paria. He proceeds to Hispaniola, and on his way discovers Cabagua and Margarita..... 7, 86

" Columbus superseded as Governor of the West Indies by Francis Bovadilla, who takes command of the colony in his absence..... 7, 88

1499. May 16. Americus Vespucius, a Florentine, sailed with Alonzo de Ojeda from Spain to explore the New World. He follows the course of Columbus, aided by his charts, and lands upon the coast of Paria. He proceeds as far as Cape de Verde, and returns to Spain..... 10, 87

1500. Columbus was sent to Spain in irons by Bovadilla..... 7, 88

" Pinzon, a companion of Columbus on his first voyage, visited the coast of Brazil and discovered the Amazon.

" Apr. 23. Cabral was shipwrecked on the coast of Brazil, and took possession for the crown of Portugal..... 87

" Nov. 5. Columbus arrives in Cadiz. Isabella and Ferdinand, becoming ashamed of their course toward him, invite him to court and openly apologize for the conduct of the new Governor..... 7, 88

" Dec. Ovando appointed successor to Bovadilla.

1502. May 4. The Government of Spain send Columbus upon his fourth and last voyage, equipped with four vessels and one hundred and twenty men, to discover a passage to the East Indies by the west..... 7, 89

" Aug. 14. Columbus discovers Honduras, soon afterward the Gulf of Darien and the adjoining coast..... 7, 89

1503. Negro slavery first introduced into the West Indies by the Spaniards..... 96

" Columbus attempted to found a colony at Veragua under command of his brother, but was prevented by the hostility of the natives. This was the first attempt to found a colony on the continent of America..... 8

" June 24. His ships being disabled, he run them aground upon Jamaica. 8, 90

1504. Basque, Norman, and Breton, fishermen, then, and for some time previous, had taken cod on the great bank of Newfoundland, and on the shores of the island and neighboring continent, and also of the whole Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is not known at what precise time they began to frequent these shores, nor when the great bank was discovered.

" Aug. 13. Columbus again arrives in St. Domingo..... 8, 90

" December. Columbus arrives at San Lucca, Spain..... 8, 90

1506. John, of Honfleur, published a map of the coast of Newfoundland and vicinity.

" May 20. Columbus died at Valodolid, in his fifty-ninth year..... 8, 90

" The gold mines of Hayti yield immense wealth to Spain..... 91

1508. Solis and Pinzon discover Yucatan... 91

" A Canadian Indian was seen in France, taken to that country by Thomas Aubert, a Dieppe pilot.

1509. De Solis and Pinzon cross the equator and coast along Brazil, erecting marks of their taking possession for the crown of Castile..... 87

" John de Esquebel, a Spaniard, made a settlement in Jamaica.

" Don Diego, son of Columbus, succeeds Ovando as Governor of Hispaniola (or Hayti)..... 92

" Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, conquered the Island of Porto Rico by order of Don Diego Columbus..... 93

1509. Nicuessa began a settlement at Nombre de Dios, which proved unsuccessful. 92

" Enciso, one of Ojeda's captains, founded the old city of Santa Maria on the banks of the Darien. This was the first Episcopal city on the continent, and existed but nine years, when the inhabitants and Episcopacy were transferred to Panama..... 93

" Balboa appointed Governor of the settlement of Santa Maria by the voluntary suffrages of his associates..... 92

1511. Ferdinand permitted the importation of negro slaves in greater numbers.

" Velasquez conquered Cuba by order of Don Diego Columbus, Governor of Hispaniola..... 93

1512. April 2. Juan Ponce de Leon discovers Florida in search of the fabled "Fountain of Perpetual Youth"..... 94

1513. Sept. 26. Balboa, after exploring Central America, crosses the Isthmus of Darien, and discovers the great (Pacific) ocean on the west..... 94

1514. Don Pedrarias, Governor of Darien, began settlements in the provinces of Santa Maria and Cartagenia.

1515. Alonzo de la Rua, a Spaniard, began the discovery of Peru

" A Spaniard, named Diego de Albitez, discovered Chagres River in Panama.

1516. Espinoza founded Nata, the first Spanish city on the Pacific coast.

" Jan. Juan Diaz de Solis discovers the Rio de la Plata, and was destroyed, with several of his crew, by cannibals..... 94

1517. Charles V. legalized negro slavery in the West Indies by granting a patent for an annual import of 4,000 negroes from Africa..... 96

" Frances Hernandez Cordova explores Yucatan..... 97

1518. June 9. Grijalva discovers Mexico, and obtains considerable quantities of gold..... 98

MONTEZUMA AND CORTEZ.

1519. March 4. Hernando Cortez, commissioned by Velasquez, arrived at the river Tobasco, in Mexico, with 600 men, to explore and conquer the territory... 119

" April 2. Cortez receives messengers from the officers of Montezuma, the monarch of Mexico, inquiring the object of his visit..... 120

" Cortez assures Montezuma of his friendly intentions, and sends him presents of trinkets and curiosities. Montezuma dispatches 100 natives, laden with rich presents of gold, pearls, and precious stones, commanding Cortez to instantly leave his dominions..... 120

" Aug. 30. Cortez plants a colony at Vera Cruz. He renounces his allegiance to Cuba, and his followers elect him chief justice of the colony and commander-in-chief of the army..... 121

" Nov. 8. Cortez, with all his army, enters the City of Mexico by invitation of Montezuma, and is hospitably entertained..... 124

" Dec. 4. Cortez betrays the confidence of Montezuma and makes him prisoner in his own capital, burning his son and five principal officers upon a pile of weapons taken from the city armory..... 125

1520. Montezuma, through fear of Cortez, surrenders his supremacy to the King of Spain..... 126

" Montezuma accompanies his submission

with a magnificent present to the King of Spain..... 126

1520. March 31. Fernando Magalhaens (Magellan) discovered Patagonia, and wintered in a harbor on its coast, resuming his journey in Aug. (which is spring in that latitude).

" De Alyon discovers Carolina. A considerable body of the natives were kidnapped and carried into bondage. 286

" April. Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, sends an armed fleet, under command of Narvaez, to arrest Cortez and his principal officers, and send them prisoners to Cuba..... 127

" May. Cortez leaves the capital with 150 soldiers under Alvarado, and with his army marches to meet Narvaez... 128

" Cortez surprises Narvaez and his camp by night, capturing him and his entire force, with the loss of but two soldiers..... 128

" June 24. Cortez, with his additional force, returns to Mexico in time to save his general and meet the Mexicans, who are determined to rescue their monarch and drive the enemy from the capital..... 129

" Cortez compels Montezuma to appear on the battlements and exhort his people to cease from hostilities..... 129

" Montezuma is wounded, and, refusing aid or nourishment, dies of grief and exhaustion..... 129

" July 8. The Mexicans make a general onslaught upon the Spaniards, and drive them from the city. With but a handful of his forces, Cortez escapes to the territory of the Tlascalans.... 130

" Nov. 7. Magellan entered the straits which have since been called by his name. One of his vessels was wrecked, another turned back when half way through, and returned to Spain, leaving him with three vessels. The straits are 300 miles long, and vary in width from one and a half to thirty miles. The shores are precipitous, rising in some places to a height of 3,000 feet, and the water apparently unfathomable. The navigation is dangerous, owing to currents, reefs, and abrupt turns.. 134

" Nov. 27. He entered the Pacific Ocean, and sailed over three months, most of the time becalmed. They suffered incredibly for want of fresh water and provisions..... 134

1521. March 6. Magellan discovers the Ladronne Islands. March 16. He discovers the Philippines..... 134

" April 26. Magellan was killed in a quarrel with the natives of the Island of Mactan..... 134

" Magellan's expedition was continued under other commanders. Nov. 8. The Isle of Borneo discovered, also the Molluccas..... 134

" April 28. Cortez, reinforced with ships from Hispaniola, again attacks the capital of Mexico. July 3. Cortez destroys the greater part of the city, but the frantic Mexicans again repulse him..... 132

" July 27. Cortez renews the attack, and besieges the city..... 132

" Aug. 13. The Mexicans surrender, and Guatimozin, their monarch, successor to Montezuma, attempting flight, was captured..... 133

1522. Sept. 7. Sebastian del Cano, commander of the *Victory*, one of the ships of Magellan's expedition, returns to Spain, having sailed round the world in three years and twenty-eight days, being the first vessel which circumnavigated the globe..... 134

1522. Oct. 15. Cortez was appointed Captain-General and Governor of New Spain (Mexico) by the Government of Spain..... 135

" Cortez proceeds to rebuild the capital and open the mines. He enslaves the Indians and compels them to work in the mines..... 135

" Bermuda Islands discovered by Juan Bermudez, a Spaniard, who was wrecked upon them on his way to Vir.

" Coast of Peru explored by Pascual de Andagoya.

1523. Padro Alvarado, sent by Cortez to conquer Central America, and within two years had subdued the whole country.

1524. Verazzani explores the coast of North America, calling it New France... 11

" Guatimozin was barbarously executed by Cortez without trial..... 135

" By command of Cortez, Sandoval, an officer second in rank, burned at the stake sixty Caziques and four hundred nobles, at one time..... 135

PIZARRO AND CONQUEST OF PERU.

" Francisco Pizarro sailed from Panama to attempt the conquest of Peru.... 136

1525. Diego de Almagro sailed from Panama to join Pizarro in the conquest of Peru..... 136

" Ponce de Leon, commissioned by Charles V., proceeds to Mexico to inquire into Cortez's conduct, and if guilty of treason, to arrest and bring him to Spain..... 135

" Ponce de Leon dies without executing the commission..... 136

1526. Sebastian Cabot sails along the coast of Brazil, enters the Rio de la Plata, and follows it up 120 leagues, finding numerous inhabitants..... 11

" Pizarro explores Peru; the inhabitants were decently clad and cultivated the soil; gold and silver were abundant, and were used by the natives as materials for vessels of commonest use.

1527. He returned to Panama after suffering incredible hardships, bringing two young natives, some llamas, and various articles of gold and silverware, as trophies of his enterprise..... 137

1528. Pizarro repairs to Spain, and receives a commission from Charles V. to explore and conquer the territory of Peru, and was invested with military and civil authority over 200 leagues along the coast..... 137

1529. He meets Cortez in Spain, who gives him friendly counsel and aid. He returns to Panama accompanied by three of his brothers..... 137

1531. Feb. Pizarro, with three small vessels and 180 soldiers, sails upon an expedition to conquer Peru. He lands in the bay of St. Matthew, marches southward, attacking and driving the natives before him..... 137

When Pizarro invaded Peru, Huascar and Atahualpa, the sons of Huana Capac, the former Emperor, were at war with each other for the supremacy, and he was left undisturbed in his march..... 138

" April 14. He conquers the province of Coaque, and seizes gold and valuable booty. He sends a vessel to Panama with some of his spoils to allure adventurers to his aid..... 138

1531. Colonies planted in Brazil by Portugal.

1532. Pizarro is joined by adventurers from Nicaragua..... 138

" May 16. Pizarro founds the first colony in Peru on the river Piura, naming it St. Michael..... 138

Pizarro received overtures from both Atahualpa and Huascar; but, preferring to remain neutral till he should learn the strength of each, he marched to Caxamalca, the seat of Atahualpa, under professions of friendship..... 139

Atahualpa receives Pizarro with great condescension and much display, offering him many valuable presents and the hospitalities of the city..... 139

Pizarro and his soldiers, inflamed by the sight of so much gold, resolved to betray and imprison Atahualpa and his attendants in his own capital, and take violent possession of the country.. 139

" Nov. 16. At the approach of the Inca, the Spanish priest, Father Vincent Valverde, with a crucifix in his hand, demanded submission to the Catholic religion and the King of Spain... 139

Upon the refusal of Atahualpa to accept the Spanish religion upon such authority, Pizarro and his soldiers rush upon him and his unsuspecting attendants, taking him prisoner and destroying thousands of his subjects without the loss of a single Spaniard 139

Pizarro proceeds to plunder the city, the booty exceeding his greatest expectation. The Spaniards pass the night in the wildest revels..... 139

The captive monarch, perceiving their thirst for gold, offered Pizarro an incredible ransom for his liberty.. 139

He proposed to fill the room in which he was imprisoned (which was 22 feet long and 16 feet wide) with golden vessels as high as he could reach.

Pizarro agrees to the Inca's terms, and messengers are sent to every part of Atahualpa's realm, and the golden treasures are poured in for the ransom of their king..... 139

" Dec. Almagro arrived at St. Michael's with reinforcements from Panama. 139

1533. Huascar, brother of the captive king, himself a captive of Atahualpa, offered the Spaniards a still greater sum if they would aid him in the subjugation of his brother's realm..... 139

Atahualpa, learning of this, secretly sent messengers and had his brother executed..... 139

Pizarro's soldiers, impatient of delay, clamor for their share of the Inca's ransom. Before the vast sum could be collected, Pizarro melted down the treasure and divided it among them according to their rank..... 140

So vast was the quantity that, after reserving one-fifth for the crown, there remained over $1,500,000 to be divided between Pizarro and his soldiers.

Pizarro refused to release Atahualpa. He concocts a series of charges against him, and proceeds to try him before a court composed of Spanish officers. 140

They condemn him to the stake, but Father Valverde offers to mitigate his punishment if he will embrace the Catholic religion..... 140

The Inca submits to baptism, and is kindly condemned to be strangled. 140

Upon the death of the Inca, Pizarro formally bestows the government upon one of his sons, thinking to gradually supplant the youth, and assume the rulership himself..... 140

1533. Pizarro's success inflames the mind of the Spaniards in Panama and Nicaragua, and they rush in great numbers to the field of conquest..... 140

Pizarro, being largely reinforced thereby, marches to the conquest of Cuzco, the dominion of Huascar.. 140

While on this expedition the young Inca installed by Pizarro dies.... 141

The Peruvians oppose him with a strong force, but he puts them to flight with great slaughter to their ranks, and takes possession of their capital.. 141

The Spaniards plunder the city, and the spoils exceed the amount paid for Atahualpa's ransom, and the rich booty seized at the capture of Caxamalca. 141

Benalcazar, one of Pizarro's officers, whom he left over the colony of St. Michael, marches to Quito, and, with little opposition, takes the city... 141

The inhabitants at his approach seize and hide the treasure..... 141

Pedro de Alvarado, an officer under Cortez, arrives about this time to capture Quito. Finding it in possession of Pizarro's officers, he agrees to leave the country if Benalcazar will pay the cost of the expedition..... 141

1534. Ferdinand, brother of Pizarro, arrives in Spain with the treasure sent by Pizarro as the king's tribute. He was received with distinction. King Charles extended the dominion of Pizarro's conquest, and confers greater powers upon him.....141

Almagro received the title of governor over 200 leagues of territory south of Pizarro's dominion, and Ferdinand was also rewarded with a title of distinction..... 141

" Apr. 20. James Cartier sailed from St. Malo, France, with two ships of sixty tons and one hundred and twenty-two men, on a voyage of discovery..... 11

" May 10. He came in sight of New Foundland. Soon after visited several harbors on the opposite coast of Labrador. He circumnavigated the island of New Foundland, and after crossing the gulf to the continent, visited a harbor which he called Baye de Chaleur..... 11

" July. He took possession of the continent for the King of France. Soon afterward he sailed into the river St. Lawrence..... 11

" Sept. 5. He returned to France.... 11

" Havana destroyed by the French.

1535. Jan. 8. Pizarro founds the city of Lima, and establishes his palace and the capital of his empire there.

Pizarro invests Manco Capac, brother of Atahualpa, with the government of Cuzco, and appoints his two brothers in charge of the troops..... 141

" Almagro, with 570 men, attempts the conquest of Chili..... 141

" May 19. Cartier sailed on his second voyage with three ships, one of 120, one of 60, one of 40 tons. He pursued the same course as the preceding summer, and sailed up the St. Lawrence. 11

" Sept. 25. They passed the rapids in the upper part of the Lake Angoleme, now called St. Peter's..... 12

1535. Oct. 2. They arrived at the Indian town of Hochelaga. To the hill under which the town was built he gave the name of Montreal..... 12

" Mendoza, a Spaniard, built the city of Buenos Ayres.

1535–1550. Money coined in Mexico, and a printing-press introduced; a university and several colleges founded.

1536. The Peruvians revolt. Manco Capac, the Inca, escapes, and gathers the Peruvians in great numbers. They surprise every Spanish settlement, and destroy them indiscriminately, and attack Cuzco with a force of 200,000 men... 142

They attack Lima, and surround it with another large force at the same time. All communication being cut off between them, the whole Spanish army are shut in at these two points, and are besieged for nine months. 142

" A fort and trading post was established on the site of the present town of Asuncion, S. A., which gave it 73 years the precedence of Jamestown, the first European settlement in the United States. This colony greatly prospered under the hands of Martinez de Irala, a man of great energy and courage, who dealt justly with the Indians, encouraging his men to take native women for wives, and to respect both the marital and parental relations.

1537. Almagro returns from Chili, his expedition proving a failure. He marches toward Cuzco. The Inca proffers him terms of peace, if he will join his forces. Almagro rejects his proposals, and the Peruvians attack him. He repulses them with great slaughter, and approaches the city unmolested.... 142

The Pizarros, suspicious of his motives, receive him as an enemy. Almagro surprises the sentinels, and enters the city by night, captures them both, and compels them to surrender..... 142

" Cortez discovered the peninsula of California, and explored the greater part of the gulf.

" Pizarro sends a large force under Alonzo de Alvarado to relieve his brothers at Cuzco. Almagro endeavored to bribe him, but failing in this, he surprised him by night, taking him and his principal officers prisoners..... 142

" Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro escape with sixty soldiers of the guard.. 142

Pizarro induces Almagro to release his brother Ferdinand and send him to Spain, where their respective claims should be settled by the crown, the two factions agreeing meanwhile to keep the peace..... 142

Upon the release of his brother, Pizarro ignores his treaty, and declares war upon Almagro..... 143

" April 26. With a force of 700 men, Gonzalo and Ferdinand Pizarro attack Almagro upon the open plain before Cuzco..... 143

Almagro is defeated, and, attempting flight, is captured, and after several months' imprisonment, is tried and convicted of treason, and strangled in prison..... 143

" Pizarro continues his discoveries and conquests in the remaining provinces of Peru..... 143

1539. Almagro's officers endeavor to influence the Court of Spain against Pizarro. 143

" Ferdinand Pizarro also appeared before the Court, presenting the claims of his brother and himself..... 143

1539. Christoval Vaca de Castro was commissioned by Spain to visit Peru and establish order, but Ferdinand Pizarro was detained and kept in prison.. 143

" May 30. Ferdinando de Soto arrives upon the western coast of Florida with 9 vessels, 600 men, 213 horses, and a herd of swine, to explore the country and search for gold..... 13

1540. Pizarro, having assumed the office of Dictator upon the death of Almagro, divided the territory among his companions. His partiality arouses jealousy and a thirst for revenge among the adventurers.

" Pedro de Valdivia, upon the death of Almagro, attempts the invasion of Chili, and founds the city of St. Jago... 143

" Pizarro removes Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, from his command over the province, and appoints his brother Gonzalo in his place..... 144

Gonzalo Pizarro, with a force of 340 soldiers, 150 horses, and 4,000 Indians, cross the Andes to explore the great unknown world beyond. Enduring incredible hardships from cold and fatigue, they reach the river Napo, a branch of the Amazon..... 144

" Aug. 23. Cartier arrived at the port of St. Croix, upon his third voyage, with five ships..... 14

He anchors three of his ships in the mouth of a small river on the St. Lawrence, where he builds a fort. He sends the other two vessels back to France for supplies..... 14

1541. In the spring Cartier visits New Foundland *en route* for France, where he finds three ships with 200 persons of both sexes, on their way to Canada to found a colony under command of Lord Roberval..... 14

" July. The colony arrives at St. Croix, and proceed to establish themselves at the fort left by Cartier. They passed a tedious winter, suffering from sickness and privation, and the following summer they abandon the enterprise and return to France..... 14

" De Soto discovers the Mississippi River, and explores the country a distance of 80 leagues north of Mobile..... 14

" Feb. Gonzalo Pizarro builds a boat, and places it under Orellana, with 50 soldiers, to sail to the mouth of the Napo, there to await the arrival of Gonzalo and the rest of his command..... 144

" Upon reaching the Maragnon (or Amazon) he finds that Orellana had deserted him with his vessel; he followed the Amazon for fifty leagues, and, becoming disheartened and destitute of provisions, they retrace their steps and return to Peru, a distance of 1,200 miles..... 144

" Gonzalo Pizarro arrived in Quito, after an absence of nearly two years, with a handful of his men, famished, naked, and utterly forlorn..... 144

" Francisco Pizarro was assassinated in his palace in Lima, by a band of conspirators, the friends and adherents of the son of Almagro, whom they declared his lawful successor and heir to his titles and authority..... 144

Almagro, junior, is openly received by the numerous enemies of Pizarro, and is joined by 500 veterans of Peru 144

1541. Vaca de Castro arrives in Quito, and declares himself Governor of Peru. The loyalists rally around him, and he proceeds to march toward the capital. He is reinforced on his way, and appoints Francisco de Carvajal commander-in-chief. 145

" From this period to 1821, Peru was governed by a viceroyalty.

1542. Almagro, hearing of Castro's arrival and the numbers who had joined him, immediately set out for Cuzco. He meets the enemy at Chupaz. 145

" Sept. 16. They immediately engage in battle. After a desperate struggle, victory is declared in favor of De Castro. Of 1,400 combatants, 500 lay dead upon the field, and a greater number were wounded. 145

" Almagro, with 40 of his followers, were executed for treason, and the remainder banished. 145

" King Charles resolves to change the form of government in the American provinces, abolishing slavery of the natives and military despotism. 145

1543. He framed a new code of laws which were very repulsive to the rulers of Peru, and appointed Blasco Nugnez Vela Governor and Viceroy over all Peru, with a court of royal audience in Lima.

" Alvarado, successor to De Soto, descended the Mississippi from the mouth of Red River, where De Soto died, to the sea.

" Mar. 4. The new Viceroy arrives and proceeds to prosecute the new administration with great rigor. He declares liberty to all slaves, and deprives all officers of their lands and servants. 146

Nugnez Vela continues to enforce the laws, and to level all distinctions, and without regard to rank punishes all offenders against the Government without mercy. 146

Vasca de Castro was loaded with chains and thrown into the common jail. 146

The people clamor for redress, and appeal to Gonzalo Pizarro to lead them in throwing off the yoke of this new tyrant, pledging their property and their lives to aid him. 146

Pizarro, after long hesitation, at length raised the standard of revolt. The inhabitants of Cuzco received him with open arms. They elected him Procurator-general of the Spanish nation in Peru, and empowered him to lay their remonstrances before the royal Court of Audience in Lima.

1544. Upon this pretext, and the fear of the Indians, he marches with an army toward Lima, seizing all the arms and Government artillery and public treasure on the way. 147

" Pizarro is constantly reinforced by the outraged Spaniards on his route. Arriving in Lima, he finds the judges in open revolt against the Viceroy. 147

" Sept. 18. They seize the Viceroy and place him in confinement upon a desert island, to be sent to Spain the first opportunity. 147

" Pizarro, with 1,200 men, approaches within a mile of Lima, and demands the appointment of Governor and Captain-General of all the provinces of Peru. 147

" The judges hesitate, and he takes possession of the city by night, and seizes the officers of court obnoxious to his designs, and hangs them without trial.

The following day the Court of Audience granted Pizarro his commission, and he immediately assumed the dignity of his office with extraordinary pomp. 147

1544. Oct. 28. The judges, having placed the captive Viceroy in irons on board a ship under command of Juan Alvarez, to be sent to Spain. Alvarez, as soon as they were at sea, released his prisoner, and declared him the rightful sovereign of Peru. 147

Nugnez Vela ordered the pilot to steer toward Tumbez. Upon landing, he raised the royal standard, and his adherents quickly rallied around him. 147

Diego Centeno, a bold officer under Pizarro's Lieutenant-Governor in Chareas, enraged at his cruelty, assassinated him (the Lieutenant), and declared for Nugnez Vela. 147

1545. The Silver mines of Potosi were discovered.

" Pizarro, with a large force under the brave Carvajal, marches against Nugnez Vela, who retreats toward Quito. 147

Pizarro follows him to Quito, from whence Nugnez fled to Popayan. 147

Pizarro dispatches Carvajal to suppress the rebellion under Centeno in the southern provinces, while he remained to protect Quito. 147

1546. Nugnez Vela being reinforced in Popayan by Benalcazar with 400 men, he marched back to Quito to attack Pizarro. 147

" Jan. 18. Pizarro hastened to meet him, and after a fierce encounter Nugnez Vela fell pierced with many wounds. His troops fled, bearing their wounded leader.

Pizarro captured Nugnez Vela and cut off his head, placing it upon the public gibbet in Quito, while he entered the city in triumph. 147

Carvajal soon suppressed the rebellion under Centeno, dispersing his troops and compelling him to flee to the mountains for refuge, where he remained hid in a cave for several months. 147

Pizarro had unlimited control of all Peru, as well as the entire fleet in the South Sea, which he placed under command of Pedro de Hinojosa.

Pizarro also took possession of the Isthmus of Panama, and planted a garrison opposite Panama, thereby commanding the only direct passage from Spain to Peru. 147

" Spain sends a new Governor or President in the person of Pedro de la Gasca, a priest of great learning and ability, to supersede Pizarro in Peru. 148

" July 27. The new President arrives in Nombre de Dios, invested with full civil and military authority. He finds an officer of Pizarro in charge of the port, but being a priest, he is allowed to land and proceed to Panama. 148

The new President is hospitably received at Panama, and by his courteous address and priestly office, he soon wins the officers and people over to his cause. 148

Pizarro prepares to resist the new President with arms. He sends a new deputation to Spain, demanding a confirmation of his exclusive authority as Governor of Peru for life. 148

He also dispatches commissioners to Panama ordering La Gasca to depart immediately for Spain. 148

Hinojosa, the officer in command at Panama, offers Gasca, by authority of Pizarro, a large sum of money, if he will voluntarily retire and leave Pizarro in peaceful possession of Peru. 148

Gasca immediately erects the standard of Spain, and all the officers and soldiers in Panama join him. The sympathies of the people are also with him. 148

1547. Pizarro prepares for war. The Court of Audience in Lima proceed to try Gasca for treason, and he is condemned to death. 148

Pizarro, at the head of 1,000 men, the best equipped army ever marshaled in Peru, declares war against the new invader. 148

Gasca, meanwhile, had collected a large force from Nicaragua and Carthagena, and with the troops and fleet at Panama, he was well prepared to meet Pizarro. 148

" Apr. Gasca sends a squadron with a body of soldiers in advance to Peru, and messengers are sent to all the colonies declaring his peaceful intentions toward the people. 148

All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's administration rallied around Gasca. 148

Centeno leaves his cave in the mountains, and with fifty adherents attacks Cuzco at night, and captures the capital with 500 soldiers, who quietly submit to him. 148

Pizarro, feeling the danger from Centeno most imminent, marches to Cuzco, and prepares to attack the enemy. His soldiers were all mounted, and as he approached, all but 400 deserted him and joined Centeno. 148

" Oct. 20. But nothing daunted, he boldly advanced, and attacked the enemy with double his numbers, and after a bloody onslaught Pizarro obtained complete victory. 148

" The booty was immense, and the punishment of the vanquished cruel. Pizarro's army increased daily in numbers, but in his absence the citizens of Lima revolt, and erect the royal standard under Aldana. 148

" Gasca landed at Tumbez with 500 men. At his approach all the settlements south declare for the King, and rally around him. 148

Gasca marches toward the interior. His kindness and just treatment rapidly win all parties to his cause. 148

1548. Pizarro stubbornly refuses all efforts toward reconciliation, determined to settle the contest by the sword alone. 149

Gasca marches with 1,600 men to meet Pizarro, having tried every expedient to reconcile him to terms of peace. 149

" Pizarro and his troops, blazing with the silk and golden trophies of his victory, came out with great military pomp to meet the enemy. 149

" Just as they were ready to engage in action, Cepeda, one of Pizarro's first officers in rank, rode over and surrendered to the enemy. The example was contagious, and the greater part of his army surrendered and the remainder dispersed. 149

1548. In sudden consternation Pizarro also surrendered to one of Gasca's officers, and, together with his most noted officers, was publicly executed..... 149

" Chavez founds the first city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, which was afterward moved northward.

1549. Upon the death of Pizarro peace was restored to Peru, and the new President endeavored to satisfy all parties, receiving no compensation for his labors. 149

He continued the exploration and conquest of new territories, suitably rewarding the bold adventurers, thereby quelling the mutinous spirit which had so long reigned unchecked..... 149

" Centeno was commissioned to discover and explore the vast regions bordering on the Rio de la Plata..... 149

1550. Feb. 1. Gasca returned to Spain, leaving the administration of government in the hands of the Court of Audience, bearing with him the royal revenue of four years, amounting to 1,300,000 pesos..... 150

1553. The entire Indian population in Cuba became extinct through the cruelty of the Spaniards.

1554. Francis de Ybarra, a Spaniard, discovered the mines of Santa Barbary, and San Juan.

" Havana again destroyed by the French, but was speedily rebuilt.

1555. Nov. 10. A colony of Huguenots founded on an island in the bay of Rio Janeiro, in Brazil, by Villegagnon, a Knight of Malta.

1562. Admiral Coligni attempted to found a colony of French Protestants, or Huguenots, on the coast of Florida—the territory now embraced in the Carolinas..... 286

1563. Negro slavery first introduced into the West Indies by the English. Sir John Hawkins, who decoyed 300 unsuspecting negroes from the coast of Guinea on board his vessel, carried them captive to Hispaniola, and sold them to the Spaniards with great profit to himself..... 213

1565. The Huguenots' colony expelled from Brazil.

" Sept. St. Augustine founded by the Spaniards and the Huguenots massacred.

1567. The Huguenots avenged through the massacre of two Spanish garrisons in Florida under De Gourges.

" Rio de Janeiro built by the Portuguese.

1572. Sir Francis Drake, commissioned by Queen Elizabeth, with three small vessels, descended upon the coast of New Granada, and plundered the settlements, burnt the shipping, and held the whole region at his mercy. He returned to England with enough wealth to make him one of the richest private persons in the kingdom, and Queen Elizabeth received him with distinguished favor.

FROBISHER'S EXPEDITIONS.

1576. June. Martin Frobisher sailed from England with three small ships, one 30, one 20, and the smallest of only 10 tons burden, to find a shorter route to Asia. Encountering a fearful storm, one of his vessels was lost and the other returned to England, but nothing daunted, he kept on his course until he reached Labrador. Skirting the coast he entered the strait which bears his name and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth. He brought away some soil and stones, among which was found a stone containing gold. This created great excitement, and at once three ships were fitted out, and in May, 1577, Frobisher sailed again for Labrador. He filled his ships with the ore and returned..... 212

1577. Enough gold was smelted out of the ore to pay the expenses of the voyage.

AN IMMENSE ACHIEVEMENT.

1577–80. Drake, with six ships and 164 men, made another expedition to South America. In sailing through the Straits of Magellan, three of the vessels left him and returned to England, while two others he had emptied and turned adrift, leaving him but one vessel to undertake the hazardous enterprise. He had but 53 men and three casks of water when he entered the Pacific, but he safely reached Peru, and again plundered the Spanish settlements, and captured a Spanish ship laden with gold and silver. He then sailed along the coast to California, which he took formal possession of in the name of the Queen of England. Thinking to find a northern passage back into the Atlantic, he sailed north till he reached the region of eternal cold, but found no gap in the ice-bound coast. Fearing to meet the Spanish cruisers, he resolved to sail westward, and reach England by circumnavigating the globe. He accomplished his purpose, and reached England in 1580, after an absence of nearly three years. This was regarded as an immense achievement, and he was knighted by the Queen, who came on board his ship, and partook of a banquet. When the Spanish king demanded his surrender, as a buccaneer, she refused to give him up.

1578. Frobisher sailed upon a third voyage to Labrador, with a fleet of 15 ships, a great part of the expense being borne by the Queen. It proved a terrible and disastrous voyage, and the fleet drifted into the straits, since named Hudson's. With difficulty he reached the islands containing the gold, and loading his vessels returned to England, and found the ore to be of little value.

" Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtains a patent from Queen Elizabeth to discover and appropriate all lands unoccupied by Christian powers in North America, in the name of the crown of England. 213

Gilbert approached the continent too far to the north, and attempting to land near Cape Breton, lost his largest vessel..... 214

1580. Don Juan de Gasca appointed Governor of Buenos Ayres, and much progress was made in the civilization of the Indians.

1583. Gilbert attempts the settlement of Newfoundland, taking possession in the name of the Queen, and established the cod-fisheries, from which England has derived more profit than she would if the island had been filled with gold-mines.

1584. Havana strongly fortified.

" The territory from Canada to Florida granted by Elizabeth, the virgin queen (whence its name, Virginia), to Sir Walter Raleigh..... 213

1584. Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out two vessels for American exploration, commanded by Amados and Barlow. They anchored in Roanoke Bay. The natives were very hospitable, and these worthy Englishmen did not betray their trust. 214

1585. Richard Grenville, with seven vessels, authorized and equipped by Sir Walter Raleigh, landed 108 men at Roanoke, under charge of Capt. Lane, to found a colony..... 214

1586. The colony was abandoned, and the adventurers returned to England on board Sir Francis Drake's vessel..... 214

" Davis' Straits discovered by John Davis, an Englishman.

" Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Roanoke, and brought fifty more men with provisions. He left them to hold the position, and departed for England. 214

" Tobacco first introduced into England by Mr. Lane..... 16

1587. Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parentage in North America.

" Raleigh sent three ships under Capt. White, to join the small colony left by Grenville. Arriving at the post, they find nothing but the charred ruins of their houses and the bones of their murdered countrymen..... 214

1588. Capt. White attempted to found another colony. He rebuilt their houses, and left a larger number of men and more provisions. They attempt friendly relations with the Indians. White returns to England to bring them aid and supplies..... 215

" White, upon his return to the colony, in an engagement with the Spaniards, had his vessel disabled, and returned to England..... 215

1589. White returns and finds the colony again destroyed, and, as no tidings could be heard from them, he abandoned the enterprise..... 215

1598. Attempts made to colonize Nova Scotia, and some authors declare that it was attempted as early as 1515, and at various periods since.

1602. Bartholomew Gosnold, an Englishman, in a small vessel and with but thirty men, sailed directly west, and reached the shores of America upon Massachusetts Bay, naming the point where they caught many codfish Cape Cod. He discovered Martha's Vineyard. 17, 215

1603. Two vessels were fitted out, and sailed upon Gosnold's track. They return confirming his discoveries..... 215

" June. Martin Pring visits the coast of New England..... 40

EXPEDITIONS OF CHAMPLAIN.

" Champlain, with two small vessels, one of twelve tons and the other fifteen, sailed from France and entered the St. Lawrence River. He passed the promontory, upon which Quebec now stands, to the island upon which has been built the city of Montreal..... 24

1604. With a motley crew, Champlain again visited Canada and attempted a settlement on an island in Passamaquoddy Bay. The ships returned to France, leaving seventy-nine men, who experienced the horrors of a Canadian winter, thirty-nine of them dying of scurvy before spring. Their wine froze solid in the barrels, and was served out to

them by the pound. They were relieved in the spring by a vessel from France, and Champlain explored the coast of New England as far as Cape Cod. Returning to the settlement, they passed another winter, which was much milder, and in the spring of 1605 he returned to France..... 24

1604. Guiana settled by the French.

" Settlement established at Port Royal, N. S., by the Huguenots under De Montz..... 24

" New Brunswick first colonized.

1606. April 20. North America, between the 34th and 38th degrees of latitude, granted by charter of King James I. of England, to the Plymouth Company, and from the 41st to the 45th to the London Company.

1607. Sir John Popham attempts to found a colony on the Kennebec River at Sagadahock, Maine.

" May 13. Colony at Jamestown, Va., planted under Christopher Newport..... 216

1608. Jamestown colony reinforced by 120 men and a large stock of provisions and implements of husbandry..... 217

" Champlain returns to America and founds the City of Quebec..... 26

" Sept. 10. Capt. Smith chosen President of the Council of the colony at Jamestown..... 218

Pocahontas saved the life of Capt. Smith..... 217

1609. Champlain discovered the lake which bears his name, and defeated the Iroquois in a battle. For 26 years, Champlain presided over his colony, and died at Quebec, Dec., 1635.

DISCOVERY OF THE HUDSON.

" Sept. 21. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in the employment of the Dutch, discovered the river which bears his name, and sailed up the stream as far as the head of navigation, and explored it in a boat to a point as high, probably, as Troy..... 300

" May 23. England grants a new charter to the Virginia colonies, and sends over a set of outlaws and imposes them upon the colonies..... 218

" Smith nearly loses his life through an explosion of powder. He returns to England, leaving 500 persons in the colony, which were reduced in six months, by famine and disease, to 60 persons..... 219

Lord Delaware arrived with three ships and a number of settlers, with a large store of provisions. He is made Captain-General of the colony.... 219

1610. Lord De aware visits Delaware Bay, giving it its name. He returns to England on account of sickness, and Sir Thomas Dale takes his place..... 219

" Lord Bacon's company attempt to settle Newfoundland.

HUDSON'S LAST VOYAGE.

" Hudson sailed on his last voyage, and before he had been a month at sea he discovered mutiny among his crew, which, with great difficulty, he suppressed. After sailing two months he entered the great bay which has since been called by his name, and which he supposed was the long-sought passage to the Pacific. Here he soon found himself hemmed in, and discovering the fact too late to return to the Atlantic, he saw he must winter in that desolate region, with little provision and a mutinous crew.

He remained there eight months before the ice broke up around his ship so that he could leave. Utterly forlorn, and apprehending the worst results, he prepared for them as best he could. He gave each of his men a certificate of his services and a statement of wages due him, and divided the remaining provisions equally among the crew. During these preparations he was often affected to tears. The leader of the mutiny was a man named Henry Green, a protégé of Hudson, who owed all he had to the captain's bounty, and whose life he had saved. This man instigated a majority of the crew to aid him in seizing Hudson and his friends, and the son of Hudson, a mere boy; and thrusting them into a boat, they threw in some ammunition, a fowling-piece, an iron pot, and a bag of meal. They then cast off the rope, made sail, and left them to their fate. Nothing more was ever heard from them, and they must have all miserably perished in a few days, as it was too early for birds to be seen in that frozen region.

Green and his chief abettor were, a few days after, killed in a fight with some Indians, and another died from hunger, and the miserable remnant, emaciated to the last degree, reached England in September, where two of their number revealed what had been done..... 31

1610. The Jesuits decided upon Paraguay as a field for their labors.

1612. The French Government founded the city of San Luiz do Maranhao, Brazil.

" The Virginia charter was enlarged, extending 300 leagues from the coast, taking in all the islands included. 219

" The nefarious lottery scheme was enacted and put into practice in the Virginia colony, bringing £29,000 into the treasury of the London Company. 220

" Pocahontas was taken prisoner by Capt. Argyl..... 220

1613–1755. During this period Nova Scotia was three times depopulated through the nearly complete expatriation of the French-speaking colonists, by the English during their wars with the French.

" April. Pocahontas was married to John Rolfe..... 220

1614. New York settled by the Dutch on Manhattan Island (now New York), and at Orange (now Albany)..... 300

" Two English vessels, under command of Capt. John Smith and Thos. Hunt, prospected the shores of New England from Cape Cod to Penobscot. They drew a map of the coast and presented it to Prince Charles, who gave the country the name of New England. 300

" Capt. Argyl, of the Virginia colony, makes a raid upon the settlement of New York, and demands their surrender to English authority. The colony were not able to resist, and for one year they were tribute to the colony of Virginia..... 301

1615. Champlain explores the country of the Hurons.

" Jacob Elkin became Governor of the colony of New York, and he defied, and successfully resisted, the claims of the Virginia colony.

The Dutch erect another fort on Long Island..... 301

1615. The Portuguese drive the French from their colony in Brazil.

" The cultivation of tobacco first introduced into Virginia..... 220

" Baffin's Bay discovered by Baffin.

1616. Sir Thomas Dale returns to England, and the government of the colonies committed to Mr. Geo. Yeardley..... 221

1617. Capt. Argyl succeeds Yeardley in the administration..... 221

" Pocahontas died in England, leaving a son, who was educated there..... 34

1618. Lord Delaware died on his passage to Virginia to accept the office of Governor, the people becoming weary of Capt. Argyl's tyranny..... 221

" Mr. Yeardley again accepts the office of Governor of the Virginia colony.. 221

1619. June 19. First Colonial Assembly in Virginia..... 221

1620. Nov. 10. The *Mayflower* anchored in Cape Cod harbor. The first white child born of English parentage in New England, and named Peregrine White..... 46

LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

" Dec. Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Mass..... 46

" England transported 100 felons to the Virginia colony to be used as servants..... 221

" Aug. A cargo of negroes brought from the coast of Guinea by the Dutch, and sold to the Virginia planters..... 221

" Paraguay became independent.

GIRLS SOLD AS WIVES.

" Cargo of girls sent to the Virginia colony and sold as wives.

Many of the first settlers who came to Virginia were adventurers, and single men, and came to these distant shores expecting to amass enough wealth in a few years to return to their native country and live at ease; but finding that if fortunes were made, they must be developed by cultivating the soil. Therefore, in order to successfully establish themselves and build up homes they must procure the "home-keepers," and as there were none here, they must be "imported," and to pay the expense of their passage, they were sold.

Ninety young and respectable women were brought over in the first company, and were quickly disposed of, and the enterprise proved so successful that a second company were ordered, and sixty more came over.

The price of a wife was at first estimated at 120 pounds of tobacco, which sold for three shillings per pound, and afterward they brought 150 pounds. This was considered a very honorable transaction, and the wives were received with so much fondness, and were so comfortably established, that the proceeding added much happiness and dignity to the colony..... 221

" May 12. First marriage at Plymouth, Mass.

" Plymouth Company changed to Council of Plymouth, and a new charter granted.

" The Dutch make a grant of New Netherlands to their W. I. Company. The W. I. Company build New Amsterdam

(New York), and found the city of Albany..... 300

1620. Schools for Indians established in Virginia.

1621–5. Unsuccessful attempt by Lord Baltimore to settle Newfoundland.

1622. The Indian massacre at Jamestown. Three hundred and forty-seven of the colonists were killed in open day by the savages..... 222

" Uruguay settled by Jesuits.

" Grant of Laconia, parts of Maine and New Hampshire, obtained by Gorges and Mason from the Council at Plymouth.

" Settlement of Newfoundland attempted by Calvert.

1623. Maine and New Hampshire settled by the English..... 260

" A Dutch fleet captured the city of Bahia in Brazil.

" New Jersey settled by the Swedes and Dutch, and Fort Nassau built on the Delaware River.

" First white child born of Dutch parentage at New Amsterdam.

1624. King James dissolved the Virginia Company of London, and assumed control of the colonies in Virginia..... 223

" Havana taken by the Dutch, but soon after restored.

1625. King James discontinued the House of Representatives in Virginia, and supplied a new form of government to the colonies..... 224

" Death of King James.

" March. Charles I. ascends the throne of England. He appoints Sir George Yeardley over the colonies, at the head of a Council of 12 men..... 224

PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

1626. York, or Manhattan Island, bought of the Indians.

1627. Partnership of London merchants and American settlers dissolved.

1628. Salem, Mass., settled by a colony of Puritans under John Endicot.

1629. Massachusetts' charter surrendered to the settlers.

" First settlement in New Hampshire.

" Charlestown founded by the Massachusetts Bay colony..... 244

" The Dutch took Pernambuco, and extended their conquest from Para to the north coast of Brazil.

" Wouter Van Twiller appointed Governor of the Dutch colonies by the W. I. Company..... 301

" Sir John Harvey succeeds Gov. Yeardley over the Virginia colony..... 224

" The French attempt to conquer Newfoundland, which they had long claimed.

" Quebec taken by the English, who were led by three refugee French Calvinists.

1630. Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Dorchester founded..... 244

" John Winthrop, first Governor of Mass. Bay colony..... 59

" First General Court held at Boston.

" Fifteen hundred Puritans, with a fleet of 17 ships, arrive in New England.. 244

" French settle in the islands of Tortuga and Hayti.

1631. The Puritans pass a law restricting all participation in public affairs, and all citizenship to church members... 244

FIRST IRON WORKS.

1631. First iron works in the U. S. built at Lynn, Mass.

1631. Captain James, an Englishman, explored the country north of Hudson's Bay.

" First vessel built in the U. S., and called the *Blessing of the Bay*.

" Patent issued for the settlement of Connecticut.

1632. June. James I. granted a charter of land to Lord Baltimore, which, in honor of the Queen, he named Maryland. 277

" Canada restored to the French.

1633. Maryland settled by a Roman Catholic colony under Lord Baltimore, whose kind treatment of the Indians wins their confidence. He purchased their lands, and dealt justly by them, and established religious toleration... 277

" Elliott Mayhew and John Cotton, eminent Puritan preachers, emigrate to New England on account of persecution in England..... 244

" First house erected in Connecticut at Windsor.

" Dutch church found a school in New Amsterdam.

1634. March. Maryland settled by Leonard Calvert..... 60

" Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts for preaching dissenting doctrines..... 245

" Representative government established in Massachusetts..... 373

1635. The French make another settlement in Guiana.

" March 8. First Assembly of Maryland convened, composed of the whole body of freemen..... 278

1636. Hartford, Conn., settled.

" The Virginia colonists send Gov. Harvey a prisoner to England, and appeal for redress to the King through a deputation of their own choosing..... 224

" July 4. Providence, R. I., founded by Roger Williams.

" Massachusetts' colony makes a treaty of peace with the Narraganset Indians.

1637. King Charles refuses the Virginia deputies a hearing, and returns Gov. Harvey to the colonies..... 225

" First Synod convened at Newton (Cambridge), Mass.

" Destruction of the Pequot Indians in Connecticut..... 246

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

" Mrs. Annie Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts for contending for freedom of debate in religious meetings. She became a leader of a schism, and John Cotton, Gov. Vane, and a number of prominent ministers were among her followers. In consequence of her banishment, Gov. Vane quitted the colonies and returned to England..... 248

" Harvard College founded with an appropriation of £400.

" First Congregational Synod in Massachusetts.

1638. A fleet of 20 ships arrives in Massachusetts from England with 3,000 emigrants.....248

" Another massacre of the colonists of Jamestown occurs, instigated by Opechananough, successor to Powhattan, and 500 colonists are killed..... 225

" New Haven founded by Eaton and Davenport.

" June 1. Earthquake in New England.

" Massachusetts colony makes a treaty with the Mohegans.

" April. First settlement in Delaware made by the Swedes..... 301

1638. Kieft was Governor of New Netherlands.

" Harvard college endowed by Rev. John Harvard, for whom it was named.

1639. Gov. Harvey removed from the Virginia colony, and Sir Wm. Berkeley appointed in his place. He established a Colonial Assembly, and founded a system of English jurisprudence on American soil..... 226

FIRST PRINTING-PRESS IN NORTH AMERICA.

1639. First printing-press in North America, set up at Cambridge, Mass., by Stephen Day.

" Corn-planting was enforced by law in Maryland, and a grist-mill erected.

" First public hospital in America, founded at Quebec.

" A written Constitution framed and adopted by the people of Connecticut.

" Newport, Rhode Island, founded.

1640. Montreal founded.

" First powder mills erected in the United States.

" New England numbered 2,100 inhabitants, with 100 ministers; £200,000 had been expended in transportation of emigrants..... 250

1641. Opechananough shot, and the Indian war in Virginia soon after terminated, 225 (see foot-note.)

" Beginning of representative government in New Netherlands.

" New Hampshire settlers submitted to jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

1642. The English House of Commons, by vote, exempt the New England colonies from duties upon goods, either imported or exported..... 251

" Oct. 9. The first commencement at Harvard College.

1642–45. Indian war in Maryland.

1643. May 19. Union of the New England colonies with the Dutch settlements of New York for mutual protection.. 251

" The Dutch become involved in a war with the Indians, and the N. E. colonies give them aid and sustenance.... 251

" First Union formed by the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, under the name of the United Colonies of New England.

1644. Treaty of peace between the N. E. colonies and the French settlements of Acadia..... 251

1644–45. Rebellion in Maryland and war with the Indians in Virginia.

1644. Rhode Island obtained a charter.

THE NEW ENGLAND "BLUE LAWS."

1644–46. "Blue Laws" passed, among which are to be found these peculiar enactments:

Blasphemy, idolatry, adultery, and witchcraft were punished by death, and for any crime committed on Sunday, the additional punishment of cutting off an ear was added. Kissing a woman on the street was punished by flogging, which penalty was actually inflicted about a century later upon an English sea-captain, who saluted his wife on a street in Boston, after a long separation. Intemperance and all immorality were punished with great rigor, and keepers of inns and public-houses were required to be persons of approved character, and possessed of a competency, as they were held responsible for the conduct of their guests

and the morality of their houses—a "blue-law," which it would be well for the country were it now in vogue.

TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS FOR WITCHCRAFT.

1645. First trials and executions for witchcraft in New England occurred this year, when four persons were put to death in Massachusetts for the "crime of witchcraft." Although the belief in witchcraft had prevailed almost universally in Christian countries, yet the peculiar malady, which was attributed to "witchcraft," did not appear until near a half century later..... 271
" Cleyborne's rebellion in Maryland... 278
1646. Massachusetts passes an act for the spread of the Gospel among the Indians, and John Elliot preaches to them in their own tongue.
" The Assembly of Maryland (Roman Catholic) pass laws tolerating liberty of conscience in religious belief. The first colony of America to grant tolerance..... 279
1647. Massachusetts made the support of schools compulsory, and education universal and free.
" Thomas Mayhew establishes a mission among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, and was eminently successful..... 253
" Arrival at New Amsterdam of Stuyvesant, Dutch director-general of New Netherlands.
1648. New London, Conn., settled.
1649. English Parliament formed a missionary society for the conversion of Indians in America.
1650. Harvard College chartered.
" Maryland extends toleration to political principles..... 278
" Constitution of Maryland settled.... 279
1651. Navigation Act passed by England, restricting the commerce of the colonies..... 264
" The English Parliament attempts to subject the colonies of Virginia. They dispatch an armament under Sir Geo. Ayscue. Berkeley hires some Dutch ships, and aided by the colonists, resists them, and compels the English Government to grant the colonies the same privileges enjoyed by the free people of England, and a right to free trade with all nations..... 226
" Thirty lashes were inflicted upon Obadiah Holmes for preaching Baptist doctrines in Massachusetts; and persons who disapproved of infant baptism, or taught otherwise, were banished from the colony..... 255
1652. The province of Maine appealed to the colony of Massachusetts for protection. Their petition was granted..... 30
" The first regular book-seller in America was Hezekiah Usher, of Boston.
" First mint established in New England, in Massachusetts.
1653. Cromwell subverted the English Parliament and maintained peace in the colonies till his death..... 226
1654. Yale College first projected by Mr. Davenport.
" Guiana seized by the English.
" Cleyborne institutes a religious war upon the Catholic colonies of Maryland, and proceeds to reduce them to subjection..... 279
1655. Stuyvesant captures the Swedish settlement in Delaware..... 239
1655. Jamaica taken by the English, who retain it by the treaty of Madrid.

PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS.

1656. Quakers first arrive in Massachusetts. Their persecution by the Puritans. 255
" Religious intolerance was carried to such an extent by these misguided zealots, that they actually tormented and put to death by scores the only Christian sect in America who advocated the doctrine of peace, and who denied the right of man to take life under any circumstances.
1658. The people of Virginia erect the standard of Charles II., and elect Sir Wm. Berkeley to the Presidency..... 226
1659. Four Quakers executed on Boston Common..... 257
1660. Charles II. restored to the throne of England, and Berkeley sent by the colonies to congratulate him. He is received at the Court of England with royal favor, 226 (foot-note).
" The Dutch renounced all claims to Brazilian territory.
" Elliot founds an Indian church in Massachusetts..... 253
" Trial by jury restored by Charles II.. 226
" Church of England established by Charles II., and no preachers but those regularly ordained by the Bishops of England were allowed to preach in the colonies..... 226
" Quakers prohibited from emigrating to Virginia under severe penalties, excepting, however, such as were transported for violation of English law. 226
" A duty of 5 per cent. was levied by the English Government upon all merchandise of import or export in the American colonies..... 227
" Great English Navigation Act established..... 227
" Supreme authority of the people declared in Maryland.
1662. Three persons hung for witchcraft in Hartford, Conn..... 271
" Connecticut colony obtain a royal charter.
1663. New charter granted to Rhode Island.
" Popular assembly in New Amsterdam.

REMARKABLE EARTHQUAKE.

" Feb. 5. Remarkable earthquake lasting with short intervals for six months, and extending over the greater part of North America. The face of the country in some localities entirely changed.
" New Netherlands conquered by the English, and the colonies of New York and New Jersey founded, with Elizabethtown as the capital of the latter.
" Carolina granted to Lord Clarendon by Charles II., and a liberal form of government established..... 287
" First settlement in North Carolina.
1664. Guiana again taken by the French.
" Aug. 27. New Amsterdam surrendered to the English, and Colonel Nichols appointed British Governor..... 304
" Elliot translated and printed the Bible in the language of the American Indians..... 253
" A royal charter granted the colony at Albemarle, and Drummond appointed Governor with a Council.
" First permanent settlement in New Jersey.
1665. Every town in Massachusetts had a free school.
" June 12. New York City incorporated.
1665. Representative government established in New Jersey.
" Union of New Haven and Connecticut colonies.
1665–79. Jesuit missions founded on Lake Superior by *Pere* Allouez.
1666–75. Marquette, a Jesuit missionary to the Indians of the Northwest, explored the Mississippi River and adjacent country to Arkansas.
1666. The Virginia colony convened an Assembly..... 287
" Negro slaves introduced into Carolina from the Barbadoes by Yeamans.. 288
" Death of Lord Baltimore..... 281
" The Assembly of Maryland pass an act for the naturalization of aliens.... 281
" Act of 1649 confirmed, establishing absolute political equality among all Christian denominations..... 282
" Nova Scotia ceded to the French by the Treaty of Breda..... 306
" Samuel Stevens succeeded Drummond as Governor of Albemarle. A more democratic form of government was established..... 287
1670. A colony of loyalists and noblemen attempt to establish an aristocracy and a town at Port Royal, under patronage of the Duke of Albemarle, calling it Charleston, in honor of the King.. 287
" First settlement in South Carolina.
1671. Old Charlestown founded on Ashley River.
" Massachusetts colony make a treaty of peace with King Philip, an Indian warrior of great renown..... 632
1672. First copyright granted by Massachusetts.
" A mail route established between New York and Boston by way of Hartford.
1673. The Dutch found a colony on Ashley River, and call it Jamestown..... 290
" Mississippi River explored by Marquette and Joliet.
" New England contained 120,000 inhabitants. Boston had 15,000, and beggary was unknown in the colonies..... 262
" New York retaken by the Dutch.... 300
" George Fox, founder of the Quakers, visits America.
1674. First Legislative Assembly meets in South Carolina.
" New York restored to the English.
1675. June 24. Commencement of King Philip's war. Attack on Swanzey. 262
" Indians were sold by New England to the West Indies..... 263

BACON'S REBELLION.

1676. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia. Berkeley attempts to suppress it, and a civil war was declared..... 227
" Guiana taken by the Dutch.
" Jamestown burned and the houses of the loyalists pillaged, and their property destroyed..... 229
" Aug. 12. King Philip killed and his tribe scattered, and the greater part destroyed chiefly through the great valor and perseverance of Capt. Benjamin Church..... 659, 696
" New Jersey divided into East and West Jersey..... 317
" Maryland established a mint..... 281
1677. The colony of Massachusetts purchase the territory of Maine from Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Ferdinand Gorges, the founder of Maine..... 263
" Guiana restored to the French.
" Quakers settle West Jersey..... 320
" Jamestown, Va., destroyed.
1679–1687. La Salle, the French explorer, trav-

ersed the great lakes, descended the Ohio River to the falls, and the Mississippi to its mouth.

1680. Foundation of modern Charleston laid, which soon became the port of trade and the capital of Carolina..... 293
" Portugal establishes colonies in Uruguay.
" A war broke out between the Carolina colonies and the Indians, which was speedily terminated by the Governor offering a bounty upon every captive Indian..... 293
" Indians were sold to the West Indies as slaves in exchange for rum..... 293

WILLIAM PENN.

1681. March 14. Pennsylvania granted to Wm. Penn, who colonized it..... 326
" Penn starts a colony on the Delaware River..... 326
" First Legislative Assembly of Quakers.
" First Legislature of New Jersey convened.
1682. Oct. 24. Penn arrives in America.. 328
" Penn makes a treaty with the Indians, and pays them for their lands.... 329
" The city of Philadelphia founded.. 330
" De La Salle takes possession of the country on both sides the Mississippi River, calling it Louisiana.
" Gov. West, of Carolina, holds a parliament in Charleston to pass laws for the general protection of the colonies. 293
" East Jersey bought by the Quakers..318
" First Legislature of Pennsylvania.
1683. Lord Craven appointed Governor of Carolina in place of West..... 293
" First Legislative Assembly held in New York..... 308
" Second Assembly held in Philadelphia, and a new Constitution adopted and new laws passed..... 330
" Roger Williams dies in his 84th year.
1684. Carolina encourages the traffic in Indians.
1685. Piracy in the West Indies was encouraged by Gov. Quarry, of Carolina.
" King James, through Governor Arnold, cancels the charter of Rhode Island, and extends the royal government of New England to that dependency. 267
" Arnold proceeds to Hartford with a body of troops and demands the surrender of their charter. The Assembly were in session. They artfully conceal the charter, and refuse to give it up.. 267
1686. First Episcopal parish formed in Boston.
" Massachusetts deprived of her charter.....266
" The Spaniards invade South Carolina, and destroy the settlement at Port Royal 294
1687. First printing-press established near Philadelphia by William Bradford.
" Revolution in England, and King James driven away.
1688. New York and New Jersey colonies united to New England.

A WOMAN EXECUTED FOR WITCHCRAFT.

1688. A woman executed in Boston for witchcraft, after a long and solemn investigation, and a book was published with a full account of the proceedings, to which was added a preface, by the Rev. Richard Baxter, in which he declared, "that any one who disbelieved the truthfulness of the account was a Sadducee"..... 271
1689. William III. accedes to the English throne.
" Sir Edmund Andros seized and imprisoned in Boston, and sent home to England. The people rise in mass and resort to arms..... 268
1689-97. King William's war between the French, with their Indian allies, and New England..... 269
1690. Feb. 8. Schenectady burned by the French and Indians.
" The colonies attack Quebec, under Phipps; reinforcements failing him, he retreats with a loss of 1,000 men. 269

FIRST PAPER MONEY.

" First paper money issued in Massachusetts.
" Expedition against Port Royal, Nova Scotia, by Sir Wm. Phipps, of Massachusetts..... 269
1691. Trial and execution of Leisler and Milbourne, at New York, on a charge of treason.
" New England contained 150,000 inhabitants.
" Acadia seized and plundered.
" Maryland made a royal province.
1692. Massachusetts Bay colony and Plymouth colony united under a new charter; Phipps appointed Governor..... 270
" Sir Edmund Andros appointed Governor of New England by James II..... 231
" William and Mary College, Virginia, chartered.
" Massachusetts made a royal province, and Pennsylvania taken from William Penn.

A PLAGUE ASCRIBED TO WITCHCRAFT.

1692. Witchcraft in Salem, and many people put to death. A strange and epidemical distemper, resembling epilepsy, appeared in Salem, which baffled the skill of the physicians, who, failing to account for it, or produce a cure, persuaded the poor victims to ascribe it to "Witchcraft." Impelled by a dark and cruel superstition, the "Christian people" declared these unfortunate creatures to be "possessed of the devil." Accordingly, solemn fasts and assemblies for extraordinary prayer were held by the clergy. Inflamed by a fanatical zeal, and inspired by a spirit which was a relic of the dark and barbarous ages they were just emerging from, these deluded yet truly conscientious and pious people, resorted to the most cruel punishments and death, to exterminate a plague which their solemn fasts and long-continued prayers and protestations had failed to cure. 271
1693. Episcopal Church established at New York.
" First printing-press established at New York by William Bradford.
1694. Penn's rights in Pennsylvania restored.
1695. Rice first introduced into Carolina from Africa.
" John Archdale appointed Governor of South Carolina. His wise administration established peace in the colonies..... 297
1696. Archdale resigns and returns to England. The grateful acknowledgments of the colonies accompany him. Joseph Blake appointed his successor..... 297
" Indian attack on Haverhill.
1697. Close of King William's war.
1698. French colony arrive at the mouth of the Mississippi.
" Earl of Belmont appointed Governor of New York.

CAPTAIN KIDD.

1699. Capt. Kidd, the pirate, apprehended at Boston.
" The capital of Maryland removed from St. Mary's to Annapolis..... 285
" Louisiana settled by the French at what is now Biloxi, Mississippi.
1700. Lead mines discovered by Le Suer, a French explorer, at Dubuque, Iowa.
" Death of Gov. Blake, of South Carolina.
" Fort Rosalie built near the present site of the city of Natchez.
1701. Detroit founded by the French.
" Commencement of Queen Anne's war.
" Yale College founded.
" New frame of government given to Pennsylvania.
1702. Mobile settled by the French and became the capital of Louisiana.
" Episcopal Church founded in New Jersey and Rhode Island.
" The Jerseys united in a royal province.
1703. Culture of silk introduced into Carolina.
" Duty of £4 sterling laid on imported negroes in Massachusetts.
" Gov. Moore succeeded Blake in South Carolina.
" An Indian war, instigated by the Spaniards, was prosecuted with great violence in South Carolina. But Gov. Moore speedily suppressed it, and the enemy surrendered and submitted to English rule. The colonies lost 800 men.
" Fourteen hundred Indians were colonized in Georgia.
1704. Tonnage duty laid by Rhode Island on foreign vessels.
" Maryland passed an act to "prevent the growth of Popery."
" First newspaper (Boston *News-Letter*) published at Boston by Bartholomew Green.
" Catholics persecuted by Protestants in Maryland..... 285

MASSACRE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

" French and Indian massacre at Deerfield, Mass. They burned the village and killed 47 persons, taking 112 captive, among them many women and young children, who were compelled to march through dense forests and over deep snows to Canada, many perishing by the way..... 646
1706. Bills of credit issued by Carolina.
1709. First printing-press in Connecticut set up at New London by Thos. Short.
1710. First colonial post-office at New York.
" Germans plant a colony in North Carolina.
" Nova Scotia permanently annexed to the British crown.
1711. South Sea Company incorporated.
1712. Free schools founded in Charlestown, Mass.

MASSACRE IN NORTH CAROLINA.

" Indian massacre in North Carolina. One hundred and thirty-seven of the colonists killed at first attack. Assisted by South Carolina, the colonists make a general attack upon the Indians and defeat them with great slaughter, and drive them from the province.... 299
1713. Close of Queen Anne's war.
" Final cession of Nova Scotia to Great Britain.
" Slaves are transported to South Carolina, by British ships, in great numbers, to cultivate rice.

1714. First schooner built at Cape Ann.
1715. New Orleans and Natchez founded by the French.
1717. Spanish Government monopolize the tobacco trade.
" Yale College removed from Saybrook to New Haven.
1718. Impost duties laid by Massachusetts on English manufactures and English ships.
1719. First Presbyterian church founded in New York.
1720. Tea first introduced into New England.
" Lead mines first worked in Missouri by Reynoult and La Motte.
1721. Inoculation for small-pox introduced into N. E. 405
1722. Paper money first used in Pennsylvania.
1725. First newspaper in New York (N. Y. *Gazette*) published by Wm. Bradford.
1727. Earthquake in New England.
1730. Printing-press and newspaper established at Charlestown, South Carolina.
1732. Tobacco and corn made legal tender in Maryland.

BIRTH OF WASHINGTON.

" Birth of Geo. Washington in Washington parish, Virginia.
" First printing-press and newspaper established at Newport, R. I.
" Carolina divided into North and South Carolina. 352
" June. Georgia founded by Oglethorp, and a charter granted.
1733. Feb. Savannah, Ga., founded.

FIRST MASONIC GRAND LODGE IN AMERICA.

1733. July 30. First Grand Lodge of Freemasons on the American continent, constituted in New England, and called St. John's Grand Lodge, by Henry Price, a successful merchant of Boston, who received his appointment from Anthony, Lord Viscount Montague, Grand Master of England. Mr. Price is considered the father of Masonry in the United States.
" First Freemasons' lodge held at Boston.
" England colonized paupers in Georgia. 352
1734. Revival of religion in New England under Jonathan Edwards.
1735. Vincennes, Ind., founded by the French.
1736-7. Preaching of the Wesleys in Georgia.
1737. Earthquake in New Jersey.
1738. College at Princeton, N. J., founded.
1739. Attack upon the Spaniards in Florida by Admiral Vernon 352
1740. First stove (a cast-iron fireplace) invented by Dr. Franklin, upon which he refused to accept letters patent offered him by the Gov. of Pa., wishing to give the benefit of his discovery to the people.
1741. "General Magazine and Historical Chronicle" published by Franklin.
" New Hampshire separated from Massachusetts.
" July 18. Vitus Behring, a celebrated Russian explorer, discovered Alaska.
1742. Faneuil Hall built by Peter Faneuil.
1744. King George's war began.
1745. Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, taken by the English under Col. Pepperel. 353
1746. England and France determined to wage a war of extermination upon each other in their American colonies.. 353
" Gov. Shirley attempted to drive the French and Indians from Nova Scotia; was defeated. He attacked the enemy at Crown Point 353
1746. French fleet under D'Auville destroyed.
1748. New England troops compelled to relinquish Louisbourg 353
" New England issues bills of credit.. 353
1749. Moravian Seminary, first eminent school for girls, organized at Bethlehem, Pa.
" Ohio Company chartered.
1751. Sugar-cane first cultivated in the U. S. by the Jesuits, on the banks of the Mississippi River, above N. O. The plants were brought from San Domingo.
1752. Georgia becomes a royal province.

WASHINGTON'S PERILOUS MISSION.

1753. Geo. Washington, at the age of 21 years, was sent by Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to the French commander, on the banks of the Ohio, to confer in regard to a settlement of rights of territory. Unsuccessful in his mission he returned on foot, a distance of over 500 miles, through a wild and dangerous country, with but one companion. The Indians followed him and attempted his life by shooting at him from an ambush 354
1754. Columbia College founded in New York.
" King's (Columbia) College chartered.
" Tennessee first settled.

"FORT NECESSITY."

" April 2. Col. Frye was sent with a regiment of Virginia troops, aided by Geo. Washington, who was second in command, to occupy the fort of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. Finding the French had already erected a fort, calling it "Du Quesne," they hastened to attack the French, surprising and defeating them.
Col. Frye dying, Washington took command of the regiment, and, collecting his troops at the Great Meadows, he erected a stockade, calling it "Fort Necessity."
" July 4. Washington, attacked here by a large body of French and Indians, was forced to capitulate 354
1755. First newspaper (Conn. *Gazette*) published in New Haven.
" Col. Monckton destroyed French settlement on Bay of Fundy.
" April 14. Gen. Braddock arrived from England in Virginia with a large force.
" June. The English take Nova Scotia under Lieut.-Col. Winslow 354
" July 9. The English troops under Gen. Braddock put to flight by the Indians near Fort Du Quesne, and over half the army, officers and men, together with Gen. Braddock, were lost .. 354
" Gen. Shirley became Commander-in-chief, and called a council of war at New York 355
" Sept. 8. Americans defeated by the French near Lake George.
" French defeated by the Americans same day.
1756. May 19. War declared with France by Great Britain.
" First newspaper in Portsmouth.
" Aug. 14 The French under Montcalm captured Fort Oswego, with valuable stores 355
1757. Fort Wm. Henry taken by the French. The Indians fall upon the retreating garrison and massacre the sick and wounded. Fifteen hundred were killed or carried captive into the wilderness 335
1758. The British forces under Gen. Abercrombie numbered 50,000 men—the largest army that had ever been marshaled in America.
" June 2. Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, taken by the English, together with Island Royal and St. Johns, under Gen. Amherst. Two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, 18 mortars, and large stores of ammunition fell into the hands of the English. Six thousand prisoners were taken and sent to England 356
" July. Lord Howe killed near Ticonderoga.
" Aug. 27. Fort Frontignac taken by the English under Col. Bradstreet. The booty consisted of 60 pieces of cannon and a great number of small arms, military stores, provisions, and a large amount of goods. Nine armed vessels and the fort were destroyed 357
" Nov. 25. Fort Du Quesne evacuated by the French and taken possession of by the English under Gen. Forbes and Col. Washington 357
" Peace with the Indians was secured between the Ohio River and the lakes. 357
" Gen. Washington elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses.
1759. July. Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point taken by the English under Gens. Amherst and Johnson 357

DEATH OF GENS. WOLFE AND MONTCALM.

1759. Sept. 13. Battle before Quebec, on the Plains of Abraham. Gen. Wolfe, commanding the American forces, surprised and attacked the French army, under Montcalm, at break of day. A desperate battle was fought, during which, Wolfe and Montcalm were slain 358
" Sept. 18. Surrender of Quebec 390
1760. Apr. 28. The French attempt to take Quebec, without success 358
" Montreal capitulates, and the French surrender Canada 359
1761. March 12. Earthquake in New England.
" George III. ascends the throne of England.
1762. Louisiana ceded to Spain by France.
" Havana taken by the English.
1763. Feb. 10. France surrenders all her possessions in North America, east of the Mississippi River, to Great Britain. 359
" First newspaper printed in Georgia.
" Canada ceded to England by France.
" Havana restored to the French in exchange for Florida.
" Feb. 10. Peace concluded between the English and French at Paris 488
" Free commercial intercourse between Cuba and Spain granted by the Spanish Government.

CHIEF PONTIAC'S WAR.

" A sagacious Ottawa Chief and a former ally of the French, secretly effected a confederation of several north-western tribes of Indians, for the purpose of expelling the English. Within two weeks he seized nearly all the English posts west of Oswego, but he was soon subdued and his war brought to an end.
" Cape Breton, thrice attacked and thrice taken from the French and annexed to Nova Scotia.

1764. Mar. Right to tax American colonies voted by the House of Commons.
" Apr. 5. First act for levying revenue passed by Parliament.
" Patagonia visited by Byron.
" Sugar-making from cane, perfected.

THE STAMP ACT.

1765. Mar. 22. Passage of the Stamp Act. This act required the people to purchase for specified sums, and upon all written documents, Government stamps must be placed. This act caused the most intense excitement and indignation in America.
" First Medical College established in Philadelphia.
" May 29. Virginia resolutions against the right of taxation.
" June 26. Massachusetts proposes a Congress of deputies from the colonies.
" Oct. 7. A Congress of 27 delegates convenes at New York, and publishes a declaration of rights and rules against the Stamp Act.
1766. Feb. Dr. Franklin examined before the House of Commons.
" Mar. 18. Stamp Act repealed.
" First stage route established between Providence and Boston.
" Methodism first introduced into America by Philip Embury and Capt. Webb, a British officer whom Wesley had ordained as a local preacher.
1767. June. Taxation laid on paper, glass, tea, and painters' colors..... 363
" Non-importation agreements adopted by the colonies..... 365

MASON AND DIXON'S LINE.

" Mason and Dixon's Line, run by surveyors of that name, sent out by the heirs of William Penn and Lord Baltimore, to define the boundaries of their possessions. It afterward became the acknowledged line between the free and slave States.
1768. Feb. Convention of deputies called by Massachusetts at Faneuil Hall, Boston..... 364
" The British Government stationed a military force in Boston. This was the beginning of hostilities, which rapidly engendered a spirit of resistance in the American colonies toward the mother country..... 364
1769. House of Burgesses (Assembly) of Virginia dissolved by the Governor, with as little ceremony as a teacher would dismiss a class of boys..... 364
" Assembly of North Carolina dissolved by the Governor..... 365
" Boston refused to receive goods from Great Britain, and sent them back.
" Paper-mill erected at Milton.
1770. Prince Edward's Island separated from Nova Scotia.
" March 5. Boston massacre. A mob composed of citizens of Boston attacks the British soldiers, and during the fray three citizens are killed and five wounded..... 366

THE NORTH CAROLINA REBELLION.

1771. Rebellion in North Carolina against the Government officers by the Regulators, a band of citizens who determined to resist the oppression of the English Government, and redress the people.
" May 16. The rebellion suppressed by Governor Tryon, and six Regulators hanged, which created intense hatred against the British Government.
1772. June 9. A British man-of-war, the *Gaspee*, burned in Narraganset Bay, by a party of Americans from Providence.
1773. First Methodist Conference, consisting of ten preachers, all of foreign birth.
" First asylum for the blind was at Williamsburg, Virginia.

DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR.

1773. Dec. 16. The citizens of Boston throw a cargo of tea into the ocean, which was sent by Great Britain in open disregard and violation of the act of the colonies against receiving any merchandise subject to tariff..... 368
1774. Shakers founded by Ann Lee, an English woman.
" May 13. General Gage arrived in Boston harbor as commander of the royal forces of North America. He was also empowered to act as Governor of Massachusetts..... 371
" June 6. Boston harbor was blockaded by the English, and all commerce interdicted..... 368
" The executive power was taken from the colonies, and their charter altered without consultation of the people.... 369
" Gen. Gage fortifies Boston Neck.
" The members of the Massachusetts Assembly resolve themselves into a Provincial Congress..... 371
" The colonies all unite in approving the spirit of resentment shown by Massachusetts against the oppressive taxation of Great Britain..... 371
" Gen. Gage was reinforced by two regiments of soldiers and a detachment of artillery and some cannon, and reinforcements from Ireland, Halifax, Quebec, and New York, arrived soon after. 371
" The colonies proceed to enlist and drill a portion of the citizens as minute-men, and appoint committees of safety and supplies..... 373
" Massachusetts calls for 12,000 men to be equipped for service..... 373
" Gen. Gage orders barracks to be built to protect his soldiers, but he can not find workmen who will build them. He applies to New York for mechanics, and is peremptorily refused; the merchants of New York also refuse to sell him clothing for his soldiers..... 373
" Great Britain prohibits the exportation of military stores, upon which the people of Rhode Island seized 40 pieces of cannon from the public battery, and proceed to arm the inhabitants.

FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

" Sept. 14. Representatives from twelve colonies met in Philadelphia as a Continental Congress, to enact measures for the regulation of order, and for the protection of the people..... 373
They prepared an address to the King, declaring their loyalty, but demanding redress for their grievances. 374
" Oct. 26. Congress adjourned, to convene the 10th of May, 1775..... 375
All the colonies, except New York, heartily concurred in the proceedings of the Continental Congress.....375
" Great Britain prohibited all the colonies, except New York, Delaware, and North Carolina, from fishing upon the coast of New Foundland, and from trading with the West Indies..... 372
1774. These colonies spurned the favor, designed only to arouse a spirit of jealousy and disunion among the other colonies, and submitted to the restriction, much to their pecuniary disadvantage..... 372
" Dec. 13. A company of volunteers attacked the fort at Portsmouth, N. H., confined the garrison, and seized the powder..... 573
All law was abolished, except what was vested in the military officers, but the most perfect order and unanimity existed among the people..... 373
" Cape Breton detached from Nova Scotia.
" Parliament passed an act to provide for the government of the province of Quebec.

PEYTON RANDOLPH.

" When the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, they chose Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, to preside over them. He was descended from one of the oldest families of that Commonwealth. The law was his profession, and, in 1750, he was Attorney-General of that colony. He was chosen President of the Second Continental Congress in May, 1775, and died in October.
1775. Apr. 14. First Society for the Abolition of Slavery was formed in Philadelphia, with Benjamin Franklin as President.

BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

" Apr. 19. Battle of Lexington was fought. This was the beginning of open hostilities. The British, with 800 soldiers under Lieut.-Col. Smith, marched from Boston on the night of the 18th to destroy the stores of the colonists at Concord..... 381
The people were warned of their intentions, and at 5 o'clock in the morning a small company of militia met at Lexington to resist them. Major Pitcairn, a British officer, rode up to them, ordering them to disperse, discharging his pistol at them, and ordering his soldiers to fire at the "rebels".... 381
The militia dispersed, but the British soldiers continued to fire upon them, and they returned the fire; a few Americans were killed..... 381
The royal forces marched to Concord, destroyed the stores, and spiked the guns, throwing 500 pounds of balls into the wells. John Butterick, Major of a minute regiment, approached the British with a company, when they fired, killing Capt. Isaac Davis.... 381
A skirmish ensued, and the British began a hasty retreat toward Boston. But the people, aroused by this bold act of the British, had assembled in arms, and pursued them, attacking them from every direction..... 381
" The British were reinforced at Lexington by a detachment of 900 soldiers under Lord Piercy. Having two pieces of cannon, the colonists were kept at a greater distance, but they kept up a continual, but irregular fire, which did great execution..... 381
" The British reached Bunker's Hill at nightfall, and the next morning crossed Charlestown Ferry and returned to Boston, with a loss of 93 men killed

and taken prisoners, and 185 wounded..... 381

1775. The colonists had 50 killed and 28 wounded and missing. There were never more than 400 of the Americans engaged at one time, and no discipline was observed among them..... 381

" The Congress of Massachusetts calls upon the N. E. colonies for an army of 30,000 men, Massachusetts pledging 13,600 of the number..... 381

" May. Gen. Gage is reinforced from Great Britain by a large body of soldiers under Gens. Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton..... 383

" May 10. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken by Ethan Allen, aided by Col. Benedict Arnold and Col. Seth Warner..... 388

" Col. Benedict Arnold captured a British sloop of war, and gained command of Lake Champlain..... 388

" June 15. George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American army..... 386

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

" June 17. Battle of Bunker's Hill fought. The American Commanders order 1,000 men to intrench on Bunker's Hill the night of the 16th. By mistake Breed's Hill was selected, and before morning a redoubt of eight rods square was thrown up..... 383

The British began firing upon them at daylight from their vessels. At noon they landed a force of 3,000 men under Gen. Howe, and marched toward Breed's Hill. They kept up a constant artillery fire, under which the Americans continued work on the intrenchments..... 383

The British set fire to Charlestown on their way, and the citizens of Boston and the surrounding country view the awful scene from every pinnacle and height, and the hill-tops are covered with thousands of anxious inhabitants..... 383

The American forces engaged numbered but 1,500. They reserved their fire till the enemy were within a few rods, when they poured such a fierce and incessant volley upon them, that they were forced to retreat in disorder..... 383

The British officers urged their soldiers at the point of the sword, and as they approached the Americans again reserved fire, and when near sent a second volley with such terrible effect, that they again retreated... 383

The British made a third attack, bringing their cannon to bear upon the intrenchments. The fire from the ships, batteries, and artillery were redoubled, and the intrenchments attacked upon three sides.

The Americans, finding their powder nearly expended, ordered a retreat. The soldiers reluctantly obeyed, fighting with their gunstocks until the enemy had taken possession of the trenches..... 383

The British attempted to flank them, but were met with so much resistance that they desisted, and the Americans retreated to Prospect Hill, and proceeded to fortify themselves.

The British retired to Bunker's Hill and prepared for defense. Their loss in this battle amounted to 1,054, among whom were 19 commissioned officers, and 70 more wounded.

The loss on the American side was 139 killed, among them the brave Gen. Warren. The wounded and missing numbered 314. The Americans lost five pieces of cannon.

1775. July 12. Gen. Washington took command of the American Army at Cambridge. The combined forces numbered but 14,000 men, unacquainted with military discipline, and destitute of everything which renders an army formidable..... 383

GEN. MONTGOMERY.

" Gen. Montgomery, with a command of 1,000 men, attacks St. Johns, Canada, capturing the town and a large number of cannon, field pieces, and small arms, taking 600 prisoners..... 388

At the same time Col. Ethan Allen was taken prisoner near Montreal. He was loaded with irons, and sent in that condition to England..... 388

Montgomery marched from St. Johns to Montreal. The British fled at his approach, but they were taken prisoners, with Gen. Prescott, their commander. Eleven vessels laden with provisions, ammunition, and intrenching tools were also captured, together with large supplies of clothing.... 389

Col. Benedict Arnold, with 1,000 men, succeeded in reaching Quebec by traversing the wilderness of Northern Maine and Canada, and sailing down the St. Lawrence..... 390

He was reinforced by Montgomery, and they began a bombardment of the town. But their forces were too small, and the enemy were strongly fortified..... 391

" Gen. Montgomery was killed in the second attack, and Col. Arnold wounded and borne off the field. After a desperate resistance his detachment surrendered..... 391

HENRY MIDDLETON.

" Henry Middleton temporarily succeeded Peyton Randolph as President of the Continental Congress. He was son of the first royal Governor of South Carolina, and father of Arthur Middleton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was a man of great wealth, but did not engage much in public affairs. He remained a member of Congress until 1776, when he retired from public life.

JOHN HANCOCK.

" May. John Hancock succeeded Peyton Randolph as President of Congress. He was the son of a Massachusetts clergyman, and was born in that province in 1737. He was educated at Harvard College, trained to mercantile business, and became a leading merchant of Boston. He was chosen to the seat of a representative in the Assembly of Massachusetts in 1766, and became one of the popular leaders at the beginning of the Revolution. He was a delegate in the First Continental Congress, and remained a member of that body until November, 1777, when ill health compelled him to leave it. He was President of Congress from May, 1775, until that time, and, as such, was the first to sign the Declaration of Independence. He was the first Governor of Massachusetts, when it became a State. Mr. Hancock died on the 8th of October, 1793.

1775. A navy of 13 vessels ordered by Congress.

" Congress ordered the issuing of $5,000,000, paper money.

" Benjamin Franklin appointed first Postmaster-General.

1776. Jan. 1. Lord Dunmore burns Norfolk, Va..... 394

Col. St. Clair marched, with a regiment of soldiers, from Pennsylvania to Canada during the extreme cold of a northern winter..... 391

" March. Silas Deane, of Conn., sent to France as Ambassador, and obtained arms, money, and cordial sympathy for his country..... 437

" March 4. Washington fortifies and takes possession of Dorchester Heights.

" March 17. The British evacuated Boston with 7,000 men, leaving their barracks standing, and stores to the amount of £30,000. They shortly sailed for Halifax, leaving several ships behind laden with arms and camp stores, which the Americans captured and appropriated..... 396

" April. Washington removed his army to New York..... 398

" June. The Americans retreat from Quebec. They make a stand at Three Rivers, and attack the place, and are defeated..... 392

" June 7. Richard Henry Lee made the first motion in Congress for declaring the colonies free..... 407

" June 28. The British were defeated at Charleston, S. C., and their fleet destroyed..... 398

" July 1. The British vessels under Gen. Howe return from Halifax and anchor off Sandy Hook. They are reinforced by ships from Great Britain..... 398

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED.

" July 4. The American colonies openly declare their independence and freedom from British sovereignty..... 407

Eleven of the thirteen States establish a second branch of Legislature, calling it a Senate..... 409

The States unitedly agree in appointing for each a Governor, or head of each State..... 409

" The States agreed in deriving their powers of government from the people; and in no case was the smallest title or power to be exercised from hereditary right..... 409

" All hereditary privileges and religious establishments were declared abolished, thereby destroying the alliance between Church and State, and leveling all social distinctions..... 409

BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.

" Aug. 27. The battle of Long Island was fought..... 409

The British forces were commanded by Gen. Clinton, assisted by Gens. Grant and De Heister, the latter commanding a regiment of Hessians.. 400

" Gen. Washington, aided by Gen. Sullivan and Lord Sterling, had command of the American troops. The first attack was made very early in the morning by the Hessians.

1776. The action was well-supported on both sides for several hours, but the superior numbers and discipline of the English, together with a large force which cut off the rear of the Americans, intercepted a retreat..... 401

The Americans fled precipitately, and many of them were lost in the marshes. Their total loss amounted to over 1,000 men, including the wounded and prisoners; among the latter were 82 officers, including Gen. Sullivan and Lord Sterling..... 401

Gen. Washington called a council of war, and it was determined to remove the army, the greater part of which he had placed upon Long Island, to the city of New York.

The wind being favorable, and a dense fog coming on, the troops were all removed during the night, before the enemy were aware of the movement..... 401

UNSUCCESSFUL MISSION.

1776. Lord Howe sends General Sullivan on parole with a message to Congress, requesting an interview with a committee of their members as "private citizens," he not having authority to recognize the American Congress, but declared that he was, with his brother, Gen. Howe, empowered to compromise the dispute between them..... 401

Congress declined to send a committee in a private capacity, but delegated Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, to confer with Lord Howe in an official capacity..... 401

They were received with great politeness, but Lord Howe failed to satisfy them that his authority extended farther than the power to "grant pardons" upon submission to English rule. But the colonies were not suing for pardon, nor were they willing to relinquish their independence.... 401

The British, preparatory to an attack on New York, landed their forces under cover of their ships of war. The American troops stationed near their landing became demoralized, and retreat in confusion..... 402

A skirmish between the Highlanders under Brigadier Leslie, and a detachment of American soldiers under Col. Knowlton and Maj. Leitch, occurred the next day, in which the most of the men who had disgraced themselves were engaged, and through their bravery the enemy were repulsed, and a complete victory gained..... 402

" Sept. 15. The Americans evacuated the city of New York and retired to the north end of the island..... 402

" Sept. 16. Battle of Harlem Plains, N. Y. The British take immediate possession of the city, and a few days after a disastrous fire consumed near 1,000 houses..... 402

" Oct. 28. The battle of White Plains was fought.

" Nov. 16, 18. Forts Washington and Lee taken by the British. The garrison at Fort Lee was saved by evacuation, leaving their artillery and stores behind; but at Fort Washington they surrendered with 2,700 men. The British loss amounted to 1,200... 402

" Nov. and Dec. Gen. Washington and the American forces retreated through New Jersey, closely pursued by Gen. Cornwallis..... 402

1776. Dec. 26. Battle of Trenton, N. J.... 405

The soldiers, becoming disheartened, clamored for a discharge, and those whose time had expired abandoned the army. Some of the leading men of New Jersey and Pennsylvania ally themselves to the British cause.

" Dec. Gen. Lee was taken prisoner at Baskenbridge by Col. Harcourt... 403

Congress convened in Baltimore, and resolved upon prosecuting the war, redoubling their energies. Volunteers began to flock to the army from all departments of life..... 403

" Jesuits expelled from Paraguay, and compelled to leave their fine residences and splendid churches.

" Vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres created.

1777. During this year Great Britain established the infamous prison-ship system.. 484

" Inhuman treatment of American prisoners by the British, both in England and America..... 484

" Great Britain attempts to create discord among the colonies.

" Wool-carding machinery first made by Oliver Evans, of Boston.

" Jan. Washington encamps at Morristown..... 411

" Jan. 3. Battle of Princeton.

" March 15. Vermont organized as a State.

" March 23. Destruction of stores at Peekskill.

" Apr. 26. Tryon destroys Danbury, Conn. A large amount of military stores were lost to the Americans..... 411

" May 23. Meig's expedition against Sag Harbor, Long Island.

" June. Burgoyne invades New York.

" " Burgoyne holds a council with the Indians.

" July 6. Evacuation of Ticonderoga by Gen. St. Clair..... 427

" July 7. Battle of Hubbardton; White Hall taken.

" July 8. Battle of Fort Anne.

ARRIVAL OF LAFAYETTE.

" July 31. Lafayette arrived from France with troops and supplies, and offered his services to the colonies..... 414

" July 10. Capture of General Prescott by the Americans.

" Aug. 16. Battle of Bennington fought by Gen. Starke..... 429

" Sept. 11. Battle of Brandywine under Gen. Washington. Gens. Lafayette and Woodford were wounded..... 412

" Sept. 19. Battle of Stillwater..... 430

" " 26. British troops under Sir Wm. Howe enter Philadelphia..... 427

" Oct. 6. Capture of Forts Clinton and Montgomery on the Hudson.

" Oct. 14. Battle of Germantown.... 424

" " 7. Battle of Saratoga..... 433

" " 17. Surrender of Burgoyne to Maj.-Gen. Gates at Saratoga..... 433

HENRY LAURENS.

" Nov. Henry Laurens succeeded Hancock as President of the Continental Congress. He was a delegate from South Carolina; was an active patriot, and had been prominent in public affairs in his province and State for some time. He occupied the Presidential chair for little more than a year. In 1780 he was sent to negotiate a treaty with Holland. He was captured on the sea, taken to England, and imprisoned until the close of 1781. He was one of the signers of the preliminaries of peace in 1782. Mr. Laurens died at Charleston, S. C., on the 8th of December, 1793, at the age of 69 years.

1777. Nov. 15. Articles of Confederation adopted by Congress and ratified by all the States.

" Nov. 16, 18. British capture Forts Mifflin and Mercer on the Delaware.

SUFFERING AT VALLEY FORGE.

" Dec. 8. Washington and his army encamped on the Valley Forge. Destitute of sufficient clothing and food, the army suffered incredible hardships in the midst of a rigorous winter.... 426

JOHN JAY.

1778. John Jay succeeded Mr. Laurens as President of Congress. At that time he was Chief Justice of the State of New York, which was his native State. He was born in Dec., 1745, educated at King's (now Columbia) College, and at an early age became distinguished as a lawyer. He was a member of the First Continental Congress, and was author of one of the able State papers put forth by that body. In succeeding Congresses, his pen was ever busy. He was sent as Minister to Spain in 1779, and was one of the commissioners for negotiating peace with Great Britain. In 1784 he was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and three years later, assisted in the formation of the National Constitution. Washington appointed him Chief Justice of the United States. He became Governor of New York after returning from an embassy to England in 1795. He withdrew from public life in 1801, and died in May, 1829, at the age of 84 years.

" Jan. 5. Capt. Cook explored the coast of Alaska.

A YANKEE DEVICE.

" "Battle of the Kegs." A contrivance of the Americans to destroy the British fleet. It was composed of a large number of little machines resembling kegs, containing explosive materials which they thought would set the British shipping on fire. The British were very much astonished at their appearance, and called out their forces to meet their new and mysterious enemy. It resulted in little harm to the fleet, but much consternation to the British, which caused great merriment to the Americans.

" Bills were passed by the British Parliament granting all that the colonies had asked, but Congress rejected their offers.

" Franklin, Dean, and Lee, sent as Commissioners to the Court of France. 435

" The British loss, up to this date, amounted to 20,000 men and 550 vessels.

" Treaty of commerce and alliance with France..... 434

" Feb. 6. France acknowledges the independence of the United States.... 434

" March. Lord North's conciliatory bill passed by Parliament.

" March 1. $1 in specie exchanged for

$1.75 in paper money; Sept. 1, for $4; 1779, March 1, or $10; Sept. 1, for $18; 1780, March 18, for $40; Dec. 1, for $100; and 1781, May 1, for from $200 to $500.

1778. March 7. Death of Nicholas Biddle—killed in naval action—Biography on page 444.

A RIDICULOUS AFFAIR.

" May 7. "The Mischianza," a magnificent fête, given in Philadelphia by the British field officers and the Tories, in honor of Lord Howe, upon his departure for England. It was a very extravagant, and, considering the circumstance of war and its terrible concomitants, with the American army suffering every hardship possible, a very ridiculous affair, and which brought great and lasting reproach upon the Americans who participated.

" June 18. British evacuated Philadelphia..... 441

" June 28. Battle of Monmouth..... 440

" July 3, 4. Massacre at Wyoming. Over 1,000 Indians and Tories fell upon the inhabitants, and cruelly put to death the greater part of them, destroying everything in their savage fury... 455

" July 11. Arrival of a French fleet under Count D'Estaing..... 441

" Aug. 30. General Sullivan retreats from Rhode Island..... 443

" Nov. 10. Massacre at Cherry Valley, N. Y., by the Indians..... 456

" Dec. 29. Savannah taken by the British..... 451

1779. Jan. 9. Capture of Sunbury, Ga., by the British.

" Feb. 14. Battle of Kettle Creek, Ga.

" Mar. 3. Battle of Briar Creek, Ga.. 451

" Mar. 3. Norfolk taken by the British. 447

" May 31. Capture of Stony Point, N. Y., by the British.

" June 1. Capture of Verplanck's Point, N. Y., by the British.

" June 16. War between England and Spain.

" June 20. Battle of Stono Ferry..... 451

" July 5, 7, 8. Fairfield and Norwalk, Conn., burned by the British..... 411

" July 5–12. Tryon's raid into Connecticut.

" July 16. Storming of Stony Point by Americans under Gen. Wayne.... 449

" July 16. Recapture of Stony Point by the Americans.

" July and August. Sullivan's expedition against the Indians on the Susquehanna..... 459

" Aug. 13. Castine, Me., captured by the British.

" Aug. 19. Capture of British garrison at Paulus' Hook, N. J.

" Aug. and Sept. Sullivan's chastisement of the Indians in Western N. Y.

" Sept. Siege of Savannah, Ga., by the Americans and French.

JONES' NAVAL VICTORY.

" Sept. 3. Paul Jones' great naval victory off the coast of Yorkshire, England. This was the first American naval victory, and was the most sanguinary battle ever fought between two ships. Paul Jones was commander of a squadron of 5 ships. *The Bon Homme Richard*, his own ship—an old and clumsy vessel of 42 guns—engaged a British man-of-war, the *Serapis*, a new ship of 50 guns, commanded by Commodore Richard Pearson, and manned by 320 picked men. A desperate fight ensued. The *Serapis* swung around, by the force of the wind, square alongside of the *Bon Homme Richard*, and their yards being entangled, Jones lashed the two ships together. Then began the most fearful encounter recorded in naval history. The cannon of each ship touching, and amid their incessant war and crashing of falling masts, both vessels took fire. At this terrible crisis, the Captain of the *Alliance*, one of Jones' squadron, began firing broadsides into the stern of the *Bon Homme Richard*, causing her to leak at a fearful rate. This dastardly and traitorous act was caused by personal hatred toward his superior commander. The fire increasing in the ship, Jones' officers persuaded him to strike his colors, but he refused to yield, and soon the *Serapis* surrendered.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON.

1779. Sept. 28. Samuel Huntington succeeded Mr. Jay, as President of Congress. He was born in Connecticut, in 1732. He was a lawyer by profession, and represented his district in the Colonial Legislature in 1764, and became the King's attorney the following year. He was chosen a delegate of the Second Continental Congress in 1775, and remained a member of that body until 1781. In 1784 he was appointed Chief Justice of Connecticut, and two years later was elected Governor of that State. He continued in that office until his death, in Jan., 1796, when he was 63 years of age.

" Oct. 9. Siege of Savannah abandoned..... 451

" Dec. Coal first used in America by some Pennsylvania blacksmiths.

" General war upon the Indians prosecuted under Gens. Sullivan and Clinton, and Cols. Butler, Clark, and Van Shaick. 456

" Death of Patrick Henry, aged 63.

THOMAS MCKEAN.

1780. Thomas McKean represented the little State of Delaware in the first Continental Congress, and became President of its successor on the retirement of Mr. Huntington. He was born in March, 1734, and was educated for the practice of the law. He represented the New Castle district in the Legislature of Delaware, in 1762, and in 1765 he was a delegate in the Stamp Act Congress in New York. He entered the Continental Congress as delegate in 1774, and served in that capacity until 1783, holding much of that time the office of Chief Justice of Delaware. He was elected Governor of Delaware in 1799, and held that office until 1808, when he retired from public life.

" Feb. 6. Congress calls for 35,000 men. 464

" April 14. Battle of Monk's Corner.. 458

" May 6. Battle on Santee River.

" April–May. Charleston, S. C., besieged by the British.

" May 12. Surrender of Gen. Lincoln and American army at Charleston, S. C., to Gen. Clinton..... 458

NOTABLE DARK DAY.

1780. May 19. Notable dark day in New England. A dense and mysterious darkness covered the land, continuing from twelve to fifteen hours, filling all hearts with wonder, and multitudes with fear and consternation,—the superstitious regarding it as the "day of doom," and the learned and scientific wholly unprepared to account for the wonderful phenomenon. The darkness at midday was so dense that people were unable to read common print, or determine the time of day by clocks or watches, and at night, although at the full of the moon, the darkness was so impenetrably thick that traveling was impracticable without lights, and a sheet of white paper was equally invisible with the blackest velvet. The atmosphere seemed charged with a thick, oily, sulphurous vapor, and streams of water were covered with a thick scum, and paper dipped in it, and dried, appeared of a dark color, and felt as if it had been rubbed with oil.

" June 23. Battle at Springfield, N. J.

" July 12. Arrival at Rhode Island of the French fleet and army, under Admiral de Ternay and Count de Rochambeau..... 465

" July 30. Battle at Rocky Mount, S. C.

" Aug. 6. Battle at Hanging Rock, S. C.

" Aug. 16. Battle of Sanders' Creek, near Camden. Gates defeated..... 460

" Aug. 18. Defeat of Sumpter at Fishing Creek.

TREASON OF ARNOLD.

" Sept. 23. Treason of Benedict Arnold, and arrest of Maj. André.

Maj.-General Benedict Arnold was an officer of high rank, and had been greatly admired for his bravery and uncomplaining fortitude and endurance during the first years of the war. He had been promoted from the office of Captain to that of Maj.-General, but, being of a proud and haughty nature, and exceedingly ambitious, his envy at seeing others rank above him, laid the foundation of his treachery and treason, which finally culminated in the betrayal of his country to its enemies. He had been stationed in Philadelphia while unfitted for service from wounds received in a battle near Stillwater, and while there his reckless extravagance caused his censure by Congress, and a trial by court-martial and reprimand from the Commander-in-chief of the army, which was approved by Congress. This disgrace was more than his proud, imperative nature could brook, and he immediately began plotting to betray his country. His correspondence with the British commander, Sir Henry Clinton, was conducted through Maj. André, an officer, of great distinction and merit, in the British army. He was captured upon his return from an interview with Arnold, within the American lines, by three privates, who searched his person and discovered the treasonable documents in his boots. Arnold learned of the capture of André, and succeeded in making his escape but a short time before the arrival of Gen. Washington, who had appointed to breakfast with him.

HANGING OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

1780. Oct. 2. Maj. André was hung after a trial by court-martial, upon the unquestioned evidence of his guilt. Great sympathy was manifested by both friends and enemies for Maj. André, but the inexorable demands and usage of war, and the safety of the country, necessitated his execution as a spy.
For full biography of Maj. André, see page 465.
" Oct. 7. Battle of King's Mountain.. 462
" Nov. 20. Battle of Blackstock..... 462
" Dec. 2. Greene takes command of the Southern army..... 473
" Dec. 20. War between England and Holland..... 469
" Dec. 30. National Thanksgiving... 482
1781. Jan. 1. Revolt of Pennsylvania troops at Morristown..... 470
" Bank of North America established at Philadelphia.
" Expedition of the British into Virginia under Benedict Arnold..... 472
" Jan. 17. Battle of the Cowpens.... 473
" " 19. Cornwallis joined by Leslie at Charleston..... 474
" Feb. 2. Battle of McGowan's Ford. 474
" " 16. Battle of Guilford's Courthouse..... 473
" Jan. and Feb. Remarkable retreat of Gen. Greene through South Carolina..... 474
" April 22. Surrender of Fort Watson to Gens. Marion and Lee..... 476
" April 25. Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. 476
" May 9. Surrender of Pensacola.
" " 10. Camden evacuated..... 476
" " 12. Fort Schuyler (Utica) destroyed by fire.
" May 12. Fort Mott taken..... 476
" " 15. British abandon Nelson's Ferry..... 477
" June 6. Augusta, Ga, capitulates.. 477
" " 18–19. Siege of Ninety-Six, S.C.
" July 6. Battle of Green Spring.
" Aug. 3. Arrival of the French fleet under De Grasse..... 476
" Aug. 14. American and French allied army march from the Hudson, near New York, to Virginia. Cornwallis hemmed in at Yorktown..... 481
" Sept. 6. Burning of New London by Benedict Arnold..... 482
" Massacre at Fort Griswold, Conn.
" Sept. 8. Battle of Eutaw Springs; a splendid victory under Gen. Greene. 477
" Oct. 6. Bombardment of Yorktown. 481
" " 19. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Gen. Lincoln appointed by Washington to receive his sword. 481
" Oct. 24. Indian battle at Johnstown.
" National thanksgiving proclaimed.

JOHN HANSON.

" Nov. 5. John Hanson was chosen successor to Mr. McKean. This gentleman does not appear conspicuously in public records until his election to Congress in 1781, as a representative of Maryland. He entered that body in the summer, and became an active and able member. He held that office precisely one year, when he left Congress. Mr. Hanson died in Prince George's County, Md., in Nov., 1783.
1782. Watts invented the rotative engine.

FIRST STEAMBOAT.

" First boat propelled by steam was placed upon the Potomac River, by James Rumsey, a Bohemian, which was seen and certified to by Washington.
1782. Feb. 6. Resolutions passed in the House of Commons in favor of peace.
" April 17. Holland acknowledges the independence of the United States, and a treaty of amity and commerce secured through negotiations of John Adams..... 488

LAST BATTLE OF THE REVOLUTION.

1782. June 24. Last battle of the Revolutionary War—a skirmish near Savannah, and some slight skirmishes in South Carolina, in one of which the gallant young Col. John Laurens lost his life.
" July 11. Savannah, Ga., evacuated by the British.
" Aug. War closed between the United States and Great Britain.
" Nov. 30. Preliminaries of peace between the United States and Great Britain signed at Paris..... 489

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

" Nov. 4. Elias Boudinot succeeded Mr. Hanson as President of Congress. He was a descendant of the Huguenots, and a native of New Jersey, and was a lawyer by profession. He took an active part as a patriot in the Revolution.
In 1777, the Congress appointed him commissary-general of prisoners, and he was elected to a seat in that body the same year, where he remained until 1783. He was for six years [1789–1795] a representative of New Jersey in the Congress of the United States, and was appointed Chief Director of the Mint in 1796. He was one of the founders of the American Bible Society in 1816 and was ever usefully employed. Mr. Boudinot died in Oct., 1821, aged 81 years.
" Dec. 14. Charleston, S. C., evacuated by the British.

LOSS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

1783. Seventy thousand men estimated to have been lost during the Revolutionary War.
" Oliver Evans introduced first improved grain mill.
" Fur-trading established in Alaska.
" Jan. 20. Preliminary treaties between France, Spain, and Great Britain, signed at Versailles.
" Feb. 5. Independence of United States acknowledged by Sweden.
" Feb. 25. Independence of United States recognized by Denmark.
" March 24. Independence of United States acknowledged by Spain.
" April 11. Peace proclaimed by Congress.
" " 19. Peace announced by Washington to the army..... 494
" July. Independence of United States recognized by Russia.
" Sept. 3. Defensive treaties of peace between England and the United States, France, Spain, and Holland.
" Oct. 18. Proclamation for disbanding the army.
" Nov. 2. Washington's farewell orders. 494

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

" Nov. 3. Thomas Mifflin succeeded Mr. Boudinot. He was a native of Pennsylvania, where he was born, of Quaker parents, in 1744. He was an active patriot, and entered the Continental army at the close of the First Congress, of which he was a member. He arose to the rank of General, and served his country well during the war. As the President of Congress, he received Washington's commission, when he resigned it, in Dec., 1783. Gen. Mifflin assisted in the construction of the National Constitution. In 1790 he was chosen Governor of Pennsylvania, and held the office nine years. He died in January, 1800, at the age of 56 years.
1783. Nov. 25. New York evacuated by the British..... 494
" Dec. 23. Washington resigns his commission..... 495
1784. Great distress prevailed in the United States owing to scarcity of money.
" Treaty of peace with the Six Nations at Fort Schuyler.
" First agricultural society in the United States at Philadelphia.
" Methodist Church organized by Bishop Coke.
" Feb. First voyage made from China to New York.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

" Nov. 30. Richard Henry Lee was chosen President of Congress, as successor to Gen. Mifflin. He first appeared conspicuously in public life during the Stamp Act excitement. In the First Continental Congress he was an active member; and, in 1776, he submitted the immortal resolution which declared the colonies to be "free and independent States." He withdrew from Congress in 1778, but was re-elected in 1784. He was the first representative of Virginia in the Senate of the United States under the National Constitution. He died in June, 1794, at the age of 62 years.
1785. Commercial treaties between United States and Prussia, Denmark, and Portugal.
" Thomas Jefferson sent as Minister to France.
" John Adams Minister to London. He was the first ambassador from the United States to Great Britain.
" Copper cents first issued from a mint at Rupert, Vt.
1786. Financial embarrassment threatens the peace of the country.
" Death of Gen. Greene. For full biography see page 472.
" First cotton mill in the United States built at Beverly, Mass.

NATHANIEL GORHAM.

" June 6. Nathaniel Gorham succeeded Mr. Lee. He was born in Massachusetts in 1738, and was often a member of the Legislature of that Commonwealth. During the Revolution he was an active, though not very prominent, patriot. He was elected to Congress in 1784; and, after he left that body, became a Judge, and was a delegate in the convention that framed the National Constitution. He died in June, 1796, at the age of 58 years.

SHAY'S REBELLION.

" Dec. Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts. After the war there occurred a series

1786. of outbreaks against the Government, which were caused by the impoverished condition of the country, and the feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction of the soldiers, who as yet had received little toward satisfying their claims, and also, as a consequent result of war, by a demoralizing influence which was ready to be kindled into a flame by every appeal to passion or selfishness.

A rebellion was organized under the command of Daniel Shay, Luke Day, and Eli Parsons, which attempted the overthrow of law and order, and the establishment of mob force. They proceeded to march upon Springfield, and prevent the sitting of court, and, if possible, seize the arsenal. But Governor Bowdoin summoned the militia, numbering over four thousand, under command of Gen. Lincoln, and by prompt and decisive measures it was quickly suppressed.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

1787. Feb. 22. Arthur St. Clair was chosen President of Congress as successor of Mr. Gorham. This soldier of the Revolution was born in Edinburg, Scotland, in 1734, came to America with Admiral Boscawen, in 1755. He served under Wolfe in Canada, and after the peace of 1763, was appointed to the command of a fort in Pennsylvania. He entered the Continental army as Colonel in 1776, and in August of that year he was appointed a Brigadier-General. He was a faithful officer, with the rank of Major-General throughout the war. He was elected to represent a district of Pennsylvania, in Congress, in 1786. In 1788 he was appointed Governor of the Northwestern Territory, and held the office till 1802. He died in August, 1818, at the age of 84 years.

" May to Sept. Convention held in Philadelphia of the States to form a Federal Constitution..... 446

" Organization of the Northwestern Territory.

" Sept. 28. The Constitution as it now stands, minus the amendments since added, was laid before the Continental Congress, which sent it to the several States for approval.

CYRUS GRIFFIN.

1788. Cyrus Griffin was chosen President, and, under the provisions of the National Constitution, he was appointed a Judge of the U. S. District Court in Virginia. He was the last of the Presidents of the Continental Congress. He was a native of England, but, for many years previous to the Revolution, a resident of Virginia. He was a firm patriot during that struggle. In 1778 he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress; and nine years afterward, he was again honored with a seat in that body. Mr. Griffin died at Yorktown, Va., in December, 1810, at the age of 62 years. The Continental Congress ceased to exist in the spring of 1789, when the National Government, under the new Constitution, commenced its career.

" First mining done in the lead mines of Iowa, by Julius Dubuque, on the site of the present city of that name.

INVENTION OF IRON BRIDGES.

1788. Iron bridges invented by Thomas Paine, the author of "Common Sense" and "Age of Reason." He made a model for an iron bridge to be built over the Schuylkill, with a single arch of iron of 400 feet span. The idea was suggested to his mind by observing the construction of a spider's web.

FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONGRESS.

1789. Mar. 4. First Congress under the National Constitution assembled at New York.

" Mackenzie, in the employment of the Northwestern Fur Company, made an overland journey to the great polar river named for him, which empties into the Arctic Sea.

" Aug. 22. *John Fitch exhibited a boat on the Schuylkill, at Philadelphia, propelled by steam*, and afterward a Stock Company was formed, which built a steam packet that ran till the company failed in 1790.

THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES.

" When the National Government was established, the number of the States were thirteen, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

" Congress passed first tariff bill. The departments of State, War, and Treasury created.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT.

" Apr. 30. Inauguration of Geo. Washington as President, and John Adams as Vice-President..... 496

" Nov. North Carolina adopted the Constitution. Ten amendments were added to the Constitution by Congress. The Judicial system established.

" John Carroll the first Catholic Bishop in the United States.

" *First Temperance Society* formed in the United States by 200 farmers in Litchfield County, Connecticut.

1790. District of Columbia ceded to Maryland by Virginia.

" Laws passed—ordering a census to be taken; to provide for payment of foreign debts; naturalization law; patent law; copyright law; law defining treason and piracy: penalty for both, hanging; status of the slavery question settled; State debts, etc.

" Congress removed to Philadelphia.

" District of Columbia ceded to the United States by Maryland, for the location of the National Government.

" Rhode Island accepted the Constitution.

" Oct. 17–22. Harmer defeated by the Indians on the Maumee in Indiana, near Fort Wayne. Gen. Harmer, with a force of 1453 men, attacked the Indians with small detachments of his force, and was twice defeated with great loss.

" First rolling mill introduced into the U. S.

DEATH OF FRANKLIN.

" Apr. 17. Death of Benjamin Franklin. Biography on page 435.

DEATH OF PUTNAM.

1790. May 29. Death of Maj.-Gen. Israel Putnam, at Brookline, Conn., aged 72 years. Gen. Putnam, although an illiterate man and a backwoodsman, was one of the bravest and most truly patriotic Generals in the American army. For a full biography of Gen. Putnam, see page 448 of this book.

FIRST CENSUS.

" First census taken—population 4,000,000.

" Samuel Slater, the father of cotton manufacturing in the United States, set up first machinery for spinning cotton.

1791. United States Bank chartered by Congress with a capital of $10,000,000; stock all taken the first day.

" Congress laid a tax on whisky—the first internal taxation to raise money in the United States.

" First patent issued for threshing-machines.

" March 4. Vermont admitted into the Union.

" Gen. Wayne appointed Commander-in-chief of the American forces..... 498

" Vermont adopted the Constitution.

" Canada divided into Upper and Lower, or afterward, East and West Canada.

" Civil war raged in Hayti, during which England conquered the Western Coast districts.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

" Nov. 4. St. Clair's defeat by the Indians. While encamped with his whole army, 2,000 strong, upon a stream tributary to the Wabash, he was surprised early in the morning by a large force of Indians, under the chief "Little Turtle." The surprise was so complete, the troops having just been dismissed from parade, and General St. Clair not being able to mount his horse, that the militia, who were first attacked, fled in utter confusion, and rushed into camp, throwing the regular troops into disorder. Col. Darke, who commanded the left wing, made an impetuous charge upon the enemy, and forced them from their ground with some loss, but the want of a sufficient number of riflemen deprived him of its benefit. The Indians, renewing the attack, broke the right wing, and killed the artillerists almost to a man, and penetrated the camp. Another bayonet charge was made, driving the Indians from the camp, and a retreat was then ordered, to save the remnant of the army, and a panic ensued, the soldiers fleeing in dismay to Fort Jefferson, some thirty miles away. The Indians pursued them about four miles with great fury, scalping and massacring the captured and wounded without mercy, and their eagerness for plunder prevented the destruction of the command. Nearly one-half of the army were slaughtered, being the greatest defeat of American arms by the Indians..... 489

1792. Kentucky admitted into the Union.

" Law passed for establishing a mint.

" Congress passed an act apportioning representatives under the new census, which gave Congress 105 members.

" Great opposition to the tax on whisky.

" May 7. Capt. Gray, commander of the

American ship *Columbia*, discovered the Columbia River, naming it after his ship.

1792. Academy for the education of girls opened at Litchfield, Conn., by Miss Prime.
" First daily paper established.
" Insurance Company of North America established in Philadelphia.
" Oldest canals in the United States dug around the rapids in the Connecticut River, at South Hadley and Montague Falls.

1793. Washington inaugurated the second time as President, with John Adams again as Vice-President.
" Fugitive Slave Law passed.
" John Hancock and Roger Sherman die.

INVENTION OF THE COTTON GIN.

" Cotton gin invented by Whitney. A machine for separating seeds from cotton; an invention which revolutionized the cotton trade, and which added more to the wealth and commercial importance of the United States than any other invention or enterprise could have done at that time.

YELLOW FEVER.

" *Yellow Fever first visited the United States at Philadelphia.*
" France declared all the inhabitants of Hayti free and equal, and appointed Touissant l'Overture, a colored man, commander of the army, which was composed of blacks. He succeeded in expelling the Spaniards and English, and order was once more restored.
" Automatic signal telegraph introduced and applied in New York.
" Steam first applied to sawmills in Pennsylvania, by Gen. Bentham.
" President's salary fixed at $25,000.

WHISKY REBELLION.

1794. Great whisky rebellion in Western Pennsylvania, caused by the tax levied upon whisky. A large district in Pennsylvania, where the crops of grain were over-abundant, and no dequate market except the great Monongahela distillers, openly resisted the tax by resorting to mob law. Officials and loyal citizens were whipped, branded, tarred and feathered, and great excitement prevailed in all the Northern States. The Union was imperiled, and Washington headed an army to meet the crisis. The rebellion was soon suppressed, and law and order established..... 498
" First woolen factories and carding-machines established in Massachusetts.

WAYNE'S GREAT VICTORY.

" Aug. Wayne's great victory over the Indians, under "Little Turtle." Gen. Anthony Wayne, or "Mad Anthony," as he was called, on account of his reckless courage, attacked the Indians upon the Maumee, in Ohio, and through his determined and impetuous charge, he routed the whole Indian force from their favorite fighting ground, and drove them more than two miles through thick woods and fallen timber in the course of one hour, causing them to sue for peace on the conqueror's own terms. Their confederacy was completely annihilated..... 498

1794. Act passed for building ships of war, which laid the foundation for the present navy system.
" Eleventh amendment to the Constitution passed.
" American vessels were prohibited from supplying slaves to any other nation.
" First sewing thread ever made from cotton produced at Pawtucket, Rhode Island.
" Treaty of navigation and commerce with Great Britain.

1795. Spain ceded her part of Hayti to France.
" Treaty of peace with Algiers.
" Treaty of peace secured with the Indians at Greenville..... 498
" Great opposition to the treaty with Great Britain. War imminent, but the great firmness and decision of Washington averts it..... 499
" First large American glass factory built at Pittsburg.

1796. Tennessee admitted into the Union. 504
" John Adams and Thos. Jefferson elected President and Vice-President..... 500
" Orphan Asylum chartered in Charleston, South Carolina.
" Dec. 7. Washington's last speech to Congress, declining further office.. 500

1797. Mar. 4. Inauguration of John Adams as President..... 500
" Congress enacted stringent laws against privateering.
" No peaceful nations were to be interrupted by privateering, under penalty of $10,000 fine and 10 years imprisonment.

UNITED STATES AND FRANCE.

" France, incensed at the neutrality of the United States in their war with England, banished their minister (Mr. Pinckney) from Paris..... 502
" The treaty of alliance with France revoked by Congress, and authority given for capturing armed French vessels..... 502
" Provisions made for raising a small regular army..... 502

FIRST CAST-IRON PLOW.

" First cast-iron plow patented by Newbold of New Jersey. The patentee expended $30,000 in perfecting and introducing the plow, and the farmers refused to use it, alleging that it poisoned the land and promoted the growth of rocks!
" First American cutlery works at Greenfield, Mass.
" *Commercial Advertiser* established in New York.

1798. A direct tax and additional internal revenues were laid..... 502
" Navy department created and a number of war vessels ordered to sea, in expectation of war with France..... 502
" Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army, by President Adams..... 502

THE "STATE'S RIGHTS THEORY."

" Congress passed alien and sedition laws, which called out the first expression of the "State's Rights Theory."

1799. Naval engagement between American and French ships of war. America victorious, and terms of peace are secured..... 502

1799. First teachers' association, called the Midlesex Co. Association, for the improvement of common schools, composed mostly of teachers.
" Russian-American Fur Company organized.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

" Dec. 14. George Washington, the first President of the United States, died at Mt. Vernon, Va. He was born in the colony of Virginia in 1732. When a little more than ten years of age, his father died, and his education and care devolved upon his mother, who was a very superior woman. At the age of 16 he was a good surveyor, and was employed by Lord Fairfax to survey a large tract of country in the wilds of Virginia. Here he became inured to hardships and familiar with the Indians, their customs and character, which prepared him for the active and prominent part he was destined to act in the subsequent wars with them. At the age of 19 he was a Major in the Colonial Army which was raised to subdue the hostile Indians. At the age of 20 he was sent by the Governor of Virginia as commissioner to the French Commander, stationed upon the banks of the Ohio, a distance of 560 miles from the settlements, which lay through an unbroken and dense forest, traversed by roaming bands of savages, little superior to the wild beasts in native ferocity. Upon his return from this expedition, his life was attempted by an Indian who was sent upon his trail by the treacherous French, who were plotting the usurpation of the country, and who had enlisted the savages in their terrible warfare against the colonies. At 22 years of age he was appointed a Colonel, and placed in command of a regiment of 400 men, to march against the French, and drive them from the State of Ohio. This was the beginning of a terrible and bloody carnage, lasting three years, the details of which the faithful historians of our country have given us. Upon the close of these terrible scenes, Washington settled down upon the "Mt. Vernon" estate, which had descended to him—a splendid tract of 8,000 acres, 4,000 of which were under cultivation. His wife brought with her a dower of $100,000, and Washington was one of the wealthiest men of the Virginia colonies. His life and habits were singularly pure and simple, and his character was unmarred by a single stain. At the beginning of the Revolution, Washington was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the American army, and the noble part he bore, and the great military genius he displayed is abundantly recorded in the annals of American History, and also through the tables of his battles and victories given in the pages of this work. Suffice it to say, that he accepted the command of a little handful of colonists, unacquainted with the educational discipline of military schools, and destitute of military accoutrements and supplies, and without a navy to guard their coasts. He was to meet the armed battalions of the strongest military and naval power upon the globe. For

1799. Washington, defeat meant not only disgrace and ruin, but an ignominious death upon the scaffold. He accepted the position with cheerfulness and rare courage, refusing any promise of remuneration. His letter of acceptance addressed to the Continental Congress, contains these words: "I beg leave to assure Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These, I doubt not, they will discharge. That is all I desire." He continued in command of the whole army during the seven years' struggle, and when peace was declared, he retired from the army leaving not an enemy in its ranks, and the whole population, civilians and soldiers, regarded him as the "Saviour of their country." His farewell to his officers in arms is replete with character. "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter years may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable. I can not come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand." Tears blinded his eyes, and he could say no more.

1799. Not a word was spoken as each officer grasped his hand with a silent and sad pressure of farewell.

In the year 1788, a general convention was called to deliberate upon the momentous question of a form of government, adapted to rule the United Colonies. Washington was sent as a delegate from Virginia, and was called to preside over the convention. The present Constitution of the United States was the result of this meeting. For the office of Chief Magistrate of the Nation, Washington was the choice of the people, and he was inaugurated April 30, 1789, remaining in the chair two terms of four years each. When he again retired to private life, the grateful acknowledgments of a united and happy people followed him to his rural home. Washington was, by inheritance, a slaveholder, but the system met his strong disapproval, and in his own language let him express his feelings. In a letter to Robert Morris, he says: "There is no man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery." And in his last will and testament, he arranged for the emancipation of all his slaves upon the death of his wife; she holding, by right of dower, control of them. But upon his death, his wife relinquished her right, and the slaves were at once emancipated. It is gratifying to know the esteem in which Washington was held by illustrious men of the "Old World." Napoleon, in speaking of him to an American, of whom he had inquired concerning his health, said: "Washington can never be otherwise than well. The measure of his fame is full. Posterity will talk of him with reverence as the founder of a great empire, when my name shall be lost in the vortex of revolutions." Frederic the Great, King of Prussia, presented his picture to Gen. Washington, and beneath it on the canvas were inscribed these words: "From the oldest General in Europe to the greatest General on earth." Charles James Fox, the renowned British Premier, said of him: "I can not indeed help admiring the wisdom and fortune of this great man; a character of virtues so happily tempered by one another, and so wholly unalloyed by any vices, is hardly to be found on the pages of history. For him it has been reserved to run the race of glory without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career."

VON HUMBOLDT.

1799. Humboldt visited South America, and explored the mountain regions, and gathered new collections to his vast stores of scientific facts and natural curiosities.

1800.

1800. Removal of the seat of Government to Washington..... 503
" Temporary treaty with France..... 502
" General bankruptcy law passed.
" May 13. Disbanding of the provisional army..... 503
" Nov. *The Democratic, or old Republican, party* elected its first candidate for President.
1801. New York *Evening Post* established.
" March 4. *Inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President* of the United States, with Aaron Burr for Vice-President..... 503
" June 10. War with Tripoli commenced..... 504
" June 14. *Death of Benedict Arnold.* See biography..... 431
" *Napoleon attempted to restore slavery in Hayti.*
" Touissant de l'Overture was treacherously captured and taken to France, where he shortly after died. Dessalines became his successor.
1802. Port of New Orleans closed by the Spanish Government, and United States vessels were forbidden to pass down the Mississippi River.
" First public library founded.
" Academy of Fine Arts established in New York.
" First patents issued for making starch from corn and potatoes.
" Santee Canal, in South Carolina, finished.
" Ohio admitted into the Union..... 504
1802. June. Humboldt ascended Chimborazo, S. A., to the height of 19,286 feet.
1803. The French army in Hayti capitulated to the commander of an English squadron.
" American fleet sent to punish pirates in the Barbary States and North Africa. 504
" First undenominational tract society formed, and called "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."
" Adam and Wm. Brent began the manufacture of pianos in Boston.
" First effort made toward teaching mutes.

Louisiana Purchase.

" April 30. The territory lying between the Gulf of Mexico and the British possessions, the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean—over 1,000,000 square miles—purchased of France for $15,000,000. This vast territory constituted the original State of Louisiana..... 504
1804. Jan. 1. St. Domingue declared itself an independent Republic, with Dessalines Governor for life.
" Feb. 4. Frigate *President* destroyed at Tripoli by Decatur..... 505
" Fort Dearborn built—the present site of Chicago.
" Lewis and Clark exploring expedition starts across the plains.
" The Delaware Indians cede to the United States an extensive tract of land lying east of the Mississippi River, and between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers. 505

Duel Between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr.

1804. July 11. Alexander Hamilton, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, shot and killed in a duel with Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States.
" Aug. Bombardment of Tripoli by Com. Preble..... 505
" Oct. 8. Dessalines, Governor of St. Domingue, broke the Constitution and assumed the title of "Emperor of Hayti," and plunged the island into a series of civil wars by his fantastic attempt at royalty.
1805. Sitka, Alaska, founded by the Russian-American Fur Company.
" Ice first became an article of commerce in the United States.
" *England seized several armed American vessels and insulted the national flag.*
" June 4. Peace concluded with Tripoli. 505
" March 4. *Thomas Jefferson re-inaugurated as President*, with George Clinton for Vice-President..... 503

Columbia River and Oregon Explored.

" Nov. 15. Clark and Lewis arrived at the Columbia River on their exploring voyage.

1806. Buenos Ayres and Montevideo captured by the English.
" Scoresby, in command of a whaling vessel, reached the latitude of 81°—within 500 miles of the North Pole.
" May 16. "*British Orders in Council*," which declared the whole coast of Europe in a state of blockade..... 506
" Slave trade abolished in Jamaica.

Spotted Fever.

" The spotted fever appeared in Massachusetts, spreading over the other States, and continuing until the year 1815, and proved very fatal.
" *First Relief Society* for widows and children, founded in New York by Joanna Bethune.
" Total eclipse of the sun at midday.
" Oct. 11. Dessalines assassinated, and Eastern Hayti returned to Spanish rule. Western Hayti was divided between several rival chiefs.
" Nov. 21. *Bonaparte's "Berlin Decree,"* which forbade the introduction of English goods into any port of Europe, even by the vessels of neutral powers..... 506
1807. British vessels ordered to leave United States waters..... 507
" June 22. Attack on the American frigate *Chesapeake* by the British ship *Leopard*..... 506

Aaron Burr Tried for Treason.

" Aaron Burr was tried for high treason, and was also charged with a conspiracy against the Government, and with being ambitious for dominion, and with contemplating founding a new empire, with himself for sovereign. But the prosecution failed in its legal proofs, and he was acquitted.
" Congress ordered the first coast survey.
" Great Britain lays a tribute upon all neutral nations trading with France or her allies..... 506

Slave Trade Declared to be Piracy.

" *Importation of slaves forbidden* by Congress, and the traffic declared to be piracy.
" Wooden clocks first manufactured by machinery in Connecticut, by Eli Terry.
" Dec. 17. *Bonaparte's "Milan Decree."* He decrees the confiscation of all vessels and cargoes violating the "Berlin Decree," or submitting to search by Great Britain, or paying her unlawful tribute..... 506
" Dec. 22. *Embargo laid* by the United States upon all commerce preventing American vessels from sailing for foreign ports, and all foreign vessels from taking out cargoes, and all coasting vessels were required to give bonds to land their cargoes in the United States..... 506

Fulton's Steamboat.

" *First successful steamboat* built by Robt. Fulton, a native of Pennsylvania, and called the *Clermont*. Mr. Fulton made his trial trip on the Hudson River, from New York to Albany, and thousands of curious spectators thronged the shores to witness the failure of "Fulton
1807. the Fanatic." None believed, few hoped, and everybody jeered. An old Quaker accosted a young man who had taken passage, in this manner: "*John, will thee risk thy life in such a concern? I tell thee she is the most fearful wildfowl living, and thy father ought to restrain thee.*" But, on Friday morning, the 4th of August, the *Clermont* left the wharf, and went puffing up the Hudson with every berth, twelve in number, engaged to Albany. The fare was seven dollars. Fulton stood upon the deck and viewed the motley and jeering crowd upon the shore, with silent satisfaction. As she got fairly under way and moved majestically up the stream, there arose a deafening hurrah from ten thousand throats. The passengers returned the cheer, but Fulton, with flashing eye and manly bearing, remained speechless. He felt this to be his long-sought hour of triumph. They were cheered all along the passage from every hamlet and town, and at West Point the whole garrison were out and cheered most lustily. At Newburg, the whole surrounding country had gathered, and the side-hill city swarmed with curious and excited multitudes. The boat reached Albany safely—150 miles in 32 hours, and returned in 30. The *Clermont* was a success, and Robert Fulton was famous.
1808. Jan. 1. *Slave-trade in the United States abolished.*
" Bonaparte ordered the seizure and confiscation of all American vessels arriving in France..... 506
" *First printing office west of the Mississippi River* established at St. Louis, by John Henkle.
" First Bible Society founded in Philadelphia.
1809. Guiana taken from the French by the English.
" First woolen mills set up in New York.
" March 1. *The Embargo repealed*.... 507
" " 4. James Madison and George Clinton inaugurated President and Vice-President..... 507
" All commercial intercourse forbidden between France and England.... 507

Bonaparte's Orders.

1810. Napoleon Bonaparte ordered the sale of 132 confiscated American vessels and cargoes, valued at $8,000,000.
" March. *Rambouillet Decree* issued by Napoleon, ordering all American vessels to be seized and condemned.. 507
" Manufacture of steel pens began in Baltimore.
" *First agricultural fair* in the United States held at Georgetown, D. C.
" Insurrection in Mexico under Don Miguel Hidalgo.
" Independence of Colombia, S. A., proclaimed.
" Bolivar sent to London to buy arms for Venezuela.
" Revolution began in Chili.
" Porcelain clay discovered in Vermont.
" Hartford Fire Insurance Company incorporated.
1811. May 16. Engagement between the U. S. frigate *President* and the British sloop of war *Little Belt*..... 508
" Depredations upon American vessels by England and France continued... 508
" Plan for plating vessels with iron, as a defense against shot and shell, devised by R. L. Stevens.
1811. *The first steamboat for Western waters*, the *New Orleans*, built by Robert Fulton.
" Screws were made by machinery for the first time at Philadelphia.
" Nov. 7. *Battle of Tippecanoe.* Tecumseh defeated by Gen. Harrison. 510
" Dec. *Burning of a theatre in Richmond.* The Governor of Virginia and family, and a large number of persons, perished in the flames.
" Colombia declared independent.
" Chili victorious and independence proclaimed, with Carrera as President.
" Uruguay attached to Montevideo.
" Buenos Ayres begins a struggle for independence.
" Mexican insurgents shot.
" Union of Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada in the Republic of Colombia.

Rule of a Tyrant.

" Independence of Paraguay achieved; but the power of the Government fell into the hands of Dr. Francia, who became absolute dictator. He ruled the country for 29 years with merciless rigor. He stopped all ingress and egress of foreigners, and the shipping rotted in the rivers, and all enterprise ceased. Liberty of speech was suppressed, and the better class of people were generally destroyed.
" Uruguay attached to Montevideo.

Great Earthquake.

" Great and extensive earthquake at New Madrid, Mo., extending nearly 300 miles along the Mississippi, and doing great damage to the country, changing the currents of the rivers and swallowing up large sections of land.
" *John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company* established their post at Astoria, Oregon.
" Breech-loading rifles were invented by John Hall.
" *The number of American vessels captured by England in the preceding five years was* 917, *by France* 558, *and* 10,000 *seamen were impressed.*
1812. April 3. *Embargo laid for* 90 *days.*
" " 8. Louisiana admitted into the Union.
" May. Congress levied a tax of $3,000,000.

War of Eighteen Hundred and Twelve.

" June 18. War declared with Great Britain..... 508
" June 23. British Orders in Council repealed.
" July 12. Hull invaded Canada..... 508
" " 17. Surrender of Mackinaw... 508
" Aug. 5. Van Horne defeated.
" " 8. Miller defeated.
" " 13. The *Essex* silenced the British ship of war *Alert.*
" Aug. 15. Surrender of Gen. Hull at Detroit before the first blow was struck..... 508
" Aug. 19. Capture of the British frigate *Guerriere* by the *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides")..... 508
" Oct. 13. Defeat of the Americans at Queenstown.

1812. Oct. 18. Capture of the British brig *Frolic* by the U. S. sloop of war *Wasp*..... 508
" Oct. 25. Capture of the British frigate *Macedonian* by the frigate *United States*, Capt. Decatur..... 509
" Dec. 29. Destruction of the British frigate *Java*, off the coast of Brazil, by the *Constitution*, Capt. Bainbridge. 509
" Venezuela reduced to Spanish rule.
" Buenos Ayres victorious over Spain.
" Gen. Miranda sent as prisoner to Spain.
1813. *Massacre by the Indians at Frenchtown* of American prisoners in care of Gen. Proctor, who left them unprotected..... 509
" March 4. *James Madison re-inaugurated as President*, with Elbridge Gerry for Vice-President..... 705
" The Creek Indians subdued by Gen. Jackson..... 511
" *The British blockaded the American coast*..... 506
" *Duel between General Jackson and Col. Benton.*
" The power-loom introduced into the United States.
" Chili invaded by Paroja, a Spanish officer, and reduced to subjection.
" Bolivar marches to the conquest of Venezuela. Carraccas capitulates.
" Mexico declared independent, and a National Congress called under Morales.
" *First rolling-mills built at Pittsburg, Pa.*
" *Stereotyping first introduced into the United States.*
" Feb. 25. The *Hornet*, Capt. Lawrence, captures the British sloop *Peacock*. 509
" April 27. Capture of York (Toronto), Upper Canada, by Brig.-Gen. Pike, who lost his life by the explosion of the magazine during the action..... 509
" May 27. Battle of Fort George..... 509
" " 28. British attack Sackett's Harbor and are repulsed..... 509
" June 1. *Capture of the frigate Chesapeake*, Capt. Lawrence, by the British frigate *Shannon*. The captain of the *Chesapeake* was killed in the action..... 510
" July. Attack of British and Indians upon Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson.
" Aug. 14. American ship *Argus* taken by the British sloop *Pelican*..... 510
" Aug. 30. Massacre of Fort Mimms, Ala. Three hundred persons killed by the Indians..... 510–11
" Sept. 5. *Enterprise* captures the *Boxer*.
" " 10. *Commodore Perry's great victory on Lake Erie*..... 510

Tecumseh Killed.

" Oct. 5. Battle of the Thames, Canada, between Gen. Harrison and Gen. Proctor, with his Indian allies under Tecumseh, who was killed in the action. 510
" Nov. 11. Battle of Williamsburg.
" Dec. 12. Burning of Newark, Canada.
" Dec. 13. Buffalo burned by the British.
" " 29. Capture of Fort Niagara, N. Y., by the British.
" Dec. 30. Desolation of the Niagara frontier by the British.
1814. March 27. Battle of Horse-shoe Bend, by Gen. Jackson, in the Creek war. The Indians were entirely subdued, and 600 warriors were slain. Peace was soon secured..... 511
" March 28. Capture of the *Essex* at Valparaiso, S. A., by the British frigate *Phœbe*..... 512
" April 29. *Peacock* captures the *Epervier*
1814. May 5. Oswego bombarded and taken by the British..... 511
" June 25. The *Reindeer* captured by the *Wasp*.
" July 3. Fort Erie captured from the British..... 511
" July 5. Battle of Chippewa fought by Gens. Brown and Scott..... 511
" July 25. *Battle of Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane*, fought under Gen. Scott, who was wounded..... 511
" Aug. 9 and 11. Stonington, Conn., bombarded by the British.
" Aug. 15. Battle of Fort Erie.
" " 24. Battle of Bladensburg.

Washington Burned.

" Aug. 25. British occupy Washington, and burn the capitol and public buildings..... 512
" Aug. 29. Alexandria, D. C., taken by the British..... 512
" Sept. 1. The *Wasp* captures the *Avon*.
" " 5. Attack on Fort Bower (now Morgan), Ala. The American loss was 219..... 511
" Sept. 11. *McDonough's victory on Lake Champlain*, near Plattsburg. The British lost in this engagement over 2,000 men.
" Sept. 12. Battle near Baltimore. Bombardment of Fort Henry.
" Nov. 7. British expelled from Pensacola, Fla., by Jackson.
" Dec. 14. Battle on Lake Borgue, La. 513
" " 22. Battle below New Orleans, La..... 513
" Dec. 24. Treaty of Peace signed at Ghent, Belgium..... 514
" *Jethro Wood patented his iron mold-board plow.*
" *First steel plates for engraving made by Jacob Perkins, of Massachusetts.*
" First Mexican Constitution promulgated.
" *Indian massacre at Fort Dearborn (now Chicago), Ill., and the fort burned.*
" Bolivar proclaimed Dictator of the western provinces of Venezuela.
" Guiana retaken by the French.
" John Gilroy, first Anglo-Saxon settler in California, settled in the Santa Clara Valley.
" The Spanish General Boves defeated Bolivar, with a loss to the patriots of 15,000 men.
" The Spaniards take Carraccas.

Jackson's Great Victory at New Orleans.

1815. Jan. 8. Battle of New Orleans. Gen. Jackson commanded the American forces, and Gen. Packenham the British. Jackson obtained a great victory, the British loss amounting to nearly 2,000, while the Americans lost but 13 men..... 512
" Jan. 15. The *President* captured by a British squadron.
" Feb. 17. *Treaty of Ghent ratified by the President*..... 514
" Feb. 20. *Constitution* captures the *Cyane* and *Levant*.
" Feb. 24. *Robert Fulton*, the first successful inventor and builder of a steamboat, died in New York. His first boat built in America was the *Clermont*, which started upon its trial trip from New York to Albany, Sept. 10, 1807. Mr. Fulton was not the inventor of steam-navigation, but by uniting diligence and great genius, he developed the conception of other minds into a practical and beautiful reality.
1815. March. *War declared with Algiers*... 514
" March 23. *Hornet* captures the *Penguin*.
" *Brazil raised to the rank of a Kingdom* by Portugal.
" May. Decatur sent against Algiers.
" Cartagena taken by Morillo, a Spanish officer.
" June 17. Algerine frigate captured.
" First axes manufactured in the United States by Oliver Hunt, in East Douglass, Mass.

Great Gale in New England.

" Sept. 23. Great gale and flood in New England. Immense damage was done to property, and much shipping destroyed in the harbors, and the loss of life was great. In Providence, Rhode Island, vessels were actually driven over the wharves and through the streets. The rain descended in torrents, and in many places families were rescued in boats from the upper stories of their houses. Majestic oaks, a hundred years old, were torn up by their roots, and twisted into shreds. In Stonington, Conn., the tide rose 17 feet higher than usual. There is no account of a storm or gale, in all respects, so remarkable as was this in the history of the United States. In 35 hours the fall of rain reached 8.05 inches. The damage done by the flood almost equaled that of the hurricane. Millions of dollars of property and very many lives were lost.
" Dec. 22. Morales executed as a rebel.
1816. " 11. Indiana admitted into the Union.
" Second United States Bank chartered with a capital of $35,000,000.
" *Steam first applied to paper-making at Pittsburg.*
" The Portuguese take possession of Montevideo.
" The united provinces of La Plata declared independent.
" *James Monroe was elected President and Daniel C. Tomkins Vice-President*.. 515
" Bolivar proclaimed Commander-in-chief of the forces in Venezuela and New Granada.
" Conquest of Guiana by the patriots.
" Mrs. Emma Willard opened her famous school for girls in Troy, N. Y.
" *This was known as the year without a summer.*
1817. *Pensions granted to Revolutionary soldiers.*
" Indians in Georgia and Alabama subdued by Generals Jackson and Gaines..... 511
" *Erie Canal commenced.*
" Dec. 10. Mississippi admitted into the Union..... 517
" Chili invaded by Gen. San Martin. He defeats the Royalists.
" Bolivar defeated Morillo after a desperate battle of three days.
" The Spanish forces evacuate the provinces of New Granada and Venezuela.
" Publishing house of Harper & Brother founded in New York.
" The Columbian Printing-press, invented by Geo. Clymer, was the first important improvement in printing-presses in this country.
" New England Asylum for the Deaf and

Dumb founded by Dr. M. F. Cogswell and T. H. Gallaway.

1818. *Corner-stone of the present United States Capitol laid.* United States flag permanently remodeled.

" May 24. Pensacola, Florida, captured from the Spanish by Gen. Jackson. 517

" Dec. 3. Illinois admitted into the Union..... 517

" Chili secured her independence.

First Steamboat Crossed the Atlantic.

1819. The American steamship *Savannah* made the first steam voyage across the Atlantic.

Odd Fellowship in the United States.

" April 26. The first permanent Lodge was formed in Baltimore, Md., by Thomas Wildey, an Englishman, with a membership of five persons, and called Washington Lodge, No. 1. To-day the membership of the Order is numbered by scores of thousands.

" Bolivar called a National Convention, and an army of 14,000 men was raised, together with powerful aid from England in vessels and munitions of war, with officers from Germany, France, and Poland.

" Independence of Colombia secured by Bolivar, and a union formed with Venezuela and Quito, under name of Republic of Colombia.

" Cape Breton re-annexed to Nova Scotia.

" Dec. 14. Alabama admitted into the Union..... 517

Missouri Compromise.

1820. *Missouri Compromise agreed to by Congress.*

In 1818 a petition was presented to Congress from the Territory of Missouri, asking authority to form a Constitution for a State. In Feb., 1819, Mr. Talmage, a New York Republican, moved an amendment prohibiting the introduction of slavery into any new State. A stormy debate of three days followed, during which Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, said, "A fire has been kindled which all the waters of the ocean can not put out, and which only seas of blood can extinguish." To which Mr. Talmage replied: "If civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I can only say, let it come! . . . . If blood is necessary to extinguish any fire which I have assisted to kindle, while I regret the necessity, I shall not hesitate to contribute my own." The Senate struck out the amendment, and the measure was lost. In 1820 a bill was passed authorizing Missouri to form a Constitution without restrictions, but to which was attached a section prohibiting slavery in all territories north of latitude 36° 30'. This clause is what is known as the "Missouri Compromise," and was warmly advocated by Henry Clay, and which was called "Henry Clay's Compromise Measure."

" March 15. Maine admitted into the Union..... 517

" Oct. Cession of Florida to the United States for $5,000,000, and ratified by Spain..... 517

" Heated discussions in Congress on the Slavery Question.

1820. Percussion caps for guns first came into use.

" *Monroe elected President the second time*, with Daniel C. Tompkins again as Vice-President.

" A Democratic Government declared in the provinces of La Plata.

Petroleum Discovered.

" *Petroleum springs were first struck in Ohio*, although their existence was known to the earliest settlers around the head waters of the Alleghany River, and oil-creeks were found in Pennsylvania and New York from which the inhabitants gathered oil by spreading woolen blankets on the surface and ringing them out.

" Macadamized roads first introduced into the United States.

" *Death of Daniel Boone*, of Kentucky, an American pioneer, explorer, and huntsman of much renown.

1821. July 21. *Jackson takes possession of Florida*..... 517

" *Lithography first introduced* by Burnett and Doolittle.

" *Straw hats first made* from American straw or grass, in imitation of the Leghorn, by Miss Sophia Woodhouse.

" Guatemala threw off the yoke of Spain and was annexed to Mexico.

" Independence of Peru proclaimed under San Martin, liberator of Chili, who was made Protector, but soon resigned and was replaced by Simon Bolivar as Dictator.

" Aug. 10. Missouri admitted into the Union..... 517

" First settlement of Liberia.

" Chili and the Argentine Republic carried their combined arms into Peru.

" Revolution in Brazil.

" Uruguay annexed to Brazil the second time.

" April. *Mexico declared independent* under Don Augustine.

" Iturbide was proclaimed Emperor by the army and mob of Mexico under the name of Augustine the First.

" Dec. Santa Anna proclaimed the Republic at Vera Cruz.

" Revolution in Brazil.

1822. Boyer united the two provinces of Hayti in one Government with himself as Chief.

" The first mercantile house opened in California by an English firm from Peru and established at Monterey.

" *Death of Maj.-Gen. Starke.* See biography, p. 429.

" *First cotton-mill built in Lowell, Mass.*

" Gas successfully introduced into Boston.

" First platform-scale made by Thomas Ellicott, who became the founder of the Philadelphia Scale-Works.

Dom Pedro II. Crowned.

" Oct. 12. *Brazil proclaimed an Independent Empire*, with Dom Pedro crowned Emperor.

" *War by Commodore Porter on the Cuban pirates.*

"Monroe Doctrine."

1823. June 18. *The "Monroe Doctrine."* The message of Pres. Monroe, for this year, contained the following declarations: "That we should consider any attempt, on the part of the allied powers, to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety," and "that we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing governments on this side of the water, whose independence we had acknowledged, or controlling, in any manner, their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. See biography of James Monroe.

1823. Central America formed into a Federal Republic, and became independent.

" Guatemala became a part of the Central American Republic.

" *First gas company* formed in New York city, with a capital of $1,000,000.

" First teachers' seminary opened in Concord, Vermont, by Rev. S. R. Hill.

Rise of the Owen Communities.

1824. The principles and doctrines of Robert Owen were quite extensively preached and several communities were formed. But the only one which merits attention is that of New Harmony, Ind., but which proved a failure after a short and interesting career. Over 900 people gathered under the direction of Robert Owen to inaugurate the Millennium. But when the finances of Mr. Owen were exhausted, the enterprise fell through. Mr. Owen declared himself disappointed in mankind, and to the general depravity of the people he ascribed the failure of his enterprise.

" *Pins first made by machinery* and patented by L. W. Wright, of Connecticut.

" First reformatory-school founded for the prevention of pauperism and crime, and called the "New York House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents."

" Congress passed a tariff to protect and encourage cotton manufacturers.

" Abdication of Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico. He was banished, and sailed for London.

" March 13. Convention with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade..... 518

" April 5. Convention with Russia in relation to the north-west boundary. 518

" Bolivar defeated the Spaniards at Gunin Ayucucho.

" July 19. Execution of Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico, through the machinations of Santa Anna.

" Aug. 13. *Arrival of Gen. Lafayette on a visit to the United States.* For sketch of his life see page 413.

" Nov. *John Quincy Adams elected President*, and John C. Calhoun Vice-President.

" Bolivar became Dictator of Peru.

" Buenos Ayres organized into a Republic under Las Heras.

" Brazil adopts a Constitution.

" Mexican Congress proclaimed a new Constitution similar to that of the United States, and a Republic of 19 States and 5 Territories formed with Guadalupe Victoria as President, and Gen. Bravo as Vice-President.

1825. *The Capitol at Washington completed.*

" First edge tool manufactory, established by Saml. W. Collins, at Collinsville, Connecticut.

" Bolivia made an independent State, and

named in honor of Simon Bolivar, and a republican form of government adopted, with Gen. Sucre as President.

1825. Bolivar returned to Colombia and a republican government formed.

First Overland Journey to California.

" Jedediah Smith, a trapper, performed the first overland journey to California, and established a post near the town of Folsom.

" Sept. 7. *Departure of Lafayette for France.* For full description of the imposing ceremonies, and touching tribute of a grateful nation to a beloved and honored benefactor, see p. 520. For biography, see p. 412.

1826. July 4. *The 50th Anniversary of American Independence.* A grand jubilee was universally observed throughout the United States.

John Adams.

" July 4. Death of John Adams, first Vice-President and second President of the United States. Mr. Adams was born in the town of Braintree, the present town of Quincy, on the 30th of October, 1735. He was the son of a farmer of limited means, who toiled early and late for a very frugal support for his family. He was anxious to give his son a collegiate education, that he might become a minister of the Gospel. John entered Harvard College at the age of sixteen, and graduated at twenty. He had received all the aid from his father he could expect, and he therefore obtained a situation as teacher in Worcester, and at the same time he began the study of law. At twenty-two he opened a law office in his native town and continued to study. He rapidly rose in the esteem of the public and in his profession. At the passage of the Stamp Act, Mr. Adams entered the political arena, and his first act was to draw up a series of resolutions in remonstrance, which were adopted by the citizens of Braintree, and subsequently, word for word, by more than forty towns in the State. Mr. Adams now entered upon a distinguished political career. His able defense of a sailor who thrust a harpoon through the heart of an English Lieut., who with his press-gang from a British ship were attempting to capture him, gained Mr. Adams great popularity, and established the principle that the infamous law of impressment could have no recognition on American soil.

Mr. Adams was one of the five delegates from Massachusetts to the Continental Congress. It became the imperative duty of this Congress to make a decision which should tell upon all future time. Mr. Adams was placed upon the most important committees. These demanded a redress of their grievances. This Congress received the following eulogy from Lord Chatham:

"I have studied and admired the free States of antiquity, the master-spirits of the world; but for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men can take the precedence of this Continental Congress."

1826. The following April the Revolution began. The battle of Bunker Hill was fought. Mr. Adams was in Congress, but his wife kept him informed of events occurring at Boston. The day following the opening of the battle, Mrs. Adams wrote these words to her husband:

"The day, perhaps the decisive day, is come, on which the fate of America depends. . . . . Charlestown is laid in ashes. . . . . The constant roar of cannon is so distressing that we can neither eat, drink, nor sleep."

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were appointed by the committee to draft a Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Adams was the Colossus of debate in the halls of Congress. Mr. Jefferson had little skill in debate, but wielded a powerful pen. When they met to perform their task, each urged the other to make the draft. Mr. Adams finally said: "I will not do it. There are three good reasons why you should. First, you are a Virginian, and Virginia should take the lead in this business. Second, I am obnoxious, suspected, unpopular; you are the reverse. Third, you can write ten times better than I can." Jefferson replied: "Well, if you insist upon it, I will do as well as I can." The result of this conference we need not dwell upon, save that the prosperity and happiness of this great nation dates back to that hour and that action. Mr. Adams was appointed on a committee with Franklin and Rutledge to confer with Lord Howe with reference to terms of peace, by request of that dignitary. When his lordship informed them that he could only confer with them in the character of private citizens, Mr. Adams replied: "We came, sir, but to listen to your propositions. You may view us in any light you please except that of British subjects. We shall consider ourselves in no other character than that in which we were placed by order of Congress."

Dr. Gordon said of Mr. Adams: "In a word, I deliver to you the opinion of every man in the House when I add, that he possesses the clearest head and firmest heart of any man in Congress."

In 1777 he was appointed a delegate to France, to take the place of Silas Deane, who had been recalled, and to coöperate with Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee, in the endeavor to obtain assistance in arms and money from the French Government. In 1779 Mr. Adams was sent to Paris to be in readiness to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain.

While waiting the motion of the English Parliament, he visited Holland and negotiated important loans, and formed important commercial treaties.

In 1783, after a great amount of diplomatic maneuvering, a definite treaty was effected through the agency of Adams, Franklin, Laurens, Jay, and Jefferson. The constant anxiety, toil, and excitement through which Mr. Adams had passed, threw him into a fever and his life was for a time in danger. Upon his recovery he repaired to England, where he remained a short time, when he was again ordered to visit Holland and obtain another loan. In 1785 Mr. Adams was appointed Envoy to the Court of St. James. He was now to meet, face to face, the King of England, as the first Minister to that court, from the power which had so recently humbled them. It was a very trying as well as a triumphant position. But Mr. Adams was sufficient for the occasion, and in the interview with his August Majesty, showed less embarrassment and full as much dignity as the king himself. This was a day of proud victory for America, and for her noble and patriotic Minister; and we'l did he discharge his duty, and gallantly and modestly did he wear his honors. In 1789 Mr. Adams was chosen for Vice-President, with George Washington, which office he held for two terms, and upon the close of the second term he was placed in the Presidential chair. Upon his retirement from this high office, which he had filled with a conscientious regard for duty, but which had been a stormy and difficult administration, he repaired to his farm at Quincy. Party politics had run high, and the Vice-President, Jefferson, his staunch friend, was called to side with the opposition. This was a severe trial for Mr. Adams, and caused a breach in their remarkable friendship of thirteen years duration.

Mr. Adams never again entered public life, except to draw up an able paper exposing the atrocities committed by the English Government upon American ships, in searching them and dragging from them all sailors who might be designated by any irresponsible agent as British subjects. Mr. Adams lived to see his cherished son, John Quincey, in the Presidential chair. He was now ninety years of age. The year following upon the anniversary of the national independence he departed this life. His last act was to send a toast to be presented to the celebration at Quincy on the following fourth of July. When appealed to, he said: "I give you Independence forever." His last words were, "Jefferson still lives," but Jefferson had departed this life an hour before.

Thomas Jefferson.

1826. July 4. Death of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States. Mr. Jefferson was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, on the 2d of April, 1743. His father was a man of wealth and culture, and his mother an intelligent and accomplished woman, reared in London and accustomed to the society of the refined, and the luxuries derived from wealth and position. Thomas was the eldest of a family of eight children. His father died when he was but fourteen years of age. At the age of seventeen he entered William and Mary College, in an advanced class.

Upon leaving college he entered the law office of Mr. Wythe, one of the most distinguished lawyers in the State. He was then not twenty-one years of age, and continued his intense application to study. As a young man, Mr. Jefferson was possessed of a singularly pure and exemplary char-

1826. acter. Gambling he thoroughly detested. Ardent spirits he never tasted, and tobacco he never used in any form, and he was never heard to utter an oath.

Mr. Jefferson rapidly rose in distinction at the bar, not as a public speaker, but as a profound and deep thinker, and an accurate reasoner. In 1769 Mr. Jefferson was chosen to fill a seat in the Legislature of Virginia. He was the largest slave-holder in the House, yet he introduced a bill empowering slave-holders to manumit their slaves, which was rejected by an overwhelming vote. At this time Mr. Jefferson was possessed of an estate of nearly 5,000 acres, tilled by about fifty slaves, and, together with his practice at the bar, his income amounted to $5,000 a year. In 1772 he married a wealthy and accomplished young widow, who brought him 40,000 acres of land and 135 slaves, thus making him one of the largest slave-holders in Virginia; yet he labored with all his energies for the abolition of slavery. He declared that institution to be a curse to the master, a curse to the slave, and an offense in the sight of God.

In 1774 Mr. Jefferson became an active agent, together with Patrick Henry and the two Lees, in calling a General Annual Congress, in consideration of the encroachments of Great Britain upon the rights of the colonies. He also wrote a pamphlet entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," which had a large circulation in this country, and was extensively published in England. At the first outbreak of hostilities, Jefferson was in favor of decisive measures. His pen was active and powerful in stimulating the colonies to a defense of their liberties and rights. In 1775 Mr. Jefferson took his seat in the Colonial Congress at Philadelphia. His reputation as a writer had preceded him, but his ever prompt, frank, explicit decisions, and his native modesty and suavity of manner captivated his opponents, and it was said he had not an enemy in Congress. In five days after he had taken his seat he was appointed to prepare an address upon the causes of taking up arms. It was one of the most popular documents ever written, and was greeted with enthusiasm by all classes. It was read at the head of the armies amid the roar of cannon and the wild huzzas of the soldiery. Yet Thomas Jefferson suffered the reputation of the authorship to rest with one of his fellow-committeemen, Dickinson, all his life, and not until after his death was it publicly known that Jefferson was the real author. Such traits of character developed the real heroism and nobility of the man.

The pen of Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, which was presented to Congress on the 28th of June, 1776, and which passed a fiery ordeal of criticism of three days' debate, during which Jefferson opened not his mouth. But his champion was his co-worker and earnest sympathizer, John Adams, who fought fearlessly for every word of it,

1826. with a masterly power and an eloquence that was irresistible. Upon the 4th of July it was adopted, and signed, amid the hush and silence of the most momentous and thrillingly sublime occasion it was ever permitted a citizen of any nation upon earth to witness or to participate in. Upon that day a nation was born, whose glory and magnificent progress has excelled every people and nation of the earth.

In 1779 Mr. Jefferson was chosen Governor of Virginia. He was then thirty-six years of age. During the War of the Revolution, he earnestly and zealously sustained General Washington. In 1781 a party rose in Virginia which opposed Mr. Jefferson and attempted to drive him from his office and the State. At the same time his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, was dying of a lingering disease. He resolved to retire from public life and devote himself to her. But in the confinement of a sick-room and at the bedside of a dying wife, his enemies still pursued him, reproaching him with weakness and a neglect of his duties as a citizen and patriot. Upon her death he was so overwhelmed with sorrow that he became entirely insensible, and for three weeks he kept his room, seeing no one but his faithful daughter, who was his sole companion. He never again married, and forty-four years after the death of his wife there were found in a secret drawer in his private cabinet locks of her hair and various little souvenirs of his wife, upon the envelopes of which were written words of endearing remembrance. In 1782 Mr. Jefferson was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, to negotiate a treaty of peace with England, but the treaty being secured before his preparations were completed, it became unnecessary for him to go upon that mission. In 1784 he was appointed, with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, to act as Minister Plenipotentiary in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. Upon his arrival in Paris, Dr. Franklin resigned, from age and infirmity, and returned to America, leaving Jefferson his successor.

He became very popular in Paris, whither his great reputation had preceded him. No foreign minister except Franklin had ever before been so caressed. Yet all the honors which he received from the gayest and most flattering of earthly courts produced no change in the simplicity of his republican tastes. Invited by the National Assembly of France to attend and participate in their deliberations, he wisely though delicately declined the honor, as inconsistent with his position as a recognized ambassador to the French Court. In September, 1789, Mr. Jefferson returned to America. In 1790 he accepted the appointment of Secretary of State from Washington. Upon the election of John Adams to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson became Vice-President. His administration was anything but a smooth and tranquil path. Party jealousy and strife ran high. Mr. Jefferson was a thorough and staunch Republican, and opposed everything which tended toward the

1826. growth of an aristocracy in the heart of the young and free Government. In 1801 Thomas Jefferson was made President of the United States. His election was hailed with great demonstrations of joy by the masses, for he was truly "the people's choice." In 1801 he was re-elected with great unanimity, with George Clinton as Vice-President. At the close of his second term of office his feelings can only be expressed in his own words: "Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. . . . . I thank God for the opportunity of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation." In private life Mr. Jefferson's hospitality was unbounded, often entertaining fifty persons as guests at one time. In his family he was greatly beloved—almost adored. His eldest daughter, the accomplished Mrs. Randolph, thus writes of her adored father: "Never, never did I witness a particle of injustice in my father; never speaking a harsh word, never manifesting sullenness, or anger, or irritation. We venerated him as something better and wiser than other men. He seemed to know everything—even the thoughts of our minds, and our untold wishes. We wondered that we did not fear him; and yet we did not, any more than we did companions of our own age." Never was there a more beautiful exhibition of parental love than that exhibited by Thomas Jefferson.

No man ever lived who was more greatly beloved by those who intimately knew him. His slaves regarded him more as a father than a master. He was a member of no church society, and hated shams and hypocrisy, especially in religious profession, with great intensity; yet his admiration of Christ and His character, as portrayed by the evangelists, was boundless; and he had great respect for the Bible as a book of great truth and wisdom, and spent much time in reading and copying from its pages. His moral character was *without reproach;* and yet, because he made no public profession of religion, he was denounced as an "infidel." In reading carefully the history of his life, the reader will see that it was less from unbelief in the doctrines of Christianity than from the corrupt and hypocritical conduct of the masses who professed the name, and especially of those who stood in "high places," wearing their religion as a cloak to cover their moral deformity.

Great Anti-Mason Excitement.—Abduction of Wm. Morgan.

1826. *Thurlow Weed's Reminiscences of the affair, as a Member of the Investigating Committee at the time of the transaction.* Mr. Weed gave the following account of the Morgan affair in a letter to the N. Y. *Herald* of Aug. 6, 1875, and which was copied by the Chicago *Tribune* the same month:

"I did not personally know Wm. Morgan, who was for more than two months writing his book in a house adjoining my residence in Rochester,

1826. N. Y. When applied to by Mr. Dyer—my next-door neighbor, where Morgan boarded—to print the book, purporting to disclose the secrets of Masonry, I declined to do so, believing that a man who had taken an oath to keep a secret had no right to disclose it. Although not a Freemason, I had favorable opinions of an institution to which Washington, Franklin, and Lafayette belonged. On my refusal to print the book, Morgan removed to Batavia, where he made the acquaintance of David C. Miller, editor of the *Advocate*, also a Mason, who became his publisher. I pass briefly over a series of facts which were judicially established, embracing the arrest of Morgan, his conveyance to and confinement in the county jail at Canandaigua, from which he was released and conveyed by night, in close carriages, through Rochester, Clarkson, and along the Ridge Road to Fort Niagara, in the magazine of which he was confined. While thus confined a Knight Templar Encampment was installed at Lewiston; when at supper, the zeal and enthusiasm of the Templars having been aroused by the speeches and wine, Col. Wm. King, of Lockport, invited four men (Whitney, Howard, Chubbuck, and Garside) from the seats at the banqueting table, into an adjoining room, where he informed them that he had an order from the Grand Master (De Witt Clinton), the execution of which required their assistance. This party was then driven to Niagara, reaching the Fort a little before 12 o'clock. Upon entering the magazine, Col. King informed Morgan that his friends had completed their arrangements for his removal to, and residence upon, a farm in Canada. Morgan walked with them to the wharf, where a boat was held in readiness for them by Elisha Adams, an invalid soldier, into which the party passed and rowed away, Adams remaining to warn the boat off by signal, if, on its return, any alarm had been given. It was nearly 2 o'clock in the morning when the boat returned, having, as Adams expressed it, *lost one man*, only five of the six being on board when the boat returned. When the boat reached the point where the Niagara River empties into Lake Ontario, a rope being wound around Morgan's body, to either end of which a sinker was attached, he was thrown overboard. It is due to the memory of Gov. Clinton to say that Col. King had no such order, and no authority to make use of his name. It is proper, also, to add, that none of these men survive. John Whitney, of Rochester, whom I knew so well, related all the circumstances connected with the last act in the tragedy, to me at Albany in 1831, in the presence of Simeon B. Jewett, of Clarkson, and Samuel Barton, of Lewiston." We glean the following notes from Mr. Weed's letter: "In October, 1827, more than a year after the abduction of Morgan, a body drifted on shore near a small creek which emptied into Lake Ontario. An inquest was held, and it was pronounced 'the body of an unknown person.' Morgan's friends demanded another inquest. Mrs. Morgan and a friend of her husband gave a complete description of his person, and also of some marks upon it, which was fully corroborated by the body found, and the second inquest resulted in the decision that it was the body of Wm. Morgan, who had so mysteriously disappeared more than a year before. But now the most singular part of the story remains. A Canadian, by the name of Timothy Monroe, had been swept over the Niagara Falls eleven days before the discovery of the body. His wife appeared, and demanded another inquest upon it. She gave a very minute description of his clothing, which fully identified that found upon the body, but her description of his person was very inaccurate, yet, the result of the inquest was, that it was the body of Timothy Monroe." Thus ended the mysterious "Morgan affair."

Humboldt.

1826. Visit of Baron Alexander von Humboldt, the great German naturalist, geologist, and distinguished scientist, to the United States. This great and learned man was born in Berlin September 14, 1769, and was educated with great care at an early age in the natural sciences. He was also a student of the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. He traveled over the Continent, and his researches among the Alps and Pyrenees were extensive. The King of Spain granted him a passport to all his dominions with free use of all astronomical and other instruments which would aid the advancement of science. Such extensive privileges had never before been granted a traveler.

He proceeded to South America and explored all the mountainous regions, volcanoes, great rivers, and natural scenery and botany. He ascended the highest peaks of the Andes, and stood upon the cloud-capped heights where the foot of man had never before ventured. He measured their vast proportions, and sounded the depths of burning volcanoes, weighing them in the balance of his mighty mind, giving to the world a new revelation.

After his visit to America, he published a series of volumes under the title of Kosmos, and several other works. Agassiz says of him: "The personal influence he exerted upon science is incalculable. With him ends a great period in the history of science, a period to which Cuvier, Laplace, Arago, Gay, Lussac, De Candolle, and Robert Brown belonged."

" Oct. 26. *Opening of the Erie Canal with a grand celebration.*

" First pianos manufactured in the United States.

" *Duel between Henry Clay and John Randolph*, caused by personal insults flung openly in the Senate Chamber at Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State. Both of these illustrious men lived in times when, and were educated under a code of morals which recognized no other means of satisfying insulted honor. It was much practiced in the early days of "Southern chivalry," but which was ever regarded by the cool and more philosophical statesmen of the North as a pernicious, dishonorable, and brutal custom. Mr. Randolph refused to retract, and also refused to take the life of his antagonist, and resolved not to return the fire of Mr. Clay, yet he made every preparation for death, as far as his worldly affairs were concerned. Upon the ground, the pistol of Mr. Randolph accidentally went off while repeating the words of signal after his second, but which was admitted to be purely accidental. Two shots were exchanged, Randolph's first lodging in a stump in the rear of Mr. Clay, and the latter's ball striking the earth several feet behind Mr. Randolph. The second firing resulted the same, except that Mr. Randolph discharged his pistol in the air. He remarked to Col. Benton, just after the first fire: "I would not have seen him fall mortally, or even doubtfully wounded for all the land that is watered by the king of floods and all his tributary streams."

Mr. Clay, upon seeing Mr. Randolph's pistol discharged in the air, approached him, and with deep emotion said: "I trust in God, my dear sir, you are untouched; after what has occurred, I would not have harmed you for a thousand worlds." The antagonists formally exchanged cards, and their relations of courtesy were restored. Thus ended an "affair of honor," which in the progress of civilization has become in the eyes of all honorable men a barbarous and inhuman practice.

1826. Brazilian independence acknowledged by Spain.

" Constitution for confederation of Buenos Ayres framed.

" Spanish forces driven from Peru.

" Uruguay declared for independence.

" Brazil declared war against the Argentine Republic.

" City of Buenos Ayres blockaded by Brazil.

First Fire-proof Safes.

" Jesse Delano patented an improvement on fire-proof safes of French invention.

1827. Feb. Treaty with the Creek Indians concluded. 523

" Treaty with the Kansas Indians..... 523

" Treaty with the Great and Little Osages,..... 523

" May. A general treaty of peace, navigation, and commerce between United States and the Republic of Colombia..... 523

" *Great excitement over the "Morgan affair,"* and great opposition to Freemasonry. Political capital made out of the alleged murder of Morgan.

" *First railroad in the United States* built at Quincy, Mass., and operated by horse-power.

1828. Congress passed a protective tariff, which caused much opposition at the South.

" Sand-paper and emery-paper first made at Philadelphia.

" *First locomotive* introduced from England by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, being the first steam-engine used in the United States.

" Baltimore and Ohio R. R. begun.

" *Congress made provision to pay the officers of the Revolutionary War*..... 523

" Names of "Democrat" and "Republican" chosen this year for the parties still bearing that name.

1828. *Gen. Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun chosen to fill the offices of President and Vice-President.*
" Chili adopts a Constitution..... 527
" Internal war in Mexico.
" Treaty of peace between Brazil and Buenos Ayres.
" Gen. Sucre assassinated.
" Brazil declares war against the Argentine Republic.
" *Planing-mill patented* by Wm. Woodworth, of New York.
1829. Spain attempts to regain Mexico. She sends a force of 4,000 troops under Gen. Barradas. He was forced to capitulate, and his troops were sent to Havana.
" *Mexican independence recognized by the United States.*
" Mexico expelled all the natives of Spain from her territory.
" First coffee plantations started in Costa Rica.
" Mariscal Santa Cruz elected President of Bolivia; and a revolution began, lasting ten years.
" Jan. 26. *Daniel Webster's great speech defending the Constitution*..... 528
" Feb. 20. Resolutions passed by the Virginia House of Delegates against the United States Tariff Bill.
" May 2. *Hail falls in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, to the depth of twelve inches.*
" May 17. *Death of John Jay*, at Bedford, New York.
" Sept. 15. *Slavery abolished in Mexico.*
" Nov. 9. Separation of Yucatan from Mexico, and union with Central America.
" Dec. 4. Revolution commenced in Mexico.

First Asylum for the Blind.

" Perkins Institute and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind established through the efforts of Dr. John D. Fisher, with Dr. Samuel G. Howe as Director, who held the position forty-three years.
" *First Horticultural Society* founded in this country.
" *President Jackson removed* 700 *officeholders*, which established the precedent since so closely followed. He is credited with the saying: "*To the victor belong the spoils.*"
1830. Jan. 20. Bolivar resigns his military and civil commissions.
" Jan. 27. *City of Guatemala nearly destroyed by earthquake.*
" April 4. Yucatan declares its independence.
" Uruguay adopted a Constitution.
" Death of Bolivar at San Pedro.
" *South Carolina asserts "State's Rights."*

Rise of Mormonism.

" April 6. Mormon Church founded upon the supernatural pretensions of Joseph Smith, an ignorant, dissolute, but pretentious young man, who had no reputation for good in the community where he lived, in Palmyra, N. Y. Smith was the pretended author of a new revelation, which he called the "Book of Mormon;" or, "Golden Bible." He dictated the contents to Oliver Cowdery, while seated behind a blanket hung across the room, to keep profane eyes from beholding the "sacred records," or metallic plates which he

1830. claimed to have exhumed by direction of the Holy Spirit! These he professed to be reading, with the aid of the Urim and Thummim — the ancient stones revived — by looking through which, the strange characters were converted into English! The *true origin* of this book is claimed to be the manuscript of an eccentric preacher, by the name of Spaulding, who became involved in debt, and undertook the composition of a historical novel, entitled "Manuscript Found;" by which means he hoped to liquidate his debts. The MSS. were written in 1812, and left in a printing office where Sydney Rigdon was a workman. In 1816 Mr. Spaulding died. When the new Bible appeared, Mr. Miller, a partner of Spaulding, also Mr. Spaulding's wife, recognized the plagiarism, and testified to a great portion of the book as being the production of Spaulding's pen. The characters, names, etc., were verbatim from Spaulding, but mixed up with Scripture quotations, together with Bible doctrines, and altogether forming a book of several hundred pages. The main features of the Mormon religion were the pretended "gifts of the Church," by which the same miracles which were wrought by Christ were claimed to be wrought by Smith and his apostles, even to the raising of the dead. Kirtland, Ohio, became the headquarters of the Mormons in 1831, and they began rapidly to increase. A body of them started a church in Jackson Co., Mo., where their numbers increased so rapidly that the old settlers becoming alarmed, held public meetings, protesting against the invasion of the new sect. The citizens demanded the suppression of their paper, which being refused, it was destroyed by a mob. The excitement prevailed to such an extent, that some of their houses were destroyed and their leaders whipped, and during a fray several lives were lost on both sides. Persecutions but strengthened the zeal of the fanatics. They moved about from place to place, and finally settled down in Nauvoo, Ill., where they began the erection of a Temple. They now took the name of "Latter-Day Saints." In 1833 Brigham Young was converted to the new faith. In 1837 the Mormons carried their new religion to the Old World, where superstition and ignorance abounded. There it flourished and took deep root among the lower classes, who have ever been the dupes of designing religious pretenders. The light of reason and education always dispels the dark clouds of superstition and bigotry, and no sect, founded upon superstition and pretended wonders and miraculous demonstrations, can longer hope to flourish where an open Bible, free schools, and a free press abound. In 1839 the "Latter-Day Saints," under the leadership of Smith, united their forces and began a settlement and the building of their Temple in Nauvoo. Polygamy was now introduced by "revelation to Smith," as a special privilege to the head of the Church. During 1842–3–4 Smith was repeatedly arrested on charges of murder, treason, and adultery, but managed to avert punish-

1830. ment, until the summer of 1844, when, with his brother Hiram, he was sent a prisoner by the Governor of Illinois to Carthage, where they were arrested for *treason*, and placed in prison under guard. On the 27th of June a mob of outraged citizens, disguised, broke into the jail and summarily killed them both. Great mourning and lamentations went up from the afflicted Mormons. They sent word to all the faithful far and near, that the "Lord's Prophet" was killed. Brigham Young was appointed successor to Joseph Smith, much to the chagrin of Sydney Rigdon.

The Mormons were now compelled to abandon their city and Temple. They proceeded at once to establish themselves beyond the bounds of civilization, where they could carry out their dark and devilish designs, and lay the foundation of their unholy schemes, unmolested by law, order, or even decency. A desolate region near the shores of the Great Salt Lake was chosen for the seat of their city and government, for they aspired to no less pretensions than the "Veritable Kingdom of God," and Brigham Young His chosen *Prophet, Priest, and King, temporal*, or ruler of the "Saints of God"—could mortal man aspire to greater dignity or power? But—"*Mirabile dictu!*"—this chief of impostors actually succeeded in establishing a form of government in the very center of the United States, with himself as governor, with laws to suit himself, defying the Government and all law and interference upon the *pretended authority of "Divine Revelation" and "appointment!"* Here in the heart of the great wilderness they began to build the "New Jerusalem"—since called Salt Lake City. Here they flourished like "a green bay tree" and imported their devotees from the ignorant and oppressed classes of Europe by thousands, under pretense of bringing them to the "land of promise." They rapidly increased until they numbered many thousands, and became a terror to emigration and civilization. Under the disguise of Indians, they waylaid whole emigrant trains, robbing, plundering, and murdering the helpless victims at their will. The great "Mountain Meadow Massacre," designed and prosecuted by the Mormon leaders, was, after twenty years' successful evasion, brought to light, and one of its leaders executed by United States authority. But it is pretty generally believed that Brigham Young and his apostles were instrumental in nearly all the depredations committed throughout the great plains of the West, which were attributed to the Indians. One great secret of the indifference of the Government to the alarming growth of this monstrosity in the heart of her territory, was its remoteness from the very borders of civilization, and the astounding *success* of its leaders in founding a city and a government, populated and improved by dint of systematic industry and perseverance which challenged the admiration of all who visited that oasis of the Great Desert—the far-famed Salt Lake City. The Government and mili-

1830. tary officials, newspaper correspondents, and prominent men of the nation who visited Utah were feted and flattered, and sometimes *bought up* by that great dignitary, Brigham Young, who held unlimited sway over a vast territory of willing subjects, and who controlled, not only the press, the schools, and the religion, but the *finances* of a large territory representing immense resources and wealth. But the onward march of civilization is fast accomplishing to-day what a tardy Government should have done at the start; for no great oppressive power can long exist surrounded by the elements of freedom.

" Dec. 9. Building of the South Carolina Railroad.

" American Institute of Learning founded in Boston.

Battle of the Giants.

" Great debate in the United States Senate between Webster and Hayne, called the "Battle of the Giants"..... 528

" Charter granted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to Col. Stephen Long for the American Steam Carriage Company.

" *First locomotive built in the United States* by Peter Cooper, the philanthropist, after his own design.

1831. *Great political excitement over Tariff and Free Trade.*

" "*The Liberator*," *an anti-slavery paper*, started in Boston by Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

" Jan. 12. *Remarkable eclipse of the sun.*

" April 7. Dom Pedro abdicated in favor of his son, Pedro II.

James Monroe.

" July 4. Death of James Monroe, fifth President of the United States. Mr. Monroe was born in Westmoreland Co., Virginia, April 28, 1758. At the age of 16 he entered William and Mary College, and in 1776, when but two years in college, and upon the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, he relinquished his studies and hastened to Gen. Washington's headquarters in New York, and enrolled his name as a cadet in the army. In the battle of Trenton, during which he was wounded, he distinguished himself for his bravery, and was promoted to the rank of Captain. Soon after he received a commission as Colonel, but the army was so depleted that no command could be furnished him, and he returned to Virginia, and entered the law office of Thomas Jefferson. In 1782 he was elected to the Virginia Assembly, and appointed a member of the Executive Council. In 1783 Mr. Monroe was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress for a term of three years, where he proved himself an efficient member, and was instrumental in bringing about the General Convention at Philadelphia, which developed the present Constitution. He married a Miss Kortright, of New York, an intelligent and accomplished lady, who, in his subsequent high career, was every way fitted for the companion of so distinguished a man. Mr. Monroe was a member of the Virginia Convention

1831. which ratified the Constitution, and opposed it, as he thought it gave too much power to the Central Government. As a Republican, Mr. Monroe opposed every measure which tended to centralize the Government and give it too much controlling power over the States. He feared the tendencies of the people toward an aristocracy. In the war between France and England Mr. Monroe deeply sympathized with France, and bitterly opposed the neutrality proclamation, alleging that it was base ingratitude in the United States to refuse her aid to France in her struggle with the despotic powers of Europe. President Washington magnanimously appointed James Monroe as Minister to that Government. He was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joyous welcome. The President of the National Convention addressed him in a congratulatory speech, and publicly embraced him at its close. The flags of the two republics were intertwined in the Assembly Hall. Mr. Monroe's frank and cordial manner, and his open sympathy with France was so extremely annoying to England and to the friends of England in America, that he was recalled near the close of Washington's administration. Shortly after his return he was elected Governor of Virginia. Mr. Monroe was sent to France to negotiate for the purchase of the Louisiana Territory in connection with Mr. Livingston, the Minister to France. Their efforts were successful. He next visited England to remonstrate, in the name of the Government of the United States, against the impressment of our seamen. England refused to make any effort toward satisfying their just complaints. From England he went to Spain by way of Paris, and witnessed the crowning of Napoleon Bonaparte. In Spain he endeavored to settle a boundary question relating to the Louisiana Territory, which Spain had ceded to France, and France to the United States, but failed to effect what he desired. Mr. Monroe was again sent to the Court of England to sue for redress. But she remained inexorable, and the treaty which they tendered through him to the Government of the United States was so unsatisfactory that the President declined to submit it to the Senate. Mr. Monroe now retired to his home in Virginia, where he remained until called to the Secretaryship of State under President Madison.

Upon the burning and sacking of Washington by the British, Mr. Monroe assumed the additional duties of Secretary of War, that officer having resigned his position, and most efficiently and nobly he discharged the duties of each. The country was in a deplorable condition—her treasury exhausted and credit gone, and in the midst of a war with the strongest nation upon earth. Yet in this terrible crisis James Monroe pledged his own individual credit as subsidiary to that of his country, thereby enabling her to make a successful defense against the invading foe. His energies were all directed to the salvation and welfare of his country, and his faithful and prompt measures enabled the

1831. army to triumph gloriously over their cruel and inveterate enemy. Upon the close of the war Mr. Monroe resigned the Secretaryship of War, and continued the discharge of the duties of Secretary of State till the end of President Madison's administration, when he was elected to that important office by a large majority. A better choice at that time could not well have been made. He continued in the Presidential chair eight years, his administration giving general satisfaction. He made great exertion to secure a pension law to reward the veteran soldiers. Mr. Monroe was the author of the paper called "The Monroe Doctrine," the object of which was "to introduce and establish the American system of keeping out of our land all foreign powers; of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nation. It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it," and "that any attempt on the part of the European powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere would be regarded by the United States as dangerous to our peace and safety." Mr. Monroe died a poor man. He gave his time so exclusively to his country that his private interests were neglected, and he became involved in debts which reduced him to the estate of a "poor man" in worldly possessions, but his wealth of character and reputation far outweighed the miser's hoarded gains. He died at the residence of his son-in-law in New York, at the age of seventy-three, honored and beloved by a grateful nation.

" Oct. 1. Free Trade Convention at Philadelphia.

" Oct. 26. Tariff Convention at New York.

" *Manning mowing-machine patented* (*the first useful mowing-machine made*).

" *Chloroform discovered* by Samuel Guthrie, of Sackett's Harbor, N. Y.

" *Steam knitting-machine* first used, at Albany, N. Y., by Timothy Bailey.

" Dr. Howe, of New York, invented the first practical machine for making pins.

" Confederation of Buenos Ayres, Corrientes, Entre-Rio, and Santa Fe.

" Uruguay became an independent State.

" Limitation of slave trade in Brazil.

" Ecuador becomes independent.

" Republic of Colombia dissolved.

" Buttons first made by machinery in the United States by Joel Hayden, of Connecticut.

Gibbs, the Pirate, Executed.

" *Capture and execution of Gibbs, the most noted pirate of the century.* He was called the "Scourge of the Ocean." In his confession he stated that he had been concerned in robbing over forty vessels, and he gave the names of near a score of vessels taken by the pirates under his command, the crews of which were murdered.

" Western College of Teachers established in Ohio by Albert and John Picket and Samuel Lewis.

1832. Congress passed a new protective tariff bill. Great opposition in the South. *South Carolina threatened secession.* 528

Gen. Jackson Vetoes Secession.

1832. President Jackson ordered the naval and military forces to Charleston to enforce the laws, which put an end to the secession..... 528

" Feb. 6. Attack on Qualla Batoo, in Sumatra, by the United States frigate *Potomac.*

First Appearance of Cholera.

" June 8. Cholera at Quebec; the first case in America.

" June 21. First case of Asiatic Cholera in the United States, which scourge swept over the entire land, hurrying thousands into a sudden and terrible death..... 528

" Aug. 27. *Black Hawk War, and capture of Black Hawk*..... 534

" Sept. 26. University of New York organized.

" *Andrew Jackson chosen for President and Martin Van Buren Vice-President.*

" *Death of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence.

" *President Jackson vetoed the United States Bank bill.*

" Dec. 28. John C. Calhoun resigned his office as Vice-President.

" *Electro-Magnetic Telegraph invented by Professor Morse.* (See biography.)

" Asiatic Cholera appeared again in New York City, lasting two months, and resulting in 3,400 deaths.

Chloroform Invented.

" Dr. Samuel Guthrie first published his discovery of chloroform.

" Patent granted to E. & T. Fairbanks for their "Hay Scales," or a balance for weighing heavy bodies.

" Yellow fever again appeared in New York and vicinity, producing a great panic.

1833. Mar. 4. Andrew Jackson inaugurated President for a second term.

Jackson Closes the United States Bank.

" President Jackson being informed that the United States Bank was using large sums for political purposes, removed the deposits and closed all operations, contrary to the advice of his Cabinet, and in direct opposition to Congress. Great excitement was caused by this act, and two attempts were made to take his life. Thomas H. Benton and John Forsyth supported the President in the Senate, but Clay, Calhoun, and Webster united in the opposition. The name "Whig" was adopted by the opposition party.. 533

" The Southern States held a "State's Rights" Convention.

" May 3. Congress passed Henry Clay's compromise tariff law.

" Santa Anna inaugurated President of Mexico.

" Cholera broke out among the United States troops who were engaged against the Indians in the West, nearly destroying several companies.

" Yellow fever again visits the United States in a more virulent form.

" First practical safe invented by J. C. Gayler, and called the "Salamander."

John Randolph.

1833. May 24. Death of John Randolph, a distinguished United States Senator from Virginia. He was born in Virginia, June 2, 1773, and was a direct descendant of, and the seventh generation from, Pocahontas, daughter of the Indian Chief Powhattan, and deliverer of Capt. John Smith. Mr. Randolph was an eloquent and eccentric man, and was much feared in Congress and also in the Senate, for his sarcastic and scathing rebukes and expositions of all that he considered trickery and secret combinations. He was regarded as an upright and straightforward representative, and advocated only what he believed to be right.

" Removal of several Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi.

" First double cylinder printing-press constructed by Hoe & Newton.

" First useful reapers patented.

" Caloric engine invented by John Ericsson.

First Newsboy.

" First copy of New York *Sun* printed by Benj. H. Day, and sold for one cent per copy. Its sale on the streets created the first "newsboy" that ever cried in the streets of an American city.

" Nov. 13. *Great meteoric shower known as the "falling stars,"* which created a great sensation all over the country. Much fear and consternation were excited among the superstitious, many supposing the "end of the world" had come.

" Chili revised her Constitution.

" *Slaves emancipated in Jamaica.* The planters immediately combined to put wages down to the lowest possible rate, and increased the rents of the huts which the negroes occupied. The negroes deserted the plantations and settled in the mountains. The agitation resulting therefrom threatened a revolt against the Government. Chinese laborers were imported, but without success.

Flying-Machine.

" A model flying-machine was constructed by Rufus Porter, of New Britain, Conn., who kept experimenting, until about fourteen years later he produced a model propelled by steam, which he exhibited at Washington and in the Merchants' Exchange, New York, and a journal of the day declared "it made the circuit of the rotunda eleven times like a thing animated with life." Still later he constructed a full working machine, but which he never completed because it was found impossible to procure a varnish or coating for the canvas covering which would prevent the leakage of the gases to an extent that wholly destroyed the lifting power of the balloon. The balloon was cigar-shaped, and a little below was suspended a car, conforming on a small scale to the shape of the balloon, which carried the motive power for propelling the whole, and was provided with a pair of screw propellers and a four-leaved rudder. In 1869 Mr. Porter's principle was revived, with certain additions, at Shell Mound Lake, Cal., by Frederick Marriot, and operated by a small steam-engine. The apparatus worked well in a still atmosphere, but proved a failure in brisk winds.

1834. Mar. Vote of censure by the Senate against the President for removing the Bank deposits, but was soon after expunged..... 533

" *The whole United States debt paid off.*

" *Lucifer matches* first made in America.

First Sewing-Machine.

" *Sewing-machine invented* by Walter Hunt, of New York, with a curved eye-pointed needle and shuttle, making a lock-stitch; but he failed to perfect it or to get a patent for it.

" Raised alphabet invented by Dr. Howe for the use of the blind.

1834-5. *Remarkable cold winter* all over the United States — snow falling in the Southern States one foot deep; orange and fig trees 100 years old were killed.

1835. Congress established branch mints in Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana.

" The Cherokees sold their land to Government for $5,200,000.

" April 18. French indemnity bill passed the Chamber of Deputies.

" May. *New York* Herald *established* by James Gordon Bennett. See biography.

" July 6. *Death of Chief Justice Marshall*, who had filled this high office nearly 35 years.

" Roger Brooke Taney, of Maryland, appointed to fill his place.

" Renewal of war with the Seminole Indians, which lasted seven years longer, and cost the Government $15,000,000..... 533

Great Fire in New York.

" Dec. 16. Great fire in New York city; $22,000,000 worth of property burned.

" Mexican Constitution abrogated, and the Confederation of States consolidated into a republic, with Santa Anna President and Dictator.

" Republic of Central America dissolved, and the separate Republics of Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, and Costa Rica formed.

" Illuminating gas first introduced into the city of Philadelphia.

" First gold pens, with diamond points, made by Levi Brown, a Detroit watchmaker.

" Guano first became an article of commerce in the United States.

" Dec. 28. Maj. Dade and his command massacred in Florida.

" Gen. Thompson and his companions were also murdered.

1836. Arkansas admitted into the Union.

" April 21. Battle of San Jacinto, in Texas. Santa Anna defeated and taken prisoner.

" Bequest of James Smithson to the United States, of $515,169 for the "general diffusion of knowledge among men." *The Smithsonian Institute* at Washington was founded with the proceeds of this bequest.

James Madison.

" June 28. Death of James Madison, fourth President of the United States. Mr. Madison was born in Orange County,

1836. Virginia. He graduated at Princeton College at the age of twenty, with a constitution enfeebled with constant study, but with a character of unblemished purity, and a mind richly stored with all that makes youth attractive and honorable. Being naturally of a liberty-loving nature, and also highly endowed with religious sentiments, he early gave his mind to theological study. He soon, however, became strongly impressed with the intolerance of Church power in this country. He saw the injustice of indiscriminate taxation to support the Established Church of England. His first public efforts were directed against this oppression. With Thomas Jefferson he fought for religious liberty. The battle was fierce, and the opponents of religious intolerance were denounced as the enemies of Christianity. But liberty triumphed, and religious freedom was established in Virginia.

In 1776 he became a member of the Virginia Convention to frame the Constitution of the State. He lost the election to the General Assembly the next year because he refused to treat the whisky-loving voters. In 1780 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and was immediately assigned to a conspicuous place. In 1787 he was an eminent member of the great National Convention. Mr. Madison was one of the leading spirits in calling this convention, and also in bringing about the great and all-important result—the "Constitution of the United States." When this invaluable document was to be submitted to the people of the United States, Mr. Madison was selected to write the address, expounding its principles and urging its adoption.

In 1790 Mr. Madison found himself fast drifting to the side of the Republican party. Yet he was so courteous and conscientious in all his manners and measures that he retained the confidence of his former party friends. In 1792 he was the avowed leader of the Republican party in Congress. In 1797 it was the wish of many that Mr. Madison should become the candidate for President, but he declined the honor. Mr. Jefferson wrote, concerning his qualifications for the position, "There is not another person in the United States with whom, being placed at the helm of our affairs, my mind would be so completely at rest for the fortune of our political bark."

At the age of 43 he married the accomplished Mrs. Todd, who was the belle of New York. She proved to be a worthy companion of so distinguished a man, and was a great attraction and social power at the "White House," and in the society at Washington, as the wife of the President.

Upon the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency he appointed Mr. Madison Secretary of State. He discharged the duties of this responsible office during the eight years of Mr. Jefferson's administration. Mr. Jefferson being a widower, Mrs. Madison was called upon to discharge the duties and honors required of the mistress of the Presidential mansion. This position she filled with the dignity and grace of a queen, maintaining at the same time those true womanly instincts and that freedom of manner which drew all hearts to her with a truly magnetic attraction. She never forgot a face or a name, and every visitor was treated with apparently special attention. The most bitter foes of her husband and of the administration were received with a welcome and cordiality that made them forget the bitterness of party strife in the presence of this noble and truly accomplished woman. Upon the close of Mr. Jefferson's second term, Mr. Madison was elected to fill his place. He was also elected for a second term in the midst of the war with England, during which the city of Washington was invaded by British troops, and the President and his family were compelled to flee. The Capitol and all the public buildings were burned. In 1817 Mr. Madison retired from the Presidential chair, and repaired to his beautiful home at Montpelier, where he spent the remainder of his days in the quietude and peace of a rural home. He died at the age of 85 years, and his memory was treasured with love and gratitude by the nation he had so long served.

1836. " Oct. Gov. Call, of Georgia, invades the Seminole country.

" Oct. 22. Sam. Houston elected President of Texas.

" Nov. *Martin Van Buren elected President*, and Richard M. Johnson Vice-President.

" Dec. 15. Burning of the general Post-office and Patent office at Washington.

" Texas declared independent.

" Peru-Bolivian confederation formed under the Presidency of Santa Cruz, a Bolivian.

" *Trial of Richard P. Robinson for the murder of Miss Helen Jewett*, a beautiful courtesan of New York.

" Samuel Colt invented his famous revolver.

" First National Temperance Convention, held at Saratoga, N. Y.

J. Q. Adams' Great Debate.

" *John Quincy Adams' eleven days' conflict* for the right of petition, in Congress. Single-handed and alone Mr. Adams fought this great battle, and achieved for the American people a victory which should be commemorated while the nation has an existence.

" *Death of Aaron Burr.*

" Sioux and Winnebago Indians sold their lands and went beyond the Mississippi River.

" Gen. Scott subdued the Creek Indians in Georgia.

" Wm. Crompton, of Worcester, Mass., invented the "fancy loom," which produced figures in weaving.

1837. Jan. 26. Michigan admitted into the Union.

" *Magnificent display of aurora borealis.* The whole arch of the heavens was covered with a canopy of brilliant and various hued rays, converging in the zenith in a deep red color. This phenomenon was witnessed in nearly every part of the United States.

" GREAT FINANCIAL CRASH AND PANIC. 250 houses in New York stopped payment during the first three weeks in April. Failures in New Orleans in two days reached $27,000,000. Eight States failed, and the United States could not pay its debts.

" Peru declared war against Chili, and also became involved in civil war.

" Santa Anna became revolutionary provisional President of Mexico.

" Mar. 4. Inauguration of Martin Van Buren.

Origin of the Express Business.

" *The express business originated* in the United States with Wm. T. Harnden, a young man who carried parcels from New York to Boston in a satchel. He soon procured a trunk, and in a short time an "Express Office" was established in both cities, with messengers employed upon each steamer, which soon grew into an extensive and well-organized business. In the course of three years Mr. Harnden had also been instrumental in establishing an emigration system, which added to the wealth of the nation $80,000,000.

" Commencement of the Canadian rebellion.

1838. First zinc produced in the United States, at the United States Arsenal at Washington, and found in large quantities in New York and Pennsylvania.

" *Duel between W. J. Graves and Jonathan Cilley*, both Members of Congress. Cilley killed at third fire.

" Exploring expedition to the South Pole under the command of Capt. Charles Wilkes, of the United States Navy.

" Oct. 5. United States Bank suspended specie payment, followed by the suspension of the majority of the banks in the United States, causing a great panic.

" Peace restored between Chili and Peru, and Gamara chosen President of Peru.

" *Mormon war in Missouri.*

Log-Cabin Campaign.

1839. Great political excitement. The Whigs nominate Wm. Henry Harrison for President, which introduced the "Log-Cabin Campaign."

" Charles Goodyear invented vulcanized rubber.

" Siege of Montevideo began, lasting nine years.

" Honduras became an independent Republic.

" Continued revolution in Mexico; the Constitution suspended.

" Peru-Bolivian confederation overthrown.

First Steam Fire-Engine.

1840. John Ericsson, a Swedish engineer, perfected the first steam fire-engine in the United States, for which he received the great gold medal from the Mechanics' Institute. He had been in this country but one year at the time. Mr. Ericsson planned and superintended the building of *the first "Monitor,"* at Greenpoint, N. Y., which at *its first trial disabled the iron-clad ram "Merrimac."*

" June 30. Sub-Treasury bill became a law.

" *First Washingtonian Society*, founded

1840. upon "total abstinence," established in Baltimore by six men of intemperate habits, and at its first anniversary 100 reformed drunkards marched in procession.

" *Adams' Express Company founded.*

" Nov. Gen. Harrison elected President, and John Tyler Vice-President.

" Death of Francia, Dictator of Paraguay.

" Dom Pedro II. crowned Emperor of Brazil, at the age of fourteen years.

" Antarctic Continent discovered by Capt. Wilkes.

1841. Mar. 4. Inauguration of Gen. Harrison as President.

Wm. Henry Harrison.

April 4. Death of Wm. Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States. Mr. Harrison was born in Virginia, on the banks of the James River, the 9th of February, 1773. His father was one of the distinguished men of his day, and an intimate friend of George Washington. He was a member of the Continental Congress, a true patriot, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and subsequently Governor of Virginia. William Henry was a graduate of Hampden Sidney College, and upon leaving college he began the study of medicine with Dr. Rush, in Philadelphia, but upon the outbreak of the Indian depredations on the Western frontier he abandoned his studies and repaired to the scene of action, and offered his services, having previously received a commission of ensign from President Washington. He was then but nineteen years of age. This was soon after the disastrous defeat of Gen. St. Clair, which spread consternation over the whole frontier. He was soon promoted for his valor to the rank of Lieutenant under Gen. Wayne, and was with him when he fought the Indians at Maumee and utterly routed them, driving them from their old fighting ground and causing them to sue for peace. The young Lieutenant was soon after promoted to the rank of Captain, and placed in command at Fort Washington. In 1797 Mr. Harrison resigned his commission in the army, and was appointed Secretary of the Northwestern Territory, and *ex officio* Lieutenant-Governor, under Gen. St. Clair, who was then Governor of the Territory. He was sent as a Delegate to Congress from the Northwestern Territory, and in the spring of 1800 he was appointed Governor of the Indian Territory, and immediately after also Governor of Upper Louisiana. He was thus Governor of almost as extensive a realm as any sovereign upon the globe, besides being Superintendent of Indian Affairs. His faithful and able discharge of these responsible duties caused him to be four times elected to this office. While Superintendent of Indian Affairs he was sole Commissioner, and effected thirteen treaties with the Indians, by which the United States acquired sixty millions of acres of land. He had ample opportunities to enrich himself, but he never held a single acre of land except through a legitimate and legal title, and it was said of him "that no man ever disbursed so large an amount of public treasure with so little difficulty in adjusting his accounts." In October, 1812, Indian hostilities became so open that Governor Harrison made every preparation for defense and marched to the Indian encampment on the Tippecanoe River, to bring about if possible a peaceable settlement with them. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were at the head of all the hostile tribes. Governor Harrison arrived within three miles of their encampment, when three Indians made their appearance, demanding his intentions. After a short conference, arrangements were made for a Council with the Chief the following day. Before day the Indians in full force, led by the "Prophet," attacked the troops. But Gen. Harrison, knowing the treachery of their character, was fully prepared for the attack, and the victory over the savages was complete. He was himself twice hit, but not severely wounded, and one horse was disabled under him. This achievement greatly added to his reputation. After the war with England was fully inaugurated, Governor Harrison was appointed by President Madison Commander-in-Chief of the Northwestern Army. His campaign was a difficult and hazardous one, and involved a vast amount of suffering among his troops, and required the greatest energy and valor of their commander. The British troops were allied with the Indians, and what cruel and treacherous devices their savage natures were incapable of inventing, their more civilized and Christian allies supplied, to torture and bring to a lingering and terrible death the victims of their cruelty. The last great victory, the battle of the Thames, which gave peace to the frontier, and in which Tecumseh, the acknowledged Chief and warrior of all the hostile tribes, was killed, was fought under Gen. Harrison's immediate command. Upon the close of the war he was appointed to treat with the Indian tribes, which negotiations he conducted so skillfully as to secure the approbation of both the Government and the Indians. In 1816 Gen. Harrison was chosen a Member of the National House of Representatives for the District of Ohio. In 1819 he was elected to the Senate of Ohio, and in 1824 to the Senate of the United States. In the latter part of 1828 John Quincey Adams appointed Gen. Harrison Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, but through personal animosity Gen. Jackson, upon his inauguration, recalled him. Upon his return he retired to his farm in North Bend, Ind., where he remained until again asked to serve his country in the office of their Chief Magistrate. In 1836 he was made a candidate for the Presidency, but the opposition party elected their candidate, Martin Van Buren. In 1840 Gen. Harrison was elected President by an overwhelming majority. Never was there a more popular candidate with "the people." His Cabinet was a most able and brilliant one, with Daniel Webster at its head as Secretary of State. His prospects were most flattering and the hopes of the country unbounded. But in the midst of all these prospects, Death, the great enemy of all human kind, and the great leveler of all distinctions, with one fell blow blasted the nation's hope, and sent to an untimely grave one of her noblest and most illustrious heroes. President Harrison died the 4th day of April, just one month after his triumphant and most happy inauguration. His last words, though uttered in delirium as though specially addressed to his successor, are well befitting the man, and could have been no more wisely chosen if uttered in the full possession of his mind:

"Sir, I wish you to understand the principles of the Government: I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more"..... 536

" April 6. Inauguration of John Tyler as President..... 536

" *Webster's Dictionary appeared.*

" Aug. 9. Sub-Treasury bill repealed.

" Aug. 18. Bankruptcy act became a law.

" Upper and Lower Canada united in one Government.

" Servile insurrection in Brazil, and war with Buenos Ayres.

" Cold-blooded murder of Samuel Adams by John C. Colt, in New York.

" Imprisonment for debts due the United States abolished.

" NEW YORK "TRIBUNE" ESTABLISHED BY HORACE GREELEY.

1842. *Bunker Hill Monument* completed; great celebration.

" War with the Seminoles terminated.

" *Lucifer matches* first made by machinery.

" Attempts to re-establish a National Bank vetoed by the President..... 537

" *Dorr's Rebellion* in Rhode Island in support of a new Constitution and the rights of suffrage. It was soon put down.

" Mormonism became prominent and received large accessions to its numbers.

" Mar. 3. Bankrupt Act repealed.

" Aug. 9. *Treaty of Washington* negotiated by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, defining our north-eastern boundary, and for suppressing the slave trade and giving up fugitive criminals. This closed the Aroostook war.

" Oct. 2. *Death of Dr. Channing.*

" Boyer was expelled from Hayti, and it was formed into an independent republic under the name of Santo Domingo.

Fremont's Expedition.

" Fremont made his first expedition to the Rocky Mountains. He explores the Great West, and discovers the South Pass, that wonderful gateway to the golden shores of the Pacific.

" *Thomas Kingford* produced his first sample of pure corn starch. His great starch factory at Oswego now produces 21,500,000 lbs. annually, or 35 tons a day. Average number of workmen 700.

Mutiny in the Navy.

" First mutiny in the United States Navy instigated by Midshipman Spencer, son of a United States Cabinet officer, on board the United States brig-of-war *Somers*, Capt. A. S. Mackenzie. Spencer and his comrades were hung to the yard arm.

Fourier Excitement.

1842. The community idea was again revived under the Fourier excitement, which was initiated by Horace Greeley and Albert Brisbane. The leaders and movers in the enterprise displayed the usual amount of enthusiasm, but it was shorn of many of its fanatical and ridiculous features, and numbered among its advocates many intelligent and enterprising citizens. Communities were established in different States, which, for a time, thrived rapidly, but which soon fell into di-repute. The most extensive of these was in Genesee Co., New York, and among its membership were some of the leading literary characters of the day. But perhaps the most successful one in point of harmony and age was that established at Ceresco, Wis. One was established in Michigan, called the Adelphi Phalanx, to which over 3,000 members belonged, but it soon fell under its own weight. The North American Phalanx, of New Jersey, was for a short time considered the "Star Community." Horace Greeley and several other prominent New Yorkers were stockholders. But this also suffered the fate of all the others, and died a *premature death.*

The End of the World.

1843. Great and extensive excitement, caused by the preaching of William Miller, that the speedy coming of Christ was at hand. This plain, simple New England farmer became impressed from reading the Scriptures and the history of nations that the prophecies which foretold the second coming of Christ were speedily to be fulfilled. The manner of his preaching was simple in the extreme. He read from the prophetic writings, and compared the descriptions with events in the world's history, and made his applications in a cool and candid manner. But the topic was so intensely interesting, and the occasion, manner, and earnestness of the speaker aroused such a spirit of solemnity, that the great majority of candid listeners were deeply impressed with the truthfulness of the speaker and his subject. His great error consisted in setting the time for the coming of Christ, and as many of his followers were fanatics, they brought disrepute upon their leader and the doctrines he advocated by their extravagant conduct. After the passage of the "time," Mr. Miller was the subject of extensive ridicule and persecution. But those personally acquainted with him and his teaching, held him in great respect for his consistent and Christian character. This Bible-reader was advertised from one end of the world to the other, as "setting the day for the Lord to come and burn up the world!" and his followers were described as a "band of lunatics, wearing long white robes, ready to ascend at the sight of every white cloud floating in the heavens." That there were many fanatics among these sincere and worthy people no one would deny, and perhaps a few became really insane, but that one-tenth part of the mischief and absurd theories attributed to them was true, no intelligent person acquainted with the teachings of Mr. Miller will claim. Mr. Miller published a book of lectures upon the prophecies of Daniel, which were then believed in the main by all those who accepted the *literal interpretation* of the *prophetic Scriptures.*

" Congress voted $30,000 to Samuel F. B. Morse to establish his telegraph lines—first in the world.

" *Fremont extended his expedition* to the Columbia River, Oregon, and from that point up the Wallamet Valley to Klamath Lake, pushing on through snow and cold, over granite peaks and through deep ravines, without trail, and March 6, 1844, he reached the southern slope of the Sierras.

Great Comet of 1843.

" Mar. Sudden appearance of a great comet, probably the most marvelous of the present age. It was seen in the daytime, before it was visible at night, and startled the country by its sudden and brilliant advent. Many regarded it as a sign of the coming end of the world, and others of revolution or war. It was visible to the naked eye for weeks, when it suddenly disappeared.

" *Death of Noah Webster*, author of the Dictionary.

" First patent for fire-proof safe (Wilder's). Patent granted to Daniel Fitzgerald.

" Chili established a colony at Port Famine, Patagonia.

1844. Feb. 28. *Explosion of the "Peacemaker,"* a large gun on board the *Princeton*, killing the Secretary of State, Abel P. Usher, and Secretary of the Navy Thomas W. Gillman. 537

First Treaty with China.

" Commercial treaty with China, negotiated by Caleb Cushman, being the first treaty made by China with any Christian nation..... 538

First Telegraph Line.

" *First telegraph line*, stretched from Washington to Baltimore. The first message sent, "*Behold what God hath wrought.*"

" *First anti-slavery candidate* nominated for President, James G. Birney, of Michigan, who received 170 votes.

" Mexico resumes her Constitutional Government, with Santa Anna President.

" Lopez becomes Dictator of Paraguay.

Bishops Onderdonk.

" Trials and suspension of the Bishops Onderdonk, of the Episcopal Church, for immoral conduct and drunkenness.

" The *Midas*, a small topsail schooner, propelled by steam-working screws, was the first American steamboat that went round the Cape of Good Hope.

1844–8. Insurrections of the negroes suppressed in Cuba, and during the latter year 10,000 negroes perished.

1844. Annexation of Texas was the campaign question of this year..... ... 538

" James K. Polk elected President and George M. Dallas Vice-President.. 538

Mormon War.

" Mormon war in Illinois. Murder of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, and selection of Brigham Young to fill his place.

" *Copper excitement in Michigan.*

" *Election of Polk announced by telegraph*, the first news item conveyed over the wires.

1845. Lake Superior copper mines opened, one of which—the Calumet and Hecla—yielded in 1872, 8,000 tons of pure copper, worth $500 per ton.

" Texas admitted into the Union..... 539

" Mar. 3. Florida admitted into the Union.

" Mar. 4. *Inauguration of James K. Polk as President.*

" July 4. Texas framed a new Constitution, preparatory to admission as a State.

" Naval School at Annapolis opened.

Howe's Sewing-Machine.

" Elias Howe produced his first sewing-machine. (See biography).

" Texas admitted as a State. Mexico takes offense.

" *Great fire in Pittsburg, Pa.*

" Fire in New York. 300 *buildings burned.*

" *Death of Joseph Story*, the great jurist.

" Files first made in the United States.

" Ecuador received a Constitution.

" Castilla made President of Peru.

" Aug. Gen. Zachary Taylor advanced with 4,000 soldiers to Corpus Christi, the western boundary of Texas.... 539

" Great Britain and France united with Brazil in an attack upon Buenos Ayres.

1845–7. Slave trade in Cuba almost entirely suppressed.

Santo Domingo.

1845. First negotiation relating to the annexation of Santo Domingo, a Democratic measure which had in view the acquisition of slave territory in the West Indies to balance the increase of free States in the North; but they were deterred from pushing this measure through fear of the disastrous results of adding a Republic in which the negroes were free and their equality recognized by law to a Republic where they were held as slaves, and having no social or political rights as citizens. The first attempt was made by President Polk, through Mr. Hogan as Commissioner to the Islands, and resulted favorably as to its importance as a financial measure; but the freedom and social equality of the negro threw a damper upon the zeal of its slave-holding and Democratic friends. In 1854 Capt. George B. McClellan was commissioned to visit the Island, but with a similar though more favorable result. The necessity of an American naval station in the West Indies brought up the question in a more important light; and therefore, in 1867, Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, and a number of officers visited the Dominican capital, and had an interview with the authorities, but any further action was postponed in view of more important projects of annexation by the Johnson Administration. Under the Administration of Gen. Grant the subject was again brought to notice by overtures from the Baez Government, which had control of the Republic; but the unfortunate purchase of Alaska, together with the recent disastrous earthquake in Santo Do-

1845. mingo, caused a reaction against the acquisition of territory. Another effort was made by President Grant, through Gen. E. O. Babcock, and the project of a treaty signed by the Dominican Government, and ratified by the Dominican people, signed also by the Washington Administration, awaited ratification by the Senate, but a stormy opposition was developed, and it lingered until it expired by its own limitation. While the measure was pending, a very important and responsible Commission was appointed and committed to Benj. F. Wade of Ohio, Andrew D. White of New York, and Samuel J. Howe of Massachusetts, aided by Judge Burton, ex-Minister to Bogota, with Frederick Douglas and Gratz Brown as Secretaries, to visit and make a thorough survey and examination of the Island and make out a report. This company sailed Jan. 17, 1871, and their work was prosecuted with great care, and accomplished within ninety days, and their report was published in Congress, but for various reasons the enterprise was abandoned.

Andrew Jackson.

" June 8. Death of Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States. Born in the wilderness of South Carolina in 1765, in the midst of the most abject poverty, and under circumstances of peculiar sadness—just three weeks after the death of his father. There is nothing but hardship and privation of the keenest character to record of the early life of this great man—great in deeds and character alone—for earth's blessings and bounties were most scrupulously denied him. He was fourteen years of age when Cornwallis with his army rushed upon the little settlement of Waxhard, where he was born, and where he lived with his mother, and where but a short time before his eldest brother had died in the heat and exhaustion of battle, when Tarleton invaded the Carolinas. The settlers fled for their lives, but returned to their ravaged homes a few months after, when a band of Tories attacked at midnight the house of a Whig. Andrew and his brother were there among the guard, where he displayed great bravery for a boy of his years. This was his first experience in military service, but for which he paid very dearly, as Cornwallis sent a detachment to aid the Tories, which captured the band, and Andrew and his brother were taken prisoners, and carried to Camden, South Carolina. They were brutally treated, and exposed to every indignity. The small-pox broke out in their contracted camp, and Andrew and his brother fell victims to it. His mother hastened to their aid, and succeeded in delivering them from danger, and had just reached home with her sick boys, after a journey through forty miles of wilderness upon horseback, when the elder one died. As Andrew was recovering, the sons of her sister, prisoners at Charleston, were also sick with the dreadful scourge, and she hastened to their relief. She soon fell sick and was buried in an unknown grave, and

1845. a little bundle of her clothing was all that remained to the poor orphan boy. Homeless, without father or mother, brother or sister, and without a dollar he could call his own, this boy of fourteen years was thrown upon the world to battle with its inhospitable elements. But as weeds thrive more rapidly than the cultured plant, so this neglected and friendless boy, destitute of a mother's love and everything needful for his physical and moral comfort and culture, grew up amid poverty, ignorance, and vice; an adept in all that constitutes the "rough" and the "bully;" and was considered the most rollicking, reckless rowdy in the country. At the age of eighteen he resolved to study law. He could barely read and write, and knew a little of arithmetic, but was thoroughly versed in card-playing, horse-racing, and profanity. He remained in the law-office of Mr. McCoy, of Salisbury, N. C., two years, but he did not trouble the law-books much. He spent the most of his time with horses, and among his rude companions. But notwithstanding his vices and recklessness, he displayed some rare traits of character. He spent a year after leaving the law office in a country store as clerk, waiting for an opening to practice his profession. At this time the Indians were becoming very hostile, and the remote settlements beyond the Alleghanies were exposed to their savage fury. Nashville was then a district of Washington County, the present State of Tennessee. Andrew Jackson was appointed public prosecutor for that district. It was an office of little honor and great peril, and few could be found brave enough to accept it. Jackson, with a band of emigrants numbering nearly one hundred, including women and children, all mounted on horseback, with baggage carried on pack-horses, started upon the journey to Nashville. Following an Indian trail, they began their march into the wilderness. One night, while Jackson was standing sentinel, he detected the Indians in ambush near the camp. He silently aroused the sleeping emigrants and they stole softly away, and escaped. An hour after they left the camp, a party of hunters came and halted for the night in the same spot. Before dawn the Indians surprised and killed all but one.

Reaching Nashville, young Jackson began the practice of law. It was the chief part of his duty as a prosecutor to collect debts. This exposed him to bad and dangerous men. The country swarmed with hostile Indians, and Jackson's travels through the wilds of Tennessee, between the places where the courts were held, a distance of 200 miles, were amid pathless forests where he was liable to be shot at any moment.

But Andrew Jackson knew no fear. He was a rough and daring adventurer, and inured from earliest infancy to danger and to hardship. When Tennessee became a State, she was entitled to but one member in Congress, and Andrew Jackson was chosen to fill that seat. His rough manners and dress and peculiar personal appearance attracted much attention in Philadelphia, the seat of American culture and

1845. aristocracy. Jackson was a bold and earnest advocate of the Democratic party, and a resolution was passed by Congress, which was warmly advocated by Jackson, that the National Government should pay the expenses of an expedition which Tennessee had fitted out against the Indians, contrary to the policy of the Government. The passage of this resolution made him popular in Tennessee, and he was elected a member of the United States Senate. But his rashness and irascible temper made him unpopular in Congress. In 1798 he resigned his seat and returned to Tennessee. He was soon after chosen Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, and filled the office satisfactorily as far as his judicial decisions were concerned, but becoming entangled in a quarrel with the Governor he resigned, and soon after was chosen Major-General of militia. About this time an unfortunate affair took place, which blighted the fame of General Jackson, and for a time greatly injured his popularity. In a quarrel with a young lawyer by the name of Dickerson, Jackson challenged him to a duel, and insisted upon an immediate fight. Dickerson had the first fire, but which only broke one of Jackson's ribs. Then Jackson, taking deliberate aim, was about to fire, when appalled by the sure fate awaiting him, Dickerson fell back a step, when Jackson's second shouted, "Back to the mark, sir." The doomed man stepped to his place; Jackson again taking cool and deliberate aim, pulled the trigger, but the pistol did not go off. He examined and re-adjusted it, and the third time, with unrelenting coolness and deliberation, shot him through the body.

The unfortunate victim of this cruel and barbarous act lingered in excruciating agony till night, when he died. Word had been sent to his young wife, who was frantically hastening to his side, when she was met the following day by the wagon containing his corpse.

But in faithfully recording the faults of Andrew Jackson, let us here pause to give him the meed of praise of which he is well worthy. In his domestic relations he was the kindest and most gentle and affectionate of men. His wife was his idol, and his servants received his kind consideration and care, and it is said of him that he never was *impatient*, even, with a single member of his family. When the war of 1812 began, Jackson offered his services with those of twenty-five hundred volunteers. His offer was accepted, and he assembled his troops at Nashville, but not being called into action, the men were dispersed. In the fall of 1813 Jackson again raised a large body of troops, and entered into a vigorous war with the Indians. His desperate encounters, his sufferings and wonderful powers of endurance, and his tenderness toward the helpless and dependent, would fill a volume in his praise; and yet there are acts connected with his military career, the heartless and unrelenting rigor of which would blacken all the glory of its pages. His military career is well represented in the war record of both the "History of The Two Americas"

1845. and the "Chronology." Suffice it to say that his successful termination of the Creek war made him famous and established his popularity in the hearts of the grateful pioneers, who were delivered from the constant terror of the Indians. He was immediately made Major-General in the United States Army. His bold invasion of Florida and defeat of the British, and his brilliant and unprecedented victory at New Orleans, have been also detailed. After the war he was appointed Governor of Florida, and in 1823 United States Senator. In 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States. Just before his inauguration he met with the most terrible affliction of his life in the death of his wife, to whom he was attached with almost singular devotion, and from the shock of which he never recovered. With the masses Andrew Jackson was extremely popular. He filled two terms in the Presidential chair, and retired to the quiet of his hermitage and the grave of his beloved wife, where in retirement he sought that peace of mind and quietude from the stormy labors of his life which his feeble health and declining years demanded. His last days were full of sufferings, which so softened his harsh nature that he sought refuge from the ills of body and mind in the consolations of religion, and died a devout member of the Church. The character of General Jackson presents the most marked and contrasting extremes. Early education and culture might have softened these, and produced a more harmonious blending of the opposing forces of his nature. But Andrew Jackson was born a gifted man, and the peculiarly sad and unfortunate circumstances of his childhood and youth would have entirely crushed a nature of less fortitude and heroism than his.

" Free Soil party originated. Watchword, "*Free soil for a free people.*"

Mexican War.

1846. Mar. 28. Gen. Taylor marched with 3,500 men to the Rio Grande. He built a fort directly opposite Matamoras, the headquarters of the Mexicans.

" The Mexicans ordered him to retire to the river Nueces within twenty-four hours, or "arms and men alone must decide the question"..... 539

" Fremont, Kearney, and Stockton, with a handful of men, took possession of California, holding it till the close of the Mexican war.

" The Mexicans captured Col. Cross, who was riding outside the American lines, and murdered him, beating out his brains with the butt of a pistol.

" Capt. Thornton, with a small body of dragoons, went in search of him, and were attacked and the whole party killed. This was the first blood shed in the Mexican war.

" May 8. Battle of Palo Alto, on the Rio Grande. The American forces numbered but 2,000 men, who fought against 6,000 Mexicans and forced them to retreat. American loss forty-seven wounded and nine killed, Major Samuel Ringgold among the number.

" May 9. Another battle fought at Resaca de la Palma. The Mexicans again outnumbered the Americans three to one, and the Americans gaining the victory, which was due to the bold and daring charge of Capt. May, who took their battery and captured their commanding officer, Gen. La Vega..... 540

" July 28. New tariff bill passed.

" Aug. 3. President Polk vetoed the river and harbor bill.

" Aug. 6. Revolution in Mexico in favor of Santa Anna.

" Congress authorized the President to accept of 50,000 volunteers, 300,000 offering their services.

" May 13. *Proclamation of war with Mexico.*

" Aug. 8. The President called upon Congress for $3,000,000 to negotiate a treaty with Mexico.

" The "Wilmot proviso" against the extension of slavery passed the House, but not the Senate.

" Boundary between Oregon and British possessions settled.

" President Polk vetoes the French spoliation bill.

" *Gun-cotton invented.*

" Three hundred buildings and other property burned in Louisville, Ky.

" Ether first used as an anæsthetic by Dr. Charles Jackson, of Boston.

" Aug. 18. Gen. Kearney took possession of Santa Fe, New Mexico, without a blow, having marched from Fort Leavenworth, a distance of 900 miles.

" Aug. 19. Commodore Stockton blockades the Mexican ports on the Pacific.

" Sept. Gen. Taylor advanced to Monterey with 6,000 troops. The city was strongly fortified and garrisoned with 10,000 men.

Surrender of Monterey.

" Gen. Worth crossed the mountains in the rear of Monterey, took the fortified heights, and reached the walls of the city, cutting off its supplies.

" Sept. 23. Gen. Taylor made the grand attack, and the city soon surrendered, under Gen. Ampudia.

" Gen. Taylor granted an armistice of eight days, expecting the Mexicans to propose peace.

" Sept. 26. California expedition, with Col. Stevenson's regiment of 780 officers and men, sails from New York.... 540

" Oct. 25. Tobasco, Mexico, bombarded by Commodore Perry.

" Oct. 30. Gen. Wool arrived in Mexico with 3,000 troops of volunteers, whom he trained on the march over deserts and mountains.

" Nov. 14. Commodore Conner takes Tampico.

" Dec. 6. Gen. Kearney defeats the Mexicans at San Pasqual..... 541

" Dec. 25. Col. Doniphan defeats the Mexicans at Brazito, near El Paso.

" Dec. 28. Iowa admitted into the Union.

" Gen. Taylor advanced to Victoria, where he learned that Santa Anna was approaching with 20,000 men. Just on the eve of a battle, Gen. Taylor received the word that he was superseded by General Scott, who was *en route* for Mexico, and who called for the "flower of his army."

General Taylor sends a courier to Gen. Wool, asking him to hasten to his aid, and in two hours the General was on his way to Victoria.

1846. Bombardment of the Mormon city of Nauvoo, Ill., and the exit of the Mormons at the point of the bayonet.

" First comet discovered by an American astronomer, Wm. C. Boyd.

" *Louis Agassiz* visited the United States to deliver a course of lectures in Boston, and to study the geology and natural history of this country.

" *War of races* in Jamaica caused by the free trade principles, and competition between the free labor of Jamaica and the slave labor of Cuba and Brazil. The English Government suppressed this war with great severity.

1847. Jan. 8–9. Battles of San Gabriel and Mesa, in California, under Gen. Kearney. The enemy were defeated.

" Jan. 8. Mexican Congress resolved to raise $15,000,000 on the property of the clergy to carry on the war.

" Jan. 14. *Revolt of the Mexicans* in New Mexico against the United States authorities.

" Jan. 24. Battle of Canada, in New Mexico—Americans under Col. Price are victorious.

" Feb. 22–23. *Battle of Buena Vista*, by Gen. Taylor, aided by Gen. Wool. The Mexicans were led by Santa Anna with greatly superior numbers, but the Mexicans were obliged to retreat and yield the victory to inferior numbers, but superior generalship..... 541

" Feb. 28. Battle of Sacramento. Col. Doniphan, with 924 Americans, defeated 4,000 Mexicans.

" Mar. 1. Gen. Kearney declares California a part of the United States.... 542

Capture of Vera Cruz.

" Mar. 29. *Vera Cruz taken* by Gen. Scott and Commodore Perry with army and fleet. This was considered, with the exception of Quebec, the most strongly fortified city in America.

" April 2. Alvarado taken by Lieut. Hunter.

" April 18. Battle of Cerro Gordo fought. Santa Anna was strongly intrenched with a large army. Lee and Beauregard engineered the mountain attack while the army in front simultaneously opened fire upon them. The Mexicans abandoned their works and beat a hasty retreat.

" Tuspan taken by Commodore Perry.

Lynch's Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea.

" May. Lieut. W. F. Lynch, of the United States Navy, made an application to the Hon. John Y. Mason, the head of the Navy Department, for permission to circumnavigate and thoroughly explore the lake Asphatites, or Dead Sea. After some delay, a favorable decision was given to his application. The United States storeship *Supply* was placed under his command, and was laden with stores for the American squadron in the Mediterranean. She also carried two metallic boats, one of copper, the other of galvanized iron, for the use of the expedition. The members of the expedition were fourteen in number. The ten seamen shipped to serve as crews of the boats were of temperate habits, all of them having pledged themselves to abstain from all intoxicating drinks.

1847. The expedition set out from New York, November 26, 1847. After stopping at Port Mahon, the *Supply* on February 16th anchored before Smyrna. Thence Lieutenant Lynch proceeded to Constantinople, where, by the influence of Mr. Carr, the United States resident Minister, an audience of the Sultan was granted, and a firman procured, giving permission to explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan. From Constantinople he returned to Smyrna, and thence proceeded to Beirut and Acre. On April 1, 1848, the party pitched their tents on the south bank of the Belus, having parted from the storeship *Supply*, which now stood out to sea. The expedition directed its route toward the *Sea of Galilee*, or *Tiberias*, as the first point in their tour of observation.

Lieutenant Lynch, in order to transport his baggage and boats to navigate the inland seas, made the novel experiment of substituting camels for draught-horses, which proved successful. Having mounted his boats on low-wheeled carriages or trucks, three of these huge animals were attached to each carriage, two abreast and one as leader. The first attempt to draw the trucks by camels was witnessed by an eager crowd of people. The successful result taught them the existence of an unknown accomplishment in that patient and powerful animal, which they had before thought fit only to plod along with its heavy load upon its back. On the 4th of April they took up their line of march, following the boats with sixteen horses, eleven loaded camels, and a mule. The party numbered sixteen in all, including the dragoman and cook. They were accompanied by fifteen Bedouins, all well mounted. The metal boats, with flags flying, rattling and tumbling along, mounted on carriages drawn by huge camels, the officers and mounted sailors in single file, the loaded camels, the sheriff and Sheikh with their tufted spears — all had the appearance of a triumphal march.

On the 6th of April the party reached the Sea of Galilee. "Unable to restrain my impatience," says Lieut. Lynch, "I now rode ahead with Mustafa, and soon saw below, far down the green sloping chasm, the Sea of Galilee, basking in the sunlight! Like a mirror it lay embosomed in its rounded and beautiful, but treeless hills. How dear to the Christian are the memories of that lake, the lake of the New Testament. . . . . The roadside and the uncultivated slopes of the hills were full of flowers, and abounded with singing birds; there lay the holy lake, consecrated by the presence of the Redeemer! . . . . Near by was the field where, according to tradition, the disciples plucked the ears of corn upon the Sabbath; yet nearer was the spot where the Saviour fed the famishing multitudes, and to the left the mount of Beatitudes. . . . . Not a tree! not a shrub! nothing but green grain, grass, and flowers, yet acres of bright verdure. . . . . Beyond the lake and over the mountains, rise majestic in the clear sky the snowy peaks of Mount Hermon."

On the 8th of April, having arrived 1847. at Tiberias, the two boats, after some difficulty in getting them down the mountain, were launched into the Sea of Galilee with their flags flying. "Since the time of Josephus and the Romans, no vessel of any size had sailed upon this sea, and for many, many years, but a solitary keel had furrowed its surface." In order to assist the transportation of his goods, Lieutenant Lynch purchased the only boat used by the misgoverned and listless inhabitants to navigate the beautiful lake of Tiberias, a lake which was filled with fish and abounding with wild fowl. This boat was purchased for about twenty-one dollars, and was used by the inhabitants merely to bring wood from the opposite side of the lake.

On the 10th of April, the expedition started from the foot of the lake, and commenced the descent of the river Jordan. Notwithstanding the most diligent inquiry at Tiberias, they could not procure any reliable information respecting the river. They found, to their consternation, that the Jordan was interrupted in its course by frequent and fearful rapids. In some instances they had to clear out old channels, to make new ones, and sometimes plunged with headlong velocity down appalling descents. So great were the difficulties in passing down the river, that on the second evening they were but twelve miles in a direct line from Tiberias. So tortuous is the course of the Jordan, that in a space of sixty miles of latitude, and four or five of longitude, it traverses at least two hundred miles!

On the 18th of April they reached the Dead Sea, and found its northern shore an extensive mud-flat, with a sandy plain beyond, and the very type of desolation. Branches and trunks of trees lay scattered in every direction; some charred and blackened by fire, others white with an incrustation of salt. The waters of the sea they found a nauseous compound of bitters and salt. As they passed on, they found scenes "where there was no vegetation whatever; barren mountains, fragments of rocks blackened by sulphurous deposits, and an unnatural sea, with low, dead trees upon its margin, all within the scope of vision bore a sad and sombre aspect."

Near the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, the water became very shallow, from one to two fathoms deep. When near the salt mountain of Usdum, or Sodom, they were astonished at the appearance of a lofty round pillar, standing apparently detached from the general mass, at the head of a deep, narrow, and abrupt chasm. "We immediately pulled in for the shore," says Lieutenant Lynch, "and Dr. Anderson and I went up to examine it. The beach was a soft, slimy mud, incrusted with salt, and a short distance from the water covered with saline fragments and flakes of bitumen. We found the pillar to be of solid salt, capped with carbonate of lime, cylindrical in front and pyramidal behind. The upper or rounded part is about forty feet high, resting on a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. It slightly 1847. decreases in size upward, crumbles at the top, and is one entire mass of crystallization." A similar pillar is mentioned by Josephus as having been seen by him, and he in his History expresses the belief of its being the identical one into which Lot's wife was transformed.

While passing over and encamping on the borders of this remarkable sea, the figures of each one of the expedition assumed a dropsical appearance. The lean had become stout, and the stout almost corpulent; the pale faces had become florid and ruddy; moreover, the slightest scratch festered, and the bodies of many of the party were covered with small pustules. The men complained bitterly of the irritation of their sores, whenever the acrid water of the sea touched them: still all had good appetites, and they hoped for the best.

On the 2d of May the party made an excursion to Kerak, containing a population of about 300 families, of whom three-fourths professed Christianity. They found these Christians, though impoverished and oppressed, as kind and obliging as the Moslems were insolent. On the 10th of May they left the Dead Sea, after spending twenty-two days in its exploration.

"We have," says Lieutenant Lynch, "carefully sounded this sea, determined its geographical position, taken the exact topography of its shores, ascertained the temperature, width, depth, and velocity of its tributaries, collected specimens of every kind, and noted the winds, currents, changes of the weather, and all atmospheric phenomena. . . . . The inference from the Bible, that this entire chasm was a plain sunk and '*overwhelmed*' by the wrath of God, seems to be sustained by the extraordinary character of our soundings. . . . . We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was skeptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaic account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken we are unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the Scriptural account of the destruction of the cities of the plain."

After leaving the Dead Sea, the party proceeded toward Jerusalem, where they arrived on the 17th of May. After visiting various places of interest in and about the city, they proceeded to Jaffa. From Jaffa they went to Acre, in two parties—one under the command of Lieutenant Lynch, in an Arabian brig; the other by the land route, under the command of Lieutenant Dale. From Acre they went to Nazareth, Nain, Mount Tabor, Tiberias, Bethsaida, to the source of the Jordan, and thence to Damascus and Beirut. As they approached the latter place, many of the party sickened; and on the 25th of July Lieutenant Dale died at a village in the vicinity of Beirut, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Smith, of the American Presbyterian mission. From Beirut they proceeded to Malta, where, on the 12th of September, the *Supply* being ready, the expedition reembarked for the United States, and arrived there early in December.

1847. Aug. 20. Battles of Contreras and Churubusco..... 546
" Sept. 8. Gen. Worth storms Molina del Ray..... 546
" Sept. 13. *Storming the citadel of Chapultepec*..... 546
" Sept. 14. The American army enters the City of Mexico, carrying every post and fortification, sweeping every obstacle before them. Night alone saved the terrible destruction of Santa Anna's army, as under the cover of darkness the Mexicans fled, and at sunrise the American army entered the city, and the Stars and Stripes were soon floating above the Halls of the Montezumas..... 547
" Sept. 13 to Oct. 12. Siege of Puebla, held by the Americans against the Mexicans. The Mexicans were repulsed by Gen. Childs..... 547
" Oct. 9. Huamantla taken by the Americans under Gen. Lane.
" Oct. 20. Port of Guayamas bombarded and captured by the Americans.
" Dec. 31. The several Mexican States occupied by the American army placed under military contributions.
" War with Mexico ended.
" Agassiz joined the coast survey expedition.
" Comet discovered by Maria Mitchel at her private observatory in Nantucket.

Spirit Rappings.

" Great excitement at Rochester, N. Y., and surrounding country caused by mysterious knocks, noises, and peculiar and strange demonstrations. The first appearance of these knockings was at Arcadia, Wayne County, N. Y. The family where they first made their appearance fled from the house, and it was afterward occupied by Mr. John Fox. His daughters were the first mediums through which this mysterious agency professed to communicate. The family removed to the city of Rochester, and the strange manifestations accompanied them. Very soon these strange proceedings were characterized by the name of "Spirit rappings," and numerous "mediums" were soon developed, and public lectures and private seances, where table-tipping and writing were introduced, were held. The subject attracted universal interest and attention, and within three years the followers of this new sensation numbered hundreds of thousands, with a force of thirty thousand mediums. Several prominent persons publicly advocated the manifestations as communications from the "Spirit Land." Books were written, and hundreds of lecturers thronged the public platforms; private and *dark circles* and *seances* were held, to which, chiefly, the "demonstrations" were confined. From this origin has sprung the great and world-wide doctrine known as Modern Spiritualism. The sect claims millions of converts, scattered through all parts of the world.
" Voyage of the United States ship *Jamestown*, with a cargo of food for the starving in Ireland.
" Los Angeles, the capital of California, taken by Gen. Kearney, Com. Stockton, and Col. Fremont. Kearney, after organizing a system of government for his conquered territory, set out on his march for Mexico.
" Costa Rica adopted a Constitution, providing for a President and Vice-President, elected for six years, and a House of Representatives composed of twelve men.

John Quincey Adams.

1848. Feb. 21. Death of John Quincey Adams, sixth President of the United States, stricken down by paralysis upon the floor of Congress while in the act of addressing the Speaker, lacking but a few months of eighty-one years of age. Mr. Adams was born July 11, 1767, in Quincy, Mass. He was the son of John Adams, the second President of the United States. When but eleven years old he accompanied his father to Paris, and again when his father was sent to England as the first Minister Plenipotentiary to that Court, he accompanied him, and spent the time in school, first in Paris, then Amsterdam, and at the Leyden University. When but fourteen years of age, Mr. Dana, United States Minister to Russia, employed him as his private secretary. At the age of fifteen he journeyed alone from St. Petersburg to Holland, through Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and Bremen. In 1785 he returned to America, leaving his father at the Court of St. James. Here he entered Harvard College, and upon his graduation, at the age of twenty, he delivered an oration which attracted much attention, and which was published and widely distributed, an event of rare occurrence. Mr. Adams entered immediately upon the study of law with Hon. Theophilus Parsons, of Newburyport. In 1790 he opened a law-office in Boston. His first public efforts were in defense of President Washington's neutrality proclamation. In 1794, when twenty-seven years of age, the President appointed him resident Minister at the Netherlands. In July, 1797, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Portugal. Upon his way he was married in London to Miss Louisa Catharine Johnson, to whom he had been previously engaged. She was the daughter of the American Consul in London, a lady of much beauty and intelligence. While in London he was directed to repair to the Court of Berlin, where he ably fulfilled all the objects of his mission. In 1802 he was chosen as State Senator for Massachusetts, and in 1804 he entered the United States Senate for a term of six years. He was alike the firm friend of Washington and Jefferson. His reputation immediately placed him among the most influential members of that body. He sustained the Government in its measures of resistance to the encroachments of Great Britain. In 1805 Mr. Adams was chosen Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard College, and together with his indefatigable Senatorial duties, he added a course of lectures to be delivered before the class, which were carefully culled and prefaced by a review of the classics and a vigorous study of the literature of the Old World.

Upon the outrage of the British Government perpetrated by her man-of-war, the *Leopard*, upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, Mr. Adams presented resolutions in the indignation meeting called in Boston, of such a pronounced and determined character against the act as caused him to be denounced by the Federal party, of which he was a member. The Legislature of Massachusetts were so much displeased with his course that he immediately resigned his seat in the Senate. He was bitterly persecuted by his old party friends, but he maintained his convictions of duty and retired to his profession. In 1809 President Madison appointed him Minister to St. Petersburg. Mr. Adams now abandoned the Federalists and allied himself with the Republican party. A warm friendship grew up between the Emperor Alexander and Mr. Adams, which laid the foundation of the terms of friendship and peace which have existed between the two nations until the present day. While in Russia Mr. Adams lived in a plain way, as became the Minister of a Republic, avoiding the public and costly entertainments of the foreign Ministers, and gave himself to the study of the language and history of Russia, and to the subjects in which his Government were most interested. In 1811 President Madison nominated Mr. Adams to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, but he declined the honor, preferring to serve his country in a more active and efficient way. Mr. Adams was subsequently called, with Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, to negotiate a treaty of peace with England, which was secured at Ghent, Mr. Adams taking the leading part. In 1815 he was again appointed Minister to the Court of England, and in 1817, upon the inauguration of President Monroe, he was chosen as Secretary of State, and returned to his native country after an absence of eight years, to again take up the active duties of the Government at home. Mr. Adams discharged the honorable duties of his office during the eight years of Mr. Monroe's Administration, and those duties were never more ably discharged.

Upon the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincey Adams became President of the United States, after a most exciting campaign. Party spirit ran high, and the disappointed candidates united in their assault upon the President. Never was an Administration so cruelly assailed, and never was an Administration more pure in principles and more thoroughly devoted to the best interests of the country. No man ever sat in the Presidential chair more ably qualified to fill the high station of Chief Magistrate of a nation, and never was exalted ability and genuine virtue of character so ungratefully and cruelly maligned.

Upon his retirement from the Presidential chair, Mr. Adams repaired to his home at Quincy and to his studies, which he was ever prosecuting with unabated zeal. In every place and every department of life Mr. Adams was a close student, and never relinquished his unceasing search after knowledge. But he was not long to remain in retirement. In Nov., 1830, he was elected Representative to

1848. Congress. Here was an opportunity for him to further serve his country, and he shrunk not from stepping into a lower position of usefulness when his services were needed. And most heroically and nobly did he serve her during the remaining seventeen years of his life. Upon entering Congress he announced that he would be bound to no party. He was first in his seat in the morning, and last to leave it in the evening. Not a measure escaped his scrutiny. His battle for freedom against the combined pro-slavery influence of the South was one of daring heroism and sublimity. He was repeatedly threatened with indictment by the Grand Jury, with expulsion from the House, and with assassination, but nothing could intimidate him or move him from the one grand purpose of his life, the defense of the principles of freedom involved in a true republic. Once Mr. Adams presented a petition, signed by several women, against the annexation of Texas for the purpose of converting it into slave States. A member from Maryland said: "These women have discredited not only themselves, but their section of the country by turning from their domestic duties to the conflicts of political life." In reply, Mr. Adams demanded to know "where the gentleman got this principle." "Did he find it in sacred history" that "women are to have no opinions or actions on subjects relating to the general welfare?" Here Mr. Adams unrolled the long and brilliant list of illustrious women in sacred and profane history who not only entertained "opinions," but who *expressed and enforced* them, and commemorated them by deeds of valor and suffering unsurpassed by the examples of men in history. In the enthusiasm of his eloquence and zeal he overwhelmed and silenced his antagonists. Mr. Adams as eloquently pleaded the cause of the slave as that of his Anglo-Saxon brother. "The rights of the people," was his grand motto, and for these he fought. At the age of seventy-four years he appeared in the Supreme Court of the United States to plead the cause of a few friendless negroes—the Amistead captives—who had escaped from the grasp of the man-stealers. His effort was crowned with success, and the poor Africans, liberated and furnished abundantly with implements of civilized life, were returned to their homes from which they had been so ruthlessly torn.

His great debate of eleven days' duration, when he withstood the whole House, for the right of petition in Congress by the American people, was the triumphant act of his Congressional career. It was one of the grandest and most heroic, moral, and intellectual triumphs ever accorded to mortal man; and the results of that glorious achievement will be enjoyed by the unborn millions of this great Republic while it shall have an existence.

His unique, bold, and unprecedented victory over the assumed authority of the Clerk of the House, when he held that august body for four days in *status quo* upon a point of *precedence* and "parliamentary usage," was one

1848. which will long be remembered by members of that Congress and by the American people as a masterly stroke of policy and power worthy an Alexander. Said Mr. Wise, of Virginia, to Mr. Adams upon that occasion: "Sir, I regard it as the proudest hour of your life; and if, when you shall be gathered to your fathers, I were asked to select the words which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give at once the character of the man, I would inscribe upon your tomb this sentence, 'I will put the question myself.'" At the age of seventy-five years Mr. Adams met the combined pro-slavery element in Congress, who came crowding together into the House prepared to crush forever the gray-haired veteran of freedom. In view of the efforts the South were making to overthrow the Government, Mr. Adams had presented a petition from forty-five citizens of Haverhill, Mass., praying for the peaceable dissolution of the Union. The stormy scene which followed baffles description. They met in caucus and prepared resolutions accusing him of high treason, and of insulting the Government. On the 28th of January they met to present their resolutions to the House. Mr. Marshal, of Kentucky, during a breathless silence, read them. Mr. Adams stood alone. The whole pro-slavery party were hurling their secret anathemas against him. When Mr. Marshal closed, every eye was fixed upon that brave old man, whose scattered locks of snow seemed like a halo of glory to light up his grand and majestic face. Casting a withering glance of defiance at his assailants, in a clear voice, yet deep with suppressed emotion, he said: "In reply to this audacious, atrocious charge of high treason I call for the reading of the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. Read it, read it! and see what that says of the right of a people to reform, to change, and to dissolve their Government." During the reply of Mr. Adams and the reading of that paragraph the impressiveness of the silence and the emotion of the speaker were overwhelming. Never was there a grander or a more signal triumph. After several ineffectual attempts, his discomfited assailants gave up vanquished, and their ignominious resolution was laid upon the table. The following year Mr. Adams took a tour through the State of New York. Such an ovation as greeted him at every point had never before been conferred upon any man. Every one was anxious to get a view of that "Old Man Eloquent," who had so long and so valiantly fought the nation's battles for freedom in her halls of Congress.

At the age of seventy-eight he participated in the great debate on the Oregon question, and the intellectual power he displayed and his great accuracy and extent of knowledge upon the subject under discussion, excited the admiration of the whole nation. On the 17th of November following he had an attack of paralysis while on the street in the city of Boston, but he so far recovered as to resume his official duties the following winter. As he entered the House on the 16th of Feb-

1848. ruary every Member rose to his feet, and two of the Members formally conducted him to his seat. But he took little part in the active labors of Congress. On the 21st of February, 1848, he rose to present a paper, and in the act of addressing the Speaker he was again suddenly stricken down with paralysis. He was caught in the arms of the Members near him and borne to a couch in the rotunda. As he revived to consciousness he opened his eyes and calmly gazing around him, exclaimed: "This is the end of earth." After a pause of a moment he added, "I am content." In a short time he expired, beneath the dome of that Capitol which had so often resounded with his eloquent pleadings and his masterly logic.

" Feb. 2. Treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, by which New Mexico and Upper California were ceded to the United States, and the western boundary of Texas fixed at the Rio Grande. This war cost the United States nearly 25,000 men and $160,000,000.

" Feb. 18. Gen. Scott relinquishes the command of Mexico to Gen. Butler.

Gold Discovered in California.

" May. Gold discovered in California, at Sutter's Mill, near Sacramento, by James Marshall. The news soon spread over the State, and great excitement prevailed. All classes rushed to the mines. Ships were deserted by their crews. Soon the whole world was electrified by the report that a new Golconda had been discovered. Thousands rushed to the new gold fields from every State and from almost every civilized country. In a little over a year California had a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle its admission as a State. The city of San Francisco grew up like "Jonah's Gourd." Its streets were soon thronged with daring and reckless adventurers from all parts of the world. Gambling became the daily pastime of the idle and the successful miners, and murder was of almost daily occurrence. Vigilance committees were appointed, and for five years justice was administered in this manner with telling effect. In 1856 law and order was established, and for many years California flourished, and was the great El Dorado of the West in point of mineral wealth, agriculture, and general prosperity... 549

Perfectionists.

" *The Oneida Community*, in the State of New York, another Socialistic order, was established, also a branch at Wallingford, Ct. This is a religious community of very peculiar ideas, among which are "personal holiness," "complex marriage," "community of goods," etc. They are a very industrious and peaceable community, and in point of wealth are a success. But they number, after nearly thirty years' experiment, less than four hundred members

" May 29. Wisconsin admitted into the Union.

" Missouri Compromise repealed..... 553

" *Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore were elected President and Vice-President.*

1848. Corner-stone of Washington Monument laid.
" Aug. 13. Oregon territorial bill, with prohibition of slavery, passed by Congress.
" Dec. 8. First deposit of California gold in the mint. Great rush for California.
1849. *Visit of Father Mathew*, the Catholic Apostle of Temperance, to the United States. 600,000 are converted to total abstinence principles through his labors.
" President Taylor issues a proclamation against the Cuban filibusters.
" Captain Minnie invented the Minnie conical bullet.
" Survey of the boundary line between Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, comprising the greater part of Mason and Dixon's line.
" *Cholera again visited the United States*, spreading far and wide; the victims in St. Louis and Cincinnati numbering 6,000 each.
" Convention of delegates met at Monterey to frame a Constitution for California.
" *Great riot at the Astor Place Opera House*, instigated and led by the friends of Edwin Forrest, the great American tragedian, upon the attempt of Macready, the eminent English actor, to play upon the boards of that theatre. See biography of Forrest.
" Great fire in St. Louis. $3,000,000 lost.

Murder of Dr. Parkman.

" Nov. 23. Murder of Dr. George Parkman, a noted millionaire of Boston, by Professor John W. Webster, of Harvard College. This was one of the most remarkable and surprising murders ever recorded in the annals of history. The parties were both men of eminent position and respectability. The body of Dr. Parkman was discovered through the suspicions of the janitor of the college, and the continued search of the Professor's laboratory and rooms adjoining. A portion of the body was found at the bottom of the vault of a private closet opening off from a laboratory on the basement floor, which contained a furnace. Buried in tan in a tea-chest, and covered with specimens of minerals, were other portions of the body, and in the ashes of the furnace were found a shirt button, a human tooth, blocks of mineral teeth, and a large number of fragments of bone belonging to a human body. A large hunting-knife, a double-edged sheath knife, a saw, hammer, and other articles were also found. Upon this evidence Professor Webster was arrested. The whole community and country were appalled. The cause seemed so insignificant—a dispute about the payment of a small sum of money which the Professor was owing Dr. Parkman—and the murder so cruel and apparently so well planned, that it seemed impossible, considering the high character of Prof. Webster as a scholar and professed Christian. Upon his arrest he swallowed a strychnine powder, which he had prepared and carried in his pocket, but his great nervous agitation prevented its action, and he survived, was tried and sentenced for murder in the first degree, and was hung upon a scaffold in full view of the classic halls where he had so long filled the high position of Professor of Chemistry.

1849. " *United States gold dollar first coined.*
" Parliament Houses in Montreal, Upper Canada, burned down by a mob.
" Constitution forbidding slavery adopted for California.
" Solouque, President of Santo Domingo, assumed the imperial title.

James K. Polk.

" June 15. Death of James K. Polk, eleventh President of the United States. He was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Nov. 2, 1795. His father was a farmer, and emigrated to East Tennessee. In 1815, at the age of twenty, he entered the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, and graduated with high honors in 1818. He very soon entered the law office of Felix Grundy in Nashville, and when he had finished his legal studies, he established himself in Columbia, the seat of Maury County. His success was very rapid. Mr. Polk had stored his mind with knowledge, and subjected it to a strict discipline, and with temperate and frugal habits his success was placed beyond jeopardy. He soon became popular as a public speaker, and was an effective campaign orator for his party. His manners were courteous and winning, and he won many friends. In 1823 he was elected to the Legislature of Tennessee. His first important act was in procuring the passage of a law to prevent dueling. He early imbibed State's Rights principles, and gave his influence to strengthen the State Governments. In 1825 Mr. Polk was chosen a Member of Congress, and for fourteen consecutive years he was continued in that office, when he withdrew to accept the Governorship of Tennessee. In Congress Mr. Polk was a popular Member, always courteous and prompt, and an easy and pleasing speaker, and was appointed Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He was a warm supporter of President Jackson and his measures, and during five sessions of Congress he was Speaker of the House, and never had a personal altercation with a single Member during his fourteen years in Congress. Mr. Polk was the avowed champion of the annexation of Texas, and in 1845 the Democratic party made him their candidate for President, and he was elected by a large majority. His first Message urged the immediate annexation of Texas as a State. War with Mexico was soon announced, and Mr. Polk's Administration pushed it forward with great vigor. The Mexicans were hopelessly defeated and awfully slaughtered. Not only was Texas annexed, but all of the vast territory of New Mexico and Upper and Lower California was added to the territorial area of the United States.

The annexation scheme was a pro-slavery measure, and Texas was designed by the South for a slave State, and the Administration called for $3,000,000 to satisfy Mexico and induce a voluntary surrender of Texas.

1849. To this appropriation the Northern Democrats attached what was called the "Wilmot Proviso," which excluded the annexation of territory for slave States. To this the Administration and the whole South were violently opposed, and a war in Congress ensued. The "dissolution of the Union" was threatened, and the Proviso was reconsidered and rejected. In 1849 Mr. Polk retired from office and repaired to his home in Nashville, where he died the 15th of June of that year.
" Col. Lopez attempts to revolutionize Cuba, but was unsuccessful.

John C. Calhoun.

1850. March 31. Death of John Caldwell Calhoun, an eminent American statesman of South Carolina. Mr. Calhoun graduated at Yale College in 1804, and afterward studied law. He entered Congress in 1811 at the age of twenty-nine years, as a Democrat and leader of the war party. In 1817 he was chosen Secretary of War by President Monroe. He was elected Vice-President in 1824, also in 1828, and became an advocate of free trade and State sovereignty, and was the author of the South Carolina exposition, which affirmed that a State may nullify unconstitutional laws of Congress, and was called "The Nullification Doctrine." In 1832 he entered the United States Senate. Mr. Calhoun finally accepted the "tariff compromise" of Mr. Clay. As a debater, Mr. Calhoun ranked foremost among the American Senators, and was excelled by none except Clay and Webster. In 1844 he was appointed Secretary of State by President Tyler, and in 1845 he returned to the Senate, where he remained till his death. Mr. Calhoun opposed the Mexican war. His private character was without reproach. He was the author of two works on "Government," which are held in high esteem by men of his school of politics.

Oregon Market for Girls.

" Congress passed the Donation Law, giving every *bona fide* settler of Oregon 320 acres of land; also, giving the same amount to a wife, upon conditions of settlement upon it within a given time and remaining four years. Very soon nearly all the girls over fourteen years of age were married off, and old maids were scarce in Oregon.
" May 19. *A filibustering expedition* of 600 men under General Lopez attempted the liberation of Cuba from Spanish rule. The town of Cardenas surrendered to them.

Uncle Tom's Cabin.

" "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a novel written upon slave-life in the South, and published in the *National Era*. This book caused great excitement all over the North and was extensively read in the South. It was translated and sold in every civilized country on the globe, and was probably the most popular and sensational novel ever written.
" Watches were first made by machinery in

1850. the United States at Roxbury, Mass., by Denison & Howard.

Fugitive Slave Law.

" Passage of the notorious "*Fugitive Slave Law*," introduced by Henry Clay in his great "*Omnibus Bill*." This law made every foot of free soil upon this broad Republic a hunting-ground for slaveholders to hunt fugitives who had escaped from a life of slavery. And every citizen who aided or harbored fugitives was subject to fines and punishment.

Zachary Taylor.

" July 9. Death of Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States. Mr. Taylor was born on the 24th of November, 1784, in Orange County, Virginia. While very young his father emigrated to Kentucky, a few miles from the present city of Louisville. His advantages for education and culture were very limited. In 1808 he received a commission as Lieutenant in the United States Army, and he joined the troops in New Orleans. At the beginning of the war of 1812 he was promoted to the rank of Captain and put in command of Fort Harrison, which was one of the first points of attack by Tecumseh. His gallant defense of this fort, when attacked the 4th of September by the Indians, gained him the rank of Major by brevet. At the close of the war Major Taylor resigned his commission and returned to private life. He soon, however, returned to the army, and was stationed at Green Bay, Wis. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel, and participated in the Black Hawk war. He continued for twenty years in the defense of the frontiers against the Indians, but being so remote from civilization that his fame extended little beyond the limits of his acquaintance. He was also engaged in the Seminole war, after which he obtained a change of command, and was appointed over the Department of the Southwest, and established his headquarters at Baton Rouge, where he remained for five years.

In 1845 Gen. Taylor was ordered to advance into Mexico. He accordingly marched with 1,500 troops, which were soon increased to 4,000, and established his little army at Corpus Christi; but in 1846 he received explicit orders from Government to march to the Rio Grande, which he did, implicitly obeying the orders he had received, although the Mexicans protested, and declared it to be an invasion of their country. The result of this expedition we have given in full in the notes on the Mexican war, also a detailed account of the bravery and generalship of Zachary Taylor. His brilliant victory at Buena Vista secured his fame as a great General, and in the enthusiasm of the triumph the Whig party, taking advantage of the "favoring tide," placed his name upon their banner as their future President; and well did they use the prestige of his popularity. He was elected in the fall of 1848 to the highest office in the gift

1850. of the people. General criticism predicted a great failure in this plain, homespun, illiterate soldier; but his short career of but one year and four months proved that the nation had another Jackson in firmness and integrity of character, and a Harrison in simplicity and honesty of purpose. He died universally respected and revered, and left not an open enemy in the world.

Arctic Expedition.

" Grinnell Expedition to the Arctic Seas, under command of Lieut. E. J. DeHaven, Dr. E. K. Kane accompanying the expedition as naturalist and surgeon.

" Sept. 9. California admitted as a Free State.

" Sept. 9. New Mexico and Utah organized as Territories.

Jenny Lind.

" Sept. 12. Jenny Lind, the "*Swedish Nightingale*," gave her first concert in the United States at Castle Garden, New York. The receipts were about $30,000, and the enthusiasm exceeded anything ever witnessed at a public concert or dramatic entertainment in the United States. She gave one hundred concerts under engagement and direction of P. T. Barnum, in all the large cities of the Union, involving nearly a million dollars in total receipts.

The first ticket for her New York concert was purchased by Genin, the hatter, for which he paid $225. The proceeds of this concert were devoted to charitable objects. Ossian E. Dodge paid $625 for a ticket in Boston. The highest price paid for a ticket to any of her concerts was $650 by Col. Wm. C. Ross, of Providence.

During her stay in Washington she was visited by the chief and eminent men of the land, and the most distinguished honors were paid her in every city that she visited. When Jenny Lind bade adieu to America, she bore the hearts of the American people with her. Never before had prima donna, or queen of song, so thoroughly captivated the whole nation, as did this plain, simple Swedish maiden with her pure, sweet nature, and her unparalleled gifts and sweetness of voice and heart.

" Dahlgren's cast-iron gun invented by Admiral Dahlgren.

" *Abolition of slave traffic in Brazil.*

Great Sea-Serpent.

1851. Appearance of a great sea-serpent in the Atlantic along the coast of Maine and Massachusetts. It was first seen in Penobscot Bay by highly respectable parties who had a close view of the monster, and who gave a description of it at the time. They saw him resting on the water, and afterward dart swiftly out to sea. He was also seen by several sea captains in this vicinity. A similar serpent was seen off Plymouth Harbor, Mass., within a quarter of a mile of those who saw him. He was also seen by several prominent men of Boston, and described by them quite

1851. accurately. The witnesses all agree in the main, and describe his length from 50 to 100 feet, and his size from two to three feet in thickness. He sometimes appeared to have large bunches along the entire length of his back, at other times they were not prominent, and were probably caused by the motion of his body in swimming. The large number of reliable witnesses, and the general harmony of their testimony, removes any doubt of the existence of an animal in the Atlantic waters, commonly called the "Sea-Serpent."

" April. *Erie Railroad completed.*

" July 4. Corner-stone of Capitol extension laid, Daniel Webster delivering the oration.

" Return of the Grinnell Arctic Expedition, Dr. Kane reported having discovered an open polar sea.

Louis Kossuth.

" Dec. 5. Arrival of Louis Kossuth, the distinguished Hungarian exile. He was received at New York with public honors, such as had been shown to no foreigner since the departure of Lafayette. He made an extended tour through the country, and was everywhere welcomed as the eloquent and distinguished exponent of the downtrodden cause of Democracy in Hungary and in Europe.

" *First asylum for idiots* in the United States, established in New York.

California Vigilance Committees.

" Reign of Vigilance Committees in California, which proved effectual in checking crime and restoring order and public safety to the citizens.

" Revolution in Chili.

" Echenique chosen President of Peru. Revolution under Castella.

American Yacht Victory.

" Victorious race of the yacht *America*, in the great international regatta in London, the prize being the "Cup of all Nations." She was built by George Steers, of Brooklyn, and commanded by Com. John C. Stevens, of New York.

Frightful Catastrophe.

" A panic, caused by a false alarm of "fire," occurred in a New York public school, containing 1,800 pupils. Nearly 50 children were instantly killed by suffocation, and many seriously injured by jumping from windows, and from fright.

" *Lopez heads another expedition* to Cuba with 500 armed men, among them Col. Crittenden. Not meeting with the expected support on the part of the Cubans, both Lopez and Crittenden were taken prisoners and executed.

Henry Clay.

1852. June 26. Death of Henry Clay, an American statesman and orator of great ability and renown. He was born in Virginia. He was thrice a candidate for President, and once very nearly elected. Henry Clay was admitted to the bar in 1797, though not of age. He

1852. set up an office in Lexington, Ky., and soon acquired a lucrative practice. He was a favorite orator during the Presidential canvass for Jefferson, and was chosen to represent Fayette County in the Legislature in 1803, and in 1806 chosen to fill a vacancy in the U. S. Senate, though but 29 years of age. He was again, in 1807, elected to the House of Representatives, and chosen Speaker of the House, where he proposed that each Member should clothe himself in American fabrics, which was so sharply stigmatized by Mr. Humphrey Marshall that it led to a duel between them, wherein both parties were slightly wounded. In 1811 he was elected to Congress, and was the first day chosen Speaker. During his term the United States declared war with Great Britain. He remained in Congress during the war until sent by President Monroe to Europe to negotiate for peace, a service which he rendered with eminent ability. In 1825 President Adams chose Mr. Clay as Secretary of State. In 1844 Mr. Clay again returned to the Senate, where he remained till his death, which was in his 76th year. In conversation and on the rostrum Mr. Clay possessed a magical influence even over his enemies and political antagonists.

Daniel Webster.

" Oct. 24. Death of Daniel Webster, LL.D., an American statesman of great renown. Mr. Webster was for years considered the lion of the United States Senate. He was born in Salisbury, N. H., Jan. 18, 1782, of poor parents, and received but few educational advantages, and prepared himself for college chiefly by private study, supporting himself at college by teaching school during winters. Young Webster became distinguished while in college for great proficiency in his studies and in the debating societies of the college. He graduated in 1801, and began the study of law immediately after, and during his studies acted as principal of an academy in Maine, also doing copying and office-work to aid him. He was admitted to the bar in 1805, and soon rose to eminence at a bar where Samuel Dexter, Joseph Story, and Jeremiah Mason were at the height of their fame. He was elected to Congress in 1812, and was appointed Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, taking a prominent part in the debates on the war and finances. He was re-elected in 1814, and was admitted to practice at the bar of the Supreme Court at Washington in 1816, and removed to Boston the same year. In 1818 he ranked among the most distinguished jurists of the country. He was elected a Member of Congress from the city of Boston in 1822, and in a great speech made on the Greek Revolution, established his reputation as one of the first statesmen of the age. On June 17, 1825, in his address at the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, he made great addition to his fame as an orator. In 1827 he entered the United States Senate, and retained his seat in that body until 1841. In 1830 he made his "great speech" in reply to Hayne, of South Carolina, against nullification. In 1836 he received the electoral vote of Massachusetts for the Presidency. In 1839 he made a brief visit to Europe, receiving distinguished attention at the Courts of England and France. In 1841 he was appointed Secretary of State by President Harrison, and continued in the office by Tyler, but resigned his post in May, 1843. In 1843 he delivered a splendid oration at the completion of Bunker Hill Monument. He resumed his seat in the United States Senate in 1845, and opposed the admittance of Texas as a slave State and the prosecution of the Mexican war. Although anti-slavery in his convictions, he supported the compromise measures of Clay, including the fugitive slave law, which cost him the majority of the support of the Whig party. Under President Fillmore he again became Secretary of State. His last public effort at speech-making (except his argument in the Goodyear patent case at Trenton, N. J., 1852) was at the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol extension at Washington, July 4, 1851. In May, 1852, he was thrown from his carriage and seriously injured, near Plymouth, Mass., and died in October of the same year.

Expedition to Japan.

" Expedition to Japan under Com. Perry, resulting in the opening of the ports of that Empire to American trade and commerce..... 550
" First street railway in New York.
" Treaty of commerce between Chili, France, Great Britain, United States, and Sardinia.
" Independence of Paraguay recognized by Great Britain, and Lopez becomes Governor.
" Revolution broke out in Buenos Ayres and it declared for independence.
" Branch mint established in San Francisco.
" Whig Convention in Baltimore.
" Gen. Winfield Scott nominated for President, and Mr. Graham, of North Carolina, Vice-President..... 550
" Aug. Free Soil Convention in Pittsburg, nominated John P. Hale for President, and George W. Julien, of Ind., Vice-President..... 550

Crystal Palace.

1853. Grand International Industrial Exhibition in New York, held in the Crystal Palace, a colossal building composed of glass and iron, and erected expressly for the great exhibition.
" Mar. 4. Franklin Pierce inaugurated President.
" Treaty with Mexico for the purchase of Arizona.
" New Constitution granted Buenos Ayres, copied from the Constitution of the United States.
" Independence of Paraguay recognized by Great Britain.

Treaty with Russia.

" Treaty with Russia guaranteeing neutrality of the United States in the war of the allied powers of Europe against that power, and recognizing the property right of neutral nations wherever found..... 551
" Exploration for a Pacific Railroad.
" *Yellow Fever* again visited the United States; and in the city of New Orleans, in the space of three months, ten per cent. of the whole population fell victims to the scourge.
" July 2. Koszta's release demanded of Smyrna by Capt. Ingraham.
" Children's Aid Society founded in New York by Charles L. Brace.

Filibustering.

" Filibustering expedition of William Walker to Sonora, Mexico. He landed at a small town called La Paz, and meeting with little resistance, he proclaimed "An Independent Republic of Lower California," with himself President. He very soon evacuated the premises to save himself and company from starvation. He surrendered himself to the United States authorities at San Diego, and was tried in San Francisco for a violation of the neutrality laws and acquitted..... 552

Know-Nothings.

1854. *American or Know-Nothing Society* formed, which carried the elections in nearly all the Northern States, their watchword being, "*Put none but Americans on guard.*" "*Let Americans rule America.*"
" *Prohibition* law passed in New York and Pennsylvania..... 552

Loss of the "Arctic."

" Loss of the steamship *Arctic*, Collins line, through collision with the iron steamer *Vesta*, during a fog. Hundreds of lives and millions of treasure were lost.
" Feb. 28. American mail-steamer *Black Warrior* seized at Havana.
" Mar. 31. Commercial treaty between United States and Japan signed... 551
" Stephen A. Douglas' popular sovereignty or Kansas-Nebraska bill passed, which caused great excitement in Congress and all over the country..... 552
" Virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise..... 553
" First Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi—the Rock Island.
" June 12. Bombardment of Greytown, Central America, by the American ship *Cyane*, upon refusal of the authorities to pay alleged damages for the destruction of United States property..... 551
" Aug. 2. Reciprocity treaty with Great Britain ratified respecting the Newfoundland fisheries, international trade, etc..... 551
" Shooting of Malcolm Taylor by McCrea, a lawyer in Kansas, during a political discussion. Much excitement ensued, and the people threatened to lynch McCrea..... 552
" Invention of the iron-tower for iron-clad vessels by Ericsson.
1855. Attack upon the United States steamer *Water Witch* in the River Parana, by the Paraguayans.
" Completion of Niagara Suspension Bridge.
" United States Court of Claims established.

1855. Great emigration to Kansas. Opposition Governments were formed by the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties. Election riots ensued..... 552

Walker, the Filibuster.

" Nicaragua invaded, during a revolution, by William Walker, with a band of filibusters. After considerable skirmishing he captured the city and garrison of Granada, and Nicaragua was in his power. A negotiation and treaty of peace was agreed upon between him and Corral, the leader of the Legitimists, and Don Patricio Rivas was declared Provisional President, with Walker as General-in-chief of the army. But soon after, detecting Corral in a plot to upset the new Government, Walker had him arrested, tried by court-martial, and shot in the presence of the whole army.

Walker's success emboldened him to aggressive acts, which soon brought his overthrow, and he was compelled to flee to the United States. He afterward undertook two other expeditions, which in like manner failed. His last expedition was directed against the Bay of Islands, in possession of Great Britain, but which was about to be ceded to Honduras. He was captured by British officers and delivered to the Honduran authorities, by whom he was imprisoned, tried, and shot... 552

" July. Dispute with Great Britain concerning the attempt to recruit for the Crimean army.

" Sept. 7. First Hebrew Temple in the Mississippi valley consecrated at St. Louis.

" Oct. 17. The bark *Mauray* seized at New York on suspicion of being intended for the Russian war service—discharged the 19th.

" Oct. 24. Snow in Louisville, Ky., and Nashville, Tenn.

" Dec. 23. British discovery ship *Resolute*, abandoned in the Arctic Sea by her crew, was brought to New London, Ct., by a whaler.

Hoosac Tunnel.

1856. Hoosac Tunnel begun. This tunnel is one of the grandest achievements in modern engineering. It is cut through the Hoosac Mountain, near the town of Adams in the north-western part of Massachusetts; and — except the Mt. Cenis Tunnel through the Swiss Alps— is the longest tunnel in the world, being 4¾ miles long, and in its widest point 26 feet by 20, and 24 feet high, and admits of two lines of railroad trains. It is on the Troy and Greenfield line, and was begun by that railroad, but in 1854 the State passed an Act authorizing a loan of the State credit to enable them to complete it. In 1862 the State assumed the entire responsibility and control of the project.

" John Brown's victory at Ossawattomie.

" Ocean telegraph projected.

" Republican party established. There were three parties in the Presidential campaign, Democratic, Know-Nothing, and Republican (or Free Soil).

" Type-setting machine invented by Timothy Alden.

1856. Jan. 23. Loss of the Collins steamer *Pacific*, Capt. Asa Eldridge, which left Liverpool for New York on this date, after which it was never heard from.

" Feb. *Contest for Speaker* of the House of Representatives, lasting two months, settled by placing Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, in the chair.

" April 11. Great bridge across the Mississippi at Rock Island completed.

" April 15. Affray at Panama between the passengers of the American Transit Company and the natives. Thirty passengers killed and twenty wounded.

Assault upon Sumner.

" May. Brutal assault of Preston S. Brooks upon Charles Sumner in the Senate Chamber, occasioned by his speech, "Crime against Kansas." For full particulars, see biography of Sumner.

" May 18. Trial and execution of the murderers Casey and Corey, by the San Francisco Vigilance Committee.

" First wood-type made by machinery by Wm. H. Page.

" President Pierce, in his Message, declared the creation of a free State Government in Kansas an act of rebellion..... 552

" May 28. Dismissal of Mr. Crampton, the British Envoy at Washington, by our Government..... 552

" June 17. First nominating Republican Convention held at Philadelphia. John C. Fremont chosen for President, and William L. Dayton, Vice-President. The two important planks in the new platform being anti-slavery and anti-polygamy..... 552

" Introduction of sorghum, or Chinese sugar-cane.

" July. Raising of the safe of the American Express Company, which was lost on the steamer *Atlantic* in 1852, by a Buffalo diver. Its contents were well preserved.

" Aug. 10. Lost Island, a summer resort on the Louisiana coast, submerged during a violent storm of three days; 173 persons were lost.

" Aug. 21. Famous Charter-oak at Hartford blown down.

" Aug. 28. Dudley Observatory at Albany inaugurated.

" Nov. 9. Death of John Middleton Clayton, at Dover, Del.

" Dec. The *Resolute* purchased from its discoverers, and refitted by the United States, is presented to the British Government, at Portsmouth, England, by Capt. Hartstein, on behalf of the United States.

" Loom patented for weaving Axminster carpets, by Alexander Smith and Halcyon Skinner. The looms of this establishment at Yonkers, upon the Hudson River, produce annually 200,000 yards, which equals the whole amount produced annually in England.

" Political alliance between Chili, Ecuador, Peru, and Costa Rica.

Fenians.

1857. Organization of the Fenian Brotherhood under the name of the Emmett Monument Association.

" Feb. 16. Death of Elisha Kent Kane at Havana.

" March 4. James Buchanan inaugurated President, with John C. Breckenridge for Vice-President..... 552

" Robert J. Walker appointed Territorial Governor of Kansas by the President..... 553

Dred Scott Decision.

" Mar. 6. The famous Dred Scott Decision, by Chief Justice Taney, was made known; a passage in which these words found expression, "Slaves have no rights which the white man is bound to respect," and which were generally attributed to that document for their origin, but which the defenders of Judge Taney claim was but a quotation of the sentiments of the people at the time the Constitution was written..... 553

" First attempt to lay the Atlantic Cable. It was coiled upon two vessels, the United States steamship *Niagara* and the British steamer *Agamemnon*. They proceeded to mid-ocean, and each vessel sailed toward their respective countries, laying the cable. After the wire had twice broken, the attempt was abandoned, but renewed again, the end being fastened at Valencia Bay, and payed out again till exhausted, when the other vessel joined the wires and completed the enterprise. This cable worked well for a time, but was finally abandoned.

" Patent issued to Charles Alden for condensed milk.

Great Financial Crisis.

" A great and extensive financial "crash," caused by wild speculation, extravagance, and "stock gambling." The terrible effects of this "crisis" were felt the whole length and breadth of the land. The rich were ruined by thousands, and great distress prevailed among the poor.

Murder of Dr. Burdell.

" Mysterious murder of Dr. Burdell, a wealthy New York dentist, in his own office. Arrest and trial of Mrs. Cunningham, the well-known "mistress" of the doctor. The evidence, which was purely circumstantial, was of a very strong character, and the community and the whole country were convinced of her guilt, but she was acquitted by the jury for want of legal proof. A deep-laid scheme was revealed soon after her acquittal, which confirmed her guilt in the minds of the public. She at first endeavored to prove that she was the legal wife of Dr. Burdell, but her certificate of marriage was proven a "sham." She next attempted to prove that she was about to become a mother, and actually pretended to be in labor, when the physician whom she had engaged to attend her turned State's evidence, and revealed the whole plot. He had connived with the District Attorney, and at the time of her pretended confinement the officers of the law were let into the house, and the whole shameful and fraudulent transaction was exposed. A new-born infant was procured by her "physician" from a hospital, and for which Mrs. Cunningham herself had, in disguise, appeared with a basket, and carried to her house.

1857. The whole transaction was published far and wide—*everybody was thoroughly convinced of her guilt* of the crime of murder; yet, the law in the hands of its manipulators held this bold, bad woman an innocent of the murder of Dr. Burdell, and she was allowed to remain unmolested after the revelation of the terrible plot which she had laid to secure his property!

Loss of the "Central America."

" Foundering of the steamer *Central America* off Cape Hatteras. Over 400 lives and $2,000,000 lost.

" Trouble with the Mormons in Utah. Col. Johnston, with a military force, sent out to enforce the laws.

Mexican Revolution.

1857–60. The Congress of Mexico adopted a Constitution and provided for a popular election. In July, General Comonfort was elected President. A military rebellion ensued, and the new President was driven from the capitol and General Zuloga was appointed in his place. Meanwhile Juarez, the great Indian statesman, master-spirit and representative of Republicanism, who was also Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and President *pro tem.*, according to the Constitution, proceeded to establish his Government at Vera Cruz. A reign of terror and outlawry ensued, and no foreign or American citizen was safe in Mexico. The Republicans at last triumphed, and peace was restored.

1857. Sept. 15. Brigham Young forbids any armed force entering Salt Lake City on any pretense; he orders the Mormon troops to hold themselves in readiness, and declares martial law.

" Sept. 26. The Philadelphia banks suspend specie payments.

" Oct. 14. New York banks suspend specie payments.

" Oct. 15. Boston banks suspend specie payments.

" Dec. 12. New York banks resume specie payments.

" Dec. 14. Boston banks resume specie payments.

Religious Revival.

1857–8. Great religious revival, apparently the result of the "crash" in the business and financial world, the ruin of which was wide-spread. Daily prayer-meetings were held in every city and town.

Morphy, the Chess-Player.

1858. Wonderful performances of Paul Morphy, the young American chess-player. He was considered a "prodigy" at chess when a lad, and at the age of 22 he was voted the "World's Chess Champion."

" April 10. Death of Thomas Hart Benton at Washington, aged 76.

" April 30. Congress passed a bill admitting Kansas into the Union, under the Lecompton (pro-slavery) Constitution..... 553

Exciting Campaign.

" *Lincoln and Douglas' campaign in Illinois.* These popular competitors to a seat in the United States Senate made a tour of the State, ably discussing the merits of their respective parties. It was one of the most noted political campaigns upon record.

" May 18. Minnesota admitted to the Union.

Morrissey and Heenan.

" Bloody and brutal prize-fight between John Morrissey and John C. Heenan. The stakes were $2,500 a side. Morrissey was declared the victor, and hailed as the champion of America. See biography.

" Jan. 14. Governor Cumming, of Utah, pardons all treason and sedition heretofore committed in the territory.

" *William H. Seward* announced his "Irrepressible Conflict" doctrine, which startled the country and aroused the pro-slavery element to much opposition.

" Aug. 3. The people of Kansas voted to reject the Lecompton Constitution by an overwhelming majority..... 553

" Aug. 16. First message sent across the Atlantic by cable from Queen Victoria to President Buchanan.

Broderick and Terry Duel.

" Sept. 13. Duel between Hon. David Broderick, United States Senator from California, and Hon. D. S. Terry, Chief Justice of that State. Broderick was mortally wounded and died the 15th. Terry escaped on a steamer and landed in Sacramento.

" Two American vessels captured by a Peruvian steamer by order of Castella.

Burning of the "Austria."

" Sept. Burning of the steamship *Austria*, from Hamburg to New York, with 538 persons on board, and but 67 of all the living human freight were saved. The ship took fire from a bucket of tar which was used, with a hot iron, for fumigating the ship. This was one of the most terrible and shocking disasters at sea ever recorded.

1859. *The Fenian Organization perfected* under the active and efficient agency of John O'Mahoney, who became its "head center" in the United States.

" Feb. 10. Treaty between United States and Paraguay.

" Feb. 14. Oregon admitted into the Union..... 553

Petroleum.

" First oil-well bored at Titusville, Pa., by Col. Drake, of New Haven, Conn., and during the 17 years following, the total yield from the Pennsylvania oil-wells was 55,461,319 bbls. of 40 gals. each.

Great Flood.

" Great storm and flood extending over the entire Middle and part of the Northern and Southern States—rain falling in torrents forty consecutive hours—resulting in immense loss of property and many lives.

The Sickles Affair.

1859. Feb. 27. Shooting of Philip Barton Key, District Attorney for the District of Columbia, by Hon. Daniel E. Sickles, Member of Congress from New York, for the seduction of his wife upon her confession. The high social position and eminent respectability of the parties concerned in this lamentable affair, and the great beauty and popularity of Mrs. Sickles, produced the most wide-spread and intense interest and excitement.

Mr. Sickles met Mr. Key upon the public streets of Washington, in open day, and, accusing him of his crime, shot him dead. He was immediately arrested, and the following April was tried for murder. Great excitement prevailed during the whole trial, which was published entire in all the leading newspapers of the land. At the conclusion of the trial he was acquitted. As the words "not guilty" fell from the lips of the foreman, there arose one wild and tumultuous hurrah from the vast concourse which thronged the court. Cheer after cheer went up, which was repeated by the multitude outside. Mr. Sickles was immediately surrounded by a host of friends, who bore him in triumph from the court-room. The news of his acquittal spread like wildfire throughout the city and country, and was received with general satisfaction.

Mr. Sickles had but one child, a lovely little girl, of but few years of age.

Mrs. Sickles manifested the most intense grief and remorse, and in every possible way expressed her sorrow and repentance to her husband and friends. In a short time after the trial her husband forgave his erring wife, and received her into his heart and home again. But this ruined and sorrowful woman lived but a few years after this terrible tragedy.

Mr. Sickles afterward served, with honor and distinction, in the war, and was promoted to the rank of Major-General. He was also sent as Minister to the Court of Spain immediately after the flight of Queen Isabella.

" March. The Free-State party of Kansas met at Wyandotte and framed a new Constitution, which was duly ratified by the people..... 553

" March 22. Quito destroyed by an earthquake.

" May 11. Vicksburg Convention resolves in favor of opening the slave trade.

" Guayaquil, S. A., destroyed by fire.

" Worcester's large Dictionary published.

" July 9. Gen. Harney occupies San Juan Island, W. T.; danger of collision with Great Britain.

Grand March of the "Potato Bug."

" First appearance of the "Colorado beetle," or "potato bug," in districts where the cultivated potato was raised. This insect had been observed as quite common on the Upper Missouri in 1824, feeding on a wild plant called the sand-burr, which belongs to the same genus with the potato. Its first arrival among "civilized" potatoes was about 100 miles west from Omaha, where the insect soon increased and

1859. spread at a marvelous rate. It invaded Iowa in 1861; Wisconsin, 1862; and by 1866 it had spread over the entire country west of a line from Chicago to St. Louis. In 1874 it had reached the Atlantic coast in numerous places, thus showing their rate of travel to have been 1,500 miles in a direct line within fifteen years, besides spreading over an area of 500,000 square miles.

John Brown's Capture of Harper's Ferry.

" Oct. 16. Captain John Brown, a veteran Abolitionist, had long cherished a desire to liberate the negroes of the South from slavery. He had been a life-long enemy of the system, and a radical anti-slavery man. He was in the Kansas battles for freedom, and participated in the battle of Ossawattomie, from which he derived the name of "Ossawattomie Brown." He had enlisted a few followers in his scheme of invading Virginia and freeing the slaves, and fully expected that his appearance among them would be a "watchword for freedom," and that, when the first blow was struck, they would unanimously rise and assert their liberty. His plans seem like those of an insane mind, more than those of a general, or an experienced statesman. With a little handful of men, of whom seventeen were whites and five colored, this mistaken philanthropist and fanatic invaded the State of Virginia, and succeeded in capturing the Government Armory buildings, containing a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, the railroad bridge, and taking prisoners the keepers of the Arsenal, the watchmen, and bridge-tenders. To the prisoners, who inquired as to the object of his proceedings, he answered: "To free the slaves." To the question by what authority it was done, he replied: "By the authority of God Almighty." Brown seemed to be impressed with the idea that God had chosen him to be the instrumentality in freeing the negroes from slavery.

Soon the tidings spread, and an armed force appeared. They attacked the engine-house where Brown and his associates were gathered, and were repulsed by the brave old man. Several were killed on both sides. Great excitement prevailed. Military companies arrived from different places.

The news spread to Washington, Baltimore, and Richmond, and produced the wildest excitement, and troops were instantly ordered to the scene of action. Col. Robert D. Lee, with a company of United States Marines and two field-pieces, was sent from Washington, and with their combined force Brown and his men were finally captured. He was greeted with execrations, and one of the Government officers struck him with a sabre several times in the face, which knocked him down, and another soldier ran a bayonet twice into the body of the prostrate old man. But he was protected from further violence by the soldiers. He was immediately indicted for treason and murder by the Virginia

1859. authorities. He asked for time, on account of his severe wounds, which was denied, and he was tried on the 26th of October in Charlestown, Va. Brown being unable to sit up, lay upon a mattress during his trial, which lasted three days. He was found guilty of the charges preferred, and sentenced to be hung on the 2d of December. On being asked why sentence should not be passed upon him, he replied, in a gentle and mild voice: "I deny everything but the design on my part to free the slaves. . . . . That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite the slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection." His kind, gentle, and patient manner, and his sincere religious fervor deeply impressed even his enemies; and his great courage and bravery elicited the admiration of all who witnessed both his defense at the Arsenal and his manly fortitude during his trial. Governor Wise said of him: "He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw, cut and thrust, and bleeding in bonds. He is a man of clear head, of courage and fortitude, and simple ingenuousness. He is cool, collected, and indomitable, and inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth." Two of his sons were shot and eleven of his men were killed; four escaped and the rest were taken prisoners.

Upon the arrival of the hour for his execution he walked coolly and calmly out of the jail, his countenance radiant and his step elastic. A colored woman, with a child in her arms, stood near. He paused, and stooping, kissed the child. The colored people, as he passed, blessed him. His proud and manly bearing as he ascended the scaffold and calmly gazed about him, and his great courage and insensibility to fear, filled even the armed soldiers with amazement. His firmness and courage continued to the last. He died like a hero, winning the admiration of the military, the sheriff, the jailor, and the undertaker. The citizens were not permitted to witness his execution. His body was sent to his family at North Elba, N. Y., where an eloquent eulogy was pronounced by Wendell Phillips at the place of burial..... 553

" Nov. 11. Buenos Ayres reunited to the Argentine Republic.

Kansas Free.

" Dec. 6. An undisputed election was held in Kansas under the new Constitution, and Republican officers and Members of Congress elected..... 553

Great Bonanza Mine.

" Comstock Lode originally discovered by James Fennimore, known as "old Finney," who, not knowing its value, sold it to P. Comstock for an old, bob-tailed Indian pony and a quantity of whisky. Comstock himself being ignorant of the immense value of the lode, disposed of his entire claim for some $4,000 or $5,000, which property, in less than a year, sold for more

1859. than $1,000,000. Under the management of Flood & O'Brien, it has since proved to be the richest silver mine in the world.

" The United States sent Mr McLane to recognize the Government of Juarez, with whom he negotiated a treaty satisfactory to both Governments.

1860. *Triumph of Mexican liberalism* under Juarez, over the Church party, after a revolution of near twenty years.

Embassy from Japan.

" Grand Embassy from Japan, with a treaty of peace and commerce, to the United States, being the first Ambassadors ever sent to any nationality by that empire. The Ambassadors were treated with great respect by the Government officials and the citizens of Washington. The peculiarity of their dress, customs, and manners excited much curiosity.

Prince of Wales.

" *Tour of the Prince of Wales* through the United States. He was everywhere received with marks of respect and distinction, and the unbounded hospitalities of the nation and people were extended to him.

" *Expedition of Charles Francis Hall* to the Polar Sea in search of Dr. Franklin.

" April 23. Democratic Convention met at Charleston, S. C., to nominate candidates for the office of President and Vice-President. The delegates from the "Cotton States" withdrew, and the Convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore in June..... 554

Chicago "Wigwam."

" May 19. Republican Convention met in Chicago, in a vast building erected for the purpose, and called the "Wigwam," and nominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President.. 554

" The Constitution Union (late "American" party) also met in convention, and nominated John Bell, of Tenn., for President, and Edward Everett, of Mass., Vice-President..... 554

Douglas' Nomination.

" June 18. Democratic Convention met, and Stephen A. Douglas was nominated for President, and Herschel V. Johnson for Vice-President..... 554

" June 18. The same day the seceding delegates from the "Cotton States" nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Ky., President, and Joseph Lane, from Oregon, Vice-President..... 554

The "Great Eastern."

" June 28. Arrival at New York of the English iron steamship *Great Eastern*, J. V. Hall, commander, being the largest vessel ever constructed since "Noah's Ark," and was capable of carrying 10,000 soldiers, besides her crew of 400. Her arrival had been expected, and great interest and excitement were caused upon the announcement. The wharves, buildings, adjoining streets, and, indeed, every available spot which afforded a view of the

1860. mammoth steamer was densely crowded with anxious spectators. The harbor and river were alive with all manner of craft to get a near view of the great and wonderful, world-renowned ship.

The passage over the bar, which was considered a very critical undertaking, was conducted by Mr. Murphy, who silently, with a simple wave of the hand, indicating to the helmsman the course to be pursued, safely and skillfully guided this huge monster of the waves over the dangerous bar and into the North River. Grandly and proudly she moved amid a sea of sails, gay with banners and streaming pennants, like a mighty leviathan in the midst of a school of flying fish. The booming of cannon, ringing of bells, and the shrill shrieking of hundreds of steam-whistles, together with the music of brass bands, and the chimes of Trinity Church playing "Rule, Britannia," altogether made a scene long to be remembered by those who witnessed it. For many weeks after her arrival, the *Great Eastern* was visited by tens of thousands, who were eager to inspect the marvelous structure. Her length was 680 feet, and she was of about 20,000 tons burden; 10,000 tons of iron were used in constructing her hull. The force used in moving the machinery of this immense ship would drive forty of the largest cotton mills, which give employment to over 30,000 operatives. The *Great Eastern* was used for laying the Atlantic cable, and proved to be of indispensable value.

Impending Crisis.

" Great agitation in Congress over a book entitled "The Impending Crisis," written by Hinton R. Helper, showing by arguments, statistics, and examples that slavery was injurious to the interests of the South..... 554

" July. Death of Charles Goodyear, the inventor of the process of hardening india-rubber. Mr. Goodyear endured every trial which the poor inventor is subject to, and at last died poor, to leave a rich legacy to the public, by which hundreds and thousands have become wealthy, and the public greatly benefited.

Magnificent Reception.

" Oct. 12. Grand ball given in honor of the Prince of Wales at the Academy of Music in New York. It was the greatest affair of the kind ever known in this country. Over 3,000 of the *elite* of New York present.

Election of Lincoln.

" Nov. 6. Abraham Lincoln was elected President, with Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President. Great excitement prevailed all over the Union. Universal rejoicing (with very few exceptions) at the North, and general dissatisfaction at the South. Threats of secession and fears of civil war caused great depression in business, and the Government credit was shaken..... 554

Buchanan favors Secession.

1860. Dec. 3. President Buchanan, in his Message, advised an amendment of the Constitution—1st, in favor of recognizing the rights of slave-holders to hold property in slaves where slavery does or may exist; 2d, in favor of their protection by Congress in this right in all the Territories until admitted as States; and 3d, in favor of the right of the master to capture his slaves who had escaped to another State—thereby attesting the validity of the *Fugitive Slave Law*. The Message further declares that unless this amendment was granted, *the South would be justified in revolutionary resistance* to the Government..... 554

" Great agitation was caused in Congress by this Message, both pro-slavery and anti-slavery members denouncing it..... 554

Secession of South Carolina.

" Dec. 20. Convention met in Charleston, S. C., which passed an ordinance of secession, and ordered the seizure of the Federal property within the limits of the State..... 554

" Dec. 21. A Senatorial Committee of 13 met to consider the distracted state of the country, five of the committee being Republicans, five from the slave-holding States, and three Northern Democrats. The committee failed to agree..... 554

" Dec. 29. Major Anderson, with a small band of Federal soldiers, transferred his command from Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbor, to Fort Sumter, the principal fort of defense. The remaining forts were immediately seized by the State authorities, and additional defenses were made to protect the city..... 554

" Ecuador invaded by Peru under Gen. Castella, whose assassination was attempted.

" The Parrott gun introduced by Robert R. Parrott, and was extensively used during the war of the Rebellion.

Secession of the South.

1861. Jan. 7. Florida passed a secession ordinance..... 554

" Jan. 9. Mississippi joined the seceding States..... 554

" Jan. 11. Alabama passed a secession ordinance..... 554

" Jan. 19. Georgia united with the secession States..... 554

" Jan. 25. Louisiana joined the seceding States..... 554

First Act of Rebellion.

" Jan. First overt act of the Rebellion was the firing upon the Government steamer *Star of the West* by the South Carolina State troops..... 554

" Feb. 1. Texas joined the seceding States.

" Feb. 4. Peace Convention assembled in Washington. Delegates from all the Northern States assembled..... 555

" Feb. 4. Delegates from the seceding States assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a new compact, called the "Confederate States of America," and established a Provisional Government, with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stevens as Vice-President..... 555

" Abraham Lincoln, the President-elect of the United States, left his home in Springfield, Ill., amid the sorrowful and universal regret and secret forebodings of his friends, to repair to the capital of the nation, and enter upon the arduous duties of his office... 555

" Feb. 14. Jefferson Davis made President of the Confederates. He raised troops and armed for war.

" Feb. 22. The President tarried in Philadelphia to plant the flag of the Union upon the Hall of Independence, but the gathering storm in Baltimore led his friends to fear for his safety, and he was persuaded to take the night train for Washington. He arrived safely at the capital the following morning. 555

" Feb. 26. West Virginia was admitted into the Union..... 556

Inauguration of Lincoln.

" March 4. The inauguration ceremonies of President Lincoln were attended with the protection of the United States troops under Lieut.-General Scott..... 555

" Overtures for a peaceful separation from the South rejected by the North.

" March 11. The seceding States met at Montgomery and adopted a Constitution, with slavery as a chief corner-stone..... 555

" March 11. Kansas, Colorado, and Dakota organized into Territories 555

Seizure of Southern Forts.

" The South seized the most of the defensive fortifications within their borders, some 30 in number, mounting over 3,000 guns, and costing $20,000,000. Also the navy yard and arsenals were seized, together with the entire army of the frontier, with all its equipments, revenue cutters, mints, custom-houses, and sub-treasuries, amounting to $20,000,000 more..... 555

Sumter Bombarded.

" April 12. Bombardment of Fort Sumter. Gen. Beauregard opened fire from all the forts and batteries. Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, a white-haired old man, fired the first gun. Maj. Anderson, with but a handful of men, and without an ounce of bread in store, bravely defended the old fort for 34 hours, Capt. Doubleday firing the first gun. He received the unceasing fire from 47 heavy guns and mortars, throwing 2,360 shot and 980 shells into the fort, during which not a man was hurt. After the barracks had been burning for several hours, the magazine surrounded by fire and the main gates of the fort destroyed, Maj. Anderson surrendered the fort to the rebels, but only upon the most honorable conditions..... 556

Lincoln Calls for 75,000 Troops.

" April 15. President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 troops to suppress the Rebellion in the South, and was answered

1861. by 300,000 volunteers eager to enlist..... 556

Blockade Proclamation.

" April 17. President Lincoln issued a proclamation announcing the blockade of the Southern ports.

" April 17. Virginia resolved to secede from the Union, and steps were taken to secure the Federal property.....556

Baltimore Mob.

" April 19. The 6th Massachusetts Regiment, in passing through Baltimore, were fired upon by a secession mob; a company of the regiment returned fire, and 11 of the mob were killed and four wounded. Three of the soldiers were slain and eight wounded. *Ten unarmed Companies of the Philadelphia Washington Brigade* were also attacked and retired to Philadelphia. This was the first blood shed in the Rebellion.

" April 20. Large amount of property at the navy yard and fort at Norfolk, Va., destroyed by the Union commander, Capt. McCauley, upon the approach of a rebel military force to seize it.... 556

" April 24. The rebels occupy the fort and hoist their flag..... 556

Maryland Loyal.

" April 27. The Legislature of Maryland decided not to secede from the Union..... 556

Colonel Ellsworth.

" May. Colonel Ellsworth, a brave and efficient officer in command of the New York Fire Zouaves, was shot by Jackson while removing a secession flag from his hotel in Alexandria. *Jackson was in turn shot* by Frank E. Brownell, a Union soldier..... 558

" May 2. Missouri turned over to the rebels the entire control of the military and pecuniary resources of the State..... 557

" May 3. Government calls for 42,000 additional volunteers for three years, and ten regiments were added to the regular army..... 556

" May 4. A large Union meeting held in Baltimore.

" May 6. Tennessee passed an ordinance of secession — East Tennessee voting largely against it.

" Arkansas seceded from the Union.

" May 10. Capt. Lyon, aided by Col. Blair, at the head of 6,000 armed Union volunteers, surrounded the State Guard formed at Fort Jackson, in the interests of the Rebellion, and demanded its surrender, which was immediately complied with..... 557

" May 12. Gen. Wm. S. Harney took command of the Union forces in Mississippi. He entered into a compact with Gen. Price, the rebel leader, to restore peace to Missouri, which act was repudiated by the Federal Government, and he was replaced by Gen. Lyon..... 557

" May 13. Gen. Butler occupied the city of Baltimore..... 556

West Virginia Repudiates Secession.

1861. West Virginia met in Convention, and formally repudiated the secession of the State..... 556

" May 16. The rebels burn several bridges on the Baltimore and Ohio R.R.... 557

" May 20. North Carolina passed a secession ordinance. Arkansas also resolved to secede and join the Confederates..... 555

" May 20. The arsenal at St. Louis was defended by its commandant, Gen. Lyon, and secured to the Government, and its contents transferred to Springfield, Ill..... 557

Contraband.

" May 22. Gen. Butler took command of the Union forces at Fortress Monroe, composed of 15,000 raw recruits, but who proved gallant soldiers. Gen. Butler protected some fugitive slaves, and refused to surrender them to the order of their master, *declaring all rebel property contraband*..... 558

" May 24. 10,000 Union troops advanced into Virginia by order of Gen. Scott.

Fremont in Command.

" General Fremont appointed to the command of the Western Department. He took vigorous measures to put down the Rebellion — *confiscating the property of the rebels, also their slaves.* For this he lost prestige with the War Department, and was shortly superseded by Hunter.

" Gen. Scott submits four courses of action to the President, from which he must choose. 1. *To surrender to slavery half the territory acquired or to be acquired.* 2. *To blockade all revolted ports.* 3. *To say to the seceding States, "Wayward sisters, go in peace;" or* 4. *To conquer the South.*

" June 1. Gen. Patterson, with 20,000 men, advanced from Chambersburg, Pa., to Hagerstown, Md..... 558

" June 1. The *Savannah*, a rebel privateer, captured a Union merchantman... 561

Stephen A. Douglas.

" June 3. Stephen Arnold Douglas, an American statesman, died at Chicago. He began the practice of law at Jacksonville, Ill., and before he was twenty-two years of age was elected Attorney-General of the State. In 1835 he became a Member of the Legislature; in 1837 he was appointed Register of the Land-Office at Springfield; in 1840 he was appointed Secretary of the State; in 1841 he was elected Judge of the Supreme Court of Ill.; in 1843 he was elected Member of Congress, and re-elected to a second term; in 1847 he was chosen United States Senator for the term of six years, which position he continued to hold until the time of his death; in 1852 he was candidate for President of the United States, and again in 1856, and received a nomination also again in 1860. In politics he was a Democrat. Mr. Douglas died in the midst of a splendid political career, and at the beginning of the great Civil war. He lived long enough *to express the strongest feelings of loyalty to the Government*, and a warm sympathy for

1861. its noble defenders in their struggle to maintain its Union.

" June 11. Battle at Romney, Va.

" June 11. West Virginia, set apart as a new State by the unanimous vote of the State and Government, was formed in accordance with the Federal Constitution..... 556

" June 14. Johnson evacuated Harper's Ferry.

" June. Gen. Price attacked Gen. Magruder, and after four hours' action, both sides retreated.

" June. Battle at Fairfax Court-House; the enemy driven out..... 558

" An attack upon the Confederate battery at Big Bethel repulsed..... 558

" July 4. Congress met in extraordinary session.

" July 5. Battle near Carthage, Mo.

" July 11. Battle at Rich Mountain, Va.

" July 18. Battle near Centreville, Va.

Bull Run Defeat.

" July 21. Battle of Bull Run, commanded respectively by Generals McDowell and Beauregard.

The North, impatient of delay, were crying, "On to Richmond." Gen. McDowell, with 30,000 troops, mostly volunteers, attacked the main body of the rebels at Bull Run. *The recruits fought bravely, and the enemy were repulsed, but being reinforced by Jackson's brigade, they renewed the fight.* The Union troops fought gallantly and gained the plateau, *when the enemy were again reinforced by Joseph E. Johnston's army* under Kirby Smith. The Union army now began a retreat, *after thirteen hours of severe action, not having once been reinforced.* Suddenly a strange panic seized them, and they fled in wild disorder, leaving everything behind them. In this battle the rebel Gen. T. J. Jackson received the name which he carried throughout the war—"Stonewall Jackson"—given him by one of his officers, who said, "*There stands Jackson, like a stone wall,*" facing the enemy while his army were preparing to retreat..... 558

" Destruction of the *Petrel*, a rebel privateer, by the United States frigate *St. Lawrence.* The *Petrel* sank at the first broadside of the *St. Lawrence.*

" July. Stonewall Jackson invaded Maryland..... 558

" July. Battle of Laurel Hill. Gen. McClellan, with Gen. Rosecranz, attacked the rebel forces under Generals Garnett and Pegram, driving them across the mountains to Monterey..... 557

" Aug. 10. Gen. Sigel repulsed and Gen. Lyon killed in battle at Wilson's Creek..... 560

" Aug. 16. Gen. Butler succeeded by Gen. Wool.

" Aug. 28. Bombardment of rebel forts—Hatteras and Clark—by Gen. Butler.

" Aug. 29. The forts surrendered by Com. Barron..... 561

" Aug. 30. Fort Morgan abandoned by the rebels.

" Aug. 31. *Fremont issues a proclamation freeing the slaves in Missouri.*

" Sept. 3. Massacre on Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad; Platte bridge burned.

" Sept. 10. Battle of Carnifex Ferry, between Generals Rosecranz and Floyd. A short, but severe action took place,

1861. resulting in the retreat of Floyd in the night..... 557

" Sept. 13. Rebel privateer *Judah* destroyed by the Federalists.

" Rebels twice defeated in attacks on Cheat Mountain, West Virginia. Col. John A. Washington, proprietor of Mount Vernon, killed..... 558

" Sept. 20. Col. Mulligan surrenders Lexington, Mo., to the rebel Gen. Price after fifty-nine hours without water. Loss, 2,500 prisoners and a large amount of gold.

" Oct. 3. Battle of Green Brier, Va. Rebels defeated with considerable loss.

" Oct. 5. Rebels attack the Union troops at Chicomacomico, N. C., but were destructively shelled by the gun-boat *Monticello* and driven off.

" The *Savannah* captured by the U. S. brig *Perry*..... 561

" Oct. 9. Rebels repulsed by Wilson's Zouaves at Santa Rosa Island..... 561

" Oct. 11. The rebel privateer *Nashville* ran the blockade at Charleston and burned an American merchantman in British waters.

" Oct. 12. Repulse of the rebel ram and fireships by the Union fleet at S. W. Pass.

" Escape of Slidell and Mason from Charleston.

" Oct. 21. Battle of Fredericktown, Mo. Jeff. Thompson's flight..... 560

" Oct. Lexington, Mo., recaptured by Union troops.

" Gen. W. T. Sherman appointed to the command of the Kentucky forces over Gen. Anderson..... 560

" Oct. 21. Alliance between England, France, and Spain to take joint possession of Mexico in lieu of debts contracted, and outrages committed upon their subjects by the Mexicans.

" Oct. 21. Battle of Ball's Bluff. Colonel Baker killed, and the Unionists defeated. The slaughter was fearful, and Gen. Stone was charged with inefficiency.

" Oct. 29. Rebels defeated at Springfield, Mo., by Zagonyi.

Nov. . Soldiers' Aid Society formed at Detroit.

Nov. 2. *Gen. Fremont superseded by Gen. Hunter*, and his bodyguard, composed of the best material and enlisted for three years, was *mustered out by Gen. McClellan*..... 560

" Nov. 6. Gen. Grant attacked Gen. Polk, routing and burning his camp, capturing the guns, and driving the enemy to the river. Gen. Polk, reinforced, took possession of Columbus, and caused the retreat of Grant, who saved his arms. Union loss 400. Rebel loss 800.

" Nov. Gen. Scott was placed on the retired list with full pay, and McClellan made General-in-chief..... 562

Mason and Slidell.

" Nov. 7. Capture of the rebel envoys, Mason and Slidell, on board the British steamer *Trent*, in the Bahama channel, by Captain Wilkes, of the U. S. steamship *San Jacinto*. They were brought back to the United States and confined at Fort Warren, near Boston, but were finally surrendered to Great Britain by Secretary Seward, upon the illegality of the act—Capt. Wilkes' failure to bring the *Trent* into port for adjudication by the U. S. authorities.

" Nov. 7. Port Royal bombarded and taken by Gen. Sherman and Com. Du Pont.

" Nov. 7. Springfield, Mo., abandoned to the enemy by order of Gen. McClellan, much to the disadvantage of the Union forces in Missouri..... 560

" Nov. 9. Gen. Nelson's victory in East Kentucky.

" Nov. 9. Gen. Schoepf's flight from E. Tennessee.

" Battle of Belmont, Mo. Gen. Grant attacks the rebels, damaging them seriously.

" Nov. 12. Gen. Halleck appointed to the command of the Missouri Department.

" Nov. Raid of Price through Missouri, burning villages and destroying railroad tracks, and regaining Lexington and other points on the Mississippi..... 574

" Nov. 19. Missouri passed an ordinance of secession.

" Dec. 3. Gen. Phelps lands on Ship Island with the advance of Gen. Butler's expedition.

" Dec. 4. John C. Breckenridge *expelled from the United States Senate* by a unanimous vote.

" Dec. 6. Beaufort taken by Gen. Sherman.

" Dec. 15. Gen. Pope routed the Confederates from Lexington, capturing 70 supply wagons and 300 prisoners..... 562

" Dec. 17. Stone fleet sunk to block up the mouth of Savannah River.

" Dec. 17–18. Col. Jeff. C. Davis captured a Confederate camp at Milford, consisting of 3 colonels, 17 captains, 1,000 men, and 1,000 stand of arms, with tents, baggage, and supplies.

The Confederates were now strengthened by a force of 5,000 Indians under Gen. Pike, making the division in S. Missouri 30,000..... 562

" Gen. Pope defeats the rebels with great loss at Shawnee Mound, Mo.

" Dec. 20. Gen. Ord, commander of the 3d Pennsylvania Brigade, was attacked by the Confederate forces under Gen. Stuart. The enemy were defeated with a loss of 230 men. The Union loss being 9 killed and 60 wounded... 562

" Dec. 20. Battle of Drainsville. Gen. McCall defeats the rebels.

" Dec. 20. Tybee Island, commanding the approach to Savannah, taken.

" Dec. 21. Charleston harbor shut by sinking a stone fleet at its mouth.

" Dec. 27. Vera Cruz occupied by French troops, and the city placed under martial law.

" Dec. 31. Battle of Huntersville.... 558

" " 31. United States forces to-day numbered 660,971, 22,000 sailors, and 246 ships with 1,892 guns.

" Dec. Brig.-Gen. Grant led an expedition from Cairo to Belmont, a rebel encampment under Gen. Polk. Polk being reinforced, Grant retreated.. 563

" Union steamer *Fanny*, loaded with stores, captured by rebels..... 561

" Union forces attack the rebels on Croatan Sound by land and water, entirely routing them. The slaughter was immense on the rebel side, as there was no escape, being surrounded by the land and naval forces..... 561

" Tom Corwin appointed as United States Minister to Mexico.

Liberalism Triumphs in Mexico.

1861. President Juarez removes all special privileges from the priesthood, and sold the Church property to the people.

" Name of New Granada exchanged for United States of Colombia.

" Gatling gun invented by Richard J. Gatling, of North Carolina.

Rarey, the Horse-tamer.

" Wonderful exploits of Rarey, the great horse-tamer. He tamed the wildest and most furious horses in a short time, rendering them as tractable and gentle as lambs, *without the use of the whip*. His great success was achieved solely by kindness and through his powerful magnetic influence.

Sam. Houston.

" Oct. 8. Death of Sam. Houston, of Texas. He was raised in Tennessee, and gained a little education, when he went among the Indians and lived with them three years, and was adopted by an Indian chief as his son. In 1811 he returned to his family, and started a school for his maintenance and succeeded well. In 1813 he enlisted as a common soldier in the U. S. army, and by his good conduct was promoted to an ensignсy; in 1814 he was engaged under Gen. Jackson in fighting the Creek Indians, and was three times severely wounded. He succeeded in gaining the lasting friendship of Jackson, who promoted him, and he was employed to make a treaty with the Cherokees. The winter following he went to Washington with a delegation of Indians. In 1818 he threw up his commission and settled in Nashville and began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar after six months' study, and one year after was elected District Attorney for the Davidson District. In 1823 he was elected Member of Congress, and re-elected in 1825. In 1827 he was chosen Governor of Tennessee. In Jan., 1829, he was married, and in three months separated from his wife, when he again went to the Cherokee Nation, who received him kindly, and admitted him to all the rights and privileges of their nation. He remained with them till 1832, when he went to Washington to defend them against the wrongs inflicted upon them by the Government agents. Mr. Houston received the aid of Government in exposing the frauds of the agents—five of whom were removed. With one of these — Mr. Stansbury—he had a personal rencounter, and his opponent was severely beaten. Mr. Houston was arrested and brought before the House and publicly censured, tried, and fined $500, but the President remitted him his fine. Soon after he removed to Texas, and was there drawn into a Convention, where he was appointed upon a committee to draft a form of Constitution for the new State. Mr. Houston exerted a powerful influence in Texas, and at the commencement of the Texan war with Mexico he was appointed General of a force of troops. In 1835 he was elected Commander-in-chief of the Texan army. He defeated

1861. the Mexicans at San Jacinto, and took their General (Santa Anna) prisoner. After the war, he was elected President of the Republic of Texas, and at the close of his term he became a Member of Congress. Leaving the finances of Texas in a prosperous condition, after his return he was again elected her President, and upon her admission into the Union he was elected a U. S. Senator. He was ever a friend of the Indians, and was a bold, straightforward defender of what he considered to be right. He was strongly opposed to the secession of the South. In 1859 he was elected Governor of Texas, but retired from office, refusing to take the oath required by the State Constitution.

Minnesota Massacre.

1862 Indian massacre in Minnesota. The Sioux, under Little Crow, fell upon the white settlements at New Ulm, Yellow Medicine, Cedar City, Fort Ridgely, and Fort Abercrombie, and butchered, in the most cruel and shocking manner, some 500 persons, chiefly defenseless women and children. The citizens were unprotected, and their only escape was by flight. Great consternation ensued all through the Northwest, and troops were immediately sent to their rescue. The Indians in that district were finally subdued, and the leaders in the massacre were executed..... 584

" Jan. 1. Fort Pickens breaches Fort Barancas and burns the navy yard.

" Death of Lopez, President of Paraguay.

" Gen. Sam. Ramon chosen President of Ecuador.

" Jan. 8. Battle of Blue Gap, Va. Rebels defeated.

" Hospital boats were established on the Western rivers, and cars on the railroad leading from the seat of war.

" Jan. 10. Johnson and Polk, of Missouri, expelled from the U. S. Senate.

" Jan. 13. Edwin M. Stanton succeeded Simon Cameron as Secretary of War.

" Jan. Col. Garfield attacks the Confederates in S. E. Kentucky, and forces them to retreat to Virginia..... 563

John Tyler.

" Jan. 18. John Tyler, tenth President of the United States, died in Richmond, Va. In 1836 Mr. Tyler identified himself with the Whig party, and was, by that party, nominated to the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Gen. Harrison, and upon the death of the latter, he became President of the United States. His administration was very unpopular, and before its close every member of his Cabinet had resigned, and he lost the confidence of the Whig party by his measures. He was in the Confederate Congress at the time of his death.

" Jan. 19. Gen. Geo. H. Thomas took command of the Union forces in Kentucky, with a force of 8,000 men.. 563

" Jan. 19. Gen. Thomas was attacked by Gen. Geo. B. Crittenden. A desperate conflict raged, resulting in the retreat of Crittenden's army, with the loss of Gen. Zollicoffer and nearly 300 men. The rebels escaped through the night, leaving 12 guns and equipments, 1,500 horses, and all their army material..... 563

1862. " Jan. 30. Ericsson's *Monitor* launched at Greenpoint, L. I.

Capture of Fort Henry.

" Feb. 2. Com. Foote, with seven gunboats, and Gen. Grant, with 15,000 men on steamboats, attacked Fort Henry and captured it.

" Feb. 7–8. Battle of Roanoke Island. Burnside takes the island, with 2,500 prisoners.

Fort Donelson Surrendered.

" Feb. 16. Surrender of Fort Donelson to Gen. Grant by Gen. Buckner, after 84 hours of fighting and watching, taking 13,000 prisoners, the fort being abandoned by General Floyd and Col. Forrest..... 564

" Feb. 18. First regular Rebel Congress assembled at Richmond.

" Feb. 19. Col. Canby confronted by a band of Texas Rangers at Valverde, New Mexico. Upon the death of Lieut. McCrae and the loss of his battery, the Union infantry became demoralized and fled precipitately..... 563

" Feb. 21. Gordon, the slaver, hung at New York.

" Feb. 22. Cumberland Gap abandoned to the Unionists, and a Confederate camp surprised and captured by Gen. Garfield..... 563

" Feb. 22. A general advance toward Richmond ordered by President Lincoln 568

" Feb. At Coche, Ky., Gen. Curtis was attacked by a band of Texas cavalry, under General Albert Rush, which he routed after a short engagement, by an impetuous charge of 1st Indiana Cavalry. Gen. Curtis then marched to Helena, taking a large number of negroes whom the rebels had employed building roads, and which were entitled to their freedom.... 562

" Feb. 22. Jeff. Davis inaugurated President of the Confederate States for six years.

" Feb. Retreat of Gen. A. S. Johnston from Bowling Green to Nashville before Gen. O. M. Mitchel, bringing consternation to the citizens of Nashville, hundreds of whom fled in terror from the city. Gen. Johnston continuing his flight South, and the Government and Legislature, also the bankers, with their specie, following.

" Feb. 24. Nashville surrendered to Gen. Buell, and Gen. Nelson and his troops took possession of the city..... 564

" Mar. 3. Columbus, Ky., abandoned by the rebels at the approach of Com. Foote and Gen. Sherman..... 564

Battle of Pea Ridge.

" Mar. 7. Battle of Pea Ridge, fought by Gens. Curtis, Sigel, Osterhaus, and Jeff. C. Davis, lasting three days, and resulting in the complete victory of the Union forces. The rebel forces were 30,000 strong under Gens. Price, Van Dorn, McCulloch, Slack, and McIntosh. The Federal loss was 1,351. Rebel loss not ascertained, but must have been much more. Gens. McCulloch and McIntosh killed, and Gens. Price and Slack wounded..... 562

1862. " Mar. 8. The *Cumberland* and *Congress* destroyed by the rebel ram *Merrimac*..... 563

" Mar. 9. The *Merrimac* disabled and put to flight by the little *Monitor*, which also disabled the *Yorktown*.

" Mar. 10. Rebels evacuate Manassas Junction, and Union forces occupy it.

" Mar. 13. New Madrid evacuated by the Confederates, after a heavy cannonading by Gen. Pope, who took immediate possession. The enemy left thirty-three cannon, several thousand small arms, and a large amount of other war material..... 564

" Mar. 14. *Battle of Newbern, N. C.* Gen. Burnside defeats the Confederates, and occupies the city; capturing 69 cannon, two steamboats with large quantities of munitions, and 500 prisoners..... 568

" Mar. 23. Battle of Winchester, Va. Rebels badly defeated, losing 1,000, besides prisoners.

" Mar. 25. Fort Mason occupied by Union forces.

" Mar. Soldiers' Home opened at Cairo by the Chicago Branch Committee.

" April 4. Beginning of Peninsular campaign. Army of Potomac advance toward Yorktown.

Battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing.

" April 6–7. Surprise and attack of the Union army under Grant, Sherman, and Prentice at Pittsburg Landing; their panic and retreat. Generals Buell and Lew Wallace come to the rescue, and the tide turned. The rebels were driven back to Corinth. Gen. Halleck taking command, he attacked the enemy at Corinth and gained possession of that important railroad center.

" April. The allied powers against Mexico disagree, and the English and Spanish commanders of the expedition returned to Europe and left the French alone to settle the difficulty with Mexico.

Island No. 10.

" April 7. Gen. Pope, having cut a canal twelve miles long across the Missouri peninsula opposite Island No. 10, attacked the rebel stronghold under Gen. McCown, who sunk the boats and transports, and escaped eastward, leaving Gen. McCall to surrender the Island, with 3 Generals, 273 officers, 6,700 soldiers, 123 pieces of heavy artillery, 7,000 stand small arms, and a large quantity of ammunition and other stores reported in the capture..... 564

" April 11. Surprise and capture of Huntsville, Ala., together with a large number of locomotives and cars, by Gen. O. M. Mitchel. At Russelville, Gen. Mitchel captured a large amount of Confederate property without loss.

" April 11. Fort Pulaski surrendered by the rebels after thirty hours' bombardment.

" April 16. *Slavery abolished in District of Columbia.*

" April 17. Bombardment of Fort Pillow

1862. by Commodore Foote, lasting two weeks, with little effect, owing to the high water, which prevented the co-operation of the land forces. 564

Farragut's Great Feat.

" April 24. Com. Farragut ran the batteries on the Mississippi River at Fort Jackson, destroying that fort and Fort St. Philip, also twelve Confederate gun-boats. He proceeds to New Orleans.

" April 24. Surrender of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson to Com. Foote and Gen. Grant by Gen. Buckner.

" April 25. Fort Macon, N. C., taken after eleven hours' fighting.

Surrender of New Orleans.

" April. Com. Farragut with his fleet approaches New Orleans. The Confederates burn their shipping and a vast amount of property—15,000 bales of cotton, and vessels richly freighted with merchandise—estimated at from $8,000,000 to $10,000,000. But the city made no resistance, and surrendered to the American fleet.

" April 29. Gen. Mitchel defeats the rebels and captures Bridgeport, Ala.

" May 1. Arrival of Gen. Butler in New Orleans. He takes possession of the city, *marching through the principal streets, from the Levee to the Custom-House to the tune of "Yankee Doodle,"* viewed by 50,000 rebels with mingled feelings of curiosity and defiance.. 567

" May. The French assume the offensive and attack the Mexicans at Chiquihuite, but were repulsed with great disaster to their forces.

" May 4. McClellan enters Yorktown, the rebels having fled in the night.

" May 4. Fight between rebel ram *Mallory* and the Union gun-boat *Cincinnati;* both vessels disabled and sunk; the rebels retreating under cover of smoke from the burning gun-boats which the *Cincinnati* fired before sinking.

" May 5. Battle of Williamsburg between Gen. Hooker and Gen. Magruder. Rebels evacuate in the night.

" May 7. Battle of West Point, Va. Rebels driven over Chickahominy.

" May 8. Skirmish at Bull Pasture Mt. between Generals Schenck and Milroy on the Union side, and Johnston and Jackson of the Confederates..... 569

Surrender of Norfolk.

" May 10. Norfolk surrendered to Gen. Wool, the enemy having evacuated it, together with the navy yard and Portsmouth, which Gen. Wool also re-possessed.

" May 10. Severe naval fight on the Mississippi near Fort Wright. Rebels defeated.

" May 11. The rebels destroyed their celebrated iron-clad *Merrimac* and spiked 200 cannon before leaving. Gen. Hooker fought desperately for nine hours against great and superior forces, *with 30,000 Union troops under McClellan in his sight, which were not permitted to reinforce him*..... 569

" May 13. Steamer *Planter* run out of Charleston by Robert Smalls, a negro.

" May 17. Puebla surrendered to the French with 15,000 men, including 1,000 officers.

" May 20. McClellan within eight miles of Richmond.

" May 22. At Front Royal, a force of 900 men under Col. Kenly was captured by a detachment of rebel cavalry under command of Ashby..... 569

" May 23. McClellan in position, five miles from Richmond.

" May 23. Engagement at Louisburg, W. Va., between Col. Crook, United States Army, and Gen. Heath. Unionists victorious.

" May 25. Gen. Banks defeated at Winchester; retreats to the Potomac.

" May 30. Halleck's troops occupy Corinth; the rebels evacuating..... 569

" May 31. McClellan badly beaten at Fair Oaks by Gen. Hill.

" May 31. Juarez removed the seat of Government from Mexico to San Luis Potosi.

" Union troops enter Little Rock, Ark. Rebel Government running off.... 570

" June 1. Battle of Fair Oaks renewed under Gen. Sedgwick, and the Unionists recover much of their losses.

" June 1. Gen. Mitchel summoned to command Port Royal, S. Carolina.... 566

" Fremont advancing up the valley, occupies Strasburg.

" June 4. Fort Pillow and Fort Randolph evacuated by the rebels..... 565

Surrender of Memphis.

" June 6. Surrender of Memphis to Commodore Davis after a desperate fight on the river between the rebels and Union gun-boats, the rebel fleet being nearly annihilated, while not a man was killed on the Union fleet.

" The Union gun-boat *Mound City* blown up by a rebel ball, which passed through her steam drum, at St. Charles, and nearly all on board perished.

" June 8. Attack on Springfield, Mo., by the rebel Gen. Marmaduke, with 4,000 men, who was gallantly repulsed by Gen. Browne, of the Missouri militia, with a little band of 1,200 men... 583

" June 8. *Battle of Crosskeys, Va. Union forces under Fremont,* rebels led by Ewell. Desperate fighting, and retreat of the rebels during the night.... 569

" June 9. Shields, with 3,000 men, repulsed at Fort Republic by Jackson, with a force of 8,000..... 570

" June 10. Gen. Forey, with the French troops, entered Mexico, and published a manifesto to the people and silenced the Press.

" June 14. Union troops repulsed, with much loss, on James' Island, near Charleston.

" June 16. Gen. H. S. Wright advanced with 6,000 men and attacked Secessionville, commanded by Col. Lamar, but were repulsed with a loss of over 500..... 584

" June 17. Surrender of the powerful iron-clad *Atlanta* to Capt. John Rogers, of the *Weehawken, after 15 minutes' engagement.*

" June 19. Slavery abolished by act of Congress in all the Territories.

" June 23. The rebel General Dick Taylor captured Brashear City, the Unionists losing 1,000 prisoners, 10 heavy guns, and $2,000,000, and many thousand negroes, liberated by Banks, were forced back into slavery..... 579

" June 24. McClellan begins to "*change his base*" to James River.

Pope in Command.

" June 26. Gen. Pope placed in command over the army of Virginia, 50,000 strong.

" June 26. *Battle of Mechanicsville* between Fitz John Porter and Jackson. Heavy losses on both sides, the enemy retreating..... 570

" June 27. *Battle of Gaines Mills.* Gen. Porter engaged with 35,000 against Gen. Lee's forces of 60,000, under Gen. Jackson. McClellan holding at the same time 60,000 troops on the other side of Chickahominy, idly watching the rebels, who were stationed near with but 25,000 men. The Union forces were compelled to retreat from overwhelming odds, after a desperate and long-continued struggle. ... 570

" June 27. Hooker occupied Frederic City.

" June 27. *Meade placed in command of the Army of the Potomac.*

" June 28. *Hooker superseded by Meade.*

" June 28. Rebel General Early invaded York, Pa., and levied a large sum of money upon that place.

" June 29. Meade advanced to South Mountain.

" June 29. Longstreet and Hill march toward Gettysburg and order Ewell to meet them there.

" June 29. *Battles of Savage Station and Peach Orchard.*

" June 30. *Battles of White Oak Swamp and Charles City Cross-roads,* Jeff. Davis and Lee attending in person. Union forces led by McCall, Franklin, and Slocum, reinforced by Hooker late in the day.

" June 30. Battle upon the James River, with Commodore Porter's fleet and Heintzelman upon the field. McCall captured, and the Union forces retreat to Malvern Hill on James River... 571

" July 1. *President Lincoln calls for 600,000 volunteers.*

" July 1. Attack of the rebels on Malvern Hill; their repulse and the decided victory of the Union forces..... 571

" July 2. Evacuation of Malvern Hill—where the army was strongly posted—by order of Gen. McClellan.

The Union losses during the seven days' battles amounted to 15,249.

" July 5. Murfreesboro, Tenn., captured by the guerrilla chieftain, Forrest.

" July 7. Battle of Bayou de Cache, Arkansas. Gen. Curtis severely defeats Pike.

" July 7. Raid of Morgan on Cynthiana, Ky., and his repulse by Green Clay Smith.

" July 8. Surrender of Port Hudson by Gen. Gardner to Gen. Banks..... 578

" July 8. Gen. Lee withdrew his forces to Richmond.

Halleck General-in-Chief.

" July 11. Gen. Halleck appointed Commander-in-chief of the Union army at Washington. Gen. Grant succeeding him at Corinth..... 565

" July 13. Murfreesboro, Tenn., taken by rebels, capturing the garrison with Gen. Crittenden.

1862. July 14. Gen. Pope takes command of the Army of Virginia, and issued address.
" July 15. Battle of Fayetteville, Ark. Major Miller thoroughly beating Gens. Rains, Coffee, and others.
" July 22. Vicksburg canal completed and found useless. Siege postponed.

Martin Van Buren.

" July 24. Death of Martin Van Buren, the eighth President of the United States. Mr. Van Buren was born in the town of Kinderhook, on the Hudson River, in the State of New York, and was of Dutch parentage. He was a very precocious boy, beginning the study of law at the age of fourteen. He remained in the law-office seven years, when he was admitted to the Bar.

Mr. Van Buren early became an active politician, and sided with the Jeffersonian party, and was a consistent advocate of the principles which he avowed.

In 1812, when 30 years of age, he was chosen to the State Senate, and gave his support to Mr. Madison's Administration. In 1818 he was appointed Attorney-General.

Mr. Van Buren was a strenuous opposer of "Universal Suffrage," *and contended that suffrage should be protected by intelligence, virtue, and some property-interest* in the welfare of the State. In 1821 he was elected to the United States Senate, and also as a member of a convention to revise the Constitution of his native State, in which his course secured the approval of all parties. In 1827 he was re-elected to the Senate. In 1828 Mr. Van Buren was chosen Governor of the State of New York. In politics Mr. Van Buren was justly termed a "wire-puller," for his schemes were always conducted privately, and he often outwitted the clearest heads, and brought about results which were thought to be impossible by party leaders.

In the Presidential campaign which ran the names of Adams and Jackson as candidates, Mr. Van Buren was the chief agency through which Gen. Jackson was elected. President Jackson appreciating his services, tendered him the office of Secretary of State, which was accepted.

President Jackson was a stanch friend of Mr. Van Buren, and urged his nomination as his successor. He appointed him Minister to the Court of St. James, but the Senate refused to ratify the nomination. He was shortly after elected as Vice-President at the re-election of Jackson, and succeeded him in the Presidential chair, which he filled but one term. Mr. Van Buren, as a citizen, was respected and beloved for his many virtues. Great powers of self-control, blended with the most genial and happy of tempers, made him a favorite in the social circle and in private life. Martin Van Buren died, at the age of eighty years, in his elegant home at Lindenwald, on the Hudson.

" Aug. Maj. Foster, with a force of 800 men, at Lone Jack, was defeated by Colonels Hughes and Coffer with a force of nearly 2,500 foot soldiers and cavalry, and Gen. Blunt in turn drove Coffer across the Arkansas line.
" Aug. 2. Gen. Pope's advance crosses the Rapidan and occupies Orange Court-house 571
" Aug. 3. Gen. Halleck orders Gen. McClellan *to retire from the Peninsula with all his forces* 571
" Rebel Gen. Jeff. Thompson defeated with great loss near Memphis.
" Aug 4. Draft of 300,000 men ordered, unless volunteering should prevent.
" Aug. 5. Unsuccessful attack on Baton Rouge by the Confederates under Maj.-Gen. John C. Breckenridge, with a loss of 400 men and one of their Generals (Clarke) 567
" Aug. 6. Rebel ram *Arkansas* destroyed near Vicksburg by Com. Porter.
" Aug. 6. At Kirkville, Mo., Col. John McNeil, with a force of 1,000 cavalry and 6 guns, attacked a band of Missouri partisans, numbering twice his own, under Col. Porter, and after four hours' severe fighting, defeated them, killing 180, wounding 500, and taking a large quantity of arms 562
" Aug. 8. Battle in New Mexico. Gen. Canby routing rebels under Gen. Sibley, who was killed by his own men.
" Aug. 9. Battle of Cedar Mountain. Banks defeated by Jackson. Rebel Gen. Winder killed and Union Gen. Prince taken prisoner.
" Aug. 11. Gen. Buell surrendered the garrison at Independence, consisting of 312 men, to a rebel band of 800 under Col. Hughes 563
" Aug. 16. Cavalry raid of Col. J. J. Phillips into Mississippi as far as Granada, destroying fifty locomotives and five hundred cars.
" Aug. 24. Gen. Bragg's army invades Middle Tennessee and Kentucky, and retreat of Union Gen. Geo. W. Morgan to the Ohio River.
" Aug. 26. Skirmish at Lewisburg between Union Gen. W. W. Averill and Col. Geo. S. Patton 581
" Aug. 28. Union victory at Centreville under command of Pope, aided by Kearney and Sigel, and reinforced by Hooker and Reno late in the day. Longstreet commanding the rebel forces 572
" Aug. 29–30. Pope defeated near Bull Run and Centreville 572
" Aug. 29. Defeat of the Union force under Gen. Nelson at Richmond, Ky., by Gen. Kirby Smith.

Surrender of Memphis.

" Surrender of Memphis to Com. Foote, giving the Union army the control of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

Race between Bragg and Buell.

" Gen. Bragg's raid into Kentucky, and race of 300 miles between Bragg and Gen. Buell, with their respective armies, to gain Louisville. Bragg being detained by a burning bridge, Buell reached Louisville in advance of him.
" Buell attacks Bragg, and a desperate battle was fought at Perryville. Bragg retreats by night, taking an immense quantity of plunder.
" Sept. The Union forces suffer several defeats and quite severe losses from ill-advised expeditions in Southern Louisiana 579
" Sept. 1. Battle of Chantilly, Va. Union army victorious, with the loss of Gen. Phil. Kearney and the brave Gen. Isaac J. Stevens 572
" Sept. 2. Gen. Pope sent to the Northwest to conduct a campaign against the Sioux Indians 573

Beau Hickman.

" Sept. 2. Death of Robt. S. Hickman (known in Washington for many years as "Beau Hickman"). He was the most successful "dead beat" that ever humbugged the Capital, and was noted for the elegance of his dress and manners. He lived an aimless and useless life, and died in the most abject poverty.
" Sept. 2. Attack on the rebels under Col. Poindexter at Chariton River by Col. Guitar, who drove them north, where they were met by Gen. Loan and again attacked by Gen. Guitar, who utterly annihilated the command.
" Sept. 3. Gen. McClellan takes command of Pope's division.
" Sept. 4. Lee's army cross the Potomac at Poolesville, Md.
" General Porter was, in like manner, driven back upon Gen. McNeil by Gen. Loan, and compelled to disperse his command to save it from destruction. These skirmishes drove the enemy entirely south of the Missouri River, where they remained during the war 562
" Sept. 10. Death of Lopez, Dictator of Uruguay. Succeeded by his son, known as Marshal Lopez.
" Sept. 11. Battle of South Mountain, conducted by McClellan, Gen. Hill aiding the rebel forces. Union arms victorious. Maj.-Gen. Jesse L. Reno killed 573
" Sept. 15. Surrender of Harper's Ferry to the rebels by Gen. Miles 573

Battle of Antietam.

" Sept. 16–17. Battle of Antietam, between Gen. McClellan and Gen. Lee. Nearly 100,000 men engaged on each side. Battle raged for fourteen hours, extending four miles along the line. Gen. McClellan was aided by Burnside, Hooker, Mansfield, Sumner, and Franklin; Gen. Lee by Hood, Hill, Walker, and McLaw. The Union arms were victorious. Lee retreated across the Potomac, leaving behind 40 of their colors and 25,000 men either dead or taken prisoners.
" Sept. 19. Gen. Griffin crossed the river by night and carried eight rebel batteries on Virginia Bluffs.
" Sept. 19. Battle at Iuka. Rosecranz wins, against superior forces under Gen. Price, who retreats in the night with the loss of 1,438 men 574
" Sept. 20. Gen. Porter was ambushed by Gen. Hill and driven back to the river with great slaughter.
" Sept. 22. Re-occupation of Harper's Ferry by Union forces under Gen. Sumner.

Emancipation Proclamation Issued.

" Sept. 22. President Lincoln issues a proclamation abolishing slavery in all

1862. the States that should be in the rebellion on the 1st of January, 1863.

" Gen. Schofield, in command of Missouri, was superseded by Gen. Curtis. Gen. Schofield, with 10,000 men, drove the Confederates from Southwestern Missouri 563

" Sept. 24. Proclamation of suspension of *writ of habeas corpus in military cases.*

" Oct. The Mexicans prepare to resume hostilities. Gen. Bazaine appointed Commander-in-chief of the French forces—Gen. Forey having repaired to Mexico.

" Oct. The French forces in Mexico are reinforced by an army of 35,000 under Gen. Forey, who marched upon Puebla, and were repulsed by heavy loss by Juarez.

" Oct. 3–4. *Battle at Corinth.* Desperate fighting between Rosecranz and Price. A "Bunker Hill" encounter—the rebels throwing away their arms, and fleeing in wild disorder. The Union forces engaged numbered 15,700, and the Confederates 38,000..... 575

" Oct. 8–9. Battle at Perryville, Ky., between McCook's division of Buell's army and Gen. Bragg. Surprise and desperate charge by the enemy, then their defeat and precipitate retreat, through a timely and rapid charge by Phil. Sheridan..... 574

" Oct. 10–12. Stuart's rebel cavalry raid into Pennsylvania; they seize and rob Chambersburg.

" Oct. Buell superseded by Maj.-Gen. Rosecranz..... 574

" Oct. 22. Gen. Blunt routs the rebels at Maysville, Ark.

" Gen. McClellan, after repeated orders, advances into Virginia.

" Nov. 8. Gen. Burnside assumed command of the army of the Potomac, and began a rapid march toward Fredericksburg. Gen. McClellan relieved.

Burnside's Expedition.

" Gen. Burnside, with 11,000 troops, and flag-officer Goldsborough in command of the fleet, conduct an expedition against Roanoke. They destroy the rebel fleet and capture the forts, and gain command of the whole coast of North Carolina.

" Nov. 28. Gen. Blunt defeats the rebel Gen. Marmaduke at Cave Hill, Ark., with heavy loss.

" Dec. Battle at Prairie Grove between Gen. Blunt, aided by Gen. Heron, and Confederate Gen. Hindman, resulting in victory to the Union arms; Gen. Stein, aide to General Hindman, was killed..... 563

Battle of Fredericksburg.

" Dec. 13. Battle of Fredericksburg; 100,000 men engaged on the Union side, and 80,000 on the rebel. The Union army led by Burnside, Confederates by Gen. Lee. The rebels were thoroughly posted on the terraced heights above the city, and well supported, and the fighting on both sides was valiant and desperate. The Union army nearly destroyed the city, but failed to gain any advantage, and, at the earnest solicitation of his officers, Burnside withdrew from action, and at the close of the 15th removed

1862. his forces across the river. The Union loss during this bloody day summed up 13,771, including killed, wounded, and missing. The rebel loss 5,000.

Banks Supersedes Butler

" Dec. 14. Gen. N. P. Banks superseded Gen. Butler at New Orleans; Butler having gained 4,000 soldiers, including three regiments and two batteries of negroes. He collected $1,088,000 by taxation and confiscation, after feeding the poor of the city to the extent of $525,000, which sum he turned over to the U. S. Treasury. *His rigorous administration of law and justice caused a reward of* $10,000 *to be offered for his body dead or alive*, by a leading rebel of Charleston, S. C..... 567

" *First issue of Greenbacks.*

" Dec. 20. Col. Murphy surrendered Holly Springs, with 2,000 men, including a large hospital filled with sick and wounded, and $4,000,000 worth of property to Gen. Van Dorn, under command of Sherman.

" Dec. 23. *Jeff. Davis issues a proclamation outlawing Gen. Butler.*

" Dec. 26. Com. Porter's gun-boats opened fire upon Vicksburg.

" Dec. 27–28. Sherman attacked Vicksburg by land, and carried two lines of rifle-pits, but finding the city impregnable, he retired with a loss of 1,734 men.

" Dec. *Sherman superseded by McClernand.*

Battle of Murfreesboro.

" Dec. 21 to Jan. 3. Rosecranz defeats Bragg after successive and exhausting combats against superior numbers. The Union forces amounted to about 40,000, and the Confederate 60,000. Union loss 1,533 killed, 7,243 wounded, 2,800 missing. The killed and wounded of the enemy amounted to 14,560.

" Dec. 31. *Monitor* founders at sea off Cape Hatteras.

Emancipation Proclaimed.

1863. Jan. 1. Great Emancipation Proclamation announced to be in force. It was long contemplated, but as a "war measure" was delayed until a propitious moment, when it was announced, and enthusiastically received at the North. By this act more than 3,000,000 slaves were made free.

" Jan. 1. Gen. Magruder attacked the Massachusetts troops at Galveston, Texas, retaking the place. In co-operation with Magruder, three rebel rams attacked the Union fleet, blockading the bay, and capturing the *Harriet Lane*, and forced the commander of the *Westfield*, Renshaw, to blow her up, in which act he lost his life..... 578

Lyman Beecher.

" Jan. 10. Lyman Beecher, D.D., died in Brooklyn, N. Y., at the age of 87 years. He was an American clergyman, and author of great eminence, and father of Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Mr. Beecher enjoyed a large popularity as an eloquent and able

1863. minister of the Gospel, and an unblemished reputation. In 1832 he was called to the presidency of the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, which post he maintained until his death.

" Jan. 11. Gen. Banks attacks the enemy at Carney's Bridge, defeating them and destroying the gun-boat *Cotton*... 578

" Jan. 11. Arkansas Post surrendered to Gen. McClernand.

" Jan. 12. The gun-boat *Hatteras* sunk by the rebel privateer *Alabama* at Galveston..... 578

" Jan. 21. Two rebel gun-boats captured at the mouth of the Sabine..... 578

" Jan. 27. Bombardment of Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee, by the *Monitor*. No results.

" Jan. 28. Gen. Hooker succeeded Burnside over the Army of the Potomac.

" Feb. Soldiers' Home established in Louisville by the Kentucky Branch Commission.

" Feb. 25. Act to provide a national currency becomes a law.

" Feb. 28. Rebel steamer *Nashville* destroyed by the *Montauk* on the Ogeechee River.

" March. Soldiers' Home established in Cairo by the Chicago Branch Commission.

" March. Col. A. D. Streight was captured by Gen. Forrest, after a running fight of nearly 100 miles. He was sent to Libby Prison with his men, numbering 1,365.

" March 8. Twenty-three rebel steamers captured up the Yazoo River.

" March 9. Gen. Custer succeeded by Gen. Schofield in command of the Department of Missouri..... 584

" March 14. Severe bombardment of Port Hudson, and attempt by fleet to pass rebel batteries.

" March 20. Col. A. S. Hall defeated Gen. Morgan, at Milton, against forces vastly superior to his own..... 576

" March 20. Small-pox, in a very malignant form, broke out in the French camp at Vera Cruz, and reinforcements were called for.

" March 20. The French attack Puebla, and begin the bombardment of the place.

" March 25. Rebel fort destroyed opposite the Union center, by sprnging a mine, and after a bloody encounter the Union forces took possession..... 518

" March 30. At Somerset, Ky., Gen. Gilmore, with a force of 1,200, routed the rebel Gen. Pegram, with two thousand five hundred men 583

" April 1. Farragut runs batteries at Grand Gulf and ravages Red River country.

" April. The French occupy one-half of the city of Puebla.

" April 7. Unsuccessful attempt by Com. Dupont to take Fort Sumter, with serious slaughter to his fleet.

" April 10. Van Dorn repulsed at Franklin by Gordon Granger..... 576

" April 16. *Com. Porter successfully ran the batteries at Vicksburg* with his fleet of gun-boats, losing but one boat, the *Tigress*, and a part of the barges... 577

" April 27. Chancellorsville campaign begins.

" April 29. Com. Porter attacked the rebel batteries of Grand Gulf, but Gen. Grant deciding to discontinue the as-

1863. sault, Porter ran their batteries without injury to his fleet..... 577

" May 1. Attack on Fort Gibson by McClernand, which, with Grand Gulf, were soon evacuated by the rebels..... 577

Battle of Chancellorsville.

" May 2–5. Battle of Chancellorsville under Hooker and Lee. Union forces engaged, 70,000; rebel forces, 50,000. Results undecided, but losses were very heavy on both sides. The rebel Gen. Stonewall Jackson mortally wounded, and Gen. Hooker stunned and insensible for a time, from a cannon-ball striking a pillar against which he was leaning.

" May 2. Col. Grierson's force reaches Baton Rouge safe after fifteen days' ride through Mississippi.

Valandigham's Arrest.

" May 4. Arrest of Valandigham for publicly expressing sympathy with the South, and for treasonable language against the military and civil administration.

" May 10. *Death of Stonewall Jackson.*

" May 15. *Battle of Edwards Station.* Enemy defeated by Grant, and pursued to Black River..... 577

" May 15. Battle of Jackson, Miss. Logan and Crocker defeating the rebels and taking their place.

" May 16. Battle of Baker's Creek. Grant completely routes Pemberton, who loses 4,000 men and 29 guns.

" May 17. *Battle of Black River Bridge.* Defeat and retreat of Pemberton to Vicksburg. Grant captures 18 guns and 1,500 prisoners.

Siege of Vicksburg Began.

" May 18. Gen. Grant closes in on Vicksburg and begins the siege..... 577

" May 19. Haines' Bluff evacuated by the enemy..... 578

" May 25. Admiral Porter had destroyed $10,000,000 worth of property up the Yazoo.

" June. A cavalry force under Col. Saunders entered East Tennessee, and captured 500 prisoners, burning several important bridges, and destroying a large quantity of rebel stores.... 583

" June. Gen. Rosecranz captured Shelbyville and Tullahoma *en route* for Chattanooga..... 583

Surrender of Fort Hindman.

" June 11. Fort Hindman, or Arkansas Post, surrendered to Gen. McClernand with 17 cannon, 3,000 stand of arms, seven stand of colors, 5,000 prisoners, and large quantities of munitions. Gen. McClernand destroyed the works, and returned to Miliken's Bend..... 577

Rebel Scare.

" The rebels captured the Union rams *Queen of the West* and *Indianola*, but blew up the latter on the approach of a counterfeit ram—made out of a flat-boat, with pork-barrels for smoke-stacks, and mud-furnaces—sent down the river by Com. Porter..... 577

" Rebels under Lee moving North—Hooker starts to meet them.

1863. *Henry Ward Beecher visits England*, and successfully meets the opposition to our Government amid vast and tumultuous mobs, silencing them, and winning applause instead of hisses.

" June 14. Attack on the Union forces under Gen. Milroy at Winchester by the rebel Gens. Ewell and Longstreet, with a large force. Milroy having but a few regiments, maintained his ground until the afternoon of the 15th, when he retreated toward Martinsburg. Four miles out, he was again attacked by another division, and his force routed and dispersed. Hundreds of his fugitive soldiers were taken prisoners, and the loss of artillery and wagons was extensive.

" June 15. The whole rebel army enters Pennsylvania, and march North to within 13 miles of Harrisburg. Great excitement prevails in the Northern States. President Lincoln calls on the nearest States for militia, and was promptly responded to.

" June 17. Rebel ram *Atlanta* captured by the *Weehawken in 15 minutes.*

" June 26. *Andrew Hull Foote died* in New York. He was an American Rear-Admiral, who served in the civil war with great distinction.

" June 28. Gen. Meade supersedes Hooker. Lee's forces *within four miles of Harrisburg.*

" July 1. Judge Cooley, of the New Orleans Bar, *was shot in a duel* by Col. R. B. Rhett, a political opponent.

Morgan's Raid.

" July 3. Morgan began his raid through the border States, capturing prisoners and destroying property, and committing the meanest acts of depredation and hostility; robbing the mail, and plundering private citizens. He was captured, with over 2,000 guerrillas, near New Lisbon, O., by Col. Shackleford, and, with several of his officers, confined in the Penitentiary at Columbus, from which he escaped in November, and reached Richmond, Va., and again entered the rebel service, and was killed the following year..... 581

Battle of Gettysburg.

" July 1–4. The battle of Gettysburg, between Gens. Meade and Lee, was one of the most bloody and hard-fought battles of the war. The armies were each about 80,000 strong. They fought desperately for three days, but finally victory crowned the Union arms. Total Union loss was 23,186. Meade captured 41 flags and 13,621 prisoners. Lee made no report, but his supposed loss was 18,000 killed and wounded, and 10,000 unwounded prisoners.. 580

Surrender of Vicksburg.

" July 4. Surrender of Vicksburg. The Gibraltar of the Mississippi, with 31,000 men, surrendered to Gen. Grant. The campaign had been carried on with great vigor for several months. The inhabitants had been obliged to burrow in caves and holes dug out of the ground to protect themselves from the fiery storm of shot and shell which continually poured upon them. Destitute of ammunition and necessary provisions, the rebels at last capitulated. To Gen. McPherson was granted the honor of formally receiving the surrender.

" July 8. Surrender of Port Hudson, with 7,000 men, to Gen. Banks, and the Mississippi is thus opened.

Maximilian declared Emperor of Mexico.

" July 10. The Provisional French Government, set up in Mexico by the name of Assembly of Notables, numbering 215 persons, assembled and declared for an imperial form of Government, and Archduke Maximilian of Austria was proclaimed Emperor.

" July 10. Gen. Gilmore begins his attack on Forts Wagner and Gregg, Charleston.

" July 13. Lee recrosses the Potomac into Virginia.

Riot in New York.

" July 13–15. Great anti-draft riot in New York. The mob destroyed the Draft-office, burned the buildings and the whole block, preventing the fire department from doing their duty. Marching through the city, they took possession of, and destroyed every building which the Government officers occupied, gaining entire control of the city, and holding it for four days. Negroes were indiscriminately beaten and murdered in the most inhuman manner. $2,500,000 damages were claimed, and the number of lives lost was variously estimated from 500 to 1,000. The mob was finally quelled, partly by the militia, partly by the efforts of Gov. Seymour, and partly by Archbishop Hughes, but chiefly by the suppression of the draft and the bounty which was offered in its stead.

" July 15. *Riot in Boston*, which was soon suppressed, and one rioter killed and several wounded.

" Aug. 16. Rosecranz begins his march upon Chattanooga.

Quantrell's Raid in Kansas.

" Aug. 21. Quantrell's raid upon Lawrence, Kan. A band of 300 rebel guerrillas, headed by Quantrell, a desperado, entered the quiet town of Lawrence early in the morning, and surprised the sleeping inhabitants, burning 185 buildings, and murdering in cold blood 140 men (many of them in their beds), robbing stores, banks, and private dwellings promiscuously. They then fled like so many wild savages of the forest from the avenging hand of Justice. The inhabitants pursued and killed 100 of their number.

" Aug. 23. Shells thrown by the Union fleet into Charleston, nearly six miles. Beauregard protests.

" Sept. 3. Gen. Burnside occupies Knoxville, Tenn. The loyal people of East Tennessee receive him with expressions of intense joy at their deliverance.

" Sept. 6. The rebels evacuate Forts Wagner and Gregg and Gilmore occupies them.

" Sept. 9. Surrender of Cumberland Gap to Burnside, with 2,000 men..... 583

General McCook.

1863. Sept. 11. Death of Gen. Edward Stanton McCook. He was Territorial Secretary, at one time, and Acting Governor of Dakota. He was assassinated at Yankton, by W. P. Wintermute, a banker of Yankton, who aspired to his position. Gen. McCook was the fifth son of Gen. Daniel McCook, of New Lisbon, Ohio, who, with his eight sons, took active part in the late war; the father and three sons sealing their patriotism with their blood.

Battle of Chickamauga.

" Sept. 19–20. Battle of Chicamauga fought by Rosecranz and Gen. Bragg. Union army defeated the second day, and withdrew to Chattanooga, except Gen. Thomas, who stood his ground, with a few divisions, for several hours, against the whole rebel army of 70,000 men, till night closed the bloody scene. The total Union loss was 16,351, and Gen. Bragg reported a loss of 18,000..... 582

William Wheelwright.

" Sept. 26. William Wheelwright, a philanthropist, died in London, England, at seventy-eight years of age. He was a citizen of Newburyport, Mass., long engaged in engineering in South America. *He built the first railway, first gas-works, first water-works, and the first iron pier, ever established in South America.* He was the founder of the Pacific Mail Co., and gave to benevolent purposes, during his life, more than $600,000, and at his death, left nearly $1,000,000 to found a scientific school in Newburyport, Mass.

Sherman's March.

" Oct. Gen. Sherman, with his whole army, moved from Vicksburg south into Alabama, repairing the railroad and subsisting on the invaded country..... 583

Wheeler's Raid.

" Oct. 2. A large cavalry force, under rebel Gen. Wheeler, crossed the Tennessee and burned a train of eight hundred wagons—destined for Thomas at Chattanooga—at Anderson's Cross Roads, a large quantity of supplies at McMinnville and Warren. He was repulsed at Murfreesboro and Farmington, and recrossed the Tennessee, having destroyed a million dollars worth of Government property, but with a loss of 2,000 men..... 583

" Oct. 17. *President Lincoln calls for* 300,000 *more men.*

" Oct. 18. *Gen. Grant assumed command of the Department of the Ohio.* Cumberland and Tennessee armies soon after arrived in Chattanooga..... 583

" Oct. 20. Gen. Thomas succeeds Rosecranz in his command.

" Oct. 27. Gen. Hooker encamped in Lookout Valley.

" Oct. 28. Hooker's forces take Lookout Mountain..... 583

" First Sanitary Fair, for the relief of soldiers, held in Chicago, the net proceeds of which were $72,000.

" *First Fenian Congress* held in the United States.

" Nov. 6. Gen. Averill routed a rebel force, under Gen. Echols, at Droop Mountain..... 581

" Nov. 6. Col. Shackleford attacked at Rogersville by Gen. W. E. Jones, and 750 men captured.

" Nov. 7. Gen. Meade crosses the Rappahannock southward. Lee retiring.

" Col. Woolford, with 2,000 men, attacked by 7,000 of Longstreet's men, and after fighting several hours, Woolford cut his way out, leaving his battery and 32 wagons, but saving the most of his command..... 583

" Nov. 17. Longstreet begins the siege of Knoxville, occupied by Burnside.

Battle of Chattanooga.

" Nov. 24. Battle of Chattanooga, extending from Lookout Mountain, on the left, to Missionary Ridge, on the right. Hooker sweeps up the sides of Lookout Mountain and reaches the summit under a thick fog, driving the enemy down the precipitous eastern sides of the mountain, while Sherman attacks the enemy's right at Missionary Ridge, and Gen. Thomas, with 25,000, attacked the center before Chattanooga. The battle raged along the whole line, and at midnight the enemy was in full retreat, leaving their strong positions with 6,000 soldiers, 40 pieces of artillery, and 7,000 stand of small arms in the hands of the Unionists. The Union losses amounted to 5,616; the rebel loss not reported..... 583

" Nov. 28. Morgan, and six of his officers, dig out of Ohio State Prison.

" Nov. 28. Longstreet repulsed, with a loss of 800..... 583

" Nov. 29. Rebels repulsed, with great slaughter, in their attack on Knoxville.

Banks' Expedition to Texas.

" Gen. Banks' expedition into Texas. He captures the rebel forts Esperanza, Brazos Island, Point Cabel, and Brownsville, and driving out the enemy west of the Colorado. By order of the Government, Gen. Banks reluctantly abandoned Texas and returned to New Orleans..... 579

" *Erection of the Great Organ* in the Boston Music Hall, the largest and most perfect instrument of its kind in America. Its weight is 70 tons, and has 5,474 pipes. Its cost was $60,000.

" Dec. Rebel Gen. Forrest raided through W. Tennessee.

" Dec. 1. Meade crosses the Rapidan. Grant concentrates his army at Chattanooga.

" Dec. 5. Longstreet raised the siege of Knoxville and moved east..... 583

" Dec. 6. Monitor *Weehawken* sinks at her anchorage at Charleston, and 31 men lost.

" Sanitary Fair held in Cincinnati. Net proceeds were $235,000.

" Dec. 8. The President issues his amnesty proclamation.

" Dec. 16. Gen. Averill's raid destroys vast rebel supplies at Salem in S. W. Virginia.

1864. Jan. Second voyage of Hall to the polar seas.

" Jan. 1. Emancipation anniversary celebrated by many colored people.

" Advance of the Union forces toward Richmond, and attack of the enemy's works at Hatcher's Run, but failing in success, retired to their position before Petersburg..... 589

" Jan. 25. Congress gives a vote of thanks to Cornelius Vanderbilt for his gift of the steamer *Vanderbilt* to the United States, worth $800,000.

" Jan. 29. Gen. Palmer occupies Tunnell Hill, Ga.; the rebels evacuating in the night.

" Jan. *Gen. Rosecranz assumed command of the Department of Missouri*..... 587

" Feb. 1. *Draft of* 500,000 *men ordered.*

" Feb. 7. Gilmore's advance lands at Jacksonville, Fla., under Gen. Seymour.

" Rash and unsuccessful expedition of Gen. Seymour into Florida, and battle at Lake City, where he lost half his force and guns. His retreat to Jacksonville, leaving the dead in the enemy's hands..... 586

" Feb. 8. Colt's armory, Hartford, Ct., destroyed by fire. Loss, $1,000,000.

" Feb. 17. *Housatonic* sunk at Charleston by rebel torpedo-boat *Davis*, which also sank.

" Feb. Gen. Sherman advanced to Meridian, destroying a great amount of railroad property, and captured 400 prisoners, 1,000 white and 5,000 negro refugees..... 591

" Feb. 20. Gen. Seymour, with Gilmore's troops, severely defeated at Olustee, Fla.

" Feb. 21–23. Gen. Smith has three days' running fight with Forrest and others, in Mississippi, and at last defeats them.

" 23. Gen. Palmer drives the rebels at Tunnell Hill, Ga.

Kilpatrick's Raid.

" Feb. 28. Kilpatrick's raid into Virginia. He approaches within two miles of Richmond. Gen. Dahlgren killed in the expedition.

Gen. Grant in Command.

" Mar. 2. Gen. Grant made Lieutenant-General of the Union armies, and proceeded to re-organize the forces.

" Mar. 4. A free State Government for Louisiana was inaugurated, with Gov. Hahn at its head, before an immense and enthusiastic multitude in Lafayette Square, New Orleans..... 586

Red River Expedition.

" Mar. Ad. Porter's expedition sailed up the Red River to Alexandria, capturing Fort De Russa, with ten guns, and 283 prisoners on the way..... 586

Thomas Starr King.

" Mar. 4. Thomas Starr King, an eminent Unitarian clergyman, author and orator, died in San Francisco. Mr. King, like the great majority of eminent Americans, was born poor, and was dependent upon his own exertions from the age of twelve to twenty for his own support and education, and the support of his widowed mother and

1864. family. At the age of 22 he was established in his father's pulpit and over his congregation, which he filled with great acceptance. He was called to Boston in 1848, and in 1860 to San Francisco. He had in the meantime acquired a very high reputation, as an eloquent and effective lecturer, as well as preacher, and had addressed large audiences all over the United States. Mr. King was eminently popular in San Francisco, and all over the Pacific coast, and died regretted and deeply mourned by hosts of friends and admirers all over the Northern and Western States.

" Mar. 15. *The President calls for* 200,000 *more men to be drafted April* 15th.

" Mar. 16. Arkansas votes to become a free State.

" Mar. 16. Alexandria surrendered to Porter without a struggle..... 586

" Mar. 17. *Gen. Grant assumes entire command* of all the armies of the United States.

" Mar. 28. Battle of Crane River, La. Gen. Smith's forces defeat the rebel Gen. Taylor.

" Mar. 31. Juaez, with his Cabinet, Government officials, and a band of soldiers, took possession of Monterey, and established the national capitol.

" April 4. Gen. Steele attacked by Kirby Smith, at Jenkins' Ferry, Ark., with superior forces under Price, but after a furious battle, Price was defeated, with a loss of 2,300 men and three Generals..... 587

" April 4–23. New York Sanitary Commission Fair, receipts over $1,000,000.

" April 8. Defeat of Gen. Banks at Sabine Cross Roads by Kirby Smith.

" April 9. Smith repulsed by Banks at Pleasant Hill..... 586

" April 12. FORT PILLOW MASSACRE under orders of the notorious guerrilla, Forrest, which was *a relentless and wholesale murder* of colored men, women, and children, by the most cruel and savage means, many being fastened in the tents and burned alive, and the wounded and sick were made to stand up and be shot down like cattle; the only plea being that the loyal white Southerners were "home-made Yankees," and the colored troops "niggers." This dastardly and savage slaughter will remain a black stain upon the history of Southern warfare as long as the story of the "Great Rebellion" is remembered.

" April 15. *Maximilian accepts the crown of Mexico from the French deputation.*

" April 19. Porter's fleet aground in Red River by low water..... 586

" April 20. Plymouth, N. C., surrendered to the rebels by Gen. Wessels, with 1,600 prisoners, 25 guns, and valuable stores..... 586

" April 24. Banks defeats the rebels under Gen. Bee at Crane River..... 586

" April 28. Washington, N. C., evacuated by Union troops; the ram *Albemarle* controls the Sound.

Sherman's Grand March.

" May. Sherman began his march to the sea through the heart of the South. This was the closing drama of the campaign. He swept everything before him. Atlanta taken and burned;

1864. Fort McAllister captured; Savannah abandoned by the Confederates and taken; Columbia, S. C., burned, and Raleigh, N. C., taken; the Confederate army under Johnston surrendering at the latter place. Charleston also was evacuated after a siege of 542 days.

Sherman before Atlanta.

" May. Gen. Sherman, with 100,000 men, comprising the army of the Cumberland under Gen. Thomas, the army of Tennessee under Gen. McPherson, and the army of the Ohio under Gen. Schofield, together with 554 pieces of artillery, began the campaign against Atlanta. The rebel army opposing him under Gen. J. Johnston, numbered 60,000, was divided into three corps, led by Generals Hardie, Hood, and Polk.

" May 2. Col. Bailey builds dams across Red River, and by raising the water, saves Porter's entire fleet..... 586

" May 4. Gen. Butler, in co-operation with Grant, occupied City Point up the James River, and began intrenchments, while Col. West, with a cavalry force, moved up the north bank and occupied Bermuda Hundred.

" May 4. Grant's army crosses the Rapidan..... 587

" May 5. Sea-fight in Albemarle Sound with the ram *Albemarle*, which is driven off.

Battle of the Wilderness.

" May 5. The battle of the Wilderness began. This was the longest and most terrible engagement of the war, lasting from the 5th to the 21st, with great loss to both armies. The weather was intensely hot, the air still and stifling. The thickets caught fire, and amid the fearful carnage and din of war, the flames added fresh horror to the terrible scene. The smoke and heat blinded and nearly suffocated the soldiers, who fought and fell amid the trampling legions which swept over them in their mad fury, leaving them to the mercy of the flames.

General Meade reported the Union loss at 39,791. The rebel loss was not ascertained.

" May 7. Sherman advances from Chattanooga on his Atlantic campaign.

" May 9. Gen. McPherson forces his way through Snake Creek Gap.

" May 10. Gen. Averill beaten at Wytherville by a heavy force under John Morgan..... 590

" May. Gen. Crook repulsed by Gen. McCausland near Dublin Station.. 590

" May 10. Johnson evacuated Dalton, and retreated to Resaca..... 591

" May 11. Sheridan's raid to the enemy's rear, destroying ten miles of the Virginia Central Railroad and a large quantity of supplies, and liberating 400 prisoners. Reaching the first line of works around Richmond, he encountered the enemy and killed their General, Stuart.

" May 15. Engagement between Gen. Sigel and Gen. Breckenridge, who commanded a large force. Sigel was defeated and driven to Cedar Creek, losing 700 men, 6 guns, and a part of his train..... 589

1864. May 15. Battle of New Market, W. Va Sigel defeated.

" May 15. Banks' troops defeat the rebels at Aroyelle's Prairie, La.

" May 15. Johnston evacuates Resaca and retreats in the night to Oostenaula River, pursued by the Union army.

" May 16. Butler attacked Beauregard at Drury's Bluff and was driven into his intrenchments with a loss of 4,000 men.

" May 19. Howard's forged proclamation for 400,000 troops appeared.

Nathaniel Hawthorne.

" May 19. Death of Nathaniel Hawthorne, an author, at Plymouth, N. H. Mr. Hawthorne was the author of several widely-known romances, the most noted of which are "The Scarlet Letter," a weird and thrilling tale, and "The House with Seven Gables." Mr. Hawthorne was appointed United States Consul at Liverpool by President Pierce, who was his life-long friend.

" May 21. Grant advances toward Richmond to the North Anna.

" May 23-24. Grant crosses the North Anna. Lee still retiring.

" May 28. Sheridan had a cavalry engagement with Fitzhugh Lee and routed him, with a loss of 800 to the rebels.

" May 28. Attack of Johnston upon McPherson at Dallas. Johnston repulsed with a loss of 3,000..... 591

" May 29. *Maximilian arrives at Vera Cruz.*

" May 31. Cold Harbor seized by Sheridan..... 588

" June 1. Sheridan skirmishes around the left of Lee and routes a body of cavalry, under Wade Hampton, at Trevillian Station, taking several hundred prisoners.

" June 1. Johnston evacuates Allatoona Pass, and falls back to Kenesaw Mountain, and Sherman occupies it.

Battle at Cold Harbor.

" June 2–8. Grant's advance engage the enemy and hold their ground at a cost of 2,000 men.

" June 3. Grant makes a grand assault on the enemy, which was resisted with terrible force. The engagement lasted but twenty minutes.

" June 5. *Gen. Hunter, having succeeded Sigel,* had an encounter with Gen. W. E. Jones at Piedmont, completely routing him, and capturing 1,500 prisoners, 3 guns, and 3,000 small arms. Gen. Jones and a large number of his men were killed..... 590

" June 12. Grant's army crosses the Chickahominy, and take position on the south side of the James River. Grant hastens to Bermuda to aid Butler in the capture of Petersburg, which Butler had already attacked..... 589

Maximilian in Mexico.

" June 12. Maximilian enters the City of Mexico amid scenes of great pomp and military parade.

" June 12. Gen. Burbridge defeats Morgan at Cynthiana, recapturing many prisoners.

1864. June 12–15. Grant moves his army to the south side of James River.
" June 13. Fugitive slave law repealed.
" June 14. Engagement between Sherman and Johnson. Gen. Polk killed.
" June 14. *Sherman still advancing.*
" June 15. Battle of Pine Mountain. Sherman drives the rebels back to their works.
" June 15. Fifty Union officers, prisoners, placed under fire at Charleston by the rebels.

Grant at Petersburg.

" June 16. Grant makes a grand assault on Petersburg; Lee, with the most of his army, having arrived during the previous night. The day closed with heavy loss to the Union side, and no advantage gained..... 589

Siege of Petersburg.

" June 18. Grant again assaults the enemy before Petersburg, and is again repulsed with loss. He now intrenched his army, and besieged the city... 589
" June 18. Hunter attacks Lynchburg, but finding it heavily reinforced by the arrival of General Lee, he retreats, sharply pursued across the Alleghany to Meadow Bluff, in W. Va..... 590

"Kearsarge" Sinks the "Alabama."

" June 19. Naval fight between the rebel cruiser *Alabama*, Capt. Semmes, and the United States gun-boat *Kearsarge*, Capt. Winslow, off Cherbourg, France. After an hour's engagement the *Alabama* ran up the white flag. Capt. Semmes jumping overboard, was taken on board the British yacht *Deerhound*. The *Alabama* sank immediately. The *Kearsarge* picked up a part of her crew. She did not lose a man in the action, and but one was mortally wounded.
" June 22. Hood attacks Hooker at Kenesaw, and fails, with a loss of 800 men..... 592
" June 22. Emancipation amendment submitted to the States by Congress.
" June 22. Butler occupied Deep Bottom, ten miles from Richmond, and throws a pontoon bridge over the James at that point.
" June 24. Maryland Constitutional Convention adopts emancipation clause.
" June 25. Sheridan has a successful cavalry fight on the Peninsula.
" June 27. Thomas and McPherson repulsed at Kenesaw, by Johnston's forces, with heavy loss. Gens. Harker and McCook among the killed.... 591
" June 28. Wilson and Kautz attacked, and their troops dispersed at Double Ridge, on Nottoway River.

Chase Resigns.

" June 30. Salmon P. Chase resigned his post as Secretary of the Treasury, after a faithful and wonderfully successful discharge of the duties of the office. 593

Early's Raid.

" July 2. Early caused Sigel to retreat from Martinsburg to Maryland Heights, leaving heavy stores behind.
" July 3. Sherman occupies Marietta and Kenesaw Mt., having flanked Johnston, and compelled him to evacuate... 592
" July 5–13. Early's raid into Maryland.
" July 9. Johnston retires to Opelika, and is soon superseded by Hood, who assumes the offensive..... 592
" July 9. Attack of the rebels upon Gen. Wallace near Frederick, who was forced to retreat.
" July 10. Rousseau, with 2,700 men, moves into Alabama on a raid.
" Reb. Gen. Bradley T. Johnson approaches Baltimore, robbing a Philadelphia mail-train and the passengers..... 590
" July 12. *Early's entire army within six miles of Washington.* A skirmish ensues, and discovering the Union forces to be more than double his own, he retreats across the Potomac with a vast amount of plunder..... 590
" July 13–15. Gen. Smith defeats Forrest and others in five battles in Mississippi.
" July 15. Six steamers, worth $300,000, burned at St. Louis by incendiaries.
" July 16. Gold about this time at its highest in New York, viz., 284 per cent.
" July 17. Hood succeeds Johnston in command at Atlanta.
" July 17. Jaques and Gilmore in Richmond vainly suing for peace.
" July 18. Rousseau destroys an immense value in railroads and provisions in Alabama.
" July 18. *Greeley's negotiations with the rebels at Niagara come to naught.*
" July 19. Gen. Wright, following in pursuit of Early, was repulsed near Island Ford..... 590
" July 20. Averill defeats a division of Early's command, and captures four guns.

Hood's Defeat.

" July 20. Hood, with his entire army, assailed Sherman five miles from Atlanta, and was vigorously repulsed, with a loss of 5,000, including several Generals. Union loss 2,500..... 592
" July 22. First publication of statements concerning the "Order of American Knights."
" July 22. Sherman advanced to within two miles of Atlanta..... 592
" July 22. *Hood makes a grand attack upon Sherman* without success, losing 12,000 men, 18 stand of colors, and 5,000 small arms. Union loss 3,722, including General McPherson among the killed..... 592
" July 24. Early, with a large force, falls upon the troops of Crook and Averill, driving them into Maryland, with a loss of 1,200 men, including Gen. Mulligan..... 590
" July 28. Hood again attacks Sherman, and was six times repulsed with heavy loss, when he retreated..... 592
" July 30. McCausland crossed the Potomac and approached Chambersburg, and demanded a ransom of $500,000, which being refused, he set fire to the town and destroyed two-thirds of it.
" July 30. *Explosion of a mine under the rebel works of Petersburg*, resulting in the immediate loss of a garrison of 300 men, but which brought a worse disaster upon the Union forces which attempted crossing the crater; 4,400 were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

Farragut's Fight in Mobile Bay.

1864. Aug. 3. Commodore Farragut's splendid achievement in Mobile Bay. He silenced the forts at the entrance of the Bay, fought the whole Confederate fleet, and captured the monster ram *Tennessee*, with her attendants. Forts Morgan and Gaines soon after capitulated.
" Aug. 7. Averill totally defeats McCausland and other rebels at Moorefield, West Virginia.
" Aug. 7. *Gen. Sheridan takes command of the Middle Department*..... 590
" Aug. 8. Fort Gaines, at Mobile, surrendered to Farragut and Granger.
" Aug. 10. Canal at Dutch Gap, below Richmond, begun.
" Aug. 18. Battle at Reams' Station. Warren holds his position on the railroad.
" Aug. 23. Fort Morgan, at Mobile, surrendered to Farragut and Granger.
" Aug. 23. The 5th Illinois captured by Shelby near Little Rock, Ark..... 587
" Aug. 25. Second battle at Reams' Station—the rebels win.
" Aug. 31. McClellan nominated for President at Chicago..... 593

Evacuation of Atlanta.

" Aug. 31. Hood hastily evacuated Atlanta, blowing up magazines and stores, destroying seven locomotives and 81 cars, and a large amount of cotton..... 592
" Sept. 4. The guerrilla, Morgan, shot by Gilman's men at Greenville, East Tennessee.
" Sept. 5. Sherman's united forces occupy Atlanta, and he orders a removal of the citizens either North or South, as they should prefer.
" Sept. 16. Rebels drive 2,500 cattle safe off from behind Gen. Kautz's lines.

Early's Retreat.

" Sept. 19. Battle on the Opequan Creek, near Winchester, between Sheridan and Early, and precipitate retreat of Early through Winchester to Fisher's Hill, leaving behind his dead and wounded, and nearly 3,000 prisoners, with five pieces of artillery and nine battle flags. The Union loss was about 3,000, including Gen. David A. Russell, killed. The rebels lost two Generals..... 590
" Sept. 19. Lake Erie steamers, *Parsons* and *Island Queen*, seized by rebels.
" Sept. 22. *Sheridan pursued Early*, and again routed him at Fisher's Hill, taking 1,100 prisoners and 16 guns. Early continues his flight, with Sheridan at his heels, burning and devastating the whole valley in his passage, as far as Brown's Gap in the Blue Ridge.

Battle at Pilot Knob.

" Sept. 27. Price attacked Gen. Ewing at Pilot Knob with a force of 10,000. Ewing, having but 1,200 men, stoutly resisted him till night, when he blew up his works and retreated to Rolla. Price moved North, and was followed by A. J. Smith, with 6,000 men.. 587
" Sept. 29. Battle at Chapin's Farm, near James River; rebel works taken.
" Sept. 29. Butler captured Fort Harri-

1864. son, one of the outposts of Richmond, with fifteen guns.

" Oct. 5. *Death of G. B. Lamar*, celebrated as a banker and cotton speculator during the war, and was financial agent for the Confederate Government, procuring the printing of their notes and bonds in New York city. He was arrested by order of the Secretary of War, and confined in the Old Capitol prison at Washington, and after his release was tried for bribery, and sentenced to several years' imprisonment; but his sentence was remitted by President Johnson.

" Oct. 9. Battle of Round Top Mountain. Torbert chasing Rosser twenty-six miles.

" Oct. 9. Sheridan attacked by Rosser with a large body of cavalry, but he defeated him, and took 300 prisoners and 11 guns, causing him to flee rapidly for 26 miles..... 590

" Oct. 12. *Death of Roger Brooke Taney*, Chief-Justice of the United States. He was appointed to this high office by President Jackson, as successor to Chief-Justice Marshall in 1836, which office he held until his death.

" Oct. 18. Price reached Lexington, driving Gen. Blunt, with a force from Kansas, before him..... 578

Battle at Marias des Cygnes.

" Fight between Price and Pleasanton and the united forces of Curtis, on the Big Blue River, Ark. Price routed and fled southward, pursued by Pleasanton..... 587

" Sheridan visits Washington, leaving his army under command of Crook... 590

Battle of Cedar Creek.

" Oct. 19. Early being heavily reinforced, hearing of Sheridan's absence, made a forced and secret march, and reached the Union camps at Cedar Creek during the night. At break of day, under a dense fog, with a deafening yell, and amid the blaze and crash of 10,000 muskets, he captured the camps, and the panic-stricken army fled in confusion before a line of battle could be formed. The army pursued to the third position, occupied by Gen. Wright, who covered the retreat of the fugitive army, himself retreating while the enemy were plundering the deserted camps..... 590

" Oct. 19. Rebel refugees from Canada rob banks and citizens at St. Albans, Vt.

Sheridan's Ride.

" Oct. 19. Returning from Washington, Gen. Sheridan slept at Winchester, and was leisurely riding along, thirteen miles from the front, when he heard the sound of battle, and soon met the flying fugitives of his army. Putting spurs to his horse, he reached the front by ten A.M., and cheering the disheartened soldiers with assurances of success, and assuring them by his presence, the retreating and crestfallen army turned and were suddenly transformed into valiant soldiers, eager for victory. At three P.M. the order was given for the entire Union line to advance. In an instant

1864. it moved swiftly and solidly on the enemy's position, under a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry. Falling back, they were again roused to one grand overwhelming charge by their gallant commander, when the rebels gave way, and the late victorious and exulting rebel army were in turn now fleeing, a panic-stricken mob, before the charge of the brave and gallant Sheridan, who pursued them through Strasburg to Woodstock, fifteen miles beyond. The Union army slept that night, as it had fought all day, without food. They captured 1,500 prisoners and 23 guns, besides retaking the 24 lost in the morning. This notable victory closed the war in Shenandoah Valley..... 590

" Oct. 25. Price again routed by Pleasanton at *Marias des Cygnes, Ark.*, leaving 8 guns, 1,000 prisoners, two Generals, and other officers..... 587

Lieutenant Cushing's Feat.

" Oct. 27. *Rebel ram* Albemarle *destroyed* by a torpedo in the Roanoke, which Lieut. Cushing secretly affixed to her, *and swimming back under a heavy fire* he escaped to the Union vessels in the offing..... 586

" Oct. 31. Plymouth retaken by a fleet under Com. McComb..... 586

Union Supplies Burned.

" Burning of Union supplies and vessels to the amount of $1,500,000 at Johnsonville, Tenn. The store buildings took fire from the union vessels, which were burned to prevent their capture by the enemy..... 592

" Nov. 8. McClellan resigns his commission.

Lincoln's Re-election.

" Nov. 8. Abraham Lincoln was elected by an overwhelming majority to a second term in the President's Chair, with Andrew Johnson, of Tenn., as Vice-President, the soldiers voting nearly four to one in his favor—the Republican platform being "The Re-establishment of the Union without Slavery." The Democratic platform, with McClellan for its candidate, was either the separation of the Union or its re-establishment with slavery.. 593

" Nov. 11. Sherman sent his last message by the telegraph connecting with the North, severed the last wire, and moved from Atlanta, scattering the rebel forces before him, and destroying the railroads, and subsisting upon the invaded territory, and accumulating stores for the future supply of his army.

" Nov. 25. *A gang of rebel incendiaries fire several hotels* in New York, and Barnum's Museum, but fortunately without success.

" Nov. 30. *Battle of Franklin, Tenn.* Hood attacks Schofield, and after a fierce and savage fight with bayonets and clubbed muskets, the battle ceased at ten P.M., with victory on the side of the Unionists—the rebels losing 6,000 and Union loss 2,300..... 543

" Dec. 1. Hood prepares for siege before Nashville.

Slavery Abolished.

1864. Dec. 6. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed, abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery throughout the United States.

" Dec. 6. Salmon P. Chase appointed Chief-Justice in place of Roger B. Taney, deceased.

" Dec. 10. Savannah completely beleaguered, and Sherman communicates with the fleet..... 595

" Dec. 13. Capture of Fort McAllister.

" Dec. 15–16. Battle of Nashville. Hood's army, fatally defeated by Gen. Thomas, fled in dismay, pursued by Wilson's cavalry.

" Dec. 20. *Evacuation of Savannah by Harden*..... 595

Capture of Savannah.

" Dec. 22. Sherman enters Savannah with his army and captures 25,000 bales of cotton, 150 cannon, and large quantities of ammunition. He sends the news to "President Lincoln as a Christmas present to the nation.". 595

" Dec. 18–20. Gen. Stoneman, raiding in Southwestern Virginia, has a severe fight with Breckenridge, defeating him.

" Dec. 19. The President orders a draft of 300,000 more men unless prevented by volunteers.

" Dec. 24–25. Butler and Porter attack Fort Fisher, N. C., in vain.

" War between Ecuador and Spain.

1865. Jan. Surrender of the Republican forces in Mexico, under Diaz, to the Imperialists.

" War declared by the Argentine Republic against Paraguay.

Freedmen's Bureau.

" Establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, an organization to protect the liberated slaves, the refugees from the tyranny of the secessionists, and for the further protection of the rights of Government property, and of the loyal people in the South, and especially for the education and protection of the colored race. Gen. Oliver O. Howard appointed its head, or chief commander.

" Jan. 8. *Blair and Singleton visit Richmond to treat for peace.*

" Jan. 16. *Surrender of Fort Fisher* to Gen. Terry, after a terrible resistance of three days, and the accidental blowing up of the magazine, killing and wounding 300 of the victors..... 596

" Jan. 16. Sherman sets apart lands for freedmen from Charleston southward.

Bombardment of Wilmington.

" Jan. 22. Wilmington, N. C., surrendered to Gen. Terry, after suffering a terrible fire for three days. The next morning the magazine blew up, killing 200 Unionists and wounding 100 more.

" Jan. 31. Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery submitted by Congress to the States.

" Feb. 1. *Sherman leaves Savannah and starts northward*..... 595

" Feb. 3. *President's conference with rebel commissioners.*

Surrender of Columbia.

" Feb. 17. Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, surrendered to Sherman by

1865. Gen. Beauregard. Gen. Wade Hampton setting fire to the stores of cotton before he left; the flames were communicated by a high wind to the city, and a great portion of the city burned, in spite of the labors of the Union soldiers to prevent the spread of the flames..... 595

Surrender of Charleston.

" Feb. 18. Surrender of Charleston by its Mayor, with all its surrounding forts, to Gen. Gilmore, and its occupation, first, by a colored regiment, wearing the National uniform and bearing the National flag. The greater portion of the city was destroyed by the fire from the burning cotton, which the rebels set, and the explosion of large quantities of powder, killing 200 persons... 595

" Feb. 19. Gen. Schofield captured Fort Anderson. *Georgetown hastily evacuated*..... 596

" March 8–9. Gen. Canby captures Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely, the defenses of Mobile.

" March 16. *Battle of Averysboro*, N. C. Hardee withstands Sherman, but retreats in the night..... 596

" Emancipation amendment thus far adopted by 16 States.

" March 19–20. *Battle at Bentonville*, N. C. Johnston, with his whole army, attacks a division of Sherman's army, under Slocum. Johnston hastily retreated in the night of the 20th..... 596

" March 22. Gen. Thomas sends a large force of cavalry, under Gen. James H. Wilson, to raid in Northern Alabama. They attacked Forrest at Boyle's Creek and completely routed him..... 596

" March 25. Rebels take Fort Steadman, before Petersburg, but are quickly expelled, losing 2,500.

" Kennedy, the New York hotel burner, hanged at Fort Lafayette.

" March 27. Sherman turns over his whole army to Schofield and hastens to City Point to consult with President Lincoln and Gen. Grant..... 596

Davis Flees from Richmond.

" April 2. Last grand assault of the army of the Potomac upon the Confederate forces under Gen. Lee, during which the rebel Gen. Hill was killed. A telegram the same day from Gen. Lee to Jeff. Davis reached him while in church, stating that Richmond must be evacuated that evening, sent consternation throughout the city, and Davis fled to the South, closely followed by Lee.

Fall of Richmond.

" April 3. Richmond, the capital of the Confederate States, surrendered. Flight of Jefferson Davis, the Confederate President, and commander-in-chief of the Southern armies. The city was evacuated by night, and on the morning of the third, Gen. Weitzel, with a colored brigade, entered the city and planted the Stars and Stripes upon every prominent point. The morning of the fourth President Lincoln arrived, and leading his little son by the hand, walked from the boat-landing to General Weitzel's headquarters. The colored people thronged about him, blessing him as he passed, and he was joyfully received by the remaining white people — the rebel element leaving with the Confederate army.

Lee Pursued.

" Sheridan and Meade pursued Lee, who was fleeing with the remnant of his army toward Danville.

" April 5. Selma, Ala., captured with large stores, 2,700 prisoners, and 32 guns. Forrest and Rhoddy escaping in the night.

Sheridan Captures Lee's Forces.

" April 6. Sheridan attacked a portion of Lee's forces near Sailor's Creek, capturing 16 pieces of artillery, and a train of 400 wagons, and being reinforced, a general attack was made, which resulted in a decided defeat of the enemy and a capture of 6,000 or 7,000 prisoners, with Gens. Ewell and Custis, and several other officers of rank.

" April 7. GRANT DEMANDED A SURRENDER OF THE SOUTHERN ARMY.

" April 8. Meade and Sheridan continue the pursuit of Lee, and capture his provision train and 25 pieces of artillery, intercepting his flight.

President's Address.

" April 9. Address at the Executive Mansion, in Washington, of President Lincoln, to a vast concourse of people, on the reconstruction of the Government.

Surrender of Lee.

" April 9. Last charge of the defeated enemy, and surrender of the Southern army under Gen. Robert E. Lee to Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant at Appomattox.

" April 11. Blockade changed by proclamation to legal closure of ports.

" April 12. Canby's troops enter Mobile, the siege having lasted since March 11.

" April 12. *Montgomery surrendered to Wilson.*

" April 13. President Lincoln instructed the Secretary of War to issue an order, putting a stop to further drafting, receiving of or purchase of war material; and announced the speedy removal of restrictions upon trade and commerce.

" April 14. The anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter to the rebels; its old flag was again raised over the battered walls by the brave and gallant Anderson, who had so valiantly defended it in 1861.

Assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

" April 14. By the hand of the assassin, John Wilkes Booth, President Lincoln was shot, while witnessing a play from a private box in Ford's Theater, Washington, D. C. The bold perpetrator of the deed rushed madly to the front of the box, and, with a drawn dagger, leaped upon the stage below, and escaped, amid the terrible confusion which ensued. The unconscious and bleeding form of the President was borne across the street to a private house, where he expired at half-past seven the next morning, surrounded by his Cabinet and the leading men of the Government, with his family, and attended by the ablest medical skill of the city. But nothing could awake to life or consciousness the giant brain whose motion and thought was forever stilled by that fatal messenger of death. As the lightning sped the news of this terrible tragedy over the myriads of wires, from one end of this vast republic to the other, there went up one universal and prolonged wail of grief and anguish from the hearts of its loyal millions, who loved and revered the name of Abraham Lincoln, as dutiful children revere the name of a beloved and honored parent. Never before was this great nation *so shocked*, so completely overwhelmed with grief, at the death of any man—ruler or civilian—as that caused by the fall of their chieftain. Strong men wept who were unacquainted with tears, and a universal pall hung over the hearts of the whole people like the cloudy curtain which darkened the noonday sun at the Crucifixion of the Saviour; for, to millions of aching hearts he had been a deliverer from a cruel bondage as well as the saviour of the country from the hands of its destroyers. There was not a hamlet so humble or remote that did not respond to the sorrowful tidings with the emblems of mourning, and cities and towns seemed almost to vie with each other in their solemn and funereal pomp. The orators and poets gave vent to the universal spirit of sadness in lengthened lines of eloquent eulogy and measured metre of mournful song, and all hearts took up the refrain,

"Gone, in his noble manhood, down,
We blindly question, why?
When bells, and guns, and muffled drums
Alone make sad reply."

It was truly said that his funeral procession extended fifteen hundred miles—from Washington to Springfield, Ill. For miles, in some places, the saddened citizens grouped along the railway, with heads uncovered and eyes overflowing with tears, as the solemn funeral train swept past. He was finally interred in a beautiful and appropriate tomb in Springfield, where his honored dust is revered as something sublimely sacred.

Abraham Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln was born in the State of Kentucky. His father, Thomas Lincoln, was a poor, laboring man, who could neither read nor write, but who possessed a warm and generous nature. His mother had gifts of mind and person which found little scope for exercise or display in the rude pioneer life to which she was subjected. But the hidden beauty and grace of her character was nobly and truthfully revealed in the life of her son. In speaking of her, long years after her death—for Mr. Lincoln lost his mother when but ten years of age—the grateful son exclaimed: "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel-mother; blessings on her memory." So extreme was the poverty of his parents, that after more than ten years of struggle with hardship and privation, his father sold

1865. his little farm and removed to the wilderness of Indiana, and all the effects of the family, with themselves, were carried, a seven days' journey, on the backs of three horses! Here the sturdy pioneer began life anew, in the forest. Their home was as cheerless and comfortless as it is possible for the reader, in this land of plenty, to conceive. And here grew up, amid poverty and privation in every form, the boy who was destined, not only to fill the highest place of honor in a great and enlightened nation, and who should be revered and almost idolized by the people, but who should be regarded, by the great nations of the Old World, as was expressed by a London journal, after his assassination, "as the *best*, if not the ablest, man then ruling over any country in the civilized world." Step by step, through adversity and trials, through poverty and the most menial and laborious toil, this courageous and noble boy climbed the ladder which leads to the heights of worldly honor and fame.

But upon the threshold of life, when laying the foundation of his future greatness, "the boy gave promise of the man" in the clear integrity of character, the devotion and honesty of purpose and principle, the modesty of manner, and the respect and veneration of superior worth and age—all together, forming the basis of a character so noble and so pure and upright that no temptation could swerve and no power could corrupt. There is a peculiar charm and satisfaction blended in the history of nearly every great and good man which this country has produced. One by one they have risen from the humble walks of life and from the lowly vale of poverty and the field of manual labor, to occupy positions of honor and trust, as the choice of a *free people*, which the pampered, and often despised, hereditary ruler of a realm might well envy. One incident in the character of the boy will illustrate the principle of the man. He was employed to attend a store and mill, by some parties for whom he had faithfully discharged the duties and trust of an arduous undertaking, and while waiting upon customers in the store, he took six and a quarter cents too much in settling a bill of goods with a woman. He did not discover his mistake until late at night, when reckoning up his accounts for the day, but before he slept he walked two and a half miles and carried the money to her. Again, in weighing out some tea for a woman, he found, by an accidental defect in the scales, that he had given her scant weight by four ounces. He carried her the tea as soon as he discovered his mistake, and before he ate his breakfast in the morning. At the present day, and under the prevailing moral code among tradesmen, such scrupulous adherence to the principles of honesty would meet with ridicule, and would often cost a young man his situation.

In 1832, when the Black Hawk invasion called for volunteers, Abraham was one of the first to respond. When the Captain of their company was to be chosen, there were but two can-

1865. didates: one, a Mr. Kirkpatrick, a man of extensive influence, and for whom Abraham had once worked, but who was so overbearing and tyrannical that he left his employ, and the other was Abraham Lincoln. The mode of election was as novel as it was simple. The candidates were placed apart, and each one was at liberty to take his place by the candidate of his choice. Nearly the whole company were soon gathered around Lincoln. This he felt to be the proudest day of his life. They marched to the scene of action. Zachary Taylor was the Colonel of the regiment in which Lincoln was Captain. Black Hawk was taken prisoner and his band routed. Upon his return home, he managed to borrow a few books, and began to prepare himself for the study of the law. His student-life would appall the heart of any modern law student. His study was usually the shade of an oak tree, or the one room of a log-cabin, by the light of the log-fire or a dim tallow candle. In 1834 Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Legislature of Illinois. When it assembled, he trudged on foot a distance of one hundred miles to the capital, with his "baggage" tied in a bundle, which he carried upon his back. At the close of the session he walked back, and continued his studies, supporting himself by surveying, a knowledge of which he had acquired by private study. In 1836 he was re-elected to the State Legislature. He was now 27 years of age, and a prominent man in the State. He was already a fluent and eloquent speaker. It was in this Legislature that Mr. Lincoln first met Stephen A. Douglas, and here he made his first protest against the slave power.

At the close of the session he entered the law-office of Major Stuart, of Springfield, as his partner. The capital was removed to Springfield, and Mr. Lincoln, by successive elections, was continued in the Legislature, and was recognized as the leading Whig member. His success at the bar was rapid and brilliant. He soon gained the confidence of the public, as he never would advocate a cause which he did not believe to be just, and no cause was too unpopular for him to advocate where he thought his client was in the right. He never refused to advocate the cause of a fugitive slave, or to defend a man who was charged with the crime of helping a fugitive on his way to Canada. In 1847 Mr. Lincoln took his seat in the national Congress, having been elected by a very great majority. Here he advocated the reform measures, and strenuously opposed the Mexican war. At the end of his term he resumed the practice of law. Upon the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, which threw open the great and free territories of the Northwest to the invasion of slavery, the indignation of Mr. Lincoln was thoroughly aroused, and he became convinced that there would be no cessation of the conflict until either slavery or freedom should gain the victory.

Mr. Douglas, with whom he had been intimately associated, was re-

1865. sponsible for the bill which repealed the Compromise, and which the North regarded as his bid for Southern votes to secure the Presidency. He was a man of giant intellect and great popularity, and in public speeches he was defending the "Kansas-Nebraska" bill. There was already great excitement aroused concerning it, and the whole North were stirred to a feeling of intense opposition to the arbitrary encroachment of the slave power. Mr. Lincoln having allied himself with the Republican party, was prepared to defend its issues, and therefore he challenged Mr. Douglas to canvass the State of Illinois with him, both to speak upon their respective party issues before the same audience. Mr. Douglas accepted the challenge, and arrangements were made to speak in seven leading towns. These meetings were attended by a vast concourse of people, and created the most intense excitement throughout the West. The speeches were published in a pamphlet, and used as a campaign document. The universal verdict was that Mr. Lincoln was the victor. There is no doubt but the popularity he acquired in this campaign secured his nomination for the Presidency. During a speech he was at one time making upon the issues of the hour, he was interrupted by a voice from the crowd: "Mr. Lincoln, is it true that you entered this State barefoot, driving a yoke of oxen?" For a moment Mr. Lincoln paused, during which there was breathless silence, then deliberately he answered: "I think that I can prove the fact by at least a dozen men in this crowd, any one of whom is more respectable than the questioner." Resuming the eloquent strain, as if he had not been interrupted, he said: "Yes, we will speak for freedom and against slavery as long as the Constitution of our country guarantees free speech; until everywhere on this wide land the sun shall shine, and the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

To illustrate the peculiar and happy vein of humor that was a chief attraction of his nature, the following witticism is *apropos:* When asked by a friend how he felt after his defeat in the Senatorial election, he replied, "I felt like the boy who had stubbed his toe—too badly to laugh, and too big to cry."

On the 16th of June, 1860, the Republicans met in Convention at Chicago. There were at least 25,000 delegates and strangers in the city, who were drawn by the Convention. The citizens of Chicago erected an immense building, which they called the "Wigwam," for the accommodation of the meeting. There were eleven candidates for whom votes were cast. It was generally expected that Wm. H. Seward would be the nominee. He was a statesman of great prominence and popularity. On the first ballot, Mr. Seward received 173½ votes and Abraham Lincoln 172. The balloting was now confined to these two candidates. At the third ballot, Lincoln was elected, by the transfer of the

1865. four Ohio votes to him. Such a scene as followed baffles description. Pen is inadequate to portray the wild, tumultuous burst of enthusiasm that shook the building, and which was repeated in a perfect tempest of huzzas by the immense throng outside the building who awaited the results, which were signaled by a man from the roof of the "Wigwam." "Fire the salute! Abe Lincoln is nominated!" the secretary shouted; and the tumultuous cheering inside, blending with roars of applause on the outside, was so deafening that the thunders of the cannon were unheard by many upon the platform. When the committee who were to await upon Mr. Lincoln with the formal announcement arrived in Springfield, his friends sent in several hampers of wine for their entertainment, but true to his principles of "abstinence," he returned them with words of kindness and gratitude. The committee met in Mr. Lincoln's parlor. At the close of the ceremony he said: "As a suitable conclusion of an interview so important, courtesy requires that I should treat the committee with something to drink." Stepping to the door he called, "Mary! Mary!" A young girl appeared; he spoke to her in a low tone, and closed the door. Presently the girl entered, bearing a large waiter with a pitcher and several tumblers, which she placed upon a table in the center of the room. Mr. Lincoln arose and said: "Gentlemen, we must pledge our mutual healths in the most healthy beverage which God has given to man. It is the only beverage I have ever used or allowed in my family, and I can not conscientiously depart from it on this occasion. It is pure Adam's ale from the spring." Taking a tumbler, he touched it to his lips, and his guests followed his example. When it was known that Abe Lincoln, the "rail-splitter" and the "abolitionist," was elected, the rage of the South knew no bounds. No language was bitter or strong enough to furnish them with invectives. No name was vile enough for them to apply to the hated "Yankee" who would sit in the Presidential Chair the following 4th of March. Four days after his election, a bill was introduced into the Legislature of South Carolina calling for 10,000 volunteers; her two United States Senators resigned their seats, and a Secession Convention was called. From this time on the South insanely swelled the tide of treason, and State after State fell into line, and defied the United States Government, insulted her flag, captured her forts and arsenals, and flaunted their declarations of war and their menaces upon every breeze. Upon the approach of the President elect to Washington, the spirit of secession was so rampant that Mr. Lincoln yielded to the entreaties of his friends and secretly took a night train at Baltimore, thus evading the assassinators who boldly threatened his life. His inauguration was attended by a large military force, under General Scott. Openly everything passed off quietly, but secretly the "demon of destruction" was

1865. plotting vengeance and death to the nation and her noble defenders. On the 12th of April the long-smouldering volcano burst in its fury upon Sumter. Like a shock from an electric battery, the news at first paralyzed the whole North, but in a sudden reaction, every loyal man sprang to his feet eager to give his life for his country. Never since the British fired the first shot at Lexington were the loyal hearts of America so wrought up, and so unanimous in their determination to defend their national life and honor; and nobly they fulfilled their pledges. The history of that fearful homicidal struggle is written in the blood of six hundred thousand victims to the "God of War." The national Government enlisted 2,680,523 soldiers, and the aggregate cost of the war to the Government exceeded $4,000,000,000, aside from the desolation and ruin which was wide-spread over the field of action. The North urged the issue of a proclamation of emancipation. Mr. Lincoln replied: "I do not wish to issue a document that the whole world will see must be inoperative like the 'Pope's bull against the comet.'"

At length, on Sept. 20th, Mr. Lincoln submitted the renowned Proclamation of Emancipation to his Cabinet, and the 22d it was published to the world. It took effect the first day of January, 1863. Great excitement followed its final announcement, and the loyal people of the North were little less rejoiced than were the three millions of slaves whom it liberated forever from a cruel bondage. On the 4th of March, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated the second time as President of the United States, and just one month from that time the capital of the Southern Confederacy fell, and its forlorn President fled in dismay, seeking refuge and finding none. Their cause was lost, their homes desolated and ruined, and themselves disfranchised. But with a desperation born of madness, the spirit of secession attempted one last despairing blow at the life of the Government. A secret and diabolical plot was laid, which involved the assassination of every member of the Cabinet, but which, from some unknown reason, failed of accomplishment, beyond the murder of the President and the attempted assassination of Secretary Seward.

No more fitting or more beautiful tribute could be paid the character of this truly great and good man, than to quote the closing paragraph of his last inaugural address, delivered in the hour of his country's triumph, and from the supreme height of fame to which he had steadily and surely advanced in the mighty march of human events. The loving and forgiving nature, the sweet humility, and the beautiful trust and submission portrayed in these words, are more the language of the meek and lowly follower of Jesus, than that of a great and world-renowned ruler of a mighty nation:

"'Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one

1865. of these offenses, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came; shall we discern therein any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God will that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right—as God gives us to see the right—let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Assault upon Secretary Seward.

" April 14. Attempted assassination of Secretary Seward by Payne, Booth's confederate. He entered the sick chamber of Mr. Seward under pretense of bringing a prescription from his physician—assaulted and wounded Mr. Seward's son at the door, fell upon Mr. Seward upon his bed and stabbed him several times before he was arrested. Great consternation ensued when it was learned that it was a result of a great conspiracy, among the rebels, to assassinate the President and his Cabinet and take violent possession of the Government.

Valentine Mott.

" April. Death in New York of Valentine Mott, M.D., at the age of eighty years, caused by the shock of the news of the death of President Lincoln, which he received in perfect health, and which completely prostrated him. He lived but ten days after receiving the sad news, and gradually sank away like one whose vitality had been wasted by a long and fatal disease. He was the most eminent surgeon America ever produced, and a man of rare ability and large sympathies, which the long practice of surgery had not blunted, and with which the manner of his death proved him to be eminently endowed.

" April 15. Inauguration of Andrew Johnson as President of the United States.

" April 16. *Columbus taken by Wilson.*

" April 16. *West Point, with its garrison, captured by La Grange* 596

Sherman's Peace.

" April 18. Agreement between Sherman and Johnston for suspension of hostilities with a basis for peace, which was rejected by the President.

Surrender of Macon.

1865. April 21. Wilson entered Macon, and 1,200 militia, with five Generals, were surrendered by Gen. Howell Cobb. 597

Capture of Booth.

" April 25. Booth discovered in a barn in Virginia, and, refusing to surrender, was shot..... 591

Johnston's Surrender.

" April 26. Surrender to Gen. Sherman and disbandment of Johnston's army upon the same terms of Lee's surrender.

Loss of the "Sultana."

" April 28. Steamer *Sultana* burned near Memphis. 1,500 souls lost out of 2,106.

" May 1. An alliance formed between Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Brazil to conquer Paraguay.

" May 4. *Surrender of Gen. Dick Taylor to Gen. Canby.*

" May 9. *Assassins of Mr. Lincoln put upon trial at Washington.*

Capture of Jeff. Davis.

" May 11. Capture of the rebel President, Jefferson Davis, near Irwinsville, Ga., by a force of Wilson's company at Macon, commanded by Lieut.-Cols. Pritchard and Harden. He was disguised as a woman.

Grand Review of the Army.

" May 23–24. The Union army at Washington pass in grand review before the President and Cabinet, Foreign Ministers, and a vast concourse of people. 599

Gen. Smith's Surrender.

" May 26. Surrender of Gen. Smith, with his entire command, to Gen. Canby, in Texas.

Last Conflict.

" May 27. Last conflict of the war on land took place on the Rio Grande. Gen. Stoughton, with a superior force, drove Col. Barrett, with a loss of 80 men, into Brazos.

" May 29. President Johnson proclaims an amnesty with 14 different exceptions.

" May 30. Second Sanitary Fair at Chicago. A fund raised of $200,000.

Burning of Union Stores.

" June 10. *Great fire at Nashville, burning eight or ten million dollars worth of U. S. stores and property.*

" June 15. *Last rebel fort yielded.* Galveston quietly occupied by Admiral Thatcher.

" June 23. Up to this date the pirate *Shenandoah* had destroyed 10 whalers.

" *Trade restrictions removed and blockade ended.*

Hanging of the Assassins.

" July 7. The assassins, Harrold, Payne, Atzeroth, and Mrs. Surratt, hung at Washington; the others, Arnold, Mudd, Spangler, and McLaughlin, imprisoned for life.

1865. July 13. *Barnum's Museum, New York, destroyed by fire.*

" Aug. 14. Great Ketchum forgery, of some $2,000,000, discovered in New York.

" Aug. 15. Wirz, keeper of Andersonville prison, put upon trial.

" *Mississippi nullified secession ordinance* and accepted emancipation.

" Sept. 12. *Alabama declared the ordinance of secession null and void,* abolished slavery, and repudiated the rebel debt.

" Sept. 14. Rebel Indian Chiefs sign treaty of loyalty with the United States.

" Sept. 15. *South Carolina repealed the secession ordinance* and declared slavery abolished.

" Sept. 23. *Alabama Convention recognized emancipation.*

" Sept. 29. Gov. Sharkey, of Mississippi, recognized by proclamation the rights of the negro.

" Oct. 2. Government of Cuba surrendered the pirate *Stonewall* to the United States.

" Oct. 7. *North Carolina declared secession null and void,* prohibited slavery in the State forever, and repudiated the rebel debt.

" Oct. Earthquake shock in California. Considerable damage done to property, and much excitement caused.

" Oct. 11. Alex. Stephens and other prominent rebels released from Fort Warren.

" Oct. 11. Ferguson the guerrilla hung in Nashville, and Magruder the guerrilla hung in Louisville.

" Oct. 12. Martial law declared ended in Kentucky by the President.

" Oct. 25. *Florida annulled the secession ordinance.*

" Nov. *The pirate-ship Shenandoah* cruised in the Pacific, capturing numerous Union merchant ships and whalers, and during this month proceeded to the Mersey and surrendered to the English Government.

" Nov. *Napoleon III. repudiates Maximilian* and his Government in Mexico.

Execution of Wirz.

" Nov. 10. Wirz executed at the Old Capitol prison.

" Nov. 13. *South Carolina passed the Constitutional Amendment.*

" Dec. 1. Writ of *habeas corpus* restored in the Northern States by the President.

" Dec. 2. *Alabama ratified the Anti-slavery Amendment.*

" Dec. 4. *Georgia declared slavery abolished, and nullified her war debt.*

" Dec. 6. *Florida declared slavery abolished.*

Thomas Corwin.

" Dec. 18. Death of Hon. Thomas Corwin, an eminent American statesman, in Washington, D. D. In 1818 Mr. Corwin was admitted to the bar, and by his ability as an advocate, he soon gained an extensive practice, and was first sent to the Legislature of Ohio in 1822, and served seven years, and to Congress in 1830. In 1840 he was Governor of Ohio. In 1844 Mr. Corwin was elected to the United States Senate. In 1850 he was appointed Secretary of the United States Treasury, and at the expiration of his term he was again

1865. elected to Congress, and re-elected; and when Mr. Lincoln became President, he appointed Mr. Corwin Minister to Mexico. As an orator, Mr. Corwin was singularly captivating, and his kind, genial nature made him a general favorite, although his sarcasm was cutting, yet speed and softened by a sparkling and genuine wit.

" Dec. 18. Sec. Seward officially declared slavery abolished throughout the United States.

" Dec. 28. *Florida ratified the Thirteenth Amendment.*

" Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, died.

" Agassiz visits Brazil.

" Peru rejects a treaty with Spain and forms an alliance with Chili.

" *Dom Pedro emancipates the Government slaves.*

" There were 354 fires this year, where the loss was upward of $20,000, at which property valued at $43,419,000 was destroyed.

" Losses by fire from 1855 to 1865, inclusive, amounted to $214,588,000.

" Smithsonian Institute at Washington badly burned; the meteorological department suffered severely.

1865–1870. War between Brazil and Paraguay terminated.

1866. Jan. 12. Order by Gen. Grant for the protection of loyal citizens in the South.

" Jan. 22. *Free School bill defeated in the Tennessee Senate.*

" Apr. 2. Proclamation of the President declaring the insurrection ended in the rebellious States.

Civil Rights Bill.

" Apr. 2. Civil Rights bill passed the Senate over the President's veto by a vote of 33 to 15, and the House on the 9th, by a vote of 122 to 41, and became a law.

" May 10. Peru and Chili, aided by Bolivia and Ecuador, declared war with Spain.

" The Spaniards defeated, withdraw from Peruvian waters.

" Brazil opens her important rivers to the commerce of foreign nations.

" May 21. Academy of Music and University Medical College in New York burned.

General Scott.

" May 29. Death of Brevet Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott. In 1807 Gen. Scott obtained a commission as Captain of light artillery. Recruiting a company, he was stationed at Baton Rouge, La. In 1812 he was a Lieut.-Col. in the 2d artillery, and was stationed at Black Rock. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Queenstown Heights, and was exchanged in January following. He was wounded in the battle of Fort George, and again at the battle of Lundy's Lane, and for his bravery he was breveted "Major-General," and Congress voted him a gold medal, and he was tendered a position in the Cabinet as Secretary of War, which he declined. Gen. Scott commanded the troops in the Black Hawk war of 1832. In 1835 he was in the Creek war. He was nominated as Whig candidate for President in 1840, but declined in favor of Harrison. In 1841 he was

1866. placed at the head of the army as General-in-chief, and upon the outbreak of the war with Mexico, he was ordered there, and arrived in time to capture Vera Cruz. April 18th he defeated the Mexican army under Santa Anna at Cerro Gordo, and continued his conquests, every stronghold falling before his victorious march, until the 14th of May he entered the City of Mexico in triumph. This virtually ended the war. In 1852 Gen. Scott was again a candidate for President, and was defeated by Franklin Pierce. In Feb., 1855, he was breveted Lieutenant-Governor for his bravery in Mexico. At the commencement of the Rebellion he was offered every inducement by the South to join their side, but his loyalty withstood them; and his noble answer to a commander from Virginia speaks more for his honor than volumes written in his praise: "I have served my country under the flag of the Union for more than fifty years, and so long as God permits me to live I will defend that flag with my sword, even if my own native State assails it." Feeling too infirm with age to discharge the duties of Commander-in-chief, Gen. Scott retired from his office Oct. 31, 1861, and in Nov. sailed for Europe for his health. Gen. Scott was the author of several valuable military works, and his Autobiography. As a man, Gen. Scott possessed great physical symmetry, beauty, and strength. He was courteous and dignified, and a gentleman of unsullied honor, and his character was without a stain.

Fenian Invasion.

" June 1. Fenian invasion into Canada, under command of Col. O'Neil, but which was soon suppressed by the Canada Volunteers after a sharp skirmish. A number of the Fenians were taken prisoners, and nine Volunteers killed and several wounded.

Fourteenth Amendment.

" June 8. The 14th Constitutional Amendment passed the Senate by a vote of 33 to 11, and the House, on the 13th, by a vote of 120 against 32.

Lewis Cass.

" June 17. Death of Hon. Lewis Cass, an American statesman. Mr. Cass was admitted to the bar at the age of 20, and in 1806 he took a seat in the Ohio Legislature. He drafted the law which enabled the authorities to arrest Aaron Burr. In 1807 Mr. Cass was Marshal of the State of Ohio, and in 1812 he entered service in the war as Col. of the 3d Ohio Volunteers. He was afterward promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General. In 1813 he was appointed civil Governor over the Territory of Michigan, and Supt.-Commissioner over Indian Affairs. He was appointed Secretary of War under President Jackson, and in 1836 Minister to France. In 1845 he was elected to the United States Senate, and in 1848 nominated as candidate for President. In 1851 he was re-elected to the Senate, and under President Buchanan was appointed Secretary of

1866. State, but upon the President's refusing to dispatch troops and supplies to Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, Mr. Cass resigned his Secretaryship, thereby closing up a public career of 56 years of continuous duration.

Burning of Portland, Me.

" July 4. A fire caught from a fire-cracker thrown among some shavings in a cooper-shop by a boy, which spread, and swept away one-half of the city of Portland, passing over the entire business portion of the city, and leaving not a vestige of property in its track of one and a half miles long by one-fourth of a mile in width. Hundreds of families were made destitute, and scores of wealthy men became poor in an hour's time. 1,600 buildings burned; $15,000,000 destroyed; insurance $3,500,000. Supplies of food and clothing poured rapidly in for the immediate wants of the people, and aid was liberally tendered by neighboring States and cities. This was the first of a series of disastrous fires which in a few years followed, sweeping from the face of the earth whole cities, villages, and large sections of timbered country.

" July 23. Tennessee Representatives and Senators admitted to Congress, by a resolution passing both Houses.

" July 24. Fire in Nashville, Tenn. Loss $1,000,000.

" July 27. Successful laying of the Atlantic cable.

" July 30. New Orleans massacre.

" Visit of Queen Emma, of the Sandwich Islands, to the United States.

" Indians massacred 93 soldiers near Fort Kearney, Neb.

1867. Military government established in the rebellious States over the veto of the President.

" Tenure of Office bill passed by Congress, limiting the powers of the President to removal of officials.

" Jan. 4. Congress passed the Confiscation and Amnesty bill.

" Jan. 11. A National Equal-Rights League Convention of colored men met at Washington and adopted an address to Congress..... 601

" Jan. 12. The New York Excise bill went into operation.

A Daring Feat.

" The *Nonpariel*, or American Life-Raft, with three men, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, from New York to Southampton. It was a frail craft, 12½ feet by 24, and was constructed by lashing three pointed cylinders together and placing a flooring of canvas and boards upon it. It arrived safely, without leakage or damage of any sort.

" Jan. 18. *Samuel Downing, the last Revolutionary soldier, died in Edinburgh, N. Y., aged* 105.

N. P. Willis.

" Jan. 20. Death of Nathaniel Parker Willis, an American poet, essayist, and journalist of wide reputation. He was the author of about 30 volumes, besides doing constant editorial work, which he laboriously prosecuted until the time of his death.

1867. Feb. 5. All Mexico, except the cities of Mexico, Puebla, Queretaro, and Vera Cruz, was in the hands of the Republicans, and Maximilian evacuated the City of Mexico and repaired to Queretaro. The Republicans, under Gen. Marquez, immediately occupied the city.

" Feb. 7. Mr. Peabody gave $2,100,000 for education at the South.

" Feb. 17. Death of Dr. A. D. Bache, Chief of the Coast Survey.

" March 1. Nebraska made a State—the 37th.

" March 3. Alaska was ceded to the United States in consideration of the sum of $7,200,000.

" April 26. Japanese Commissioners in Washington.

" May. By an Act of British Parliament the Canadian provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Prince Edwards Island, and Nova Scotia were federally united into one Dominion of Canada.

" Canada purchased the Territory belonging to the Hudson's Bay Co.

" May 13. *Jeff. Davis bailed for* $100,000.

" May 15. Surrender of Maximilian and his army to the Republicans, brought about by the treachery of Lopez, the bosom friend of Maximilian, who, it was said, received the sum of $48,000 as the price of his treason.

" June 13–14. Trial of Maximilian and his leading Generals, Miramon and Mejia, all of whom were sentenced to be shot.

" June 19. Execution of Maximilian and his two leading officers.

" Negotiations opened for the settlement of the Alabama Claims..... 602

" July 1. "New Dominion of Canada" inaugurated at Ottawa.

" July 15. Gen. Juarez returned to the capital of Mexico, after an absence of four years, during which he was constantly fighting in the defense of the Government. He was enthusiastically received by the Republicans.

" Aug. 12. President Johnson removed Mr. Stanton, as Secretary of War, and authorized Gen. Grant to act in his place *ad interim*.

" Earthquake in Peru.

" Oct. 6. Juarez elected to the Presidency of Mexico.

" Yellow fever in New Orleans. 1,673 dying from it in the month of September. It was still more severe throughout Texas.

Elias Howe.

" Oct. 13. Death of Elias Howe, inventor and patentee of the sewing-machine. Mr. Howe completed his first sewing-machine at Cambridge, Mass., in 1835, through the aid of an old friend and school-fellow, George Fisher, who loaned him the money to complete his work; but receiving nothing but ridicule and censure from the incredulous croakers and selfish manufacturers, and without money to procure his patent, again his friend Fisher came to his rescue, and soon the machine was patented. But it required a large sum to manufacture the machines and introduce them to the public, and his friend becoming discouraged, ceased to aid him further, and he abandoned the

1867. enterprise for a time. At last, through the aid of his father and brother, he took it to England, and there found a man — Mr. Wm. Thomas — who was willing to risk a sum sufficient to introduce the machine into his manufacturing establishment, but beyond this Mr. Howe could get no aid or encouragement, and after suffering incredible hardships, pawning his model and patent papers to procure the means to return home, he arrived in New York with a half-crown in his pocket—after an absence of two years—to learn that his wife was dying of consumption. He had not enough money to reach her, but after a few days' delay, he arrived in Cambridge just before her death. The vessel in which he had shipped his little effects in England was lost at sea, and it seemed that fate indeed was against him. But he soon learned that in his absence his machine had become famous. Ingenious mechanics had constructed its *fac-similes*, and which had been introduced into manufacturing establishments. Mr. Howe soon found friends and money to defend his rights, which it took four years to fully establish. But his luck now all turned, and his annual revenue increased from $300 to $200,000, and on the 10th of September, 1867, his patent expired, when it was calculated he had realized about $2,000,000, besides the gold medal of the Paris Exposition, and the Cross of the Legion of Honor, as a compliment to his skill and accomplishment. During the war, Mr. Howe *enlisted and did service as a common soldier*, and used largely of his means to aid his country in prosecuting the war.

" Nov. 19. Death of Gen. Fitz Greene Halleck, at Guilford, Ct., aged 77.

" The Fourteenth Amendment ratified by a majority of the States.

1868. Jan. 6. Death of Samuel Nicolson, inventor of Nicolson pavement, at Boston, aged 76.

" Jan. 21. Senate transfers jurisdiction over the Southern States from President Johnson to Gen. Grant.

" Feb. 24. House of Representatives voted to impeach President Johnson.... 602

" May 19. Nomination of Gen. Grant for President at Chicago by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention.

" May 22. National Republican Convention met in Chicago and nominated Gen. Grant for President and Schuyler Colfax for Vice-President; Grant polling 650 votes of the Convention.

Kit Carson.

" May 23. Brevet Brig.-Gen. Christopher Carson, better known as "Kit Carson," a famous mountaineer, trapper, and guide, died from a rupture of an artery in the neck at St. Lynn, Col. He was better known to a large number of Indian tribes than any other white man. He was the guide and companion of John C. Fremont in his expedition to California, and in 1853 he drove 6,500 sheep over the Rocky Mountains to California—a hazardous undertaking. He was several times in Washington on official business, and once with a delegation of Indians.

" The President censured by Congress for the removal of Gen. Sheridan from the

1868. Governorship of the Fifth Military District (Texas and Louisiana).

James Buchanan.

" June 1. Death of James Buchanan, 15th President of the United States. Mr. Buchanan was an eminent lawyer in Pennsylvania for a period of 19 years, also a Member of the State Legislature from 1814 to 1820, when he was chosen a Member of Congress, and was re-elected four times. He was appointed Minister to Russia by President Jackson, but held the place only two years, and on his return in 1833 was elected United States Senator, continuing in the Senate twelve years, where he was considered a leader of the Democracy. In 1845 he entered Mr. Polk's Cabinet as Secretary of State. He was a consistent pro-slavery advocate during all his public life. President Pierce appointed him Minister to the Court of St. James. In 1856 Mr. Buchanan was nominated for President by the Democratic party, and was elected over ex-President Fillmore and Col. Fremont as opposing candidates. In his administration he favored the South in all points of difference, and claiming to be desirous of preventing a Revolution; yet he declared it to be out of his power to use coercion to prevent it.

Mathew Vassar.

" June 23. Mathew Vassar, founder of Vassar College, died in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. He donated an aggregate of $800,000 for its endowment, repair, and furnishing. He died very suddenly while addressing the trustees at the anniversary of its opening.

Daring Train Robbery.

" May 22. A daring robbery was perpetrated on a night-express train, at Marshfield, Ind., a station about 31 miles out from Jeffersonville. The engineer stopped the train to take water at 11:45 P.M., and while engaged in oiling the machinery, a party of five or six men stepped out from behind the water-tank and knocked him down, one of them standing over him with a pistol, threatening to blow his brains out if he dared give the first alarm. Another of the party knocked the fireman down and stood guard over him with a drawn weapon. The others passed to the rear of the express car, uncoupled it from the passenger car, and mounting the engine, started up the road, leaving the passenger car and its unsuspecting occupants in blissful ignorance of the cause of the delay. After running some distance up the road, the robbers entered the express car, and with drawn revolvers seized the express messenger and threw him overboard. The gang then broke open the safes and robbed them of their contents — $90,000 in greenbacks. By the time they had fully accomplished this work they had got nearly in sight of Seymour. Here they disembarked, leaving the car on the track. Had they selected the night previous for their raid, they would have captured more than double the amount.

Second Train Capture.

1868. July 10. Another attempt was made to rob an express train by members of the same gang, which was fortunately frustrated. From a gathering of thieves at Seymour, it became evident that another robbery was contemplated. James Flanders, an engineer of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, was enabled to gain their confidence, and promised to stand in with them in their robbery. He immediately informed the Express Company, and a guard of six men, armed to the teeth, were placed in charge of the treasure. When the attempt was made, they were warmly received, and the leader of the robbers, Vol. Ellis or Elliot, as he was called, was shot in the shoulder and captured. It was afterward learned that the would-be robbers were Vol. Elliot, the leader; John Moore, Frank Sparks, Charles Rosebery, Philip Clifton, and Harry Jarrell. Sparks had a finger shot off, and Moore was wounded twice in the body. The robbers retreated, and were hotly pursued to Rockford, Ind. Crossing the river, they gained sight of the robbers, and succeeded in capturing Charles Rosebery and Philip Clifton; the dense thickets prevented their capturing the others. These men were known to be members of the famous Reno gang, who had committed the first express robbery, and who had for years been the terror of that portion of Indiana, committing murders, highway robberies, and robbing trains, until their presence became unendurable.

Indiana Vigilance Committee.

To protect themselves against a recurring of these outrages, the people of Seymour organized a Vigilance Committee. None but the members knew who actually belonged to it, but it was said that the most respectable and best men in the community were members. The order had its grips, signs, pass-words, and tokens of recognition, so that any member could instantly tell another by night or day without uttering a single word. Its motto was, "Law and Order, Peace and Protection, at all hazards." At least 500 men were supposed to belong to the organization. On the 20th of July, by some means unknown to outsiders, the Vigilance Committee secured intelligence that the three men, Clifton, Rosebery, and Elliot, were to be taken by the officers to Brownstown that night, and the committee, too impatient to await the course of law, determined to take the responsibility upon themselves and mete out justice to the three villains as they saw fit.

Lynch-Law.

That night they quietly gathered at a spot about two miles west of Seymour. There was no noise or confusion about the gathering, and there was no excitement in the town. The train was signaled to stop, and when it had done so, was entered by a number of men, who demanded that the three prisoners be given to them. The guards were slow to comply, but they could

1868. offer no effectual resistance, and the men were torn from them and taken out. The criminals saw in the stern, revengeful faces of their captors, the terrible import of the moment. In the midst of the darkness, with scores of excited and merciless men around them, they were hurried away, while the train was allowed to move on, and taken a few feet up a narrow lane. Here their doom was pronounced, and a few minutes given them to prepare to meet their fate. Few words passed between the criminals and their executioners. Words would do no good, and when all hope had fled, the men, with the exception of Clifton, assumed a dogged and determined air, and neither made confessions nor asked for mercy. Clifton died like a coward. He fell on his knees and wept like a child, swore that he was innocent of all crime, and implored them to save his life. Elliot, when asked to confess and disclose the names of those who were with him in the robbery, said, with a contemptuous sneer: "Confess hell! I'll tell you nothing. You've got me here—a thousand of you—now do your worst." Rosebery said not a word. The mob was growing impatient, even at a moment's delay, and clamored for their death. A large spreading beech tree was chosen by the committee, and while a score of hands were tying the prisoners' arms behind them, low, stout branches were found, and rough ropes were twisted quickly round the necks of the three men. All was in readiness, and as a howl of vengeance went up from the mob, Volney Elliot, Charles Rosebery, and Frelinghuysen Clifton were swung into the air, and hung by the neck until they were dead. It is said they struggled greatly and died hard. The verdict of lynch-law executed, the crowd quickly dispersed, and left the bodies hanging. At 11 o'clock the coroner proceeded to the spot, cut the bodies down, and held an inquest over them. The verdict simply was, that they came to their death from strangulation at the hands of parties unknown. After the very little time consumed in coming to this conclusion, the remains were given to their relatives, and shortly after buried in rough coffins, in the Seymour Cemetery. The men who thus suffered death at th hands of an outraged people were raised in Seymour, and all had respectable family connections living in the neighborhood. They all had opportunities to pursue honest and remunerative avocations, but they preferred to live in idleness, and to emulate the examples of the Reno Brothers' family in acquiring by robbery what means were necessary for their support.

Notice of the Vigilance Committee.

On the morning after the lynching of Elliot, Rosebery, and Clifton, the following hand-bill was posted at Seymour:

"*Attention, Thieves.*

"The attention of all thieves, robbers, assassins, and vagrants, together with their aiders and abettors and sympathizers, is called to the doings of the 'Seymour Vigilance Committee' last night. We are determined to follow this up until all of the classes above-named, whether imported or to the 'manor born,' are driven from our midst. Threats have been made of retaliation in case we resort to capital punishment. In answer we say, should one of our committee be harmed, or a dollar's worth of property of any honest man be destroyed by persons unknown, we will swing by the neck until they are dead every thieving character we can lay our hands on, without inquiring whether we have the persons who committed the particular crime or not. This applies not only to Seymour, but along the line of the two roads, and wherever our organization exists. Law and order must prevail. By order of the Vigilance Committee. Seymour, Ind., July 21, 1868."

Second Execution.

The work of the committee was still not accomplished. Frank Sparks, John Moore, and Henry Jarrell were arrested at Ætna, Coles Co., Ill., and were taken to Seymour, under guard. The engineer of the train telegraphed to the Vigilance Committee at Seymour that the men were aboard the train. When the train arrived at Seymour, the robbers were taken and placed in a wagon, to be carried to Brownsville, Ind. When near the place where the others were so summarily executed, men suddenly arose from all sides, seemingly out from the ground, and were all well armed. The prisoners were taken to the same tree on which the others were hung, and immediately executed. Moore was hung in sight of the house where he was born. The coroner's verdict, in this case, as in the others, was "death caused by hanging by unknown parties."

Tragedy at New Albany—The Reno Brothers.

" Another tragedy was enacted at New Albany, Ind., on Dec. 22. The celebrated "Reno Brothers" (Simeon, Frank, and William) and Charles Anderson, who were engaged in the Express robbery of May 22, and were the most notorious robbers in the country, escaped to Canada, but were arrested, extradited, and taken to the New Albany jail. The Seymour Vigilance Committee, nearly 100 strong, wearing red flannel masques which completely concealed their features, arrived at New Albany, on the train from Jeffersonville, about 3 o'clock in the morning. They placed patrols along the streets and around the jail, aroused the guards in the sheriff's office, and tied them hand and foot. They next entered the sheriff's room, and in the struggle which ensued, he was knocked down and shot in the elbow. They secured the keys of the jail and cells, and took the prisoners out and hung them from the corners of the corridors. The committee were not in the jail to exceed five minutes, and immediately left on the train. For years this gang had been a terror to the citizens of Jackson Co., and had, probably, been guilty of nearly all the burglaries and murders committed in that part of the State of late years. The most of the gang were young men from good families, near Seymour. William Reno protested his innocence to the last, and was confirmed by his brothers. Thus ended the scenes of swift and terrible vengeance meted out by an outraged community.

There is no doubt but the provocation was very great, and that these and other noted criminals had repeatedly escaped through the "technicalities of the law" in the hands of its manipulators. Yet the example and effect of lynch-law is contagious and very demoralizing in any community. And where law and order prevail, there is no reason why good citizens should turn criminals in order to punish crime. Neither will they do so.

Dr. Nott.

" Eliphalet Nott, D.D., died at the age of 92 years. He was President of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. He was one of the last of those representative men who lived in the period of our country's infancy and purity. When Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, and Adams were in the zenith of their grandeur and usefulness in the civil history of the young Republic—when it was molded by men of great truthfulness, earnestness, and simplicity, and a degree of loyalty to country and to principle which is so rare in these days of political intrigues and personal ambitions—Dr. Nott reached his majority, and was ordained as a minister of the Gospel when Washington was serving his second term as President of the United States, and when the State of New York (to which he had emigrated from Connecticut) was "out West," and Schenectady was in the wilderness and upon the borders of civilization. Here, in this wild region, Dr. Nott, with his young wife, settled, having performed their wedding journey from Connecticut on horseback. He remained here but ten years, when he was called to Albany to preach in one of the principal churches, and there he laid the foundation of his future usefulness and greatness, in his talented and eloquent sermons, and his manly and consistent character. He was but a little over 30 years old when he was elected President of Union College, and where he spent the remainder of his days in laboring to build up that grand old institution in the days of its poverty and infancy; not neglecting, however, his calling as a minister of the Gospel, and his duty to society and the world. He had the good fortune to be the inventor of a stove which gained great popularity—being the first stove patented which burned anthracite coal successfully. It became a source of immense revenue to the Doctor, and in his old age he was enabled, by his princely endowments, to place Union College upon a firm and lasting foundation, and to reap the reward of a life devoted to usefulness and duty.

" July 4. The President issued a full pardon and amnesty proclamation.

1868. July 22. Wyoming Territory organized.
" July 28. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, issued a final proclamation that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States had been adopted.
" Aug. 3. Death of Gen. Charles G. Halpine (Miles O'Reilly) at New York.

Thaddeus Stevens.

" Aug. 11. Death of Thaddeus Stevens, an American statesman and reformer. Mr. Stevens was a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1814, when he became a school-teacher, and studied law through the intervals of his school hours and at night. He was admitted to the bar after many discouragements, and arose to eminence in his profession. In 1828 he became an active politician, taking part with the Adams party. In 1836 he was a member of the Pennsylvania State Constitutional Convention, taking an active part in the discussions relative to framing the Constitution; and he refused to sign the document because it restricted suffrage on account of color. He was a Member of the Pennsylvania Legislature during the intense political excitement that followed the adoption of the Constitution. From 1838 to 1848, Mr. Stevens took no especial part in politics, practicing his profession the most of the time; but in the last-named year he was elected to the Thirty-second Congress, and ardently opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Fugitive Slave law, and the Kansas-Nebraska bill. In 1859 Mr. Stevens was again returned to Congress, and continued there for seven terms, during the last of which he met his death.

Great Earthquake and Tidal Wave.

" Aug. 16. Greatest earthquake and tidal wave ever known on the continent of America occurred on the coast of Ecuador and Peru, extending from Bolivia to Chili, and 100 miles inland. More than a score of cities and large towns were utterly destroyed, besides a great many small villages and settlements; 32,000 lives and $300,000,000 were lost. Tidal waves forty feet high deluged the land, carrying ships inland for half a mile, and leaving them perfectly wrecked.
" Sept. Spanish Revolution led to a rising of the friends of Cuban independence.
" *Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., opened* for pupils of both sexes. This magnificent institution was built and endowed by the benevolence of Ezra Cornell. See biography.

Earthquake.

" Oct. 21. Severe earthquake in California, doing much damage to property in San Francisco and other places. All business was suspended, and great excitement prevailed. The shock extended over a great portion of the State.
" Revolution in Peru against President Prado. Prado resigns and embarks for Chili. July 28, Col. Balta proclaimed President.

1868. Oct. 10. Manuel Carlos Cespedes issues an address to the Cubans, proclaiming the Republic and its separation from Spain.
" Oct. 20. First encounter between the Cubans and Spanish at Las Tumas.
" Nov. 3. Gen. Grant was elected President and Schuyler Colfax Vice-President.
" Dec. 14. House of Representatives denounces repudiation of the national debt.

Franklin Pierce.

1869. Death of Franklin Pierce, the fourteenth President of the United States. His father was a Revolutionary soldier, and a stanch Democrat of the Jeffersonian school.

Franklin was born in Hillsborough, N. H., Nov. 23, 1804, and was a bright, handsome boy, beloved by all who knew him for his kind and amiable disposition. At the age of sixteen he entered Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Me., where he became a general favorite. He ranked high as a student, and graduated at the age of twenty, when he began the study of law with Judge Woodbury, a distinguished lawyer. Soon after his graduation at law he was elected to the State Legislature, and served four years. In 1833 he was elected to Congress, where he warmly advocated the principles of the Democratic party, and was a strong supporter of the Administration, and a personal friend of President Jackson. In 1837 Mr. Pierce was chosen as United States Senator. It was just after Mr. Van Buren had entered upon his Administration, and he was the youngest member in the Senate. In 1838 he removed to Concord, the capital of his native State, and devoted himself to his profession. As a lawyer Mr. Pierce was always courteous and kind, and it is said that he was never known to insult, browbeat, or attempt to terrify a witness. Upon the accession of Mr. Polk to the Presidency he appointed Mr. Pierce Attorney-General of the United States, which office he declined, also the nomination for Governor of New Hampshire.

When war with Mexico was declared Mr. Pierce received the appointment of Brigadier-General and repaired to Newport, R. I., where he embarked with a portion of his troops for Mexico. He landed at a place called Virgara, and found no preparation for his advance, which had been ordered. There were but five hundred wild, unbroken mules for his use, and the remainder had to be caught on the open prairies and tamed to the bridle and harness. This was an arduous and difficult task, as the heat of the sun was so intense that the men could not be exposed between the hours of 9 A.M. and 4 P.M. Yet with great exertion the wild animals were caught and tamed, and the march began July 14th, through a wilderness infested with roving bands of guerrillas, who watched every chance to attack them from every height and possible ambuscade. The heat of the sun and the heavy sandy roads made their progress slow, but on the 7th of August they reached the main body of

1869. the army under Gen. Scott at Puebla. He arrived with his company of 2,400 men [illegible] without the loss of a single wagon, although [illegible] had suffered quite severely from sickness caused by the extreme heat. Gen. Pierce arrived in time to take an active part in the closing scenes of the war. Upon his return North he was warmly received by his friends and the supporters of the war measures. The compromise measures met his hearty approval, and he strenuously advocated the "Fugitive Slave Law." This endeared him to the South, as a "Northern man with Southern principles" was always an especial favorite at the South. He was accordingly nominated, June 12th, 1852, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency, and was elected with great unanimity. His Administration was a stormy one, and favored in every way the slave power. The "irrepressible conflict" grew more violent and strong with every fresh accession of the slave power, until law was disregarded, and in the Western frontiers mob law ruled. The polls were taken possession of by an armed body of ruffians from Missouri, and slavery was established upon the free soil of Kansas. Their legal enactments would have disgraced savages; yet President Pierce deemed it his duty to recognize this bogus Legislature and their enactments. But the citizens arose *en masse* and protested in a peaceable manner against such an invasion, and sent a petition to the General Government for redress. The President in reply issued a proclamation declaring the Legislature of Kansas legitimate, and that its laws must be obeyed or the strong arm of the Government would be put forth to enforce them. This act entirely alienated the North from the President, and he became so unpopular that his quondam Southern friends also forsook him, and he retired to the privacy of his home, never more to be disturbed by political preferences or emoluments. He maintained, however, his loyalty to the Democratic party, although he took no active part in politics. In social life, Mr. Pierce maintained his high reputation as a kind and genial neighbor, a firm friend, and an amiable and accomplished gentleman.
" Jan. The United States Senate refused to approve the act of the President in suspending the Secretary of State, Mr. Stanton. Upon this Gen. Grant resigned the office, and President Johnson immediately appointed General Thomas in his place. The Senate declared the President had no authority to remove the Secretary of State, and Mr. Stanton refused to vacate the office. Gen. Thomas was arrested, but was immediately released, as it was the President, and not Gen. Thomas, the Senate were fighting.. 602

Impeachment Trial.

" Feb. Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, tried for high crimes and misdemeanors; thirty-five Members found him guilty, and nineteen not guilty; he was acquitted.
" Feb. 6. *Nolle prosequi* ends prosecution against Jeff. Davis.

1869. Feb. 25. *Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment bill* enfranchising the colored man.

" March 4. Inauguration of Gen. Grant as President.

" March 16. Amendment bill presented by Mr. Julian, of Ind., which provided for woman suffrage, but which *failed to come before the House.*

James Harper.

" March 27. Death of James Harper, an American publisher. He was for more than 50 years the head of the publishing house of Harper Bros.

" The Supreme Court pronounced Confederate money to be worthless.

" April. *A Constituent Assembly proclaimed the Republic of Cuba,* and elected "Cespedes" President; the total abolition of slavery, and the introduction of freedom of religion were among the measures decreed by the Assembly. The war was carried on on both sides —particularly that of the Spaniards— with great severity.

Pacific Railroad Completed.

" May 10. *The grand event of the 19th century.* The completion of the great Pacific Railroad—the length of which is, exclusive of branches, over 2,000 miles, and crossing nine distinct mountain ranges, which were tunneled in several places; also, many wonderful bridges were built, spanning chasms of fearful and precipitous depth. This great enterprise was begun in 1862 and completed in 1869. It was built by two separate companies; the eastern portion by the Union Pacific Co., which built the road to Ogden, and the western part by the Central Pacific Co., which built it from San Francisco to that point. As the distance between them grew shorter, the competition and excitement grew more intense. About 25,000 men and 6,000 teams were employed along the route, and as they neared the point of junction every nerve was stretched, and the excitement almost equaled in intensity a race between continental giants. The eyes of the whole continent were fixed upon them, and their daily progress was reported over the wires until, when the eventful 10th of May arrived, and the last rail was laid, and the last spike driven, thousands of anxious listeners were waiting at each end of the route for the signal when the last blow should be struck. There they stood, and could the wonderful telephone have had a development sufficient to have reverberated the sounds of the falling hammer, the picture would have been complete. But in their ignorance of this amazing and subsequent stride of science, they attached the wires to the last rail, that each blow of the sledge should be recorded on every connecting telegraph instrument between San Francisco and Portland, Me. Indeed, from Boston to New Orleans the wires were held in readiness to receive not only the message "done," but the very echo or vibration from the falling hammer. In San Francisco, a telegraph wire was attached to a fifteen-inch gun, also to all the fire-bells in the city, which were rung simultaneously with the firing of the gun by electricity. All business in the city was suspended, and all classes united in a grand celebration. All over the State of California the excitement was at fever heat. In New York and Washington the interest was intense. Chicago celebrated the event on a magnificent scale; the procession was very unique, and was over four miles long. The road from Omaha to San Francisco cost $165,000,000, and required 110,000 tons of iron rails, 1,000,000 fish plates, 2,000,000 bolts, 15,000,000 spikes, 3,500,000 crossties, besides millions of feet of timber not estimated, for the construction of bridges, culverts, and roads. By means of this wonderful highway the distance from New York to San Francisco was reduced to seven days' travel; from New York to Japan 25 days.

Great Coal Mine Disaster.

" Avondale Coal Mine disaster in Pennsylvania. A fire broke out in the furnace, and the shaft was consumed— the fire extending to the mines; *more than* 100 *men were suffocated before help could reach them.*

Great Peace Jubilee.

" June 15–20. A peace jubilee and musical festival was held in Boston in honor of the restoration of the Union of the States. There were 10,000 singers, and an orchestra of 1,000 instruments, and tens of thousands of spectators. It was held in the *Coliseum,* an immense building erected for the purpose, and was conducted by Prof. P. S. Gilmore.

Grant Favors Labor.

" Eight-hour system with ten hours pay for Government employés ordered by President Grant.

" *Colored People's Convention* in Washington, Frederick Douglas presiding, pronounced against emigration to Liberia.

" June 18. *Death of Henry J. Raymond, founder and editor of the New York Times,* in New York city, aged 49 years.

" July 4. National Democratic Convention met in New York, nominating Seymour and Blair.

" July 11. *Irish National Republican Convention* held in Chicago, adopting a resolution requesting Congress to pass a law for the naturalization of foreigners after one year's residence in the United States.

" July 24. French Transatlantic cable laid in the Bay of Minon, near Brest, reached Duxbury, Mass.

" Aug. *National Labor Convention* met in Philadelphia, re-affirming the eight-hour system.

" Aug. 7. Total eclipse of the sun.

" Temperance and Prohibition Convention met in Chicago.

William Pitt Fessenden.

" Sept. 8. Death of Wm. Pitt Fessenden, LL.D., an American statesman, Senator, and financier. In politics, Mr. Fessenden was a Whig. In 1839 he was elected to the State Legislature. In 1840 he was elected to Congress. In 1843 he declined a renomination, and returned to his profession. In 1843 he was again elected to fill a vacancy in the Senate; two years following he served in the Legislature, and in 1845 he received the votes of his party in the Legislature for a seat in the U. S. Senate. In 1854 he again entered the U. S. Senate, and made the most eloquent and effective speeches ever made against the Nebraska bill, and this made him a leading man of the Senate. In 1859 he returned to the Senate for six years. Throughout the war, Mr. Fessenden was a firm ally of the Union cause, and as Chairman of the Finance Committee, he aided the Secretary of the Treasury in maintaining the National credit. Upon the resignation of Mr. Chase from the office of Secretary of the Treasury, he was appointed in his place, which was the most important one in the Cabinet, and the responsibilities of which he filled to the entire satisfaction of the people and the salvation of the country. He was again re-elected to the Senate for six years. Mr. Fessenden voted against the impeachment of President Johnson, which made him unpopular for a while, but which soon wore off, considering his consistency and great usefulness. Mr. Fessenden's character stood high in the nation, at home, and abroad.

" Sept. 6. Death of Gen. John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War, at Washington, aged 38.

" Sept. Destructive flood in Virginia; forty lives lost at Harper's Ferry. Richmond was overflowed, and ferry-boats instead of horse-cars were used in the streets. The loss in property in the State amounted to millions.

Black Friday.

" Sept. 24. *The terrible Wall Street Panic.* A memorable day in New York. The panic was produced by the gamblers in gold, or the "bears" and "bulls" of Wall Street, controlled by the Fisk-Gould ring, who produced a "corner" on gold, selling in short sums until about $15,000,000 were thrown upon the market, when the "gambling" began. The railroad stock gamblers had for weeks been playing a desperate game, and the excitement becoming intense, the great gold "manipulators" of Wall Street began their raid. They ran up the price of gold from 137½ to 166. The "bulls" went into the fight determined to win if they ran gold up to 200, but at 166 they collapsed. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Boutwell, with the advice and by order of the President, sold $4,000,000 of gold on the street. This broke up the "corner," and saved hundreds from ruin. The Fisk-Gould ring, designing to control the market, had implored the Secretary to loan them a large amount, but the Government preferred to place the gold in the market. The total depreciation in stocks and gold, for the week ending October 1st, amounted to $100,000,000.

The Gold-room presented a scene of the wildest excitement. Money was loaned at 500 per cent. per annum.

1869. When the bids reached 155, men shricked and raved like wild beasts. The room was filled with curses, and men rushed about in paroxysms of fury. Speyer, a large operator, became crazed, and raved like a madman, and was taken home by his friends. The Stock Exchange was deserted, all rushing to the Gold-room to witness the death struggles of the "bulls." The scene outrivaled any low gambling den—men at a "prize-fight" do not so utterly forget themselves and their humanity, as did these great Wall Street brokers. They were more like a pack of famished wolves coming suddenly upon fresh blood. Outside the excitement was almost as intense. New Street was packed, and all travel was shut out; all were watching with strained eyes the dial that marked the fluctuations of the Gold-room. The struggle to reach the Gold-room was worse than a scene at a large fire; men were pushing and jamming to get out, and fighting to get in. Fisk and Gould left the streets, and could not be found. Men were everywhere threatening the life of Fisk. The bankers and brokers sent 2,232 messages over their wires on that day, and the other lines were in proportion burdened with the exciting dispatches. All confidence was destroyed in the markets and in trade. Millionaires were hourly becoming beggars, and mushroom operators suddenly found themselves worth *millions less than nothing*. Wholesale dry-goods houses refused to sell goods, as they could not determine the prices to place upon them.

Explosion at Indianapolis.

" Oct. 1. Bursting of a portable engine on the fair-ground in the city of Indianapolis. 15,000 persons on the ground; between twenty and thirty killed, and over fifty injured.

" Oct. 14. A terrible hurricane swept over Cuba—the most severe in the present century; immense damage was done to property, and about 2,000 lives were lost.

George Peabody.

" Nov. 4. Death of George Peabody, the eminent and loved benefactor of Europe and America. Mr. Peabody was born in 1795 at Danvers, Mass. He served as a grocery clerk from 11 to 15 years of age, when he went into the dry-goods store of his brother in Newburyport. At the age of twenty he became a partner of Mr. Elisha Riggs, in a large dry-goods house in Baltimore—Mr. Riggs furnishing capital, and young Peabody the business ability. The house rapidly increased in business, and established branch houses in New York and Philadelphia. In 1829 Mr. Peabody became the head of the house—Mr. Riggs retiring. In 1837 he settled in London, and four years after he withdrew from the firm and established a bank in London, which soon became the headquarters for American news intelligence and acquaintance. In 1852 Mr. Peabody sent a present of $20,000 to his native town of Danvers to be disbursed in founding a library, an institute, and a lyceum, which he subsequently endowed to the extent of several hundred thousand. To the Grinnell Expedition to the North Pole he gave $10,000. In 1857 Mr. Peabody gave the magnificent sum of $300,000, as the first installment of $500,000, for the establishment of an institute to promote literature, science, and the arts in Baltimore. Later, he gave $500,000 for the promotion of education in the South, and which he afterward increased by several endowments, making his public benefactions in America reach above $1,000,000. But his most worthy and princely gifts were to the poor of London. As an experiment he invested the sum of $1,250,000 to aid the industrious poor. He therefore erected four great buildings called by his name, in the poorest quarters of London. He reduced the rent to within their reach, but required them to keep them clean—a requirement which many of the tenants who had lived in squalor all their days considered too great a tax. The enterprise did not seem to meet with the success which the benefactor wished. A part of this fund was reserved to relieve tenants in deserving instances. Mr. Peabody made his last visit to this country on the 9th of June preceding his death. The American sculptor Story made a noble statue of him which was erected in London at the expense of that city, and upon his death Queen Victoria fitted out a ship —which was joined by vessels from the American squadron in the Mediterranean Sea—to bear his remains back to his native land, where they repose among the honored and hallowed of our country's great and noble benefactors.

" Nov. 11. Death of Robert J. Walker, statesman and publicist, at Washington, aged 68.

Albert D. Richardson.

" Nov. 25. Assassination of Albert D. Richardson, the well-known author and journalist. He was shot in the New York *Tribune* counting-room by Daniel McFarland, upon the alleged intimacy of Richardson with Mrs. McFarland, who had recently been divorced from him. Mr. Richardson died on the morning of Dec. 2. In March, 1867, McFarland had attempted to take the life of Mr. Richardson, who was escorting Mrs. McFarland home from the Winter Garden Theater, where she was employed as an actress. Mrs. McFarland had separated from her husband upon alleged cruelty and failure to support her and her children. The situation in the theater had been procured for her by Mr. Sydney Howard Gay, managing editor of the New York *Tribune*, through the intercession of Mrs. Sinclair, wife of the publisher of that paper, and also of Mr. Richardson, who was a correspondent of the *Tribune*. Mrs. McFarland was a woman of fine literary talents and a splendid reader. She had many influential friends, and among them several of the *Tribune* staff, who were interested in her welfare. She was always escorted home from the theater by some one of her friends, and on this particular evening Mr. Browne and Miss Gilbert had engaged to see her home, but finding he could not fulfill his engagement, Mr. Browne requested Mr. Richardson to call at the theater and accompany her to her home. It was a stormy night, and Mr. McFarland had watched her, and crept up behind Richardson and shot him in the back. He fired four shots, but one of which took effect. Mr. Richardson grasped and held him until a policeman arrested him. The wound was not fatal, and Mr. Richardson was confined to his room but one week. Mr. McFarland claimed that Mr. Richardson had alienated the affections of his wife from him—that there had been a criminal intimacy between them; that a fraudulent divorce had been obtained through Mr. Richardson's efforts, and that an elopement and marriage had taken place; all of which was openly denied by Mr. Richardson and Mrs. McFarland and her friends. Upon the trial, it was abundantly proved by the most respectable and reliable witnesses that every one of these charges were false; and that not until Mrs. McFarland had formally parted from her husband, and was dependent upon the sympathy and aid of her friends for protection and influence in procuring a support for herself and children, did Mr. Richardson show her any attention beyond which any high-minded and generous gentleman would bestow upon a lady needing sympathy and aid. It was also abundantly proved that Mr. McFarland was a vagrant—a man of dissolute habits, of a hasty and violent temper, overbearing and exacting, and that he had utterly neglected his family and refused to support them. It was also proven that Mrs. McFarland was a woman of modest and retiring manners, patient and forbearing, industrious and studious in her habits, and was much beloved by a large circle of friends; that for many years she had borne in silence his abuse, which, when he was under the influence of liquor, was of a desperate and dangerous nature. McFarland was tried for the murder of Mr. Richardson in New York, and was *acquitted upon the plea of insanity*.

" *National Woman's Suffrage Convention*, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher presiding.

" Convention in Memphis, Tenn., to discuss the Coolie question.

" Dec. 10. *National Colored Labor Convention*, which sent a delegation congratulating President Grant, and offering him the support of all colored laborers, because he had opened the gates of the navy yard, and other departments of skilled labor, to their race.

" Babcock fire extinguisher first patented in the United States.

" 10,000 Protestants in the Argentine Republic.

" The census makes the value of the United States $31,000,000,000.

Edwin M. Stanton.

" Dec. 14. Death of Edwin M. Stanton, LL.D., statesman and Cabinet officer. Mr. Stanton was born in Steubenville, O., Dec. 24, 1815, and graduated at Kenyon College, O., in 1833. He grad-

1869. uated at law in the office of Judge Tappan, an eminent jurist of Ohio, and began practice in Cadiz, O., in 1836, and in 1839 he became a partner with the Judge. In 1842 he was elected reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and prepared the volumes for the press.

In 1860 Mr. Stanton was appointed to his first position as a Government officer. He received the appointment of Attorney-General from President Buchanan, as successor of Judge Black. January 11, 1862, President Lincoln chose Mr. Stanton for Secretary of War. His able and unceasing labors in this department through the war are too well known to require a detailed account. His duties and obligations were more arduous than were those of any other member of the Cabinet, the "weight of the war" resting upon his shoulders. Under President Johnson his stanch fidelity to the interests of the Union, and his uncompromising adherence to the principles of loyalty, and to the vigorous prosecution of the war, caused him to be feared by the President and hated by the enemies of the Government, both North and South. Mr. Johnson sought in every way to force his resignation, which Mr. Stanton as stoutly resisted. Finally, in August, 1867, the President superseded him, placing Gen. Grant in his seat, *ad interim*. But Mr. Stanton refused to vacate, holding his seat through the impeachment trial of the President, but resigning upon the failure of the jury to find him guilty.

He now sought rest and the restoration of his health, which had been greatly impaired by his incessant and herculean labors. In December, 1869, President Grant nominated him for Assistant Justice of the Supreme Court, in the place of Judge Grier, resigned; but Mr. Stanton died before his commission was made out, and *died a poor man, not leaving a sufficient support for his family*. Congress voted a year's salary as Justice of the Supreme Court to be paid to his family, and the friends of Mr. Stanton throughout the country made up a memorial fund and presented to them. Mr. Stanton made some enemies by his arbitrary manner, which was greatly aggravated by the perplexing and responsible position which he held as Secretary of War through the great Rebellion; but his loyalty to the Government, and his strict integrity of character as without a blemish; his great ability as a statesman was never questioned.

" Schenck's bill, requiring all national obligations to be paid in coin, passed.

Terrible Explosion.

" Dec. 16. Explosion of 2,000 pounds of gunpowder, 500 pounds of compound, and 3,000 pounds of nitro-glycerine at once in a torpedo factory at Titusville, Pa. This terrible explosion took place about one mile from the center of the town, and shook the whole city. For 100 yards in every direction the earth was torn up as in a newly-plowed field; trees one foot in diameter were cut off and torn into fragments; heavy

1869. logs were hurled through the air and over the tree tops a distance of one-eighth of a mile; doors and windows fully one-fourth of a mile away were driven in and broken to slivers; animals and fowls were frightened and fled in every direction; men were stunned by the shock; and not a building in the city but felt the effects of the terrible concussion. There was but one man in or about the buildings, and he was literally blown into fragments. The effect upon the people and buildings in the vicinity was precisely like that produced by an earthquake.

" *Major Powell's Colorado exploring expedition started out.* The expedition was organized at Normal, Ill., by Major Powell, of the Normal University.

Cuban Insurrection.

" Insurrection in Cuba. The insurgents desired to have the independence of Cuba recognized by the United States, but the Government declined, and maintained an attitude of neutrality, except that she endeavored to negotiate with Spain in reference to settlement of the Cuban troubles favorable to Cuba.

1870. Fifteenth Amendment, giving the ballot to the colored man, became a part of the Constitution.

Geo. D Prentice.

" Jan. 22. Death of Geo. Dennison Prentice, an American journalist of considerable note, and of much publicity in the West. He became the editor-in-chief of the *Louisville Journal* in 1831, and under his charge it rose to be the leading journal of the West. As a writer, Mr. Prentice was graceful in style, spicy in humor, and sarcastic and severe in criticism. When the South began the secession movement, Mr. Prentice stoutly opposed the efforts to drag the State of Kentucky into the vortex, and it was largely due to the unceasing fidelity of that journal that they did not succeed. Being embarrassed in finances during the war, the controlling influence of the paper passed into other hands, who were less rigorous in maintaining the Union, and for a short time he withdrew from the editorial charge. The loss of a son who fell in battle in the Southern army, and other afflictions and trials, rendered his declining years sad and sorrowful. Mr. Prentice was also a poet of no mean ability, and although he never published his poems in book form, "they still live." He was also a contributor to *Harper's Monthly*. He was a bitter opponent, but a warm and generous friend.

Wesley Harper.

" Feb. 14. Death of Wesley Harper, of the firm of Harper & Bros. Wesley was the literary correspondent of the firm, and during the forty years in which he conducted the correspondence, it was said of him that he never forgot to be courteous or considerate of the feelings of others, and that he had not an enemy among the thousands with whom he corresponded. He died

1870. as he had lived, in charity and peace with all men.

Anson Burlingame.

" Feb. 23. Anson Burlingame, an American statesman and diplomatist, died in St. Petersburg, Russia. He was Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to China from 1861 to 1867, and Ambassador from the Empire of China to the Western Powers from 1867 to 1870. Mr. Burlingame was educated in the University of Michigan, and in the Cambridge Law-School. He was a member of the 34th, 35th, and 36th Congresses. His scathing rebuke of Preston S. Brooks for his assault upon Senator Sumner, led to a challenge for a duel from the insulted Southerner, who declined to fight, fearing to pass through the "enemy's country" in reaching Clifton, Canada—the spot designated by Mr. Burlingame. Mr. Burlingame died in the midst of his popularity, and just before he had completed the greatest diplomatic work ever assigned an American Minister.

Battle of the Blondes.

" Feb. 24. Horse-whipping of Wilbur F. Storey, editor of the Chicago *Times*, for alleged slander, by Lydia Thompson and Miss Markham, of the "Blonde Burlesque Troupe." These ladies, in company with Mr. Markham, business manager for the troupe, and several others, met Mr. Storey in front of his residence on Wabash Avenue, and inflicted some twenty lashes upon his head and person with a rawhide. Mr. Storey stoutly resisted, and the whole assaulting party were taken before the Armory police court on a charge of disorderly conduct, and were tried and fined $100 each.

General Thomas.

" March 28. Death of Geo. Henry Thomas, Maj.-Gen. of the U. S. A., one of the ablest and most successful of the military chiefs of the civil war. General Thomas was born and raised in Virginia, and belonged to the F. F. V.'s. He was educated at West Point. Yet, when Sumter was fired upon, he declared for his country, and the day the flag was lowered from the walls of Fort Sumter, he reported for duty at Carlisle barracks, Pa., and in May he led a brigade into Maryland, from Chambersburg to Williamsport, and on June 16 he crossed the Potomac in full uniform, to invade Virginia, and fight his old commanders, who had turned traitors to the Government he loved and cherished. All through the long and bloody strife, Gen. Thomas was in the field, an active, faithful, and effective officer, never flinching from duty, never betraying discouragement, or a lack of those high and moral principles which engaged his invaluable services in defense of his country's life and honor. In private life, Gen. Thomas' reputation was without a stain, and he died in the enjoyment of his country's confidence, admiration, and gratitude.

Mrs. Willard.

" April 15. Mrs. Emma Hart Willard died in Troy, N. Y. She was an edu-

1870. cator and author, and the pioneer in the higher education of women in this country. She was next to the youngest in a family of 17 children, and performed her allotted share of the domestic duties of the family, while prosecuting, with a wonderful energy, the studies which presented themselves to her; mastering astronomy in her 14th year, studying it chiefly by moonlight on the horse-block in front of the door. She had two years' study in the village academy, and then engaged as teacher in the district school, where she became noted as a proficient teacher. Her marriage to Dr. John Willard interrupted, for some time, her calling as a teacher. In 1814, financial reverses, however, induced her to open a boarding-school for girls in Middlebury. Her school prospered, and her sphere enlarged, for which she qualified herself by hard study at nights, mastering the advanced sciences, which, one by one, she introduced into her school. But feeling the need of enlarged privileges, she laid her desires and plans before Gov. Clinton, who gave the movement a warm support, and in 1819 she opened her school in Waterford In 1820 the citizens of Troy offered her a building if she would remove her school to that city. She accepted it, and in 1821 opened her subsequently famous Seminary there. In 1825 her husband died, and the entire charge of the institution rested upon her. She continued to successfully manage the school till 1838, when her son and his wife relieved her of further care. After her retirement she became much interested in common schools, and labored for their elevation. In 1854 she attended the World's Editorial Congress in London. She published successively a series of geographies and atlases, a history of the United States, and many other important historical and miscellaneous works of much value. She was a woman who lived and moved a generation, at least, in advance of her age, and her wonderful achievements in behalf of a higher life and education for woman will attach her name to the list of the world's great movers and benefactors.

" May 4. *Death of Zerah Colburn*, the great locomotive engineer, manufacturer, and editor. He was nephew and namesake of the celebrated mathematician of New England. Mr. Colburn, through overwork of brain and mental depression, became perfectly insane, and while in one of his fits, he strayed away from his friends, and died by his own hand.

" July 12. *Admiral Dahlgren*, of the United States Navy, died in Washington from a gun-shot wound received in action. He was the inventor of the celebrated gun bearing his name, also of a smaller rifled cannon. He was a brave and efficient officer, and a dignified and courteous gentleman. His death was a great loss to the nation.

The Nathan Murder.

" July 28. Murder of Benjamin Nathan, a wealthy and influential member of the Stock Exchange, and brother-in-law 1870. of Judge Cardozo, in his own bedchamber in his elegant brown-stone mansion near Fifth Avenue, New York. His two sons and two daughters, a man and a woman-servant were in the house at the time—the woman-servant sleeping in a room adjoining Mr. Nathan's room—and not an inmate of the house was disturbed. The windows of his room were open toward the street, and the hackmen opposite, and the clerks and watch at the Fifth Avenue Hotel never heard a sound. A policeman was stationed at the corner, but a few rods from the house, yet he had no knowledge of any irregular acts or deeds of violence being committed in the neighborhood. Yet the appearance of the body and the room indicated a terrible struggle between Mr. Nathan and his murderers. His body was covered with blood, and nine distinct and fearful gashes and bruises were found upon his head and face. The ceiling, doorposts, and the carpet around the body were covered and soaked with blood. The safe in the room adjoining had been opened, and the contents were scattered about the room. Two gold watches were taken, and the diamond studs were torn from his shirt bosom. Mr. Nathan was a native of the United States, and was 59 years of age. The greatest excitement prevailed, and the utmost vigilance and perseverance were used by the police and detective officers, yet no clew or suspicion of the crime could be attached to any individual. A reward of $30,000 was offered by the Mayor of the city for the arrest and conviction of the person or persons who committed the murder, and the following rewards for the recovery of property taken: $1,000 reward was offered for the identification and recovery of each and every one of the diamond studs; $1,500 for the identification and recovery of a fine gold watch or the chain and seals attached; $300 for information leading to the recovery of an old-fashioned gold watch; $300 for the recovery of a gold medal, the size of a silver dollar, and $100 for a full and detailed description of this medal; $1,000 for the identification of the instrument used in the commission of the deed, and which was found lying in the vestibule between the inner and outside door leading to the street. It was a piece of wrought-iron, 16 inches in length, and turned up at each end, and sharp. It is known as a "dog," and is used by ship-carpenters and other mechanics. Also, $800 were offered to the man who, on the night of the murder, was seen to ascend the steps of Mr. Nathan's house and pick up a piece of paper and walk away with it, if he would come and return the paper. The payment of these rewards was guaranteed by Mrs. Emily Nathan, the widow of the murdered man. In addition to these rewards, the sum of $10,000 was offered by the Stock Exchange for the arrest and conviction of the assassin. Washington Nathan, the second son of Mr. Nathan, was closely watched and strictly examined for a season, but no evidence leading to a reasonable suspicion of his guilt was found. The 1870. coroner's verdict was rendered in the following language: "That Benjamin Nathan came to his death by wounds inflicted upon his head by an instrument known as a 'dog' in the hands of a person or persons to the jury unknown, on the morning of July 29, 1870."

Farragut.

" Aug. 14. Death of David Glascoe Farragut, Admiral of the United States Navy, and one of the most illustrious of naval commanders. His father served seven years in the American army, and during the Revolution was promoted to the rank of Major. David, at the age of eleven years, was admitted as midshipman on board the famous frigate *Essex* (Commodore David Porter) during her celebrated two years' cruise in the Pacific and her final capture, when 155 men were lost in the fight. David was slightly wounded, paroled, and sent to New York. He accompanied Mr. Folsom (the Consul to Tunis), where he continued his studies, becoming familiar with the Arabic and Turkish languages, also later with most of the European languages. When the war broke out he was living in Norfolk, Va., and was so bold in his expressions of abhorrence at the disloyalty of the citizens that they informed him he could not remain in Norfolk and express such sentiments. When the navy yard at Norfolk was destroyed by Commodore McCauley, Farragut left Norfolk destitute of funds to convey him, and with difficulty reached New York. After placing his family in safe quarters, he offered his services to the Government, but he had no ship, and for nine months this great and noble naval officer had to remain idle, waiting for an opportunity to aid the Government, while unworthy, disabled, and incompetent officers were being tested and discharged. Jan. 20, he was appointed to lead the fleet in the attack on New Orleans, and Feb. 3d he sailed in the *Hartford* from Hampton Roads. He arrived at Ship Island the 20th, and was two months in planning and preparing for his grand attack on the metropolis of the southwest. Overcoming difficulties which would have appalled a man of less energy and daring, he finally made the assault, which terminated in one of the grandest achievements ever accomplished. Commodore Farragut was promoted to the highest naval office in the gift of the nation, and presented with a purse of $50,000 from the merchants of New York for his invaluable services rendered to the national commerce, as he had been too busy fighting the enemy to make profits either in capturing blockade-runners or seizing cotton. After the war closed, he went abroad on a cruise in the *Franklin*, and he everywhere met with the most distinguished consideration and regard.

" Aug. 22. President Grant issued a proclamation of neutrality in relation to the Franco-German war, and also prohibiting the American forts from becoming depots for materials of war. 695

1870. *Admission of Revels, the first colored Senator, to Congress.*

" Reconstruction of the South accomplished by the admission of Representatives in Congress from Va., Miss., and Tex.

" Aug. National Labor Convention held in Cincinnati, which voted the immediate formation of an independent political organization known as the National Labor Reform party.

" Aug. 22. Proclamation of neutrality issued by Pres. Grant, enjoining American citizens not to take any part in the Franco-German conflict.

" Irish National Congress in Cincinnati.

Ku-Klux Klan.

" Ku-Kluxism investigated, and a dark revelation of murder, whipping, and violence used to intimidate the Union men and negroes for political purposes by that secret and dangerous organization.

Gen. Lee.

" Oct. 12. Death of Robert Edward Lee, LL.D., an American soldier and educator, and son of Gen. Henry Lee, "the Light-horse Harry" Lee of the Revolutionary war, the personal and political friend of Gen. Washington. Robert E. Lee was a graduate of West Point in 1829. He was a Captain in the regular army when the Mexican war broke out, and when Scott invaded Mexico Lee was appointed chief-engineer of the army under Gen. Wool; and Gen. Scott attributed the reduction of Vera Cruz to his skill; and in recognition of his valuable services he was placed on the General's staff, and after the battle of Cerro Gordo, he was breveted Major; and for his gallant and meritorious conduct at Contreras and Churubusco he was raised to the rank of Lieut.-Col., and in September of the same year he received the brevet rank of Colonel for services at Chapultepec. In 1852 he was assigned the important post of Superintendent at West Point, retaining his field rank. In 1855 Col. Lee took command of a cavalry regiment which had been ordered to Texas, where he remained till 1859, fighting Indians and performing garrison duty. He then returned to Washington and took an active part in capturing John Brown, and hunting down his feeble band; but it is recorded of him that his vigilance and firmness saved the prisoners from the fury of the mob. On the 16th of March, 1861, he was commissioned Colonel of the First Cavalry, and on April 20th he sent in his resignation to Gen. Scott. He was soon after appointed commander of the Confederate forces in Virginia, and served afterward for a time on the coast with headquarters in Charleston; but he was shortly placed in command of all the Confederate forces, which position he occupied to the end of the war, or until his final surrender to Gen. Grant. Gen. Lee was a man marked by native genius, and highly endowed with manly courage and physical beauty, and was greatly endeared to the South, who truly mourned their chieftain.

Albert Barnes.

" Dec. 24. Death of Albert Barnes, D.D., an American clergyman, scholar, and author, in Philadelphia. He was of the New School Presbyterian denomination. He was tried for heresy by the Old School party and adjudged guilty. This action led to the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1837. He was the author of "Notes on the New Testament" in eleven volumes, also "Inquiry into the Scripture views of Slavery," "Life of St. Paul," etc. He acquired the title of D.D. from two or three colleges in the United States, and from a foreign university.

" First narrow-gauge railway in the world built—the Denver and Rio Grande.

" The population of the United States numbered 40,000,000.

" Manitoba made into a separate province.

" Lopez, President of Paraguay, killed, since which Paraguay has been, though nominally a republic, under control of Brazil.

" Great earthquake in Guatemala.

1871. The treaty of Washington.

" Impeachment of Gov. Holden, of North Carolina, for malfeasance in office.

" *Ku-Klux bill* passed by Congress and enforced in Southern districts infested by them.

" Agitation of the Civil Service question, and a Board of Commissioners appointed.

" Labor Reform, Woman Suffrage, and Colored Conventions held in St. Louis.

" Meeting of the Alabama Claims Commissioners in Washington, Fish presiding.

" Congress passed an Act creating an immense public park near the head waters of the Yellowstone.

George Ticknor.

" Jan. 26. Geo. Ticknor, LL.D., an eminent scholar, professor, and author, died in Boston. Mr. Ticknor was a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1807. In 1820 he became Professor of Languages, Literature, and *Belles Lettres* in Harvard College, from which he retired in 1835. In 1849 Mr. Ticknor published his "History of Spanish Literature." As a scholar, perhaps few men in America excelled him, while none, unless excepting Edward Everett, had a memory so well stored with personal associations with brilliant literary men and women of this country and Europe. He was a personal friend of Goethe, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, Madame de Staël, Wordsworth, and many other distinguished persons. To Mr. Ticknor, more than any one else, were the people of Boston indebted for the planning and organization of their great public library, which labors he performed after his sixtieth year. His preliminary report led Mr. Bates to make his magnificent donations.

Alice Cary.

" Feb. 12. Miss Alice Cary, an American poetess and literary writer of wide reputation, died in New York city. She enjoyed the public favor to a far greater extent than many later and more brilliant writers for the press. Her writings were characterized by a native grace and sweetness, and a conscientious regard for the true and the beautiful, rarely found in literary writers of the present day. She was, though an invalid much of her life, an unceasing worker, and her active mind never lacked resources to fill the flying moments with sweet snatches of song or fairy tales of romance. She was the author of many volumes, besides being a constant contributor to the leading literary journals of the day. For nearly thirty years Alice and her sister Phebe lived in a quiet little home in New York city, which was ever the favorite resort of the *literati* of the country. Her last illness was long and painful, yet it was borne with a cheerfulness rarely found upon a bed of death.

Nitro-Glycerine.

" May 19. Explosion of 400 lbs. of nitro-glycerine in cans loaded upon a wagon *en route* from Titusville to Tideoute, Pa. The driver, horses, and wagon were blown to atoms. A large circular excavation, four or five feet deep and twelve feet in diameter, was made in the middle of the road. The fences and trees for a considerable distance around were shattered into fragments. A barn, forty rods away, was blown to pieces, and the whole vicinity was a perfect wreck. The butt end of the driver's whip was driven a distance of one-fourth of a mile through a window, and knocked a woman senseless. Several persons remote from the scene were so stunned by the terrific shock as to become quite ill. The shock was described as very similar to that of an earthquake.

Vallandigham.

" June 17. Death of Clement L. Vallandigham, a Democratic political leader in Ohio. Mr. Vallandigham was successively a teacher, lawyer, Member of Legislature, and editor of a newspaper, *The Dayton Empire*. He ran for Congress in 1857 against Lewis D. Campbell, and though declared defeated, contested the seat and won it. He served in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congress, and was conspicuous for his bold utterances against the Administration. Upon his return to Ohio from Congress, his public speeches against the war and the Administration were of such an inflammatory, bitter, and violent nature, that Gen. Burnside, the Commander of that department, ordered his arrest. He was court-martialed, convicted, and sentenced to close confinement during the war. President Lincoln changed his sentence to banishment across the lines. He was coldly received by the Southern leaders, and soon escaped through the blockade to Canada by the Bermudas. While in exile he was nominated for Governor of Ohio, but was defeated by Hon. John Brough by over 100,000 votes. He returned undisturbed to Ohio, and was a member of the National Democratic Congress at Chicago in 1864; and just before his death he advocated the Democratic "New Departure."

" July 12. Great riot in New York between the Irish factions—the Orangemen and Roman Catholics; 67 killed and 117 wounded.

1871. July 16. First exposure of "Tammany Ring" in the New York *Times*.

Phebe Cary.

" July 31. Miss Phebe Cary died at Newport, R. I. She was sister to Alice Cary, the poetess; herself a poetess and writer of much note. Phebe began writing verses at the age of 17 years, and soon her hymns, songs, and household lyrics became eagerly sought for, and read in thousands of homes. She was the "housekeeper" in the little home of the sisters (Alice being an invalid), and her spare time was devoted to contributing her rich and varied thoughts and fancies to the literary press of the day. Her death soon followed that of her sister, for whom her grief was intense and inconsolable.

" Aug. 4. Mrs. Lydia Shankland, a *centenarian* in Hillsboro, N. C., died at the age of 112 years. At the time of the Revolutionary war she was a young woman.

" Oct. 9. Earthquake shocks felt in the Atlantic States.

Burning of the City of Chicago.

" Oct. 8–9. This was the most destructive conflagration recorded in the history of civilized nations, sweeping over 2,124 acres of ground, or 73 miles of streets, destroying 17,450 buildings and their contents, with a loss of $200,000,000 and hundreds of human lives. The wind had been blowing strongly from the south-west for several days, and not a drop of rain had fallen for weeks. The fire originated in a small shed or stable in the rear of 137 De Koven Street, on the west side of the city, at half-past nine o'clock Sunday evening. When once started, among a class of wooden buildings and shanties, and adjacent to a number of shingle and planing mills and factories, no power could arrest the flames. They leaped and darted across streets and over high blocks, consuming everything in their mad fury. The river afforded no barrier to their progress, and often the flames started up several blocks in advance, ignited by burning shingles, boards, and sometimes heavy planks, which were carried like feathers before the wind. The water-works were destroyed early in the night, and no further efforts could be made to arrest the progress of destruction. The wind increased to a perfect gale, filling the air with coals, brands, and burning fragments of every description, often hurling heavy doors and sections of roofing and awnings through the air with relentless fury, rendering passage through the streets extremely perilous. After all hope of saving the city was abandoned, then began the wild rush of thousands of human beings for a place of safety.

By four o'clock Monday morning all the bridges were burned except one on the main branch, and the tunnels were but furnaces, through which the smoke and flames poured with the fury of a hurricane. Soon escape was impossible for a large number who were hemmed in on the south side. There

1871. was but one avenue left, and that the lake. Already the shipping was on fire, and every large building adjacent to the water was in flames. But, with the desperation of despair these unfortunate creatures rushed into the water. A few boats and vessels had escaped, and some were rescued on these, and the railroad cars from the south bore away the flying fugitives until the burdened trains began to take fire. It was, indeed, a race for life, and for a time the flames seemed sure to win. On and on they swept to the northward, through the old cemetery and over Lincoln Park, carrying destruction to everything in their march. But one house in the long and devastating track of this fiery hurricane was left standing, and that, being in the center of a block, and defended by a score of hands, had been covered by wet carpets and blankets, which were constantly replenished with water from a large cistern. No tongue, or pen, or human power can depict that fearful carnival of flame which surged, with resistless power, for over thirty hours. At last it reached the northern limits of the city, and there expired for want of prey.

The news of this terrible disaster reached the farthest extent of civilization before the smoke had cleared away, and from every nook and corner of this wide continent began to pour in such large supplies of food, clothing, and everything necessary for the sustenance of life, that in less than forty-eight hours there was abundance for present need. Millions of dollars besides were sent to support the "pauper city," and to build houses and store them for the shelter of thousands through the cold winter. $7,000,000 were contributed for this purpose.

The nations of Europe sent proffers of sympathy and aid. And while the Samaritans were busy at their work of mercy, the thieves and plunderers were also on the alert, and a reign of terror was imminent. But Gen. Phil. Sheridan, with a detachment of regulars, soon restored order and afforded protection to life and property. The wonderful charities which were so freely bestowed were only paralleled by the marvelous energies displayed by the citizens of Chicago in her restoration. In less than three years scarce a vestige of the great fire remained, and the city was rebuilt more solidly and beautifully than before, and the business part greatly extended. It seemed like the work of magic, and is a striking illustration of the enterprise of the age in which we live.

Great Forest Fires.

" Oct. 9. *Great fires in the forests of Northern Michigan and Wisconsin*, sweeping over large districts of heavily-timbered country, burning the green pine trees as though they were the driest tinder, and enveloping small villages, settlements, and saw-mills with a cordon of fire, rendering all efforts to escape futile. Millions of dollars in property and hundreds of human lives were thus destroyed.

Burning of Peshtigo.

1871. Oct. 9. The burning of this little town with nearly every one of its inhabitants was the saddest and most shocking feature of any of the great and disastrous fires which swept over the country during this ever memorable year. This was a village of several hundred inhabitants, who were engaged in the lumber business, there being large saw-mills upon the stream. The fire came with a tornado of wind; suddenly, and without a moment's warning, it fell like a vast flaming thunderbolt from heaven and wiped the little hamlet out of existence. The frantic people ran for the river and the cleared fields; the water was filled with floating logs and timbers, and the poor distracted cattle also took refuge in the river; many of the people were crushed and drowned who were not burned upon its banks; and all who sought shelter in the forest, or in the open fields, were burned—literally roasted alive. A few only escaped to tell the dreadful tale. The spectacle after the fire was exhausted was one of the most heart-rending that ever was witnessed. Thousands of people visited the spot, and to the few survivors aid was promptly given.

Gen. Anderson.

" Oct. 26. Maj.-Gen. Robert Anderson died at Nice, France. Gen. Anderson was a graduate from West Point as an artillery officer. He served as a Colonel in the Black Hawk war, and served in the Florida war with great acceptance. He was aide-de-camp to Gen. Scott, and in 1841 he was promoted to a captaincy of artillery. He was in the Mexican war under Scott, and was wounded at the battle of Molino del Rey. He was, for his bravery, breveted Major. Until the breaking out of the Rebellion he was a very useful and efficient officer in the U. S. Army, and Governor of a Military Asylum at Harrodsburg, Ky., which institution he founded. Gen. Scott selected him to command the fort at Charleston from full confidence in his integrity, although he was by birth and marriage a Southern man. John B. Floyd, a noted secessionist, was Secretary of War under Pres. Buchanan, and on Anderson's appointment to the post, they refused him a battalion, allowing him but two skeleton companies, and after his arrival at Fort Moultrie he constantly appealed, but in vain, for reinforcements and supplies (see notes on Fort Sumter).

" Hall made a third and last voyage to the Arctic seas.

" Nov. Russian Minister Catacazy dismissed for discourtesy to the United States authorities.

" Nov. 8. Death of Capt. Hall on board the *Polaris* in the Arctic seas.

" Nov. 28. Death of Mrs. Bridget Carroll, an Irish *centenarian*, in N. Y. city, aged 102 years; married at 33 and had 10 children, 37 grandchildren, and 4 great-grandchildren. At the age of 94 she had not an unsound tooth in her head, and just before her death she could thread the finest cambric needle without the aid of spectacles.

Grand Duke Alexis.

1871. Visit of the Grand Duke Alexis, son of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, to the United States, his extended tour over the land, and his generous welcome by the people.

Thomas Ewing.

" Death of Thomas Ewing, LL.D., an American jurist and statesman. Mr. Ewing was the father of Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., and father-in-law of Gen. William T. Sherman. Mr. Ewing received in 1815 the first bachelor's degree ever granted in Ohio. He then studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1816. In 1831 he entered the U. S. Senate. In politics Mr. Ewing was a Whig, and was associated with Clay and Webster in opposition to President Jackson. In 1841 he became Secretary of the Treasury under Harrison.

Stanley.

" Visit of Henry M. Stanley, of the "*Herald* Expedition," to Africa, in search of the lost traveler — Dr. Livingstone. Mr. Stanley reached Zanzibar in due time, and after a tedious journey through the wilds of Africa, he met the object of his search in Ujiji in November. Remaining with Livingstone about four months, in August he reached London; and "upon the wings of the wind" the whole world was made acquainted with the result of his wonderful travels through the jungles of Africa, the peculiar and almost miraculous meeting with the celebrated Dr. Livingstone, whom the world regarded as lost, electrified all the civilized nations of the earth, with a peculiar sympathy in the great traveler and his already famous discoverer. Mr. Stanley immediately began writing a book with a detailed account of his journey, with which the world is already familiar.

" Revolution in Guatemala.

" British Columbia taken into the Dominion.

" City of Buenos Ayres visited by yellow fever, and 26,000 persons died in 100 days.

" The Ku-Klux bill passed by Congress..... 606

" Civil Service Reform question agitated, and a board of civil service commissioners appointed..... 606

" Statistics of the United States census for 1870 published, giving the population of the United States 38,113,253.... 606

" A Joint Commission appointed between the United States and Great Britain to examine all cases in dispute. The Commission met at Washington on Feb. 27th, and, after a lengthy discussion, the Washington treaty was signed..... 607

" Agassiz started on a voyage round Cape Horn.

Credit Mobilier.

" This year the great "*Credit Mobilier*" scandal, which involved several prominent Government officials, including the Vice-President, was developed. It was an extensive corporation of stockholders of the Union Pacific Railroad, of which Oakes Ames, a United States

1871. Congressman from Massachusetts, was the leading spirit. It was claimed that, through bribery, prominent Congressmen and United States officials had voted large sums of money for the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. Large profits were derived from this money over the actual cost of construction, a share of which fell to the stockholders of this corporation.

Stokes-Fisk Tragedy.

1872. Jan. 6. James Fisk was shot by Edward S. Stokes at the Grand Central Hotel, in New York. A woman the cause of the crime — Mrs. Helen Josephine Mansfield, an actress, playing in minor parts in Western towns. In her travels she met an actor, Frank Lawler, to whom she was afterward married. She was a showy woman, and upon her appearance in New York she was at once surrounded by a number of admirers. Her husband becoming jealous, she applied for and obtained a divorce. Hearing of Mr. Fisk's generosity toward unfortunate actors and actresses, she sought an introduction, and it soon became apparent that she had captured Fisk's heart. She accompanied him to balls, theaters, and parties, and rode with him behind his four-in-hand, at all times occupying the post of honor. At the grand public ball in the Academy of Music she was gazed at by the throng on the floor, as she sat like a queen in the best proscenium box. At this time she was living in her own house, presented by Fisk, which cost $20,000, and was mortgaged for $20,000 more — the furniture costing $10,000. The lawful wife of Mr. Fisk was living in Boston at this time. The acquaintance between Fisk and Stokes at this date was of a purely business character. Becoming more intimate, Fisk invited Stokes to dinner at Mrs. Mansfield's house, when he became captivated by the handsome face of its mistress, and as Stokes was handsome and gay, and much superior to Fisk in social attainments, Mrs. Mansfield "took a fancy" to her guest. Fisk, though naturally unsuspecting, soon became jealous of his rival; and the preference which his mistress showed her new lover exasperated him, and he watched for an opportunity to dislodge his rival. Stokes soon gave him an opportunity. Being mutually interested in an oil company, Stokes drew heavily from the treasury, and Fisk had him arrested for embezzlement. War was now declared, and Mrs. Mansfield took open sides with Stokes. Fisk had the money, but Stokes had possession of the woman. Fisk carried on the war so hotly against Stokes that he sued Fisk for libel, having previously sued him for false imprisonment in the alleged embezzlement case, and which Fisk settled by paying $10,000 damages. The day of the trial, Stokes appeared "dressed up like a count," in company with Mrs. Mansfield arrayed in the height of fashion. Fisk was not present, but was represented by his counsel. The trial that day was an exciting and stormy one, and was adjourned for one week. While at

1872. lunch at Delmonico's, immediately after the trial, Stokes learned that Fisk had procured an indictment against him for conspiracy. He immediately repaired to the Grand Central Hotel in search of Fisk. Arriving at the head of the stairway on the second floor, leading from the ladies' entrance, he saw Fisk ascending the stairs, and raising a revolver he immediately fired two shots at his enemy, muttering some unintelligible words at the same time. One of the shots entered Fisk's abdomen, and he staggered back a dying man, and was carried to one of the hotel parlors. Stokes made no attempt to escape, and was soon under arrest. He was identified by Fisk, and then locked up.

Stokes was indicted for murder in the first degree, and on Jan. 6, 1873, he was sentenced to be hanged on the 28th of the following month, but a new trial was granted and the death-sentence annulled, and he was finally sentenced, on Oct. 29, to four years imprisonment in New York State prison. He, however, was detained in the Tombs about one year and nine months before being sent to Auburn, during which time he was the most noted criminal in the country, as many as 500 applications for passes being granted in one day to persons who wished to get sight of him. His father and brother were his most constant visitors, but neither his wife or little seven-year-old daughter ever visited him. He kept the picture of his little daughter hanging on the cell wall. His wife obtained a legal divorce from him, and Mrs. Mansfield immediately repaired to Paris, where she had several romantic adventures, one of which was with a rich Count, whose financial ruin she accomplished. She afterward returned to the United States and took up her residence in Philadelphia. The whole period of Stokes' imprisonment in the Tombs, Sing Sing, and at Auburn, was four years, nine months, and twenty-one days. He was discharged from Auburn Oct. 28, 1876.

Jim Fisk.

" James Fisk was the son of a peddler, and barely received a common school education. After serving as a waiter in a hotel and member of a circus company for a time, he joined his father in peddling, and after a time he bought his father out, and then employed him to visit the rural districts, while he himself visited the larger towns and villages. His horses were always gay, and his wagons bright and showy, and himself sparkling with wit, humor, and good-natured impudence, for which he afterward became so famous. He prospered very rapidly, and soon became a salesman in the Boston house where he bought his supplies. Soon he became a partner. He made some excellent bargains with the Government during the war, and, it is said, made a happy stroke smuggling cotton through the lines. In four years Mr. Fisk retired from the firm with capital enough to start a store of his own, and in four months his money was all

1872. gone. He soon after appeared in New York, and opened a broker's office in Broadway, his entire capital consisting in (if reports can be believed) a borrowed silver watch; and when he introduced himself to the favor of Daniel Drew, by negotiating for him the sale of the Bristol line of steamboats, he was practically penniless. Mr. Drew first set him up as a broker in partnership with Belden, and employed the new firm in carrying on his famous war with Cornelius Vanderbilt for possession of the Erie Railroad. In Oct., 1867, Fisk was one of three contestants for the office of Director, and a compromise resulted in the election of Fisk and Gould as Directors of the Erie Railroad; and from this point dates Mr. Fisk's memorable and stupendous railroad and commercial schemes, the magnitude, daring, and success of which almost surpass comprehension or belief, and reads more like an Arabian or fairy tale than practical and real business transactions. Fisk and Gould now began their speculations and gambling in railroad stocks, and were soon able to enumerate their gains by millions. Not satisfied with these brilliant gains, Fisk and his partners began to speculate in gold, and in September, 1869, they brought on that crisis which will long be remembered in the history of "Wall Street" as "Black Friday." Next Fisk purchased the Eighth Avenue Opera House, New York, and leased a part for the Erie Railroad offices; he managed the theater himself. He then bought the Fifth Avenue Theater, a summer-garden in the city, for the purpose of a restaurant; two lines of steamboats plying between Fall River and New York and Bristol and New York, and bought a ferry line across the Hudson. He became Colonel of the Ninth Regiment of the New York State Guard, and was figuring for a Brig.-Generalship at the time of his death. He bought coaches, express-wagons, and lands; houses, too, which he furnished with barbaric splendor, and filled them with opera-bouffe singers and other celebrities of like grade.

Samuel F. Morse.

" Samuel F. Morse, LL.D., the inventor of the electric telegraph, a painter and author, died this year. Mr. Morse was one of the founders of the National Academy of Design in New York, and its first President, and a lecturer on fine arts at the New York Athenæum. Mr. Morse was also a fine portrait painter. His great invention was virtually perfected while on a homeward voyage from Europe, in 1832, and the recording apparatus and essential features were sketched upon paper before leaving the vessel, but it was not till 1835 that a line was put up, consisting of a half-mile of wire, and the experiment tested. In 1837 he gave publicity to his enterprise, by an exhibition at the University, and the same year filed his caveat at the Patent Office in Washington, but not till 1843 could he get the attention of Congress or any material aid to his enterprise, and only in the extreme hurry of the

1872. last session, at the hour of midnight, after his hopes had all departed, did Congress grant him the sum of $30,000 to experiment upon his invention. And when but $7,000 of the money was left, and he proved the laying of the wires in the ground a failure, Mr. Ezra Cornell came to his rescue, and suggested the elevation and stretching of the wire upon poles; this proved a success, and saved Mr. Morse from discouragement and defeat. With the details of the history of the telegraph the public are familiar, and its grand achievements are acknowledged by every nation under the sun.

" Congress voted the abolition of all political disabilities placed upon the Southern people, excepting those who had been leaders in the Rebellion.

" Northwestern Boundary Question settled by the Emperor of Germany, who acted as arbiter between England and America, granting and establishing the claims of the United States.

" Jan. 18. Severe storm at Aspinwall; the shipping and mole were damaged to the extent of $500,000.

" "New Departure" of the Democratic party under the initiative of Vallandigham, and supported by Adams and Chase.

Labor Reform Convention.

" Feb. Labor Reform party held a Convention in Columbus, O., nominating Judge Davis, of Ill., for President and Joel Parker, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. Mr. Davis declined, and a convention of workingmen met at Philadelphia and nominated Charles O'Conor, of New York, President..607

Colored Convention.

" National Colored Convention met in New Orleans, indorsing Grant's Administration, and tendering thanks to Charles Sumner for his continued efforts in behalf of the colored people..... 607

" Feb. 17. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and San Salvador signed a treaty for the formation of a Central American Union, consisting of the several independent republics.

" March. A ship-canal successfully surveyed across the Isthmus of Panama, by an expedition from New York.

Greeley's Nomination.

" May 1. The Liberal Republican party held a Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, nominating Horace Greeley for President and Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President.

" June 5. Regular Republican Convention met at Philadelphia, nominating by acclamation Ulysses S. Grant for President and Henry Wilson for Vice-President.

" July 9. Regular Democratic Convention held in Baltimore, indorsing the nomination of Horace Greeley by the Liberal Republicans.

James Gordon Bennett.

" June 1. Death of James Gordon Bennett, a noted and remarkable journalist, engaged for fifty years in the press,

1872. and founder, editor, and proprietor of the *N. Y. Herald*. He was a nominal Catholic, but liberal in faith. Was born in Scotland, and sent to school to study for the priesthood, but soon found he had mistaken his calling. Reading the Autobiography of Franklin, he determined to emigrate to America, and landed with but $25 in his pocket. He finally arrived in Boston without any funds, and wandered about hungry for two days, looking for work. He found a job, reading proof, in the publishing house of Wells & Lilly. He next went to South Carolina as a teacher; next to New York in 1834, and started a commercial school, which failed; then he tried lecturing on political economy, which also proved a failure. Again he tried the newspapers as reporter, paragraphist, poet, and general utility man. In 1825 he bought the *Sunday Courier* on credit, but soon gave it up. He next connected himself with the Democratic *National Advertiser*, and that journal changing hands and politics, he left it and joined the late M. M. Noah as assistant editor of the *Enquirer*. Mr. Bennett now interested himself in politics, and joined the Tammany Society, and soon manifested that cynical spirit which was so characteristic of his writings. In 1828 he went to Washington as correspondent for the *Enquirer*, and there made his first decided hit. He read the letters of Horace Walpole in the Congressional Library, and attempted a similar vein in his correspondence for the *Enquirer*, which attracted much notice, and was extensively copied.

Mr. Bennett was earning at this time, from various labors with his pen, from $5 to $12 per week. At his suggestion the *Enquirer* was consolidated with another paper as the *Courier and Enquirer*, under James Watson Webb, with young Bennett as assistant, and which soon became the leading newspaper of the times; but after three years the editor and young Bennett separated from a difference of political opinion, and Bennett started a cheap party paper, devoted to the support of Jackson and Van Buren, which lived but thirty days. Then he went to Philadelphia "with the wreck of his savings" and placed them in a Jacksonian paper called *The Pennsylvanian*, and appealed to the party for help, which was refused; and giving up the venture, he returned to New York. He endeavored to get employment on the *Sun*, but failed. Herein really lay his first good luck, for he resolved to trust no more to politicians, and the result was *The New York Herald*, the first number of which appeared in May, 1835, price one cent, and for sale everywhere. Two young printers agreed to print it and take the risk of sharing the profits or losses, under the firm of "James Gordon Bennett & Co." The publishers' office was a deep cellar at No. 20 Wall Street, where all the business of the concern was transacted, with a plank supported by two flour barrels for a desk. The paper was a small, four-page, independent, sharp, cynical, and witty little sheet, and soon became very popular. It offended all

1872. parties and all creeds; was denounced by the Catholics for blasphemy, and shocked the sense of decency of the Protestants, but *people would buy it.* When four months old the paper was burned out, but he raked it out of the ashes and started again as sole proprietor, doing all the labor, writing, office-work, reporting, and everything himself. In seven years, unaided, he made the paper worth $1,000,000, with a circulation of 20,000. During the war the circulation was more than doubled. It employed, in addition to its regular force, 63 war correspondents at a great expense. He always paid liberally for news items, and once gave to a news reporter $25 for a news telegram of three words, which had cost but $1. At another time he ordered $100 to be paid to a contributor for an article of six columns which had been contracted for at $8 per column, adding to the editor, by way of explanation, "He may have something else as good," in which he was not deceived; the correspondent proved to be very valuable to the paper. His one object was the success of the *Herald*, which he sought regardless of means or consequences, and never endeavored to please any one but himself, and succeeded in that and was happy. Mr. Bennett was a strictly temperate and virtuous man, with neither low habits or idle hours, and was an indefatigable worker. In these things his great success lay.

Alabama Claims.

" *Final settlement of the Alabama Claims*, which grew out of the acts of several vessels, some of them built and manned in Great Britain, and others sailed from Confederate ports under command of the secessionists, and were used as cruisers by the rebels. They destroyed millions of dollars worth of United States property on the seas, and were permitted to sail into English ports and take on supplies of provisions and coal. $16,250,000 were awarded to the United States by Great Britain.

Peter Cartwright.

" Sept. 25. Death of Peter Cartwright, an eccentric, but useful Methodist preacher in Sangamon Co., Ill. His father was a soldier of the Revolution, and about 1790 removed with his family to Kentucky, and here, in this Western wilderness, Peter Cartwright was raised, and his education was acquired by hunting, fishing, horse-racing, dancing, and all kinds of jollity and mirth, amid the wilds of the far West, and amid all the hardships possible to a pioneer life. When 16 years of age he was convicted of his sins at a camp-meeting, where hundreds were converted, and he was soon pronounced converted, when he immediately started out as a local preacher, and soon was admitted into the regular ministry of the M. E. Church. He continued to preach, and, at times, engaged in politics. He was once elected to the Legislature of Illinois, and was victor in many contentions by his ready wit and resolute spirit. He was, for more than fifty years, a Presiding Elder, and

1872. saw the M. E. Church rise in the U. S. from a membership of 72,874 to 1,008,314. He was a powerful preacher and laborious pastor, and much beloved by the Church.

Epizootic.

" Sept. 30. First appearance of the epizootic in America was in Toronto, Ontario, and in New York, Oct. 18, when in ten days 40,000 horses were attacked by it, and 13,000 in Brooklyn, and in less than two months it had traveled over the entire Atlantic slope, appearing in Galveston, Texas, and reaching Colorado, Wyoming, and Nevada in Jan., 1873, and California a few days later. The disease proved to be a very old one under a new name. It began about 415 B.C., re-appeared in A.D. 330, and at intervals, to the present time, although this was, perhaps, its first visit to the New World, and was evidently an epidemic, and during its prevalence was the cause of much inconvenience to man and great suffering to domestic animals.

" Oct. 10. Death of Mrs. Sarah Payson Willis Parton, authoress, better known as *Fanny Fern*, in New York, aged 61. She was the sister of the noted author and poet, N. P. Willis, and wife of the popular historian, James Parton. Mrs. Parton was one of the most spicy and popular newspaper essayists and authors of this country. She was widely known from her newspaper sketches, called "Fern Leaves," also as the author of several interesting works of fiction.

" Nov. At the election in Rochester, N. Y., Susan B. Anthony and fifteen other ladies voted, for which illegality they were duly arrested.

Gen. George Meade.

" Nov. 6. Death of George Gordon Meade, LL.D., Maj.-Gen. U. S. A. Gen. Meade was a graduate of West Point in 1835, and in 1836 he resigned his commission in the artillery on account of ill-health, and became a civil engineer. But in 1842 he again entered the army as Second Lieutenant in the corps of Topographical Engineers, and served in that capacity in the Mexican war upon the staff of Gen. Taylor, and afterward that of Scott, in which service he distinguished himself, and was promoted upon his return to Philadelphia. During the interval between the Mexican and Civil wars, Mr. Meade was engaged in the survey of the northern lakes. But upon the call of the Government for men, he was ordered to report at Washington, where he was made a Brig.-Gen. of Volunteers in command of the Second Brigade. In the advance on Richmond, Gen. Meade was severely wounded, but was able to conduct his command with bravery throughout the Maryland campaign. At Antietam he was slightly wounded, and had two horses shot under him. On Nov. 29, 1862, he was appointed Maj.-Gen. of Volunteers, and took part in the battle of Fredericksburg. In June, 1863, he was unexpectedly called to succeed Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac, numbering 100,000 men.

His army fought in the battles of the

1872. Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court-house, and Cold Harbor, and was employed in the siege of Petersburg. In the next year Gen. Meade was promoted to a Brigadier-Generalship in the U. S. A. Gen. Meade was a true patriot and brave soldier, and was greatly esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and upon his death the funeral honors paid to his remains were only excelled by those bestowed upon the martyred President.

The National Grangers.

" Being a secret organization or movement among the laboring classes, especially the farmers, to unite the people through a system of universal co-operation between producers and consumers. The movement extended nearly over the entire Union, embracing all laboring or producing classes.

" Oct. Conspiracy against the Government of Costa Rica discovered and defeated.

Great Boston Fire.

" Nov. 9. A fire broke out in the heart of the city of Boston and destroyed 800 buildings, chiefly of fine granite and marble, which, as in the great fire of Chicago the year previous, crumbled down like chalk before the devouring flames. Nearly 65 acres, covered with commercial palaces and fine and apparently indestructible buildings, were swept over, and left a mass of shapeless and charred ruins. The most astonishing feature of the Boston fire is that there was no gale as at Chicago, yet the flames were perfectly uncontrollable. Gunpowder was extensively used in blowing up the buildings; but the streets were so narrow and the buildings so high that the firemen were baffled in their efforts. At last, after many of the brave fellows had lost their lives, and the very heart was burned out of the city, they gained a victory over the "fiery demon" and stayed the progress of his march. The loss was estimated at $85,000,000 and the number of lives considerable.

Horace Greeley.

" Nov. 29. Horace Greeley, an American reformer and founder of the New York *Tribune*, died in Westchester Co., N. Y. Mr. Greeley was born of poor parents, in the town of Amherst, N. H., in 1811, and worked upon a farm till he was 15 years of age, when he entered the printing-office of the *Northern Spectator* in East Poultney, Vt., as an apprentice, where he remained over four years, mastering his trade in all its branches. He then went to Erie, Pa., and found employment in a newspaper office, where he made many friends, and was offered a partnership in the business, though but twenty years old. In Aug., 1831, Horace Greeley arrived in New York with only ten dollars in his pocket, and a scanty wardrobe tied up in a bundle. He had never seen a city of such size, and was utterly ignorant of its ways and wonders. He began to search for work, but his verdant appearance was much against him, and he was told by

1872. Mr. David Hall, the editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, that he believed him to be a runaway apprentice from some country printing-office. Becoming discouraged, and his money about gone, he resolved to leave the city, but in the evening he fell in with some young Irishmen who took an interest in the wandering printer, and directed him to the printing-office of Mr. John T. West, who had a piece of work so difficult that no printer acquainted in the city could be induced to accept it. It was the composition of a miniature New Testament in a curiously intricate style of typography. But nothing daunted, this "green country boy" undertook the job, and by laborious and constant application from twelve to fourteen hours each day he could earn six dollars per week. Mr. Greeley next entered the office of the *Spirit of the Times*, and becoming soon on intimate terms with the foreman of the office, the two entered a partnership to establish a job printing-office, and took a contract to print a cheap daily newspaper to be sold on the streets, but owing to the incompetency of its editor it proved a failure, but the job office continued to prosper. His partner was soon after drowned, and he procured another, and in a short time the new firm started a weekly newspaper called *The New-Yorker*, Mr. Greeley being the editor and his companion the publisher. This paper lived for over seven years, and arose from one dozen subscribers to over 9,000, but being conducted on the credit system, was a losing speculation financially. Next Mr. Greeley became editor of the *Jeffersonian*, a Whig campaign paper, which attained a subscription of 15,000, and was admirably conducted. During the Harrison campaign Mr. Greeley conducted the *Log Cabin*, which was subsequently merged into the *N. Y. Tribune*, which paper Mr. Greeley was identified with till the time of his death. The original list of *Tribune* subscribers numbered 600, and at the end of the first year its success was established. The high character of that journal under Mr. Greeley's supervision is so well established that it is unnecessary to detail its history. Mr. Greeley was a Whig in politics, and a liberal thinker. He was elected to Congress in 1848 to fill a vacancy, and never afterward was a member of any deliberate body except the late Constitutional Convention of New York. His greatest power was exerted in the editorial chair, although his career as a lecturer was successful. Mr. Greeley was the author of several minor works, the most interesting of which was "Recollections of a Busy Life," which was his autobiography. Mr. Greeley joined the Republican party at its start, being one of its founders. When the war was over (which he aided in every laudable way) he was exceedingly anxious for peace, and bearing no malice to the South, he became one of the bondsmen to Jeff. Davis, which act lost him an election to the Senate and made him very unpopular for a while; but he still claimed he had done right. Upon his nomination to the Presidency in 1872, the stormy campaign and

1872. vituperous abuse of the press, together with the sickness and death of his wife, and lastly his defeat at the election, and his continued mental labors, all culminated in the wreck of his noble intellect and his sad death. But whatever may have been said of Mr. Greeley during the excitement of a political campaign, no man could bear him any malice, for his character was singularly pure and his nature one of the most frank and unselfish upon the political records of any nation or people.

Wm. H. Seward.

" Wm. Henry Seward, LL.D., an eminent American statesman, died at Auburn, N. Y. At a very early age Mr. Seward evinced a great fondness for books by running away from home to go to school, and at nine years of age he was sent to Farmers' Hall Academy in Goshen, and before he was fifteen he was pronounced ready for college. In 1816 he entered Union College, from which he graduated with high honors. He studied law with John Anthon, in New York, and afterward with Ogden Hoffman and John Duer, in Goshen, and was admitted to the bar in 1822, and the year following he formed a partnership with Judge Miller, in Auburn, whose daughter he married in 1824. He soon became distinguished at the bar for originality and independence, and shortly acquired a large practice and high reputation. In 1827 Mr. Seward became the champion of the Greeks, and by his eloquence secured large contributions to the funds raised in this country for their defense. In 1828 Mr. Seward was called to preside over one of the largest political conventions ever held in the State of New York, which duty he discharged with great ability. In 1830 Mr. Seward was elected State Senator by the anti-Masonic party, and at the same time he became *ex officio* a judge in the highest Court in the State, and the peer of venerable and distinguished men, and he then began his active labors in the field of reform, all the reforms of the day receiving his earnest support. In 1833 Mr. Seward visited Europe, and his published letters—80 in number—written during his few weeks' travel, added greatly to his growing popularity. When but 33 years of age he was nominated for Governor of New York, but his youth was the argument against him, and he was defeated by Marcy. In 1838 he was elected Governor by 10,000 majority over Gov. Marcy, and took his seat at 37 years of age, as the first Whig Governor of the Empire State, and his influence was largely felt in shaping the political issues which followed during the next 20 years; also, in reforming many erroneous statutes, and expunging some inhuman and unjust laws from the statute books. Mr. Seward's career as a lawyer was a very brilliant one, and his gubernatorial administration was marked with many noble and reformatory acts. In politics Mr. Seward was a Whig, and acted with his party in all its measures until 1852, when he refused to support the platform, although approving its

1872. candidate for President—Gen. Scott. Mr. Seward, in 1848, took a decided stand for freedom against slavery, which he subsequently so graphically expressed in his great speech on the "Irrepressible Conflict." Mr. Seward was elected to the United States Senate in 1849, and continued in the Senate till he was appointed Secretary of State by President Lincoln. He was a champion of the Republican party in the Senate almost from its first rise, and fought valiantly for its measures for freedom. As a statesman he had no superior, and he filled the office of Secretary of State with great ability and acceptance to the Government. At the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President, Mr. Seward received 173 votes for the office. At the same time the President was assassinated, an accomplice attempted the life of Mr. Seward, who was upon a sick-bed. He was stabbed in the throat, and his life was despaired of for some time, but he finally recovered, and remained in the Cabinet till the close of Mr. Johnson's Presidency, carrying out the policy of Mr. Lincoln and the Government, although often assaulted by politicians and severely criticized by the public; yet time has confirmed many acts, which at the period of great excitement seemed inconsistent with the principles of his party. In 1869 Mr. Seward journeyed through California and Mexico, and in August, 1870, he, with several members of his family, set out upon a tour around the world, visiting all the principal countries, and was everywhere received with great honor, and everywhere making himself familiar with the Governments, policy, races, productions, and commerce of the countries he visited, and returned from his tour October 9th, 1871, and prepared a narrative of his journey, which was published soon after his death. Mr. Seward was a voluminous writer, but his speeches, essays, and State papers have not as yet been fully collected.

Edwin Forrest.

" Dec. 12. Edwin Forrest, an eminent American tragedian, died in Philadelphia, his native city. At the age of eleven Mr. Forrest exhibited a strong aptitude and taste for declamation and tragedy, and participated in representations before the Amateur Dramatic Club of Philadelphia, of which he was a member. His first appearance upon the regular stage was in the Walnut Street Theater, Nov. 27, 1820, acting the part of *Norval* in Home's play of "Douglass." In 1825 he first met Edward Kean, whose attention and commendation he attracted while acting *Iago* to his *Othello*. From this time forward his success was assured, and he soon after made an engagement at $800 per annum. His first great triumph was in the Bowery, N. Y., where he remained nearly three years, and then he accepted an engagement at the Park, where he remained, and long enjoyed a high popularity. At the age of 28 Mr. Forrest was a man of magnificent personal

1872. presence and masculine beauty. He possessed a voice of marvelous power and sweetness, and enjoyed the unbounded popularity of his country as a tragedian, with the fullest confidence in his own powers that he was the greatest of living tragedians. In 1835 he sailed for Europe; and in October, 1836, he appeared at Drury Lane as *Spartacus* in the "Gladiator"—a play produced in 1831, and written with a special view to fit his peculiar talents. In London Mr. Forrest became the lion of the hour, and at that time received especially kind treatment from Mr. Macready, who afterward became his most bitter enemy and rival. In 1837 he married Miss Catherine Norton Sinclair, an English lady, and soon returned to America, making his first professional appearance in Philadelphia, where he was enthusiastically received, afterward visiting New York and other cities, where his popularity steadily increased. In 1845 he made his second visit to London in company with Mrs. Forrest, and they were welcomed in the best and most intelligent society in London and Edinburgh. At the Princess Theater, London, Mr. Forrest was hissed in his play of *Macbeth*—a character wholly unsuited to his style of acting—which Mr. Forrest highly resented, and attributed to the influence of Macready, and hastily indulged in the most bitter aspersions against him. He visited the theater in Edinburgh where Macready was playing *Hamlet*, and stood up conspicuously in a private box and hissed him. This rash act nearly cost Mr. Forrest his great popularity in Great Britain. About two years after his return to America, Macready was playing *Macbeth* in Astor Place Opera House, N. Y., when a mob, composed of Mr. Forrest's friends, assaulted him, when a fearful scene ensued, resulting in killing 22 men and wounding 36 others. The succeeding year Mrs. Forrest sued for a divorce, which was granted in her favor, on all points, two years afterward, with an alimony of $3,000 a year, the payment of which Mr. Forrest resisted for twenty years. Mr. Forrest continued his career as an actor till 1858, amassing a large fortune, which he used extensively in the purchase of a fine residence and a magnificent dramatical library in Philadelphia. In 1860 Mr. Forrest again returned to the stage, and continued playing, at intervals, till 1871, when illness compelled him to retire.

" Judge Bernard's removal and disqualification for corruption in office.

George Catlin.

" Dec. 22. George Catlin, an American artist and author, died, at the age of 76. In 1829 Mr. Catlin began studying the life and habits of the Aborigines of America, with the view of preserving their history upon canvas. In 1831 he visited most of the tribes east of the Mississippi, and painted the portraits of their chiefs and celebrities. He visited Black Hawk and painted his portrait. He next descended the Missouri River from the mouth of the Yellowstone to St. Louis, with two men, in a canoe, steering it himself the

1872. whole distance, visiting, in the meantime, the numerous tribes of Indians adjacent, and painted many of the faces and scenery. He was, during the trip, correspondent of the New York *Spectator*, which letters were subsequently published in a volume entitled "Catlin's Life among the North American Indians." In 1840 he went to Europe, taking his paintings, which he exhibited in London for three years. In 1852 he explored the interior of South America, interviewing its various tribes of wild Indians. Mr. Catlin traveled very extensively in his own land, and was considered the best informed man in the world on Indian life and customs. He was the author of several valuable books.

" Book-sewing machine patented by Henry Thompson, of Connecticut.

" United States had 60,852 miles of railroad.

" A fatal and unknown distemper visited Brazil and carried off, in three towns, 13,000 out of 18,000 inhabitants.

1873. Feb. Death of a centenarian, Miss Becky Kitchen, of Southampton Co., Va., aged 120 years.

" Feb. 17. Extensive fire in Sing Sing, N. Y., $150,000 damages.

" March 2. Death of Eld. Jacob Knapp, the famous revivalist, at Rockford, Ill.

Wreck of the "Atlantic."

" April 1. Wreck of the ocean steamer *Atlantic*. 535 lives were lost.

Modoc Massacre.

" April 11. Gen. R. A. Canby was murdered by the Modoc Indians in the Lava Beds of N. California. He was a graduate of West Point in 1839, in the same class with Gen. Halleck, and served in the Florida war from 1839 to 1842. He served through the Mexican war as First Lieutenant, Captain, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major of Infantry, etc., and attained distinction for his bravery and purity of character. He was employed by the Government to bring the Modocs to accept the terms offered them by the Government; in which expedition, through the effort to use practicable measures and moral suasion with the savages, this noble and gallant officer lost his life.

Colfax Massacre.

" Massacre of over 100 negroes at Colfax, Grant Parish, La., by the "White League" setting fire to the Court-house where nearly 400 negroes were congregated for defense, and shooting them down when they attempted to escape.

Salmon P. Chase.

" May 7. Death of Hon. Salmon P. Chase, LL.D., an American statesman, Gov. of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief-Justice of the United States. The first act which brought Mr. Chase into political notice was his defense of Jas. G. Birney, as the preserver of his life, when the latter was attacked by a pro-slavery mob in 1836 in Cincinnati, during which Mr. Birney's paper was destroyed. Also, in 1837, Mr. Chase's noble defense of a fugitive

1873. slave woman, upon the occasion of which one of the oldest and ablest lawyers in the Court remarked: "There is a promising young man who has just ruined himself." From this time onward Mr. Chase was a bold, able, and consistent opponent of the slave power, wielding a national influence in the United States Senate, and in all his legal discussions and judicial acts carrying out the principles of humanity and justice which made his name a power to his party and a terror to his opponents. Mr. Chase was the acknowledged champion of the anti-slavery party, defending them and building up their principles with his masterly logic and legal prowess. In the Senate he made his talents particularly noticeable by his able advocacy of economy in the national finances of the Pacific Railroad by the shortest route, the homestead movement, cheap postage, ocean navigation, etc. In 1855 Mr. Chase was elected Governor of Ohio, and at the close of his first term he was renominated Governor by acclamation, and elected by the largest vote ever given for a Governor in Ohio. His appointment as Secretary of the Treasury in President Lincoln's Cabinet was the crowning opportunity for displaying his greatest ability; and his wonderful success in conducting the financial ship through the storms and tempests, and over the rocks of a protracted civil war was a constant and happy surprise both to his friends and the nation. In 1864 President Lincoln nominated him for Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, as successor to Roger P. Taney, deceased, which was immediately confirmed by the Senate. This position he filled with great ability and dignity, although taking the seat with physical strength greatly impaired by the stupendous labors of the past three years. Mr. Chase was called to some duties which had fallen upon no other Chief-Justice presiding before him. The President of the United States was tried for impeachment, and although party spirit ran high, no fault was found with his course as presiding officer. That Mr. Chase died a poorer man than when he first accepted office (and this in days of great political corruption and dishonesty, and when, with a word or turn of the hand he might have commanded millions) speaks more in his praise than volumes written in his honor or costly marble monuments erected to his memory.

Oakes Ames.

" May 8. Oakes Ames, M.C., an extensive manufacturer, railroad builder, and financial operator, died in Eaton, Mass. He was a large stockholder in the U. P. Railroad, and contracted to build the greater part of the east section of the road, transferring his contract to a corporation called the "Credit Mobilier of America," of which he was one of the largest stockholders. With James Brooks, of New York, Mr. Ames was censured by the vote of the House of Representatives for the "Credit Mobilier" transaction. Mr. Ames was reputed to be worth, at the time of his

1873. death, between five and six million dollars.

Lewis Tappan.

" June 21. Death of Lewis Tappan, a zealous, consistent, and able advocate of anti-slavery principles. Mr. Tappan, with his brother Arthur, established the *Journal of Commerce* in 1828. He was also associated, with his brother, in mercantile business, and in the financial crash of 1837, the firm failed, with liabilities for upward of a million dollars, which were afterward *paid in full*. Mr. Tappan was subjected to great opprobrium, and often violent persecution, for his principles; also personal violence at the hands of a mob, which sacked his house and destroyed his furniture. He was the most prominent founder of the American Missionary Society, also the Anti-Slavery Missionary Organization, and was successively its treasurer and president. He was publishing the life of his brother, and had just sent the sheets to the press, when he was struck with paralysis.

Hiram Powers.

" June 27. Hiram Powers, an American sculptor, died at Florence, Italy. Mr. Powers acquired his first knowledge of sculpture from a Prussian sculptor in Cincinnati, who was engaged on a bust of Gen. Jackson. Mr. Powers afterward had charge of the waxwork depot of the Western Museum of that place, for several years. After a short stay in Washington, where he modeled the busts of some prominent men, Mr. Nicholas Longworth helping him, and, with what money he had saved from his earnings, he visited Florence. After a year's residence in Italy, he produced his statue of "Eve," which masterpiece secured him a reputation. The next year he produced the model of his "Greek Slave," the most popular of all his works. He continued to work and rise, and when the Crystal Palace in England requested representative works from the world's chief artists, Powers produced "America," which added fresh laurels to his fame. Mr. Powers invented a process of modeling in plaster which greatly aided and expedited the labors of the sculptor.

American Victory.

" June 29. The Great Rifle Contest at Dollymount, near Dublin, Ireland; the American team beating; Col. Bodine making the last shot. Gross American total, 967; gross Irish total, 929; difference in favor of America, 38.

" July. Beecher and Tilton scandal breaks out.

Great Snow-Storm.

" Great and extensive snow-storm and severe cold in Minnesota and Nebraska. Very many lives were lost.

Dixon Bridge Disaster.

" Falling of the bridge at Dixon, Ill., which was covered with people witnessing a baptismal rite in the river. 100 lives were lost.

Salary Grab Bill.

1873. Salaries of the Government officers and Members of Congress increased, to which great objection was raised throughout the country. The Members of Congress refusing to draw their increased pay, the portion of the bill relating to them was repealed.

Great Storm.

" Aug. A great storm raged along the Atlantic cost. 100 vessels went down in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and 176 sailing vessels and 12 steamers lost in the Gulf of Mexico.

" Aug. 27. National Temperance Society held at Saratoga, N. Y.

The Great Financial Crash.

" Sept. 19. Upon this day culminated the pent-up volcano of financial corruption which had for years been gathering its forces. For months it had been feared, and with terrific force its fury was now poured upon Wall Street, utterly paralyzing all business. The final crash was the news that the banking-house of Jay Cooke & Co., the best-known and most enterprising house in the country, had failed, and that the Washington and Philadelphia branches of the firm had also gone under. Deposits of corporations and private persons were held by this firm to the amount of $5,000,000. The stock markets broke, and securities were sacrificed in the most reckless manner. Five important banks followed in the crash, and ruin and consternation spread throughout the country. The credit and prosperity of the country received a severe shock. The Secretary of the Treasury made the announcement, at the opening of the Forty-third Congress, "That to meet the falling off in the revenues of the Government, he must needs have recourse to taxation."

" Oct. 3. Execution at Fort Klamath, Oregon, of the Modoc Indians who murdered Gen. Canby and Peace Commissioner Thomas—"Captain Jack," "Schonchin," "Boston Charlie," and "Black Jim."

A Great Hunter.

" Oct. 23. Death of Robert Sixbury, at the age of 110 years. He was a noted hunter, living on the "John Brown Tract," in Jefferson County, N. Y. He acquired a great reputation as a hunter in New York, where he had slain over 2,200 deer. It was said he used alcoholic stimulants to excess, and "never with any conscientious scruples." At 80 years of age he met with an accident which necessitated the amputation of one of his legs, and he assisted the doctor in the operation, which he survived for a period of 30 years, and retained his vigor to the last.

Cyrus Wakefield.

" Oct. 26. Death of Cyrus Wakefield, an extensive importer and manufacturer, of Boston, Mass. He originated and established the rattan business in South Reading, Mass., where his business covered seven acres of ground, and the

1873. pay-roll of which foots up to $55,000 per month. The name of the town was changed to Wakefield in his honor, to which he had contributed a town hall, costing $100,000.

John C. Heenan.

" Oct. 28. John C. Heenan, a noted pugilist and prize-fighter, died. He was called the "Benicia Boy," because he worked in a blacksmith's shop in Benicia, Cal., at the time he first entered the list of "prize-fighters." His first "prize-fight" was with John Morrissey, in 1858 — Morrissey winning. The most notable feature in Heenan's subsequent professional career was the part he took in the great "International Match" between England and America — Sayers appearing as the champion of the former, and Heenan of the latter. This brutal and disgraceful fight was witnessed by a vast multitude from all parts of the kingdom and the Continent, including also many from America, and British lords and noblemen not a few. The affair resulted in a drawn battle. Afterward Heenan was beaten in England by King, and never after entered the ring.

The "Virginius."

" Oct. 31. Capture of the *Virginius*, an American ship, near Jamaica, by the Spanish steamer *Tornado*, and taken to Santiago de Cuba, with 170 passengers, 101 of which were shot by the Spanish authorities of Cuba under the pretext that they were filibusters. The United States and British Consuls protested in vain.

" Nov. Loss of the steamship *Ville du Havre* from Europe to New York. 226 lives lost.

John P. Hale.

" Nov. 18. Death of John Parker Hale, LL.D., an American Senator and diplomatist. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College and was appointed United States District Attorney for New Hampshire. He was elected by the Democrats to the United States Congress, where, in opposition to the sentiments of his party — then in the height of its power — he took sides with the anti-slavery element. In 1847 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he betrayed the same bold and intrepid spirit which characterized his stand in Congress, by opposing the compromise measures of Henry Clay, and exposing the intrigues of the slave power with the eloquence and earnestness of an Adams. In 1852 he was the candidate of the Free Soil party for President. Mr. Hale was an able and valuable Member of the United States Senate for 16 years. President Lincoln appointed him, in 1865, Minister to Spain, which post he filled for four years, and returning from which, with broken health, he repaired to his home among the New Hampshire hills; since which time he had taken no part in public affairs.

Stephen Smith.

" Nov. Death of Stephen Smith, a noted colored citizen of Germantown, Pa.

1873. At the age of 18 he purchased his own freedom, and eventually acquired a large fortune, which he used with great liberality for the benefit of his race. He was a preacher in the Methodist Church, and built, at his own expense, the "Zion Methodist Church," of Philadelphia.

" Nov. 22. Tweed sentenced to twelve years imprisonment.

Lewis P. Gibhard.

" Nov. 30. Lewis P. Gibhard, M.D., an eminent physician and medical writer, died at the age of 83 years. He was the oldest medical practitioner in Philadelphia, and was also the leader in establishing the first temperance society in Pennsylvania — numbering three persons, chairman, secretary, and treasurer—in his own parlors.

Louis Agassiz.

" Dec. 14. Death of Louis Agassiz, the most eminent of modern scientists, also a naturalist and author, at Cambridge, Mass.

Sarah Grimke.

" Dec. Death of Sarah Grimke, an eloquent and early advocate of anti-slavery principles. She was a daughter of Chief-Justice Grimke, of South Carolina, and a member of the Society of Friends. She, together with her sister, Angelina, emancipated their slaves, and came North to lecture on slavery. They were educated and accomplished ladies, and their purity of character and deep-toned piety gave them great influence in their public course. They were ready writers as well as eloquent speakers, and were also among the earliest advocates of the enlargement of woman's sphere.

" Dec. Escape of Tweed from the New York County jail.

" A decision was rendered by the Supreme Court of Illinois in the case of Myra Bradwell against the State of Illinois, refusing her a license to practice law, on the ground that she was a woman.

" The population of Patagonia in 1873 was 869.

" Automatic signal telegraph was introduced and applied in New York.

" The free postal delivery was adopted in all cities containing 20,000 inhabitants, and the penny postal cards introduced.

March of Mexico.

" During the year 1873, Mexico made some gigantic strides toward the freedom for which she had so long struggled. In October she enacted a law severing Church and State, and declared, by civil enactments, "that henceforth no religious denominations were to be specially favored by the Government." "That no religious corporation may possess any property, except under distinct provisions recognized in the Constitution." Religious oaths in courts o. justice were abolished, and a simple declaration substituted in all cases. "That marriage was henceforth to be purely a 'civil contract,' and its legitimization an affair of the civil authorities alone." "That the State refuses to recognize any monastic vows as binding, and that any person belonging to any religious order can leave it at any time of his own free will."

Woman's Crusade.

1874. This year witnessed the most wide-spread and intense excitement upon the subject of temperance. It began in a small town in Ohio, and was the result of the efforts of a band of women who visited the saloons, holding prayer-meetings and singing religious songs and hymns. When refused admittance to the saloons, they held their meetings upon the sidewalk in front. In some places the saloon-keepers used violence in driving the women from their place of business and from the sidewalks, and in a few instances mobs of lawless men congregated and insulted the women with coarse and brutal language; but in almost every instance, after two or three attempts, the proprietors would politely open their doors and invite the ladies in, and often seated their rooms in anticipation of their visit, and aided them in every respectful way to carry on the meetings. In most places, as a result of these meetings, the majority of the saloons were closed, and the proprietors converted to the temperance cause, many of them professing to be converted to Christianity.

The effects of these meetings were most solemn indeed, and often during the exercises all business in the town would be suspended, and the people would gather in multitudes to witness the unusual and deeply impressive scenes. Usually the women met together in their churches, and held a season of prayer, and appointed their leaders, arranging their programme in a systematic manner. They then marched in a procession, during the tolling of bells, and the solemn hush of the multitudes, men uncovering their heads, and all countenances betraying the solemnity of the occasion. The leading and influential ladies of the towns who were church-members usually gave their influence to, and aided the movement, and their husbands and the ministers of the evangelical churches sustained them with their countenance and prestige, thereby giving character to the unusual and eccentric proceeding. Dr. Dio Lewis gave the movement his hearty co-operation; and large and enthusiastic meetings were held, which, for a time, swept everything before them, spreading East and West, until nearly every Northern State was infected with the excitement. The results, for a time, seemed to be very flattering, and a fresh impetus was given to the temperance cause. But the reaction which follows all great excitements, in a measure followed this; yet, in Ohio the cause of intemperance in many towns received a death-blow, and hundreds of thousands throughout the country signed the pledge. But the growing conviction among temperance people, that this was not the most judicious manner of promoting the cause, resulted in a gradual decline of the movement. The most effectual and lasting results were the co-operation which it aroused among the ministers and churches and the creation of a healthy public sentiment in favor of temperance.

" Bursting of a reservoir at Middlefield, Mass., destroying a great amount of life and property..... 608

King Kalakaua.

" Visit of King Kalakaua, of the Sandwich Islands. *First instance of a reigning crowned head entering the United States.*

" Senate passed a bill to resume specie payment in 1879.

" The revision of the United States Statutes adopted by Congress.

" Inflation of the currency voted by Congress.

" Bill to increase greenbacks $400,000,000 vetoed by the President.

" Compromise currency bill signed by the President.

" Kellogg Government overthrown in Louisiana and restored by the President in five days.

Mary Anne Hawkins.

" Mar 2. Death of Mary Anne Hawkins, a noted philanthropist and friend of friendless women and children. She was one of the founders and President of the Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless in New York city.

Charles Sumner.

" Mar. 11. Charles Sumner, the eminent American statesman, scholar, and author, died in Washington. Mr. Sumner was a graduate of Harvard College, having previously been a pupil at the Boston Latin School. He studied law under Mr. Justice Story, and was admitted to the bar in 1834; he began practice in Boston, and soon surpassed the young men in his profession. His first public office was Reporter of the United States Court. He published three volumes of Judge Story's decisions, at the same time editing the *American Jurist*. He lectured before the Law School in the absence of Judge Story and Prof. Greenleaf, the first three winters after his entering the profession, and with so much success that he was urged to take a professor's chair. In 1837 he visited Europe, and became acquainted with the most eminent jurists, publicists, and distinguished scientists, and visited the highest courts, and both Houses of the English Parliament. In 1843 he began his career as a public lecturer. He opposed the Mexican war, and the pro-slavery interests which induced it, with great ability and eloquence. In 1846 he announced before the Whig Convention his uncompromising hostility to slavery. In 1848 Mr. Sumner abandoned the Whig party and allied himself to the Free Soilers. Mr. Sumner was a voluminous writer, though everything from his pen was carefully prepared and retouched till it satisfied his fastidious tastes. He succeeded Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, and in his political principles he stood almost alone in the Senate Chamber. From the first his political opponents feared his power

1874. and eloquence to the extent that they never allowed him to gain the floor, when possible by strategy or device to prevent it, and he was for nine months a Member of the Senate before he found an opportunity to make his first speech. His great speech on "The Crime against Kansas," made on the 19th of May, was the direct cause of the barbarous assault upon him by Preston S. Brooks, a Member of Congress from South Carolina. This act of bloody violence transpired on the 22d of May — the only instance on record of a great and honored statesman being brutally struck down while in his seat in the Senate Chamber of his country's capital, and left there lying prostrate and insensible until removed by his friends. The injuries Mr. Sumner received at the hands of this ruffian debarred him from public duty for four years. He was a man to be feared, as well as admired, for his masterly eloquence when directed against any great national evil left no nook or hiding-place for its ghastly form. To his great learning he added the most elegant accomplishments and the sternest purity of purpose and integrity of character. And of Charles Sumner it may also be added, his hands were clear from bribes.

" Mar. 13. Death of Christian Sharps, inventor of the celebrated Sharps' rifle.

" Mar. Riot in Pennsylvania by the workmen of the Erie Railroad at Susquehanna, but was quelled by State troops without bloodshed..... 608

First Regular Lady Physician.

" Mar. Death of Mrs. Van Tassell, a missionary among the Ottawa Indians, and a physician, commencing her medical studies at 58 years of age. *She was the first woman ever admitted to the full course of medical lectures in this country.* She spent several years as a medical practitioner in Memphis, Tenn.

Second Chicago Fire.

" Another extensive fire occurred in the newly-built portion of the city, destroying a great number of very fine buildings. The loss was estimated at $4,000,000.

Gerrit Smith.

" Gerrit Smith, an eminent American philanthropist, reformer, and statesman, died in New York city. His father, Peter Smith, was at one time associated with John J. Astor in the fur trade, and was subsequently the largest land-holder in New York. Gerrit graduated at Hamilton College in 1818 with the highest honors of his class. Upon his 21st birthday his father presented him with a deed of the entire township of Florence in Oneida Co., N. Y. He studied law, that he might the better manage his large interests, and also that he might be able to aid the poor and unfortunate. At a very early age he was employed by his father in the management of his immense landed estates, and soon his father gave the entire business into his hands; and although the youngest son, his father made him the executor of

1874. his will. His integrity of character was so great and so well established, that John Jacob Astor loaned him the sum of $250,000, with only a verbal promise that he would execute mortgages on certain tracts of land as security for its repayment, not requiring even a memorandum of the transaction. Mr. Smith, the owner of large tracts of land in forty-two out of the sixty counties of the State, becoming convinced that land monopoly was a wrong to the poor, proceeded in 1842 to give away 200,000 acres, in parcels of about 50 acres, to deserving poor white and black men, and in many cases aiding them to erect cheap and comfortable houses, requiring of them only that they live upon and cultivate their lands. Mr. Smith founded the Orphans' Asylum in Oswego, N. Y., and helped to maintain it. He also established, at a later period, a farming region in Essex County for colored people, and presented John Brown ("Ossawattomie") a farm, that he might teach the colored people how to till their lands in a northern clime. His gifts of land and money continued until, at the time of his death, he retained scarcely one-eighth of his original estate. Mr. Smith was one of the very first to become interested in the condition of the African slaves in this country, and was one of the most genuine abolitionists to the time of his death, and a zealous and able defender of their rights and interests. He gave liberally of his means to aid the anti-slavery cause, and his voice and pen were ever used in the advocacy of reforms. He was a thorough and consistent temperance man, and an advocate of peace, and labored heartily for the emancipation of woman from her legal disabilities, and advocated her right to suffrage, and sought earnestly for reform in the management of prisons. In 1852 many voters of both political parties in Madison and Oswego Counties invited him to accept a nomination for Congress, and accepting, he was elected over both the Whig and Democratic candidates. He remained in Congress only through the first session; his health being somewhat infirm, and anxious for rest, he retired to his home. While in Congress he advocated almost single-handed and alone his views on slavery, temperance, homesteads, reciprocity treaty, and the Nebraska bill. Mr. Smith's hospitality at home was unbounded, and the black man and the white man were equal guests at his board. His most important books were his "Speeches in Congress, by Gerrit Smith," "The Theologies," "Nature's Theologies," and "Letters to Albert Barnes."

" Death of Mrs. Beaton, a centenarian of Southampton Co., Va., aged 104 years.

Siamese Twins.

" Death of the Siamese twins, *Chang and Eng*, at Mount Airy, N. C. These unfortunate creatures were for twenty-five years publicly exhibited in Europe and America, when after acquiring a joint fortune of about $80,000, and at the age of 45, they settled down as

1874. farmers in North Carolina, and married two sisters, by whom they had each a number of children, two of the number being deaf and dumb. They were connected together at the side by a fleshy cartilaginous band about eight inches in length, compelling them to partly face each other. Chang's death occurred about two and a half hours before Eng's, and was caused by congestion of the lungs and Eng's death was from no apparent cause, but the nervous shock produced by the death of his brother.

" Death of Maj.-Gen. Morgan L. Smith, United States Vols., a gallant officer in the Mexican and late civil war, and former United States Consul at Honolulu. He served in most of the battles in the Southwest under Gen. Grant. Gen. Sherman said of him: "He was one of the bravest men in action I ever knew."

Millard Fillmore.

" Death of Millard Fillmore, thirteenth President of the United States. Mr. Fillmore was born at Sumner Hill, Cayuga Co., N. Y., January 7, 1800. His father was a farmer in humble circumstances, and unable to give his son an education more than he could receive at the common district schools. At the age of fourteen, Millard was apprenticed to a clothier, about 100 miles from his home, in the wilds of Western New York. Here he found access to a small library, and his evenings were spent in reading. Soon his thirst for knowledge became insatiable; he read the best works upon history, biography, and oratory which could be procured by his limited opportunities. The elevating influences of his reading affected his manners, his speech, and his whole character. Attracted by the prepossessing appearance of the young clothier, Judge Wood made his acquaintance, and advised him to study law. Having no means of his own, or friends who could help him, he could but state his circumstances, and decline the kindly advice. But the Judge, having so much confidence in the natural abilities and integrity of young Fillmore, offered to take him into his own office, and loan him the money required to complete his outfit and meet his expenses. The generous offer was most gratefully accepted, and he immediately entered upon the arduous undertaking.

During the winter months he taught school that he might not incur too heavy a debt, or burden the generosity of his benefactor. After two years' study in Judge Wood's office he entered a law-office in Buffalo, and in the same manner he prosecuted his studies, alternately teaching or by some active labor supporting himself. At the age of 23 he was admitted to the Court of Common Pleas. He now commenced the practice of law in the little village of Aurora, on the banks of Cayuga Lake, and in 1826 he married Miss Abigail Powers, daughter of Rev. Lemuel Powers, a lady of refinement and great moral worth.

In 1829, Mr. Fillmore took his seat in the House of Assembly of the State of New York, as the Representative

1874. from Erie County, and the same year he entered into partnership with an elder member of the bar in Buffalo. In the Assembly, Mr. Fillmore gave his sympathies and vote with the Whig party, and in the autumn of 1832 he was elected to a seat in the United States Congress, which he filled for two years. In 1837 he was re-elected to Congress, and industriously applied himself to the duties devolved upon him. His labors often required the drafting of resolutions in the Committee-room, which he was able to defend against skillful opponents. His mental resources and abilities as a debater were above the average of our Representatives. Mr. Fillmore declined a third term, although nominated by acclamation in a convention of his constituents. In the year 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the State of New York, and therefore he removed to the State Capital. It was universally admitted that the duties of this office were never more faithfully discharged.

In the fall of 1848, Millard Fillmore was elected Vice-President, with Gen. Zachary Taylor for President. In July, 1849, the death of President Taylor occurred, and as a constitutional provision, the Vice-President must fill the office for the remainder of the term. Accordingly, he was duly inaugurated, and proceeded to execute the laws of the United States as their Chief Magistrate. The odious Fugitive Slave law was in force, and President Fillmore felt it to be his duty to enforce this law, much to his injury among his own party at the North. The famous compromise measures were adopted, under Mr. Fillmore's Administration, and the expedition to Japan sent out. He was warmly appreciated at the South, as was every Northern man of prominence who favored their measures. In 1855, at the close of his term of office, President Fillmore visited Europe, where he spent a year, receiving marks of distinguished favor, such as his position demanded. In 1856 his name was again brought out as candidate for the Presidency by the "Know-Nothing" party, but Mr. Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, was elected. Mr. Fillmore lived in retirement in the interior of New York, until his death, at the age of 74 years. His sympathies, if not with the South in the Rebellion, were never extended to the North by word or deed, and he was accordingly forgotten by both. Such are the vicissitudes of human life and events.

Judge Edmonds.

" April 5. Death of Judge Edmonds, an able New York jurist and philanthropist. For seven years he occupied the positions of Circuit Judge, Judge of the Supreme Court, and Judge of the Court of Appeals. Through his efforts corporal punishment was abolished in the New York State prisons, and a series of rewards for good behavior instituted. Judge Edmonds was a zealous devotee of Spiritualism, himself a medium, and the author of a work entitled "Spiritualism."

A Great Inventor.

" April 13. Death of James Bogardus, an eminent American scientist and inventor. Among his numerous inventions were the "ring-flier" for cotton spinning now in general use, an eccentric mill, an engraving machine which cut the steel die for the gold medal for the American Institute, and a dry gas-meter, for which he received a gold medal. In England he produced a metallic engraving machine, and received a prize from the British Government for the best plan for manufacturing postage-stamps, out of 2,600 applicants. He invented a machine for pressing glass. He built the first cast-iron building in the United States in New York—a building five stories high and ninety feet in length; and he subsequently became a contractor for building iron warehouses. He also invented a pyrometer of great delicacy and accuracy.

" April 22. The President vetoed a bill for inconvertible paper money.

" President Grant settled the Arkansas gubernatorial warfare by recognizing Baxter as Governor, and warning Brooks and his fellow insurgents to disperse.

Mill River Disaster.

" May 16. A terrible disaster occurred in the town of Williamsburg, Hampshire County, Mass., by which 147 persons lost their lives and 1,200 were left destitute. Over $1,000,000 of property was destroyed. It was caused by a defective reservoir of 100 acres in extent. Three villages were almost entirely swept away, and twelve miles of territory laid waste. Twelve mills were destroyed, and hundreds of cattle and horses perished in the flood. It had for a long time been considered insecure, as it was but an earthen dam, with a stone overflow at the outlet of the reservoir, which should have been built entirely of solid masonry, but the frugality of the owners overcame their better judgment, and a cheap dam was built, the result of which cupidity cost over 100 people their lives and several hundred their homes, their earnings, and all. The shock was as sudden as it was appalling. The mills were in full operation, and with but a moment's warning the frightened operatives rushed from the buildings but to be overtaken with the flood which swept through the streets with the velocity of a fast railroad train, bearing *débris* to the height of thirty feet before it. The largest brick buildings yielded to the flood, and were crushed like an egg-shell. Those only escaped who reached the hills, except a few who were saved in floating frame dwellings. The valley presented a horrible picture to those who returned to witness the ruin of their homes, their property, and to gather up their dead. Scattered all through that winding valley of death were the relics of once happy homes, trees torn from their roots, huge boilers battered and bruised, wrecks of buildings, and *the bodies of the dead*, all left in one wild waste of ruin, either buried in the mud, or entangled amid the tree tops and amid the *débris* of destruction, torn, mangled, and ghastly, a scene never to be forgotten. $65,000 were raised in New England towns and New York for the immediate relief of the inhabitants.

" May 23. Senate passed the Civil Rights bill.

" June 1. Gen. Bristow confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of the Treasury.

Henry Grinnell.

" June 30. Death of Henry Grinnell, an eminent New York merchant and philanthropist, and one of the members of the extensive shipping house of Grinnell, Minturn & Co. In 1850 Mr. Grinnell fitted out, at his own expense, an expedition to search for Sir John Franklin, the lost traveler. This expedition was placed in command of Lieut E. J. De Haven. The unknown land discovered in latitude 15° 24′ 21″ by this expedition was named Grinnell Land. Together with Mr. Geo. Peabody, in 1853, he expended $50,000 upon another expedition, which was placed in charge of Dr. Kane. He was also much interested in the expedition of Capt. Hall.

Church and State.

" Struggle of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Brazil for the supremacy of power. The Cabinet Minister, Viscount Caravella, declared "that the sovereignty of Brazil can not admit another sovereign over it," also, "that the Bishop of Olinda, by his interdict against the Freemasons, had violated the Constitution of the empire."

Grasshopper Raid.

" Great devastation caused by the grasshoppers throughout the Northwest, especially in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, during this and the following year.

Charlie Ross.

" July 1. The abduction of a little boy of four years of age, son of Christian K. Ross, of Germantown, Pa., a suburb of Philadelphia. He was, with his brother, aged six years, playing upon the sidewalk before his father's house, when two men in a wagon enticed them with candy and a promise of fire-crackers to get into the wagon and take a ride. They drove in a zigzag direction about eight miles, when they gave the eldest boy twenty-five cents, and told him to go into a shop and buy some fire-crackers. As soon as he entered the store they drove off with the little one, and were never seen or heard from again, until they were both shot while in the act of committing a burglary four months after. In about a week after the child was stolen, one of the abductors wrote Mr. Ross a letter, in which he proposed to deliver up the child for a large ransom. This was the first case of brigandage, or holding a person or child for a ransom, ever attempted in this country. In the correspondence between the father and the abductors, they offered to deliver the child, safe and sound, to his parents, for the sum of $20,000, provided Mr. Ross would pledge his sacred word and honor that they should suffer no harm from the transaction.

1874. The detectives and chiefs of police were much opposed to Mr. Ross accepting such a proposition, as the result would prove very disastrous to the safety of little children in the future, as they felt very positive in being able finally to discover the child and secure his abductors.

The subsequent unsuccessful search, the bold and desperate attempt of his abductors to procure a large ransom for the stolen child, their actual correspondence with the father during a period of four months, and their final capture and tragical death while robbing a house, and the utter failure of the combined efforts of the police and detective forces of the country to discover the child, altogether form a story of startling and thrilling interest in the annals of crime. The news soon spread over the entire civilized world, and anxious and sympathetic parents from all parts of Europe and America sent letters of condolence and sympathy to the afflicted parents. The sleepless vigilance of anxious and outraged humanity was constantly on the alert, and hundreds of letters and dispatches from all parts of the country were received by Mr. Ross, describing children who were found, or had been seen under suspicious circumstances, and whom, it was claimed, answered the description of the "lost Charlie." The constant and terrible anxiety of the parents, and their ceaseless efforts to find their lost darling; the wasting of a fortune in the fruitless search, together with the thrilling story of his abduction, with the details of the correspondence and search, also the killing of his abductors, are all related in a simple yet graphic manner in the book entitled "Charlie Ross, the Kidnapped Child," by his father, Christian K. Ross. Mr. Ross has spent over $50,000 for the recovery of his child, and still hopes to find him. The Governor of Pennsylvania recently appointed Mr. Ross to a public office, he being now a poor man. On the 14th of December two burglars were surprised and shot while in the act of robbing a house in Bay Ridge, L. I., by Mr. Van Brunt and his son. One of the burglars was shot dead on the spot, and the other lived but a short time. Before he died he confessed that he and his companion were the abductors of Charlie Ross; that their names were Moshier and Douglass, and that Moshier, the man who was shot dead, was the one who held the child in custody, but that he (Douglass) could not tell where the child was secreted. This is the last that has ever been heard from Charlie Ross.

" July 14. Another large fire in Chicago, destroying a vast amount of property..... 608

Great Flood at Pittsburg.

" July 27. Great flood at Pittsburg and Alleghany City; about 200 lives and a vast amount of property destroyed. 608

" Aug. *The steamer "Pat Rogers" destroyed by fire* on the Ohio River, and 25 lives lost..... 608

" Aug. Riots at Austin, Miss., between negroes and whites; also insurrection in Trenton, Tenn.

" Aug. 7. A snow-storm occurred in New Hampshire..... 608

Ezra Cornell.

" Dec. 9. Ezra Cornell died at New York. Mr. Cornell was a philanthropist and patron of education. He acquired his fortune in connection with the telegraph business, conceiving the idea of supporting the wires upon poles—as now universally practiced—and constructing the principal lines through the Eastern States. Mr. Cornell's first public benefaction was a gift of a public library and building to the city of Ithaca, N. Y. His second and munificent gift to the public was the founding and endowment of "Cornell University."

" At the close of this year there were 72,623 miles of railroad in operation in the United States.

" *Nearly* $6,000,000 *of the Public Debt canceled this fiscal year.*

" *There were* 5,830 *failures in business this year.*

Beecher Trial.

1875. Trial of Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., for adultery with Mrs. Theodore Tilton, as charged by her husband. Mr. Tilton being a prominent literary man, and editor of the New York *Independent*, also a very intimate friend of Mr. Beecher. The trial was the most noted and intensely exciting one of the kind in the annals of the world's history. Its results were most indefinite and unsatisfactory to the people, the jury disagreeing, and no verdict rendered. The leading witnesses were prominent Christians and intelligent and influential citizens, and *bore the most conflicting testimony.*

" Jan. 9. *Death of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the distinguished philanthropist, aged 74 years.*

" Jan. 10. Death of Gen. Gordon Granger, at Santa Fé, Mexico.

" Jan. 15. Gold the lowest for this year, 111¾.

" Jan. 25. Death, in Fitchburg, Mass., of Rev. George T. Trask, the anti-tobacco apostle, aged 78 years.

The Keeley Motor.

" Invention of a motive power which seemed to promise a revolution in the entire mechanical world. It is claimed by Mr. Keeley, the inventor, that he has discovered a new power or force in nature which will produce a pressure of 50,000 pounds to the square inch, by the condensation of air and water, and that it will accomplish all that steam or gunpowder can do, and yet render an explosion harmless. Also, that an engine of 5,000 horse-power will occupy no more space than an ordinary steam-engine. This subject has caused a great deal of excitement among mechanical and scientific men. Several prominent scientists and practical machinists have examined it and tested its power, and pronounce it a success. But it yet remains for the public to be convinced of the practicability of the wonderful claims of this new discovery, as it has not yet been made a *practical success.*

" Feb. 15. Great fire at Port au Prince, Hayti. 500 houses burned.

" Feb. 25. Falling of a wall upon the roof of St. Andrew's Church in New York city, during religious service. A panic ensued, and five persons were killed and thirty wounded.

" March. Colorado admitted to the Union as a State.

" March 8. Damages of $6,537,000 awarded against Tweed in civil suit.

" March 20. Destructive tornado in Georgia. Great loss of life and property.

" March–April. Yellow fever in the city of Buenos Ayres, S. A.; the number of victims exceeded 13,000.

" April 13. Death of Samuel R. Wells, well known professor of phrenology, and proprietor of the *Phrenological Journal.* He was, for many years, associated with the Fowlers in the advancement of the science of Phrenology.

" April 22. John Harper, senior member of the firm of "Harper Brothers," died, aged 78.

" April 25. Burning of three steamers at the New Orleans levee; fifty lives were lost.

" April–May. Great floods in the South. Large portions of Arkansas and Louisiana inundated. Great suffering among the inhabitants, especially among the laboring classes and freedmen. Large contributions were sent from the North.

" May. Extensive forest fires in Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada, with great loss of property and some lives.

" Appearance of grasshoppers in Iowa in great numbers.

Trial of Prof. Swing.

" May 5. Trial of Prof. Swing, by the Presbytery of Chicago, upon the charges of heresy and unfaithfulness in duty as a pastor, preferred by Mr. Patton. In other words, Prof. Swing was arraigned before the Chicago Presbytery for not being faithful to the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. The trial lasted fifteen days, and resulted in his acquittal by the Presbytery of Chicago by a three-fourths vote. Prof. Swing subsequently withdrew from the Presbytery, and Mr. McVicker's theater was hired for church services on Sunday mornings, where he has since preached to very large audiences as pastor of a new and independent congregation, called the "Central Church." Prof. Swing's sermons have since been regularly reported and published in the leading newspapers of the city.

Dr. Susan Dimmick.

" May 9. Dr. Susan Dimmick, of Boston, was lost on the *Schiller*, which was wrecked on the coast of Cornwall, Eng., and over 300 lives were lost. She was twice refused admittance into the Medical School of Harvard University, and went to Zurich, Switzerland, where she graduated with high honors. She also studied in Vienna, and returned to Boston, where she became resident

1875. physician of a hospital for women and children.

John C. Breckenridge.

" May 17. Death of John C. Breckenridge, at Lexington, Ky. Mr. Breckenridge was chosen for Vice-President of the United States, with Mr. James Buchanan President, and in 1860 he was the candidate for President of a sectional party at the South, and in the same year he was elected as U. S. Senator and defended the Southern Confederacy and secession in the Senate. Soon after he joined the Confederate army, and in December, 1861, was expelled from the Senate. In the summer following he was appointed a Major-General by the Confederacy, and served through the war of the Rebellion. He was Secretary of War in Jefferson Davis' Cabinet at the time of the surrender of the South, and went immediately to Europe, where he remained till 1868, when he returned and devoted himself to his profession as a lawyer.

Great Earthquake.

" May 18. Earthquake in New Granada, S. A. Six cities destroyed. The city of Cucuta entirely obliterated; 16,000 lives were lost.

" May 27. Burning of the French Catholic Church at Holyoke, Mass., during a celebration. 75 lives were lost.

" May 30. Loss of the steamer *Vicksburg*, from Montreal to Liverpool. She went down in a field of ice. 83 lives were lost.

" June 1. National Temperance Convention met in Chicago.

" June 14. Death of Samuel G. Drake, a noted American antiquarian, and author of early American and Indian histories.

" June 16. Explosion in a manufactory of fireworks in Boston, Mass. Six persons killed and three seriously injured.

Riot in South America.

" June 20. Terrible riot at San Miguel, a city in the republic of San Salvador, S. A., among the lower classes, instigated by a sermon preached against the civil authorities by a priest named Palacois. The garrison were nearly all assassinated, and many prominent persons killed. The town was then burned by pouring kerosene over buildings. The British ship *Fantome* landed a large company of marines, who hastened to the rescue. The damage was estimated at $1,000,000.

"Doesticks."

" June 25. Death of Mortimer Thompson, a humorous writer, well known as "Doesticks." He married, for his second wife, the daughter of Mrs. James Parton, or "Fanny Fern." His literary name was "Q. K. Philander Doesticks, P. B."

" July 5. Railroad collision on Long Island; fifteen persons killed and over twenty injured.

Mrs. Celia Burleigh.

" July 7. Death of Mrs. Celia Burleigh, at Syracuse, N. Y. She was a preacher and reformer, and the widow of Wm. H. Burleigh, a strong and popular advocate of anti-slavery and Woman's Rights principles. Mrs. Burleigh was the first President of the Woman's Club of Brooklyn, and took an active part in the advocacy of Woman Suffrage and other reform movements. Upon the death of her husband, she prepared herself for the ministry, and was pastor of a Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, Conn. Mrs. Burleigh had a wide reputation as an able writer and eloquent speaker.

Frank Blair.

" July 8. Death of Hon. Francis Preston Blair, Jr., at St. Louis, an eminent politician and Congressman. He was in 1868 a candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Gov. Seymour, of New York, as President.

Donaldson's Balloon Ascension.

" July 15. Balloon ascension of Prof. Donaldson and Newton S. Grimwood, a *Chicago Journal* reporter, from the Hippodrome in Chicago. These bold and daring adventurers ascended amid a vast and tumultuous crowd of spectators at 5 o'clock P.M. A stiff breeze was blowing from the south-west at the time, which took them in a north-east direction over the lake. The breeze swelled to a hurricane before midnight. A small schooner sighted the balloon at 7 o'clock about twelve miles north of Chicago and thirty miles from the shore, and but a mile and a half from the vessel. It was skimming along the surface of the lake. The captain realizing their danger, headed his vessel in their direction, but before he could reach it there was a sudden lightening of the car and the balloon shot rapidly upward and was soon lost to sight. That was the last that was ever heard of the balloon and its daring and reckless aeronaut, Professor Donaldson. The globe was a cotton one, and badly battered and patched, and presented a threadbare and flimsy appearance, and many of the spectators predicted its destruction and the sacrifice of its bold occupants at the time of starting.

Andrew Johnson.

" July 31. Death of Andrew Johnson, seventeenth President of the United States, in Carter County, East Tennessee. Mr. Johnson was born at Raleigh, N. C., Dec. 29, 1808. His father died when he was but four years old, and at ten he was apprenticed to a tailor, whom he served seven years. He was not at school a day of his life. While learning his trade he learned his letters, and borrowed books and learned to read. When he had learned his trade, he found employment as a journeyman tailor two years, and after working a short time in Raleigh, he emigrated to Tennessee, taking with him his mother, who was now dependent on him for support. He married in Greenville, Tenn., and commenced business there. His wife taught him to write and cipher, and the first office he held was that of Alderman, to which he was elected in 1828, and which he held for three years. In 1830 he was chosen Mayor of his town, and in 1835 was sent to the State Legislature, and again in 1839 by a large majority. In 1841 he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1843 to Congress, in which he served till 1853, and was a conspicuous advocate of President Polk's measures. In 1853 he was elected Governor of Tennessee, and re-elected in 1855, and in 1857 to the U. S. Senate for a full term. On the opening of the war he was found on the side of the Union, denouncing secession in a bold and unreserved manner, which made him very popular at the North, but at the South he was burnt in effigy, and on his return to Tennessee his life was threatened, and he fled to the North as a fugitive from tyranny. President Lincoln appointed him Provisional Governor of Tennessee before his term in the Senate had expired, and gave him the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

He ruled Tennessee upon terms of justice and strict loyalty to the Federal Government, and brought her back into the Union. In 1864 he was elected Vice-President with Mr. Lincoln re-elected as President, and upon the assassination of the latter he took the President's chair April 15, 1865. His efforts to reconstruct the Union were not well received by Congress, and the Republican majority repudiated his acts, and proceeded to reconstruct the Southern States upon a different basis. From this time on he was at variance with Congress, and vetoed no less than nineteen bills. His enmity of the Secretary of War was so great that on Aug. 12, 1867, he suspended him from office and appointed Gen. Grant in his place. The Senate refused to sanction the act, and Gen. Grant resigned the office into Mr. Stanton's hands. Upon making the second attempt to remove Stanton, the House of Representatives passed a resolution that the President be impeached. At the close of the trial, May 20th, at the final vote, thirty-five voted "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." A two-thirds vote not being obtained, the President was acquitted. His last act in opposition to Congress was in December, 1868, when he issued a proclamation of full pardon to everybody who had participated in the Rebellion. Upon his return to Tennessee he was defeated as a candidate, both for the U. S. Senate and for Congressman-at-Large, but in Jan., 1875, he was elected to the U. S. Senate, holding his seat during the brief extra session in March. Mr. Johnson's career as President was so at variance with his loyalty during the outbreak of the Rebellion, and also during his political career through and after the war, until he became Vice-President, that it was regarded as enigmatical and suspicious by the North; and the bright fame he enjoyed from his true and uncompromising loyalty was shadowed by a dark cloud which settled over the closing years of his otherwise noble and useful life.

Newton S. Grimwood.

" Aug. The body of Newton S. Grimwood, the companion of Prof. Donald-

1875. son in his disastrous aerial voyage, was found on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, between Stony Creek and Montague, by a mail carrier, in a partial state of decomposition, and partially buried in the sand. A bursted life-preserver was fastened around his body. The whole country adjacent to the lake was thoroughly searched for Prof. Donaldson and his missing balloon, but they were never heard from after.

Ku-Klux in Illinois.

" A band of outlaws and desperadoes in disguise infested portions of Illinois, whipping and murdering citizens and destroying their property. The citizens formed themselves into committees of scouts, under permission of the Governor, and scoured the whole country. The band was finally broken up and dispersed.

Troubles in Mexico.

" Threatened revolution in Mexico caused by the passage of liberal laws. The Ultramontane clergy incited the masses to resistance and bloodshed. The priests placed themselves at the head of armed bands and imposed contributions upon the defenseless villages. The national troops, however, overpowered them, and those that did not escape to the mountains were hanged. Bands of insurgents bade defiance to the Government, and plundered and pillaged the citizens along the line, both in Mexico and Texas, which threatened trouble with the United States.

" Aug. 6. Assassination of Don Gabriel Garcia Moreno, President of Ecuador, in the royal palace at Quito, by members of a secret society, which were numerous in South America and Europe.

" Aug. 16. Death, at Oberlin, of Rev. Chas. G. Finney, President of Oberlin College, also evangelist and reformer.

" Aug. 23. Wm. Cyrus Nutt, D.D., late President of the University of Indiana, died at Bloomington, Ind. He was the first President of Asbury University, at Greencastle, Ind., organizing that college with three scholars in a room 12 x 15 feet.

" Aug. 26. Sudden suspension of the great California Bank. Intense excitement in San Francisco, resembling "Black Friday" in New York, and $1,400,000 were paid out this day. The bank had a capital of $5,000,000.

William Ralston.

" Aug. 27. Suicide of William Ralston, President of the California Bank, by drowning. Mr. Ralston was the "Jay Gould" of the Pacific Coast; a man of large liberality and princely hospitalities. He lived in a large baronial mansion, twenty-five miles south of San Francisco, at San Mateo, and drove a splendid team of horses to the city almost daily.

Mr. Ralston began life as a shoemaker, but soon found a more congenial position as a clerk on a Mississippi steamer. From this position he became connected with a line of Cali-

1875. fornia steamers, and finally settled down in San Francisco and started a bank. His great abilities as a financier were soon developed, and he became President and Director of the Bank of California, which, under his management, grew to colossal proportions, and was considered the great financial pillar of the State. But the almost universal example of the extravagance and wild spirit of adventure and reckless squandering of money, gained by speculation and gambling, and also of the quick departure of wealth so suddenly made, was strikingly repeated in the history of Wm. Ralston. His style and manner of living were more than princely. Like his prototype, Jim Fisk, he must invest in a hotel, which should, when completed, be pronounced the grandest in the world, and which would cost the modest sum of three million dollars. Mining and "stock gambling" formed another feature in which Ralston imitated Fisk, and upon which he "staked a fortune," but unlike Fisk, he *lost*. Unfortunately for him, the great "bonanza" holders and controllers of the Comstock mine (Flood and O'Brien) were better versed in that department of gambling than their victim. They sold him rapidly, advancing shares at "fancy prices" and in fabulous amounts. He had risked the capital of the bank as freely as he did his own personal property. Soon the shares began to fall faster than they had risen. A run came upon the bank, its credit was shaken, and worst of all, the heartless controllers of that vast monopoly turned bankers also, and refused all accommodation to the rival house; and when the crash came, nothing was left the doomed man but a choice of death by his own hand, or a life of reproach, humiliation, and poverty.

" Sept. *Trial of William Westervelt for complicity in the abduction and concealing of the "stolen child," Charlie Ross.* He was found guilty, and sentenced to the Penitentiary for seven years.

Fast Mail.

" Sept. 17. Arrival of the first fast mail train in Chicago at 6.21 A.M., which left New York at 4.17 A.M. the 16th. The train was brought into Chicago by Mr. Frank Osgood, of Elkhart, Ind., who had to make twenty-five minutes of lost time in one hundred and one miles. He fainted in the cab when the train reached the depot, so great had been the strain upon his nerves and his mental anxiety. They arrived several minutes before the expiration of the allotted time.

" Sept. Severe hurricane on the Island of St. Thomas.

" Sept. 28. Terrific gale at Charleston, S. C.; damages $250,000.

" Oct. 5. The highest price of gold for the year 1875 was on this day, 117⅞.

" Oct. 7. Town of Iquique, Peru, destroyed by fire.

" Invention of the life or surf-car, by Capt. Ottinger, for saving people on wrecked vessels in storms, when the life-boat can not be used.

" Oct. 11. Death of Isaac Merrill Singer,

1875. inventor of the Singer Sewing Machine, in Torquay, Eng.

" Oct. 26. Great fire in Virginia City, Nevada; the business portion completely destroyed. Loss estimated at $4,000,000.

" Nov. 4. Steamship *Pacific* foundered between San Francisco and Portland; nearly 200 lives lost.

" Nov. 9. Burning of the steamship *City of Waco* off Galveston bar; nearly 70 lives lost.

" Nov. 17. Coast packet *Empire* lost at New Orleans; 14 passengers and several of the crew lost.

Henry Wilson.

" Nov. 22. Henry Wilson, Vice-President of the United States, died of apoplexy at Washington, D. C. He was born in Farmington, N. H., Feb. 6th, 1812. His father's name was Colbath, and was a poor farm laborer, and apprenticed his son, at the age of ten years, to a farmer in his native town. He went to school about one year, at intervals, during the eleven years of his apprenticeship. At the age of 21, by an act of the Legislature, he assumed the name of Henry Wilson, and the same year he walked to Natick, Mass., and hired himself to a shoemaker till he learned the trade. He worked two years, and earned some money and returned to New Hampshire, and studied in the academies of Stafford, Walsborough, and Concord, but losing his earnings by the failure of the man to whom he had intrusted them, he was compelled to return to Natick and resume work as a shoemaker. Here he took an active part in forming and sustaining a debating society among the young men of the town. In 1835 he took an active part in the anti-slavery discussions, then so prominent a question in debate. In 1838 he made his first visit to Washington, and there the vivid impressions made upon his mind by the slave-trade and practice in the District of Columbia forever fostered an undying hatred of the system in his manly and generous nature. His first active participation in politics was in the "Harrison campaign" of 1840, and during the next five years he was three times elected a Representative to the Legislature from Natick, and twice a State Senator from Middlesex County. In 1845 he took an active part in opposing the admission of Texas as a slave State. In 1846 he offered a resolution in the Legislature against slavery, and supported it by an elaborate and comprehensive speech. In 1848 he was a delegate to the Whig National Convention in Philadelphia, and withdrew from the Convention, after making his protest, on the rejection of the anti-slavery resolutions. He edited the Boston *Republican* for two years in the interest of the Free Soil party. In 1850 and '51 he was again a Member of the Massachusetts State Senate, and was President of the Senate both terms. In 1852 he was President of the Free Soil National Convention, at Pittsburg, Chairman of the National Committee, and candidate for Congress, but failed in the election by 93

1875. votes. In 1855 he was elected to succeed Edward Everett in the United States Senate. Mr. Wilson aided in organizing the Republican party on the basis of opposition to the extension of slavery, and when, on the 22d of May, 1856, Mr. Sumner, his colleague, was assaulted by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, Mr. Wilson, in a speech to the Senate the next morning, denounced the act as "brutal, murderous, and cowardly," and for this language he was challenged by Brooks for a duel, but he honorably declined on the ground that dueling is a barbarous and unlawful practice, while he stated that *he believed in the right of self-defense in the broadest sense.* From this time on, Mr. Wilson was constantly in public political service, and rapidly rose in popularity, and soon became one of the acknowledged champions of American liberty, independent of caste or color, in the Senate, the press, and at the ballot-box. In 1872 Mr. Wilson was elected to the Vice-Presidency with Gen. Grant. In 1873 he was stricken with paralysis, from which he never fully recovered. He was the author of the following works: "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," in two volumes; "History of the Anti-Slavery Measure in Congress;" "Military Measures of the United States Congress," and several others. Mr. Wilson's public life was not clouded by one dishonorable act, and he maintained his loyalty and political integrity to the last of his career, and he was deeply and sincerely mourned.

" Nov. 23. Nearly one-half of the town of Tuscumbia, Ala., destroyed by a storm of wind and rain; 12 persons killed.

William B. Astor.

" Nov. 24. *Death of Wm. B. Astor*, eldest son and principal heir of John Jacob Astor. Mr. Astor contributed largely to public charities, and made several private presents of value while living. Mr. Astor, following the example of his father, invested largely in real estate, and built mostly first-class houses. His rent-rolls were enormous, and at 80 years of age he is said to have owned 720 houses; in 1875 he paid taxes on $16,000,000 worth of real estate in New York city, and the probable value of his estate at the time of his death was about $45,000,000.

" Dec. 1. Sinking of the steamer *Sunnyside* on the Hudson River; 11 persons drowned.

" Dec. 4. Escape of Tweed from the custody of the Sheriff of New York County.

" Dec. 17. Burning of the Pacific Mail steamer *Japan*, from San Francisco to Yokohama; a great number of lives lost.

" Dec. 28. Fire-damp explosion in the Hutchinson mines, near Kensington, Pa.; several lives were lost.

" Dec. New Constitution of Nebraska ratified by the people.

" During the present year the public debt was reduced $14,344,514.84, and the contract for refunding it renewed.

" Bolivian Revolution suppressed and the leaders banished.

" Religious agitation in Mexico. The Church party endeavor to incite the mob element to deeds of violence.

Moody and Sankey.

" Beginning of the great revivals conducted by Moody and Sankey. Their first meeting was held in Brooklyn, N. Y., in a skating-rink, there being no other building large enough to hold the audiences. In Philadelphia the meetings were held in a freight depot fitted up for the purpose, and in Chicago a "Tabernacle" was built by John V. Farwell expressly for the meetings, seating comfortably 8,000 people. In every place where these evangelists labored great and intensely interested audiences attended, and the most perfect order and quiet reigned throughout the exercises. The preaching was not of a nature to excite fanatical demonstration, but was deeply impressive, and thousands of people claimed to have been converted. The singing of Mr. Sankey was the great and attractive feature which drew the masses outside of the churches, and which charmed every ear that heard it.

" Forest fires in Pennsylvania. Property to the amount of $3,000,000 destroyed.

" *Great inundation in Texas. Four hundred lives were lost.*

" Severe storms in the South. Three hundred lives lost.

" Threatened disturbances in Louisiana checked by the military under Gen. Sheridan.

Amnesty Bill.

1876. Jan. Debate on the Amnesty bill, a Democratic measure, which proposed granting pardon to all the participants in the Rebellion who had been excluded from previous pardons The bill received the support of 172 votes, 97 voting against it; a two-thirds majority not being secured it was declared lost. A second debate followed, which was characterized by a great deal of bitterness and party strife, with like results.

" Serious difficulties between the Americans and Chinese in California, and great opposition to Chinese emigration. The white population in Contra, Costa County, expelled the Chinese by force and burned their houses and property.

Whisky War.

" War upon the "Whisky Rings," by Secretary Bristow, of the United States Treasury.

" Indictment of Gen. Babcock, Private Secretary and personal friend of President Grant, for complicity in the whisky frauds. A general investigation revealed the most corrupt and wide-spread combination among revenue officers, distillers, and wholesale venders to defraud the Government.

" Feb. 5. The gallery in Robinson's Opera House, Cincinnati, gave way during a Sunday-school festival; twelve lives were lost and a score of persons injured.

" Feb. 8. Destructive fire on Broadway, N. Y. Loss $3,000,000.

" Feb. 10. Death of Hon. Reverdy Johnson, the distinguished jurist, in Annapolis, Md., aged 79.

1876. Feb. 12. Explosion in a colliery at West Pittsburg, Pa.; several killed and wounded.

" Feb. 17. Death of Rev. Horace Bushnell, DD., in Hartford, Ct., aged 60.

Charlotte Cushman.

" Feb. 18. Death of Charlotte Cushman, great American singer and actress. She was one of the most talented and accomplished women of her day. As a singer, her career was short; losing her voice, she studied for the stage, and as an actress, her fame was world-wide. She acquired a large fortune and the universal respect and esteem of all classes at home and abroad.

" Feb. 23. Sleeping-car thrown from the track and burned on the Harlem Railroad extension; several were killed, among whom Mr. Bissell and son, of the Sherman House, Chicago, were burned in the car.

" March. Terrible ravages of the hog cholera throughout the Western States, especially Illinois.

" March 6. Burning of the Old People's Home, a Catholic charitable institution, in Brooklyn, N. Y. Eighteen aged and decrepit men were suffocated and burned to death.

" March 6. Freight train, with one passenger car, fell through a bridge on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and killed eleven persons.

" March 30. Bursting of a reservoir at Worcester, Mass. The flood carried everything before it for nine miles, and finally settled upon a large tract of meadow land. Millions of dollars worth of property was destroyed, but no lives were lost.

Alexander T. Stewart.

" April 10. Death of Alexander T. Stewart, the proprietor of the largest retail dry-goods house in the world. His personal wealth was estimated at $50,000,000 at the time of his death. He left no blood relatives, and the bulk of his estate was given to his wife. He bequeathed $1,000,000 to Judge Hilton, whom he made one of the executors of his will Mrs. Stewart was appointed in his will to carry out all his charitable plans, one of which was the building of a mammoth and magnificent hotel at Fourth Avenue and 32d Street, New York, as a "Home for Working Women." The house was built and opened under the supervision of Judge Hilton, but the terms were in keeping only with high-salaried clerks, and the restrictions were such as no high-minded and intelligent woman could submit to. Therefore the "Home for Working Women" became a magnificent failure, and was converted into a hotel. Mr. Stewart's public charities were munificent. He sent a ship-load of provisions to Ireland during the famine of 1846, a ship-load of flour to France for the sufferers in the Franco-German war, and to the sufferers by the Chicago fire he sent $50,000.

" May 7. Death of Buell Sprague, at Flushing, L. I., an eminent American clergyman, and author of many religious and literary works.

" May 17. Boiler explosion on the steamer

1876. *Pat. Cleybourne* on the Mississippi River; nine persons, including the captain, were killed.

" May 18. Greenback National Convention met in Indianapolis, and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, with Senator Booth, of California, for Vice-President.

General Custer.

" May 25–26. Shocking massacre of Gen. Custer and his entire company by the Indians of Big Little Horn River, Yellowstone country. The prudence of Major Reno, and the timely arrival of Gen. Terry, saved the whole expedition from the same fate. Gen. Custer was a valued and brave officer in the war of the Rebellion. His first position was that of Staff Officer under Brig.-Gen. Kearney. He was one of Gen. McClellan's aides during the Peninsular campaign, and was afterward made Brigadier-General of cavalry, having two horses shot under him at the battle of Gettysburg, and his brigade led the column in Sheridan's raid toward Richmond. In July, 1866, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of U. S. cavalry, with the brevet rank of Major-General, and was thereafter engaged in the frontier service. Gen. Custer was one of the most courageous and dashing cavalry leaders in the service. His achievements during the war were of the most brilliant kind.

" May 30. Great fire in Quebec; nearly 500 houses destroyed.

Sitting Bull.

" This year is memorable for the Indian war between Sitting Bull with his hostile bands and Gen. Crook with his command of 2,000 men, who, during eight months, marched 3,300 miles. 370 Indians were captured, 350 killed, 450 wounded, 395 lodges destroyed, which represented the homes of 3,000 Indians.

Centennial Exposition.

" Grand Centennial Exposition, or celebration of the one hundredth birthday of the United States Republic, in Philadelphia. The whole nation was represented by the most skillful and complete workmanship of her artisans. All enterprises and industries being represented, from the simplest mechanical contrivance to the grandest achievements of art. All nations of the earth were invited to participate, and most of them were represented with their beautiful wares and the products of their wonderful skill and workmanship. The main building, composed of iron and glass, covered an area of more than twenty acres, and costing upwards of $1,500,000. The horticultural grounds occupied a space of about forty acres. The sum of $6,500,000 was expended in buildings and getting the grounds in order. The total receipts more than doubled that of any world's fair, being $8,122,409. The Centennial Exposition was a grand success, nothing happening to hinder the progress or mar the perfect order of the programme from beginning to end. It opened July 4th with most appropriate and imposing ceremonies, and was attended by the chief dignitaries of our own country and many eminent representatives from the various nations of the earth. Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, was the only crowned representative of earth's monarchies present.

" June 3. A bill passed in the Senate authorizing the President to appoint five commissioners to treat with the Sioux Indians for the cession of the Black Hills region.

Santa Anna.

" June 20. Death of Antonio Lopez De Santa Anna, a Mexican General, in the City of Mexico. Santa Anna began his military career in 1821 against the Royalists, and in 1822 was given the command of Vera Cruz, but his insubordination led to his dismissal, and he took revenge by aiding in the downfall of the Emperor Iturbide, after he had repelled the Spanish invasion under Borradas. In September, 1829, he was made Minister of War and Commander-in-chief of the army, and subsequently headed two successful insurrections, and in March, 1833, he was made President, but though a favorite with the army, he was unpopular with the nation, being suspected of aiming at the imperial crown. During his Presidency several insurrections broke out, the most formidable of which was crushed by him on May 11, 1835. Upon the insurrection in Texas, Santa Anna took the field in person, and was instrumental in the perpetration of several savage massacres, and was routed and taken prisoner by Sam. Houston at San Jacinto and banished. He was recalled to Mexico in 1846 and appointed Generalissimo of the Mexican army and Provisional President, and was defeated in every battle; and soon after the fall of Mexico he resigned the Presidency, and with the permission of the American Commander-in-chief he sailed for Jamaica on April 5, 1848. In 1853 Santa Anna returned to Mexico, and was received with enthusiasm by the people, and appointed President; but he soon fomented a new revolution and was appointed President for life. But his despotic rule brought about the revolution under Alvarez, which resulted in the abdication of Santa Anna and his exile to Havana. During the French invasion he returned to Mexico, but rising disturbances led to his banishment in 1864. He was appointed Grand Marshal of the empire by Maximilian, but was implicated in a conspiracy against the Emperor in 1865 and he again retired from Mexico. In 1867 he made a last attempt to gain the ascendency in Mexico, but was taken prisoner at Vera Cruz and condemned to death. He was pardoned by Juarez on consideration of his quitting the Mexican soil forever, and he came to the United States. After the death of Juarez he was permitted to return to Mexico.

" June 27. Democratic National Convention met at St. Louis, nominating Gov. Samuel J. Tilden, of N. Y., for President, with Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

1876. June. Winslow released at London. Extradition thus ended.

" July. Hamburg, S. C., massacre of negro militiamen by Butler and others.

" July 4. Terrific storm in Iowa. Forty-two persons drowned in the village of Rockdale.

" July 9. Castle Garden, N. Y. City, destroyed by fire.

" July 10. Burning of the propeller *St. Clair* on Lake Superior. Seventeen passengers and ten of the crew lost.

Sullivan—Hanford.

" Aug. 7. Shooting of Francis Hanford, Principal of the North Division High-School, Chicago, Ill., by Alexander Sullivan, Secretary of the Board of Public Works, upon the alleged public insult offered his wife in charges preferred against her by Mr. Hanford before the City Council, and which Mr. Hanford refused to retract. In the communication (which Mr. Hanford declared to have been a confidential note to one of the Aldermen, and which he very injudiciously read before the Council) Mr. Hanford charged Mrs. Sullivan with "being the instigator of all the deviltry connected with the legislation of the Board of Education. That her influence with the Mayor had secured the dismissal of the Secretary of the Board of Public Works, and the appointment of her husband in his place; also of being connected with a 'ring' which controlled the Board of Education, and which was hostile to Mr. Pickard, the General Superintendent of the City Schools," etc. Mr. Sullivan arrived at the Council Chamber just after the communication had been read, and upon receiving a copy of the same, also being informed that Mr. Hanford was the author, he repaired immediately to the house of Mr. Hanford, in company with his wife and brother, and in the presence of several of Mr. Hanford's friends, also of Mrs. Hanford, he demanded an immediate and written retraction, that he might have it published in the morning papers, to counteract the statement which had been read before the Council, and which would also appear. Mr. Hanford declared that he was able to fully substantiate what he had said, and would proceed to do so at the proper time and place. Mr. Sullivan demanded *immediate retraction*, and Mr. Hanford refused, whereupon Mr. Sullivan, calling him a villain and a dog, struck him, and they both fell to the ground. The parties were here separated, when Mrs. Sullivan and her husband's brother came up, and a scuffle ensued between them and Mr. Hanford, during which Mrs. Sullivan called out that Mr. Hanford had struck her. Mr. Sullivan immediately produced a pistol and shot Mr. Hanford, who was carried into the house, where he died in half an hour. Mr. Sullivan was arrested and examined before a coroner's jury, who rendered the following verdict:

"That the said Francis Hanford, now lying dead at No. 267 Oak Street, in the city of Chicago, County of Cook, and State of Illinois, came to his death on the 7th day of August,

1876. 1876, from a pistol-shot wound inflicted by a pistol or revolver in the hands of Alexander Sullivan, and therefore we, the jury, recommend the coroner to hold said Alexander Sullivan for further examination before the Criminal Court without bail."

Sullivan's Trial.

" The first trial of Alexander Sullivan for the murder of Francis Hanford, began October 16th, in the Criminal Court of Chicago, before Judge McAllister, the only Judge in the county who, as alleged, was not prejudiced against him. The Court was crowded with spectators. Great difficulty was experienced in securing a jury. The fourth day the 12th juror was secured, and proceedings began. Counsel for the defense, W. W. O'Brien, Thomas Moran, and Leonard Swett; Col. Van Arman assisted Charles Reed, the State's Attorney, in the prosecution. On Wednesday, Oct. 24th, at 5.30 P.M., the jury retired. When they returned, they declared a disagreement of eleven to one; whereupon Judge McAllister discharged the jury, and admitted Mr. Sullivan to bail. After the trial there was a good deal of dissatisfaction expressed as to its results. A petition was circulated, and signed by 8,000 persons, citizens of the county, praying the resignation of Judge McAllister. The petition was presented to him in the Court-room by a committee of respectable and dignified gentlemen of the county, to which he paid no attention, except to order his clerk to put it on file.

The second trial of Mr. Sullivan for the murder of Francis Hanford began Feb. 28th, 1877, and closed March 9th, when the jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty," and Mr. Sullivan was released, and walked out of Court a free man amid the cheers and congratulations of his friends.

" Aug. 15. Entire business portion of Westport, N. Y., destroyed by fire.

" Aug. 19. Death of Hon. Michael C. Kerr, Speaker of the House of Representatives, aged 49 years.

" Sept. 1. Isaac Washburn died at Livermore, Me., at the age of ninety-one years. He was the father of ex-Gov. Washburn, of Maine, Elihu B. Washburn, Minister to France, and ex-Gov. Cadwalader C. Washburn, of Wisconsin.

" Sept. 4. Town of St. Hyacinthe, Ontario, destroyed by fire. 600 houses burned and 4,000 people homeless.

The Yonger Brothers and the Northfield Bank Robbery.

" Sept. 7. Bold attempt of eight armed desperadoes on horseback to rob a bank in open day, in Northfield, Price County, Minn. Five of the gang remained outside to guard the entrance, shooting indiscriminately to frighten the citizens, while the other three entered the bank, springing over the counter, and holding a knife at the throat of the cashier, J. C. Haywood, ordering him to open the vault, while the other two compelled the assistant cashier and clerk to hold up their hands. Haywood refused to open the vault, and they shot him dead on the spot. They then ordered his assistant to open it, but he denied knowing the combination, and ran out of the back door, receiving a wound in the shoulder. Meanwhile the citizens collected, and opened fire upon the robbers outside, killing two and wounding one. The remaining five escaped, carrying the wounded one along. They failed, however, in securing the money. Great excitement prevailed, and the whole country were aroused and in hot pursuit. But for two weeks they were unable to capture them. Upon the 21st of September, four of them, on foot, entered the farm-house of Mr. Sanborn, eight miles from Medalia, to procure food. A son of the farmer, seventeen years of age, against the wishes of his father, took a horse from the stable and rode as fast as he could to Medalia, and aroused the citizens, and about fifty men, armed and on horseback, pursued them. They came upon the robbers five miles west of the town, while they were crossing a marsh, which the pursuers could not cross with their horses. They surrounded the marsh, and found them secreted on one side in the bushes and tall grass. The reckless fellows fired upon their pursuers, who returned it, wounding three and killing one. Three of the gang confessed to being the notorious "Yonger Brothers," well known as robbers and highwaymen. They were the most cool and desperate of characters, and defended themselves to the last with a courage worthy of a better cause. They were tried and plead guilty, and were sentenced to three years in the Penitentiary.

" Sept. 8. Tweed arrested at Vigo, Spain, and returned to the United States.

" Sept. 12. *Death of Henry Alexander Wise*, Governor of Virginia and Brig.-Gen. in the Confederate army, aged 70 years.

Bishop Janes.

" Sept. 18. Death of Rev. Edmund Slover Janes, Senior Bishop of the M. E. Church.

" Sept 22. Disaster on the Pan-Handle Railroad near Columbus, O. Four cars rolled down an embankment. Over thirty persons seriously injured and four killed.

" *Yellow fever at Savannah*, Augusta, and Brunswick, Ga. Out of a population of 2,500 in Brunswick, there were 600 cases. The Howards of New Orleans sent physicians and nurses.

Mollie Maguires.

" Oct. Trials, sentences, and executions of Mollie Maguires in the mining districts of Pennsylvania. A dangerous Order and secret organization which committed many cold-blooded murders.

" Oct. 12. A terrible boiler explosion in Pittsburg, Pa. Sixty persons buried in the ruins; fifty-seven killed and wounded. The shock was felt distinctly two miles from the wreck. The ruins took fire and the scene was heart-rending.

" Nov. Woman's National Temperance Convention held in Cleveland; sixteen States represented.

1876. Dam of the great Lynde Brook Reservoir, near Worcester, Mass., gives way, and a vast amount of property destroyed.

Attempt to Rob Lincoln's Grave.

" Nov. 7. Dastardly attempt to rob the grave of President Lincoln, at Springfield, Ill., by a couple of desperadoes, Mullins and Hughes. They were tried June 1, 1877, found guilty, and sentenced to one year each in the Penitentiary.

" Senate passed a bill reducing the salaries of all Government officials.

" Nov. 16. *Revolution in Mexico*; defeat of the Government army under Gen. Diaz.

" Nov. 18. Fall of Puebla.

" Nov. 21. Flight of President Lerdo from the capital with half a million in money, escorted by 1,000 men, 16 carriages, and 100 extra horses.

" Nov. 23. Gen. Diaz enters the City of Mexico in the midst of splendid demonstration, and the leading towns and cities declare allegiance to his Government.

" Nov. 24. Lerdo's escort forsake him, leaving him but 300 men.

" Nov. 30. Gen. Diaz was officially announced as Provisional President.

" War between San Salvador and Guatemala.

" Revolution in Honduras.

" Col. Balta, President of Peru, was murlered, and was succeeded by Prado, who was elected for four years.

Burning of the Brooklyn Theater.

" Dec. 5. Burning of the Brooklyn Theater, which took fire from the wind blowing one of the flies upon the stage against a gas-jet, which was unprotected. 276 lives were reported lost, among whom were H. S. Murdock, a very popular actor, and Claude Burroughs, a young actor of rising reputation. The majority of these unfortunate victims were from the third tier, and the great destruction was caused by the stairways and lobby giving way, precipitating the whole mass below, killing and smothering them in a great heap, for the terrible holocaust awaiting them.

Extraordinary Meteor.

" Dec. 21. Passage of an extraordinary meteor from S. E. to N. W., which was witnessed from Kansas to Pennsylvania and from Wisconsin to Kentucky, and described as being as large as an ordinary washtub, with a tail nearly 400 feet in length, producing a noise, in some places, which was described as louder than a whole battery, and lighting up the sky with a vivid glow.

Cremation.

" Dec. 6. The first furnace built at Washington, Penn., by Dr. F. J. Le Moine, and cost $1,600.

" Dec. 6. The first public cremation was that of the body of Baron de Palm. The body was placed in the retort at 8½ A. M., and at 10.40 the cremation was declared to be complete. The direct cost of the operation was $7.04. The body was wrapped in a sheet

1876. saturated with alum, to prevent exposure after the cloth was burned away, and was surrounded with flowers and evergreens. About an hour after the burning began, a rose-colored, misty light surrounding the body was observed. In another hour, the body had become red-hot, and the rosy mist had turned to a golden color. The ashes of the deceased were placed in an urn made for that purpose.

Ashtabula Horror.

" Dec. 29. A disaster, the most appalling in its nature which ever occurred in the history of railway travel, took place at a bridge near Ashtabula station in Ohio, at about eight o'clock in the evening. A passenger-train of eleven cars, bearing 160 human beings, went down with the bridge into a dreadful chasm 70 feet in depth and into the creek below, the wreck taking fire immediately. The weather was extremely cold, and a blinding snow-storm was driving before a furious gale. One hundred persons were killed outright or burned to death. The flames spread so rapidly, and the heat was so great, that those buried in the *débris* or held fast in the wreck could not be extricated, and were left to their fate. But two or three of the sixty persons rescued escaped injury, and several died from their wounds. Taken altogether, this was the most terrible railroad disaster which has ever occurred in this country. Mr. P. P. Bliss, the noted revival singer, with his wife, were among the victims.

The Coroner's Verdict.

The verdict of the coroner's jury in the Ashtabula disaster, was "that the fall of the bridge was the result of defects and errors made in designing, constructing, and erecting it; that the railroad company continued to use this bridge for over ten years without attempting to discover the defects, which were perfectly apparent to any practical engineer; also, that the cars were not heated with a proper apparatus, so that fire could be immediately extinguished in case of accident; that the failure to use the steam-pump in the pumping-house, and the means prepared to extinguish the fire was the direct fault of those who were first on the ground; also, that the chief engineer failed to use the fire-engine and hose in extinguishing the flames before the bodies of the victims were consumed; and for the casualty and its fearful results the railroad company were responsible.

Belknap's Fall.

" This year was noted for the exposure of "official corruptions" and "wickedness in high places." The "Whisky Frauds," involving the President's Private Secretary and several revenue officers; the "Emma Mine" scandal, involving the name of Gen. Schenck; and last, though not least, the Secretary of War, Gen. Belknap, charged with "bribery," or with selling Government appointments. Mr. Caleb B. Marsh testified to paying the wife of

1876. Secretary Belknap $12,000 per annum for the post tradership of Fort Sill. After a time he found that he could not afford to pay such a premium, and Mrs. Belknap agreed to accept of $6,000 per annum while he held the post. One of the worst features of this fraud was the fact that this money was directly extorted from the poor soldiers, who were compelled to pay exorbitant prices for all their supplies, as the post trader, in order to make sufficient profits to meet this "premium," and also make his own estimated profits, must sell an inferior article of goods at advanced prices. Marsh also testified that this money was paid Mrs. Belknap through her husband, the Secretary of War. Mr. Belknap did not deny the charge, but immediately sent in his resignation, which was accepted by the President, who was, however, not aware of the Secretary's bribery at the time. Mr. Belknap was immediately arraigned before the Senate and tried for impeachment—37 voting "guilty" and 25 "not guilty." A two-thirds vote being required to convict him, it was ordered that a judgment of acquittal be entered, and this court of impeachment adjourned *sine die*.

Blue Glass Mania.

1877. Jan. Wonderful experiments of Gen. Pleasonton with blue glass as a healing medicine, and the marvelous cures which he claimed as resulting from its use in windows, caused a general excitement throughout the country, and advertising received a fresh impetus. "Blue glass" was offered for sale in wonderful quantities and at marvelous prices. His theory claimed that the sunlight admitted through blue glass gave a fresh impetus to the growth of vegetation and imparted life and health to the sick.

" Jan. 3. Great fire in Lykens (Pa.) coal mines. 1,000 men thrown out of employment.

" Terrific fire-damp explosion in a coal mine near Pittsburg; six men killed and seven wounded.

" At a fire in Montreal, Ontario, the red-hot walls of a burning brick building fell outward and buried over a score of firemen beneath them; nine were killed outright and ten were very seriously injured.

Great Political Excitement.

" Great excitement prevailed over the whole Union in consequence of the contested election of the President. According to the official returns, Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected by a majority of one. The contest arose over the official correctness of the certificates of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, which were questioned by the Democratic party. A committee was chosen to investigate the matter, composed of Senators, Representatives, and Judges of the Supreme Court, which decided in favor of the election of Hayes over Mr. Tilden, the Democratic candidate.

" Federal troops withdrawn from South Carolina and Louisiana.

Rawhide—Duel.

1877. Jan. 3. James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the New York *Herald*, was publicly whipped on Fifth Avenue, New York, by Frederick May, whose sister Bennett was engaged to marry. The trouble originated in the alleged disrespect shown Miss May and her family by his failure to appear upon the evening set for the marriage ceremony to take place. This altercation resulted in a challenge from Bennett to fight a duel, which took place Jan. 8th, in Maryland. Neither of the principals were injured, and Bennett sailed immediately for Europe.

Vanderbilt.

" Jan. 4. Death of Cornelius Vanderbilt, a great capitalist and railroad king. He was born on Staten Island in 1794. At the age of 16 he bought a vessel, and at the age of 18 he owned two and was captain of another, and when 19 he married, and bought sloops and schooners, and when 23 years of age was worth $9,000, and free from debt. When he was 30 years old he had full control of the Gibbons line of steamers, which he brought up to paying $40,000,000. Mr. Vanderbilt now turned his attention to railroad speculations, buying, building, and controlling them, until he was the acknowledged "Railroad King." He managed a line of road 2,128 miles in length, the aggregate value of which was estimated at $149,000,000, half of which belonged to Mr. Vanderbilt and his family. At the time of his death his wealth was variously estimated at from $60,000,000 to $100,000,000, all but $15,000,000 of which he left to his son William. His will, however, was contested. William succeeded his father as President of the New York Central Railroad. Mr. Vanderbilt gave $700,000 to Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., and $50,000 to the Church of the Strangers in New York.

Reign of Terror in South America.

" Jan. 12. Civil war in Colombia between the Liberals and Conservatives. Gen. Pena, at the head of 2,500 wild and reckless desperadoes and drunken thieves, advanced from town to town, sacking, robbing, and destroying everything in their path, killing every Conservative without distinction. The city of Coli was utterly ruined, and the most of its male citizens destroyed with their homes and property.

" Jan. 13. Heavy earthquake in Southern California.

" Jan. 24. Fire in Bolton collieries; 15 lives lost.

Commodore Wilkes.

" Feb. 8. Death, in Washington, of Charles Wilkes, an American naval officer and explorer of much renown. He sailed, in 1838, with a squadron of five vessels, to explore the southern seas and islands, the Pacific coast, and the Columbia River. He returned in 1842, and published a description of his expedition. During the war of the Rebellion Capt. Wilkes did excellent service

1877. in the navy, and was commissioned as Commander, and placed first on the list. He captured the notorious rebel commissioners, Mason and Slidell, for which he received a vote of thanks from Congress, but his action was not approved by the President, upon the ground of illegality, and the commissioners were surrendered. In 1866 he received the commission of Rear Admiral on the retired list.

" Feb. 27. Meeting of the *Alabama* Claims Commissioners, in Washington, with Secretary Fish presiding.

" Mar. Bursting of the Staffordsville reservoir, on the east branch of the Willimantic, Conn., causing great destruction of property.

Execution of Lee, the "Mountain Meadow" Murderer.

" Mar. 23. Execution of John D. Lee, one of the leaders in the "Mountain Meadow" massacre, a wholesale butchery of an emigrant train by the Mormons over twenty years before. Lee was shot on the very ground where the massacre occurred. He made out a written statement, confessing complicity in the crime, but declared that he was forced to carry out the "orders of the council," which were given by Bishop Geo. A. Smith, Brigham Young's first counselor and right-hand man, and that he was sacrificed by the Mormon leaders, and was not responsible for the massacre; that he repented having anything to do with it at the time, but that he was forced to carry out the project or lose his life. The witnesses in the case, however, proved the entire guilt of Lee. They were Mormons, and bore united testimony, yet a Mormon jury refused to convict the participators.

The evidence in the case showed that the emigrants were decoyed from their camp under pretensions of friendship and assurances of protection, when they were suddenly fired upon, and all but the youngest children, who would not be able to remember the occurrence, were killed. The wounded had their throats cut or their brains were beaten out by the Indians, as it was claimed. They were left on the ground, piled in heaps, for the wolves and wild beasts to devour. Their property was sold at auction under the express order of President Young. Over 100 innocent victims perished in this bloody slaughter by the hands of a class of people claiming to be the "Saints of God," *and the only true Church of God on earth!* That other participators in this bloody butchery, and especially the "heads of the Mormon Church," were not arrested and brought to justice, is a standing question for our Government to answer, and will remain a black and cursed stain upon its honor while it has a history.

Southern Hotel.

" April 11. *Burning of the great Southern Hotel, at St. Louis*, six stories in height and covering nearly a block. Twenty persons perished and several others supposed to be lost. A number lost their lives, or were maimed for life, by jumping from the windows, and several slipped from the ropes and were dashed upon the pavement below. It was a terrible disaster, and caused a general inquiry into the best means of protecting life by fire-escapes, and also into the best mode of constructing fire-proof hotels.

"Parson Brownlow."

" April 29. Death of William Ganaway Brownlow, a clergyman, journalist, and politician, at Knoxville, Tenn. Mr. Brownlow was born in Virginia in 1805; entered the Methodist ministry in 1826, and for ten years was an itinerant preacher. Mr. Brownlow became interested in politics during the Administration of John Quincey Adams, and opposed the "Nullification Measures" of the South. He began editing the *Knoxville Whig* in 1837, and was soon known as the "fighting parson," from his radical and combative editorials and lectures. In politics Mr. Brownlow was a Democrat and pro-slavery, but he was loyal to the Government, and a virulent opposer of secession. He was arrested for treason against the Confederacy in 1861, and was imprisoned till March, 1862, when he was sent within the Union lines. He traveled and lectured extensively through the North, and returned to Tennessee in 1864, becoming its Governor in 1865. In 1869 he was elected to the United States Senate for a term of six years, after which he again resumed the editorial control of the *Whig*.

Chisholm Tragedy.

" April 29. Cold-blooded assassination of Judge Chisholm, of Kemper County, Miss., and the killing of his little son and wounding of his brave young daughter of 18, who died of her wound soon after. This tragedy, and the fact that every physician in the place refused to attend upon her dying father and herself, reveal the state of terrorism which prevailed under the reign of the "White League" in the South. An armed band of 200 "chivalrous" white men attacked this family, and after the brave young girl had, with her right arm, parried the guns of several of those "courageous defenders of their rights," which were placed almost against her father's breast, while with the other arm around her wounded father's neck, she received a wound which shattered her right hand, and was six times wounded in one of her legs. Her father at last fell, pierced with eleven balls. He still lived, and with the help of one of the guards, this heroic girl helped to bear her father to their home, a distance of over 100 yards. Her young brother of thirteen years was shot dead while clinging to his father. Gov. Stone, of Miss., refused to send aid and protection to this distressed family. The great crime for which Judge Chisholm was guilty was his stanch adherence to the Government, and his attempt to enforce the laws as sheriff of the county.

" May. *Yellow fever in Florida.*

1877. May. Terrible forest fires in Northern New York. Whole counties devastated and everything swept away; the people left destitute and fleeing in every direction for their lives.

" May 6. Surrender of 900 hostile Indians under Crazy Horse, at the Red Cloud Agency.

" May. *Fire-damp explosion at the Wadesville* Shaft Colliery of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Co. Seven lives were lost.

" May 9. Earthquake and tidal wave in Peru; several towns destroyed and 600 lives lost; many ships were destroyed. Loss of property amounted to $20,000,000.

" May. Land slide in St. Genevieve, Canada; ten persons buried alive.

" May 9. Death of Commodore Benjamin J. Totten, aged 71.

Rockford Disaster.

" May 11. The fall of the dome of the new Court-house at Rockford, Ill., killing nine men outright and wounding eleven more. The coroner's jury decided that the cause was produced by the incompetency and neglect of the architect, also the neglect of the supervisors to examine the work and see that it was properly executed.

Wholesale Poisoning.

" May 14. *Poisoning of sixty miners* at Sheator, Ill., the result of a quarrel among the striking employés. All of the miners recovered.

P. T. Barnum.

" May 18. P. T. Barnum offered a reward of $10,000 for the restoration of Charlie Ross to his parents, pledging his honor not to take any steps to seek out or punish the parties involved in his surrender. This offer was sanctioned by the parents of the lost child.

Fletcher Harper.

" May 29. *Death of Fletcher Harper*, the last of the four brothers who founded the House of Harper Brothers in New York. Fletcher had charge of the Literary Department, and suggested both the *Weekly* and the *Bazar*.

End of Fenianism.

" May 29. A gathering of Fenians, to the number of 1,500, was dispersed at Malone, N. Y., by a body of United States troops. They were congregated without means of carrying on an aggressive warfare—without money or friends to back them, and were at the time the troops arrived subjects of charity in the city. Their prominent officers agreed to discountenance any further hostilities on the American Continent. The members were generally discouraged, and willing to disband and abandon the enterprise and go home.

Great Forest Fires.

" May 30. Great forest fires in Wisconsin and Michigan; over 1,500,000,000 feet of standing pine logs burned.

" May. Great forest fires in Saguenay County, Canada. Over 1,000 families

1877. were rendered homeless and perfectly destitute. The conflagration covered a space of 1,500 square miles; 15 persons known to have lost their lives.

John Lothrop Motley.

" Death of John Lothrop Motley, LL.D. Mr. Motley was a historian of considerable fame. He was the author of the "History of New Netherlands," "Rise of the Dutch Republic," and other works.

" June 1. Onota, Mich., burned; 300 people rendered homeless.

" June 4. Destructive tornado in Illinois, at Mount Carmel. Sixteen lives were lost, and property amounting to five hundred thousand dollars destroyed.

" June. Fire in Marblehead, Mass. Several large shoe-factories and about seventy dwellings burned.

Ostracism.

" June 13. Refusal of Judge Hilton to admit James Seligman, a well-known and influential banker of New York, and his family to his hotel in Saratoga, the Grand Union, declaring that he could not open his house to Jews on account of a prejudice existing against them among the class who patronized his hotel. The affair created a great deal of newspaper comment and criticism throughout the country, the press generally condemning Judge Hilton in severe terms. A great deal of excitement was aroused among the Jews as a class, since Mr. Seligman had, with his family, for a period of half a score of years, been regular summer guests at Hilton's hotel.

Great Fire in St. John.

" June 20. Destructive fire in St. John, N. B. The principal part of the city, or forty blocks, were destroyed, and thirteen lives reported to be lost, and many were missing. The loss in property was valued at from $10,000,000 to $12,000,000. It was a terrible disaster to the Province, as the fire was, in proportion to the size of the city, *greater than even that of Chicago or Boston*, and the same appalling circumstances attended this also. The very elements seemed combined to overpower the might and wisdom of man, and make the destruction complete. Aid was immediately forwarded from Canada and New England, and subscriptions were raised in most of the large cities throughout the Union for the relief of the sufferers.

Robert Dale Owen.

" June 24. Death of Robert Dale Owen, an American author, at Lake George, N. Y. He was the son of Robert Owen, of Socialistic renown, and like his father, advocated to an extent similar principles. He was for a long time a resident of New Harmony, the society and town which his father established. Mr. Owen was, from 1843 to 1847, a Member of Congress, and was one of the founders of the Smithsonian Institute. In 1850 he was a member of the Convention which amended the Constitution of Indiana,

1877. in which, and also in the State Legislature, he introduced measures securing to the women of Indiana independent rights of property. From 1855–8 he was Minister to Naples. Mr. Owen was for many years a strong advocate of Spiritualism, and wrote several works in its defense; also a number of works on reform.

" June 25. Violent wind-storms in Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska, doing much damage to property and destroying many lives.

Mollie Maguires.

" June 27. Hanging of six Mollie Maguires at Pottsville, Pa. This organization dates back to 1842, and to Ireland for their origin. They were then known as Ribbonmen of Ireland, and were organized in resistance to paying rents. A branch of this society was organized in the United States, and known as the "Buckshots," who became so formidable in 1863 that the courts in Carbon Co., Pa., were powerless to execute a criminal who belonged to that Order. The Order known as the "Ancient Order of Hibernians," became merged into the Mollie Maguires, which society was instituted in New York, March 10, 1871, and was also incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

James McParlan, an agent of Allan Pinkerton, the great United States detective, was employed to search out the nature and secrets of this society, and he was for a long time a recognized member of the Order and participator in their operations, in so far as he could do so without committing any overt criminal act. He discovered their crimes and their extensive operations, and was the means of detecting a large number of the ring-leaders and bringing them to justice. Vigilance Committees were formed, and the Mollies were hunted and vigorously pursued. The mountains were infested with them, and murders were of frequent occurrence.

Colorado Stone Man or Petrified Giant.

" Again were the public humbugged and the scientists hoodwinked by another "petrified man." This last wonder was "dug up" at Colorado Springs, and Barnum's agent was forthwith dispatched to "interview" it; an interest was purchased, and preparations were made to "bring it out" under the auspices of the "great showman." But, alas, for the aspirations of the devoted modern humbuggers, the wonder was exposed, and another "Cardiff giant" was revealed with all his "perfections of art." The thing was concocted by the same gigantic brain, and perfected in a remote hamlet of Pennsylvania and carried to Colorado and buried. Its original cost was $41.45. It was composed of Portland cement, and cast in molds separately and put together.

" Extra session of Congress called by the President.

" July 7. Pensaukee Station, Ill., destroyed by a tornado; six lives were lost.

Railroad and Labor Strikes.

1877. July–Aug. Great and extensive labor strikes occasioned by a general reduction of ten per cent. in wages. The strike began with train hands on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on July 14th, and spread rapidly over all the roads between New England and the Mississippi River. No freights were allowed to move either way on several roads. On the 18th the Governor of West Virginia called upon the National Government for aid. The President responded promptly by sending a military company, and issuing a proclamation to the rioters. The strike now extended to the Pennsylvania and Erie Railroads, and at Pittsburg it assumed its most formidable proportions. The freight men refused to go out with their trains because the company had increased their work without increasing their pay. The Governor of Maryland called out the troops, and the rioters attacked them while marching through Baltimore. The regiment returned the fire, killing eight and wounding many others. The Governor of Pennsylvania sent the 18th Regiment to suppress the riot at Pittsburg. They were so stoutly resisted by the mob that they resorted to the round-house for defense. They were vigorously besieged here by the rioters, who had procured three cannon and sufficient arms to make a formidable assault. The mob now began burning the property of the railroad company. A mile in length of cars were on fire, and the greater portion of them were filled with merchandise. Some of these burning cars they pushed against the round-house, setting it on fire, and driving out the soldiers and causing them to retreat. The flames rapidly spread, but the fire department were powerless to protect the railroad property, as the mob forbid their attempting it. But the property of citizens was protected, and when any building of a private citizen caught fire, the rioters immediately helped to suppress the flames. The railroad company lost about $5,000,000, and about 50 men were killed and 100 wounded. The depredations were mostly committed by tramps, vagabonds, and thieves, who swelled the ranks of the rioters and plundered the trains and the property of private citizens. The originators of the strike proposed only to prevent any work or passage of freights over the different roads, but tramps and thieves made it an occasion to pillage and plunder, and flocked like vultures to the banquet. It soon reached Chicago, but the labor element had become somewhat appalled by the forward movement of the roughs and idle vagabonds who were determined to take everything into their own hands and ruin the city. A mob of nearly 1,500 collected and marched through the streets to the different car shops and freight houses, also to several manufacturing establishments, compelling the workmen to cease. They also took possession of the stock yards, and labor and business was for a short time suspended. A few depredations were committed, and street cars and omnibuses, in a few places, were

1877. stopped. After several slight skirmishes the police finally succeeded in quelling the mob.

Stanley's Return.

" Aug. Return of Henry M. Stanley, the great African explorer, from his second visit to Africa, where he remained nine months making many geographical and scientific discoveries. Since his return he has prepared a large work, with a full account of his travels and discoveries.

" Burning of a piano factory in New York; many lives were lost.

Wm. B. Ogden.

" Aug. 3. Death of William B. Ogden in New York City. Mr. Ogden was born in Delaware County, N. Y., and went to Chicago in 1835. He was its first Mayor, and one of its founders, being largely interested in its enterprises and progress. In 1860 he was a Member of the State Senate. Mr. Ogden was the founder of a large lumbering establishment in Peshtigo, Wis., and built up almost the entire town, which, together with his large mills, were destroyed by the great hurricane of fire that swept over the country, Oct. 9th, 1871, leveling Chicago, and whole townships and large districts of country in Michigan and Wisconsin. Mr. Ogden's lumbering establishment at Peshtigo was one of the largest in the world. Mr. Ogden was a man of great energy of character, and was interested in everything that advanced the public good, and was a very prominent man in the West. He was the first President of the Pacific Railroad Company, and also the first President of Rush Medical College. He also gave encouragement and aid to all the scientific and benevolent societies of Chicago. Mr. Ogden removed to New York in 1866, where he devised a plan for an underground railway through the city in connection with the question of rapid transit.

Brigham Young.

" Aug. 29. Death of the great Mormon leader, Gov. Young, of Utah. He was Mormon President, Prophet, and High-Priest, and the founder of Salt Lake City. Also the founder, in the very heart of the Continent, of the nefarious and heathenish system of polygamy, and successfully defied the great and powerful Government of the United States, and set up a religious and political, or Church and State Government, with himself as the head and chief ruler, and instituted and enforced laws and regulations, and executed the violators of the same without mercy or interference, by a secret order or system known as the Danites, of which he was chief. He was aided by twelve chosen agents, whom he was pleased to call the " Twelve Apostles." The United States sent Government officials there and established a United States District Court, with Judge Drummond to preside. But he was compelled to adjourn his Court *sine die*, at the point of the bowie-knife by a Mormon mob, instigated by

1877. sermons from the heads of the Church. Brigham Young ruled in Church and State with more power than any monarch of earth. He was grand tithing master, and never gave any account of or reported the amount of receipts; and at the time of his death had accumulated a large fortune. At the time of his death, Young had twenty living wives and eight dead, besides 54 " spiritual wives," *sealed* to him for eternity, and was the father of sixty-four children.

" Sept. 28. Great fire in Providence, R. I.; loss $675,300 and three lives.

" Sept. 29. Death of Henry Meiggs, the great railroad contractor, in Peru, South America.

" Oct. 10. Loss of the schooner *Magellan* on Lake Michigan; eight lives lost.

" Oct. 19. Army appropriation bill passed.

" Oct. 20. Great fire in Portland, a suburb of St. John, New Brunswick; loss $300,000 and several lives.

" Oct. 24. Loss of the *Huron* off the coast of North Carolina; nearly 100 lives lost.

Oliver P. Morton.

" Nov. 1. Death of Oliver Perry Morton, United States Senator and great " war Governor " of Indiana. He raised funds for carrying on the State Government and for the support of the Federal authorities during the war on his own responsibility, as the Democratic Legislature opposed his using the State funds for that purpose. He wielded more influence in the Republican party than almost any other man since the war. Mr. Morton was the champion of the Fifteenth Amendment, and received the second highest number of votes on the Republican ticket for President in the canvass that elected Hayes.

" Nov. 4. Earthquake shocks felt in New England, Middle States, and Lower Canada.

" Nov. 15. Earthquake shocks felt in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Dakota.

" Nov. 23. Fishery Commission sitting at Halifax, N. S., gave a verdict against the United States, and awarded Great Britain the sum of $5,500,000.

" Dec. 5. Loss of the Pacific steamship *Atamca* off Chili, with 72 lives.

" Dec. 8. True bill found against General Babcock by the grand jury of St. Louis. The verdict of the trial was favorable to Gen. Babcock.

" Dec. 20. Explosion in a confectionery manufactory, New York City; 10 killed and 42 injured.

" *Ku-Klux bill passed* by Congress.

" Loss of the steamer *Alabama*, with 70 lives.

" Agitation of the civil service question, and a Board of Commissioners appointed.

1878. Jan. Agitation of communistic principles among the laboring classes; especially active in Chicago.

" Jan. Mexican raids into Texas.

Nitro-Glycerine.

" Jan. 2. Fearful nitro-glycerine explosion on board a freight train on the Northwestern Railroad, near Lake Superior. Seven men were instantly killed and several seriously injured.

1878. Jan. 13. Wreck of the steamer *Metropolis*, from Philadelphia to Brazil, on the coast of North Carolina; 100 lives were lost.

" Jan. 16. Death of Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield, Mass., *Republican*, and one of the most noted journalists of America, aged 52 years.

Great Theological Discussion.

" Jan.–Feb. Great discussion throughout the theological world upon the nature of future punishment, and concerning the existence and origin of a place called " Hell." The discussion was started by a sermon preached by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in which he ignored the existence of a place of torment and the doctrine of *literal torment* or *punishment* after death.

" Feb. 11. Death of Hon. Gideon Welles, ex-Secretary of War, in Hartford, Conn., aged 75 years.

Cremation.

" Feb. 15. The body of Mrs. Pittman, wife of Benn Pittman, of Cincinnati, of phonographic notoriety, was cremated at Washington, Pa., by Dr. Le Moyne.

" Mar. 2. Tornado in Casey County, Ky. Great destruction of property and several lives lost.

Ben. Wade.

" Mar. 2. Death of Benjamin Franklin Wade, an American Senator of great ability and moral force of character. Mr. Wade, like the great majority of American statesmen, arose from obscurity and worked his way up, by his own manly and untiring exertions, to a position of great eminence and responsibility in the Government. He was first an Ohio State Senator in 1837, and a United States Senator from 1851 to 1869. He was ever a firm and consistent opponent of slavery and the slave power, and opposed all its measures. Upon the assassination of President Lincoln he became President of the Senate *pro tem.* and acting Vice-President. Mr. Wade was a stanch and noble defender of the rights of the people, and especially of the African slave, and politically he was never contaminated by compromise of principle or political corruption.

" Mar. 4. Bayard Taylor's appointment as Minister to Germany confirmed by the Senate.

Flood in California.

" Mar. Disastrous flood in California. The levees of the Sacramento River gave way, and a vast amount of farming lands flooded. Houses were swept away, and large numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep were drowned. The damage amounted to several millions.

Orangemen and Catholics.

" Mar. 18. *Riot in Toronto, Canada*, on the occasion of a lecture by the Irish champion, O'Donovan Rossa. A mob of 7,000 roughs surrounded the hall, breaking all the window-glass with missiles, and driving the speaker and audience from the building; 300 persons were injured—20 by pistol-shots.

1878. The affair ended in a prolonged fight between the Orangemen and Catholics.

" Mar 24. Hanging of three Mollie Maguires in Bloomsburg, Pa.

" Mar. Overthrow of Ultramontanism, or rule of the priesthood, in Lower Canada. The Church had controlled all the offices in the Province until the Government assumed the entire jurisdiction.

Gray's Telephone.

" Practical development of the telephone, invented by Elisha Gray, of Chicago, in 1874, which, in the language of the inventor, will transmit vocal sounds telegraphically. It is the object of this invention to transmit the tones of the human voice through a telegraphic circuit, and reproduce them at the other end of the line, so that actual conversation can be carried on by persons a long distance apart. This wonderful invention has more than fulfilled the office which its sanguine inventor predicted for it, and has opened up a new era in the marvelous progress of science and the grand march of events. In the summer of 1876 Professor A. G. Bell, of the Boston University, produced an instrument, or telephone apparatus, by which articulate speech could be transmitted over an electric circuit and reproduced with distinctness.

Professor A. E. Dolbear also added an improvement to the telephone the same year. In 1878 the invention became of practical utility, and was quite extensively used.

Mr. Thomas A. Edison, of Menlo Park, N. J., has also invented a telephone.

Edison's Phonograph.

" The phonograph, or sound-recorder, is a device for permanently recording and faithfully reproducing at any time or place all kinds of sounds, including those of the human voice. The speaking phonograph was invented by Mr. Thomas A. Edison, and is a purely mechanical invention, no electricity being used. It is, however, somewhat allied to the telephone, in consequence of the fact that, like the latter, its action depends upon the vibratory motions of a metallic diaphragm, capable of receiving from and transmitting to the air sound vibrations. When a person speaks into the mouthpiece of the instrument, which will cause the diaphragm to vibrate, and as the vibrations of the latter correspond with the movements of the air producing them, soft and yielding tinfoil will become marked along the line of the groove by a series of indentations of different depths, produced by a peculiar mechanical combination, varying with the amplitude of the vibrations of the diaphragm, or, in other words, with the inflections or modulations of the speaker's voice. These inflections may therefore be looked upon as a sort of visible speech, which, in fact, they really are. If now the diaphragm is removed, and a cylinder turned, we have only to replace the diaphragm and turn in the same direction as at first to hear repeated all that has been spoken into

1878. the mouthpiece of the apparatus. A stylus by this means being caused to traverse its former path, and consequently rising and falling with the depressions in the foil, its motion is communicated to the diaphragm, and thence through the intervening air to the ear, where the sensation of sound is produced.

The articulation and quality of the phonograph, although not yet perfect, is full as good as the telephone was six months ago. The instrument, when perfected and moved by clockwork, will undoubtedly reproduce every condition of the human voice, including the whole world of expression in speech and song.

The above brief description of the phonograph was condensed from the article in *Scribner's Monthly* for April, 1878, from the pen of C. B. Prescott.

" April. A riot occurred among the miners at Coal Creek, Ind., in consequence of the proprietors hiring negroes to work in the mines. There existed a "Union" among the miners, which determined to drive out the colored men. Three negroes were killed in the riot.

" April 7. Burning of a portion of the poor-house of Steuben County, N. Y. One of the insane inmates set fire to the building, and 16 persons perished in the flames.

Wm. M. Tweed.

" April 12. Death of William Marcy Tweed, the great "Tammany Ring" leader, in the jail in New York city. He was the moving power in the robberies connected with the Municipal Government, when $50,000,000 were stolen from its treasury.

" April 14. Earthquake in Venezuela, destroying the town of Cucua.

Cyclone in Iowa.

" April 21. The most terrific tornado that was ever experienced in Iowa, accompanied by hail of enormous size, swept over Jefferson County, destroying many lives and a vast amount of property. Its track was from one and a half to half a mile in width, and extended forty miles, carrying terror, devastation, and death in its track.

John Morrissey.

" May 1. Death of John Morrissey, prize-fighter, gambler, and United States Senator, in Saratoga, N. Y.

Morrissey was born of very poor Irish parents in Ireland, and came with his parents to America when but three years of age. He was raised in poverty, in the city of Troy, N. Y., and all the education he possessed he acquired himself, independent of schools, learning to read and write after he was 19 years old. He grew up a very strong, athletic boy, and working for several years in rolling-mills and stove-foundries, greatly aided in the development of his muscles. He was for several years the leader of a party of roughs and rowdies in Troy known as the "Down-town party," while the "Up-town party" was led by O'Rourke and

1878. Mackey, two bullies of local renown. O'Rourke had whipped every bully in the surrounding country. He was 24 years of age, and a powerfully-built man. Morrissey was but 18, yet he was then a victor among pugilists. Upon the first attack of O'Rourke Morrissey gave him a sound thrashing. He was now a "hero," and became noted among sporting-men throughout the country.

In 1848-9 he was a deck-hand on a North River steamer, and in 1854 married the daughter of its captain. In 1850, with a companion named Cunningham Morrissey started for California. Neither of them had sufficient means to carry them there, so they slipped on board a vessel bound for the new "Eldorado" and hid among the storage, and after three days made their appearance. When called upon for their tickets, they confessed their plan, and the captain assured them that they should never reach California, but that he would send them home by the first steamer, and that they should work their passage at heaving coal. But when the vessel reached Chagres, the natives surrounded it in their canoes, and Morrissey and his comrade slipped over its side and dropped into one of the boats, and taking the oars, told the native he would save his life only by keeping still. They rowed to the shore and walked to Panama, a distance of nearly forty miles, where, with their small capital, they began gambling, and were soon in possession of $700. But this being barely half the amount required to carry them to San Francisco, they continued to gamble until they lost it all. Again reduced to their first extremity, they watched their chance, and when vigilant officers were everywhere on the alert to prevent hundreds of idle fellows from shipping under the same circumstances, they slipped on board the lading schooner which transported the cargo to the Pacific steamer. Arriving alongside, they watched their opportunity, picked up a large packing-case, and carried it on board. They were not discovered, and once safely aboard the vessel, they forgot to return. The next morning, seeing a boy severely boxed by a large, fine-looking man, Morrissey demanded of him his reason for striking the boy, and severely censured the act as mean and cowardly. He was informed that it was the captain of the vessel whom he was reprimanding, and when called upon for his ticket, and being obliged to confess his duplicity, the captain said he would put them ashore at Acapulco, as he thought that would be sufficient punishment for them.

But seemingly destined to good luck, Morrissey and his companion were unexpectedly relieved from their embarrassing situation. The vessel was short of provisions, and a mutiny arose among the steerage passengers. For a reason unknown to Morrissey, the captain appealed to him and his comrade to stand by him and the officers of the vessel. Morrissey gladly complied, and the captain armed them each with a cutlass and two six-

1878. shooters, and when the mutineers appeared, seeing Morrissey and Cunningham at the head of the force, they immediately desisted, and were brought to terms by the explanations of the captain, and his promise to do the best for them in his power. The captain gave Morrissey and Cunningham a state-room and a seat at the first table for the rest of the voyage. Arriving in San Francisco, Morrissey's friends raised his fare from Panama among them and tendered it to the captain, which was refused, and with the money he set up a gambling saloon in the city. He rapidly accumulated means, and when a gold excitement broke out in the British Possessions, together with several adventurers like himself, purchased a small vessel, well equipped with guns and ammunition, and started for the place. The character of the vessel, and the apparent object of its mission, prevented the Custom-house authorities from giving them a clearance, and they slipped off in the night without their papers, and sailed as pirates in the eyes of the law. It was a perilous undertaking, as the distance was 2,000 miles, and the coast, for a long distance, a rough and dangerous one, and the British men-of-war which they were liable to encounter would, if they were overhauled and found to be sailing without any proper identification, arrest them as pirates and hang them to the yard-arm. But nothing daunted, they sailed on and reached the place without interference; but finding the prospect a poor one for making their fortunes, they resolved to return to San Francisco. On their way back they put in at Vancouver, a British port, and found a British man-of-war in the harbor. They were in a predicament, and Morrissey advised, as the best show they could make, to board the ship first and state their business, and give the captain all the news they possessed concerning the new gold-fields, and thus detract his attention. The card was a lucky one, and *took* amazingly, as the British vessel was bound for the new gold region, and the captain thanked them kindly for their information, and asked them to dine on board the ship. Morrissey's companions were alarmed at their delay, and feared that their comrades had certainly been either placed in irons or summarily dispatched as pirates. But upon their return to the schooner, they had a jollification over their "good luck," and during the night they slipped out of the harbor and disappeared before the British crew could return their friendly visit. Returning to San Francisco, they sold their vessel; and as there was great excitement among the roughs on account of a prize-fight which had occurred the day of their arrival, and the victor had challenged any man in California to meet him, Morrissey's friends arranged for a fight for $1,000 a side. They met, and Morrissey whipped the champion in ten minutes. The same year Morrissey challenged any man in America to fight him at $10,000 a side. The friends of Tom Hyer took up the challenge, but Hyer

1878. backed out. In 1853 Morrissey whipped Yankee Sullivan at $1,000 a side. Morrissey won in fifty seven minutes. His last fight was with Heenan, in Canada, at $2,500 a side, Morrissey beating in twenty-one minutes. He set up a sporting-house in New York on his return from California, where he made a good deal of money. He visited England and Ireland, and witnessed the fight between Heenan and Sayers.

In 1861 Morrissey began operations in Wall Street; but he soon lost $50,000—all that he had—in the raid, with the Common Council, against Vanderbilt. He borrowed money and started a club-house in Saratoga.

During the war his operations in Wall Street were very heavy, and he made large sums of money. In 1866 Morrissey was nominated for Congress, and was elected by an overwhelming majority. The Members of Congress were averse to recognizing him, and none were willing to introduce him. But Morrissey showed moral, as well as physical, courage, and asked Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, to introduce him. Mr. Garfield assented, and presented John Morrissey to the United States Congress, as a Representative from the Fifth District of New York City. He was again elected to Congress, in 1868, by 13,000 majority. Morrissey was treated with respect, and was never refused a favor in Congress. His bearing was universally conceded to have been modest, gentlemanly, and intelligent, and he was never guilty of accepting a bribe or betraying his constituents. In 1869, on "Black Friday," Morrissey lost $600,000, but he paid up every debt, and started anew in a club-house at Saratoga the following year. His house cost $250,000, and was considered the finest of its kind in the world. In 1871 he started a political movement known as "Young Democracy," for which he was expelled from the Tammany Democracy. He joined the new Tammany Hall when it was reorganized, and became a leader, but he boasted that he never held office, or held a draft on the treasury, and had never made one dollar out of the City of New York. In 1875 Morrissey was elected to the State Senate of New York, where he served with credit; he opposed all the measures of the "ring" effectually. In 1877 he defeated Schell as a candidate for State Senator from the Seventh District, one of the most aristocratic portions of New York. In the contest to win, he worked himself to death. When his affairs were all settled, it was found that he was worth only about $30,000. Although controlling large amounts of capital, Morrissey was strictly honest in his moneyed transactions. Had he, when a boy, received the education his natural talents required, and had he been fortunately born in a sphere of life in which he could have received early moral and religious culture and training, his career would never have been among prize-fighters and gamblers. He had an innate sense of moral rectitude and justice which many who were reared under far more favorable surroundings are destitute of. When we consider

1878. the destitution and ignorance of his condition and surroundings in childhood and early manhood, the great wonder is that he could maintain any integrity whatever. But that a candidate from the metropolis of this great and enlightened republic could be elected to a seat in its National Congress, from the very lowest walks in life, a man with no reputation but that of a bully or prize-fighter, a gambler, and saloon-keeper; and who had often been indicted for crimes, and who had served a term in the Penitentiary, and was leader among the lowest class of roughs in a great city, is a severe comment upon our standard of moral and political purity. It also fairly illustrates the weak point in the form of our great and free Government, *i. e.*, placing the ballot within reach of the ignorant and degraded upon the same basis as that of the intelligent and educated citizen.

" May 2. Great explosion in the Washburn flour mills at Minneapolis, Minn., the largest flouring mill in the world, causing the destruction by fire of several other large mills. Total value, $1,500,000. 17 lives were lost.

" May 10. Senate passed the Bankrupt Repeal bill, which should be operative from Sept. 1.

" May 12. Death of Catherine E. Beecher, sister of Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. Stowe. She was a well-known author, and a woman of rare sense and virtue. Aged 77 years.

" May 17. Potter's resolution passed, which proposed an investigation of the alleged election frauds in Florida and Louisiana. The Republicans refused to vote on the resolution.

Cyclone in Wisconsin.

" May 25. A terrible tornado in Southern Wisconsin, which swept across the State from Mineral Point to Milwaukee. Jefferson County suffered severely; the town of Oakland was swept with the "besom of destruction," and over $50,000 worth of property destroyed in this town alone. The cyclone passed over Cedar Lake, sucking up the water, which was precipitated with immense force upon the land, which appeared, after the storm had abated, as if the Mississippi had swept over it. There was nothing which could stand before its awful fury. The largest trees were twisted into shreds, or snapped off like pipe-stems. Horses, cattle, men, wagons, and portions of buildings were carried through the air like feathers. The track of this cyclone varied from 10 to 150 rods in width, and was but a little over one hour in traversing the State from Mineral Point to Lake Michigan. A large number of persons were injured and many killed.

William Cullen Bryant.

" June 12. Death of William Cullen Bryant, the eminent American poet, at the age of eighty-four years. The last work of Mr. Bryant was the delivery of an address at the unveiling of a bust of Mazzini in Central Park, New York. He spoke in the open air, a friend holding an umbrella over his head during its delivery, but while he

1878. was delivering the peroration he stood in the glare of the sun. Immediately upon reaching the house of his friends, where he was invited to dine, he fell insensible upon the threshold, but recovered so as to reach his home the same day, from which he never again departed until he was carried to his long home in the beautiful cemetery. Mr. Bryant was born in Cummington, Mass., in 1794. At the age of ten he was a very precocious boy, and an advanced scholar for his years. He began writing verses at that age, and when thirteen he wrote a political satire in rhyme which was widely published. At sixteen he entered Williams College as a Sophomore, and remained two years; but his father not being able to pay his expenses, he left college and began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one. He continued the practice of law till he accepted the editorial chair of the *Evening Post*. He wrote "Thanatopsis" when but seventeen, and six years later his father, finding it among his papers, sent it to the *North American Review* for publication. When twenty-one he was persuaded to publish a volume of poems, which appeared under the title of "The Ages." These, with the literary gem, "Thanatopsis," established his reputation as a poet of the first order. In 1825 Mr. Bryant became connected with the New York *Evening Post*, which he has since edited with great ability. Mr. Bryant was quite an extensive traveler, having visited the principal parts of his own country and made several trips to Europe; also a visit to Egypt and Syria. During his travels he wrote letters of description to the *Post*. In his seventy-first year he began the translation of the "Iliad" from the Greek, laboring four years upon it. He then translated the "Odyssey," which required two years. Since the completion of his translation of Homer, in connection with Mr. Gay, he began a history of the United States, which, when completed, would fill several volumes, but which he left unfinished. By this record of his labors, we see that he was an untiring worker, and whatever his hands or brain found to do, he did with his might, and lived almost to the age of *fourscore and ten*.

Judge Breese.

" June 27. Death of Sydney Breese, Judge of the Illinois Supreme Court, at Pinckneyville, Ill. For twenty-five years Judge Breese had filled this honorable and important position with eminent ability. He was a finished scholar, a distinguished jurist, a useful and valued citizen, and an honest man. The bar of Chicago joined with that of the State, and sent a delegation to pay their honors to the memory of the venerable and renowned Judge. The flag of the State-House dome was at half-mast, and special trains were tendered by the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad on the occasion of the funeral.

" Agitation of the third "Presidential term" question, in reference to the election of ex-President Grant for a third term as President of the United States.

" June–July. *Riots in St. Louis* between the Mayor and his marshals and the Metropolitan police; also between the Illinois and St. Louis Railroad Company and the citizens.

" June–July. Gen. John C. Fremont confirmed as Governor of Arizona.

" July. Indian outbreak in Washington Territory. Battle of Willow Springs; 43 soldiers killed. Generals Howard and Miles finally rout the Indians.

" July. National Hebrew Convention in Milwaukee, Wis., composed of the leading orthodox Jews of the United States.

" July 2. *Burning of the Anchor Line steamer "Capital City,"* on the Mississippi River at Memphis, during a stiff gale; the flames communicating with a large elevator, it was also burned down. Twenty bags of Government mail were destroyed, and two lives lost. The total loss from the fire was $250,000.

From Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico in a Paper Canoe.

" July 4. Nathaniel H. Bishop started from Quebec, Canada, with a large canoe with sails, to make a trip to the Gulf of Mexico. He exchanged his boat for a paper canoe on the way in one of the New England ports, and went on his way, performing the journey pleasantly and safely in nine weeks' time.

Sutro Tunnel.

" July 8. Completion of the Sutro Tunnel, which connects the Comstock and Savage silver mines in Nevada. The tunnel was designed and constructed by Adolph Sutro. He was nine years engaged in this wonderful enterprise, which, for the vastness of the undertaking, and the many obstacles to overcome, challenges the admiration of the world, as one of the most gigantic feats in the history of modern engineering.

This tunnel is located over 2,000 feet below the surface of the earth, and is four miles in length, being ten feet high by fourteen in width. Its object is to facilitate the operations in the mines—to save the enormous expense of pumping water and of hoisting ore 2,000 feet by machinery; of transporting miners to the different drifts, with increased safety to life and limb; the enormous saving in wood and steam-power, and securing ventilation in the mines. The cost of this wonderful enterprise was $3,500,000 in gold.

Mr. Sutro, after repeated efforts to secure assistance in California among the great mining stockholders, who repeatedly pledged their assistance and as often violated their pledges, and failing to raise sufficient means in New York, owing to the adverse influence brought to bear against him by the California capitalists, he repaired to England, and, after repeated efforts, succeeded in securing sufficient aid from the great English house of M. Calmot Bros. to complete his gigantic undertaking.

Mr. Sutro will be gratefully remembered when the powerful moneyed capitalists who combined against him and his enterprise shall slumber in forgotten graves, and his name will long be revered by those who go down into the bowels of the earth to bring forth its treasures to enrich the sons of men.

Orangemen.

" July 12. Panic in Montreal caused by a threatened riot among the Orangemen and Catholics upon the contemplated grand parade of the Orangemen on that day. Great excitement prevailed in the city, and mobs were forming among the Irish Catholics to prevent their marching. The alarm became a real panic, when the Mayor sent for several thousand of Government troops, who dispersed the Orangemen without bloodshed, and quiet was once more restored. This was the second attempt in Montreal to break up the parade of the Orangemen in that city by the Catholic element, a riot having occurred in 1877.

The history of the Orangemen dates back to Nov. 21, 1688, when the Order first had an existence. It was established at Exeter, England, and a declaration of its principles was drawn up by Bishop Burnet, the signers pledging themselves to support William, Prince of Orange, who was a Protestant. The Order was then called the "Orange Confederation," and has been perpetuated in England and Ireland under different names ever since. The first Orange Lodge dates back to September 21, 1795, its proclaimed object being self-defense, maintenance of Protestantism, and of British domination. It spread very rapidly. Its first Grand Master in Ireland was Thomas Verner. In 1827 it became established in Canada, and has since been one of the institutions of the country. Ogle R. Gowan was the first Grand Master of Canada. They are strongly loyal to the British Government, and a large majority of the public men belong to the Order. It wields a strong political influence in Canada, and has 1,660 lodges, with a membership of 200,000.

Sunstrokes.

" July 20. During the week ending July 20, 145 persons died from excessive heat in the city of St. Louis, Mo., and over 50 in Chicago.

" July 20. Death of "Minnie Warren," the dwarf-wife of Maj. Newell (also a dwarf) and sister of Mrs. Tom Thumb.

" July 29. *Total eclipse of the sun*, seen in the United States in a path 116 miles wide, extending through the Western Territories, from the British Possessions to the Gulf of Mexico.

" *For the year ending with July*, 1878, *fifteen Mollie Maguires were hung.*

" July–Aug. *Unprecedented and prolonged heat* all over the United States. Great suffering and many deaths in consequence.

" Aug. 7. Fearful disaster on the Pan-Handle Railroad, caused by a collision between an emigrant passenger train and a freight train. 15 persons were killed outright and 50 injured.

" Aug. 7–9. Terrible storms in Central

1878. Illinois, sweeping across the State, doing much damage.

" Aug. 9–10. *Unprecedented rain-storms*, accompanied by the most terrific electrical discharges, and with hail of unusual size, visited New England, Northern New York, and a part of Eastern Ontario, extending over a space of 500 miles. Four persons were killed by lightning, 50 were shocked, and 50 buildings were burned and about that number injured.

" Aug.–Sept. *Chinese Embassy*, among whom were several Chinese ladies, visit the United States. They arrive in San Francisco and cross the Continent by rail, visiting the chief cities on their way to Washington, where they were cordially received by the President and his Cabinet.

" Sept. 3–8. *Grand parade and national tournament* of firemen in Chicago; procession three miles in length.

1878. Sept. 12. Unprecedented rain-storm, accompanied by heavy wind, through Western Ontario, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. 100 bridges swept away in Ontario, and the damage to property in Northern Ohio alone, amounted to $3,000,000.

Silver Bill.

" *Silver bill passed* both Houses of Congress by more than a two-thirds vote. It was vetoed by President Hayes, but immediately passed again over his veto. Under this law the United States Mint proceeded to coin the new silver dollar.

" Sugar made from the common corn-stalk, by Prof. Collier, chemist of the Agricultural Department.

" Sept. 15. *Railroad disaster at Tariffville, Conn.* An over-crowded excursion train, returning from the Moody and Sankey meetings at Hartford, fell

1878. through a trestle-bridge, and 16 persons were killed and 46 injured.

Yellow Fever.

" Aug.–Oct. Terrible visitation of yellow fever in the South. It first made its appearance in New Orleans, and rapidly spread to the cities and towns along the Mississippi River, carrying consternation and death into every household. The people fled in terror and dismay, until some towns were almost depopulated. To October 4th there were 10,218 cases and 3,060 deaths in New Orleans, and the fever still raging. The suffering from destitution was fearful, and 40,000 were reported October 1st as destitute of the means of subsistence. Immense subscriptions and donations of money, clothing, and food were sent from the North.

GEORGE W. WALLING

SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE OF NEW YORK CITY.

PATRICK CAMPBELL,

SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE OF BROOKLYN.

INSPECTORS OF POLICE OF NEW YORK CITY & BROOKLYN.

"A WORK OF ABSORBING INTEREST, NOT ONLY TO THE POLICE, BUT TO THE PEOPLE GENERALLY."

A CONCISE HISTORY

OF

THE POLICE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS

OF THE CITIES OF

NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN,

FROM THE YEAR 1658 TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1879;—A RERIOD OF 221 YEARS.

INCLUDING AN

IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE OF MANY STARTLING SCENES IN WHICH THEY, AS THE PEOPLE'S GUARDIANS, HAVE PARTICIPATED.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE NAME OF EACH MEMBER OF THE FORCE, SEPTEMBER 1, 1879.

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TO

THE POLICE OF NEW YORK CITY AND BROOKLYN,

WHOSE

UNTIRING WATCHFULNESS AT ALL TIMES, AND WHOSE UNEXCELLED VALOR SHOWN IN THE SEVERAL CRITICAL PERIODS OF THE CITIES' AND THE NATION'S EXISTENCE, COMMEND THEM TO THE ADMIRATION AND PRAISE OF ALL CIVILIZED PEOPLE,

This Work is Respectfully Dedicated.

PREFATORY.

THE lack of authentic record has thrown an air of mystery and doubt around the beginnings of many great movements in human history.

Aside from military control, very little is known of the early methods adopted for keeping the peace in New York and Brooklyn.

The duties now required of the Police Department have at different periods been performed wholly, or in part, by officials known as Watchmen—The Watch—Constables—Scouts—Sheriffs—Deputy Sheriffs—Special Deputy Sheriffs—Special Deputies—Deputies—Mayor s Aids—Detectives—The Patrol—Patrolmen—Policemen—The Police—The Police Force—The Force—THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

The *variety* of duties demanded of the force is very great. The efficiency of the department as well as the strength of its hold upon the public confidence is proportioned to its freedom from political partisanship.

The qualifications for a good policeman are robust health, unflinching courage, correct morals, quick apprehension, good judgment, a well-balanced mind, *an honest citizen.*

Almost every rank in society contributes to its lists of membership, and nearly every occupation has representatives on its muster-rolls.

The peace, welfare, and good order of the city; the safety of life; the security of property, have always been objects of paramount importance with the police departments. In the efforts made to secure these results, there have been instances, not a few, of self-sacrifice, of cool intrepidity, of personal daring, which have called out the warmest expressions of admiration and gratitude.

The quiet, industrious, well-disposed people, who constitute the great bulk of the population of our cities, really know but little of the desperate character of the criminal classes with which the police force continually war while striving to hold them in subjection to the restraints of wholesome law.

It is no shadowy, theoretical system of offense—sacrilege, lust, fraud, imposition, violence, robbery, and homicide, which the force confront, but *real* murderers, highwaymen, poisoners, forgers, parricides, robbers, and ravishers with whom they grapple, with cool, competent villains who have already murdered, robbed, ravished, waylaid, plundered, pillaged, burned, and are anxiously waiting opportunities to repeat these atrocities. There are hundreds of desperate characters in these two cities who have so low an estimate of human life that would kill a man, woman, or child in order to get possession of ten dollars, with as little hesitation as they would crush a bug or a toad.

This class is not recruited wholly from what is called the "lower class." They are gathered from the well-dressed and from the ill-dressed; from the higher planes and the lower planes, and from all the intermediate planes of social life—from the grossly ignorant and from the highly-educated (not the *well*-educated); from coarse, brutal men, and from delicate, lovely women. And connected with this fearful, infernal array, by a thousand intimate affinities, is a still larger array of unsuspecting, innocent persons, who are in no degree aware of the guilt that attaches to these, their sometime associates and friends.

Upon the discovery of some hideous crime committed, the entanglement of the innocent with the guilty, brings into play elements of interest and sympathy which are perplexing and difficult of control.

It not unfrequently happens that disparagement of the official is attempted in order to shield the offender. The motives of the officer are doubted; his methods criticised; his ability questioned; his sagacity ridiculed, and his judgment hooted.

It is not claimed that the police system has reached such a stage of perfection as to exempt it from wholesome criticism. But it has the right to challenge an honest, searching comparison with any other equally numerous class of citizens in respect to the efficient and faithful discharge of private or official duties and trusts.

The right-minded portion of the community should well understand that the violently harsh and indiscriminate censure with which the force is assailed has its origin in either political animosity or in certain moral obliquities that are held in check only by the force which is thus persistently maligned.

Whenever the vagabond, ruffian element obtain a hearing, it is reasonable to expect that their bitterest denunciations should be in defamation of that agency which compels

a wholesome respect for the usages and laws of civilized society.

The police force is selected *from* the people. It exists for the protection of the people; and it is amenable to the people.

NARRATIVE.

1658.—New Amsterdam seems to have had a platoon of eight men, who are referred to as "The Rattle Watch."

1669.—In this year mention is made in the records for the first time of the "Constable of Brooklyn." This official, Michael Lenell, besides other prescribed duties, was "to whip and punish offenders, raise the hue and cry after murderers, thieves, robbers, and burglars—to apprehend without warrant such as were overtaken with drink, swearers, Sabbath-breakers, vagrant persons or night-walkers, and them to keep in safe custody till opportunity serves to bring them before the next Justice of ye Peace for further examination." And also "on the death of any person to inquire into the manner of his death, and search after the estate of the deceased—to record every man's particular mark; to see each man's horse and colt branded; to pay the value of an Indian coat for each wolf killed; to cause the wolf's head to be nayled over his door there to remain, as also to cut off both eares in token that the head has been paid for."

CONSTABLES OF BREUCKLEN FROM 1669 TO 1690.

1669.	Michael Lenell,	1682.	Martin Ryerson,
1671.	Lambert Johnson,	1683.	Jan Cornelis Dam,
1675.	Andries Juriansen,	1684.	Thomas Ffardon,
1676.	Cornelius Corson,	1687.	John Aertsen,
1678.	Thomas Lambertse,	1689.	Jacobus Bearvis,
1679.	John Aaresen,	1690.	Julian Hendnickse.
1680.	Andreas Juriansen,		

1676.—Under the English *regime*, in New York, the Watch were required to furnish themselves with good serviceable fire-arms and six charges of ammunition, and "in turn," report to the Captain at sun-down, and for failure or neglect, they were subject to fine. The "Stadt Huys," or City Hall at Coenties Slip, was furnished with cells for prisoners, who were chifly turbulent negro slaves, or disorderly sailors on shore from the shipping in the harbor.

1692, Nov. 8.—The Court of Sessions, in Kings Co., ordered "the Constables of each town to see that each town erect a good pair of stocks and a good pound, and fail not at your peril."

1695, Nov. 12.—The Kings Co. Court of Sessions "ordered the Constables on Sundays to take law for the apprehension of all Sabbath-breakers, and to search all alehouses and other suspicious places for all prophaners and breakers of the Sabbath daye, and bring them before a Justice of the Peace to be dealt with according to law, and for any default or neglect hereof, pay a fine of six shillings."

1697.—Four good and honest inhabitants of New York City were appointed "to go round the city from nine o'clock in the evening till break of day, with a bell, proclaim the state of the weather and the hour of the night." They received a little pay.

NEGRO PLOT.

1712.—The fear of an uprising of the negro slaves in New York caused great alarm. Many arrests were made, and a white man and nineteen negroes were executed.

1735.—"The Watch," in New York, was enlarged during this year so as to muster ten men and two Constables; and a still further increase was soon afterward made, so that they numbered three hundred. A prominent part of their uniform was a strong leather hat, to be worn while on "the watch;" hence their pet name of "The Leather Heads," which title they retained many years.

SECOND NEGRO PLOT.

1741.—A second "negro plot" to burn the city aroused the people to a high pitch of excitement. Arrests, trials, convictions, and executions followed in rapid succession. Four whites were executed; fourteen negroes burned at the stake; eighteen hanged, and seventy-one were transported.

1768.—Garret Middagh's "negro fellow, Cæsar, stole valuables from widow Rapelye in Brooklyn, at the Ferry." He was arrested by the constable; tried and convicted. His execution took place September 15th.

THE DOCTOR'S RIOT.

1788.—Body snatching, or robbing the grave for the purpose of obtaining subjects for dissection, awakens the deepest feelings of retaliation and revenge on the part of those who have suffered loss, and the sympathy of the community is easily enlisted in their behalf.

Medical students connected with the City Hospital and with Columbia College, together with doctors and surgeons, were charged with complicity in this business of commercial resurrection.

The anger and hate, caused by repeated alleged desecrations of the grave, were violent and keen. Many of the supposed offenders were prudent enough to leave the city, and the civil and military authorities, with the utmost difficulty saved the structures named from destruction at the hands of the indignant, unreasoning populace.

THIRD NEGRO PLOT,

1796.—Fears of another plot among the negro slaves to destroy the city, is thus noticed in a newspaper, the *Minerva*, Dec. 14:

"Serious cause of alarm! Citizens of New York!! You are once more called upon to attend to your safety!! Rouse, fellow-citizens; double your watch, and confine your servants!!"

"The Watch" were alert, and the "fire-fever" soon died out.

1811.—THE TRINITY CHURCH RIOT, was caused by the refusal of the Faculty of Columbia College to grant a diploma to a graduate for disobedience in the preparation and delivery of a commencement oration. The excitement among the official dignitaries present in the church was intense. The interference of the police was demanded, and upon their arrival the "Commencement Exercises" abruptly terminated. A long, bitter controversy followed.

SPRING ELECTION RIOTS IN NEW YORK CITY.

1834, April.—The municipal elections were held during three consecutive days. The election districts were large, and the number of polling-places comparatively few. There was no registry law, which rendered repeating possible. These, and other causes, brought large numbers of men together on election days to vote. In some of the closely contested Wards the crowds swelled to immense proportions, preventing access to the polls, unless the voter had the strength and courage to force his way through masses of men half crazed with drink, and wholly maddened by the rivalries of party strife. From hot debate, the change to blows was easily made, and in a very short space of time thousands of angry men engaged in pounding each other with clubs and fists, with all the fierceness of savages. The tumults about the polling booths extended, and the city was soon tossing and heaving on the tide of human passion. The mayor, with the small force of "watchmen" at his command, was unable to manage and control the mobs, and he called to his assistance the military, under the command of Gen. Sanford.

THE CITY OF BROOKLYN INCORPORATED.

1834, May 20th.—The Common Council elected George Hall mayor. Samuel Doxey was appointed "First Marshal." Six marshals were also appointed.

1834, Dec. 22.—The Common Council of Brooklyn ordered, "That the Police Committee employ some suitable person as HEAD POLICE OFFICER, and such other officers as may be necessary to cause the peace to be kept, particularly on Sundays and nights."

THE ANGEL GABRIEL IN BROOKLYN.

1834.—An enthusiastic street preacher was in the habit of blowing a horn to call an audience, hence his title. The peculiar style of his oratory, the boldness of his utterances, and the vigor with which he pressed his arguments awakened an intense earnestness on the part both of those who favored and of those who denounced his doctrines. The gatherings swelled to thousands, and on one Sunday afternoon, in July, at the corner of Atlantic avenue and Smith street, the crowd was immense, and unusually excited. Large numbers had come over from New York as an escort to the "angel." On the return, the procession was assailed with great fury as they neared the ferry, particularly in Main street and Water street. Police officers, John S. Folk, Joel Smith, and others, handled the force with great ability and eminent success. The fight was fierce and bloody. Clubs, paving-stones, bludgeons, pistols, and brick-bats were used so heartily that many were dangerously, and some fatally, wounded. A ship had recently discharged a cargo of "Cam" wood on a deck near the ferry. The owners claimed a loss of seven tons of wood, which happened to be of convenient size and length for the rioters to use. The police were highly complimented for the courage and daring displayed throughout the riot.

1835, March 16.—The Police Committee of the Common Council of Brooklyn recommended Samuel Vunck as Head Police Officer, and he was appointed. By subsequent action of the Common Council, Samuel Vunck, Head Police Officer, was paid three hundred dollars; Samuel Doxey, First Marshal, one hundred dollars, and each of the other Marshals fifty dollars per annum, as salary.

1835, June 8th.—The Brooklyn Common Council resolved: "That the watchmen be considered as being on duty from sunset to sunrise, and that they quell any disturbance whatsoever, and be allowed suitable compensation for extra service."

THE ABOLITION RIOTS IN NEW YORK.

1835.—The fearless, steady efforts made by men, who considered slavery a crime, to keep their own views and sentiments upon that question before the community, awakened bitter and open opposition. The Abolitionists were very aggressive in their methods. Slavery, and all who sympathized with slavery, were characterized in plain words of bold denunciation in sermons, essays, speeches, and newspaper articles. The defence of slavery took on all varieties of form; personal harm and abuse was not un-

ERRATUM.

On page 828 *b*, right hand column, "The Angel Gabriel in Brooklyn, 1834," should read 1854 instead of 1834, and follow after 1851–2 on page 828 *c*.

frequent. Prominent Abolitionists were assaulted their lives put in peril, their business broken up, and their houses and furniture destroyed. The police and military combined were often required to defend assemblies, gathered in churches and public halls, from formidable mobs of lawless, brutal ruffianly men, who emphasized their obscene and blasphemous shouts with showers of stones, rotten eggs, and brick-bats. The church buildings of the Rev. Dr. Ludlow, Dr. Cox, and other clergymen were attacked; the doors and windows stoned open, the walls defaced, and the furniture destroyed. Their residences, as also the houses of Messrs. Tappan and other prominent Abolitionists, were broken open, and chairs, sofas, pictures, tables, beds, bedding, crockery, and mirrors piled in the streets and burned with all the usual mob-accompaniments of filth and ribaldry. The police were everywhere active and alert, under the skillful management of Mayor Lawrence, and Justice Lowndes, aided by the military, under Col. Stevens, to save life and property, and to preserve the peace of the city. Their untiring efforts were not crowned with complete success. Lawlessness and great disorder pervaded the city.

THE STONECUTTERS' RIOT.

1835.—The convicts at Sing Sing State Prison dressed building material to some extent, and contractors were able to buy prison-cut stone cheaper than workmen in the city could furnish it. Parades and processions of stonecutters, with banners and placards asserting their grievances and rights, kept the people in the vicinity of the University buildings in great fear, lest an attempt to demolish that structure would be successful. The watchmen and military were on duty four days and nights, when the excitement died away, and work on the University buildings was resumed.

1837.—The Halls of Justice (Tombs) completed and occupied.

THE FLOUR RIOTS.

1837.—A short grain crop and other unfortunate occurrences combined, advanced the price of flour to twelve dollars a barrel, and coal to ten dollars per ton, causing great suffering. It was alleged that the large quantities of grain used for purposes of distillation was the cause of the high price; by others, that the rich had combined to oppress the poor. High prices for the necessaries of life, and a low price for labor, made the task of the agitator and demagogue in stirring up strife an easy one.

1837, Feb. 10.—Placards were posted all over the city:

"BREAD, MEAT, RENT, FUEL!
"THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE SHALL BE HEARD, AND WILL PREVAIL.

"The people will meet in the Park at four o'clock, RAIN OR SHINE, MONDAY AFTERNOON, to inquire into the cause of the present unexampled distress, and to devise a suitable remedy."

1837, Feb. 12.—A rough mob of four or five thousand persons gathered in the park in response to the above notices, and were harangued by adroit speakers. One of the speakers closed his address with: "Fellow-citizens, Mr. Eli Hart has 53,000 barrels of flour in his store; let us go and offer him eight dollars a barrel for it, and if he will not take it"—the remainder of the sentence was left for his auditors to fill out. A rush from the park to Washington street, near Dey street, was made, and instead of an offer of "eight dollars a barrel for his flour," Mr. Hart's store was broken in; six hundred barrels of flour thrown from the upper stories on to the side walk, one facetious ruffian calling out, as he pitched it down, "Here goes flour at eight dollars a barrel!" One thousand bushels of wheat were also destroyed, together with all the papers and books of the house. Other grain and flour stores were threatened, but by the timely action of the authorities no further serious damage occurred. Forty of the mob were arrested; a few were sent to State Prison; but the ringleaders escaped. Flour was higher the next day.

1845.—George W. Matsell was appointed Chief of the Police for New York city, and held the office until 1857.

1849, May 10.—THE ASTOR PLACE RIOT, seems to have grown out of the rivalries and animosities of two play actors of different nationalities. Edwin Forrest had a large following of enthusiastic admirers, who were unwilling that a foreign artist should occupy a higher place in the public estimation than did their own favorite. Mr. Macready's friends were equally earnest, numerous and respectable. Each actor was filling a short engagement in different theaters in the city, at the same time. In order to secure fair play for Mr. Macready, a strong police force was placed within the Astor Place Opera House, and a guarding force of police and military were in the streets about the theater. The turbulency of the audience within and the violent demonstrations of the crowds without, were quite beyond the ability of the police to control. The destruction of the building was threatened, and was imminent; its destruction would involve a loss of life as well as of property. The authorities became aware of the fact, that the physical endurance of the "hemmed in" police force was rapidly diminishing, and that the numerical strength of the mob was very rapidly increasing. In this fearful emergency, and, probably, not one moment too soon, the "citizen soldiery" was ordered to deliver its first fire of shotted muskets into the faces of American citizens; twenty-two were killed and forty wounded. The riot was over; the mob was gone; authority and the dead held the place.

POPULAR VOTE.

1851-2.—In Brooklyn, the Chief of Police and Captains, were, for several years, elected by the people. John S. Folk was the first elected Chief of Police, and Joel Smith one of the first elected Captains. There were, then, four precincts, to each of which, there was a complement of about twenty-five men.

FERNANDO WOOD *vs.* METROPOLITAN POLICE.

1857, June 1st.—By legislative enactment the counties of New York, Kings, Westchester, Richmond, and a part of Queens county, formed the Metropolitan Police District. The Governor of the State of New York, with the consent of the Senate, was authorized to appoint five police commissioners, who, in connection with the mayors of the two cities, as *ex officio* members, were to assume the entire control and management of all matters relating to the police within the district.

The commissioners thus appointed were: Simeon Draper, Jacob Chadwell, and James W. Nye, of New York; James S. T. Stranahan, of Kings, and James Bowen, of Westchester counties.

Fernando Wood, mayor of New York, refused to recognize the authority of the newly created commission, and declined to disband the Municipal Police force and deliver the property.

Thus there were two police organizations in existence. The legality of each was disputed by the other.

The service of certain legal papers upon Mayor Wood was resisted by the Municipal Police, who were in possession of the City Hall. An encounter, both fierce and bloody ensued, The Seventh Regiment, fortunately passing, *en route* for Boston, on a pleasure excursion, was called in to aid the Metropolitan Police Department. The papers were served on the belligerent mayor, and the question of the "constitutionality of the law" went to the courts for decision.

During this struggle for control six men were killed and about a hundred wounded.

DECISION OF THE COURT OF APPEALS.

1857, July 1.—The Court of Appeals affirmed the constitutionality of the Metropolitan Police Act; many members of the Municipal Police becoming enrolled in the Metropolitan Police, all open opposition at once ceased.

In Brooklyn the Metropolitan Police Act went into operation without arousing opposition or creating disorder. John S. Folk was appointed Deputy Superintendent and Inspector of Police, and performed all the duties of the position to the satisfaction of the entire community during the thirteen years in which the Metropolitan system was in existence,

"THE DEAD RABBITS" RIOT.

1857, July 4.—"The Dead Rabbits" and "The Roach Guards" were hostile factions, representing the lower strata of society in the vicinity of Center, Baxter, White and Leonard streets.

The recent troubles in the Police Department had in a measure increased the ill will between these rowdy gangs of young men. Patriotism on the "Glorious Fourth" took the form of fierce fight, which involved the police force as well as the military. The casualties reported were six killed, thirty wounded.

THE BREAD RIOT.

1857.—The "financial crash" in the autumn of this year threw large numbers of workmen out of employment, and at times threatened the peace of the city; but by careful foresight the dangers were avoided. Central Park improvements and other public works furnished work for large numbers; while soup-houses and other agencies came in as timely relief.

YELLOW FEVER RIOT.

1858.—The idea of a permanently located quarantine on Staten Island was very obnoxious to property owners and residents in the neighborhood of the buildings. In July the buildings were threatened; and before the police could reach the place the populace took possession, removed the sick and disabled, and then burned the buildings.

RIOT WEEK.

1863.—The riot commenced on Monday, July 13th, and was not fully suppressed until the following Friday. A draft of men to fill out the quota for the army had been in

progess during the preceding Saturday, at 1,190 Broadway and at Third Avenue and Forty-sixth street, under the management and control of United States Provost Marshals and a few sick and crippled soldiers of the Invalid Corps.

All the regularly-organized Militia regiments were off at the front in the service of the Government.

ONLY THE POLICE.

The Metropolitan Police force, of about two thousand men, was the only protection for the large area included within the Metropolitan Police District, comprising the counties of Westchester, New York, Richmond, Kings, and a part of Queens County. A population of a million and a-half of people, with all the interests of the metropolis of the nation guarded so feebly, seems almost like offering a premium upon disorder.

When it is known that the muster-roll of the force is always diminished by sickness, by absence on leave, by detail for special duty, the reason for the astounding fact, that at no one time during the week were there eight hundred policemen on hand for service, becomes apparent.

THE FIENDS MUSTER.

It is now well known that during the preceding Sunday and Sunday night, in answer to special secret summons sent to Boston, Chicago, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and smaller towns, hordes of desperate men had come to the city, and were lying in the dens and dives waiting for the time when they should be called to join the uprising, and share, with their city friends, in the pillage and the sack.

THE WEAPONS.

All through the night these miscreants were hard at work gathering their piles of paving-stones, scrap-iron, boulders, bricks, on to the roofs and into the upper stories. Bludgeons, ax-handles, and pickaxes were placed in convenient corners; muskets, pistols, hatchets, crow-bars, and sledge-hammers were distributed to those able and willing to use them. Butcher-knives and old files were ground to an edge; ice-picks, fire-pokers, and spades, sharpened to a point; rivets were taken out of the big shears, so that one pair would make weapons for two.

THE MOB'S SPIES.

Thus the preparations for arson and murder went on, while discreet spies crept quietly about the town, and up to Monday noon carefully noted the security and quietude of the citizens. Evidences of preparation, of leadership, of direction, and control are abundant and convincing. The broad programme seems to have been—Stop the draft, kill the niggers, go through the nice houses, secure arms and ammunition, wipe out the police, and keep moving.

PERFECT PEACE.

Good people went to church on Sunday, slept quietly through the night, took their coffee, and read the papers Monday morning, in which they found no indications of an impending riot. The civil authorities had some weak apprehensions of annoyance, but had no fear of any great danger. The Provost-Marshal's offices at 1,190 Broadway, and at Third Avenue and Forty-seventh Street, were strengthened by the addition of extra policemen.

Seldom, if ever before, have such mighty interests been, apparently, so slightly guarded. Ten thousand desperadoes lying in wait, crouching, ready to spring at the throats of the quietly-sleeping, who were protected by less than five hundred policemen, whose main weapon of offence and defence was a thirty-inch locust club. The police, as well as the citizens, were, as yet, almost ignorant of the efficient resources of a club in the hands of skillful, courageous men. Its latent virtues were soon brought out.

COMMISSIONERS.

Commissioners Acton and Bergen now had thrown upon them duties of the most trying sort, which they took hold of and discharged as though they were mere routine. Questions of the gravest importance were correctly solved without hesitation; events of the most startling character were quietly provided for on the instant; plans to thwart deep-laid plots were matured with great sagacity and carried forward to a successful issue, which showed the coolest judgment; labors were performed that required a degree of endurance bordering on the marvelous.

INSPECTORS.

What a remarkable quartette of inspectors were Daniel Carpenter, George W. Dilks, James Leonard, and John S. Folk! Each one a giant, ready to go, yet willing to wait; anxious to prevent a riot, yet determined to put it down when it had once started; prompt to take command, quite willing to obey; ready to lead in a hazardous charge, vigorously pushing every onset, carrying every attempt, and holding the position when captured. They were well-chosen men, fortunately occupying places of high trust, and most worthily did they meet their responsibilities.

THE TELEGRAPH.

In the ordinary working of the police department, one of its most efficient agencies is the telegraph. Early in the riot telegraph-poles were cut down, and the wires broken and stolen. The work of re-opening and keeping open communication with the city stations and with the country was a labor demanding the utmost courage, perseverance, and caution. To put up a new line under the watchful eyes of murderous villains, who had just destroyed the old one, would appear impossible. Yet this is what the men of the Telegraphic Bureau accomplished, taking the risk of instant death in case of discovery. The hazards, labors, and endurance of the Telegraphic Corps were not surpassed by any other branch of the police service. Their labor during the first four days of the riot exceeded that of the entire preceding month.

James Crowley, Superintendent; Edward Polhemus, Assistant-Secretary, and Messrs. Chapin, Durell and Lucas, operators, devoted themselves to their severe and constant duties with a singleness of purpose which won for them the highest admiration.

DETECTIVES.

The Detective Force, composed of John Young, chief; M. B. Morse, clerk, with the Messrs. Bennett, McCord, Farley, Roach, Radford, Smith, Slowey, Dusenbury, McDonald, Elder, Eustace, Wilson, Kelso, Tiernan, and Keefe, as members, performed an amount of dangerous service which entitled them to the lasting gratitude of the community.

A detective's work, at all times, requires a rare combination of intelligence, skill, courage, shrewdness, and sagacity.

In this uprising, among all the uproar and confusion, a detective's duties and dangers were increased a thousand-fold.

Were the mob to get a hint of his real character, they would have killed him on the instant. Yet he could only learn their plans by being with them and join with them, help form plans, and assist in carrying the plans into execution, and then to get away with his information, all in so natural a manner that a genuine thief would think him one of his own class.

THE FIRST VICTIM.

The opening scene of this terrible drama was deeply deplorable. Superintendent of Police, John A. Kennedy, started from Police Headquarters alone, in citizen's dress, at about 10 o'clock, A. M., Monday morning, for the purpose of a personal inspection of the infected districts. Before 12 o'clock, noon, he was brought back to the Headquarters unconscious, nearly naked; smeared with blood and mud, his body a mass of bruises, his hands and arms hacked with knives, his face so swollen as to be unrecognizable.

This treatment of the active head of the Police Department, by the ruffian element, was a sharp warning of what was to be the character of the coming struggle, and nerved every man for the fight which all saw was close at hand. Outside of the department it was understood that Kennedy was killed, causing great joy to one party, and a grim determination on the part of the other.

ONE IN COMMAND.

Commissioner Thomas C. Acton, now the legal head of the police force, assumed immediate control, and with irresistible and unfaltering energy carried on the contest to the triumphant finish. A massing of the entire reserve force at the Headquarters in Mulberry street, near Bleecker, was ordered so as to be able, by the aid of information gathered from the telegraphic and detective corps, to launch a sufficient force against a mass of rioters, to shatter and scatter them at the first dash. The wisdom of this movement will be fully comprehended from the fact, that after they were once in hand the police won in every battle (and there were more than fifty) with the mob.

THE MOB MARCH.

Early in the morning of Monday there began a simultaneous broad movement of the vagabond uneasy elements along the west-side avenues, heading up town, and swarming into an open space near Central Park. A short time was spent in consultation, then the mass made a return movement in two streams down Sixth and Fifth avenues to Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh streets; again turning across town to Third avenue along which they poured, completely filling it from curb to curb, with a filthy, ill-smelling mass, armed with every conceivable sort of deadly weapon, filling the air with blasphemous shouts and imprecations.

SWARMS.

The numbers had increased, so that it took thirty minutes to pass a given point. Fifty thousand is thought, by those who wit-

nessed the march, to be a fair estimate of this assemblage. It was into this swarm that Superintendent Kennedy had walked, with such serious results, a short time previous.

OPENING.

While they were, apparently, waiting undecided where next to move, or at what to strike, there were side diversions gotten up, on the instant, in various ways. One such was the appearance of the "Invalid Corps" from the Park, which fired a volley into and over the crowd, for which act of stupidity they were soundly punished by having their own heads battered with the clubbed muskets pulled from their grasp by the excited rabble. Another little sharp, praiseworthy effort was the spunky facing of this immense herd by Sergeant McCredie with a squad of fourteen men, and charging them with the greatest spirit and bravery. He was met with a perfect shower of stones, brick-bats, pistol shots, and club whacks from the front, the rear, and from the roofs. Only five of his men were unhurt, and "fighting Mac" himself escaped death by being slipped in between two mattrasses by a young German woman, whose protection he sought. A gun factory at the corner of Second avenue and Twentieth street was known to contain arms. It was only protected by thirty-five members of the Broadway squad who made a brief, but stubborn resistence. When it was seen that this handful could not be re-enforced, they were ordered to leave the building, which they accomplished at great peril; immediately afterward the pillage commenced, every villain who could, arming himself with a musket, breaking and rendering useless all that could not be taken away. While the armory was being attacked, another mob was sacking and burning houses on Lexington avenue, from which the occupants fled for life, leaving everything to the inrushing horde.

HOTEL SACKED AND BURNED.

Bull's Head Tavern, in Forty-sixth street, was attacked by an immense crowd, and after a few minutes of pounding and chopping with axes in the hands of ten powerful men, the doors were knocked from their hinges, the window-shutters smashed in, and the hotel was instantly filled, every part ransacked—parlors, pantries, store-rooms, kitchen, bed-rooms, and sitting-rooms stripped of everything eatable, drinkable, or portable, then set on fire and burned to the ground.

SAMPLE OF MOB WORK.

Another mob of seven or eight hundred visited the negro houses in Baxter street, rushing the negroes out of their homes, clubbing, pelting, and bruising, and maiming all that came in their reach; then going on to Chatham street, where they assailed Samuel Crooks' eating saloon, and assaulted the colored waiters. The City Hall Park was filled with a turbulent crowd which muttered threats at the newspaper offices, being particularly bitter against Greeley's *Tribune*. The entire block between Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth streets, Broadway, was sacked and burned. The swarming thousands that attended the burning of this block labored with the utmost speed in piling each other to the limit of endurance, and then staggering off to deposit their loads of costly goods, returning with friends to repeat the process until there remained nothing but broken bricks, ashes, and cinders to be stolen.

DETECTIVES REPORT.

Skillful detectives mingled with the moving throng, and learned that the route would lead the mob to the Colored Orphan Asylum on Fifth avenue, between Forty-third and Forty-fourth streets; that Mayor Opdyke's house, farther down the avenue, was to be sacked; that Police Headquarters was a bad place, and had only a few men to take care of it; that the La Farge House had negro waiters; and that the only song which awakened enthusiasm, affirmed—"We'll hang old Greeley on a sour apple tree!" As these, and other similar reports were brought in by trustworthy men from all along the column, the designs of the rioters became known, and such means as were possible were taken to thwart them.

ORPHAN ASYLUM.

The Superintendent, Wm. E. Davis, of the Colored Orphan Asylum, was notified, and instant steps taken to remove the two hundred and thirty-three infant children and the matrons and nurses to the Twentieth Police Station, Capt. Walling, and other places of safety. As the babies and nurses went out of the rear doors, the feebly barricaded front doors were broken down, and the mob took possession of the soothing syrup and nursing bottles, the rattles and ornaments, the cast-off clouts and soiled rags of these black orphan babies, as memorials of their success and trophies of their prowess. Furniture that was too heavy for removal was broken and chopped, apparently with no other than a wild desire to destroy.

FIREMEN ASSAULTED.

Chief-engineer Decker, in his earnest efforts to save the building from burning, was twice knocked down, then pitched into the street. Assistant-engineers Lamb and Lewis, with a dozen devoted firemen, made every possible effort to save the Asylum, but were overpowered, driven off, and the massive structure was soon a roaring flame, to the great delight of ten thousand shouting vagabonds who assisted at the conflagration.

DOWN BROADWAY,

Proceeding to Mayor Opdyke's residence they saluted him with oaths, threats, yells, and ribald jeers, but were dissuaded from then carrying out their fiendish purposes by Judge Barnard, who addressed them from the steps of an adjoining house.

In the mean time, in answer to President Acton's summons, the police had been coming in by "twos, fives, and tens," to the headquarters in Mulberry street.

The Commissioners had been kept advised of the progress of the mob up to their leaving Mayor Opdyke's, on their march down Broadway. Their number must have been many thousands—a motley crowd—elated with recent success, maddened with drink, armed with every conceivable sort of deadly weapon, and receiving accessions constantly, their formidable look drove peaceably disposed people off the street, and closed up all places of business.

THE CRISIS.

At the headquarters, Chief Clerk Hawley said to the Commissioners: "Gentlemen, the crisis has arrived. A battle has got to be fought, and *won*, too, or all is lost."

It was decided to offer the command of the battalion of two hundred men to Inspector Daniel Carpenter, stating to him the gravity of the occasion, the tremendous odds to be encountered. His reply was prompt and to the point. Drawing himself up to his full height, and lifting his hand, with a terrible oath he replied: "I'll go, and I'll win that fight, or Daniel Carpenter will never come back a live man."

"Fall in, men, fall in;" and two hundred men took position.

"Inspector, make no arrests," said Acton. Carpenter's reply was heeded and acted out.

"Men, we'll win. Make no arrests. Strike quick and strike hard!"

THE FIRST BATTLE.

The quick march which followed from Mulberry street to Broadway is without parallel. Two hundred here, twenty thousand there. Carpenter halted as he reached Broadway. Detaching two companies of fifty men each, he sent them by parallel streets, on the right and left of Broadway, up to Fourth street, with orders to come down on the mob column, from both directions and cut it in two at Fourth street, and hammer the two ends, while the other hundred men were to pound them in front. At the command to "charge" the avenging flails were let fly, and began their fearful play upon heads, necks, shoulders, and shins, with such suddenness and power, as to send, in less than ten minutes, all who were not writhing and groaning on the pavement, down the side streets howling and yelling, shrieking and bellowing, toward their homes.

THE FIRST VICTORY.

As this mass of devilish nastiness slid out of Broadway toward the docks, and the sturdy battalion stood VICTORS, the windows went up and cheer upon cheer greeted the heroes.

This first victory was hailed as an omen of coming triumphs and of final success.

Yet all seemed to comprehend, as a fact established, that the night, near at hand, would be one of great trial, and that great efforts were demanded to meet the expected perils.

THE SITUATION EXPLAINED.

The exact situation was made known to the military authorities of the city, the state, the nation, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and aid asked. As one result of this application, Brevet-Brigadier-General Harvey Brown, of the U. S. A., repaired to the Police Headquarters, where he established his own headquarters, and throughout the remainder of the week gave himself and his command to a hearty co-operation with the civil authorities.

IMMENSE MOB AT CITY HALL PARK.

While the Department made preparations the rioters were busy from Westchester to Brooklyn, and the whole community was becoming thoroughly alarmed. Crowds were gathering in the park. Railroad cars were searched for negroes. Greeley was hunted for in the vicinity of the *Tribune* office. Capt. Warlow, of the First Precinct, twenty-nine Broad street, and Capt. Thorne, of the City Hall, attacked and quickly dispersed riotous crowds in the neighborhood of Printing House Square, driving them up Chatham street, and down Frankfort and Spruce streets. As soon as the police stopped the

pursuit, the crowd returned with a renewal of riotous demonstrations.

ECOND GREAT VICTORY.

In the early part of the evening the crowd had completely filled the park again, and were attacked and roughly handled by a hundred men under Inspector Carpenter, and Inspector Folk with one hundred and forty men from the Brooklyn force.

The rapid and deadly work performed in this charge in the park, was in no way inferior to that done a few hours before up Broadway.

The burning of postmaster Wakeman's house, in Eighty-sixth street, was among the last acts of barbarism enacted during the first day of the riot.

TUESDAY.

July 14.—At the opening of the second day of riot and disorder, a few marked facts stood in bold outline, which were well known to all parties.

First—That not less than one hundred thousand idle people had appeared in the streets during the previous day and night.

Second—That the party of GOOD ORDER was as thoroughly in earnest as was the party of DISORDER.

Third—That a compact, well-drilled, well-handled battalion of two hundred policemen would drive through a crowd of twenty thousand gathered as a mob and disperse them.

Fourth—That the dispersed crowd would quickly reform only a few blocks away, and begin anew their work of death and destruction; and thus by their overwhelming numbers eventually tire and wear out the police.

ENCOURAGED.

The police force had the prestige of a remarkable success in the encounters of Monday. They were immensely strengthened by the presence of a large force of special policemen, and still further strengthened by the presence of General Brown and three hundred troops, equipped, drilled, and ready to co-operate.

As early as five o'clock A.M. telegrams began to come in, showing that mischief had began. The north part of the city was alive with gathering crowds, and from the Sixth avenue on the west side to the Second avenue on the east, and nearly as far down as Broome street, the streets were black with masses of excited men.

NOT A WHEEL IN MOTION.

Stores and business places were very generally shut up, and in many instances mechanics and workingmen, instead of going to work in shops and factories, stood on the sidewalks, and as the tramping throng crowded past, were induced or forced to join the excited multitude. Public conveyances nearly all stopped; people trembled as they peered into the streets and saw them filled with strange-appearing crowds. Scattered all through the throngs dirty, ferocious-looking women were seen, gesticulating as wildly, and talking as fiercely, as the most vulgar-looking man-villain.

DISPERSE THEM.

The authorities had determined to disperse the crowds at the earliest moment possible, after knowing that a gathering was taking place. The telegraph was the main reliance for getting early reliable information upon this point. In carrying out this purpose the military was to support the police, which was the proper party to begin the work. It sometimes happened that the mob assembled with such rapidity that upon the arrival of the force at a point named, the streets were blocked for a dozen squares, the houses crammed full to the top story, and the roofs covered with desperate men. Inspector Carpenter came upon such a mass at Twenty-first street and Second avenue, which received him with hoots, yells, and oaths, but offered no violence.

Following the avenue to Thirty-second street, Carpenter and his men found themselves in the heart of a dense crowd, which stopped their progress and began an assault upon them from all sides, and from the windows of the houses as well as from the roofs, making hot work by discharging stones, old iron, brick bats, and bullets upon them. Other efforts failing to dislodge the rioters, fifty policemen were ordered to clear the houses.

All the stories, from the street to the roof, must be traversed, through narrow doors, along winding halls, up steep stairways, and rickety ladders, only wide enough for two or three men to move abreast, until the scuttle, through the roof, is reached, out of which only one man at a time can crawl, and at every turn and landing the progress is disputed by athletic fellows, fully equipped with formidable weapons. These indoor fights were mainly hand-to-hand struggles, where a well-aimed club blow knocked aside a knife thrust, or parried a well-delivered blow from a bully's fist. As they slowly worked their way upward an occasional miscreant would slip past, only to receive punishment from those stationed in the lower rooms or in the street. By careful watching in the streets many desperate men were picked off when they showed at the windows or at the edge of the roof.

After an hour's terrible struggle the houses were cleared and the mob scattered, leaving behind them a large number of mauled, crippled, helpless, and several dead men.

The streets were speckled with bodies.

FIGHT AT THE WIRE FACTORY.

Several thousand carbines were known to be in a wire factory at Second avenue and Twenty-second street, and the mob made an attack upon it to secure the carbines.

Inspector Geo. W. Dilks, with two hundred men, started for the factory, which he found in the possession of thousands, who were rapidly distributing the guns.

The appearance of only two hundred men to retake the factory and regain the guns was greeted with shouts of derision and defiance. Without losing a minute of time, or a puff of breath in parley, Dilks drove his compact battalion steadily through the mass, strewing the sidewalks, gutters, and pavements with senseless, bleeding vagabond carcases. Upon reaching the entrance to the factory, the order to assault and take it was obeyed with such spirit and dash as to warrant success. The doors were forced, the stairs won step by step, inch by inch; the rooms were gained, the building cleared of rioters, who were fearfully punished throughout this long and desperate fight.

The number killed was unknown, but some idea of the fierceness of the combat may be inferred from the fact that one surgeon alone dressed the heads of twenty-one rioters, who appeared to be wounded unto death.

Unfortunately the police overlooked several boxes of guns, and the mob made a second attempt upon the factory, which was repelled by Capt. Helm, with a small squad of police—quite too small in numbers to withstand the infuriated and fast growing crowd. Inspector Dilks, with a fresh two hundred police, accompanied by Capt. Franklin's company of military, shortly returned and resumed the fight. The air was thick with missiles thrown from the roofs. Paving stones by cart loads were showered upon the heads of the police and military. Repeated warnings to disperse being answered only by shouts of defiance and renewed showers of stones, the military were ordered to fire, and several well-aimed volleys were delivered with terrible effect; the mob retreating.

WHO?

In one of the many rushes or charges made by the mob upon the force, an active man had shown great courage, accidentally he tripped, and in falling was caught on an iron picket, where he hung by the chin, struggled awhile and died. Capt. Hedden saw the corpse, lifted it from the spike and laid it on the sidewalk. An examination showed that underneath a filthy shirt and dirty overalls he wore fine cassimere trowsers, a rich vest, and an elegantly embroidered linen shirt. The features and general appearance indicated a young man from a grade in society much above his present associations.

In the mean while, all over the city, mobs were starting into active existence, firing buildings, levying contributions upon citizens on the threat of burning their stores or dwellings in case of non-payment; chasing, catching, and hanging negroes; cutting telegraph poles, and tearing up railroad tracks. Mayor Opdyke's house was sacked, as were also the residences of other eminent citizens.

Col. O'Brien of the Eleventh New York Volunteers was murdered in a manner so fiendlike that a tribe from the Cannibal Islands would have turned from the scene in disgust.

A copy from telegraphic despatches will give a faint idea of the condition of the city on Tuesday forenoon:

HELP.

10:20. From Thirteenth.—Send military here immediately.

10:22. To Seventh.—Find military and send to Thirteenth street forthwith.

10:45. From Sixteenth.—A mob has attacked Janes' soap factory. Stores all closed.

10:50. To Twenty-sixth.—Tell Inspector Leonard to send 100 men here forthwith.

10:55. To Twentieth.—From Gen. Brown. —Send to arsenal and say a heavy battle is going on. Capt. Wilkins and company of regulars will report to me here at once.

11:18. From Sixteenth.—Mob is coming down to station-house. We have no men.

11:20. From Eighteenth. The mob is very wild, corner of Twenty-second and Second avenue. They have attacked the Union Steam Factory.

11:35. From Twentieth.—Send one hundred men to disperse mob assailing Mayor Opdyke's house.

11:35. To Twenty-sixth—Send another hundred men here forthwith.

11:38. To Twenty-first.—Can you send a few men here?

11:40. From Twenty-second.—The mob has gone to Mr. Higgins's factory, foot of Forty-third street, to burn it.

11:45. From Eighteenth.—What shall we do? The mob is 4,500 strong.

Answer: Clear them down, if you can.

11:50. From Eighteenth.—We must leave; the mob is here with guns.

11:50. From Twentieth.—The mob tearing up track on Eleventh avenue.

11.58. The mob have just sacked a large gun store on Grand street, and are armed, and are on the way to attack us.

12:10. To Fifteenth.—Send your men here forthwith.

12:35. From Twentieth.—Send two hundred men forthwith to Thirty-fifth street arsenal.

12:36. From Twenty-first.—The mob have just broken open a gun store on Third avenue, between Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh streets, and are arming.

12:40. From Twenty-first.—Send help; the crowd is desperate.

These urgent appeals for help were kept up from daylight to midnight for three days in succession. Clear heads, untiring energy, sleepless vigilance, and almost superhuman endurance, could only meet the demands of such an occasion.

HELP COMING.

The department was, however, in receipt of aid and support of the most encouraging and substantial kind from all quarters. Troops and warlike appliances from forts in the vicinity, and from the Navy Yard, were in readiness. Formidable gunboats took positions, which guarded important financial interests. Men eminent in social position volunteered their services. Gov. Seymour had given the great weight of his personal and official influence, by co-operating with the local authorities in all their efforts to annihilate the mob, and thus save the imperilled city.

Thus, although the commotion and carnage was frightful and great, the Commissioners felt sure of their ability to hold their grip on the monstrous thing and to finally strangle it.

The frantic hordes, as they roamed and raved through the streets, took careful note of points that gave evidence of being likely to yield large returns in plunder, as well as give an opportunity to wreak vengeance on honest, industrious citizens, whom they regarded as being their natural foes. Hence the attacks—not unfrequently repeated attacks—on the *Tribune*, the *Times*, Mayor Opdyke, Post-master Wakeman, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Edgar A. Ketcham, prominent hotels, and business houses.

GETTING AND GIVING FITS.

Brooks Brothers' clothing-house in Catharine street seemed to be an inviting place to attack. Good places for thieves to hide and in which to secret plunder were near. The store was large; rich, ready-made clothing is easily handled and quickly put to use. At dark, the surrounding streets literally swarmed with human vermin. The doors under attack soon gave way, and the building was in the hands of an active mob, which carried away piles of manufactured goods and bolts of uncut cloth.

The night was very dark. The street-lamps in the vicinity were turned out, and the lights in the adjacent houses extinguished; but the mob, inside the clothing-house, the better to carry on their work, had lighted up the whole building. It was a strange sight. The thousands outside all anxious to get within to secure a share of the plunder; those within and loaded, still more anxious to get away to a safe deposit.

The doors and stairways were all too narrow for this occasion, therefore the scrambling and plunging was of the wildest kind imaginable. When the police charged in from out the darkness upon this busy gang of freebooters, the scene that followed beggars description. Some of the thieves attempted to rush through the police and escape; some showed fight; some fell on their knees and begged for mercy; others hid in corners and under overthrown heaps of clothing; still others sought safety by leaping from windows. But everywhere, out-doors and in, up-stairs and down-stairs, in the sales-rooms and in the closets, on the first story, and in all the stores, the club swung and fell with withering effect.

NO QUARTER.

By this time the police had had repeated opportunities to know that the meeting with a burly ruffian under such conditions was a question of life or death, and often the argument was begun and ended with one swing of the locust.

There were opportunities in this battle for the police to use the revolver, and they were all improved with deadly results.

An attempt to burn Harlem Bridge failed on account of the timber having been soaked by the rain. Numberless attempts to burn in all parts of the city were made; some successful, others were frustrated; the mob was wild and malignant, the people feverish and fearful; and by two o'clock in the morning all were worn out and wanted sleep. All except Commissioner Acton. He kept awake.

WEDNESDAY.

July 15.—There was a hush all over the city, excepting at the Police Headquarters. Broadway wore a Sunday-morning look. No stages, trucks, express-wagons, hand-carts nor carriages were moving; shop-shutters were not taken down nor windows opened.

But to show the disposition of the riotous classes, a reference again to the records of the Telegraphic Dispatch-book, for this date, will be the shortest method.

It will be well to notice that these few extracts embrace almost the entire city.

ARTILLERY PRACTISE.

Early in the morning a call was made for help to disperse a crowd of some five thousand that were sacking houses and hanging negroes at Eighth avenue and Thirty-second street. Capt. Howell and the Eighth Regiment of Artillery answered the call, and were met with showers of stones, slung-shots, and brickbats. Expostulations were met by repeated volleys of missiles, until the howitzers were brought to bear, and five or six rounds tore through and through the crowd with deadly effect, leaving the street covered with the dead and the dying. The howitzer shots had a depressing effect on the mob.

HELP! HELP!

12:20. From Twenty-first.—Building corner of Thirty-third street and Second avenue is set on fire by the mob.

12:50. From Fifteenth.—Send assistance to the Twenty-first Precinct, they are attacking it.

12:55. Twenty-sixth.—It is reported that Government stores, Greenwich street, are on fire. Fired by the mob.

1:10. From Twenty-seventh.—Send more men here forthwith.

1:25. From Fourth.—Fire corner of Catharine street and East Broadway.

1:45. Report from Eleventh Precinct says: Bands of robbers, of fifty to one hundred each, are breaking into stores in Houston near Attorney street.

1:47. From Twenty-ninth.—The mob have cleared Twenty-first Precinct Station-house.

2 P.M. From Twenty-ninth.—A large mob surrounded Capt. Green's house, Twenty-eighth street and Third avenue. He escaped out of the back window. They threatened to hang him.

3:10. To Eleventh.—Send to foot of Fourteenth street, East River, and if military is there, send word forthwith.

3:15. From Twenty-fourth.—Mob are firing the buildings on Second avenue near Twenty-eighth street. Immediate assistance is required. Negroes are fleeing for their lives.

3:25 From Twentieth.—The mob are sacking houses at Twenty-seventh street and Seventh avenue. We have no force to send.

3:30. There is an attack on the colored people in Second avenue, between Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth streets.

3:40. From Eleventh.—Send to 242 Stanton street, and take possession of five thousand cavalry swords which the mob are trying to capture.

3:45. To Twenty-first.—How do things look? *Ans.*—Very bad; large crowd in Thirty-fifth street near Third avenue, and no assistance from adjoining precincts.

4 P.M. To Twenty-first.—What is going on? *Ans.*—The mob have captured five or six negroes, and are preparing to hang them; be quick with reinforcements.

4:43. From Twentieth.—News just come in that the mob are about to attack Twenty-third Precinct Station-house.

5:15. From Sixteenth.—Send us one hundred special shields and clubs, the citizens are arming up well.

5:15. From Twenty-ninth.—Who feeds the special men? *Ans.*—You must, far as able. *Reply.*—No money. *Ans.*—It makes no difference; they must be fed; we are responsible.

5:20. From Twenty-ninth.—The rioters are now on Seventh avenue and Twenty-eighth street. They have just killed a negro; say they are going to cut off the Croton; they have pickaxes and crow-bars, also say they will cut off the gas, so reported by one of our men who has been in the crowd; they were about to fire corner of Twenty-eighth street and Seventh avenue when he came away.

5:25. From First.—Riot at Pier 4, North River; they have killed negroes there.

The city was filled with apprehension and dread. What with the surging of wild crowds, the pillaging and burning, the thundering of cannon, and the ringing of fire-bells, the horrors of Wednesday night were scarcely less than the preceding night.

FORTUNATE BROOKLYN.

Brooklyn had been so thoughtfully cared for by INSPECTOR FOLK *and his well-disciplined force, that the gathering crowds of ruffians were scattered to the winds before their mischievous plans could be carried into effect.* Never before was the adage, "An ounce of prevention," etc., so well exemplified, as in the general quiet of the city of Brooklyn during the RIOT WEEK. Fires were kindled, Wednesday night, in Shaw's and Fancher's grain elevators, Atlantic Dock; and in Wheeler's stores; but by the timely arrival of the police, and their prompt action, the

fires were put out, the mob dispersed with but trifling loss, and no wide-spread excitement.

HELP AT HAND.

At about half-past 4 o'clock, Thursday morning, with a firm tread and steady column, the Seventh Regiment marched up Broadway, "*home again*" from the war.

July 16.—The presence of city regiments, also of regiments belonging to other localities, on their homeward route from the front, was hailed by both police and citizens as a sure relief from further mob domination. But the mob were not yet completely quelled. A few more despatches, copied from the police records, will give an idea of the mob's vitality and malignity.

1:25 P. M. From Twenty-first.—The mob has charged our military, about twenty-five in number, and driven them into Jackson's foundry, First avenue and Twenty-eighth street. The mob are armed, and every time a Regular shows himself they fire. A few good skirmishers would pick off these riflemen, and relieve the military.

1:54. From Twenty-first.—Send military assistance immediately to First avenue and Twenty-eighth street. The mob increases and will murder the military force. *Ans.*—They are on their way up.

THE DEATH STRUGGLE.

In the fierce battle that followed, the military were reinforced largely, and still were driven by the mob; and again reinforced by regiments, including the Seventh; then by a steady and liberal use of all the means at the command of artillery and infantry they were dislodged from the houses. Many other collisions occurred in all parts of the city, but the police and their earnest co-workers, the military, were irresistible. The fourth night of terror was passing, and the Commissioners were able now to call the names of over one thousand special volunteer policemen; the military was swelled to formidable proportions by the steady arrival of returning regiments. Acton had his clutch on the throat of the foul thing still, and he was determined to hold on until it was strangled *dead*. The operation lasted an hundred hours.

MAYOR OPDYKE'S PROCLAMATION.

July 17. Fifth day of the riot.—Brief extracts from official documents are given. Mayor Opdyke.—"The riotous assemblages have been dispersed. Business is running in its usual channel. The police are everywhere alert. The authorities have the ability and the will to protect you."

COMMENDATION FROM A UNITED STATES OFFICER.

Gen. Harvey Brown, in relinquishing his command, says: "Having, during the insurrection, been in immediate and constant co-operation with the Police Department of this city, he desires the privilege of expressing his unbounded admiration of it. Never in our civil or military life has he ever seen such untiring devotion and such efficient service. To President Acton and Commissioner Bergen he offers his thanks for their courtesy to him, and their kindness to his command. The only merit I can claim in the performance of the duty which has given me the high distinction of your approbation, is that of an honest singleness of purpose in seconding the very able and energetic efforts of the President of the Metropolitan Police, Mr. Acton, to whom, in my opinion, more than to any other one man, is due the credit of the early suppression of the riot."

COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE COMPLIMENT THE FORCE.

The following extract, from an "Address to the Force" by the Commissioners of Police, is a well-merited tribute to the parties named therein:

"Of the Inspectors, Captains, and Sergeants of police, who led parties in the fearful contest, we are proud to say none faltered or failed. Each was equal to the hour and the emergency. Not one failed to overcome the danger however imminent, or to defeat the enemy however numerous. Especial commendation is due to Drill-Sergeant Copeland, for his most valuable aid in commanding the movements of larger detachments of the police.

"The patrolmen, who were on duty, fought through the numerous and fierce conflicts with the steady courage of veteran soldiers; and have won, as they deserve, the highest commendations from the public, and from this Board. In their ranks there was neither faltering nor struggling. Devotion to duty and courage in the performance of it were universal.

"Mr. Crowley, the Superintendent of the Police Telegraph, and the attachés of his Department, by untiring and sleepless vigilance in transmitting information through more than ten days and nights, have more than sustained the high reputation they have always possessed. Through all these bloody contests they have demeaned themselves like worthy members of the Metropolitan Police.

"Sergeant Young, of the detective force, aided by Mr. Newcomb and other special patrolmen, rendered most effective service in arranging the commissary supplies for the large number of police, military, special patrolmen, and destitute colored refugees, whose subsistence was thrown unexpectedly upon the Department. The duty was arduous and responsible, and was performed with rigor and fidelity.

"The public and the department owe a debt of gratitude to the citizens who voluntarily became special patrolmen, some three thousand of whom, for several days and nights, did regular patrolman's duty with great effect. In the name of the public, and of the Department in which they were volunteers, we thank them."

July 18.—There being about ten thousand troops in the city, any farther massing was, by direction of the Governor, prevented.

July 19.—Sunday.—Good order reigned from the Battery to Harlem.

August 3.—At the Court of General Sessions, twenty of the rioters were indicted, of whom nineteen were convicted. The aggregate term of their imprisonment was about one hundred years. From records and reliable sources, it appears that three policemen lost their lives; a large but unknown number of citizens and officers were wounded; twelve negroes were hanged, and many others disappeared.

The loss in the city, in property, was not much short of three million dollars; nineteen of the rioters were sentenced to State Prison, and probably fifteen hundred were killed or died in consequence of injuries received,

1870, May 1st.—ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF POLICE, BROOKLYN; COMMISSIONERS, ETC.:

Daniel D. Briggs, *President.*
Isaac Van Anden, *Treasurer.*
Martin S. Kalbefleisch, *Mayor, Commissioner ex-officio.*
Patrick Campbell, *Chief of Police, (vice* Folk.)

ORANGE RIOT AT ELM PARK, NEW YORK CITY.

1870, July 12.—Twenty-five hundred men, women, and children in gala dress, and in regalia of the Orange Lodges, were peaceably and quietly enjoying the rural sports and festivities of a picnic in Elm Park, Eighth avenue and Ninetieth street. There having been no intimation of trouble at their picnic, no precautions were taken. About five hundred Ribbonmen armed with bludgeons and stones, made a furious attack upon the party. Being encumbered with all the material and baggage of a social gathering, and wholly unarmed, nothing but a show of resistance and protection could be offered. A small, gallant force of policemen soon came to help them, and under their escort a portion of the pic-nic party moved in procession homeward, while others took refuge in the cars of the Eighth avenue road. The assault was here renewed, the sides of the cars being broken in with stones. The screams and shrieks of women and children, mingled with oaths and shouts of the attack, were heard blocks away. The scene was terrific until a party of police was assembled, sufficiently strong to protect the living and move the dying and dead. Large numbers were wounded, and five killed.

ORANGE RIOT.

1871, July 9.—Superintendent Kelso issued an order forbidding the contemplated procession of Orange Lodges on the 12th of July.

1871, July 11.—Gov. John T. Hoffman issued a proclamation in which he says: "The order heretofore issued by the police authorities, in reference to processions on the 12th of July, being duly revoked, I hereby give notice that any and all bodies of men desiring to assemble in peaceable procession to-morrow, the 12th inst., will be permitted to do so. They will be protected to the fullest extent possible by the military and police authorities."

1871, July 12.—In consequence of these conflicting orders, the procession numbered only ninety men, which was escorted by five hundred policemen under command of Inspectors Walling and Jamieson, and by the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Twenty-second and Eighty-fourth regiments, under General Varian. To be in readiness to act promptly in an emergency, Gov. Hoffman and staff were quartered in the Superintendent's room at Police headquarters; General Shaler and staff were quartered in the Fire Marshal's office, and the Police Commissioners were in their own rooms receiving reports from the various precincts. Masses of excited people gathered along the line of the route, and assailed the procession with pistol shots and volleys of stones from the sidewalks, corners of the streets, and from the roofs. At Twenty-eighth street and Eighth avenue, a halt was ordered. While standing "at rest," a shot from a second-story window of a house on the north-west corner was fired and struck a member of the Eighty-fourth regiment.

Instantly a line of rifles was leveled at the spot, without orders, and a volley from the Eighty-fourth, Ninth, and Sixth regiments followed. While the regiments reloaded, the police cleared the avenue and side streets, and the march was resumed. Much indignation was expressed that the troops should fire without orders, and fire so wildly as to shoot some of their own men. Two of the escorting force were killed, and twenty-four wounded; of the populace, thirty-one were killed, and seventy-seven wounded, making in all, one hundred and twenty-eight victims.

1872, May 21.—BROOKLYN POLICE DEPARTMENT; COMMISSIONERS, ETC.:
James Jourdan, *President.*
Daniel D. Briggs, *Treasurer.*
Sigisimund Kauffman, *Commissioner.*
Patrick Campbell, *Chief of Police.*
John S. Folk, *Inspector of Police.*

1872, July 7.—OFFICER JOHN DONAHUE, of the Brooklyn force, while attempting to disperse members of the "Battle Row" gang, at midnight, in front of the low grogery of Hugh McGoldrick, *alias* Crow, at No. 161 North First street, was set upon and murdered. John Rogers, the leader of the gang, was executed for the crime.

1873, Aug. 4.—DEPARTMENT OF POLICE AND EXCISE, BROOKLYN, COMMISSIONERS, ETC.:
James Jourdan, *President.*
Daniel D. Briggs, *Treasurer.*
James L. Jensen, *Com'r.* (*vice* Kauffman, resigned).

1873, Aug. 22.—Patrick Campbell, *Chief of Police* (relieved from duty).

1873, Oct. 7.—John S. Folk, *Superintendent of Police.*
George A. Waddy, *Inspector of Police.*

1875, July 7.—DEPARTMENT OF POLICE AND EXCISE, BROOKLYN, COMMISSIONERS, ETC.:
Daniel D. Briggs, *President* (died July 3, 1876).
John Pyburn, *Com'r.* (in charge of Excise Bureau).
Wm. B. Hurd, *Treasurer.*

1875, Aug. 12.—Patrick Campbell, *Superintendent* (*vice* Folk).

1876, July 2.—Officer Edward Scott, of the Brooklyn force, received injuries from a stone thrown by one of the "Jackson Hollow gang," from the effects of which he died.

1876, July 20.—DEPARTMENT OF POLICE AND EXCISE, BROOKLYN, COMMISSIONERS, ETC.:
James Jourdan, *President.*

1876, December 5.—Officer Patrick McKeen, of the Brooklyn force, lost his life in the Brooklyn theater fire.

1877, Nov. 5.—DEPARTMENT OF POLICE AND EXCISE, BROOKLYN, COMMISSIONERS, ETC.:
Rodney C. Ward, *Treasurer.*
Thomas F. White, *Excise Bureau.*

1878, Jan. 2.—Officer John Thompson, of the mounted squad, Brooklyn force, received injuries while attempting to stop a runaway horse on the 19th ultimo, which resulted in his death this day.

THE TOMPKINS SQUARE COMMUNISTS RIOT.

1877, July 25th.—Within the last score of years great numbers of the worthless, vagabond revolutionary element of Europe have found shelter and protection in the United States. New York and Brooklyn have had the ill-fortune to harbor large numbers of them. They constitute a class without a trait of character, which makes them desirable as citizens. Among them, in more or less intimate relationship, are found communists, internationalists, socialists, and labor reformers of varied stripes. Differing with each other in some respects, they are at perfect agreement on one great point, namely, that modern society should be completely destroyed.

The workings of these destructives can be traced in all the large cities and towns, to manufacturing and mining centers, and into agricultural districts wherever tramps are found.

The controlling influences emanate, of course, from a few large cities. A mighty effort on the part of the leaders was made for the purpose of producing startling results, by holding "labor-reform meetings" in every city, town, and village in the United States on the 4th of July, 1877.

One of the "startling results" of those meetings was the "railroad strikes" and the "threats of railroad strikes," from Maine to Iowa, which occurred in the early part of July, 1877.

All the great lines of railroads centering in New work were disturbed, and traffic on them suspended. Disorders of the gravest character were set in motion, and were quelled only after great loss of life and property by the intervention of the military.

Those well qualified to judge place the number of sympathizers with those atrocious doctrines at one hundred thousand, within a radius of ten miles from the City Hall in New York. The agitation throughout the country in early July was taken by the leaders in New York as an *omen* that the time for action had come.

A grand demonstration was projected, to be held in Tompkins Square, for the evening of July 25th. The Park Commissioners granted the use of the square for the occasion. The Police Commissioners refused the request for a street parade, and also declined the request made to keep the police away from the meeting.

In order to understand the serious nature of the occasion, and to get an idea of the wide stretch of the disorders, and to show the immediate connection between the riots in the country and the disorders in the city, an extract or two from official public documents are here given.

Gov. Robinson, under date of July 22d, 1877, issued a proclamation, in which he says: "That the business of the said road (Erie Railway), and the running of trains, have been interrupted by violence, which the civil authorities are unable to suppress. I, Lucius Robinson, Governor of the State of New York, command all persons engaged in such unlawful acts to desist therefrom. Unless the state is to be given over to anarchy, its whole power must be exerted to suppress violence and maintain order, to protect its citizens and the business of the country from lawless interruption; to the maintenance of the supremacy of the law, the protection of the lives, liberties, and rights of all classes of citizens, the whole power of the state will be evoked, if necessary."

FROM MAJOR-GEN'L ALEXANDER SHALER.

"NEW YORK, *July 24th*, 1877.

"In obedience to orders from the Commander-in-Chief this division will assemble, armed and fully equipped, at the armories of the several organizations without delay."

FROM HIS HONOR THE MAYOR, SMITH ELY, JR.

"NEW YORK, *July 24th*, 1877.

"GEN. ALEX. SHALER:

"*Dear Sir:* In the event of an order from the Commander-in-Chief directing you to dismiss the organizations of your command, now at their respective armories, before the evening of the 25th inst., I would respectfully request you to retain under arms, and ready for active duty, not less than three regiments of infantry, and a battery of artillery.

FROM MAJOR-GEN'L ALEXANDER SHALER.

"NEW YORK, *July 25th*, 1877.

"TO WM. F. SMITH, *Pres't of Police Department, City of New York:*

"*Dear Sir:* The Seventh Regiment, the Twenty-second Regiment, the Twelfth Regiment, and the Seventy-first Regiment, are now assembled at their respective armories, equipped for service, armed with breech-loaders, and are supplied with forty rounds of ammunition per man, ready to aid the police in the suppression of any riot, tumult, or disturbance of the public peace, and to obey orders and instructions given by the police for that purpose."

Ammunition was distributed to both artillery and cavalry.

The Police Commissioners and Superintendent Walling had so judiciously placed the police force that about one thousand men were within easy reach of the square. The ferries, piers, transportation-depots, passenger-depots, steamboat-landings, and many important buildings were carefully guarded. The employés in many large establishments were deputized as special policemen, armed, organized, and in readiness for special service. Detectives from the Central Office covered almost the entire city, and in connection with the telegraphic department, kept the officials at headquarters fully informed of any gathering of men in any part of the city.

These wise precautions were not unknown to the desperadoes who had arranged for the uprising. Seeing the hopeless condition of their plot, the leaders permitted their orators to amuse the twenty thousand who had collected in the "square," with a display of cheap declamation against the tyranny of the police.

Before half-past nine o'clock the meeting had adjourned, and the square was empty.

In defiance of the regulations against street processions without permission granted, a procession, with the usual display, commenced parading in the neighboring streets and avenues. Giving no heed to repeated summons to disperse, an energetic charge by some two hundred policemen was made, which effectually cleared the streets and ended the demonstration.

It is now known that the successful beginning of mob violence in New York was to be the signal for the same kind of work to be started in other cities. By this prompt, energetic action, the Police Department of New York averted a national calamity.

The mob spirit, and mob rule, will not be permitted to get a firm hold on American soil.

The baton of the American policeman, and the red rag of the European communist, represent antagonistic ideas, which are not likely to affiliate or fraternize.

CUTTING DOWN THE PAY-ROLLS.

1879, Jan. 1.—The Board of Police Commissioners for the City of New York ordered

a reduction of twenty per cent. in the pay of the force. Immediate relief from this action was sought by bringing the matter before the courts.

Judge Donahue's decision was adverse to the proposed reduction, as was also the decision of Judge Ingalls.

The Court of Appeals affirmed the decisions of the lower courts.

All arrearages of pay were promptly met, and the pay-rolls were not changed.

A MODEL ORGANIZATION.

1879, July 1.—The Police Mutual Aid Association for New York, Brooklyn and Yonkers, was formed October 13, 1866. Sergeant Wm. H. Lefferts, President; Aaron Butts, Secretary. The officers perform their duties without pay,

On the death of a member each living member pays fifty cents into the treasury, all of which is promptly forwarded to the legal heirs of the deceased.

Since the formation of the society, 418 members have died, and $501,797 have been paid to the families of deceased members.

The present membership is 2,502.

The cost to each member, who has paid all the assessments from the organization to the present time, has been $198, or $15.23 per annum.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

1879, August 18.—Under this date Ex-Gov. Seymour makes the following statement, which is alike creditable to himself and the police force:

"The draft riots of 1863 were put down mainly by the energy, boldness, and skill of the Police Department. In saying this I am certainly not influenced by prejudice, for the force was politically, and, in some degree personally, unfriendly to myself. Indeed, in their reports they have not seen fit to make mention of any co-operation on my part with their efforts. But they did their duty bravely and efficiently. They proved that the city of New York could, by its police alone, in the absence of its military organizations, cope with the most formidable disorders. I do not know of any instance in history where so many desperate men were shot down mainly by the police of a city. More than a thousand of the rioters were killed or wounded to death. Yet so little justice has been done to the city of New York that many think it was protected by the forces of the United States. In fact, the Navy-yard, the vast amounts of military stores of the General Government, and its money in the Sub-Treasury, were mainly protected by the civil officers. So protected while the military organizations of the State were absent in Pennsylvania in answer to an appeal from the Government of the United States to help it against an invasion of General Lee. Even General Grant, in one of his papers, spoke of the riot in New York as an occasion when the General Government had helped State or local authorities to maintain peace and order. I wrote to him correcting this error, and it gives me pleasure to say that he received my communication in a spirit of courtesy and of fairness, which ever marks the character of an honorable man. It is now time that justice should be done the city of New York in this matter, and in the hope that such justice may be done I repeat these facts."

BIOGRAPHIC.

The immense interest put into the keeping of the Superintendents, Inspectors, and Captains of police, gives an importance to the selection of men to fill these positions which attaches to no other within the whole range of official life.

No man whose record is tainted with hints at peculation, or with any perversion of justice, or with winking at crime, or with swerving from the truth, or with flinching in the face of danger can ever expect to reach and retain those places of high trust and responsibility.

That a man has been promoted to so high a position, is equivalent to giving him the highest possible endorsement. The fact that these official positions are filled by men who have reached them from the common walks of life, without the aid of wealth or high family connection, is a matter full of encouragement to personal manhood and effort. Any attempt at eulogy would be out of place in the brief sketches of personal history which follow. Little more than the bare mention of the nativity and dates of promotion will be given, as their work is still unfinished, and the time for a completed biography has not yet arrived.

SUPERINTENDENT WALLING.

Geo. W. Walling (of the New York Department) was born May 1st, 1823, in Middletown, Monmouth County, New Jersey. He received a good common school education in his native place, and afterward occupied the position of clerk in a country store, kept by his father at Keyport, New Jersey.

His connection with the New York police force began December 22d, 1847, when he was appointed patrolman. His promotions on the force were to the rank of Captain, September 30th, 1852; to the rank of Inspector, November 21st, 1866, and to the rank of Superintendent, July 23d, 1874. These years of constant police service have been marked with periods of excitement and disorder, which have threatened the existence of the city and the nation. But how imminent soever the peril, or overwhelming the odds, the proffer or necessity for conflict has always been promptly accepted and quickly decided. The police have never been defeated in a charge when led by George W. Walling. A complete forgetfulness of self, in the presence of danger, seems to be characteristic of the class of men from which the highest type of policemen are taken. How shall the public interests be best promoted? is always the main question. And in the subject of this sketch, this idea has had full development during a long life of great official activity.

The Central Office in New York is the focal point for police information for the continent. All over the land persons are to be found who gratefully acknowledge the courtesy and promptitude of the affable and capable Superintendent of the New York Police Department.

SUPERINTENDENT CAMPBELL, OF THE BROOKLYN POLICE DEPARTMENT.

The early years of Superintendent Campbell's life were not widely different from those of thousands of other American youths, who have commenced their career free from all the embarrassments of riches.

Such advantages as the common schools of the city then afforded were improved, supplemented by instruction in the night schools of the period. The plucky bustle and tug of a boy of all work about a printing office, lead by a natural and easy transition to an apprenticeship, then to other and higher positions until, during a period of some twenty years, all the various positions from "printer's devil" to Superintendent of the *Eagle* office had been under his management and control.

Patrick Campbell was born January 12th, 1827, in Charleston, South Carolina, and at an early age came with his parents to Brooklyn. He learned the business of compositor on the Brooklyn *Eagle*, with which, in various capacities, he was connected about twenty years. He was appointed Inspector of Customs during the administration of President Pierce, and held that office seven years. In 1866, he was elected sheriff of Kings County, and held the office one term of three years. Upon the formation of the present police system in Brooklyn, Mr. Campbell was, January 1st, 1870, appointed Chief of Police; and by a change in the charter of the city was relieved from duty August 22d, 1873. On the 12th of August, 1875, he was appointed to the position which he now holds, that of Superintendent of Police in Brooklyn.

INSPECTOR DILKS.

George W. Dilks was born December 16th, 1816, in New Brunswick, New Jersey. His education was commenced in the Lancastrian school, New Brunswick, and completed in public school, No. 10, New York City. He was apprenticed to Charles King, editor of the New York *American*, and learned the business of compositor on that paper. On the 15th of August, 1848, he was appointed Assistant-Captain, and assigned to the Fifteenth Police Precinct. He was promoted to the rank of Captain (same precinct), April 8th, 1853, and on the second of May, 1860, he was promoted to the rank of Inspector of Police, which office he has continuously filled ever since. On every occasion, when the police have been called upon to quell a disturbance, tumult, or riot, Inspector Dilks has been an active participant and an important factor. In the early years of office, as Inspector, he had charge of all the eastern wards of the city, and in connection with Inspector John S. Folk, of Brooklyn, completely reformed the system of police duty in that city. In the formidable riot of July, 1863, the work of gathering, organizing into companies, and preparing the police for an emergency, was a labor that could only be performed by officers of long and active experience in the Department, who, to a quick appreciation of the necessities of the occasion, could add an energy and zeal that never flagged or cooled. All the day and all the night of Monday, July 13th, Inspector Dilks, in connection with Drill-Officer T. S. Copeland, and other indomitable souls, were engaged upon this important duty.

In the desperate battle next day with the mob, for the possession of the four thousand carbines in the wire factory at Twenty-second street and Second avenue, the honors of the victory were shared between the gallant two hundred men who fought, and the invincible Inspector who led the charge. A whole generation has come and gone since George W. Dilks began his persistent battle in behalf of peace and good order in New York, and to-day his vigor is not abated.

INSPECTOR WADDY.

George A. Waddy was born in the city of New York, October 26th, 1826. His family tradition connects him with the early puritans of New England, and with the Sewards of New York.

He was apprenticed to a builder, and worked at that trade until his appointment on the Brooklyn Police force, January 8th, 1851.

During the "cholera season" he was detailed as Health Warden.

In June, 1860, he was promoted to the rank of sergeant, and assigned to the Ninth Sub-precinct, and the following year was promoted to the rank of captain, and put in command of the Ninth Precinct.

The vicious, unruly element which infested the Fourth Precinct required the presence of a judicious, able officer, and in 1865 Captain Waddy was transferred to that precinct, which was at once greatly improved in its moral tone. The change was so marked that the citizens testified their appreciation of his services by making him a present of a solid silver writing-set, valued at $800.

In consequence of certain changes in the charter of the city he was legislated out of office in 1870.

In June, 1872, he was re-appointed captain, and in October, 1873, he was promoted to the rank of Inspector of Police, *vice* John S. Folk, promoted to the rank of Superintendent of Police.

Great energy and promptitude marks the official life of Inspector Waddy.

His complete success in "working up" thirteen murder cases has given him a high standing in the ranks as a detective in intricate criminal cases. In the suppression of tumults and riots he has been singularly fortunate; as instances, the "Angel Gabriel" riot, the "East New York mutiny," the "New York draft riots," the "Jamaica riot," the tumult with the longshoremen, are given, in all of which he actively participated. During all these years of service he has never been reprimanded or fined for any lack or neglect of duty.

INSPECTOR THORNE.

Thomas W. Thorne was born June 10th, 1823, at Marlboro, Ulster County, New York. He was educated in the Madison St. school in this city, A. V. Stout, principal. He learned the trade, and followed the occupation of carpenter until July 10th, 1852, when he joined the Police Force of New York as patrolman, and was assigned to the Seventeenth Precinct for duty. His promotions have been to the rank of sergeant, September —, 1859; to captaincy, September —, 1861, and to the office of inspector, April 20th, 1872. He was admitted to the bar of New York in 1869, as attorney and counsellor-at-law. His early connection with the Police Force was in the "down-town" precincts, which were known to require the presence of an able, prompt official to control them. Such parts of the city as were invested with mock auction swindlers, emigrant runners, low resorts for vile characters, dance-houses, gambling hells, rat-pits, and all that sort of criminality, gives to an earnest man full scope and play for all his energies; and Captain Thorne enjoyed abundant opportunities in this direction in the localities to which he was assigned.

"The occasion makes the man," has passed into a proverb. Captain T. W. Thorne was favorably known to the citizens of New York long before the occurrence of the great riot. Yet that occasion developed qualities which had had no opportunity, till then, for full play. The elements of a leader must *exist in* the man, otherwise the hero will not appear when the trial hour comes. The Twenty-sixth Precinct, of which T. W. Thorne was Captain, in 1863, embraced the surroundings of the City Hall; and was the focus of disorder in the lower part of the city during the riot, and right worthily did every member of the force in that Precinct maintain the honor of the Department throughout the fearful struggle.

Captain Thorne, and his efficient sergeants, were in constant and active employment in charging the crowds in the Park, in driving the obstinate mob through the side-adjoining streets, in clubbing gangs of incendiaries out of the printing offices, against which fierce attempts at destruction were directed. As aid to Inspector Leonard, his labors were constant and arduous. Throughout a long service, both before and since that event, Inspector Thorne has held the confidence and regard of the community for devotion to duty, singleness of purpose, and eminent success in all the positions which he has been called to fill.

INSPECTOR MURRAY.

Promotions in the police service are proverbially cautious and slow. Long years of patient endurance and unfaltering devotion to duty are sometimes rewarded with promotion to the highest positions in the Department. When, therefore, a young man, after only eleven years of service, passes through all the grades, from patrolman to inspector, the conclusion is inevitable, that it is either a case of rare merit or of peculiar favoritism. That favor has had nothing to do in rapidly advancing Mr. Murray is plainly shown by the fact that the entire command have most heartily endorsed the action of the Board of Police Commissioners, and none more cordially than his associates in the force. The record of Mr. Murray, in connection with the service, is brilliant, and fortunate without parallel. A single instance here must suffice; for the simple reason that the career of this quiet, modest, urbane gentleman has only just commenced. During the eight months preceding his elevation to the post he now occupies, which embraces the period of his captaincy, he captured and secured the conviction of criminals, the aggregate terms of whose imprisonment in the penitentiary is five hundred years. Four of them, the "Astoria masked burglars," receiving a sentence which consigned them to prison for ninety-three years in the aggregate.

William Murray was born in New York city, June 27th, 1844; received his education in Grammar School Number Eleven, in the Sixteenth Ward. At the age of seventeen he enlisted in the Eleventh New York Volunteers, "Ellsworth's Zouaves," and remained connected with the regiment during its term of service. He was appointed patrolman, May 24th, 1866. Appointed roundsman, October 15th, 1870, and assigned to the Twenty-seventh precinct. He was promoted to the rank of sergeant, October 5th, 1871, and then promoted to the rank of captain, October 2d, 1876; and on the 1st of June, 1877, he was promoted to the office of Inspector of Police, which position he now fills.

INSPECTOR MCDERMOTT.

John McDermott was born August 26th, 1833, in Troy, New York, and was educated in the public schools of that city.

Coming to New York in 1845, he learned the business of a mason, and followed that occupation until his appointment as patrolman on the police force, December 24th, 1859, being assigned to the Seventeenth Precinct. His subsequent promotions were to rank of roundsman in January, 1863; to the rank of sergeant, December 14th, 1865, and assigned to the command of the Second District Court Squad, February 16th, 1869. On the 23d of September he was made Acting-Captain, in command of the "Broadway Squad;" and on the ninth of October of the same year, he was promoted to the full rank of Captain. He was elevated to the rank of Inspector of Police, May 31st, 1872, which position he now fills. Thus, within twenty years he has filled all the several positions of trust within the gift of the Commissioners, to the satisfaction of the Board, to the welfare of the commonwealth, and with great credit to himself.

To a man, who, by nature, has a fondness and taste for the orderly and methodical duties of the police service, any, and every opportunity which offers, is turned to good account in preparing for such service whenever, in after life, the time may arrive for putting it into actual, practical use.

Thus it happens that the two years (from 1845 to 1847), which were passed by Mr. McDermott, in daily connection and intercourse with the late General Robert E. Lee, then a Captain, and stationed at Fort Hamilton, was an admirable preparation for the stern duties of the police service, which has occupied so large a portion of his active life.

The example of such quiet persistent devotion to duty, strict unvarying drill, ready and prompt obedience, exerts a powerful control upon all who are brought within the magic circle of its influence.

Many of the best qualities which go to make a good military commander are required to produce an efficient police officer. The prominent traits of character must be essentially the same in either branch of service, and each may learn profitable lessons by carefully studying the best models of the other. Inspector McDermott's official life has been eventful, fortunate, and particularly successful.

The murder of Samuel Hoffman by Dr. Lowenberg, November 14, 1861, was worked up by Inspector McDermott, and resulted in conviction, and a sentence of imprisonment for life in the State Prison.

A trio of colored desperadoes broke into the premises, 84 West Houston street, in March, 1870, and secured a large amount of valuable property, but were themselves secured by the Inspector, who had the good fortune to see them safely incarcerated in prison, one for ten years, the others for eight years each. Many other similar cases have been by him brought to an equally successful termination.

If it were proper to apply the terms used by fishermen in their avocations to the work done by the police force, in catching the inmates of "dance houses, gambling hells, and keno quarters," Inspector McDermott would get the credit of having made some of the "biggest hauls" ever made in the city; for example, the catch of seventy-five prisoners and all the implements of the game at Lafayette Hall, corner Houston and Prince streets,

the first ever made in the city. Also, three hundred prisoners at one time, caught in a "dance house," corner of Grand and Elizabeth streets, in the winter of 1874.

During all the dangers and hardships of the riot week, in 1863, Inspector McDermott was on constant duty, and was present in places where the peril was greatest, and the the fighting fiercest, viz.: In the *Tribune* building, at Twenty-second street and Second avenue, and at Thirty-second street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues.

In the Orange Riots of 1871, the fighting was chiefly in the vicinity of the 16th Precinct, then in command of Inspector McDermott.

In all the great conflicts between order and disorder which have taken place in the city since his connection with the Police Department, the record of Police Inspector McDermott has been one of the most honorable.

MANHOOD.

There is no class of men in the community, whose work is beset with difficulties and peculiarities so exacting and harassing, as that of policemen.

Their duties bring them in contact with all grades of people, whose interests are of the most important, delicate, and conflicting nature. It is no unusual thing for a policeman to encounter elegantly dressed, genteel-appearing people, whom he suspects, perhaps knows, to be thoroughly depraved characters. On the instant he must decide whether to allow the culprits to escape or to arrest them. The evidence, to his mind, warrants him in taking them into custody. Resistance is overcome, and the officer is denounced for acting up to his convictions of duty. The policeman must decide and act at once. Suppose he waits for positive proof before he decides to act? In that event a dangerous character is left at large, and the community suffers from his too great caution. Suppose he is mistaken and an innocent party is roughly handled? It is an unfortunate error. An error in fact; but a praiseworthy intention prompted the act. Which of these two supposed cases is to be approved, or which condemned?

A magistrate hears evidence, hears argument, deliberates, weighs the evidence, doubts, "reserves decision," and, not unwisely, gives the culprit the benefit of the doubt.

This is a simple, sample illustration, of a peculiarity which surrounds the daily routine work of the average policeman.

It is not the rule adopted by a majority of men *to estimate the character of an entire class* by the acts and doings of individual members of that class.

If degenerate judges, doctors, lawyers, ministers, merchants, and financiers were to be urged as the proper representatives of their various guilds, the idea would be received with contempt.

Men are not in the habit of throwing aside as worthless an entire package of money if there happens to be found a spurious coin in the parcel; much less do they denounce all money as worthless and fraudulent.

Policemen average well as men with men. As an organization, spread over the entire land, policemen claim that their record, in support of the welfare and best interests of the country, is such as to entitle them to the confidence and protection of the community, as against the careless, flippant, cruel assaults of portions of the newspaper press.

As conservators of the public peace, the duties of the press and the police are not antagonistic.

EX-PRESIDENT ACTON.

Thomas C. Acton, of New York City, was appointed Police Commissioner by Edwin D. Morgan, Governor of the State, March 15, 1860. The appointment was unsought. He was made President of the Police Commission, January 7, 1863, and was continued in that office during the seven succeeding years, when, by command of the best medical advisers, and in opposition to the expressed wishes of the entire community, he withdrew from the Department by resignation, May 1, 1869.

These years of Mr. Acton's presidency were among the most eventful in the history of the city. The Rebellion, the great riot, the constant rush of troops through the city to, or from, the seat of war, with accompanying crowds of civilians, the preparing of the material and munitions of war, the centering here of the great financial interests of the nation in this, its life-struggle—all these were in addition to the usual police routine work in ordinary times, and increased by their aggregated weight, the difficult work of making an effective Police Department, which was the real problem to be solved. That it *was* solved; a good system—"the Metropolitan Police System"—well administered under President Acton, is proof. A healthy, moral tone pervaded the service. Neither nepotism nor favoritism gangrened the Department. One idea soon gained complete possession of the force, and had much to do with its steady moral growth, namely, that at all times, and on all occasions, full, equal, and exact justice would be meted out to every man in the Department; that no outside pressure could be brought that would screen a guilty officer, or shield him from punishment, and that no officer should be made to suffer for the proper and honest performance of the duties belonging to his station. A wise regard for the best interests of the State would have made the system, as then existing, co-extensive with the boundaries of the State.

CAPTAINS OF THE NEW YORK PRECINCTS.

Captain CHARLES W. CAFFRY, of the First Precinct, is one of the oldest officers on the force, having served under the old Municipal system, then joined the Metropolitan force. He was promoted to the rank of captain by Commissioners Acton and Bergen. He has a personal pride in having the police of his native city equal the best in the world.

Captain JEREMIAH PETTY, of the Fourth Precinct, is also a New Yorker by birth, and shares with all other good citizens the hope that, in all the changes which the Police Department of New York may undergo, there will be a steady advance in its efficiency. He is most highly honored by those who know him best.

Captain JOSEPH B. EAKINS, of the Fifth Precinct, is a strict, careful disciplinarian—always attentive to the performance of duty—and enjoys the esteem of the community and the confidence of his superiors. New York is his native city.

Captain JOHN MCELWAIN, of the Seventh Precinct, has a record as a man and an officer creditable and satisfactory.

Captain CHARLES MCDONNELL, of the Eighth Precinct, is an officer of great efficiency, energy, and of a full share of manly courage and decision.

Captain WILLIAM C. F. BERGHOLD, of the Ninth Precinct, has but recently taken charge of the precinct, and to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. His efforts are in the direction of advancement and progress.

Captain ANTHONY J. ALLAIRE, of the Tenth Precinct, after a highly creditable service in the war of the rebellion, has taken honorable rank in the force as a thoroughly tried and capable officer. He was an appointee of Commissioner Acton.

Captain THOMAS CHERRY, of the Eleventh Precinct, was a member of the Metropolitan force, and brought with him to the Municipal force a record of being a good officer and a popular man, which record he ably maintains.

Captain THADDEUS C. DAVIS, of the Twelfth Precinct, has, at times, had the drawback of ill-health, yet he has maintained a high standing for efficiency as an officer, and his record will bear the closest scrutiny.

Captain THERON S. COPELAND, of the Thirteenth Precinct, stands out grandly prominent as a tactician and drill-master. His labors during "Riot Week" were of the most arduous and exacting kind. By his admirable management and skill, several able villains are doing service for the State on long sentences for great crimes.

Captain JOHN J. BROGAN, of the Fourteenth Precinct, has had a long experience on the force, and from the first has steadily risen in the estimation of those who have had official relations with him. His ambition is to see his native city well policed.

Captain THOMAS BYRNES, of the Fifteenth Precinct, has held the post of captain for many years, to the general acceptance of his superiors and of the citizens at large.

Captain THOMAS M. RYAN, of the Sixteenth Precinct, takes charge of this precinct with an excellent record, which he is rapidly brightening by his untiring watchfulness and unflagging zeal in behalf of good order and decorum.

Captain JOHN H. MCCULLAGH, of the Seventeenth Precinct, has always merited and received the approval and confidence of those who have entrusted him with positions of responsibility. A most competent and trustworthy official.

Captain WILLIAM H. CLINCHY, of the Eighteenth Precinct, is entirely reliable in an emergency, and true to the line of duty on all occasions. He makes friends of the most desirable classes, and enemies only of the most desperate.

Captain JOHN J. MOUNT, of the Nineteenth Precinct, was a good soldier in the war of the rebellion, and has proved to be an equally valuable member of the force in every position which he has been called upon to fill.

Captain GEORGE WASHBURN, of the Twentieth Precinct, is another who has supplemented a good war record by an equally energetic record on the police force.

Captain MICHAEL J. MURPHY, of the Twenty-first Precinct, has been a long time in service, from the days of Smith and

Manierre. Always the active, efficient, popular official, and the genial, cordial gentleman.

Captain JOHN J. WARD, of the Twenty-second Precinct, merits and receives the commendations of all good citizens, for a uniform, persistent performance of all the duties which belong to an official in the public service to which he is attached.

Captain JOHN M. ROBBINS, of the Twenty-third Precinct, was the CHIEF OF POLICE IN MORRISANIA prior to its annexation to New York. He fully sustains the high opinion which was awarded him by his elevation to the position which he formerly occupied.

Captain WILLIAM SCHULTZ, of the Twenty-fourth Precinct, is always afloat, having his headquarters on the SENECA. The captain is a German and a sailor. He enjoys the reputation of being a thoroughly capable and efficient officer.

Captain IRA S. GARLAND, of the Twenty-fifth Precinct, "Broadway Squad," was appointed by Commissioner Acton, and has had a record long noted for all that goes to make an officer of the finest type. Often tried; always ready; never found wanting. Of such men the city is proud.

Captain EDWARD WALSH, of the Twenty-sixth Precinct, performs all the duties of his position with great credit to himself, and to the satisfaction of his superiors, and to the profit of the commonwealth.

Captain JOHN SANDERS, of the Twenty-seventh Precinct, is a native of New York city, and brings a clear head and an earnest heart to the work of furthering the best interests of the Department.

Captain PETER YULE, of the Twenty-eighth Precinct, had charge formerly of the Sanitary Squad, in which position he was competent and attentive. He brings none other than good qualities into his new position.

Captain ALEXANDER S. WILLIAMS, of the Twenty-ninth Precinct, has made a reputation for being very prompt and thorough in his dealings with the rowdy rough element. He is less popular with *them* than with the quiet, orderly, law-abiding part of the community. He is a valuable, thoroughly reliable member of the force; with good executive ability, and no lack of courage and dash.

Captain JAMES M. LEARY, of the Thirtieth Precinct, is comparatively a young officer, with fine prospects and an unlimited field for development, which he seems determined to develop to the utmost.

Captain EDWARD TYNAN, of the Thirty-first Precinct, recently transferred from the Fourteenth Precinct, has a good opportunity to make a record second to no other in the Department. Perseverance, energy determination, and skill will secure abundant success.

Captain HENRY V. STEERS, of the Thirty-second Precinct, has for several years past been Chief of Police of Tremont. He is an officer of experience, of sterling worth, and of unbending integrity.

Captain THOMAS KILLILEA, of the Thirty-third Precinct, came into the force through the friendly graces of Judge Bosworth, who held him in high regard, and his record warrants the conclusion that the judge made a wise selection in appointing a good man to a good position.

Captain THERON R. BENNETT, of the Thirty-fourth Precinct, is an officer of the best stamp. Many years of service have tested the manly traits of his character, and brought them out into strong and favorable relief.

Captain GEORGE W. GASTLIN, of the Steamboat Squad, is an old officer of tried and sterling qualities, which are all brought into full play in the prominent position which he ably fills.

Captain JAMES KEALY, of the Detective Squad, occupies a position which, in the estimation of the general public, is one of the most important, arduous, and honorable in the service.

Captain HENRY HEDDEN, Special Service, is remembered as bearing a leading part with Inspector Dilks, and other chivalrous spirits, in that sharpest of all the great riot fights, the attack and capture of the Wire Factory in Second avenue. One of the old and good men of the force.

Captain HENRY D. HOOKER, Nineteenth Sub-Precinct. Rogues, in their haste to get out of the city, have a difficult gauntlet to run in escaping the Argus eyes of the Grand Central Depot Squad, who have a keen memory of the *personnel* of thieves and burglars.

THE CAPTAINS OF THE BROOKLYN PRECINCTS, are a class of men wholly devoted to their profession, and thoroughly competent to the performance of all the great variety of duties involved. Having had experience in the working of the various grades of the service, through which they have passed in reaching the responsible positions they now occupy, they are amply fitted for carrying into effective operation all the intricate details of shielding a great city from harm and loss. A watchful interest, a wise precaution, and a prompt exercise of decisive measures in everything which affects the public welfare is characteristic of them.

No half-hearted measures, no slovenly-performed duties, no partial examination of a subject, no doubtful *guess* respecting a matter on the part of a subordinate is ever accepted by the captains of the Brooklyn precincts. A love for their work, a pride in its prompt performance, and the ability to infuse a similar laudable ambition into their subordinates had brought the Brooklyn Police Department to an efficiency surpassed by no other city in the Union. During the past few years, the entire Department has shared in bringing to a successful termination several criminal cases, which have attracted a world-wide attention, and which are regarded as being among the most celebrated cases of detective skill of the century.

Names of each Officer and Patrolman in the Police Department of New York, August 1st, 1879.

Central Office.

Morrison, James E.....*Commissioner.*
Wheeler, De Witt Clinton.. "
MacLean, Charles F..... "
French, Stephen P..... "
Walling, George W...*Superintendent.*
Dilks, Geo. W.....*Inspector.*
Thorne, Thomas W... "
McDermott, John..... "
Murray, Wm..... .. "
Hawley,, Seth C..*Chief Clerk.*
Kipp, William H..*First Deputy Clerk.*
Crowley James..*Superintend't. of Telegraph.*
Hopcraft, George..*Superintendent's Clerk.*
Gott, George P...*Book-keeper.*
O'Brien, John J..*Chief Bureau of Elections.*
Henry Morris H...*Chief Surgeon.*
Ensign, Wm. H.....*Surgeon.*
Dorn, John H..... "
McLeod, Samuel B..... "
Cook, Stephen B..... "
Maclay, A. W..... "
Wade, Charles H..... "
Phelps, Charles..... "

Turner, James S.....*Surgeon.*
Doran, Thomas J..... "
Peterson, Robert S., jr.. ... "
Smith, Le Grand..... "
Purroy, Francis M..... "
Varian, William A..... "
Clements, James W. G..... "
Lyon, Samuel K..... "
Dexter, B. F..... "
Fluhrer, W. F..... "
Matthews, David ..... "
Parker, Ely S.....*Deputy Clerk.*
Bower, Humphrey..... "
Hawley, Seth, jr..... "
Clark, Vincent..... "
Hallenback, M. O..... "
Delamater, William..... "
Gay, Edmund C..... "
Doane, Charles F..... "
Terwilliger, James..... "
Kavanagh, John..... "
Masterson, Peter..... "
McCarthy, Joseph H..... "

Steinert, George.....*Deputy Clerk.*
Saterlee, F. Le Roy..... "
Waterman, S..... "
McDonnell, P. W..... "
Stone, George B..... "
Wood, Robert L..... "
Moe, Isaac L..... "
Dickinson, A. M..... "
Mellish, George H.....*Stenographer.*
Craig, Daniel W..... "
Cozzens, Edw'd..*Clerk at House of Detention.*
Wynne, James J.....*Telegraph Operator.*
McGrath, James..... "
Lucas, James A..... "
Brennan, M. R..... "
Coonan, Joseph..... "
May, William..*President's Secretary.*
St. John, Charles A..*Property Clerk.*
Webb, Jacob..*Janitor.*
Keirnan, John..*Mechanic.*
Cox, Thomas J., jr..*Telegraph Line Man.*

Precincts.

First Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Caffry, Charles W.

SERGEANTS.

Rork, Arthur
Oates, Patrick
McClintock, Andrew
Linden, William J.

ROUNDSMEN.

Plott, Francis
Hagan, Henry
Brookheim, Julius A.
Halpin, Henry

DOORMEN.

Burrell, William U.
Van Dusen, Charles H.

PATROLMEN.

Arnold, Daniel S.
Burke, James
Briggs, Rufus C.
Buckley, John
Bloch, Henry
Bentley, George W.
Byrnes, James
Carr, John H.
Carlin, Francis
Corrigan, Robert
Coyle, Charles J.
Cunningham, Thomas M.
Cotter, William
Collins, Michael
Drought, Henry
Daley, Lawrence C.
Davis, John L.
Doyle, Daniel
Delaney, John
Doyle, John J.
Erwin, Robert
Elder, John W.
Ellis, Samuel
Flanagan, James
Finnigan, Samuel
Flannery, Michael
Fitzpatrick, Daniel
Flannery, Patrick
Ganly, Richard
Glynn, Joseph
Goodwin, William
Griffin, Michael
Golden, Anthony J.
Gilfeather, Michael
Hargrove, Thomas
Hagan, Francis
Hagan, Charles
Kenneally, Patrick
Long, William
Lehne, Henry
Lindsay, Thomas
Murray, James
Mongan, James
Moritz, George
Murphy, Joseph
Murphy, James M.
Moran, John
McCoy, Matthew
Mead, Joseph W.
Moran, Edward
Mulvey, James
Merckle, Christian
Muldoon, William
McCormick, John W.
Murphy, John
Morris, Patrick T.
Murphy, Maurice
Mackin, Thomas
Newton, John
Newell, William J.
O'Mally, Michael
O'Connor, James
O'Donnell, Peter
Oates, James
Peters, John
Pelton, William
Quinn, James P.
Ryan, Timothy
Ryder, Dermott
Reiss, Frederick
Raliegh, John
Scanlon, Patrick
Sullivan, Florence J.
Shea, Henry
Sims, William, Jr.
Sheridan, Peter
Sloan, James A.
Terry, William D.
Trass, Henry P.
Theime, Alfred B.
Uhl, Peter
Wooldridge, Stephen B.
Woodward, Frank
Webber, Edward

Fourth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Petty, Jeremiah

SERGEANTS.

Brophy, James J.
Fitzgerald, John J.
Moloney, John F.
Ryan, Peter

ROUNDSMEN.

Colton, Chas. S.
Cromley, James
McCarthy, John
Murphy, Francis
Sbarboro, Augustus

PATROLMEN.

Adamson, Richard
Ahearn, William H.
Barry, Pat'k J.
Buckley, James F.
Barrett, Thomas
Barron, Edward J.
Butterly, John
Baker, Charles S.
Barnwell, Patrick
Crowley, Michael
Canovan, John
Cooper, Martin
Carr, Gilbert
Creeden, Pat'k H.
Curley, John F.
Conovan, John
Clinton, James
Collins, Denis
Courtlander, Fred. J.
Canty, Patrick
Collins, James
Callihan, Dan'l J.
Clarker, John T.
Draffin, James
Dunn, John
Foley, William
Flanigan, John
Farrington, John
Flynn, Thomas
Fincken, Chas. W. H.
Gibson, Geo. W.
Gardner, Jos. A.
Gerlach, Charles
Giroux, Michael E.
Glatt, Geo. C.
Gunn, Francis
Hawkins, John
Heaviside, Henry
Heaviside, William
Hotalling, John E.
Hoyt, Aaron H.
Hardgrove, John
Hickey, John
Johnson, Albert B.
Kearns, John
Keogh, Martin
Kenneally, Patrick
Kelly, Charles F.
Kingston, Samuel
Keeling, John R.
Kiernan, John
Kelly, Peter
Kullee, Albert
Lamb, Peter P.
Lewis, Daniel
Logan, George
Levy, Wolf
Leahy, Michael
Langan, James J.
Miller, Adolph L.
Meincke, Charles
Mullally, Patrick
Musgrave, John
McCabe, Edward
Mulligan, Joseph
Mackey, William
Murphy, James
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Daniel J.
Meyers, Ernest H.
Mallon, Francis
McDonald, Hugh
McQuaid, James
McGinley, Patrick
Mullaney, James
Nolan, John
Olvany, Hugh
O'Sullivan, Patrick
O'Leary, Timothy
O'Brien, Thomas J.
Rabbailt, Christopher
Ryan, Edmund
Rooney, Michael
Scallin, Patrick
Sage, Herbert R.
Smith, Chas. W.
Van Riper, Jacob S.
Vail, Oliver
Tierney, Thomas
Wood, Alburtus
Weinkauff, Otto
Wright, Gilbert L.

DOORMEN.

Flood, Charles
Sharp, Edgar

Fifth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Eakins, Joseph B.

SERGEANTS.

De Shays, Miles
De Lameter, Edward R.
Doran, Patrick H.
Thompson, William

ROUNDSMEN.

Slauson, Edgar S.
Hayes, Edward
Carey, James F.
Orr, Robert

PATROLMEN.

Alberts, August
Anthes, William
Becker, George
Bingham, Earnest K.
Bird, Edmund
Boyle, Thomas
Bow, Michael
Breen, Richard
Budds, John
Callaghan, Thomas
Carlin, Thomas
Cashman, Edward
Chapman, Henry
Clark, Francis J.
Coffee, Daniel
Coffee, Patrick J.
Cole, Henry W.
Coughlin, Joseph
Crawford, David
Delanoy, Charles
Donovan, John
Doyle, William
Fay, John
Farley, Dermott
Farley, John J.
Fennell, William H.
Ferdon, Simeon L.
Foster, Robert W.
Fogarty, Dennis J.
Fl[illegible]t, Charles
G[illegible]nd, Thomas
Gilbert, Frederick
Glinn, Maur[illegible]e
Hall, Joseph
Halfpenny, Robert
Hammond, George
Handy, Martin
Hawley, Ira D.
Hickey, Michael J.
Huntsinger, John B.
Jackson, David H.
Kavanagh, James
Kelly, James
Keller, John H.
Kennedy, Declan
Kennedy, Edward
King, Elbert S.
Morganueck, William
McCarthy, Dennis
McCullagh, Patrick
McDermott, Thomas
McMahon, John
Naton, Peter
Naughton, Michael
O'Connor, Joseph
O'Reilly, Patrick
Parker, John J.
Pierce, Rodney C.
Pike, Charles S.
Phillips, George A.
Randall, Charles B.
Randall, George M.
Roche, William
Ryckman, Nicholas A.
Silberies, Theodore W.
Skidmore, George M.
Smith, John E.
Snyder, George
Spolasco, William
Stephenson, John T.
Stoddard, Elliot M.
Sullivan, Cornelius
Sullivan, Patrick
Sullivan, Thomas J.
Woodruff, Seldon A.

DOORMAN.

Cromie, William
Robinson, James

Seventh Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

McElwain, John

SERGEANTS.

Lonsdale, James
Fuller, James K.
Randall, Frank B.
Snyder, Charles

ROUNDSMEN.

Carbett, John J.
Walsh, Edward
Palmer, John T.
Brennan, George

PATROLMEN.

Beam, William S.
Blonk, Geo. W.
Behan, James
Braisted, Geo. R.
Cook, David
Crook, John
Conlin, Martin F.
Cahill, Patrick
Combs, John E.
Doyle, Patrick F.
English, Patrick
Fitzgerald, Robert
Fellows, Samuel B.
Farley, John
Griffin, Thomas
Glynn, Patrick
Gilmore, Michael
Gannon, John
Gibson, Henry C.
Haggerty, James
Hirche, Henry
Holly, Harvey S.
Judge, Owen
Kennedy, Patrick
Larkin, Patrick
Landseadel, John
Lee, Michael
Mohr, John
Moloney, John
McSweeny, John

McCarthy, James
Martin, Michael
Maher, John
McMahon, James
Mullery, Edward
Moyland, Jeremiah
Powell, Alonzo
Parsons, John
Patterson, John
Preston, James
Quinn, James
Quigley, Thomas
Rogers, John H.
Rowan, Michael
Riordan, James
Reagan, James
Stapleton, Thomas
Shalvey, Edward
Skelling, Matthew
Sarvis, James
Thompson, William
Walker, James
Wilkinson, Winslow L
Waters, Thomas J.

DOORMEN.

McDonald, Michael
Williams, Hiram

Eighth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

McDonnell, Charles

SERGEANTS.

Knight, Edward
Gaynor, James
Reilly, Thomas
McNally, Patrick

ROUNDSMEN.

Barry, Richard J.
Cooper, James G.
Larkin, Edward H..
Melly, Patrick

PATROLMEN.

Albertson, Charles L.
Browning, August
Bliss, Charles R.
Burke, John G.
Brush, Joseph C.
Burgoyne, Edward A.
Bartley, David
Brown, James M.
Beard, William J.
Black, Thomas
Connell, James
Cummisky, James
Denning, Michael
De Voursney, Charles H.
Dyckman, David W.
Donahue, Michael C.
Daab, Philip
Dougherty, John
Doess, Jacob H.
Dunn, James
Evanhoe, Frank N.
Frost, George C.
Finnerty, John
Fletcher, George
Gilligan, Anthony
Hummell, Adolph
Henze, William
Haugh, Patrick
Hart, Robert K.
Hendricks, Jacob M.
Harty, Patrick
Harvey David
Kenny, Charles B.
Kilpatrick, John M.
Kennedy, Edward
Knox, William J.
Lawler, Thomas F.
McDonald, Charles A.
Mains, Alexander
Miller, Clemens
McLaughlin, Patrick B.
Moran, Thomas
Maguire, Patrick
Murphy, John
Moore, James
McCue, John
Monahan. Peter J.
Nash, William H.
O'Neil. Peter
Quigley, James
Quick, Abraham
Ruland, Gardiner
Rice, Bernard J.
Ryan, John
Reichert, Louis
Ryan, James
Reynolds, John
Schutt, John H.
Sweeney, Michael P.
Sovereool, John O.
Sheridan, James H.
Steope, Ezra D.
Thompson, Eugene
Vallely, Patrick W.
Wall, George
Whelan, Patrick
Watson, John
Walsh, Michael
West, William H.
Wavle, Oscar

DOORMEN.

Blunt, John H.
Burke, William

Ninth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Berghold, William C. F.

SERGEANTS.

Carpenter, Thomas H. B.
Croker, John A.
Wilson, James B.
Woodward, Charles W.

ROUNDSMEN.

Breashell, William H.
Brush, Jacob J.
Lindeman, Ernest
Webster, William

PATROLMEN.

Burkitt, Thomas
Bowker, Gustavus G.
Burleigh, Thomas
Bower, William
Brennan, James F.
Beatty, William
Burke, Richard
Cargill, William
Casey, Hugh
Conklin, Edgar W.
Conklin, Taylor
Creighton, John G.
Carey, Edmund C.
Copeland, Martin
Coughlin, Patrick
Cross, Adam A.
Clinchy, Arthur
Davenport, Charles O.
Doughty, William
De Nyse, Augustus M.
Ellis, Adno
Eastwood, William
Flanagan, John
Fielding, Frederick R.
Gibbons, David M.
Henderson, Joseph B.
Hayes, John
Helme, George E.
Hackett, Daniel P.
Howell, John M.
Kelly, Robert
Kiernan, John
Kavanagh, Thomas
Lowe, William R.
Lally, Michael
Miller, Israel W.
Moor, William
Maloney, Martin
McDonald, Michael
McGloin, John W.
Malarky, Bernard
Matthews, John M.
Norris, James
Noble, John W.
O'Donohue, Thomas
O'Neil, Lawrence
Pitcairne, Robert B.
Poppe, John
Phyfe, David
Quinn, Robert
Rever, Jacob
Ryder, William J.
Sharpe, George D.
Sayer, George W.
Schryver, John B.
Sullivan, Daniel
Scanlon, Michael
Shiel, John J.
Stoker, John H.
Townsend, John
Taylor, John G.
Todd, Orville A.
Taylor, John
Tewhy, John J.
Veitch, Thomas
Valieant, John
Van Wart, John L.
Ward, Michael
Williamson, Charles
Wood, John A.
Welsh, Patrick
Walling, Garrett S.
Wheeler, Owen

DOORMEN.

Gardner, George E.
McPartlin, Owen

Tenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Allaire, Anthony J.

SERGEANTS.

Christie, William H.
Dahlgren, Gustave
Grainger, Charles M.
Creeden, Timothy J. (Act'g)

ROUNDSMEN.

Bell, Thomas
Malon, Francis
Melly, Peter
McGuire, Patrick

PATROLMEN.

Agnew, John
Arnold, Michael
Arfken, Geo. L.
Brennan, Patrick
Boyle, George W.
Bath, David W.
Bayer, Etienne
Bush, Nathaniel D.
Brady, Christopher
Chrystal, Thomas J.
Creed, John J.
Cowen, James
Carstens, John
Cullen, James J.
Dokell, Dietrick W
Dempsey, Patrick
Dyruff, Charles
Elterich, John
Ellis, Robert H.
Flynn, James
Fuchs, Frank J.
Gass Valentine
Germain, Franklin
Heron, John
Hughes, William H.
Haggerty, Jonathan
Hull, Percival
Hughes, Francis
Hess, George A.
Harris, Michael
Herrick, John J.
Inteman, Herman
Johnson, Michael
Kane, Bernard
Kelsey, James R.
Kiernan, James
Layton, John H.
Lane, Patrick J.
Mead, Isaac
Madden, Daniel
Masterson, Patrick
Mueller, Fer'd G.
McCauley, Hugh
McCarthy, Cornelius
McCauley, Neil
Newman, Edward
Nixon, William B.
O'Day, Martin
Ryan, Dennis F.
Ryan, Patrick H.
Smock, Geo. S.
Stutt, William
Sullivan, Richard
Steele, Geo. W.
Van Buskirk, Edgar
White, Michael
Walker, Michael
Wade, John

DOORMEN.

English, Samuel
Moore, Patrick H.

Eleventh Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Cherry, Thomas

SERGEANTS.

Ahearn, Thomas
Griffith, Philip M.
Mead, James S.
Webb, William H.
Wassner, John (Acting)

ROUNDSMEN.

Flanagan, John
Howell, Alonzo
Schauwacker, Charles L.
Schroth, Ernest

PATROLMEN.

Alexander, David W.
Andesner, Anton
Baker, John
Breen, John
Brennen, Patrick
Brown, Henry M.
Caprano, Jacob
Carland, William
Curry, James
Calhoun, Patrick F.
Dalton, William
Donnelly, Peter J.
Donnelly, Francis
Durkin, William P.
Fleming, James
Grassick, George
Hefferman, Michael
Holbrook, Peter
Kelly, Andrew
Keenan, James
Kettner, Joseph R.
Kreamer, Reinhold
Leach, Robert M.
Lahert, Richard
McAleer, Patrick
Mulligan, James
McDermott, Charles
O'Connell, Michael
O'Connor, Charles
Rohloff, Albert
Raduns, Frederick A.
Reilly, William
Sasse, Ernest A.
Saul, Joseph A.
Saul, William H.
Sheridan, John
Taylor, William H.
Van Ranst, James
White, Morris
Wohltman, Claus

DOORMEN.

Burden, Henry
Ryan, James

Twelfth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Davis, Thaddeus C.

SERGEANTS.

Mullin, Washington
Armstrong, George
Boehme, Christopher
Sullivan, William W.

ROUNDSMEN.

Thompson, Walter L.
Delaney, William
McKenna, Felix
Luersson, Augustus
Campbell, Matthew

PATROLMEN.

Allaire, Charles D.
Brennan, Michael
Crout, George W.
Culhane, Thomas
Corell, Adam
Carter, Thomas J.
Doran, Bernard
Deery, Jefferson
Dwyer, John
Eagan, Thomas
Eagan, John
Files, David L.
Gorman, Thomas
Gallagher, John
Golden, David
Grant, Jerome T.
Holmes, Theophilus
Hanna, John
Joyce, John J.
Jacoby, Henry
Kavanagh, John
Kain, Peter
Lake, William H.
Lenz, Charles
Moller, Ernest F.
Morey, James N.
Miner, Charles
Murphy, Patrick
McCabe, John
Montgomery, James C.
McKenzie, Charles H.
Nafew, Henry B.
Niggesmith, George F.
Phenar, Orlando R.
Paton, George T.
Paret, Stephen
Reed, Albert
Renck, William H.
Regan, William
Riley, James
Signa, Henry A.
Smalley, Lorenzo D.
Sullivan, Joseph
Smith, Patrick
Shea, James
Tompson, Bernard C.
Torbush, Henry W.
Torbush, John H.
Van Orden, Henry C.
Walker, Richard

DOORMEN.

Dooley, Thomas F.
Malone, Joseph A.

Thirteenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Copeland, Theron S.

SERGEANTS.

Doyle, Andrew
Thompson, Theron T.
Pickett, Patrick H.

ROUNDSMEN.

Farley, Thomas
Wandling, Charles
Harris, John
Griffith, Charles W.

PATROLMEN.

Beveridge, William
Baumgarten, Ignatz
Brady, William
Birmingham, Bernard F.
Benjamin. Charles E.
Coughlin, James
Dixon, Christopher
Delaney, Thomas
Gorman, Michael
Grady, Edward
Hays, Jeremiah
Healy, John
Johnson, James H.
Jepson, James C.
Judson, Charles F.
King, John
Larkin, Kerin J.
Livingston, Abraham
Lemlein, Nathan
Looney, William
Meiers, Max
Masterson, Michael
Maguire, James
Moncrief, Ambrose
McCafferty, Thomas
McDermott, John
McCauley, John
McGeorge, Arthur B.
McSherry, Mathew
Moran, Peter
O'Brien, Stephen
O'Connor, John
Owens, Bartholomew
Parish, James
Pierce, Edward
Raymond, John
Rowland, Theodore V. W.
Schofield, Francis
Shellard, Stephen
Stack, Patrick
Smith, James
Smith, Francis
Wood, George W.
Walsh, Edward

DOORMEN.

Hathaway, Wm. N.
Rutledge, David

Fourteenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Brogan, John J.

SERGEANTS.

Warts, Alexander B.
Lamey, Michael
Horbelt, Marcus

ACTING SERGEANT.

Mangin, Thomas H.

ROUNDSMEN.

Campbell, John
McCarthy, Daniel J.
Grant, Donald
Hanley, Owen
O'Brien, David
Sherwood, James F.

PATROLMEN.

Adams, William
Brodrict, George
Brennan, Edward
Bates, Sullivan E.
Buckin, Edward
Bowes, Thomas
Crowley, Francis B.
Croker, Walter
Coyle, Thomas J.
Crowley, Michael
Cully, Patrick
Connor, James J.
Davis, Charles H.
Dolan, Patrick
Duggin, Daniel
Eltrich, Richard
Ewing, John
Fosket, Alonzo
Frazier, Daniel
Fisher, Frederick E.
Fields, Richard
Fellman, Philip
Foody, Michael
Galligan, Edward
Gilroy, Michael
Gilman, Frederick
Gray, Thomas
Gibbs, Patrick J.
Gilhooly, James H.
Gohl, Christian
Grosjean, Eugene D.
Hughes, Francis
Hart, James J.
Hogan, Thomas
Hunter. James
Hogan, Michael
Hilderbrand, Joseph
Higgins, Peter H.
Hines, James F.
Horgan, Bartholomew
Jones, Henry F.
Junker, Max
Jacobs, George R.
Jacoby, Henry F.
Kelly, Patrick
Kenny, John
Kelly, Bartholomew
Lay, Jacob
Laydon, John
Lynch, Michael
Lane, Joel
Leeson, George F.
Long, Thomas
McGrade, Hugh J.
Mitchell, Thomas D.
Maher, James
Masterson, John F.
McGuire, James
Matear, William J.
Maynard, Edward D.
McGrath, James
Meyer, Charles
Moen, Thomas F.
Maloney, Owen
McGuire Thomas H.
McNamara, John
Nealis, James
Nowak, Augustus
Nugent, Frank J.
O'Reilly, Thomas
O'Connor, Richard
O'Sullivan, John
O'Reilly, Bernard
Palmer, Augustus B.
Plath, John H.
Pfaehler, Emil L.
Quinn, James
Relyea, Henry
Roberts, Mortimer H.
Rodgers, Reuben P.
Sweeney, Bernard
Sullivan Michael
Schmitz, Henry
Shea, John
Siems, John
Shiels, John
Tighe, Robert A.
Wynne, Thomas
Wilson, Frank
Weinburg, Joseph

DOORMEN.

Coffin, Stephen J.
Brown, Robert

Fifteenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Byrnes, Thomas

SERGEANTS.

Douglass, Joseph
King, James M.
Kellaher, John
Sminck, Wm. B.

ROUNDSMEN.

Brady, James
Clark, Hugh
Doherty, Michael
Flannery, Thomas
Wells, Horace M.

PATROLMEN.

Burke, Lawrence
Brooks, James A.
Cannon, James E.
Casserly, Patrick
Colton, Thomas W.
Clune, Patrick
Cunningham, John
Davidson, Samuel
Dougherty, John
Doherty, Samuel
Donohue, James
Doyle, James
Dunn, Edward
Finnerty, Reim
Fogarty, John
Gaughan, Thomas
Gilgar, Edward
Golle, Julius A.
Goney, Michael
Hanley, Charles
Hicinbothem, Robert
Henry, James L.
Ivory, Joseph
Kenny, Peter
Kennedy, Edward T.
Killilea, John
Kilkenny, James
Kershon, John H.
Lake, Franklin W.
Leary, Corneilius
Leacock, Joseph
Lefferts, Harmon
Lenistere, Peter
Loughlin, George
Mead, Henry
Moore, James
Moore, Thomas A.

Moffitt, Thomas
Moxley, Francis Q.
Mulcahy, William
McNamara, Daniel
McAdams, James
McDermott, Peter
McGinn, John
McGowan, John H.
McGowan, Thomas
McCormack, Wm. H.
Northrup, Benjamin B.
O'Keefe, John M.
Orser, Charles H.
Reilly, James, No. 1
Reilly, James, No. 2
Reilly, Edward
Ruland, John
Parker, Seymour V.
Poe, John J.
Scullion, Thomas
Seaman, Samuel B.
Slerin, Edward
Smith, Michael
Sullivan, John S.
Sullivan, James
Telly, David A.
Tesparo, Benjamin
Van Norden, John
Warren, William
White, Manuel A.
Watson, James
Wiley, Michael W.
Zukell, Leopold F.

DOORMEN.

Reilly, James F.
Waters, Peter

Sixteenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Ryan, Thomas M.

SERGEANTS.

Blair, William
Polhamus, Daniel
Taylor, John J.
Thompson, John

ROUNDSMEN.

Aitkin, Henry
Dark, Nathaniel
McArthur, Silas
Weiss, Hermann

PATROLMEN.

Banker, John
Butcher, John
Brennan, James
Coffey, William S.
Cole, Ambrose H.
Carpenter, Wilbur F.
Cahill, Bernard
Clark, Thomas
Connor, Michael
Campbell, Robert F. M.
Curtiss, Frank H.
Connor, George
Cairns, William
Dunn, Patrick
Decker, Milton F.
Faut, Michael R.
Fay, Patrick
Furguson, John
Gill, George W.
Gray, William
Grier, Arthur
Heath, John W.
Hooks, John
Hughes, Alexander
Johnston, John
Kelly, Michael
Kelly, Patrick
King, Henry C.
Kornman, Frederick W.
Lewis, Frederick R.
Livingston, Henry A.
Logue, Phillip
Lahey, Patrick
Murray, Daniel
Mooney, Owen
Mantle, James W.
Madden, James F.
McEvoy, John
McGuire, Thomas
HcDougall, Alexander
McGloin, Patrick
Nixon, Robert
O'Reilly, Michael
O'Brien, John D.
Phelan, Thomas
Rodgers, Owen
Rourke, John
Riker, Abraham
Schmidt, Adolph H.
Smith, James
Sinclair, John
Sands, Joseph
Taylor, David H
Thomas, Morgan
Tallon, Lawrence
Wall, Thomas F.
Wilson, Richard
Yaeger, Michael C.

DOORMEN.

Hanower, Morris
Perkins, James

Seventeenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

McCullagh, John H.

SERGEANTS.

Crowley, David H.
Haggerty, Joseph
Welsing Jacob
Little George
McEveety, Bernard (Acting)

ROUNDSMEN.

Gallagher, John
Kenny, James E. J.
Hanley, James
Protz, Frederick

PATROLMEN.

Ahern, James
Archibald, Daniel
Bissert, Michael
Benkers, Henry
Bolger, Patrick
Boylston, Martin
Bernstein, Charles
Blass, Philip
Buhler, John J.
Brewer, Charles E.
Cunningham, Michael C.
Carroll, Martin
Curry, James
Doyle, Edward H.
Dooley, Martin
Dyer, James S.
Farley, Peter
Flynn, Michael
Finnigan, William B.
Gleeson, Thomas
Gill, Floyd
Gialey, Patrick
Hartling, William
Haas, George
Kiernan, Thomas
Keely, Edward J.
Kelly, William
Keating, John A.
Kiely, John
Leddy, John
Long, John
Latham, George
Leonard, Patrick
Mayforth, George
McGearty, Patrick
McArdle, Patrick
McInerney, Daniel J.
McGrath, Patrick
McDonald, John
Marsh, George
Nealis, Daniel
Nealis, James
O'Rourke, Hugh
Rielly, Peter
Robinson Edward K.
Rose, Peter
Robb, Matthew
Reid, Cornelius
Reid, Maurice
Reid, Thomas H.
Schwenk, Henry
Seery, John
Sullivan, David
Smith, Matthew
Stepper, Martin
Schleissner, Louis
Tracey, Maurice
Wiehe, Jacob
Walton, Patrick
Wilkinson, John
Weiss, George

DOORMEN.

McCormach, William H.
Worden, Alfred W.

Eighteenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Clinchy, William H.

SERGEANTS.

Thompson, Andrew J.
Fanning, Michael
McCullagh, John
Porcher, William

ROUNDSMEN.

Campbell, James
Coon, Samuel H.
Near, Emmet
Reid, William S.

PATROLMEN.

Brennan, James
Brennan, John
Brutton, Hugh
Baker, Frank
Buttlinger, Edward
Carroll, William
Corey, John V. B.
Christopher, Benjamin
Carter, Jesse
Covert, Geo. H.
Clark, William
Deeves, Wm. B.
Dooley, Charles O.
Dunn, John
Farrell, John
Falvey, Timothy
Ferguson Samuel T.
Flood, James C.
Genow, David
Gaffney, Bartholomew
Goldrick, James T.
Gibbons, Thomas
Godfrey, George
Harding, Peter
Healy, John
Hogan, Richard
Hatton, John
Harris, William
Hennessey, Jeremiah, J.
Herlihy, John D.
Jeffrey, Jesse
Jewell, Charles E.
Johnson, Joseph
Joyce, Redmond J.
Joyce, Michael T.
Kern, Jacob B.
Kirtland, George R.
Keirnan, Bernard
Klien, Julius J.
Lacey, Edward J.
Levy, Alexander
Leamy, Joseph
Mulry, Thomas W.
Mulvey, Thomas
Meehan, Cornelius
Malloy, Michael
Monahan, James E.
McCarthy, Thomas J.
McCarthy, Justin
McGee, John
McBride, Manus
McKenna, Patrick
McGrann, William F.
Nolan, Michael
Nugent, John
Norton, Edward
O'Neill, Thomas
O'Neill, John, (No. 1)
O'Neill, John, (No. 2)
Pearson, Thomas
Quigley, James
Reilly, John J.
Smith, George W.
Smith, Michael
Sherwood, Nathan B.
Shultis, Albert
Schroff, Charles S.
Schoell, Charles
Stewart, Oliver V.
Stack, Maurice
Schenck, George A.
Toury, Edward C.
Tieman, Charles
Waters, Benjamin

DOORMEN.

Dore, Michael
McNulty, Francis
Whalen, Patrick

Nineteenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Mount, John J.

SERGEANTS.

Bumstead, Theodore
Norris, Walter
Vredenburgh, Watson
Webb, Robert O.

ROUNDSMEN.

Green, Patrick
Golden, Judson
Minnie, John D.
Minnick, John

PATROLMEN.

Abbot, Nathaniel, B. Sr.
Abbott, Nathaniel, B. Jr.
Breen, Patrick
Bennett, Thomas
Bennett, George A.
Brunner, Jacob
Castle, Geo. A.
Chapman, Robert A.
Cummings, Patrick
Campbell, Samuel J.
Clarson, Lawrence
Corbett, Henry O.
Crowe, James
Dixon, William
Ditmar, Montgomery
Donohue, Andrew
Donohue, Jeremiah
Davis, Joseph L.
Devery, John
Dunlop, Robert
Eagan, Daniel
Edmiston, Robert
Fallon, Timothy
Fogarty, Charles
Fitzpatrick, James
Farrell, John J.
Flynn, Michael
Garity, James
Granger, William
Goodenough, Theodore
Gidley, Louis
Kerns, Thomas F.
Kirby, Cornelius
Kelz, August
Kiernan, Edward
Kelly, Thomas
Lord, Patrick
Lane, Patrick B.
Marchay, John M.
Maloney, James
McGowan, John
McMahon, Edward
McCarthy, Michael
O'Connor, Daniel
O'Brien, Bernard
O'Brien, Patrick
Phillips, Abraham
Phillips, Charles H.
Phillips, James K.
Price, Alexander
Regan, David
Roe, Thomas W.
Roff, Stephen
Raywood, Thomas
Reilly, Patrick W.
Stainkamp, Henry
Sullivan, Michael
Tooker, Jacob
Tully, Bernard
Vail, Robert J.
Walsh, Robert

DOORMEN.

Crosby, James C.
Markley, Charles A.

Twentieth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Washburn, George

SERGEANTS.

Havens, George H.
Woods, Henry
Comber, Charles N.
Allen, Myron

ROUNDSMEN.

Lane, Patrick J.
Osborne, George P.
Carmick, Stephen
McCarthy, Francis J.

PATROLMEN.

Armstrong, Henry
Buckley, John
Burke, William (No. 1)
Burke, William (No. 2)
Beglan, Eugene
Boylan, Henry
Baker, Thomas
Byrne, William
Carroll, Henry B.
Carolan, Patrick
Cogans, John
Carroll, James
Delany, Daniel
Doyle, Joseph T.
Donohue, John
Donohue, Timothy
Devery, William S.
Edwards, James
Fleming, John W.
Frederick, John D.
Fitzpatrick, Philip
Finerty, Martin
Fitzgerald, Maurice
Foley, Thomas
Halliday, John
Hanrahan, John
Jaques, Thomas
Kelk, George S.
Leddy, Hugh
Lawrence, Edward H.
Leech, James
Mulligan, Patrick
Malone, Michael
Murphy, John
Murphy, Edward
Minnerly, Abram
McCormick, Thomas
McDermott, John
McLeavy, Charles
McTaggart, Francis
McConnell, John
McDonnell, John
McCoy, William F.
O'Connor, David
Pless, Charles H.
Phelan, Michael
Pigott, John
Reilly, Eugene
Reilly, Thomas
Reilly, William
Rooney, Nicholas
Robinson, Robert
Ryan, Patrick
Stanton, William B.
Stevens, Leroy
Smith, Andrew
Smith, Philip H.
Walsh, Francis
Wyatt, Herman
Wall, Christopher

DOORMEN.

McClary, George C.
Kennedy, Patrick

Twenty-First Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Murphy, Michael J.

SERGEANTS.

James, Thomas N.
Colegrove, Edward
Fitzgerald, John
Hathorne, John B.

ROUNDSMEN.

Cassidy, Philip
Delaney, John
Kelly, John P.
Murphy, Thomas

PATROLMEN.

Anderson, Alfred
Brophy, Thomas
Carney, Matthew
Cavanagh, John
Clinton, Lawrence
Crean, John
Cronin, Dennis
Cahill, Richard
Campbell, John W.
Donnelly, Thomas
Dickey, John
Delaney, Peter
Eulner, Henry
Eddy, Charles D.
Flood, Edward
Foley, John
Fahey, James
Grennan, John
Gallagher, Terrence
Gonigle, William
Gilmore, John
Gaffney, James J.
Garside, John W.
Hartigan, Michael
Heenan, James
Hickey, William
Kilmartin, James
Klinge, Emile
Leahy, David
Lawlor, James
Lott, Charles
Leary, Dennis
McAree, John
Meagher, John.
Molloy, John
Marron, Patrick
McNamara, Thomas
McCue, Dennis
McCarthy, Dennis
McCarty, Cornelius J.
Maguire, John
McCarthy, John J.
Martin, David
Nealis, Patrick
O'Rourke, Bernard
Pellett, Henry H.
Roberts, Robert
Reilly, Bernard
Sammis, James R.
Sullivan, Morris
Shortell, John
Taylor, John
Whalen, Edward

DOORMEN.

Conwell, James
Edwards, Robert L.

Twenty-Second Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Ward, John J.

SERGEANTS.

Brown, Stephen F.
Cortright, Moses W.
Rooney, Michael M.
Tuck, Matthew

ROUNDSMEN.

Crook, Alfred
Conway, James
O'Neill, Francis
Walsh, Patrick

PATROLMEN.

Beck, Charles A.
[illegible]
[illegible]
Byrne, Peter
[illegible]
Black, James B.
[illegible]
Brown, John
[illegible]
Clarkin, Thomas
Curran, Peter
Cottrell, Joseph
Casey, Michael
Crowley, Michael
Cottrell, John
Corballis, Thomas F.
Clifford, Thomas
Casey, William
[illegible]
Dalton, Thomas
Dunn, John
Fitchen, William F.
Farrell, Peter H.
Grier, Walter
Glass, George W.
Goetzger, Frederick
Gick, George
Glenan, John F.
Gilligan, Michael
Hildrith, Lotin B.
Holmes, William
Hurlbut, Henry
Havey, Philip
Haff, James S.
Knox, John L.
Kuly, Thomas
Lavelle, Francis
Lynch, James
Lindeberg, John
McKeon, William
Malone, George P.
McDonnell, Peter
McGinn, John G.
McGinley, Patrick
McLaughlin, John B.
Mints, John G.
Maher, James
McArdle, Henry
McDowell, John
Mooney, Andrew B.
Nugent, Peter
Powers, Thomas
Richards, George W.
Rabbit, Patrick
Swayze, Milton
Swain, William
Soule, Samuel
Tennis, John
Townsend, George A.
Thompson, Brainard M.
Vallely, James F.
[illegible]
Webster, Daniel

DOORMEN.

Malone, Henry
Webster, Joseph T.

Twenty-Third Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Robbins, John M.

SERGEANTS.

Huff, Thomas
Devoe, Washington T.
Buddington Charles C.
Sheehan, Michael

ROUNDSMEN.

Byrnes, Patrick F.
Gallagher, Thomas
Griffen, Dennis
Sweeney, Jeremiah

PATROLMEN.

Acker, Jacob
Barrett, Michael
Blongey, Nelson
Burbank, Edward E.
Casey, James
Crowley, James
Cromie, Robert J.
Donovan, John J.
Egan, Thomas J.
Farrell, John D.
Ford, Dennis
Fleming, Michael
Greene, Thomas S.
Godfrey, John
Hughes, Thomas
Hartman, Charles
Janvain, Dennis
Lonkenon Martin
Loonam, Charles
Murtha, Patrick
McCarthy, John D.
McClellan, James
Morrell, John J.
Moritz, Theodere A.
[illegible]
Murtha, Bernard

McCauley, Michael
Meyer, Robert L.
McEnroe, Bernard F.
Meaney, Philip
O'Donnell, Bernard
O'Reilley, Charles
Pertell, Edward
Pettit, Bernard
Phelan, John
Plant, Francis J.
Palmer, George M.
Panet, Anthony J.
Ross, John
Roberson, Alfonzo
Reilley, James
Regan, Michael
Rennie, George W. D.
Redgate, Stephen F.
Read, William
Smith, Hewlett
Slattery, Patrick
Stevens, James G.
Sawyer, Joseph
Seibert, John N.
Sullivan, Daniel W.
Smith, Philip H.
Waldron, Charles W.
Woods, Bernard P.
Zwickert, Anthony

DOORMEN.

Breslin, Patrick
Empire, George H.

Twenty-Fourth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Schultz, William

SERGEANTS.

Frith, Obed
Reid, Thomas

ROUNDSMEN.

Guerker, William
Jones, James
Shier, Charles A. L.

PATROLMEN.

Adler, Anton
Dougherty, John E.
Gibson, Joseph H.
Hand, Henry
Harvey, John
Kruger, Frederick W.
Kelly, Francis
Keon, Miles
Kelly, Patrick H.
Kennedy, Joseph
Lawlor, Patrick
Martin, John
McGuckin, John
McCormack, Thomas
Parks, Christopher
Quigley, Daniel
Rhoades, Daniel
Smith, George E.
Skuse, Thomas
Voss, Ferdinand
Woram, Charles B.

DOORMAN.

Flynn, Daniel

Twenty-Fifth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Garland, Ira S.

SERGEANTS.

Bird, Isaac
Gay, John T.
Groo, John R.

ROUNDSMEN.

Rodermond, Pearsall
Wildray, Orlando
Lewis, Lester
Reid, Cornelius

PATROLMEN.

Aiken, George H.
Beatty, Thomas
Burns, Edward
Britton, John
Byrne, Daniel
Balton, Christopher
Clark, John D.
Dyckman, Jacob W.
Dark, William D.
Downing, Mortimer
Dowling, Simon
Dotty, Theodore M.
Follis, Patrick
Fraser, Alexander
Flannery, Lawrence
Foster, James
Fine, Maurice
Gunson, Robert
Gilligan, John C.
Haley, Owen
Hornan, Charles E
Hall, David D.
Ives, Willis D.
King, James T.
Kane, Michael
Lyons, Patrick H.
Leddy, Patrick B.
Murphy, Michael R.
McCahill, John
Miller, Eustis
Oakley, John
Phillips, John W.
Pilkington, James
Pratt, Oliver A.
Quinlan, Daniel J.
Robinson, Alexander J
Robbins, Albert E.
Rowley, Andrew H.
Smith, Christopher
Smyth, Charles
Schneider, Reinhard
Seaman, Wait S.
Salig, Louis
Taylor, John
Tyler, Edward O.
Van Nosdall, John G.

DOORMEN.

Barney, Hugh S.
Van Dyke, James A.

Twenty-Sixth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Walsh, Edward

SERGEANTS.

Conlin, Peter
Ely, Joseph M.
Kass, George B.
Miner, Henry J.
Whitcomb, Edwin P.

ROUNDSMEN.

Barrett, John
Coleman, Nathan H.
Healy, Francis J.
Spence, Henry
Sheldon, Charles O.

PATROLMEN.

Blackwood, Sylvester
Brady, John
Byrne, John
Brice, Henry
Breslin, Thomas
Burns, George
Coogan, Patrick
Cook, Joseph
Cornell, Christian F.
Davis, George
Disbrow, John T.
Doyle, Thomas
Fisher, Isaac R.
Fiende, Theodore C.
Growden, Peter
Gahan, Francis
Hodge, Alexander
Howe, James A.
Howe, Henry Q.
Hart, Peter
Hunt, Peter
Holloway, Richard
Hussey, Edward
Jackson, David
Kush, Charles
Kelahan, John
Kenneally, Thomas
Kennedy, Patrick
Kennedy, Timothy
Lewis, Edward
Lynch, Patrick
Muller, George H. F.
Martin, Simon
Martin, Richard
Munier, Charles V.
Murphy, John
McGrade, Michael
McCort, Peter
McBride, Thomas
Noyes, Benjamin A.
Place, James H.
Parker, John S.
Pope, David
Pierce, Charles E.
Rhodes, William H.
Reilly, Philip
Shea, Patrick
Simms, William
Sutton, William H.
Traver, Joshua R.
Terhune, Lewis M.
Van Zandt, Cornelius
Walker, John
Welling, Edward

DOORMEN.

Kiernan, Patrick
Vyse, Jacob

Twenty-Seventh Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Sanders, John

SERGEANTS.

Slater, Lemuel S.
Welsh, Richard
Willard, Thomas E.
Heape, Thomas L.

ROUNDSMEN.

Clark, John
Cahill, Dennis
Muset, Edward
Warner, Augustus W.

PATROLMEN.

Archer, George
Brennan, James
Brogan, Patrick
Brooks, Daniel
Burns, James
Cooke, William H.
Coughlin, Thomas
Curran, Daniel
Carroll, James
Dalton, William
Dunleavy, Charles
Dennin, Thomas
Fay, Thomas
Feeney, Patrick T.
Flanagan, Patrick
Flannery, Thomas
Flynn, William
Fenker, Henry
Gilmartin, John
Glass, St. Clair
Grace, Edward
Gray, James
Hagan, Thomas
Hamilton, Archibald
Henchy, Peter M.
Humphreys James
Hurley, John J.
Hill, Daniel H.
Hoyt, Plum
Jordan, John M.
Jordan, Timothy
Kennedy, Jeremiah
Looram, Matthew
Leary, Richard
Londrigan, William
Lally, William
Malley, James
Markey, John
McDermott, Michael
McDermott, Stephen
McDonald, John
McEvoy, Joseph J.
Meany, John A.
Mulrooney, Michael
Murphy, Michael
Mulvey, Thomas
Murray, Michael
McCormack, John
McDermott, James
Moffit, George
Murphy James D.
O'Brien, John J.
O'Callahan, David
O'Sullivan, William M.
Pendergast, Patrick
Probst, Frederick
Powers, Patrick
Park, Charles
Roach, Maurice
Ryan, John
Sands, Charles D.
Scanlon, Edward
Scheffmyer, Timothy
Scully, Cornelius
Secore, Francis
Shaw, George D.
Sheridan, James
Tucker, George R.
Tuite, James L.
Tyrrell, James
Van Alstyne Lloyd
Weldon, Patrick
Weber, Francis D.
Weisberger Emanuel
White, Frederick S.

DOORMEN.

Cullen, Michael
Peabody, William H.

Twenty-Eighth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Yule, Peter

SERGEANTS.

Russell, William A.
Roberts, Henry
Hamilton, John
Smith, Elbert O.

ROUNDSMEN.

Dalbeck, Joseph F.
Magee, William
Martin, Hugh
Ohra, Herman S.

PATROLMEN.

Brennan, Edward
Back, Emeil
Curtin, John H.
Clarkin, Peter
Coyne, James
Collins, William
Cornish, Henry F.
Doty, William A.
Donoghue, Thomas
Egan, John
Fulmer, George W.
Flandrow, George A.
Gath, Robert D.
Hickey, Thomas
Kain, Louis
McDermott, John J.
McGill, James
Morrell, Jefferson
McDivitt, William
Mechan, Bernard
McConnell, Hugh
McCadden, Henry
Malloy, John T.
Mahoney, Patrick S.
McCormack, Thomas
Nally, James F.
O'Rourke, Thomas
Paul, Jesse P.
Peck, Henry W.
Quigley, James
Roach, John
Runge, Alexander F.
Reid, George
Ramsey, Robert
Ryan, John
Roach, John T.
Smith, John
Salmon, John
Shiels, Michael
Tobin, Thomas
Van Levven, Eli
Ward, Michael
White, Patrick
Wade, Bernard
White, Henry P.
Woodson, Benjamin C.
Wood, Edward
Wilson, Harrison

DOORMEN.

Gillen, John
Mee, James

Twenty-Ninth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Williams, Alexander S.

SERGEANTS.

Keating, Stephen
Stewart, Joseph
Tims, Oliver
Westervelt, Josiah A.

ROUNDSMEN.

Carley, Thomas
Donovan, James
O'Hara, Patrick
Price, James K.
Wallace, Robert J.
Waterman, John S.

PATROLMEN.

Andre, John C.
Barrett, Richard
Coen, Thomas
Crinnon, Patrick
Connolly, Lawrence
Conklin, John
Connor, Lewis
Crowley, Daniel
Chapman, George S.
Clark, Charles E.
Clinchy, Alexander
De Bow, James
Dunlop, John
Duff, James
Davis, David
Evans, Isaac
Erskine, David W.
Foley, James
Fleming, Thomas
Fanning, Edward
Farley, Michael
Fay, Martin
Gillespie, Edward
Gaw, John
Grassick, John
Gilgan, Hugh
Genore, John H.
Gilbride, Thomas
Hill, Thomas
Haughey, William R.
Hogan, Patrick
Hulse, George B.
Hunt, Jesse
Jerfies, John
Jagles, Henry
Klinge, Hector
Kelly, John
Kelly, William
Kemp, John
Kennedy, Henry A.
Ketchum, Chester L.
Lewis, Charles W.
Leroy, William W.
Link, Charles
Landers, John
Markey, Andrew
McGoldrick, Edward J.
McCormick, James
Mangam, John
Mohr, Philip
Madigan, John
Mathison, Daniel
McGrath James
Martin, Christopher E.
McCool, James
McArdle, Bernard
Miller, Harvey
Mullin, Zabriskie H.
Martens, Frederick W.
Meade, Joseph
Nolan, George
Neihoff, Henry
Nelson, Augustus
Nolan, Michael
Neylan, John
Phelps, William
Parkerson, Charles H.
Posthoff, Frederick W.
Quinn, Lawrence R.
Robinson, William
Ringler, Frederick
Remley, Napoleon B.
Rooney, Patrick
Roberts, John
Smith, Philip
Stuart, Thomas
Schmittberger, Max F.
Stoddart, David
Shill, Henry H.
Shaw, George E.
Savage, Michael
Tripp, Harrison
Tobias, William E.
Terpening, Absalom A.
White, John H.
Weeks, Philander S.
Wilson, James A.
Weigand, John
Wagner, Herman

DOORMEN.

Dempsey, Thomas
Riggs, John H.

Thirtieth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Leary, James M.

SERGEANTS.

Phillips, Burnett L.
Wilson, Charles R.
Weston, Cornelius

ROUNDSMEN.

Fresenius, Charles
Thuman, Frederick

PATROLMEN.

Boyle, John
Carroll, Michael
Connolly, Michael J.
Crowley, John
Dunn, Christopher
Elting, Josiah
Falconer, Bernard
Geiger, Nicholas
Gilliland, Hartshorn W.
Heyn, Charles A. F.
Hamilton, Jeremiah P.
Jefferson, John
Kerns, Thomas H.
Kinsler, George A.
Kehoe, William
Kelly, John
Lavinder, George
Larkin, Martin
Meyer, Adam
McLaughlin, Thomas
Moody, James
Mitchell, John
Nevins, John R.
O'Brien, Thomas
Orpen, Henry M.
Peary, George H.
Quinn, James
Siebelt, Gustavus
Tully, Michael
Vosburg, Abram
Wilson, William B.

DOORMEN.

Creeman, Michael
Lear, Thomas S.

Thirty-First Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Tynan, Edward

SERGEANTS.

Fitzgerald, John
Kass, William

ROUNDSMEN.

Ronk, John E.
Kunzman, Clement
McArthur, John

PATROLMEN.

Back, George F.
Cooney, John
Connor, James
Cahill, William
Dowling, Michael
Darke, James
Flahive, John H.
Geary, Michael
Hughes, Alexander
Hogan, Matthew
Hammond, Henry
Haines, Robert
Isbell, Adelbert
Kinnaird, Samuel W.
Keenan, Patrick
Lober, Frank
Moclare, Dennis
McNamee, Michael
McElgunn, James
McLaughlin, James
McKenna, Francis
Pratt, Daniel
Roff, William H.
Richardson, Peter
Stahl, John
Shields, John
Smith, Valentine
Stapleton, Patrick
Twine, George H.
Troll, Anton
Titus, William Q.
Tirney, Lancelot J.
Whalen, Patrick
Wilsie, Alexander

DOORMEN.

Baird, Alexander
Killilia, Michael

Thirty-Second Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Steers, Henry V.

SERGEANTS.

Carpenter, Edward
McAvoy, Thomas F.
Reynolds, De Los
Woodward, Eugene T.

ROUNDSMEN.

Fisher, Franks C.
Mead, William H.
Watson, John
Wagner, Watson H.

PATROLMEN.

Archer, William H.
Barry, Patrick
Brown, John
Brophy, Michael
Byrns, Edward
Cox, Hatfield S.
Conway, Charles
Crosby, James
Clapp, Ira M.
Curry, Harrison
Doncourt, Leon
Duffy, Thomas
Eckersley, John W.
Eldridge, Richard S.
Ferris, Arthur
Francis, Charles H.
Flannagan, William
Foley, David
Gray, George
Graham, William T.
Green, Harry
Griffith, Eugene
Haas, Edward
Hahn, William
Hogan, Patrick
Joyce, Thomas C.
Kearney, Thomas
Kirley, Michael
Levy, Hiram
Leonard, Bernard J.
Loomis, James
Malloy, John
Moore, John G.
McKinnon, Hugh
O'Connell, William
Phillips, Henry W.
Quintard, Chauncey T.
Reville, Philip E.

Robinson, Albert D.
Ryer, Samuel B.
Shoemaker, Nelson
Simpson, Samuel W.
Slott, Henry C.
Terwilliger, Josiah C.
Thayer, Joseph H.
Treanor, James
Van Cott Charles
Walters, Leonard
Weed, Frank G.
Wilkins, Augustus
Winner, George H.

DOORMEN.

Mangin, Thomas
O'Neil, Robert

Thirty-Third Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Killilea, Thomas

SERGEANTS.

Ten Eyck, Henry
Swift, Michael H.
Conners, Patrick
Fitzgerald, Francis

ROUNDSMEN.

Sprague, Josiah H.
Dennerlein, George
Daily, Michael

PATROLMEN.

Antinelli, Francis
Bradley, Thomas
Cashin, Patrick
Condon, John H.
Connelly, Bernard
Chandler, Hiram
Clarke, James C.
Conklin, James E.
Esch, Robert
Heinz, Henry
Muldoon, John
Mouligan, Adam
McDonough, Francis
McKenna, Patrick
McAuley, James A.
Nicholson, George
Quinn, Henry
Riley, James H.
Rielly, John
Rector, Albert
Schorske, Henry
Smith, William A.
Toerner, August H.
Tallon, James
Wilkins, Jacob R.
Willow, Augustus

DOORMEN.

Bailey, William H.
McNally, John

Thirty-Fourth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Bennett, Theron R.

SERGEANTS.

Blake, Isaac D.
McConnell, Wm. H.
McDonald, Albert W.

ROUNDSMEN.

Haradon, Nelson
Thompson, John J.

PATROLMEN.

Armstrong, John
Austin, Elijah L.
Arctander, Arthur
Burras, George S.
Bogart, William H.
Buckbee, James
Brady, Michael
Bolster, David R.
Clark, Lawrence
Durie, David
Dennerlein, John
Hallick, Whitman P.
Hanlon, Timothy
Kernan, Thomas
Martineau, Cornelius
McKeown, Joseph
Nash, Lansing S.
O'Reilly, Hugh
O'Keefe, Daniel
Pinckney, Samuel T.
Parker, John F.
Sheldon, Samuel G.
Sealey, David
Vaughan, Patrick
Weeks, John H.

DOORMEN.

McGrath, Michael
Roan, Patrick

Thirty-Fifth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Kennedy, Thos. J.

SERGEANTS.

Wright, John T.
Miller, James J.

ROUNDSMEN.

Lucas, Edward
Norton, James J.

PATROLMEN.

Ackerson, Wm. T.
Bouman, Edward
Cummings, Geo. H.
Dakin, Wm. H.
Holmes, Wm. J.
Kellerhouse, Albert
Lamb, Bernard
McCarthy, Moses
McKeon, Bernard
Neil, Robert
Popp, Christian
Ryder, Paul

DOORMEN.

Brundage, Solomon F.
Lawrence, Thomas C.

First Inspection District.

INSPECTOR.

Murray, William

SERGEANTS.

Young, Robert
Meakim, William

ROUNDSMEN.

O'Toole, William
Cosgrove, William F.

PATROLMEN.

Caddell, Francis
Connors, George
Langton, Henry K.
Myers, Bernard
Schulem, Lefoy
Sullivan, Edward

DOORMAN.

Golden, Thos. F. J.

Second Inspection District.

INSPECTOR.

Dilks, George W.

SERGEANTS.

Grant, John H.
Suttie, George L.

ROUNDSMEN.

Barlow, Henry T.
Folk, John W.
Frink, William E.
Hasson, William H.

PATROLMEN.

Denning, Francis
Gallagher, Edward
Hogan, Michael J.
O'Connell, David
Reynolds, Thomas

DOORMAN.

Kerrigan, James

Third Inspection District.

INSPECTOR.

McDermott, John

SERGEANT.

Robb, Frank W.

ROUNDSMEN.

Taylor, William H.
Dean, William
Harley, John J.

Fourth Inspection District.

INSPECTOR.

Thorne, Thomas W.

SERGEANT.

Brooks, Nicholas
Fownes, George E.
Thatcher, James R.

ROUNDSMAN.

Kirchner, William F.

PATROLMEN.

Bush, Charles E.
Selleck, Joseph H.

DOORMAN.

Logue, James

Nineteenth Sub-Precinct.

SERGEANTS.

Ferris, Jerome H.
Hooker, Henry D.

ACTING-SERGEANTS.

Bevans, George R.
Goodall, Enoch H.

ROUNDSMEN.

Armstrong, Henry
Magann, Richard F.
McCullagh, James

PATROLMEN.

Anderson, George
Cook, George
Cuff, John T.
Cunningham, Daniel
Dunn, Bernard
Files, Jacob
Foy, Thomas
Gilpin, John
Gleason, Timothy
Haagan, August
Halliday, Joseph
Herring, William
Hirner, Theodore F.
Hitchcock, Daniel H.
Irving, John
McMahan, Dennis
Murphy, Peter
Murphy, Thomas
Murtagh, Michael
O'Connor, Edward
Reynolds, Thomas
Schneittacher, Isaac
Walsh, William
Young, James

DOORMEN.

Farley, Philip
Walling, Leonard

Members of the Mounted Squad.

SERGEANT.

Revell, William A.

ROUNDSMEN.

Coffy, Richard
Gannon, James
McMillen, William B.
Morgan, Thomas

PATROLMEN.

Bicknell, George
Breen, John
Bruns, Martin
Feuerstein, Adam
Holland, Thomas B.
Huston, William J.
Kenney, James F.
Lawler, William
McNamara, John
Mitchell, Anthony
Moynihan, Daniel C.
Nelson, William
Nevin, William A. C.
Regan, Edward M.
Simons, Edwin H.
Waters, Thomas
Wayland, Henry

DOORMEN.

Brandon, David
Kavanagh, Thomas

First Police District Court Squad.

SERGEANT.

Woodruff, Henry H.

ROUNDSMAN.

Boleman, Richard

PATROLMEN.

Aignier, Gabriel
Anderson, George J.
Dwyer, Henry S.
Gardener, Joseph A.
Hanifen, Jonn
Hill, John R.
Irvin, George
Murray, Andrew
Robinson, John
Schwarz, Jacob
Speight, Alfred C.
Vermilyea, Jerome

Second Police District Court Squad.

SERGEANT.

Williams, Charles F.

ROUNDSMEN.

Fawsett, Francis
Warlow, Jacob B.

PATROLMEN.

Buckridge, Stephen
Geary, Richard
Jolly, Patterson
Kelly, Michael
Moore, Wm. W.
McSally, Peter
Murray, John
Michalis, Wm. L.
Schmith, Peter
Town, John B.
Van Duser, Charles E.
White, John
Wilson, Robert

Third Police District Court Squad.

SERGEANT.

Long, Louis P.

PATROLMEN.

Albin, Isaac H.
Bernholz, Louis
Bell, James
Hartell, James W.
Kennedy, Edward
Kiernan, Hugh
Linindoll, Stephen C.
Ryan, Patrick
Stilwell, Nathan W.

ROUNDSMAN.

Reilly, Terence

Fourth Police District Court Squad.

SERGEANT.

Sylvester, Oliver

ROUNDSMEN.

Muldoon, Patrick T.

PATROLMEN.

Foly, Cornelius
Kellerd, Michael
Kohles, John
McVoy, Patrick
Thuyes, James M.
Uhl, Morris
Willits, John J.

Fifth Police District Court Squad.

SERGEANT.

Barrett, George W.

PATROLMEN.

Bennett, James P.
Flanagan, Michael
Hitchcock, Harvey N.
McArthur, James
Norton, Patrick
Sheehan, Daniel
Sinclair, William
Walters, Jacob

Sanitary Company.

SERGEANT.

Lefferts, William H.

PATROLMEN.

Butts, Aaron
Church, George W.
Harrington, Warren
Horton, Hanford
O'Brien, Thomas
Palmer, William H.
Quinn, Henry M.
Waller, George F.
Woolfe, George E.

DOORMAN.

Waterman, Charles

Central Office Squad.

CAPTAIN.

Gunner, John

SERGEANTS.

Simonds, William H.
Beeching, John

ACTING-SERGEANT.

Pratt, Joseph H.

ROUNDSMEN.

Smith, Michael
Walsh, John
Wiseburn, George D.
Haggerty, John W.

PATROLMEN.

Beal, Albert
Connor, Robert
Dymond, Martin
Ferdon, James
Ferre, Solomon
Fuller, Charles A.
Green, Henry
Gastlin, George
Hanken, Richard
Hawkey, Richard
Hildenbrand, Henry
Jephson, Robert
Luerssen, Imer D.
Miller, Harvey P.
Mullane, Patrick
McConnell, John
McPherson, James A.
Plunkett, William H.
Quackenbush, Robert H.
Quinlan, Martin
Schick, Carl H.
Smith, Patrick
Simmons, Charles J.
Stuart, Alexander
Youngs, Theodore F.
Walmsley, Stephen B.

DOORMEN.

Adams, Richard
Ahrens, Jacob
Fay, John

House of Detention Squad.

SERGEANT.

Combs, Charles M.

DOORMAN.

McCamman, Samuel

Detective Squad.

CAPTAIN.

Kealy, James

ROUNDSMEN.

Dickson, John F.
Hubbard, Stephen
Keirns, Patrick

PATROLMEN.

Adams, Thomas F.
Cumming, James
Cruise, William
Dunn, John J.
Dorcy, Joseph M.
Dilks, George H.
Dusenbury, Thomas
Ferris, Thomas
Golden, Timothy
Handy, Edward
Hagan, John
King, Richard
Lyon, Holly C.
McConnell, Matthew
McCormack, Thomas
McNaught, Robert
Moran, James
Niven, George
Radford, George J.
Rogers, Silas W.
Shelley, Michael F.
Tieman, John C.
Thompson, James P.
Von Gerichton, Jacob
Williamson, Alvan H.
Wood, Jeremiah
Woolsey, Joseph H.

DOORMAN.

Luther, William

Special Service Squad.

CAPTAIN.

Hedden, Henry

ROUNDSMAN.

Stevens, David

PATROLMEN.

Adams, James
Armstrong, John G.
Brooks, William H.
Cropsey, John W.
Dennison, George W.
Finnerty, Francis
Hayes, John G.
Houghton, Jonas A.
Hewitt, George H.
Immen, Charles D.
Lidgate, Ebenezer
Myers, Russell
Murphy, Myles
McDuffie, James
Rockwell, James D.
Rogers, Benjamin H.
Schultz, Alfred P.
Smith Alexander D.
Smith, John D. B.

Steamboat Squad.

CAPTAIN.

Gastlin, George W.

SERGEANTS.

Banfield, Francis J.
Holbrow, Tunis V.
Reinisch, Charles H.

ROUNDSMEN.

Spence, George
Strauss, William
Buckley, Edward J.
Graham, Alexander
Byrnes, Patrick
McLaughlin, Wm. W.

PATROLMEN.

Adamsky Simon
Allen, Christopher
Byrnes, Thomas
Beekman, Gerard E.
Bassford, Heil
Brady, Thomas
Beerden, Samuel
Bennett, John M.
Bleil, Philip C.
Brosn, Francis
Brown, John H.
Bedell, Henry
Brennan, Thomas
Clinchy, George
Cox, John
Cody, Daniel
Collard, Edward
Crittenden, Charles W.
Corvin, Patrick J.
Clark, William
Connor, Patrick
Carson, James
Carnes, Peter M.
Cox, Samuel S.
Dunn, Bernard
Drucker, Abraham
Dinsmore, Jacob N.
De Gann, Louis
Dooley, Christopher
Delaney, James
Eberhard, Frederick
Fulmer, Henry
Gannon, Michael
Gabriel, Charles
Grogan, Timothy
Green, William
Griesel, Conrad H.
Gardner, William
Hayes, Felix
Hey, Eibo
Hawks, Justus
Harty, Thomas
Haverty, Thomas
Holmes, Richard
Hill, Lewis E.
Hitchman, Samuel L.
Harney, Thomas
Hogan, Thomas
Jackson, Simon
Keough, John
Kearney, Patrick
Ketcham, Silas

Kroner, Frederick
Leaycraft, Charles C.
Lyman, George
Lynch, George
Laird, Thomas J.
Law, Charles R.
Miller, Christian
McPherson, John
Martin, Nicholas

McCafferty, Jeremiah
McIlhargy, Alexander
Mallen, James
Montgomery, Robert
Mabie, Aaron
Meyn, Einar
Matthews, Michael
Mountjoy, William
McGuire, Matthew

McCarthy, Charles
McParlan, Thomas
Murphy, Patrick
Mahoney, John O.
McCullough, John
O'Connell, Nicholas
O'Connell, John
O'Ryan, Michael
Ogden, Amos B.

Osborne, William W.
O'Leary, Dennis
Robinson, Samuel
Reilly, Robert P.
Riley, Augustus J.
Reilly, Matthew C.
Rack, Garrett
Simington, James H.
Standish, John F.

Sullivan John J.
Schneider, William
Sanford, Nathan B.
Shaw, Henry
Stevenson, Robert
Taylor, Edward C.
Tuthill, Andrew P.
Thomas, William H.
Vanbuskirk, George

Van Ranst, Horace E.
Warner, George
Wright, William
Walsh, John
Walsh, Michael
Waters. Michael
Wood, Enos V.

DOORMAN.

Wright, Richard U.

Names of each Officer and Patrolman in the Police Department of Brooklyn, September 1st, 1879.

CENTRAL OFFICE.

Jourdan, James.....*President.*
Leich, Oliver B.....*Commissioner.*
Pyburn, John..... "
Perry, John C.....*Counsel.*
Campbell, Patrick.....*Superintendent.*
Waddy, George A.....*Inspector.*
Jewett, Henry S.....*Drill Officer.*

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Richards, Samuel.....*Chief Clerk.*
Thorne, A. B.....*Fire Marshal.*
Parr, Harlow.....*Dept. Clerk.*
Langford, E. L.....*Book-keeper.*
Rowley, A. S.....*Property Clerk.*
Jenkins, Fred. L....*Clerk to Superintendent.*
Liftchild, James.....*General Clerk.*

Hannam, Charles.....*Stenographer.*
Wilkes, Daniel.....*Messenger*

BOARD OF SURGEONS.

Rooney, A. J.....*President.*
Hopkins, George G. Watt, James.
Malone, Edward. Burdick, J. T.

BUREAU OF EXCISE.

Wade, M. H..... *Cashier.*
Shaurman, Nelson.....*Inspector.*
Geihel, George..... "
Harrison, Patrick..... "
Wood, Charles W..... "
Keenan, Patrick..... "

Josue, Max..... .....*Clerk.*
Cook, ——..... "

BUREAU OF STEAM BOILER INSPECTION.

Powers, Thomas F...*Examining Engineer.*
Kelly, John C. Wood, John W.
Webb, James W.....*Clerk.*

BUREAU OF TELEGRAPHY.

Flanley, George H.....*Superintendent.*
Gear, Wm. R.....*Operator.*
Cornell, Thomas J..... "
McKelvey, James J..... "
Williams, Thomas..... "
McConnell, David.....*Lineman.*
McConnell, Wm.....*Ass't* "

PRECINCTS.

First Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Campbell, James

SERGEANTS.

McNamara, Michael A.
Bellow, Henry
Burford, Wm. J.
Eason, John W.

ROUNDSMEN.

Downey, John
Harold, Thomas

DETECTIVE.

Chambers, Charles

PATROLMEN.

Applegate, Daniel B.
Boylan, James J.
Burns, John H.
Bull, Nathan C.
Brown, Samuel H.
Carpenter, William
Collins, Thomas H.
Cadley, Joseph
Campbell, M.
Conklin, William A.
Donlon, John J.
Dunham, William P.
Fields, William A.
Gardiner, James
Howard, Charles L.
Hillberg, John M.
Kehoe, Patrick J.
Kelley, Jas. H.
Lowrey, John E.
Lowery, Daniel J.
Lees, Alexander
McDermott, John
Maloney, Michael
Malmberg, Charles
McKenna, John W.
McCormack, Peter
McLaughlin, D.
O'Halloran, John
Peterson, H. C.
Quinn, Thomas,
Reeves, James D.
Ryan, James E.
Rickard, Patrick
Riley, Edgar C.
Reddy, James
Smith, Joel, Jr.
Sherman, Charles A.
Terwilliger, Abram
Terry, Benjamin
Tierney, Thomas P.
Van Wicklen, William
Vaughan, Thomas W.
White, James P.

DOORMEN.

Harris, Reuben J.
Keenan, Owen

Second Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Crafts, Rufus W.

SERGEANTS.

Clancy, John J.
Canaugher, Joseph
Cain, John
Healey Jacob E.

ROUNDSMEN.

Velsor, Henry C.
McCarty, Michael

DETECTIVE.

Campbell, Michael

PATROLMEN.

Bedell, Walter
Bloomfield, Robert
Boone, T. E.
Carricolia, Antonio
Coddington, Theodore
Colgan, John
Donnelly, Patrick
Dougherty, John
Dougherty, Edward
Doyle, Christopher J.
Evans, George
Earley, Francis
Falliard, Frank
Geltins, John
Graham, Henry
Grant, Jones G.
Horan, Edward
Hurst, John
Kee, John
Kierney, John
Larkins, Simon
McLaughlin, Henry
McNally, Peter
Quigley, Wm.
Rogers, Philip
Ryan, James
Simonson, Geo.
Turner, Duncan

DOORMEN.

Burns, Patrick
Cannon, James

Third Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Leavey, Patrick H.

SERGEANTS.

Cadden, William J.
Kellett, Henry
McCullough, Thomas
Walsh, Thomas

ROUNDSMEN.

Ferry Daniel
McGann, Richard

DETECTIVES.

Mahoney, Cornelius J.
Roach, James H.

PATROLMEN.

Brady, Charles
Beatty, John
Campbell, Joseph
Connery, Thomas
Cullen, Dennis
Cullen Thomas
Doran, John
Dreeland, James
Dillon, Thomas
Dieckman, Robert
Earley, Thomas
Fitzmorris, James
Flushing, George J.
Farrell, Thomas
Fagan, Patrick
Gilligan, Michael
Grey, Michael
Keylaher, Michael
Keenan, Patrick J.
Lewis, John
Lunney, James
Lowe, John
Lynch, James E.
Maloney, John
Murtha, William
Mooney, Peter
McDermott, James
Murray, Joseph
McKitty, Bartholomew
McLaughlin, M.
O'Brien, Thomas
O'Rorke, James
Ryan, Patrick
Rhattigan, William
Rorke, Patrick
Reilly, James
Reilly, Bernard
Reilly, John J.
Rock, Dennis
Rhattigan, Christopher
Stone, James M.
Stoddard, Francis
Shields, Edward
Smith, Andrew
Walker, Edward

DOORMEN.

Farrell, John
O'Donnell, Hugh

Fourth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

McLaughlin, Patrick H.

SERGEANTS.

Carpenter, James M.
Dyer, Edwin
Kelly, William P.
Martin, Stephen

ROUNDSMEN.

Van Brunt, Albert J.
Raynor, George W.

DETECTIVES.

Shaughnessey, Thomas
Price, Joseph

PATROLMEN.

Appelgate, William
Allen, Thomas S.
Carbury, Michael
Carroll, James
Cleary, William
Delehanty, Lawrence
Dolan, Thomas
Davy, Michael
Fitzpatrick, Patrick
Gilhardt, John H.
Goodale, Joseph W.
Hand, George W.
Holliday, Matthew H.
Haggerty, F.
Hayes, Peter P.
Killiam, James
Kelly James J.
Lennen, Henry A.
Lyons, Joseph
Martin, John
Martens, Christopher
Moore, George B.
McCaffrey, Owen
McAvoy, Peter J.
McCloskey, James
McLaughlin, James
McMahon, Edward
Noonan, Edward
Olson, Oliver C.
Outhouse, Warren
Perrine, William A.
Pearsall, Alexander C.
Penfold, Franklin E.
Quinn, James W.
Ryan, James J.
Skelton, Alonzo
Sutton, John A.
Stollsworthy, George
Woolsake, John C.
Wilson, T. P.

DOORMEN.

Butler, Charles D.
Devlin, Michael

Fifth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Woglom, Cornelius

SERGEANTS.

Bunce, George W.
Brennan, John
Battersby, A. L.
Hallett, James G.

ROUNDSMEN.

Nicholson, Geo.
Travis, Joshua T.

PATROLMEN.

Baker, John
Bell, William
Bell, George
Brown, Edward
Brown, Edmund
Berrian, John H.
Brinkerhoff, Abraham
Burrill, Robert L.
Cleary, Richard
Cantwell, Thomas
Corcoran, John C.
Clougher, Thomas
Dredger, Seymour
Dunn, Robert,
Dunnigan, Peter
Fisk, Alonzo
Flaherty, Peter
Forbes, Alonzo
Gates, William
Garrison, Robert
Guischard, William H.
Gillmore, William
Hayes, William
Hoadley, James W.
Holland, Thomas
Hines, William
Holmes, Edward
Kelly, James
Kennedy, Michael
Lynch, Patrick
Lee, James
Lyons, Patrick
Mangam, Harvey
Masters, William
Marryatt, Edward
McCallian, John
O'Brien, Philip
Phalan, Timothy
Poole, Albion A.
Quinn, Charles
Quinn, Albert A.
Reardon, Daniel
Sennett, Leonard
Scott, Thomas
Simons, Joseph H.
Smith, John A.
Scullen, Charles
Travis, Geo. W.
Trenchard, John
Ward, Henry

DOORMEN.

Richardson, William A.
Wolf, George

Sixth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Worth, Lewis

SERGEANTS.

Boch, Nicholas
Ward, James
Wormell, John W.
Kitzer, W. H.

ROUNDSMEN.

Gorman, H. F.
Johnston, A.

DETECTIVE.

Ennis, James

PATROLMEN.

Adami, John
Bennett, Abraham V.
Corby, James
Cosgrove, George
Daily, P.
Dickerman, George
Fonda, George D.
Feigenbaum, Gustav
Fickett, Cyrus K.
Fagan, Joseph
Finnegan, Michael
Fielding, J. F.
Frey, Adam
Goodell, Charles
Good, Theodore A.
Hendricks, William
Hirst, Samuel
Hines, Martin
Hopping, Daniel
Langridge, John B.
Miller, Henry

Mills, Andrew
Mulledore, Emanuel
Mullen, James
Poole, Henry H.

COURT OFFICER.

Robertson, Thomas

PATROLMEN.

Ruaff, John
Shanley, John
Smith, Thomas
Valentine, John

COURT OFFICER.

Worth, Philip

PATROLMAN.

Ward, Henry

DOORMEN.

Beuhler, George
Grennan, Bernard

Seventh Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Rhodes, George R.

SERGEANTS.

De Bevoise, James G.
Elliott, Leonard W.
Reardon, John
Reid, Robert W.

ROUNDSMEN.

Green, James
Stillewagon, Samuel

DETECTIVE.

Butts, William H.

PATROLMEN.

Baker, Thomas H.
Cusick, Patrick
Dotten, Alexander B.
Dill, David W.
Dugan, Arthur
Fitzsimmons, James
Knapp, Allen R.
Kelley, Thomas J.
Lent, Ferris
McKillop, Michael
Newcomb, J. P.
Permento, John
Quein, George
Reed, Francis B.
Reilley, John
Seaman, Selah D.
Shannon, John
Terriere, William
Whaley, James
Walsh, James

DOORMEN.

Brennan John,
Tinkey, Abraham

Eighth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Smith, Joel

SERGEANTS.

Brown, William H.
Graham, John
Lloyd, L. W.
Porter, Joseph

ROUNDSMEN.

Owens, Martin
Doyle, James

DETECTIVE.

Druhen, Thomas L.

PATROLMEN.

Buchanan, Edward
Creighton, Edward
Delaney, Martin
Folen, Thomas
Goeller, Thomas
Hancock, Samuel
Jacques, John
Kirton, Robert
Lloyd, John F.
McCue, Charles
McKelvy, Wm.
McKearney, John
Morrel, William
Ryan, Edward
Ruble, Thomas
Summers, Patrick
Van Wicklen, Garret
Wright, John

DOORMEN.

Boden, Patrick
Whalen, Patrick

Eighth Sub-Precinct.

SERGEANTS.

Barr, John, Com'd'g Sergt.
Morrell, John
Driscoll, Dennis

ROUNDSMEN.

Brady, Felix
Kirby, John W.

DETECTIVE.

Connor, John

PATROLMEN.

Brown, John
Healy, John
Mulreau, John
Conlon, John
Crockett, Joseph
Lennon, Martin
Campbell, William G.
Bennett, Thomas
Dunn, William
McGrath, P.
McGowan, H.
Sullivan, P.

DOORMEN.

Morrell, Joseph
Hoff, Leonard

Ninth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Leich, Oliver B.

SERGEANTS.

Latty, Richard
Holbrook, Melen T.
Strong, Charles
Campbell, James

DETECTIVE.

Kelly, Henry C.

ROUNDSMEN.

Lawson, David V. W.
Nelson, William A.

PATROLMEN.

Amerman, George P.
Abercrombie, John
Ashton, James M.
Babcock, Charles H.
Buchanan, John
Clark, James L.
Colgan, John
Dodge, Anson G.
Dohen, Dennis S.
Devlin, Barnard
Goud, James T.
Goodwin, John A.
Hallman, Julius
Keyes, John T.
Lackey, James
Logan, Moses
Matt, Samuel
Murphy, Thomas C.
Nelson, Thomas
Nall, Jacob
O'Connell, Daniel
O'Riley, Miles
Quigley, James
Riley, Hugh
Stacom, Francis
Smith, Oliver H.
Tallmann, Geo. F.
Williams, John
Wooldridge, Andrew J.

DOORMEN.

Currin, Neil
Rogers, William F.

Ninth Sub-Precinct.

SERGEANTS.

Dunn, James
Willmarth, T. C.
Buckholz, George A.

ROUNDSMEN.

Donaghy, John
Rudd, John H.

PATROLMEN.

Cring, George,
Clayton, Elias
Drum, John
Eagleson, Lewis
Herschaft, G.
Jarvis, John
Kane, James
Kellog, George E.
Lunsman, Charles
Lewis, Jesse
Kleine, John H.
Moore, James
Moore, John
Mills, William E.
McCormack, Thomas
Westerfield, Charles W.

MOUNTED.

Gaus, Edward A.
Hamer, George W.

DETECTIVE.

Mullen, James

DOORMEN.

Bagot, Thomas R.
Wilmott, John

Tenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Mackellar, John

SERGEANTS.

Carman, Charles B.
Lamb, James W.
Masterson, Nicholas
Metcalf, Henry

ROUNDSMEN.

Barry, Peter J.
Cole, Bernard

DETECTIVE.

Lenehan, James

PATROLMEN.

Anderson, William
Bannon, John
Broderick, Michael
Burke, Patrick C.
Campbell, Patrick
Clarke, John
Casey, Thomas
Coffey, Jeremiah
Curran, Bartholomew
Cassidy, Richard
Downey, Michael T.
Doyle, John
Freel, Hugh M.
Garvey, M.
Hayes, Patrick
Hawxhurst, Will.
Heavey, James
Herman, Ed.
Hennigar, Charles E.
Kenna, Peter
Mahoney, David
Mara, John
Meagher, Edward
Murphy, Thomas J.
Murphy, John
McDonough, H.
McMahon, David
McKie, Thomas
McArthur, William H.
McMahon, Edward
McGrath, Terrence
O'Connor, Michael
O'Shaughnessey, James
Reynolds, James G.
Savage, William
Velsor, Benjamin F.
Walsh, Philip

DOORMEN.

Dunne, James
Hall, Samuel

Eleventh Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Reilly, Edward

SERGEANTS.

Gill, Timothy
Kenney, James
Shepherd, James
Slattery, Patrick

ROUNDSMEN.

McMahon, John
McMillan, Daniel

DETECTIVE.

Daly, Daniel

PATROLMEN.

Breden, August
Cain, James
Cahill, Edward
Cleary, Philip
Cummings, Peter
Darby, Patrick
Fitzsimons, Edward
Flood, James
Gillen, William J.
Holran, David
Kelcher, Miles
Keenan, Michael
McCauley, James
Mulligan, Patrick
Oberley, Hubert
Pelham, William
Roche, Michael
Travis, Dennis

DOORMEN.

Bryne, John
O'Reilly, John

Twelfth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Riley, John

SERGEANTS.

Barwick, William
Gregory, William
Murphy, Thomas
Sheridan, John

ROUNDSMEN.

Carney, Neil
O'Brien, Thomas E.

PATROLMEN.

Chichester, George W.
Corwin, J. Addison
Dingle, John W.
Dailey, George M.
[illegible]
[illegible]
Gillespie, Patrick
Guise, Alexander L.
[illegible]
Hill, Henry C.
Lennon, William
Morrell, Theodore C.
Menzel, Frank G.
O'Neil, John
Owens, Luke
Pearce, George T.
[illegible]
Wells, Calvin H.
Whiting, Malcolm
Stockholm, George E

DOORMEN.

Farrel, Roger
Linehan, Bartholomew J.

Thirteenth Precinct.

CAPTAIN.

Kaiser, William J.

SERGEANTS.

Carr, John
Meekes, William
Smith, Richard B. G.
Strong, William M.

ROUNDSMEN.

Babcock, Lucien
Cornell, Joseph A.

PATROLMAN.

Shea, John (detailed acting detective.)

DETECTIVE.

Ihne, William

PATROLMEN.

Brady, John
Burns, Francis
Collins, Joseph
Freestine, James
Haslach, Peter
Jamicke, Arthur
Maloy, John
Martin, Charles
McCann, Henry
Miles, James
Morrow, John
Perdue, John
Schumacker, John
Tilton, Charles H.
Downey, William
Spellman, Dennis
White, William A.
Powell, Daniel S.
Urell, Joseph

DOORMEN.

Koeppel, Henry
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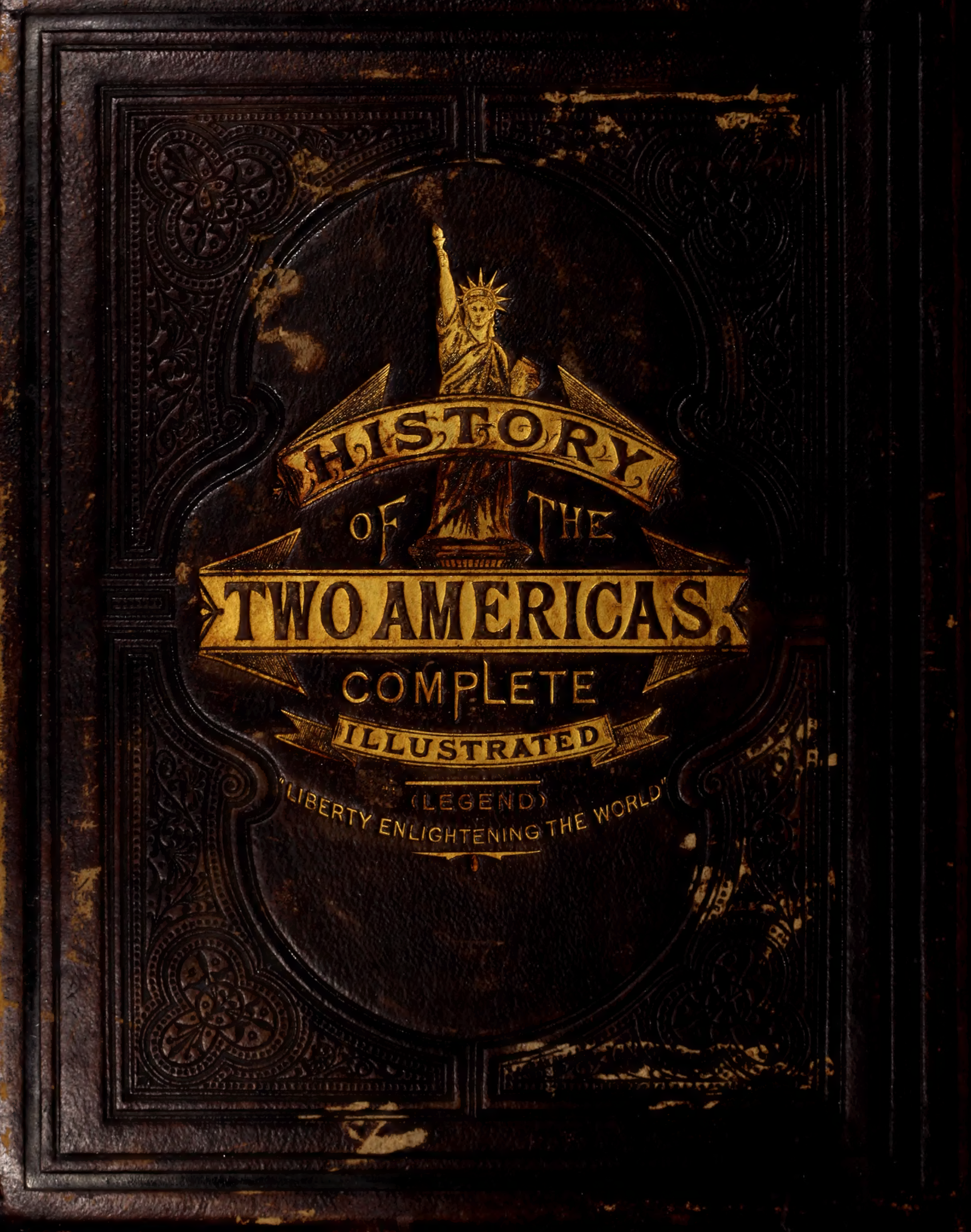
HISTORY
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